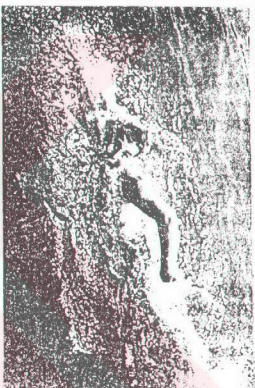


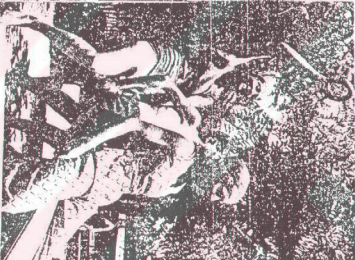
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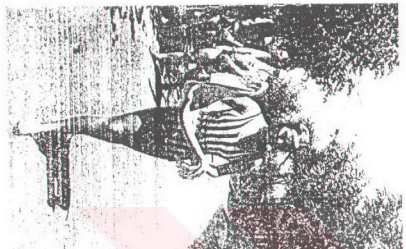
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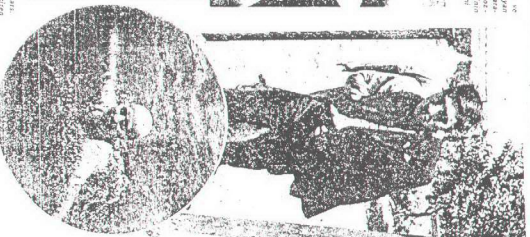
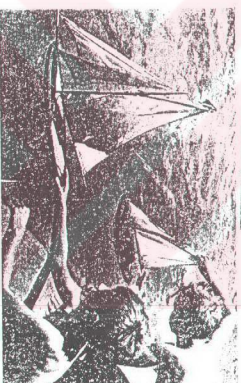
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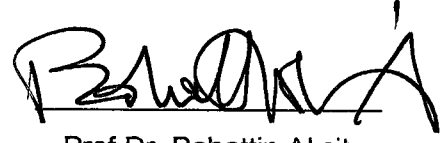
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Figure 18. Views of weekend leisure activities at Karadeniz Pool published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on June 6, 1938.

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences.



Prof. Dr. Bahattin Akşit
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.



Prof. Dr. Jale N. Erzen
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Belgin Turan
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. İlhan Tekeli

.....

Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç

.....

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Belgin Turan

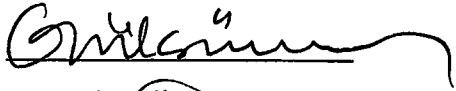
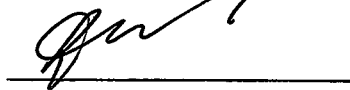
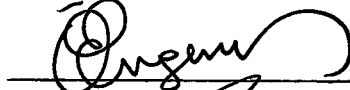
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Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gülsüm Nalbantoğlu

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Asst. Prof. Dr. Güven Sargin

.....



ABSTRACT

MODERNIZATION AND SPATIAL PRACTICE IN EARLY REPUBLICAN ANKARA: THE GAZİ FARM AND THE ATATÜRK BOULEVARD

Akyürek, Göksun

M.A., Department of History of Architecture

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Belgin Turan

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Following its foundation on October 29, 1923, the Republic of Turkey was subjected to a process of re-organization which comprised all fields of life. The spatial construct corresponding to this attempt was the creation of a new capital in Ankara, which was formerly a provincial town in Central Anatolia. This study, first of all analyzes the significance of creating a new capital, which symbolized a 'new beginning' for the nation. This idea of a new beginning had transformed the already started modernization process into a total project, which comprised a spatial re-ordering in parallel with the structural reforms in government and social life. This study is based on the assumption that the projection of the intentions for a modern society into space comprised an experimental process where ideas are continuously shaped and re-shaped by spatial practices. Conceiving Ankara as the exemplary site of such new spatial practices of modernization, the forth and the fifth chapters analyze how the ideas for a modern life were experimented in two sites of the city.

Those two sites of Ankara, *the Gazi Farm* and *the Atatürk Boulevard* are probed to illustrate their spatial histories including new life practices that helped to describe how modernity was interpreted in the early Republican context. Principally, this study proposes a practice of viewing the interplay of the ideas and the process of their actualization in space in parallel with modernization in Turkey.

Keywords: Spatial Practice, Social Ordering, Modernization

ÖZ

ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ ANKARA'SINDA MODERNLEŞME VE MEKANSAL PRATİK: GAZİ ÇİFTLİĞİ VE ATATÜRK BULVARI

Akyürek, Göksun
Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Belgin Turan

Şubat 2000, 177 sayfa

29 Ekim 1923'te kuruluşunun hemen sonrasında, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti hayatın tüm alanlarını kapsayan bir yeniden düzenleme sürecine tabi tutulmuştur. Bu girişimin mekandaki karşılığı ise, öncesinde Orta Anadolu'da kırsal bir kasaba olan Ankara'da yeni bir başkent yaratılması idi. Bu çalışma, öncelikle millet için 'yeni bir başlangıcı' simgeleyen yeni bir başkent yaratılmasının önemini incelemektedir. Bu yeni başlangıç fikri, daha önceden başlamış olan modernleşme sürecini, devleti ve sosyal hayatı kapsayan yapısal reformlara paralel olarak mekanı yeniden düzenleme hareketini içeren bütün bir projeye dönüştürmüştür. Bu çalışmada, modern bir toplum fikrinin mekana yansıtılması , fikirlerin bu mekansal pratik esnasında sürekli olarak yeniden şekillendiği deneysel bir süreç olarak kabul edilmiştir. Dördüncü ve beşinci bölümler, Ankara'nın modernleşme fikriyle beraber yeni mekansal pratikler içeren örnek bir alan olduğunu düşünerek, modern bir hayat kurma fikirlerinin kentten iki örnek üzerinde nasıl deneyimlendiğini inceler.

Ankara'nın bu iki örnek alanı, Gazi Çiftliği ve Atatürk Bulvarı, modernitenin erken Cumhuriyet bağlamında nasıl yorumlandığını tanımlamaya yardımcı olan yeni yaşam pratikleriyle beraber mekansal tarihlerinin gösterilmesi için gözlemlendi. Temel olarak, bu çalışma Türkiye'de modernleşme ile paralel olarak fikirlerin ve onların mekanda gerçekleştirilmesi sürecinin karşılıklı etkileşimini gözlemlene deneyimi önermektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Mekansal Pratik, Sosyal Düzenleme, Modernleşme

To my parents

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Following the end of World War I in 1918, the Ottoman Empire was occupied by the Allied armies. That was proceeded by a victorious War of Independence between 1919 and 1923, and the foundation of the Turkish Republic on October 29, 1923. The national struggle of emancipation from the Allied occupation was proceeded by the dispute of relinquishing from the constraints of the Ottoman past for the future process of modernization. Principal instrument of this struggle was the re-organization of all fields of life through reforms bringing significant changes in the prevalent social and political order which was inherited from the Ottoman Empire. According to Bernard Lewis, this great transformation could not be merely defined in terms of economy, society or government but of **civilization**.¹ One of the most significant premise of this task was constructing a *national* civilization, which would be both *Turkish* and *Western*. The correspondent spatial construct of this attempt was the creation of a modern capital in Ankara, at the heart of Anatolia, where *Turkishness* and *Westernization* would be synchronically defined and realized.

Being formerly a modest provincial town in central Anatolia, the culturally uncultivated landscape of Ankara seemed capable of generating new spatial orderings severed from the prejudices of the previous Ottoman life practices. While, the aspiration of creating a modern Ankara was accelerated with the excitement of a new-life vision, the previous Ottoman capital, Istanbul, where memories of the imperial past were definitely woven into its spaces, had started to lose its prestige. Correspondingly, in one of the articles, published in the daily

¹ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence Of Modern Turkey*, Oxford University Press, London Oxford New York, 1968, p.486.

*Hakimiyet-i Milliye*², the author celebrated the joyous atmosphere in Ankara, which was set in contrast with the feeling of dullness that was prevalent in Istanbul.³ Ankara was presented, not merely as a city, but as something *immaterial*, that made one feel ambitious about being a part of it. In contrast with the atmosphere in Ankara, the author claimed that the beauty of Istanbul had dissolved and scattered the society. He described Istanbul as a city of individuals in his comparison with the affiliating impulse felt in Ankara where citizens inevitably felt and acted as indivisible constituents of the community. Thus, Ankara was more than a name for a city, it was the name of an “exceptional statement and will”.

Another description of the common psychology felt and observed among the citizens of Ankara was made by a foreign author three years later.⁴ Walter L. Wright, who was the president of the American College for Girls and of Robert College in Istanbul, suggested that Ankara was the place of finding the “real” romance in Turkey. That romance he described was the “real and vital romance of a creative revolution” that aroused from the “immense courage, bold vision, and the practical ability of creating a new capital where a few years ago, there existed only an unimportant provincial town”. Thus, he called Ankara the “symbol of the new Turkey, and of the will of the resurrected Turkish people to take and hold its place among the free nations of the world.”

Witnessed in the literature of the period, Ankara had become the exemplary site of constructing the grand objective of creating a new society. One of the motives for this new society was Westernization. In essence, it was a synonymous term with modernization, which was primarily expressing the quest for a rational discourse upon which the new Turkish Republic would be constructed. Hence, by the establishment of the new state, the already started modernization process in the late Ottoman period was transformed into an integral project comprising all fields of life. I will name this endeavor, as *the project of modernization* which can be defined as the attempt of projecting the idea of ‘westernized’ Turkish civilization into the spaces of the new Republic,

² *Hakimiyet-i Milliye (National Sovereignty)* was a daily newspaper, started to be published in Ankara on January 10, 1920 by Mustafa Kemal's order. Later in 1934 it continued to be published with a new name, *Ulus (Nation)*. Its editor was Recep Zühtü (Soyak) and Mustafa Kemal was informed of the content before the day it was published. See; Nurettin Güz, *Türkiye'de Basın İktidar İlişkileri: 1920-1927*, Ankara, Gazi Üniversitesi Basın Yayın Yüksekokulu Matbaası, 1991, p.8.

³ Neşet Halil, “Ankaradan Çıkış”, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, August 9, 1933, p.3.

⁴ Walter L. Wright, “Romance and Revolution”, *La Turquie Kemaliste*, August 1936, No.14, p.1.

initiated in Ankara as its exemplary site. It should also be noted that this project was an extension of *modernity* which had originated in eighteenth century European thought and lived as an attempt of rational re-organization of the everyday life. Conceiving modernity as a universal model of social organization, modernization can be defined as attempts for the realization of this model. Also in the case of the Turkish Republic, it has become an *ideology of development*, formulated and promoted by the state. Accordingly, the construction of Ankara as the modern capital of Turkey and as a model site for the intended social order of the new Republic, was crucial for the realization of this project that stimulated the projection of those intentions into space.

In this study I focus on two specific sites of Ankara that were created after Ankara became the capital of the new Republic and track their spatial histories in relation to the socio-political context and the architectural production. Such an attempt of recording a partial urban history also involves the consideration of a *process* that will depend on the knowledge of social, political, economic, cultural and artistic realms. As Henri Lefebvre has argued, writing the spatial history of a such process demands “a shift from the *objects in space*, to the *actual production of space* and uncover the social relations inherent to this process of spatial production”.⁵

Considering any piece of the city as a dynamic form instead of a fixed object to be formally analyzed, brings also the question of method that will determine the viewpoint for this analysis. First of all, I will limit the period of my analysis between 1923 and 1938. 1923 is already clarified as the year when the Republic was founded and Ankara became the capital. Meanwhile, 1938 is the year when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the most influential executive authority of urban development in Ankara, has died. Correspondingly, following his death, Hermann Jansen’s commission as the advisor and planner of Ankara’s development finished. And, within this process I constructed a conceptual guide with reference to Kevin Hetherington’s argument on the *spaces of modernity*.⁶

Hetherington conceived modernity as a **social ordering process**, rather than a pre-determined Grand Design, that influenced the production of space and was influenced by those experimentations in space. Modernity, as argued by Hetherington, was shaped around the basic idea of the ‘good society’ which he

⁵ Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production Of Space*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1991, p.37.

described as an 'ideal state' between *social order* and *individual freedom*.⁷ Moreover, modernity has not only produced the idea of a 'good society', but it has also brought about a process of economic, political and cultural change for the realization of this aim. Correspondingly, these ideas were put into practice in spaces from the seventeenth century onwards like agricultural enclosures, garden landscapes, botanical gardens, museums, zoos, places of leisure and entertainment, and also through town planning.

What is remarkable in Hetherington's argument is the description of these sites, where the 'good' intentions of modernity for the 'perfect' society were revealed in a *process of social ordering*, as spaces in **continuous transition**.⁸ Since the perfect society can not actually be produced, as they become something different from how they were conceived in the beginning during the process of realization, the utopian ideals of modernity can never be fully realized. That means modernity is a process of spatial ordering for the aimed good society which will always remain in **deferral**, flux and change. As Hetherington argued, "while it is utopic in intention, it will always become something else in practice".⁹

A major premise of this study is that, the designation of Ankara as the exemplary city of national development comprised a social ordering process

⁶ Hetherington, Kevin, *The Badlands Of Modernity; Heterotopia and Social Ordering*, New York, Routledge , 1997.

⁷ The opposition of **freedom** and **control** is the crust of Hetherington's argument. These two concepts represent the two intertwined social issues of modernity. According to Hetherington, *freedom* is an abstract idea, expressing a condition of social performance. And he proposed to conceive *ordering* instead of *order* for sustaining his idea that order is not a thing but a process. He also insisted that it is a mobile *process* including ordering and re-ordering. Accordingly, the alignment of the idea of personal freedom with a kind of social control is the aim of social ordering in the modern society. Hence, he argued that the utopian desire of a 'good' society that offered greater freedom and new forms of order were ideas of modernity that were transformed into the spatial practice. See; *ibid.*, p.7-11.

⁸ Hetherington introduced the term **utopia**, and explained this continuous transition with reference to Louis Marin's *Utopics: The Semiological Play of Textual Spaces*. London, Humanities Press, 1984, p.XV. The term **utopia** with reference to its Greek etymology embodied two words therefore two meanings coinciding in itself. These were **ou-topia**, that means *no-place* and **eu-topia** which means *good-place*. (*ibid.*, p.VIII) Louis Marin associated utopia with a spatial play between these two poles of *eu-topia* and *ou-topia* on the basis of Thomas More's novel *Utopia*. Considering utopia in spatial terms, Marin, defined utopia as a "space organized as a text and discourse constructed as a space". In this activity of fiction, an organization of spatiality is textually staged in one totalitarian ideological project. And, the imaginary, plural and fictional interact in this spatial organization around the utopian ideals of the 'good society', which Marin called the *spatial play*; *utopic practice*; **utopics**.

Furthermore, Hetherington converted this spatial play performed in texts into spaces of modernity which were actually produced in reality, and brought up the term **heterotopia** as the actual sites of the spatial play around the utopian idea of good and ordered society. He located *heterotopia* in the gap, between the two poles of utopia; *eu-topia* and *ou-topia* but always in a process of deferral. According to Hetherington, the modern use of utopia is under the influence of this good-place no-place ambivalence which included the attempt to order space or particular spaces that were *nowhere* and produce the conditions of an ordered and stable society that was *somewhere*. He was mainly concerned with the relationship between freedom and control as the basic ideas of shaping the modern society which were woven into its spaces of social ordering. Hetherington argued that this idea was born and practiced initially in the heterotopic spaces of modernity. Further he described those sites as places of *otherness* including *different* or *alternate* modes of social and spatial relations. He also considered *heterotopia* as the site of experimenting with a new ordering process which was an uncertain and ambiguous interplay of these ideas that remain in *continuous transition*. See; *ibid.*, p. vii-ix.

based on the spatial organization of city, in tune with the modernization project of the Turkish Republic. While the city was planned to be a model site where the modern practices of life would be performed, these new life practices were also defined as they were being spatialized. This meant that Ankara was the site for experimenting with new modes of social orderings and the space of expressing the utopian ideals of the state. The period between 1923 and 1938 is conceived as an experimental process in which the spaces of Ankara were being shaped by the ideas of modernization and also giving shape to its ideas of social ordering. Then, I will elucidate the (good) intentions of modernization in these two sites, through the exploration of what was actually realized and how those intentions were revealed in deferred forms. Regarding Hetherington's suggestions, the main objective of this study is to analyze how the intentions for the aimed modern Turkish society were revealed in certain spaces of the city as utopia(s) in deferral. It is significant to view how these spatial practices helped to shape the definition of the 'modern' Turkish society, as it will be observed from those two sites in Ankara produced for the new social orderings.

The first site of my observation is the Gazi Farm, which was an agricultural endeavor founded by Mustafa Kemal in 1925 at the west edge of the city. The task of constructing Ankara, as the capital of modern Turkey, is a special case that aimed to create a model city for the whole country and animate the intended social transformations in tune with modernization in its city spaces. However, such an attempt of erecting a "modern city" in the heart of Anatolia, where rural life was extensively prevalent, has stimulated the inspiration of establishing a new cultural and social relationship among the urban and the rural. Correspondingly, Gazi Farm, established in the close surroundings of the capital Ankara, was the initial agricultural enterprise that explicated the attempt of *reconciling city with the rural* in the early Republican period. This Farm would be a **model farm** for the rest of the country promoting rational methods and scientific knowledge in agriculture which were aimed to be diffused into the lives of the citizens in every field through the modernization project. As it is further explained through the text, the Farm has worked as a "school" where the new agricultural methods were practiced and taught. The institution also played a significant role in the city life of Ankara because it re-defined the organization of agricultural production within urban economic system and proposed a site for performing new and modern

⁹ *ibid.*, p.67.

practices of *leisure*. Especially this second issue is significant to trace the intentions for the idealized “new society” from the spaces created within the social ordering process of the early Republican period.

The second site to be analyzed is the Atatürk Boulevard. The Boulevard was not simply the primary artery of transportation constituting the central north-south axis of the city, but it has become a *spine* for the whole city where various functions significant for city life were situated along. The Boulevard has evolved spontaneously after Ankara became the new capital and its further growth was controlled by the city plan prepared by Hermann Jansen in 1929, which also improved its significance for being rendered as the main spatial axis of the whole city. Hence, analyze the spatial evolution of the Atatürk Boulevard between 1923 and 1938 and the organization of the city life viewed from the Boulevard. I explore this period in three intervals, determined according to the apparent changes in the organization of city's development as an outcome of alterations in the executive policies. Accordingly, the first interval comprises the period between 1923, when the initial attempts of spatial organization started and 1929, the year of determining a city plan for the entire city. The second interval covers the period between 1929 and 1932 which is the period of practicing with the preliminary city plan of Jansen. Finally the third interval comprises the period starting from 1932, when the final plan of Jansen was put into practice in tune with the necessary authorization until 1938, the year when Atatürk died. Moreover, those intentions and implemented designs of the period need to be understood within the socio-political context that had direct and indirect influences on the flow of this process. Another significant note on this process is the consideration that spatial production in the city was shaped by its various actors which created a complex set of relations. While it is not possible to make exact definition of each actors role and power, it should be noted that the process of transition from the intended order to the actual social order is dependent upon the relation of these three groups of actors, namely the planner, executive authorities and the inhabitants.

I believe that these two sites embody the quality of being the exemplary initial designs of the proposed urban model in Ankara, because they were both newly designed areas in Ankara immediately after it became the new capital. Also, confrontation of these two sites (one *urban* and the other *rural*), would be generative in tracing the intentions of modernization in the overall physical and

cultural landscape. Before going into my spatial analysis, I will introduce the process of Ankara's becoming the capital city. This part embodies the reasons and intentions for making this formerly provincial central Anatolian town the new capital, with additional information about the phases of its development into the 'intended' modern capital. Moreover, this process involves the definition of the institutions, relevant legislation and further organizations that had played active role in assisting and ordering city's growth. What is also significant in the spatial evolution of Ankara is the guidance of a city plan for the whole city designed by Hermann Jansen, the German planner who has won the planning competition held for Ankara in 1927. The existence of such a plan is of primary significance for this study which could reveal what was intended for Ankara both by the state(who held the competition, formulated its demands from the planners and selected the winning project) and by the planner (who transformed those demands into a concrete proposal for a new urban life model). And the application of such an integral urban model would reveal the transition process of 'Ankara' from 'intended' to the 'realized'.

A significant assertion of this study on the early Republican period is the synchronic construction of those new living patterns both in practice and in written texts. Notably considerable amount of textual and photographic representations of those newly created spaces in Ankara can be gathered from the newspapers of the period. The modern image of the city and its life practices were being textually and visually displayed in those newspapers, as soon as they were erected. So I consider those texts and photographs, as the alternative sites of re-presenting the intentions for the modern society of Ankara implicitly or explicitly associated with the actual places. Therefore, provided with a visual history narrated through those photographs, the following text proposes a social history of those two sites of Ankara.

CHAPTER 2

PREMISES OF A NEW STATE AND A NEW CAPITAL

2.1. The New Capital of the Turkish Republic

Ankara, formerly a modest provincial town in central Anatolia, was declared to be the new capital on October 13, 1923, before the Republic was announced on November 29, 1923. This meant that the new Turkish Republic initially chose to reflect its vision of change in the overall spatial organization of the country, through a transfer of this role from the previous Ottoman capital Istanbul to Ankara. And this move is a crucial stage in the history of the Turkish Republic which had political, social and symbolic significance in the proceeding construction process.

Following the Ottoman Empire's defeat in World War I, the last Ottoman capital Istanbul was occupied by the Allied armies on November 13, 1918.¹ This was the initial step of an oncoming extensive occupation of the Ottoman Empire by the Allied armies which demanded military and political control upon the entire country. Also, as it was already settled in the Treaty of Mondros signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Allied countries on October 30, 1918, the Ottoman Government was fixed in a state of total impotence. As a reaction to the question of survival and independence brought about by the occupation of the country, a national resistance movement has started to be organized in Anatolia under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. Soon, a Grand National Assembly was held in Ankara in April 23, 1920, which took over the administrative role of the ineffective Ottoman government. Hence, Ankara was bestowed the role of being the actual capital of the Turkish independence movement. This significant role was partly

¹ Historical data on the period between 1918 and 1923 is based on; Lewis, Bernard, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1968 and, İnan, Afet, *A History of the Turkish Revolution and Turkish Republic*, Ankara, Pars Matbaası, 1981.

determined by the city's location in central Anatolia, which protected it from Allied occupation. Furthermore, Ankara was already connected via railroad and telegram systems, which made communication with Istanbul and other parts of Anatolia possible.²

During the period between 1919 and 1923, this resistance movement had become a nation-wide struggle of liberation for the Turkish people, which was later named as the National War of Independence. Throughout the National War of Independence, the new administrative body organized in Ankara under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal gained advantage over the Sultan and his government, which had already lost most of its authority and prestige. As soon as the demands of this new body were internationally recognized by the Treaty of Lausanne signed on July 24, 1923, the foundation process of the Turkish Republic started within its newly defined boundaries. This new endeavor also announced the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, situated upon a new territorial and political structure, the Turkish Republic would be a modern state with new institutions and laws primarily based on the idea of national sovereignty. Later, those intentions would be attempted to be actualized through an extensive social and political program whose initial spatial manifestation would be the making of Ankara the new capital.

2.2. Significance of This Move

Istanbul, as a historically and geo-politically prestigious city, was almost the obligatory capital for the Ottoman Empire as it would be for any empire that united South-Eastern Europe with the Asiatic and African segments of the Levant.³ While the newly changed boundaries of the state would prompt the reconsideration of the place of the capital after the Republic was founded, this move was not only an outcome of the change in the political boundaries. By the transfer of the capital from Istanbul to Ankara, the historically and spatially constructed capital image of Istanbul was being left by the new Republic in favor

² See; Akgün, Seçil, "Kurtuluş Savaşının Mekansal Stratejisi ve Ankara'nın Başkent Seçilme Kararının İçeriği" and Tekeli, İlhan, "Ankara'nın Başkentlik Kararının Ülkesel Mekan Organizasyonu Ve Toplumsal Yapıya Etkileri Bakımından Genel Bir Değerlendirmesi", in, Yavuz, Erdal & Uğurel, Nevzat, Ed.s, *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, Ankara, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1984, p.223-233 and p.321-338.

³ See; Toynebee, Arnold, *Cities On the Move*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1970, p.94-101.

of a new symbol for the new regime having least ties with the Ottoman past. Therefore it is possible to associate the move of the capital with psychological motives, that embodied the idea of replacing the previous spatial constructs of the Ottoman Empire and its social structure with the new spatial organization of the young Turkish Republic. Furthermore, as suggested by İlhan Tekeli, abdication of the previous capital, Istanbul, can be seen as a parallel maneuver with the abandonment of the imperial regime.⁴ Moreover, Tekeli insisted that the almost synchronic choice of a new capital and a new political regime can be considered as parallel attempts, associating the development of Ankara into a modern capital with regime's success in general.

Furthermore, the intentions behind making Ankara the new capital, were formulated by Tekeli in three sets of rationales.⁵ The first group of intentions had socio-political motivations which are relevant for understanding the significance of this new spatial organization. Accordingly, the first motive was to break the bonds with the European economic control of the state economy which was formerly organized as dependent upon the seaports. Secondly, Tekeli pointed the idea of symbolizing the shift from an empire to a nation-state following the abolition of the Ottoman imperial image associated with İstanbul. The third motive was to negate the primacy of Istanbul's cosmopolitan culture in favor of a new cultural order based upon a new national bourgeoisie and new lifestyles as they would be spatially patterned in Ankara. Hence, this relationship found between the social and political ideals of the new regime and the creation of a new spatial layout in Ankara as its administrative center is significant to understand how a city may become the object of a comprehensive project of social change.

2.3. A "New Beginning" for the Nation

Until now, the foundation of a new nation-state and the construction of the new capital are presented as two parallel constructs of the period. The intentions of this new state have to be defined in respect to their relevance for the task of creating a new and 'modern' capital. Considering that the recent victory of the National War of Independence had accelerated the Turkish people's idea of a 'national unity', the oncoming question was creating a new and modern state out

⁴ Tekeli, İ., *ibid.*, p.324.

of this 'common will to live'. Consequently, the war was followed by a process of nation-state construction, supervised by the nationalist leaders who led the independence struggle. The foundation of the Turkish Republic that was established upon the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, was followed by a period of social and economic re-organization, which needed to be executed according to a program of development. A fundamental premise of this program was directing the path of Turkey's progress to the West, which derived its motives from the idea of modernity. And, the objective of building a modern state in line with the western models was followed by a process of social, political and administrative reforms which can be called, *the period of modernization*, the period of actualization of a planned *modernization project*.

Nevertheless, modernization in Turkey was not completely a new idea born after the Turkish Republic was established. Previously, at the end of the eighteenth century, following the French Revolution, ideas of *nationalism* and *liberalism* had entered the Ottoman Empire.⁶ Accordingly, the influences of these Western ideas of the Enlightenment had started to be discussed among the intellectual circles of the Ottoman Empire throughout the nineteenth century. Especially, by the rise of a new Turkish literature, the spreading of Western social and political ideas were accelerated among those intellectual circles.⁷ Diffusion of the liberal and constitutional ideas criticising the autocracy of the Sultanate and the organization of groups opposing to the existing structure, brought about several administrative reforms by the Ottoman government starting with the *Firman of Tanzimat-i Hayriye* in 1839.⁸ Despite several pauses, those reform movements continued throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, and in 1876, *Osmanlı Kanun-i Esasisi*, the First Ottoman Constitution, was announced.⁹ Also in the nineteenth century after the 1840s, Ottoman economy

⁵ Tekeli, İ., "Ankara'nın Başkentlik Kararının Ülkesel Mekan Organizasyonu ve Toplumsal Etkileri Bakımından Genel Bir Değerlendirilmesi", *Ankara Ankara*, Yapı Kredi Yay., İstanbul 1994, p.148.

⁶ Lewis, B., 1968, p.130.

⁷ Lewis defines this new rise as a new Turkish literature differing both in form and content from classical Ottoman writings, influenced by the literature of France as the source of inspiration and the model of imitation. He counts three men as the pioneers of this new literature; İbrahim Şinasi, Ziya Paşa and Namık Kemal. *Ibid.*, p.136.

⁸ This Firman was a very crucial document in the history of the Ottoman Reform Movements, for being the first official announcement that guaranteed the personal safety and right of property ownership of all Ottoman citizens regardless of their religion. İnan, A., 1981, p.15.

⁹ In the aftermath of the First Ottoman Constitution that was accepted and proclaimed by the Sultan, the first Ottoman Council of Representatives convened with the participation of 120 members, which was considered as a step toward democracy. *Ibid.*, p.17.

opened its market to capitalist relations with the European countries, which led to further transformations in the economic and political structure. According to Bernard Lewis, those reforms created a new administrative and governing elite in the Empire in this period, that were literate, idealistic and ambitious.¹⁰ Correspondingly, in the beginning of the twentieth century new opposing organizations occurred in political life, such as *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*, (the Committee of Union and Progress), and remarkable constitutional reforms were made in the Ottoman Sultanate system. Finally, the Second Constitution, proclaimed on July 24, 1908 was the last incident of the Ottoman reform movements, attempting to modernize the administrative and social body of the Ottoman Empire.

Regarding this process of social and political transformation that started in the late nineteenth century, the project of modernization, which was accelerated after the foundation of the Republic, can be considered as a continuation of the previous attempts of modernization in the late Ottoman period.¹¹ On the other hand, such a project was also a break with the Ottoman past, because this was an integral reform proposing innovation and change in all fields of social and political life. Then, "modernization" is the keyword for all of these new attempts whose content needs to be further discussed in the special context of the early Turkish Republic.

2.4. Modernity and the Modernization Project

I will define modernity as an attempt of rational organization of everyday life which was originated in eighteenth century European thought. The authority of religion and meta-physics on culture was replaced by rational thinking that appeared in three autonomous spheres; science, morality and art.¹² The social consequence of modernity was the re-organization of social life, comprising new economic and institutional relations among individuals and societies. While the impacts of modernity in social life is a very broad and complex subject, I will

¹⁰ Lewis, 1968, p.151.

¹¹ Tekeli, İ., "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde KentSEL Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması", *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimari*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay., İstanbul, Eylül 1998, p.1.

¹² Habermas, Jürgen, "Modernity-An Incomplete Project", *The Anti-Aesthetic*, Ed. Hal Foster, Bay Press, Washington, 1987, p.9.

highlight major premises of modernity considering their relevance to the objectives of modernization in Turkey.

According to an institutional diagnosis of modernity proposed by Anthony Giddens, the emergent social order of modernity has primarily transformed the economic system.¹³ Those transformations in economy has brought the decline of feudalism and agrarian production, and the emergence of a new economic order through industrialization, industrial exploitation of nature, division of labour and capitalism. At the social level, which directly refers to the system of social relations, a new social order of *nation-states* have emerged, in contrast with the pre-modern communities. This is a confined form of social system suggesting that the society would be "interwoven with ties and connections which crosscut the socio-political system of the state and the cultural order of the *nation*".¹⁴ Another significant premise of modernity would be the attainment of liberal and equal citizenship, as a consequence of rationalization in the organization of social relations through representative democracy.

Nevertheless, Giddens argues that modernity embodies a dynamic character involving an endless process of ordering and reordering of the social relations in light of continual inputs of knowledge affecting the actions of individuals and societies.¹⁵ A parallel statement is made by Hetherington in his definition of modernity as a *process*, rather than a pre-determined Grand Design.¹⁶ Hence, modernity in his terms is a "social ordering process", intending to attain a utopian ideal of the 'good' society, *that could never be reached*.

Therefore, conceiving modernity as a universal model of social organization, modernization can be defined as attempts for the realization of this model. However, the model of a new society proposed by modernity does not have a precise definition. So the attempts of actualizing this model under the name of 'modernization' needs to be conceived in its special context.

In the case of the Turkish Republic, modernization has been implemented as an "ideology of development" comprising extensive transformation in all fields of social life. According to Suna Kili, the formulation of an ideology for

¹³ Giddens, Anthony, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1992, p.10.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.14.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.17.

¹⁶ Hetherington, Kevin, *Badlands of Modernity; Heterotopia and Social Ordering*, New York, Routledge, 1997, p.7.

development and industrialization is required in the developing countries, in order to accelerate their desire to transform the prevalent social and economic life, through an exercise of state power at its center.¹⁷ Also, she claims that the objectives of such an ideology needs to be formulated within a convenient and consistent national development model, and a compatible policy for the realization of this model. Kili further defines the ideology of development that was produced in accordance with a body of revolutionary reforms in Turkey, as a specific model based on the characteristics of the Turkish country and culture. I have already named this national policy of development as the “modernization project of Turkey”, attempting to perform a break with the imperial past and an innovative leap into the future. The synchronic formulation and actualization of this project comprised an active process, which embodied experimentation with the propositions of this program. So, I prefer to consider the modernization project of Turkey as an experimental process directed by the state power at the center in order to carry out a progressive transformation for the entire society.

2.5. Intentions of the New Regime

Modernization should be considered as a complex process which embodied the construction of an ideology of development in parallel with its actualization. Then, the principal intentions of the modernization project in Turkey can be derived out of the ideology and program of this experimental process. The ideology of development in Turkey has been formulated in six major principles, which were settled upon the special features of the Turkish culture and country and the special context of the transitional process from an empire to a modern nation-state.¹⁸ Those social, economic and cultural reforms should also be conceived as the means of actualizing those intentions implemented along with these determined principles.

Republicanism is the chief principle that implied the political choice of the administration system, ideally embodying the western idea of ‘democracy’. Therefore, the previous Ottoman Sultanate was abolished in order to replace the

¹⁷ Kili, Suna, *Atatürk Devrimi*, Ankara, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1981, p.37.

¹⁸ These six principles, namely; *cumhuriyetçilik*, republicanism, *milliyetçilik*, nationalism, *halkçılık*, populism, *laiklik*, secularism, *devletçilik*, statism, and *devrimcilik*, revolutionarism have been formulated in the party congresses of the *Cumhuriyetçi Halk Fırkası*, Republican Peoples' Party, the sole political party of the period.

political authority of a governing family or class with the authority of an entire body of nation.¹⁹ The following principle of *Nationalism*, presupposes the aim of creating a national unity among the citizens of the new nation-state. Accordingly, the bonds of religion, family, tribe or sect should be replaced with the 'national relations' among the citizens of this modern state. There were also new institutions founded, such as *Türk Dil Cemiyeti* (Institute of Turkish Language) and *Türk Tarih Cemiyeti* (Institute of Turkish History), in order to carry out scholarly and cultural studies for the construction of the theoretical basis of a 'national identity'. Another definitive principle *Populism*, is the idea which discards to establish antagonistic relations through social stratification in society. It ideally suggests to create a common desire among its citizens regardless of their social status for taking part in the execution of the modern Turkish Republic.

Another principle of Turkish Republic's ideology of development is *Statism*, which suggested 'adequate' interference of the state on the economic system for the regulation of economic growth and provision of economic enterprise in realms that were untended by the private entrepreneur. According to Kili, the implication of this principle was not an absolute authority of state on the economic system, but it presumed that the economic growth would be accelerated with the assistance of the state on the national economy.²⁰ *Secularism* is another postulate of the modernization project. In contrast with the previous social order in the Ottoman Empire where religion played significant role in the establishment of social relations, secularism was considered as a major principle of rational organization in all fields of social life. Accordingly, the influences of religion would be excluded from administration, politics and education. The last constituent of the development doctrine is *Revolutionarism*, which attributed a dynamic character to this overall body of modernization project. The implication of this principle would be a continuous revision of the ideology of development, which in fact presupposes the consideration of these ideas in a process of continuous deferral.

and in 1931 they were recorded in the Party program. Later in 1937 they were included in the Constitution as the official ideology of the Turkish state. Ibid., p.45.

¹⁹ The Ottoman Sultanate system was abolished on October 1, 1922, before the Republic was announced in 1923. Then, the Sultan carried the religious role of the Caliphate, which was also abolished soon in 1924.

²⁰ It should also be noted that by this principle, the state intended to protect the national economy from the impacts of the World Economic Crisis in 1929. Kili, 1981, p.255.

In tune with the formulation of the ideology of development, the new state had to carry out social, economic and cultural reforms in order to acquire the objectives of this model. The significance of this period was the assertion of revolutions comprising re-formulation of life practices and re-definition of the content of the state mechanism through constitutions. This initial process of modernization embodied the necessary social and administrative reforms in order to modernize and secularize the state and society, such as the removal of the caliphate system in 1924, the abolition of institutions of religious education through *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* Law in 1924, the changing of the style of dressing in 1925 for promoting European dress, the exclusion of sharia (Islamic holy law) through approval of new Civil Laws in 1926 and the replacing of the Arabic alphabet with the Latin alphabet in 1928.

Remarkably, the approval of a new Civil Code introducing civil marriage and divorce, and the banning of polygamy had also direct influences on the chore of *emancipating* women.²¹ The participation of women into the social and political life in the former Ottoman period was restricted by the influences of religious orthodoxy. In parallel with modernization in Turkey, activating women in social life was aimed by facilitating secularized education and advancing civil rights. Thus, by a subsequent legislation in 1934, women in Turkey gained the right to vote. Hence, the modernization project accelerated women's taking part in various realms of social life and they also became the active participants of modernization process in Turkey.²²

2.6. Ankara, a Modernist Vision of Change

With regards to these ideological themes, it can be said that the modernization project that was put into practice in Turkey, in accord with the foundation process of the Turkish Republic, is a *wholistic project*, comprising re-organization of all fields of life. While life was being re-organized, a new *spatial organization* had to be made throughout the country where these new life

²¹ Jayawardena, Kumari, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Thrid World*, London and New jersey, Zed Books Ltd., 1986, p.33.

²² Yeşim Arat evaluates the role 'given' to the women with the modernization project of Turkey with reference to the contemporary feminist discourse in Turkey. She argues that whether women were prominent "political actors or symbolic objects", the modernization project was influential in activating women and attempting to bring them into an 'equal' status with men. See; Arat, Yeşim "Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Kadınlar", *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 1998, p.82-98.

practices would be performed. In other words, modernization project would be actualized through the construction of the country as the *place* for the new life practices of the society. And, as Tekeli suggests, this project can be perceived as an urban development project, whose achievement impelled the fulfillment of a successful urbanization.²³ Then, the *city* needed to be the *place of modernity*, where new economic and social relations would be performed. I argue that the new capital Ankara was the city that would manifest the modern image of the new Turkish Republic and new urban-life model it proposed, throughout an experimental process of planning and construction.

During the process of realizing this model, the state has to carry out social, economic and cultural reforms in order to acquire the objectives of the modernization project. While the primary aim of those reforms would be changing the pre-modern patterns of social life, the West was the major source of inspiration for the intended new community. Accordingly, all its institutions in law, administration, social life, education and technology have been models for the new-born Turkish Republic. While the attempt of creating a new capital symbolizing the 'new beginning' for the nation and the state is an exceptional exertion for change, the instruments of this social change would again be derived from the West, where *spatial organization* is a primary constituent. This is also parallel with what Hetherington claimed on modernity's *utopian* idea of creating a 'good society' that was associated with a process of social change, practiced in space.

Considering the creation of a new Ankara as a model of new social practices, the spatial productions of this new city can be conceived as an exemplar of change towards a desired form of order. This new relation arising between the city and the society presupposed that, if Ankara could be built as a model of national development, soon afterward it would be possible to spread its innovations throughout the country. Then the intended Ankara should be viewed not merely as a passive product of its society, but as an originator of a new society that had to carry out social transformation in parallel with the modernization project.

²³ Tekeli, İ., *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay., Eylül 1998, p.1.

CHAPTER 3

SPATIAL HISTORY OF ANKARA IN THE EARLY 20th CENTURY

3.1. Ankara, in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

Until the early 1920s, Ankara was a modest provincial Ottoman town whose economy was based on processed and unprocessed fine wool trade that had fallen behind in the 19th century when the products of European industries with lower prices entered the market.¹ The city, in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, had an organic spatial organization comprising mixed residential neighborhoods and commercial structures placed in and around the citadel. In the nineteenth century, as a result of transformation in the economic relations, a new city center emerged in Ankara, which served for the newly emerged trade bourgeoisie that were mainly Armenian and Greek/Rum.² This new group modeled a higher social class that dominated the international wool trade in the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Sevgi Aktüre, such duality existed between the traditional and new city centers in most of the nineteenth century Ottoman towns.³ As a third group of inhabitants, administrative-bureaucrats appeared in the aftermath of *Tanzimat* and the changing administrative system.⁴ There were also additional facts for change in the spatial organization, such as the formation of an administrative center

¹ Tekeli, İ., "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kentsel Dönüşüm", *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İletişim Yay., 1985, II.Cilt, p.881.

² Aktüre, Sevgi, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Taşra Kentlerindeki Değişimler", *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İletişim Yay., 1985, II.Cilt, p.891.

³ Aktüre, S. 19. *Yüzyıl Sonunda Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümlemesi*, Ankara, O.D.T.Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1978, p.135.

⁴ In the second half of the nineteenth century both the local administrative system and the institutions of the state administration were transformed. In the aftermath of *Tanzimat*, a new administrative institution, *mülki idare* was formed in addition to the judicial and military institutions that were the previous basic organs of the state administration. A significant consequence of this change in the administrative body was the creation of an administrative center in the Ottoman city. See; Aktüre, S. 1985, p.895-6.

including a state house, a post office, a hospital and several other public buildings, the development of new residential districts comprised of mostly immigrants⁵ and the connection with the railroad system which led to the opening of the "Station Avenue" in 1889. Nevertheless, when the city became the capital of the new state, change in the spatial organization was required because of the increasing population, new symbolic meanings that the city assumed both for itself and the whole country, and its own internal physical demands for growth.

Ankara, in the beginning of the 1920s, mainly comprised of housing districts upon the hill where the citadel was placed, and adjacent residential and commercial districts surrounding the citadel on the western and southern slopes of the hill. (Plate.1 and 2) North side of the citadel comprised a narrow valley and a stream called Bentderesi and there were fewer residences because of the steep slopes of that hill. On the east side, the sheer slopes of the hill had not let any residential growth and there existed another stream called Hatipçayı. Those districts on the south were named Atpazarı, Samanpazarı and Koyunpazarı, all of which involved traditional housings and markets for the trade of animals and animal products. These residential districts comprised an organic and compact layout of mud-brick houses of one or two stories. At the west side of the citadel, there were markets called Karaoğlan and Balıkpazarı where the type of commerce differed from the previous ones. These markets had evolved in the second half of the nineteenth century where new industrial products imported from the West were sold. This new commercial center was associated with the housing districts of the Armenians and the Greeks that were situated on the western slopes of the citadel. While the housing texture was similar with the previous one, there were additional villas that belonged to the wealthy merchants. However, the fire in 1915 had caused an extensive demolition in those residential areas.(Plate.3)

Those two different commercial regions according to their types of merchandise and customers, were connected by the Anafartalar axis which had become the primary artery of transportation in the city. Besides, the connection with the Istanbul-Baghdad railroad in 1889 had promoted the expansion of the

⁵ There have been immigrations in large numbers from Caucasus, Crimea and Balkans for various reasons between 1785 and 1912. Those immigrant groups had settled either in rural areas or in various Anatolian towns with the help of the state. Aktüre points that the immigrant districts with grid iron plan were distinguished in the organic urban layout of the traditional Anatolian town, like *Boşnak Mahhallesi* in Ankara (Plate.1) See; Aktüre; S., 1985, p.896.

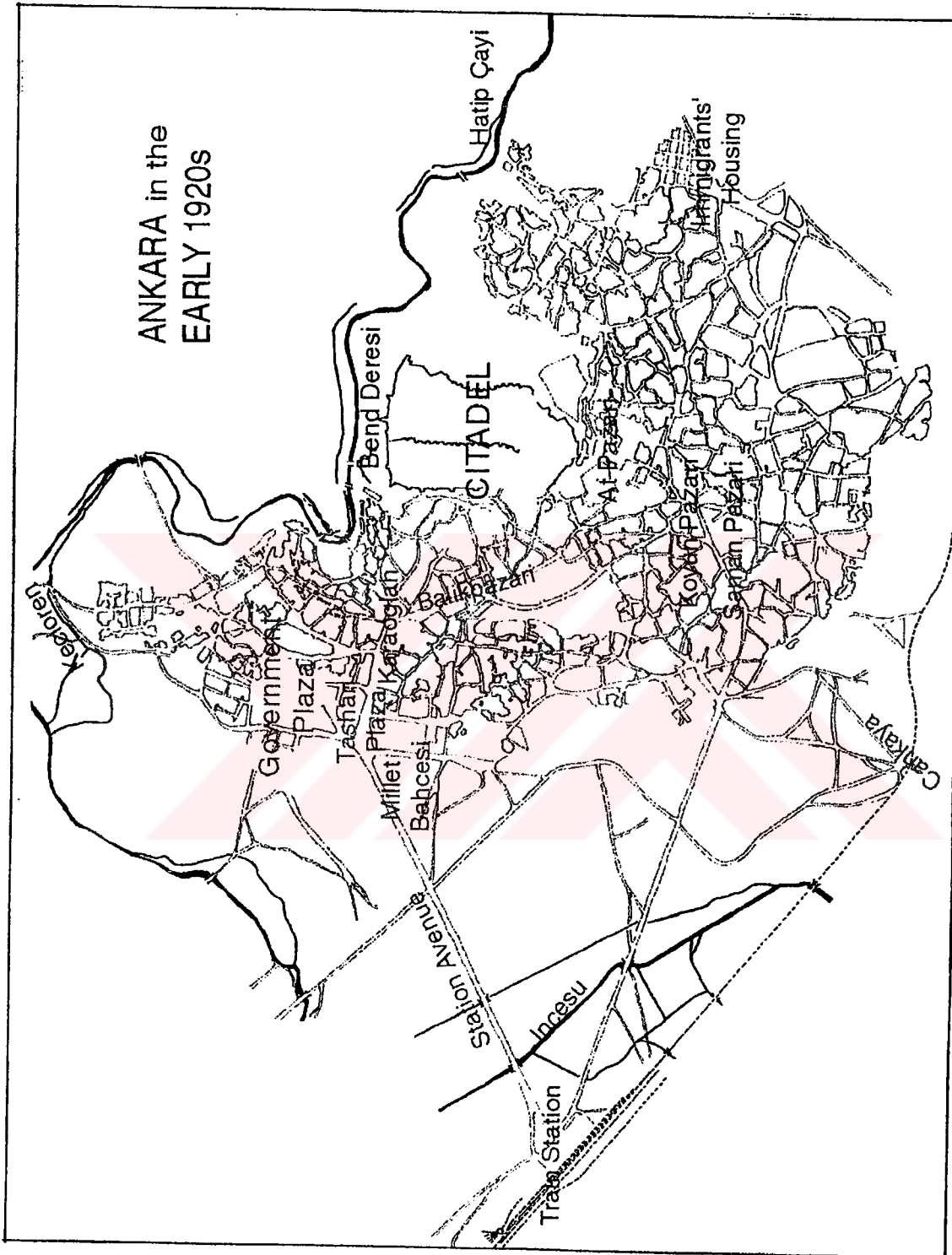


Plate 1. Ankara in the early 1920s.

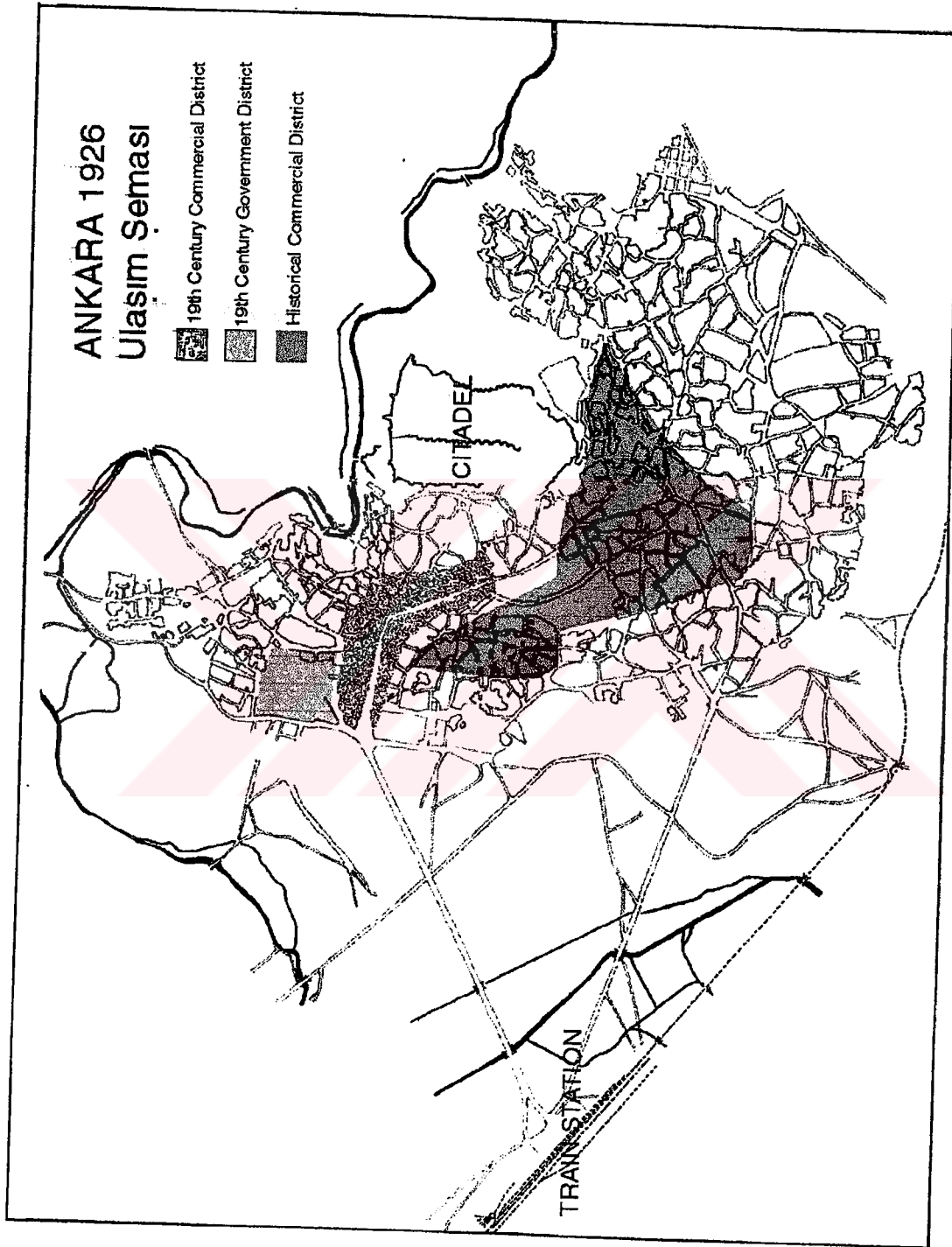


Plate 2. Land-use scheme of Ankara in the early 20th century.

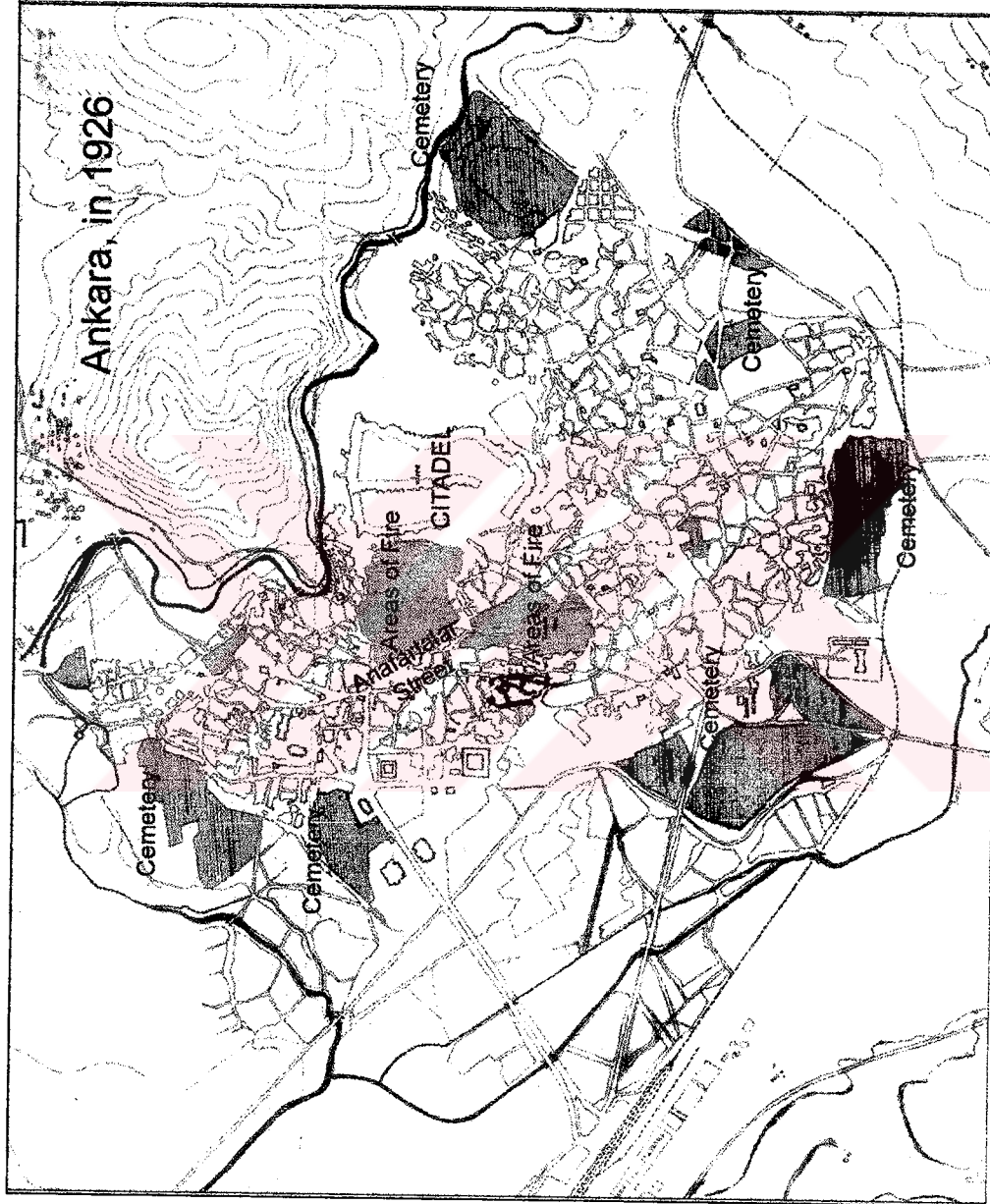


Plate 3. Ankara map of 1926, showing areas demolished by the Fire in 1915.

city towards west and south. *Taşhan* plaza was the west end of the city that was surrounded by the wet-lands on the west and it was connected with the station building at its south-west. The plaza took its name from the 'hotel' building built in the first half of the nineteenth century called *Taşhan*. Also, another public building called *Dar'ülmualimin* (School for Teachers) was erected at the south of the plaza and another building for the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* on the west. Across *Dar'ülmualimin*, there was a small park, called *Millet Bahçesi* (People's Garden) around the same plaza. At the north side of the *Taşhan* plaza, new buildings like *Hükümet Konağı* (House of Government) and the post-office were situated around the Government plaza and they constituted the late nineteenth century administrative center of Ankara.

Briefly, the physical layout of Ankara in the early 1920s can be described as comprising of commercial and residential settlements starting from the hill of the citadel and extended towards *Taşhan* plaza at the west and to the railroad at the south.⁶ The cemeteries surrounding the city indicated the boundaries of the city and the lands around the cemeteries were utilized as agricultural fields. Moreover, there were vineyards and farm-houses situated at the close surroundings of the city. These houses that were used in summer were situated mainly at the southern regions called *Çankaya* and at the northern regions called *Keçiören*. Transportation within the city and to those farm houses outside the city center was made with horse-drawn carriages, which were introduced into the city life in the last quarter of the 19th century.⁷

3.2. Immediate Changes in Ankara After it Became the Capital

In the beginning of the 1920s, the population of Ankara was between 20.000 and 25.000. As a consequence of the new role the city gained and its physical demands from the city, Ankara experienced rapid changes that were unforeseen and its population increased up to 74.000 in the following four years.⁸ In tune with this population growth building activities also started. These activities initially took place in the empty areas of the old town and in its outer skirts.⁹ The

⁶ Tansı Şenyapılı, *Ankara Kentinde Geçekonu Gelişimi (1923-1960)*, Batıkent Konut Üretim Yapı Koop. Birliđi, Özgün Matbaacılık San., Ankara, 1985, p.5-7.

⁷ The use of horse drawn carriages led to the organization of new residential districts with straight roads, which had not been provided in the traditional organic texture of the Anatolian town. See; Aktüre, S., 1985, p.899-900.

⁸ Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı; Ankara (1929-1939)*, Orta Dođu Teknik Üniversitesi, Ankara 1990, p.23.

center of these new construction activities was the Taşhan plaza and its direction of extension was the southern edge of the city towards Çankaya, signified by Mustafa Kemal's move to a farm-house in that area.¹⁰

Starting from the early 1920s, the Taşhan plaza has become the nucleus of the new government's location in the city. During the National War of Independence between 1919-1923, the first National Assembly had settled in the building of *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* at that plaza. Social life was also taking place in various plots around this plaza like the only restaurant called 'Kemal's Restaurant' facing the Taşhan plaza and *Millet Bahçesi* across the building of the first National Assembly.¹¹ Tansı Şenyapılı defined few reasons for this initial spatial choice of the government in Ankara.¹² The first reason was plaza's connecting the city with the train station on the west and also with the road leading to Istanbul. Also, the plaza was surrounded by the already built large public buildings capable of accommodating the governmental functions inside. She additionally suggested that, with this choice, the new government was remaining at the edge of the traditional parts of the city whose inhabitants had not accepted the new comers of Ankara easily.¹³ As a result, the new administrative center started to be constructed around this section of the city after 1924, comprising of the first Parliament building, other public buildings like banks, a new post office and Ankara's first 'modern hotel' *Ankara Palas*. However, the city was growing in an accidental manner without a strategy of urban growth. And, this growth was problematic because the vision of a modern capital was far to be realized in such an unplanned process.¹⁴

3.3. Foundation of Ankara Şehremaneti and Its Planning Activities

As an initial step of organizing an executive authority for the provision of a controlled urban environment and infrastructure for the city, the state transformed

⁹ *ibid.*, p.27.

¹⁰ Şenyapılı, T., 1985, p.19.

¹¹ Falih Rifki Atay, *Çankaya*, Sema Matbaası, Istanbul, 1980.

¹² Şenyapılı, T., 1985, p.15.

¹³ With reference to the descriptions of social life in the early Republican Ankara, in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's novels and Falih Rifki Atay's essays, Şenyapılı suggested that the local inhabitants of Ankara did not welcome the new life practices brought by those new comers of the city during the National War of Independence and after it became the capital. She argued that the duality in social life was reflected in the spatial arrangement of the city by this location of the new government at the *margin* of the old city. *ibid.*, p.10.

the existing body of the municipality¹⁵ into the *şehremaneti* model borrowed from İstanbul, in February, 1924.¹⁶ This new institution adapted various laws of the İstanbul Şehremaneti that were fitting to the context in Ankara. Mainly, the new Şehremaneti of Ankara comprised of a şehremaneti council with 24 members, several administrations. It was directed by the *şehremini*, all acting under the authority of the Ministry of Interior. All the administrators, including the şehremini, would be appointed by the same Ministry. Such a governmental control over Ankara Şehremaneti was explained as the awareness of difficulties in the process of realizing the modern capital, that was needed to be protected by the central authority from the impacts of local constraints such as land speculation.¹⁷

A significant concern in the process of Ankara's further growth was the determination of the city's development policy. The question of re-constructing the Old City or selection of a new district for the future development was discussed at the National Assembly, while Ankara was being continuously transformed. Eventhough a solution to this question was not formulated yet, the following spontaneous increments implied the expansion of city towards the south along the route leading to Mustafa Kemal's residence in Çankaya. Accordingly, this route had started to be treated as a prominent artery in 1924 and soon it would be named as the *Atatürk Boulevard*.¹⁸

Meanwhile, Ankara Şehremaneti worked actively in the period between 1924 and 1930, according to this new legislative model.¹⁹ For the provision of modern amenities in Ankara, the Şehremaneti attempted to solve the problem of

¹⁴Tankut, 1990, p.29

¹⁵ In parallel with changes in the overall administrative system after the *Tanzimat*, the search for a central authority in urban administration started in İstanbul. As Tekeli mentioned this search was lived as a transitional process from the previous system run by various pious foundations whose head was *kadi*, to a central "municipal" structure. *Şehremaneti* was the initial organization of urban administration founded in 1854 as an outcome of the demands for the provision of modern amenities from the government. And, its title has derived from a direct translation of "préfecture de la ville", reflecting the French model it followed. This attempt was followed by the foundation of a new commission "İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu" in 1855, and new legislations in the following years. As Aktüre mentioned the most powerful authority, comprising a "municipal council" and the "mayor", was founded in 1877 according to a new law "Vilayet ve Belediye Kanunu". This new model of municipality was also spread into other cities of the Empire. However, Şehremaneti was developed as a special administrative model for İstanbul. See; Tekeli, İ., 1985, p.883-4, Aktüre, S., 1985, p.893-5, Çelik, Zeynep, *The Remaking of İstanbul*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 1993, p.44.

¹⁶ Tankut, G., 1990., p.31.

¹⁷ Şenyapılı, T., 1980, p.21 and Tankut G., 1990, p.31-32.

¹⁸ The artery starting from Atatürk's residence in Çankaya comprised the sections with different names as First, Second, Third Çankaya Streets, Enstitü Street, Atatürk Boulevard, Cumhuriyet Street and Bankalar Street until it arrived the Hakimiyet-i Milliye (previously named Taşhan) plaza. The name Atatürk Boulevard was given to all of these streets which constitute a single artery, in 1940 by the Council of Municipality. See; *Ankara Şehri. Meydan-Bulvar-Cadde ve Sokak ile Bağ ve Civarlarının Yeni ve Eski Adlarını Muhtevi Broşür*, Ankara, 1940.

inadequate infrastructure for a growing capital by facilitating new services. Accordingly, electricity, gas, telephone and fire brigade were provided in the second half of the 1920s. Besides, for the production of various building construction materials, ateliers producing brick and lime were provided, with an additional cement factory founded in 1926. Moreover, another significant task was to maintain sanitary services with a sufficient system of urban water supply and waste water disposal, that was lacking in the pre-republican Ankara. Hence, the Dam in Çubuk was started to be constructed in 1929 as a solution to this problem.

According to Gönül Tankut, the most significant accomplishments of Ankara Şehremaneti were the rehabilitation of the wetlands and the expropriation of four million square meters of land at the southern parts of the city, where *Yenişehir* (New City) would be built.²⁰ This wide-scale expropriation operation, proclaimed by a decree dating March 24, 1925, was a significant step for city's progression because it determined the direction of growth and implied the creation of a New-City instead of making renovations in the old town. On the other hand, Tankut emphasized that the Şehremaneti could not develop an integral vision for Ankara's growth and could only make some piece-meal operations, except that wide-scale expropriation.²¹ Moreover, this significant investment had not been utilized for the construction of comprehensive urban projects by the central authority, which could have been a very crucial resolution for the task of providing low cost housing and the social planning of urban expansion. As a result, one of the main problems of Ankara, scarcity and low quality in housing, could not be solved in this period.

Ankara Şehremaneti had also made initial attempts of planning before the competition for an entire city plan of Ankara was organized. The first plan made for Ankara was called the "Lörcher Plan" including Yenişehir. (Plate.4) It was prepared by a German construction firm named Heussler, that was commissioned by the Şehremaneti.²² The Şehremaneti had requested two partial plans; one for the old town and another for Yenişehir. However, only the

¹⁹ Ankara Şehremaneti was replaced by the Ankara Municipality in 1930, by a new law "*Belediye Yasası*", coded 1580. Şenyapılı, T., 1980, p.21.

²⁰ Tankut, 1990, p.32.

²¹ *ibid.*, p.32.

²² Tankut has discussed the exact date when the plan was made, because there were several dates suggested for the plan by various authors. She asserted that the plan was made in 1924-1925 because the housing layout in the plan was already realized in some parts of Yenişehir and they were inscribed into the actual city plans given to the planners for the plan competition held in 1927. *ibid.*, p.37-38.

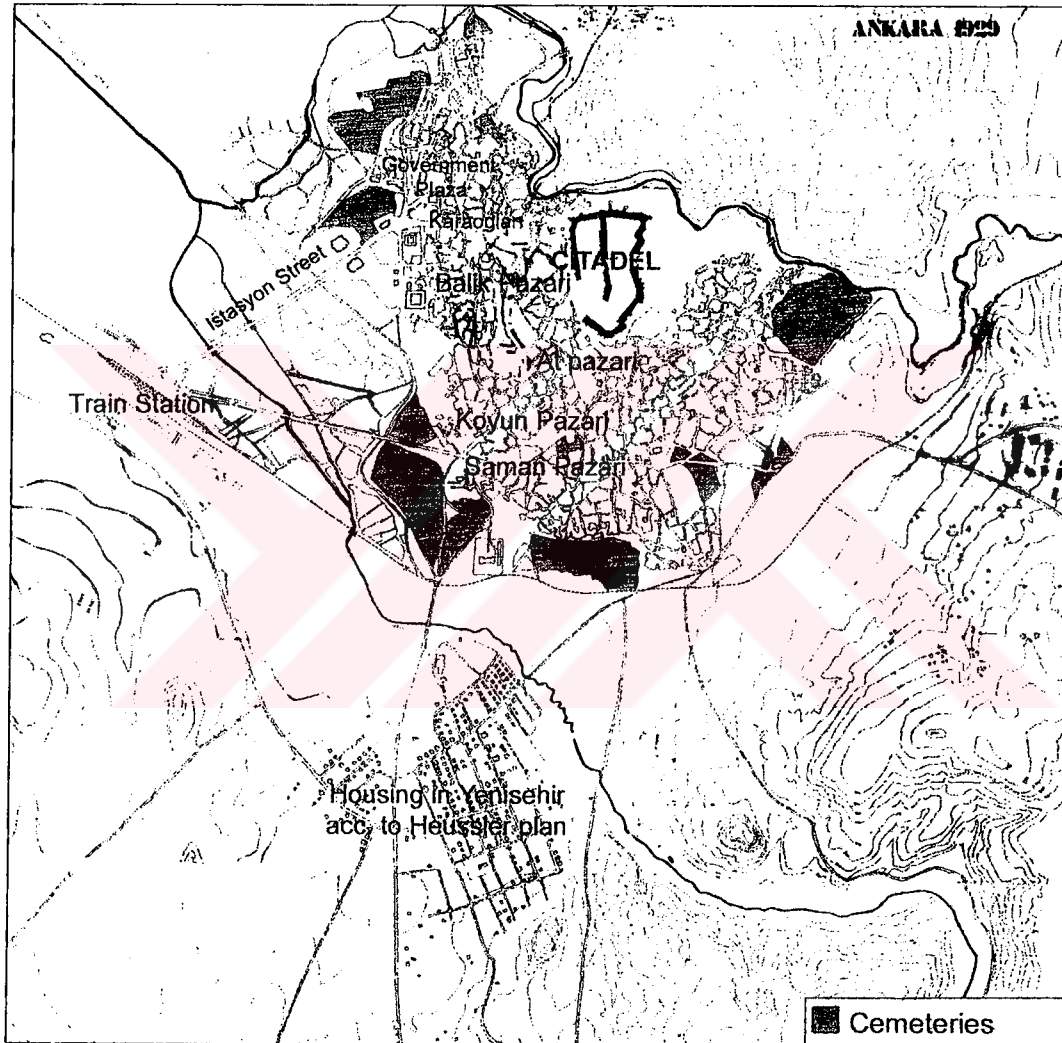


Plate 4. Ankara map of 1929, illustrating earliest housing districts in Yenisehir built according to Lörcher plan.

plan of Yenisehir was accepted and then immediately put into practice in a section of Yenisehir comprising 150 hectares of land, according to which the street patterns of the new residential districts were settled. This was a grid-iron road pattern where houses with single or two stories were placed within their homogeneous pattern of individual gardens.²³ There were also continuing building operations run by the local construction firms in Yenisehir, which were mostly individual houses built in similar attitude, for middle and upper social classes. Falih Rifki Atay called these districts as "the district of expensive houses where only the rich could buy".²⁴ Besides, new apartment blocks comprising four or five stories were being built in the traditional parts of the city as a consequence of the increasing demands for accommodation.

3.4. The Planning Competition

In 1927 it was seen that a plan for the whole city was needed to create the modern capital of the Republic. Accordingly Ankara Şehremaneti held a competition among three European planners; Leon Jaussaley, Hermann Jansen and J. Brix. These three planners were 'selected' after a research committee was sent to Germany by Ankara Şehremaneti in May, 1927. The two German planners, Jansen and Brix were proposed by a German professor of architecture, Ludwig Hoffmann. While there is no document explaining the reason why Hoffmann was previously selected, contact with him was arranged by the Mayor of Berlin and the Turkish Ambassador in Berlin.²⁵ He was initially asked to take part in this competition but he did not accept because of his old age. Brix and Jansen were the two planners proposed by Hoffmann and both were professors of urban design in the universities of Berlin at that period. Meanwhile, the French planner Jaussaley, who was the head architect of the French government of the period, was added to the list of competitors by the committee on their return to Turkey. Jaussaley had won the city-plan competitions held for Barcelona and Paris recently. In July, 1927 all these three planners were invited to Ankara to do

²³ Şenyapılı, T., 1980, p.22.

²⁴ "Gerçi bir ara bir Alman geldi. Yenisehir'in çekirdeğini kurdu. Fakat bu da ancak çok parası olanların alabilecekleri bir pahalı evler mahallesi idi." Atay, Falih Rifki, 1980.

²⁵ *Ankara Şehrinin Prof. M. Jaussaley, Jansen ve Brix Tarafarından Yapılan Plan ve Projelerine Ait İzahnameler*, published by T.C. Ankara Şehremaneti, Hakimiyeti Milliye Matbaası, Ankara 1929, p.3.

a research in the city and then they were asked to submit a preliminary plan in October, 1928.

3.4.1. The Program of the Competition

In the program that was prepared by the Şehremaneti, those three planners invited for the competition were asked to design a city plan according to nineteen principles.²⁶ This program is significant for understanding what was expected for the future of the new capital of the Turkish Republic. Also, Tankut considers this program as an indicator of the level of knowledge upon which the expectations from the city plan was based and what kind of urban development strategies were conceived.²⁷

The list of requirements was initially concerned with the prospects about the Old City. It gave particular emphasis to this part of the city to be handled as an important element of the city plan. The planners were asked to set the boundaries of the historical environment that should be preserved and consider its further development towards east, west and north. While the old residential districts within these limits would remain as the task of future plans, a pedestrian and vehicle traffic scheme was to be proposed within an overall urban design theme for the surroundings of the citadel. The districts at the outskirts of the Old City, like the region between *Samanpazarı*, *Taşhan*, *Mukaddem* and *Cumhuriyet* Streets and *Hacıbayram* area, (western and southern parts of the city), were asked to be considered in the plan with their connections to the new parts of the city. As a sixth design task, the northern parts of the Citadel, Bentderesi was suggested to be designed as an open area with a lake and gardens around.

A following assignment of the program was the location of the central Train Station, which was left to the planner's decision. However, it was told that a part of the area between the existing station building and the Parliament building would be the place of the stadium and other sport activities. More, the east side of the road between these two buildings was expected to be designed as a residential district located at 40-50 m. distance away from the road, so that the spatial gap in between would be designed as green parks. Through this arrangement, the view of the Citadel would be first seen when someone entered

²⁶ *Ankara Şehrinin Prof. M. Jausseley, Jansen ve Brix Tarafından Yapılan Plan ve Projelerine Ait İzahnameler*, published by T.C. Ankara Şehremaneti, Hakimiyeti Milliye Matbaası, Ankara 1929, p.4.

²⁷ Tankut 1990, p.47.

the city from the train station. Such a scenario for entering the city where the station building was considered as a gate, indicated the symbolic significance of the citadel and the station building for the city. Such an emphasis on the citadel and the train station implied to be considered as important reference points for the planners. Another proposal for this area was making it the business and trade center of the city.

On the other hand, the demands for Yenisehir included mainly the preservation of the recently built parts with minor interventions and proposals for those vacant areas. In these proposals, further development of Yenisehir towards east, west and south was considered as the task of the planner. The location of the state buildings like the buildings of the Ministries, the question of how the already built Cebeci district and Yenisehir would be connected (that was also proposed to be with a green park), and physical demands for the residential districts on the two sides of the Gazi Boulevard and the Cumhuriyet street were asked to be considered in this further development process. Furthermore, the location of the cemetery, industrial areas and the airport were already determined in this program. In addition, an urban park and a zoo were advised to be located within the boundaries of the Gazi Farm. Additional green areas and parks that were to be within the city should be considered throughout the development process of the following fifty years. Another important information for the assigned future plan of Ankara was about its population at the end of the following fifty years, which was estimated to be 300 thousand.

Particularly, the program given to the planners included physical demands for Ankara. The elaboration of the train station as the gate to the city, the preservation of the citadel and the traditional housing pattern in the old city and the future development of Yenisehir were rendered as significant topics in the plan. Remarkably these demands lacked the hints about the social planning of the city's transformation into a modern capital, such as new types of housing including new ownership models.

3.4.2. Competitors' Plan Reports

Depending upon the competition reports submitted by each planner besides the drawings, it is possible to have ideas on how each planner conceived the new modern capital of Turkey. Through an analysis of the final decision of the

competition, an assumption on what was closest to the expectations of the New Republic for Ankara can be made.

The first explanatory report was written by Leon Jausseley. Initially, in the introduction part of that report, Jausseley emphasized the significant role of the written text for the interpretation of plans in the competitions. Hence, he mentioned that he conceived this report as an important component of his presentation because he believed that it expressed not only his intentions in this specific plan but also his principles in urban design and planning underlying his final scheme.²⁸ Jausseley has further specified the information he was given about the city that he had taken into consideration like climate, topography, vegetation and such. He has also mentioned the symbolic significance of this plan for Ankara because of its being the capital of a new nation state, which actually presented the 'view of a village' at that moment.²⁹

In the second part of his report, Jausseley made general descriptions of a capital's social and economic structure and explained how they should be obtained through designing the city and its life practices. While he defined his view as an *urban designer* who stood between the two realms of *art* and *technique*, he attributed a pedagogical role to the city designed in this regard. In this respect, Jausseley perceived the capital as the place of urban life practices that trained its inhabitants through its universities, museums, large parks and gardens, theatres and schools of art, where *art* would always actively take place.³⁰ Accordingly, he pointed that he considered the scheme of transportation and land use as the 'skeleton' of the city which gained strength with its secondary roads, squares, parks and gardens that he called as the 'muscles'. He had applied zoning, the principle of placing the same functions in the same areas, and he believed that these various functions should be arranged in a 'beautiful' setting. He also emphasized the placement of public buildings that organize the city life in an environment that would be designed with plazas and parks, articulated with greenery and statues as representations of art and history of that nation. Those plazas and parks were considered essential for the interaction of the citizens. Jausseley further described his elements of design and their

²⁸ *Ankara Şehrinin...*, 1929, p.9-10.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p.11.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p.23.

arrangement according to his general principles like the regulations for streets, housings, parks, ... etc. which he also applied to his plan for Ankara.

Finally in the third part which he called *the practical section*, he explained his design scheme for Ankara in detail. Jausseley mainly defined the practical objective of urban design as arranging the places where life practices of the individual, family and the public, constituting the governmental center, took place.³¹ In this respect, he described the general functional layout of a city composed of habitation, buildings of the government, offices, buildings for all public needs, open areas for recreation like urban parks, plazas and gardens and finally the cemeteries. Jausseley intended to design the physical constituents of a city in tune with a *social life* for that city.

For Jausseley, the *big city* was composed of three major domains; industry, commerce and habitation.³² He applied this same principle to his plan and included the governmental center as a forth. Accordingly, with reference to the existing railroad system and the inhabited areas, industry which would not grow into large scale, was located at the far east of the city. The commercial district was located in between and around the two train stations he proposed on the east and west sides of the city. There was also a large commercial area at the southern part of the Old City. The traffic scheme which he called *the skeleton* of the city was an outcome of the arrangements of these functions which also contained the layout of residential and governmental buildings. (Plate.5 and 6)

Furthermore, Jausseley conceived Ankara in eight regions where different design and construction principles would be applied. The first region was the Old City that was supposed to be renovated while its dense residential pattern would be preserved. The second area of design was the central part that contained the house of the president, ministry buildings and other state buildings. This part generated the center of Yenisehir as an island surrounded by residential areas separated with primary roads –boulevards- that would constitute the skeleton of Ankara. On the sides of these boulevards only the construction of “high-rise buildings for important functions”³³ would be permitted. The third region proposed by Jausseley was the southern, south-western and south-eastern parts of the

³¹ *ibid.*, p.49.

³² *ibid.*, p.56.

³³ *ibid.*, p.60.

ANKARA

PLAN
DE LA
VILLE D'ANGORA

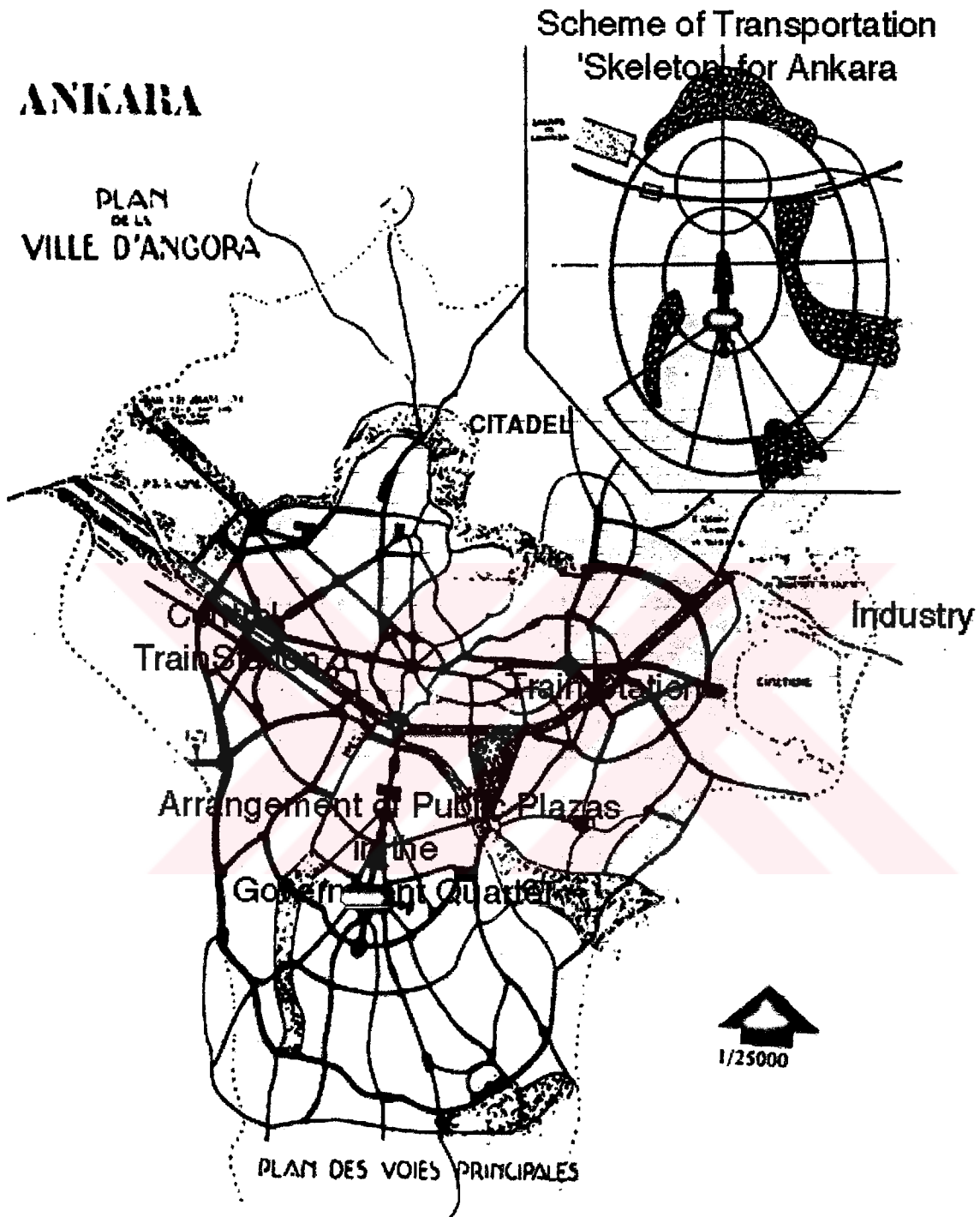
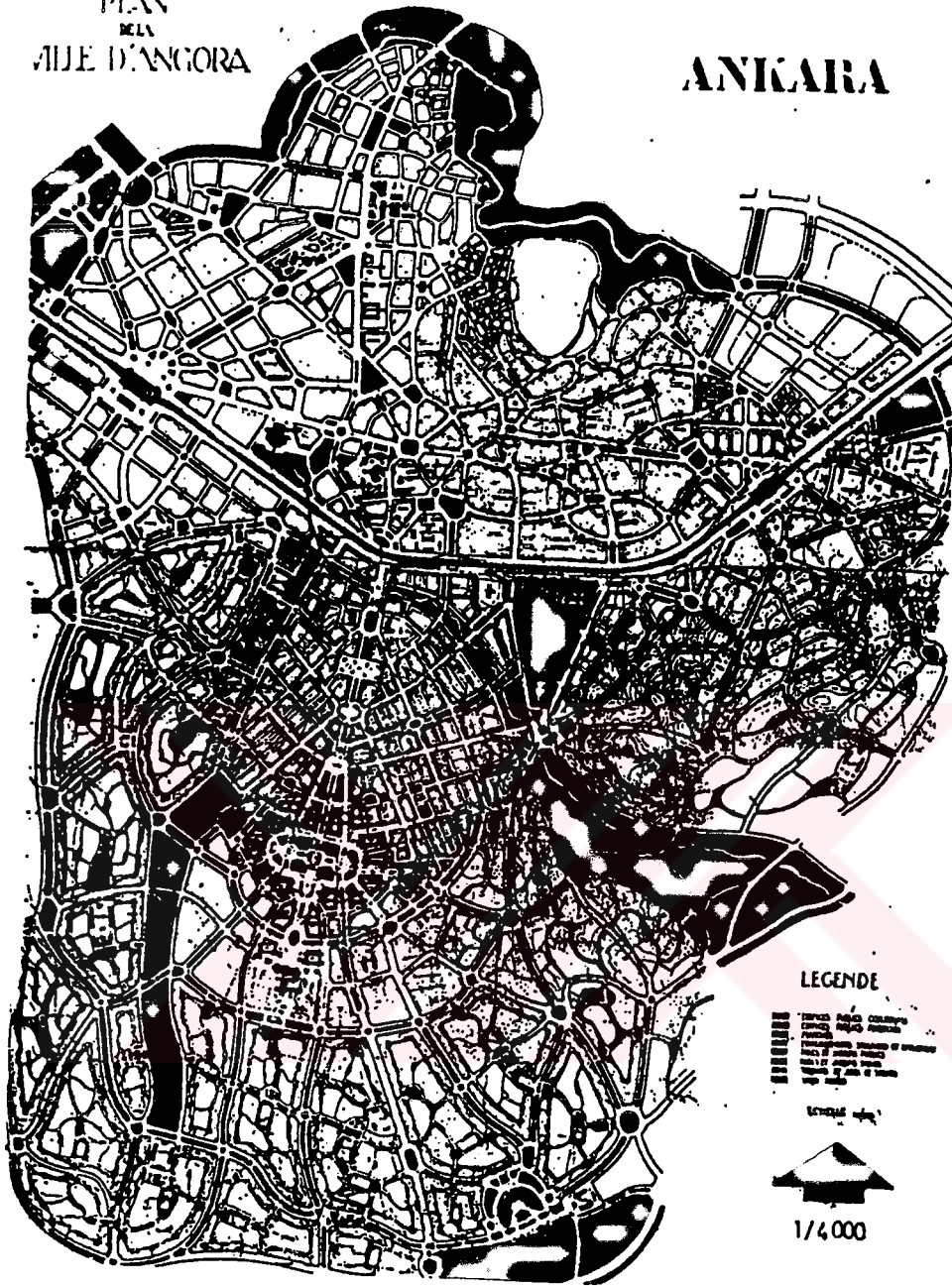


Plate 5. Schematic layout of Ankara city-plan designed by Leon Jaussaley.

PLAN
DE LA
VILLE D'ANGORA

ANKARA



Ankara (Turquie)

Plan d'aménagement par Léon Jaussaley, à partir de 1925.
 - Dessin et schéma du plan général (original de ce dernier 1/25 000*).
 - Zonage (échelle de l'original 1/10 000*.
 Plan d'aménagement au 1/4 000* (échelle de l'original).

Plate 6. Ankara city-plan designed by Leon Jaussaley.

center which he calls mixed area. In these areas, while the buildings on the other sides of the boulevards were to be built in four stories, the buildings within would be built with less stories in low density. On the west side of the Old City, he suggested big apartment buildings for rent with five stories with inner courtyards as a fourth. And the fifth region was the north-western side of the Old City where villas for the members of the parliament would be located. As another type of land-use pattern, Jausseley proposed a different residential layout of high density at the eastern and western parts of the Old City. This contained islands of housings with five stories placed at the outskirts and others with three stories at the inner parts, all connected with green courtyards. The seventh type of region was the eastern sides of the center all of which would be built as villas with low density. The last type of construction region was the industrial area for the factories whose location was to be on the far east of the city. Jausseley also noted that a large area for workers housing would not be needed in Ankara, whereas a region within the Old City could be arranged for this aim.

It is seen that Jausseley has conceived this task of planning Ankara not only as planning the physical structure but also as an overall organization of urban life practices. Thus, while he proposed new function and building types for Ankara, he emphasized the need for a more detailed list of functional requirements that would have been prepared by the organizers of the competition.³⁴ He accepted such visions as important for city life and he thought that they could not be designed only according to the will of the planner. Actually, this shows what was missing in the program prepared by the Municipality; *the vision of a new city life*.

The second report³⁵ was written by Prof.J.Brix who was teaching at the Berlin-Charlottenburg School of Engineering at that period. In contrast to Jausseley, Brix wrote a short explanation in his report. Since Brix used primarily plans for expressing his ideas and proposals, only a general idea of his proposal for Ankara could be derived through a reading of his report without the plans.

Initially, Brix mentioned the beauty of the view of the Citadel. He proposed to preserve the Old City district in its existing texture with some renovations and open new roads for connecting this area with Yenışehir. Keeping the already built residential areas as they were, he proposed new residential districts in Yenışehir

³⁴ *ibid.*, p.91.

and Cebeci with low density. In this respect, he suggested villa type housing for the members of the parliament on the northern part of the Parliament building. The houses of the officers were placed in the districts around the state buildings. On the southern part of the Old City, there were again housings for the officers of the government and teaching staff. There was also railroad workers' housing proposed near the railroad. These housings were both in the form of large apartment blocks and also small single houses. His principle for all of these building areas was making the view of the Citadel seen from any part of the city.

Brix further discussed the location of the central train station. He proposed a monumental building placed within a large plaza between the existing station building and the Mukaddem street. Moreover, he suggested that there should be built monumental and high rise buildings (more than four stories) for state functions. Brix also indicated the vehicle traffic scheme in his plans with the addition of a tramway for public transportation in the city. He designed open areas like plazas, parks and sport areas which he found essential for the health of the citizens. Additionally, he proposed a huge pool in Yenişehir and public baths at the north side of the Old City. He located industry on the south-east of Ankara with reference to the natural factors like wind directions.

In the list of illustrations that he added to his report³⁶, it is seen that Brix had primarily concerned with expressing his design principles through plans and architectural drawings instead of the written text. And he had not only designed an urban design scheme for Ankara but also images for many of the public buildings. The names of the drawings in that list indicated that he visualized the social life and their architectural images in the city. (i.e. facade drawings for the Central Station, for different housing types, proposal for a cinema and a concert hall, for an art gallery on one side of a stream, ... etc.)

Finally, the third competition report³⁷ was written by Prof. Herman Jansen, who was teaching at the Berlin School of Engineering. In the introduction part, Jansen initially mentioned the symbolic significance of the task of designing the city of Ankara for its being the capital of the newly established Turkish Republic. For Jansen the Citadel would be the *center*³⁸ of Ankara which would be identified

³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 115-132.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p.131.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.133-158.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.137, Jansen has not defined the meaning of being the center of the city further.

with the symbolic meaning of the city. Thus, he proposed to make the Citadel a physical expression of this symbolic meaning by giving each fortress of the Citadel the names of Turkish cities, who would finance its restoration.³⁹ He has further remarked that the Citadel would be 'crowned'⁴⁰ by a monumental building for a cultural activity like a museum or conference hall and the rest of the city would be set in full view of this point. Jansen also proposed seven plazas encircling the Citadel that were visually and physically connected with the Citadel. An important one of these was the already existing plaza in front of Taşhan where he also proposed the construction of the Municipality building. Leaving the location of the Central Station in its former place, he proposed another plaza in front, so that the view of the Citadel would be initially seen as one departed from the Station.

Jansen proposed an urban layout scheme constituted of diverse districts determined according to their functions and users. (Plate.7 and 8) At the southern part of the Old City, Jansen placed the governmental district in Yenişehir. This region would be composed of 'monumental' buildings and plazas in between. On the southern part of Yenişehir called Kavaklıdere, there would be housings in low density. Again its far southern parts called Çankaya, were suggested to be residential areas. The eastern part of the Old City was designed as the center for schools in Cebeci that would be placed on the hills. On the other hand, Jansen suggested that the industry would be located at the south-west of the Central Station because it had to be close to the railroad. He also proposed a new section for workers' housing, *amele mahallesi*, in the area between the Tabakhane Stream and Bentderesi which meant the north-western parts of the Old City. For this district, he also offered libraries, schools, a large urban park and baths. And he reserved the north-eastern part of the city for its further expansion.

Jansen also proposed a traffic scheme for the vehicles with regard to his principle of the healthy and economical city. In this respect, he suggested two primary roads for fast traffic isolated from the pedestrian; one was the Atatürk Boulevard passing through north-south direction and split into two at the

³⁹ *ibid.*, p.137.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.138.

ANKARA

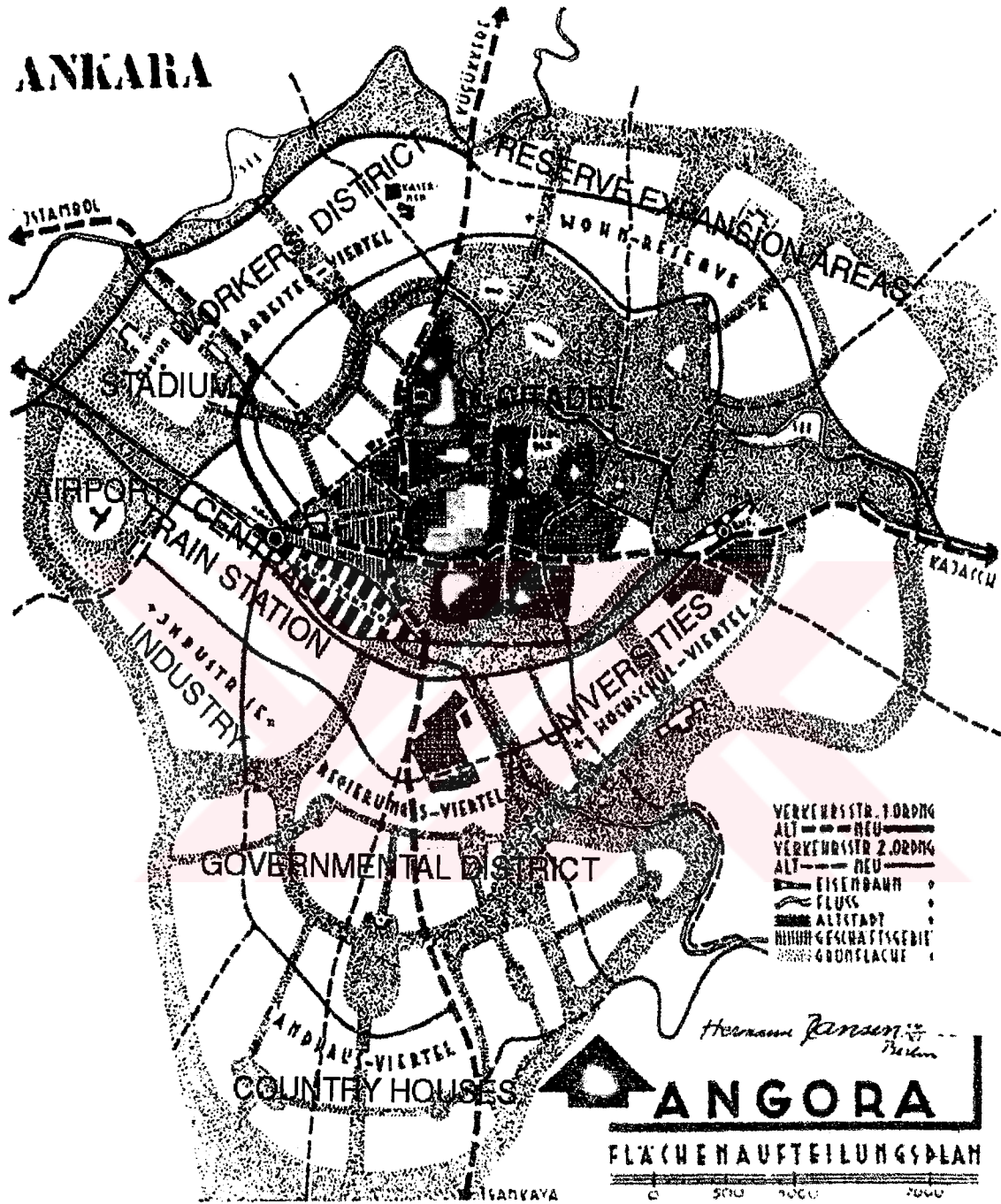


Plate 7. Schematic layout of the Ankara city-plan designed by Hermann Jansen.

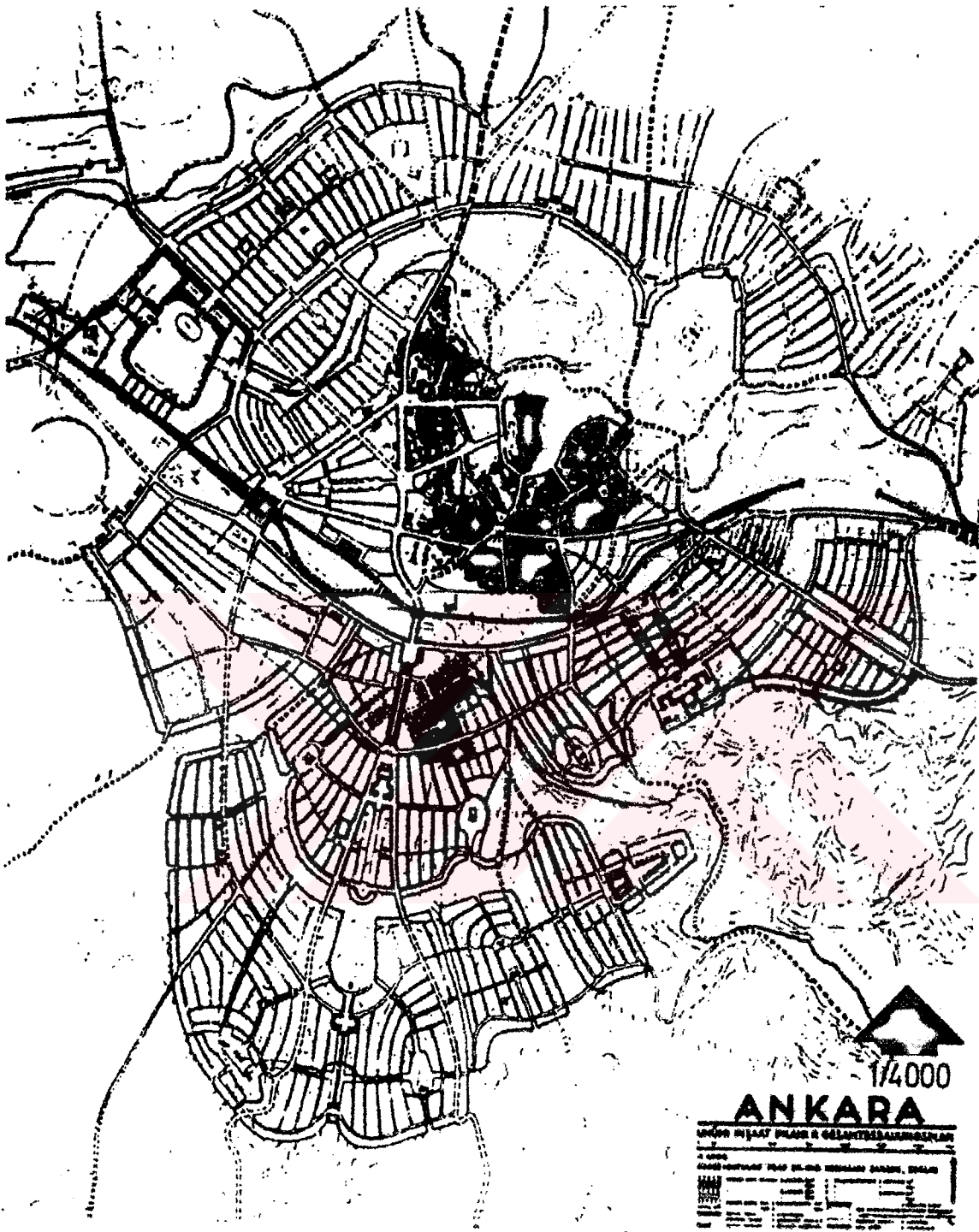


Plate 8. Ankara city-plan designed by Hermann Jansen.

governmental district, and the second was the Gazi Boulevard passing through the east west direction parallel to the railroad. Jansen further proposed secondary roads for vehicle traffic which would be narrow and short that constitute the inner streets of the districts. He also offered routes for pedestrian traffic which needed to be isolated from the vehicle traffic and surrounded by greenery. For his aim of creating a 'healthy' city, Jansen designed open areas as parks, gardens and also additional artificial lakes and suggested housings of low density always placed within gardens.

3.4.3. An Inquiry of the Final Decision

Finally, on May 26, 1929, six months after the submission, the jury announced that Jansen's plan was selected as the master plan of Ankara. Accordingly, he was commissioned to be the consultant of the newly founded *Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü*, Ankara Master Planning Bureau, while he continued to live in Berlin. Unfortunately, a final report documenting how the jury evaluated the plans is lacking. However, the comments on the proposals of the three planners frequently published in the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, starting from May 7, 1929, revealed the general attitude in the evaluation of the plans. Initially, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* announced the oncoming meeting of the jury on May 7, 1929. Additionally descriptions of Jausseley's and Jansen's design schemes were presented, while Brix' plan was not mentioned. In a following article published in the same newspaper on May 11, 1929, the impressions of the author (whose name was not mentioned) were included after his exploration of the plans that were being exhibited in the building of *Cumhuriyetçi Halk Fırkası*. Accordingly, the author has described Jausseley's plan as beautiful as a 'caprice' and as unrealistic as a 'dream'. Brix' design was criticized for being a slightly changed version of Ankara, preserving the existing scheme of traffic and habitation. On the other hand, Jansen's scheme was praised for being realistic and effective in his planning principles and approved for its consideration of the Citadel as the focus of visual and functional organization of future Ankara. Later on May 19, 1929, it was declared that in a few days the winning project would be announced and an estimation on the results was attached to this news about the competition. Accordingly Jansen's plan would 'most probably' be the winning project while Jausseley's would be the second. And, in a following commentary on May 23,

1929, Jausseley's proposal was criticized for being an 'un-realizable' and 'un-economic' design which neglected the existing layout of the city and considered actual Ankara as a 'bare land'. Finally, on May 27, 1929, it was announced that Jansen's design was the winning project. A comparative explanation was also made in the article, including a criticism of Jausseley's design for having undesired 'embellishment' and 'magnificence', while Jansen's plan was described as 'modern' in parallel with its simplicity and refinement.

Considering the fact that the proposed projects were started to be exhibited a week before the final decision was given and commentary articles were continuously published in the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, the evaluation process of the competition comprised an unusual proceeding. In parallel with this unusual proceeding, Tankut mentioned that the assistance of several foreign architects that were currently working in Ankara were excluded and the final jury commission was questionable in terms of its members' professional compatibility in the evaluation of plans.⁴¹ Furthermore, Tankut defined the prevalent official approach in planning Ankara, reflected by the choice of Jansen's plan, as a 'modernist' transformation. She also explained this 'modernist' attitude as the idea of a new order having the potential to be realized in the existing context of Ankara, instead of searching for a *radical utopia*.⁴²

In an attempt of interpreting the winning project in its affinity to the official view about transforming Ankara into a 'model city' and 'modern capital', the architect's intentions for the city and the government's intentions to build and occupy it should be differentiated. Thus, it would be oversimplification if the plan was conceived as the direct projection of the government's intentions. Instead of assessing the proposals of the plan as the precise model of change intended by the state, it can be asked that what kind of analogies could be derived between the attitude of the planner and the government.

This attempt requires the consideration of the planners' approach in urban design in respect to their professional background with additional information about the world scene in urban design. While the government's decision on the number and the choice of these invited planners seemed accidental, the official prestige and bureaucratic relations of the architects were certainly influential in

⁴¹ This commission consisted of six Turkish members and they were assigned to give the final decision. Four of these members were engineers, one was formerly an officer in the municipality and the last member was a journalist. Also four of them were members of the Parliament. See; Tankut, 1990, p.53.

⁴² What the term 'modernist' referred is not explained further by Tankut. Ibid., p.55.

this selection. Being the head-architect of the French government, Leon Jaussaley was an important architect and he was experienced as the winner of the Barcelona and Paris city plan competitions. He has graduated from *Ecole des Beaux Arts* and he was a follower of the Haussmann⁴³ school in city planning.⁴⁴ In his plan for Ankara, Jaussaley had abruptly transformed the Old City, proposed an impressive governmental center, and implemented the axis of transportation into broad boulevards intersecting with grand focal centers. Thus, his plan was criticized for its 'undesirable magnificence and embellishment', which can be conceived as an implication of the Haussmann principles. On the other hand, Jansen was a student and follower of Camillo Sitte⁴⁵ in urban design.⁴⁶ In his own approach, he gave priority to public health and feasibility in the realization of plan. Therefore, in his plan for Ankara he provided extensive greenbelts and city-squares isolated from traffic and emphasized the importance of sunlight and fresh air. Besides, his emphasis on industry and the proposal of a workers district in Ankara demonstrated his interest in industrial development as an element of the new urban order. On the other hand, when the very limited document on the plan of Brix is considered, it can be presumed that his plan did not propose any kind of attractive theme of growth for Ankara in the future. According to a comparison of the three planners' attitudes, it can be said that Jaussaley and Brix stood at the two undesirable ends of planning approach for the Turkish Government. Meanwhile, Jansen's attitude in planning was conceived as harmonizing the others. His plan was a modest attempt of attaining a reconciliation of the existing city with a moderate prospect of development in the future. In fact, a similar

⁴³ In France, new laws devised for public works and slum clearances in 1852, gave the executive institutions of the government the tremendous power to expropriate urban land in Paris. These executive powers facilitated enormous public building projects and the re-organization of urban layout with broad Boulevards, which brought immense transformation of Paris executed by Baron Haussmann. According to Richard Etlin, the basic principles of Haussmann school were based on *grandeur*, *magnificence* and the *embellishment* of the city with elements like grand, straight axes of public promenade as new boulevards. See; Etlin, Richard A., *The Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1994, p.3-7 and Holston, James, *The Modernist City*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1989, p.47.

⁴⁴ Tankut, 1990, p.46.

⁴⁵ Coming from a romantic artisan education, Camillo Sitte was a passionate antagonist of technology and traffic in the 'modern city', in the late nineteenth century. Sitte interpreted the idea of total work of art, *Gesamtkunstwerk*, into the urban realm and re-defined the role of architect/city-planner as the city-artist who would create a model of community. He believed that the modern city already fragmented the society and the city-artist had to provide communitarian life by re-designing the urban space, primarily considering the human. Also the city-square, providing isolation from the traffic, was a significant element of urban design that would "break the sovereignty of the street" as it used to be in the 'old city'. See; Schorske, Carl E., *Fin de Siecle Vienna – Politics and Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 1987, p.66-72.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.47.

prospect of development for Ankara was envisioned earlier by *Şehremini* Haydar Bey. The following description published in an issue of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, presented the prevailing perspective of the 'modern city' and its constituents;

Two kilometers beyond the old city...rental properties are being constructed. In the formation of the first nucleus of Ankara, *fantasy is avoided*. Buildings are lined up along straight streets... Mayor Haydar Bey has already said that the plan of the new city is that of Potsdam. The architecture of these one or two storey buildings was no different from that of similar housing projects in the West. It may be regretted that neither Turkish nor Byzantine style was adopted, but in such matters the opinion of the architects was not solicited. The founders of Ankara want simple and comfortable houses... *aesthetics are not given priority*. This attitude represents a great deal of progress from the past... the grills adored by Loti no longer decorate windows of the new city. Modern hygiene demanding ample light and air... has vanquished one of the oldest traditions.⁴⁷

Meanwhile, in all city plans that were designed with different approaches in urban design, the planners described various physical settings for Ankara. The attitude of the planners and the government can be questioned for the lack of a social program in tune with creating a new capital. On the other hand, the task of creating a new and modern city as the mechanism of social transformation was a concurrent idea with the urban theories of the early twentieth century.⁴⁸ Even more, the plans and the utopian proposals of the well-known Western architects like Le Corbusier were published not only in the architectural periodical *Arkitekt*, but also in the *Şehircilik*, Urbanism page of the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*.⁴⁹ Even though these modernist avant-garde discourses were not taken into consideration

⁴⁷ *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, January 3, 1927: translated and quoted in Batur, "To Be Modern: Search For A Republican Architecture", *Modern Turkish Architecture*, University of Penns. Press, 1984, p.77. (Emphasis with italics belongs to the author).

⁴⁸ In the years between 1850-1920, the attempt to produce complete urban models equipped with the basic social services were formulated as new visions for cities, especially in England and Germany. Following the end of World War I, this idea of rebuilding the cities could closely be tied to the utopia of reconstruction of the society on a higher level, with the idea of the new, leaving the traditions aside. In tune with the technological and intellectual progress of the twentieth century, these projections into the future maintained by the intellectual and aesthetic movements of modernism, came out in the form of new architectural visions. Some examples for these new visions are; Le Corbusier's *Plan Voisin*, Tony Garnier's *Industrial City* and A. Sant Elia's *Citta Nuova*. See; Tafuri, Manfredo, Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture I*, Electra/Rizzoli, New York, 1986.

⁴⁹ The urbanism page was published as a weekly serial starting from March, 1929. In this page contemporary international topics in urban design and proposals for Ankara were presented by Celal Esat. (The Turkish architect Celal Esat was teaching at the School of Fine Arts, *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi*, in İstanbul.) "Şehircilik Sayfası; Asri Bir Şehir Projesi", November 12, 1929, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, p.6.

by the official authorities in the planning competition for Ankara, those publications can be considered as attempts of improving public consciousness in urban design in Turkey.

3.5. Foundation of *Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü*, Ankara Master Planning

Bureau

During the process of the competition, a new institution was founded to supervise the planning and construction activities of Ankara in 1928. The reason for founding this institution was explained in a decree dating December 27, 1927, as the attainment of Ankara's transformation into a "hygienic and civilized" capital, through a "rational and predetermined program and plan" by a new organ commissioned by the state.⁵⁰ This was determined after it was seen that the *şehremaneti* was incapable of fulfilling this objective. While this institution would also be under the control of the Ministry of the Interior, it was given extensive political and financial power to provide immediate and comprehensive solutions to the problems of urban development in Ankara. Mainly, the objective of the institution was explained by Tankut as *to realize the plan prepared for Ankara*.⁵¹ In essence, the foundation of this new institution which would carry out Ankara's development process with the guidance of the selected city plan, was the sign of the government's strong aspiration for controlling Ankara's future transformation.

The existence of a master plan for Ankara marked the start of a new process in the future development of Ankara. Hence, the new vision of urbanism was enforced with this new institution which had a high degree of autonomy and ample state funding. Besides, articles describing the new city plan were frequently published in the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, in order to implement a public opinion in favor of the execution of the plan.⁵² Eventually, these were the official instruments of controlling the process of spatial transformation in accord with the vision of modernity. The proceeding chapters will present the process of

⁵⁰ See Appendix B.

⁵¹ Tankut, 1990, p.46.

⁵² See for instance; Celal Esat, "Ankara'nın Kat'i Planı", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, June 1, 1929, p.1-2, Falih Rıfki (Atay), "Gündelik; Ankara'nın planı", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, May 10, 1929, p.1. (Falih Rıfki was the current head of the Administrative Council of Ankara Master Planning Bureau. Besides, he was a member of the Parliament and the editor of the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. Although he did not have professional background in city planning and architecture, he was an enthusiastic advocate of the city plan and well organized urban development. See; Tankut, 1990, p.49).

practicing with these newly founded official bodies and actualizing the intentions for a modern capital through the production in space.



CHAPTER 4

THE GAZİ FARM AND ITS SPATIAL ORDERING PROCESS

4.1. Actualization of Intentions for the 'Good' Society

4.1.1. Objectives of the Agrarian Reform as An Extension of the Modernization Project

The transition from an empire to a nation-state in tune with a modernization project comprised a process of social and spatial re-organization of the country. Hence, economy was the primary task to be designed according to the basic needs of a modern society. The initial attempt for this aim was the inauguration of an economic congress in İzmir on February 17, 1923 by Mustafa Kemal¹ who suggested that "the economic sovereignty was the primary premise of the national sovereignty" in his welcome speech.² In order to acquire a free³ and expanding economy, the mechanization of agriculture, the development of industry and the improvement of communications were to be realized. Another significant outcome of this Congress was the inauguration of a significant social and political ideology of the modernization project, formulated by Mustafa Kemal under the name *halkçılık* (populism).⁴ According to the economic and social implications of populism, the entire nation that was constituted of various employment groups (merchants, workers, farmers and industrialists) would work together for a common aim without being divided into classes with conflicting

¹ In June 21, 1934, according to the law of 'surname', Mustafa Kemal was granted the last name 'Atatürk'.

² Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford University Press, London Oxford New York, 1968, p.466.

³ The improvement of Ottoman economy was limited by the *Capitulations*, the economic privileges given to the Western countries that eventually inhibited improvement of the production activities in the Ottoman economy.

⁴ The ideological proposition of *Halkçılık*, Populism, was already explained in Chapter 2, p.15.

interests. This early social and political idea of Mustafa Kemal was also included in the political program of the *Cumhuriyetçi Halk Fırkası* and in the first Turkish Constitution.

Meanwhile, the agrarian reform was a significant concern of the modernization project executed by the state, because the economy of the Republic in this period was fundamentally based on agriculture. The 80 % of the population were working in the field of agriculture and the 80-85 % of the exportation income of the Republic was attained from the agricultural products.⁵ Still, the amount of products was half of country's agricultural potential and needed to be improved through methodological and technical progress. At the same time, the prevalent social and economic structure of the rural Anatolia was organized according to the foregoing Ottoman agrarian model that included various surviving feudal compromises. Thus, the proposed agrarian reform had to re-organize the agricultural system and the social order in rural areas all over the country, according to prerequisites of the intended "modern society" and the "modern methods of production". This reform contained two major changes in the agrarian system. First was the abolition of the tax (*aşar vergisi*)⁶ by a law of February 17, 1925, which was a heavy burden on the peasantry, having its roots in the medieval Islamic fiscal system. Then, the major financial source of the state would become its monopolies like alcohol, match and tobacco. Secondly, by the introduction of the Swiss code in 1926, the system of landownership was re-formulated. The existing status of landowners was almost like the feudal landlords in some provinces holding enormous power over the peasantry. Hence, this was intended to be altered by distributing land of these landlords to landless peasants and also to the immigrants by the state.⁷ Besides the constitutional organizations in the agrarian system in this early Republican period, there were also attempts of modernizing the technology of agriculture through mechanization, giving priority to financial support by supplying bank credits to the farmers and also scientific aid through founding schools and institutes for agricultural education and research.

⁵ Hüseyin Şahin, *Türkiye Ekonomisi: Tarihsel Gelişimi-Bugünkü Durumu*, Ezgi Kitabevi Yay., Bursa 1995, p.11.

⁶ *Aşar vergisi* was the tax demanded the 1/10 of the citizens' overall income. This tax was the primary financial source of the state in the Ottoman period. See; Lewis, 1968, p.468.

⁷ Lewis, 1968, p.467-468.

Hence, Lewis interpreted the agrarian reform as an outcome of the *halkçı* (populist) ideology implying political and social connotations besides its economic necessity, which included the idea of removing the traces of Ottoman feudalism.⁸ Even more, Tekeli, who had proposed that *the city was the place of modernization*, called this attitude of putting much emphasis on the agrarian reform within the process of modernization as the “glorification of the agrarian” with the aim of reducing the discrepancies among the urban and the rural.⁹ Eventually, the agrarian reform promoted rational methods of progress like mechanization and agricultural education, as means of providing social betterment in the rural areas of the country. The Gazi Farm was the initial model of this intended social and economic organization, which was placed at the periphery of the city in order to conduct a new dialogue among the urban and the rural.

4.1.2. Foundation of the Gazi Farm

The Gazi Farm was founded as a private institution financed by the personal funds of Mustafa Kemal in the spring of 1925. In a book published later in 1953 by this institution, we learn the story of how this idea of creating a “modern farm” could have been realized by Mustafa Kemal’s personal will and effort.¹⁰ Accordingly, he invited leading experts of agriculture to Ankara to make a research around the city to find a place for establishing a modern farm in 1925. The actual site, upon which the Farm was later built, was suggested by these experts to be the *least convenient* site around Ankara for such an endeavor. This area, located at the far western side of the city -outside the executive boundaries of the *şehirmaneti*- comprised of plain wetlands, which were also beds of malaria that the city had been suffering from for centuries and the rest were arid hilly lands. The site was also divided into two parts by the railroad passing through the west-east axis.(Plate 9) While there were various comments on this plot, there was a common objection for the selection of this site as the place of the Farm, because of the technical and financial difficulty (some said impossibility) of

⁸ *ibid.*, p.467.

⁹ Tekeli, İlhan, “Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye’de Kent Planlaması”, *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, ed. Reşat Kasaba & Sibel Bozdoğan, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay., 1998, p.10.

¹⁰ *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği*, İstanbul Matbaası, Ankara, 1953.

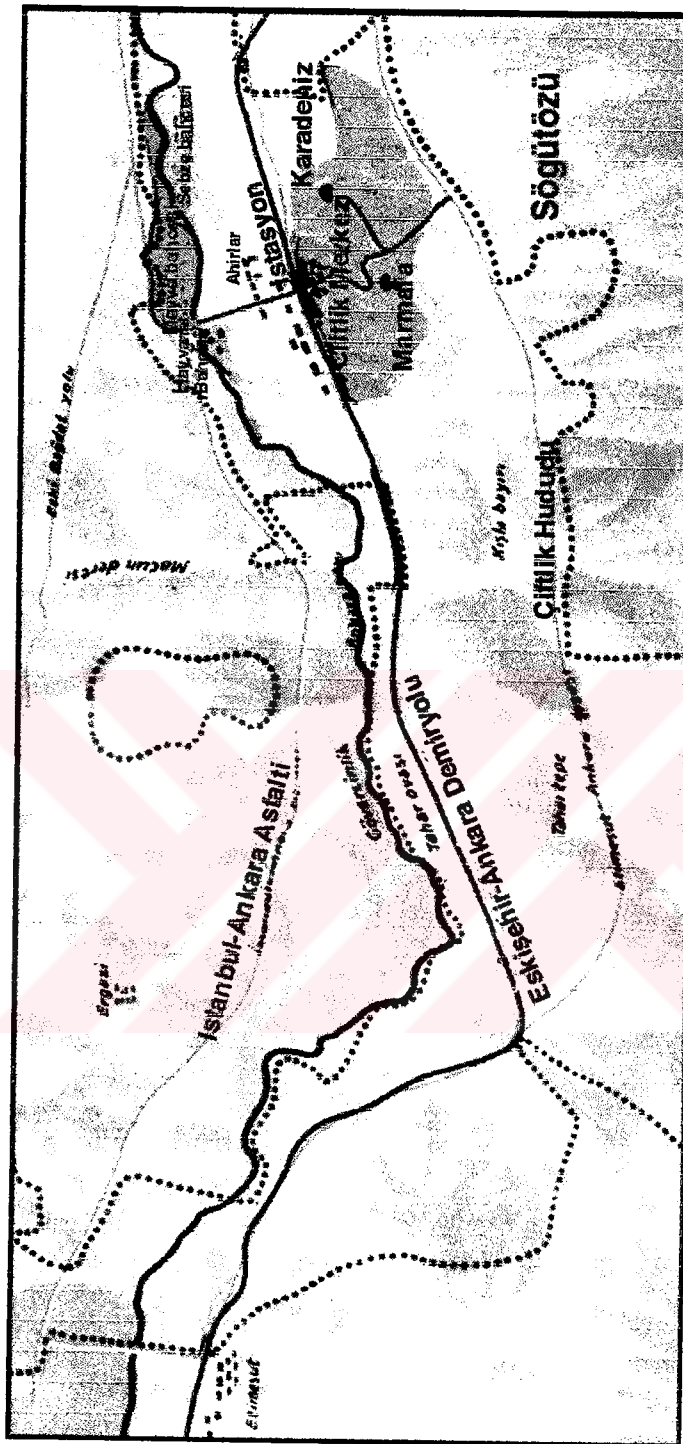


Plate 9. Schematic layout of the Gazi Farm.

rehabilitation. However, Mustafa Kemal insisted on choosing this site for his modern farm. This can be conceived as a challenge against the un-tamed landscape of Ankara. Through such an attempt he was also intending to experiment with the rational techniques of modern science in order to overcome the reluctance of nature for progress which was in fact the basic ground of the newly established Turkish Republic and its modernization project. This seemingly unrealizable task of cultivating the 'barren' lands of Ankara that was initiated by Mustafa Kemal's personal efforts, can further be identified with the previous task of placing the capital into the heart of the socially and economically uncultivated landscape of Anatolia, by the young Republic whose head was again Mustafa Kemal.

4.1.3. Activities taking place in the institution and its physical layout

As soon as Mustafa Kemal acquired the lands of the Farm comprising 25.200 acres, rehabilitation and planning activities started with his participation in a smaller part of the site comprising 4900 acres by May 1925.(Fig.1) Within two months a plan for the agricultural activities and the layout of their required buildings was determined and the construction activities started to realize what was planned for this 'modern farm'. Accordingly, it was planned that an administration building, lodges for the director and ten officers, ateliers for the production of mechanical devices for agriculture and several other buildings for reserving and processing the products of the Farm and finally a *farm-house* for Mustafa Kemal would be built upon this land.

Immediately after the physical and administrative structure was constructed, various activities started to be performed by different departments of the Farm. At the end of the first eight years, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* announced the accomplishments of the Farm and content of its activities in its special issue published on the 10th anniversary of the Republic's Foundation day, praising its rapid development and becoming an initial step symbolizing the virtue of the programmed agricultural reforms.¹¹

¹¹ "Gazi Orman Çiftliği", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, October 29, 1933, p.91.



Figure 1. Studies of rehabilitation in the site where the Gazi Farm was established.

Accordingly, the Farm was working as a research institute collecting different types of field crops and animals from various parts of the country, in order to improve their quality and develop new techniques of processing these products. Then, these were distributed to farmers in other parts of the country. The Gazi Farm was also working as a school for the farmers coming from many parts of Anatolia, for practicing with the new techniques of agriculture and animal husbandry. Even more, starting from 1930, students who applied to the Faculty of Agriculture had to practice at the Farm for ten months. Besides, the Farm had a department of forestation and horticulture with additional vineyards. There was also a department of agricultural industry for processing the products through modern techniques that promoted *hygiene* through *mechanization* and *standardization* which were very 'modern' concepts of production. The products of milk, meat and three brands of wine produced in the modest factories of the Farm were being sold in the stores opened at the center of Ankara with reasonable prices. Soon in 1935 an advertisement published in a daily newspaper of Ankara¹² announced that the beer production has already started with the brand "Ankara Birası".(Fig.2)

Furthermore, the institution opened two restaurants in the city – one in the center, on Bankalar street and another on the northern part of the city in Keçiören - providing the products of the Farm. These enterprises were presented as confirmed by their 'hygiene' and 'reliability'.¹³ Thus the Farm was not only working as an agricultural institution but it was also a significant commercial endeavor introducing modern methods of production into the urban life. Even more, it was promoting new urban entertainment practices at nights in its restaurant in Keçiören. Keçiören was a suburban district where vineyards and weekend houses that were formerly owned by the local people existed and it was far from the city center. As we learn from an advertisement¹⁴ of the restaurant, besides dinner with low prices and well-organized service, it also provided a gramophone for listening to "the best radio hits", a separate dance hall and it was open from the evening till morning with the facility of public services for return.(Fig.3) Promoted by the Farm administration whose head was Mustafa Kemal, these new life practices diffusing into the urban life of Ankara were the new increments

¹² *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, July 9, 1935, p.6.

¹³ Advertisements published in the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* throughout the summer of 1935.

¹⁴ *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, May 19, 1935, p.6.

Bütün Türkiye **Ankara Birası** içiyor



Çiftliğin kuvvelli toprağının yetiştirdiği arpa ile, modern cihazlı çiftlik fabrikalarında yapılan Ankara Birasının bütün memleket ihtiyacını karşılayabilmek için imal rekoltesi artırılmıştır.



Bundan sonra Ankara birası, bütün memlekette aynı fiata satılacaktır. Böylelikle bu milli mamul maktu satış gibi hüküme tin kanunlaştırmak yolunda olduğu mühim bir meseleyi, kendi kendisine halletmiş olmaktadır.

Fabrikanın artan randımanı sayesinde, memleketin en uzak köşelerinde bile bira bulmak darlığı kalmıyacak ve bugüne kadar birayı 60 - 90 kuruşa içmekte olan şark vilayetlerimizde de, imal merkez olan Ankara'da olduğu gibi, bira 30 kuruşa satılacaktır.

Zevk - Sihat - Neşe Bir araya gelerek
Ankara Birası meydana gelmiştir

Figure 2. Advertisement of *Ankara Birası* published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on July 9, 1935.

ORMAN ÇİFLİĞİ

Keçiören gazinosu

Temiz hava — Fevkalâde manzara

Geceleri sabaha kadar açık bulundurulan gazinomuzdan muhterem halkımız her suretle memnun kalacaklardır.

Mntazam servis - Ucuzluk

Dönüş için her zaman otobüs mevcuttur. Radyo gramofonun en güzel plâkları müşterilerimizin emirlerine amadedir. Dans için ayrı ve mükemmel bir salonumuz mevcuttur.

5647 MÜDÜRIYET

Figure 3. Advertisement of the restaurant in Keçiören that belonged to the Gazi Farm published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on May 19, 1935.

of the ordering process for the intended 'modern' society.

Another significant production activity of the Farm was maintained in its factory of mechanical equipment for agriculture which was initially founded as a small atelier. This factory was producing various types of heavy-plow (*pulluk*) for the farmers of Anatolia in order to facilitate a rapid mechanization process in agriculture. Modernization of agriculture was a vital issue for Mustafa Kemal that he intended to promote for the whole country. Even more, the emphasis given to modernization in agriculture by the state was identified with the personal efforts of Mustafa Kemal and the idea of progress in agricultural production through mechanization was represented by his photograph driving a tractor in the Farm. Such visual representations of the official accomplishments were mainly identified with the figure of Mustafa Kemal. The use of his photographs showing his actual performance in the realization of the modernization project was parallel with Sibel Bozdoğan's argument on modernity's occurrence in Turkey initially through an *aesthetic* and *visual* discourse which she called as a "visual Republican culture".¹⁵ (Fig.4)

4.1.4. Designation of the Farm as a site for Weekend Leisure Activities

The Gazi Farm served for another significant public function and became a site of leisure for the citizens of Ankara at weekends. This issue had further social implications that should be handled as significant examples for visualizing the new practices of the 'modern' society spatially patterned in the Farm.

In 1925 during the foundation process of the Farm, a house for Mustafa Kemal was also built by the contractor firm that constructed all the buildings at the Farm. This meant that Mustafa Kemal would live in the Farm at certain periods, which would become a reason for other people, either his friends, bureaucrats or the public, to come and see the Farm. This was most probably the initial motive for the advancement of the Farm into an attractive place for Ankara without the need to search for any other justification. Furthermore, the house built

¹⁵ Sibel Bozdoğan argued that, the use of paintings depicting the Kemalist Revolutions, graphic representations of products of national industry made by İlah Hulusi, and black-white photographs published in *La Turquie Kemaliste* were the constituents a "visual Republican culture". These visual documents Bozdoğan mentioned proposed a modernist aesthetic in graphic representation. I propose a similar theme applicable to this argument. Accordingly I suggest that the photographs of Mustafa Kemal presenting him as actively taking part in the execution of the reforms constituting the modernization project have become the icons of implementations of the state. Sibel Bozdoğan, "Türk Mimari Kültüründe Modernizm: Genel Bir Bakış", *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 1998, p.123.



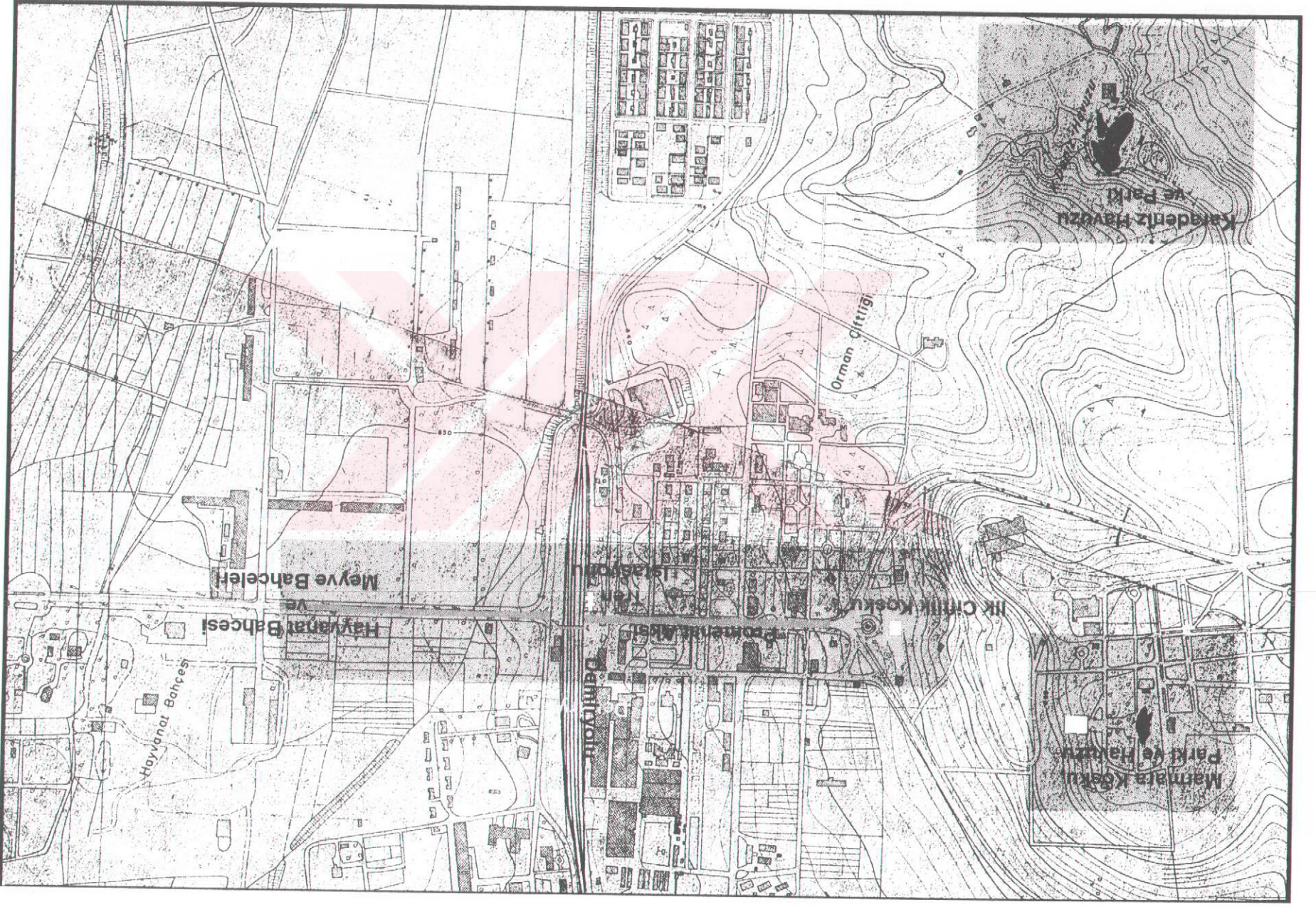
Figure 4. The photograph of Mustafa Kemal driving a tractor, which became the *icon* of mechanization in agriculture.

for Mustafa Kemal was the first step of the spatial organization process for leisure within the Farm, which would convert it into a popular place for weekend activities.

Mustafa Kemal's first residence in the Farm was located in the administrative center on the slope of a hill at the south of the railroad.¹⁶ The house was connected with the Gazi station building through a straight alley. This alley between the farm-house and the station building has been treated as the central axis which can also be named *the spine* of the initial layout of the administrative buildings in the Farm. Accordingly, buildings for other departments of the Farm were placed at both sides of this axis. Its south end was marked with Mustafa Kemal's residence, while this artery continued towards the zoo and gardens on the other side of the railroad at north.(Plate 10) The front façade of Atatürk's farm-house was situated facing this alley as if it welcomed the visitors. Entrance to the house was placed on the axis created by this alley which was further emphasized by a tower with a long eaved pitched roof. Noticeably, the use of tower in the houses of the period for corner treatments of the villas in Yenışehir and the apartment buildings in the Old-City, was a popular architectural feature in Ankara between 1923 and 1930. Additionally, this tower was decorated with a crescent and star which is the symbol of the Turkish Republic and a clock above the entrance door, the device for the use of 'modern' concept of time. The facade of the house was asymmetrical and divided into two parts by the entrance axis with different window and mass treatment. The front façade of the house comprised of a ground floor and a smaller upper floor with a roof terrace on the left side of the tower. Looking through the rear façade, it was seen that a basement floor below the level of the ground floor existed, that was probably used for the services. The rear facade seemed much more simple and it could be differentiated from a simple central Anatolian village house with its traditional pitched roof and the existence of its tower. I will not go any further with stylistic considerations but only admit that it was a modest, simple house both in size and form when it is considered that it was built for the president of the young Republic. (Fig.5 and 6)

¹⁶ We learn from the book published in 1953, this house had to be demolished because of the cracks as a consequence of its being constructed *very hurriedly*. Further, we are informed that the place of this house was later marked with a statue of Atatürk. *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği*, 1953, p.10.

Plate 10. Plan of the Gazi Farm emphasizing early increments following its foundation in 1924.



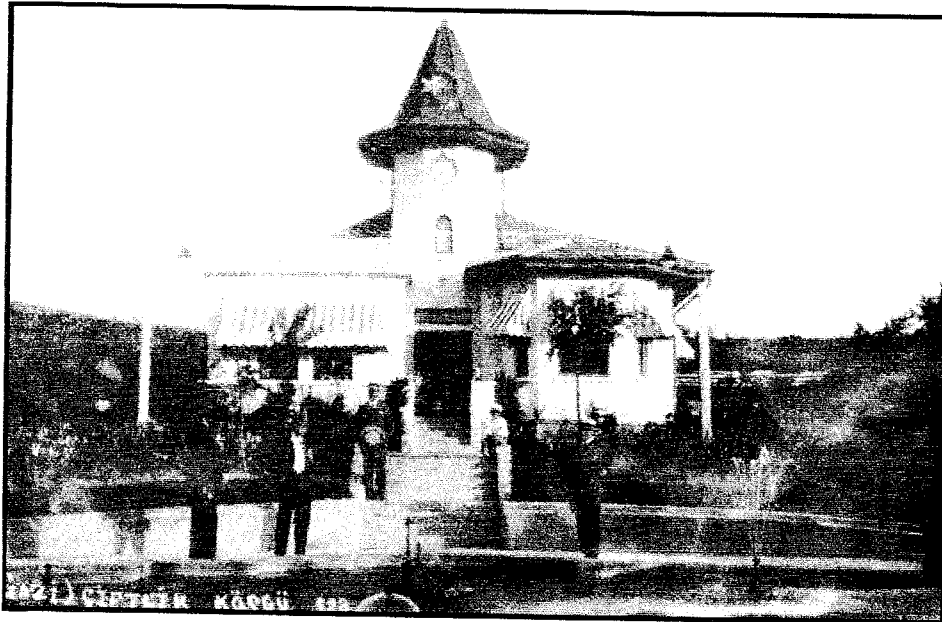


Figure 5. The first residence of Mustafa Kemal in the Gazi Farm.



Figure 6. Mustafa Kemal's farm house standing as a background for a memory picture.

As it was mentioned above, the creation of an axis between Mustafa Kemal's house and the station building was an important spatial motivation for the further growth of the Farm's weekend facilities.(Fig.7 and 8) This station building built in 1926 has been the gate of the Farm, since the railroad was the primary system of public transportation. Soon private bus services were also added for the use of public especially at weekends.(Fig.9,10 and11) The Gazi station building was designed by a Turkish architect Burhanettin Tamci.¹⁷ The building mainly comprised of a main hall with a square plan and high vaulted ceiling decorated with mirror tiles, placed in between two tower-like blocks comprising two stories each and end wings with single stories again situated on both sides.(Fig.12) The formal and material characteristics implied the stylistic attitudes of the late Ottoman period that was repeated in the public buildings of the Early Republican period at the city-center of Ankara. Some of these characteristics were the use of stone construction, symmetrical façade and mass treatment, pointed arches above the gate, doors and windows, large eaves and further decorative details. Hence, the stylistic features of this building differentiated it from the buildings erected for the Farm. The buildings of the Farm, including Mustafa Kemal's residence were much more simple in form and façade treatments, that did not carry any implication of the Ottoman period.

On the both sides of this promenade axis between the station building and the house of Mustafa Kemal, administrative buildings of the Farm were situated. This axis, as it was mentioned above, was further elongated to the far north of the Farm on the other side of the railroad and arrived at the zoo that contained animals gathered from different parts of Anatolia by the instruction of Atatürk. This artery was also elaborated by the regularly planted lines of trees on both sides. The earliest visitors of the Farm during its first few years were probably walking towards Atatürk's house on this promenade axis, the end of which was marked by a simple geometric landscape design composed of a decorative pool and flowers around. They could sit and rest here with the sight of the plain lands of the Farm in front and the house of their president at the back. It is possible to witness these visits of the public taking place in such a setting through the photographs published as postcards dating from 1927,1928 and 1929. These photographs taken as memories for the visitors, generally depicted people

¹⁷ Inci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, ODTU Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği, Ankara, 1980, p.113.

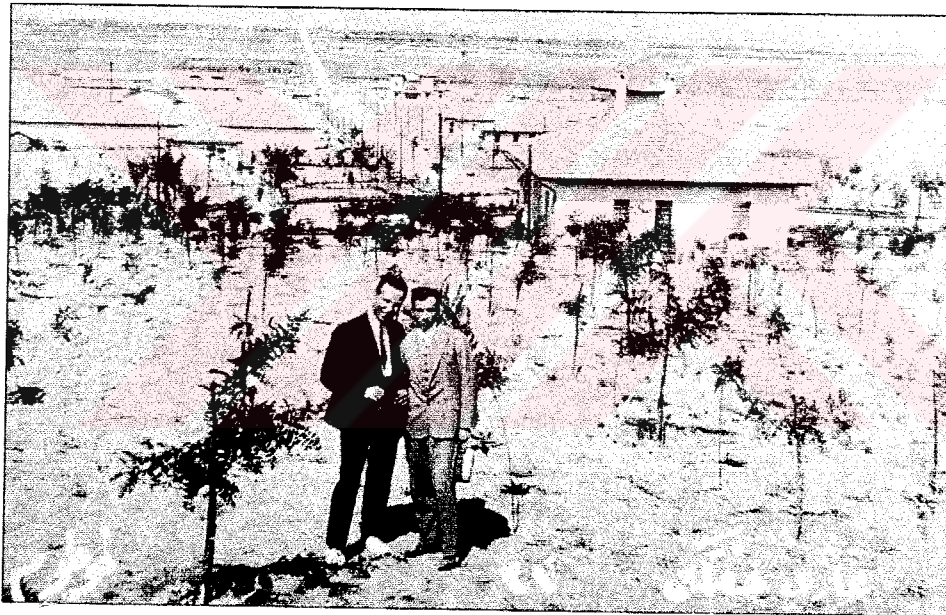


Figure 7. View from the rear façade of Mustafa Kemal's farm-house showing the promenade axis in front.

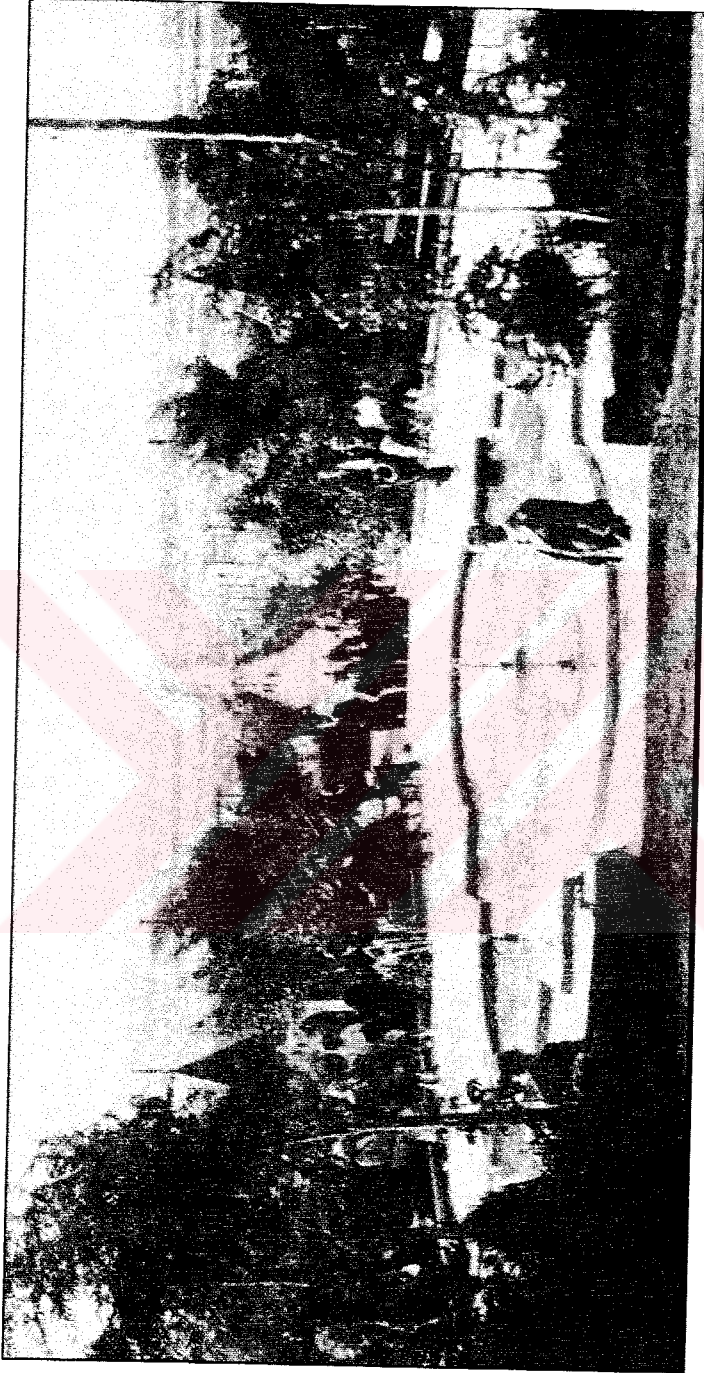


Figure 8. The garden with the decorative pool in front of Mustafa Kemal's farm-house
with additional view of the straight route of promenade.



Figure 9. Gazi Station building situated at the intersection point of the promenade axis and the railroad.



Figure 10. Crowds waiting at the Gazi Station at the end of the day.



Figure 11. Public bus services between the Gazi Farm and the city center.



Figure 12. Gazi Train Station building designed by Burhanettin Tamcı.

standing in front of the house or the pool which were certainly associated with the romantic aspiration of contacting with Mustafa Kemal through being at the places he lived.

In tune with the transformation of the landscape into green areas with trees providing shadow and the creation of a much more beautiful setting, not only the house of Mustafa Kemal but also the natural setting of the Farm became attractive for the visits of public at weekends. In parallel with the changes in the landscape, new spatial arrangements also appeared facilitating new practices for the public in the Farm. First of all, Mustafa Kemal moved to another house which was named the *Marmara Pavilion*, built at another segment of the Farm. Accordingly, this move changed the nucleus of attraction for the public both spatially and practically, with the addition of new public facilities of leisure. While we do not know the exact date when the Marmara Pavilion was built, at this point I intend to trace the process of this spatial transformation that produced new weekend practices for the public.

The Marmara Pavilion was built at the south west of Mustafa Kemal's former residence which was at a higher section of the Farm having the complete view of the Farm's lands. In this section named as *Marmara*, the activities of forestation had already started, comprising a wide area within which Karadeniz pool would also be located later. Again from the postcards dated 1930,¹⁸ it is possible to view the change in the architecture through an overview of the new residence. This building stood alone upon a hill surrounded by a garden comprising a geometric landscape, and had the view of the plain lands of the Farm on four sides. (Fig.13) It was a simple rectangular prism with two stories, further elaborated with a surrounding portico on four sides composed of four semi arches on the front and rear facades, and three on the sides. There were also terraces placed upon the portico on both sides. In comparison with the former residence of Mustafa Kemal in the Farm, this one was larger in size but still simple and modest in its formal language. Also, there was no attempt to provide a distinctive formal element or sign like the tower or the crescent and star, that the previous one had.(Fig.14)

A particular characteristic of this building was its becoming a significant site for the social gatherings of Mustafa Kemal. Accordingly, this building was

¹⁸ This date is not mentioned on the postcards but given as a footnote for the photographs published in *Ankara Posta Kartları ve Belge Fotoğrafları Arşivi Kataloğu*, Belko, Ankara 1994.

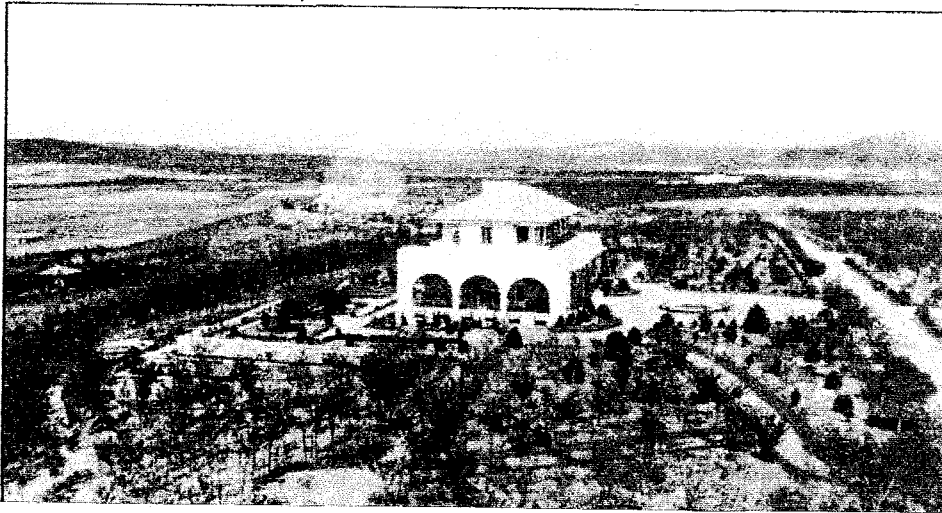


Figure 13. Location of the Marmara Pavilion in the Gazi Farm.



Figure 14. The Marmara Pavilion.

mentioned in the published memoirs of the bureaucrats of the time.¹⁹ It was included in a report containing a spatial and architectural analysis of the Early Republican Ankara, written by an American bureaucrat Robert Coe, within the section he called “1928 and Later: The Triumph of the Western Ideas”.²⁰ Coe made a formal analysis of the building and defined it as a “perfectly pleasant – not too modern – country residence” where “modernity was compromised by the eaved roof”. Additionally he made the description of the interior which he found “not so happy as it is badly arranged from a residential point of view”. While it is questionable how professional his analysis was from the architectural point of view, it is significant that the Marmara Pavilion was counted among other governmental and public buildings in a classification of Ankara’s *modern* buildings. It also shows that the house retained considerable significance within the social and the physical context of Ankara in its early Republican period.

The Marmara Pavilion was not situated along with the promenade axis I mentioned above. Evidently, it motivated new spatial practices more than just a promenade for the public. On February 4, 1932, in the first page of the weekly *Ankara Haftası*,²¹ it was announced for the readers who liked “the sea and sports” that *a swimming pool and an artificial beach* for the use of public, were under construction at the Marmara section in the Farm. It was also mentioned that “a significant gap” in the city life was being fulfilled by this increment realized by the direction of Mustafa Kemal. The pool was situated very close to the Marmara Pavilion facing its front façade and the garden. (Fig.15) The close environment of the pool was designed as a green park with trees already grown to provide shade. Also, a restaurant on one side and an additional cafeteria built like a small kiosk on one section of the pool were presenting additional activities for the public.(Fig.16) What was interesting about the Marmara pool, was the identification of its name with its formal layout, because the plan of the pool was in the shape of the Marmara Sea. The Marmara Sea is situated in-between the Black Sea and the Aegean Sea and it is totally surrounded by Turkish lands, where the last Ottoman capital Istanbul also had shore. While there is not any document about why the name *Marmara* was given to this section of the Farm

¹⁹ Falih Rifki Atay, *Çankaya 1918-1938*, Istanbul, Sema Matbaası, 1980.

²⁰ Robert Coe introduced this document as a “record of the historical and architectural development of Ankara” putting “particular emphasis on the physical aspect of *modern* Ankara”, prepared for the Embassy of the United States of America in Istanbul. Robert Coe, *Ankara*, (Unpublished report), October, 1934. p.85.

²¹ “Ankara’da Plaj”, *Ankara Haftası*, February 4, 1932, No:2, p.1.



Figure 15. The Marmara Park with the Marmara pool and the restaurant situated in front of the Marmara Pavilion.

Ankara'nın en güzel yeri.
Marmara aile Parkıdır.

Cuma günü: Saat ikiden ona kadar cazband, dans ve muhtelif numaralar.
Pazar: saat 3-10 orkestra. Salı ve çarşamba: Saat 3-10 Atatürk saz.

Cuma günleri Gazi çifliğine kadar muayyen saatlerde tren vardır. Hergün
Ankara'dan parka kadar giden otobüsler 25 kuruş almaktadır.

Çay, kahve, limonata, gazoz, yirmi beş, buzlu bira altmış kuruştur. Diğer
meşrubat fiyatları da buna göredir.

Park müsteciri müşterilerden gördüğü fazla rağbet ve teveccühe binaen
bu cumadan itibaren teşkilatını tevsi etmiştir. Servislere fevkalade itina ve
gelecek zevat ile ailelerin istirahatini temin olunacaktır. 1-3539

Figure 16. An advertisement of the Marmara Park published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* throughout the summer of 1932.

and so as to the pool, it is possible to trace its association with the aspirations of the period. Organizing such a spatial composition comprising the name and the form of another geographical segment of the country through creating a small-scale replica, can be associated with the symbolic role that Ankara intended to play for being the nucleus of the new nation-state. This role included the representation of the progressive attempts that aimed to comprise the whole country. This understanding is reflected in a newspaper article published on July 29, 1933 describing "A Beautiful Friday in Ankara".²² In this article, the author, after mentioning the joy of the crowds gathered around the Marmara pool, inscribed his wish about "seeing the places surrounding the Marmara (Sea) in the same atmosphere as if that crowd had grown in size into the scale of the original Marmara".²³

There could also be several other reasons for the utilization of *Marmara* as a model of the new spatial arrangements in Ankara. Ankara, as the newly built capital, was an amalgam of people who had come from different regions of the new political boundaries of the Republic "to take part in various realms of the new state mechanism".²⁴ Notably, most of them were coming from Istanbul. Thus, the already practiced "modern" forms of social life in Istanbul was an important reference for the desired modern life that was intended to be created in Ankara through orderings in space. One of these practices was going to the beaches at the Marmara coast and swimming.²⁵ Therefore, placing this weekend practice into the heart of Anatolia was a modern definition of *leisure* for the citizens of Ankara.

In 1933, another swimming pool was constructed for the use of public on the far west side of the Marmara pool. In parallel with the Marmara pool, this new pool was named *Karadeniz* (the Black Sea). This pool and its beach was larger in size and it facilitated the use of more people. Moreover, the *Karadeniz* pool

²² "Ankara'nın Güzel Bir Cuması", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, July 29, 1933, p.1 and 5.

²³ "Marmara miqyasına göre hayalde büyütülürken etrafındaki kalabalık da neşesi ve kesafetiyle aynı miqyasta büyüebilse; hakiki Marmara'nın kenarı da bundan çok şen ve kalabalık olsa diye insanı güzel ve keyifli memleket meselelerine çeken bir kaynaşmadır gidiyordu."

²⁴ Tankut explains this phenomenon as the social consequence of capitalization for which she uses the term "internal colonization". Tankut, 1990, p.11.

²⁵ The coasts of İstanbul were presented with additional views of the public swimming and lying at the beaches in *La Turquie Kemaliste*, which was an official periodical published in French. The activities of the New Republic and images of the modern Turkish society were announced by this periodical both at home and abroad, "Les Plages d'Istanbul", *La Turquie Kemaliste*, April 1937, No.20, p.11-17.

became a training area for the swimming teams of Ankara. There were also swimming competitions held frequently in the pool so that the public could gather to watch these activities. The program of the competitions and their final results with additional photographs were being published in the daily newspapers so that the public was informed about those sport activities taking place at Karadeniz.

An additional social implication of this modern leisure practice was the re-definition of the women's appearance in public life through this new spatial ordering of the Farm. The modernization project governed by the state had intended to change the secluded status of women in society and motivate them to enter every realm of social life in Turkey. Thus, gender relations would be re-organized through arrangements in space by facilitating interaction of women with men. While parks, restaurants and cafes in the city were being transformed into places of leisure where women could socialize, these pools were also facilitating new grounds for women that provided their participation into the recreational activities of the modern city. (Fig.17 and 18) Accordingly, the photographs published in the newspapers of the period distributed this "modern view" of the Turkish women, spending their weekend swimming or sunbathing in the Farm, all over the country. Meanwhile, not only women but also the vision of a healthy youth "improving their bodies with sports" was a part of this view of the 'modern Turkish society'.(Fig. 19)

4.2. Intentions Deferred

Ankara, as the new capital, was to be designed as the setting of the modern world view of the new political model brought about by the Republic. Atatürk, who was the head of the state from the day it was established in 1923 until he died in November 10, 1938, founded the Farm as his personal enterprise and directed its growth in the following years. Within the period of his presidency, the radical reforms of the state constituting the project of modernization were put into practice. Holding the power of respect of the nation, he was influential in the realization of these reforms as the leader of the project of modernization. Therefore, the Gazi Farm was an exemplary site for visualizing the actualization of the intended new life patterns that were put into practice directly by the most effective authority of modernization in Turkey.

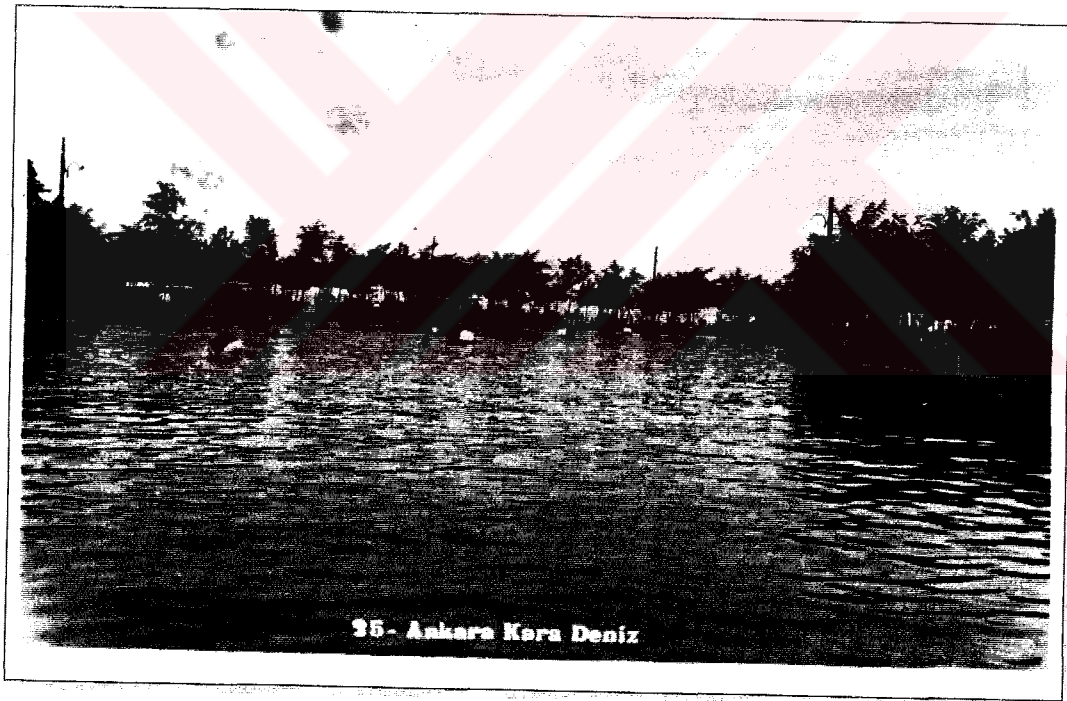
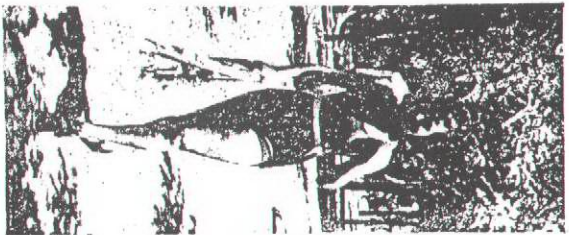
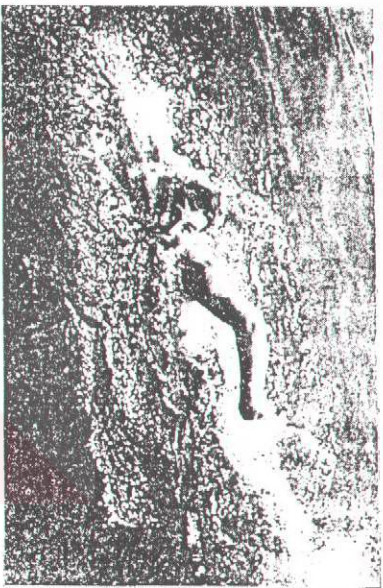


Figure17. The Karadeniz Pool.

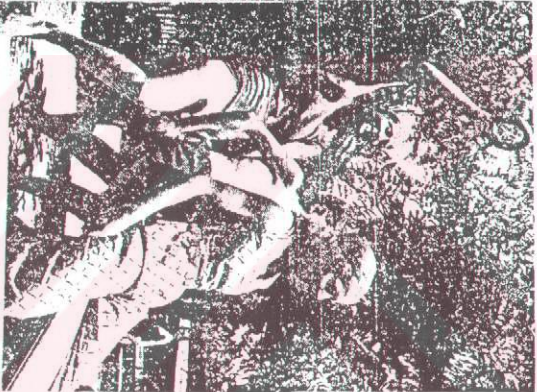
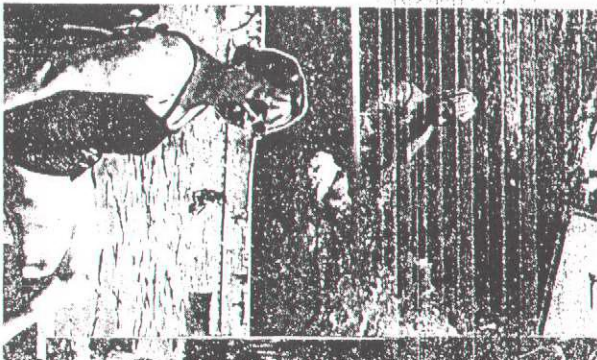
Çiftlikte Yaz



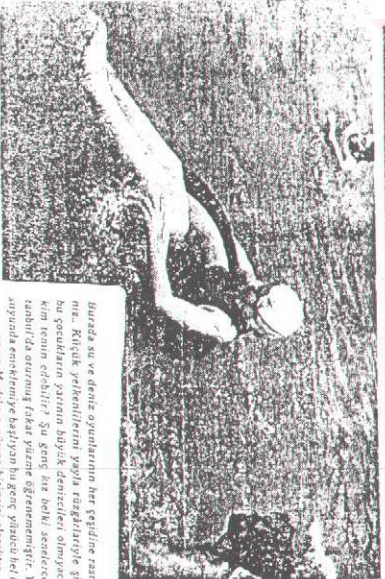
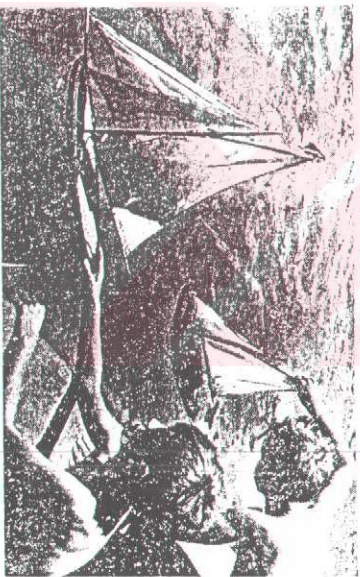
Başşehir su ve yayla hareketi dindi-
ren çiftlik plajına giden su genç kız-
dahi zevince baktın... O, biraz sonra
plajın serin dalgalıklarında rahatsız
bir nefes alacaktır.



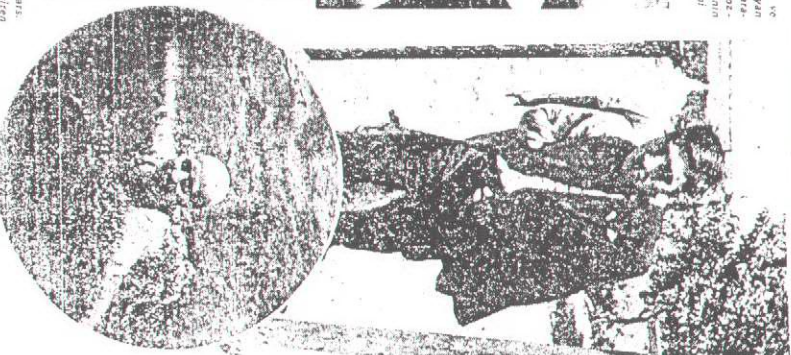
Emip'sun suya girenlerde yunak ve dastırılı, biraz muhabbet
etmek de lazım. Soldaki delikanlı, deniz bilyarında bilmli imrendi.
recek bir mesele içinde kuliyi yiyor.



Azıcık dalıpandan sonra şaka ve
oynatışlı... Solda mesele içinde oynayan
ve yunan genç kızlar... 1933 Ankara-
tımın en gençleri hayalileri bile bax-
vında bu sahli ve aşırı ve seccakın
dışlanılacağı düşünülmemiş mi
dii acaba?



Burada su ve deniz oyunlarının her çeşidine rastlanır.
ma. Küçük pirkentilerini yayla raşgışlarıyla iftisen
bu çocukların gürünün büyük denizseli olmuyacağı
kim temin edebilir? Su genç kız beklisi sadece İa-
sambül'da oturmuş fakat yunak eğlencesiniği. Yayla
aynında emeklerini kayıpın bu genç yunakları ki ki de
yurtın Koldi'ün yunak birincisi olmaktadır.



Herkes çiftlikte yerinden ayrılmadan gürünmeden
biriyle emeyiş, başları da nefis bir... ve...
mıdır. Yunanlıki gençlerin ebbirinin 8...
yurtundaki ebbi çabıyınca başın



Başşehir birinci genç ve Karadeniz bayramı.

Figure 18. Views of weekend leisure activities at Karadeniz Pool published
in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on June 6, 1938.

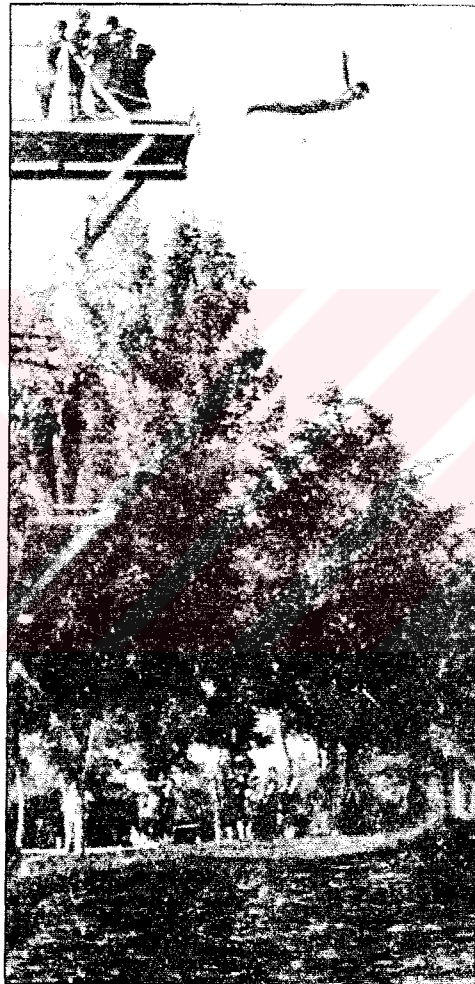


Figure 19. View from the Karadeniz Pool, where “the Turkish youth improved their bodies”.

As it has already been mentioned, the Farm was established by the personal funds of Atatürk in 1925. Finally, he granted the ownership of the Farm to the state which represented the Turkish nation, in June 11, 1937 and the next day it was announced as the “Great Leader’s Special Gift to His Nation” in the first page of *Ulus*.²⁶ Atatürk, also founded several farms in other parts of the country,²⁷ that were all aimed to be schools promoting the use of new techniques in agricultural production. Nevertheless, the Farm in Ankara was special for its becoming a spatial model for practicing with the modern leisure patterns of the proposed urban-life in parallel with the new agricultural techniques.

Being situated in the close vicinity of Ankara, the Farm was remaining outside the boundaries of the municipality and also the city-plan designed by Jansen. So, it was an autonomous land unconstrained by the dynamics of the urban order and property relations. Correspondingly, the Farm was initially designed according to the will of Atatürk in order to concretize his intention of inaugurating the process of modernization in agricultural production. Besides being a model of agricultural enterprise for the whole country, Atatürk had successfully transformed it into a spatial extension of modern life practices performed in Ankara. So, the Farm was one of the initial sites in Ankara where the ideas of the “good” society, comprising its weekend leisure activities, were projected into space. As presented above, this was lived throughout an unplanned process that started from the straight promenade axis. Soon, it turned out to be a radically new site of leisure with its beaches and pools in Ankara, which had previously been a modest central Anatolian town without a shore.

Leisure, in Lefebvre’s definition, was “a (new) social need with a spontaneous character which social organization, by offering it various means of satisfaction, has directed, sharpened, shifted and modified.”²⁸ Thus, the facility of sunbathing at the beach, and swimming in the *Marmara* and the *Karadeniz* pools, eating in the restaurant of Marmara and listening to open-air concerts played by the jazz-band and also dancing, helped to create a new definition and pattern of leisure in Ankara associated with *modernity*. Even more, all those activities were joyfully received by the crowds gathered in this popular site for spending their

²⁶ *Ulus*, June 12, 1937, p.1.

²⁷ Atatürk also established farms in Silifke, Tarsus and Yalova. “Atatürk Orman Çiftliği”, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, October 29, 1933, p.91.

²⁸ Lefebvre, Henri, *Critique of Everyday Life*, vol.I, London and New York, Verso, 1991, p.32.

weekends and motivated the repetition of same activities in the newly designed “modern sites” of Ankara, like the Dam in Çubuk constructed in 1936 and the *Gençlik Parkı*, constructed at the city center in 1938. A parallel statement was made by Falih Rifkı in an article published in the daily *Ulus*,²⁹ which informed that two new expressions (or concepts) had entered the “language of Ankara”. Accordingly, “vikend” and “piknik” were introduced as two popularly used words, as a consequence of the ‘common desire’ for leaving the city at weekends.³⁰ Hence, the introduction of the term ‘vikend’(weekend) as the expression of a new life practice out of the daily routine, suggests the initiation of a new pattern of spatial practice that would regularly be performed in Ankara. Additionally, Falih Rifkı noted that there were less people planning to spend their summer in İstanbul and mentioned those new pools and beaches (in the *Gençlik Parkı* and in Çubuk) that would be completed soon. This meant that the landscape was being transformed and cultivated according to the demands of the newly emerging ‘modern society’ in Ankara, as it was initiated in the example of the Farm.

As I have already mentioned, the descriptions published in the press (especially in the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*) of the time were significant references for this study. Those descriptions included not only the new life practices and the new architectural productions associated with the intended society but also shifts from those intentions that can be grasped through a closer reading of the texts. For example, in one of these newspaper articles where a comparison of two places was made through text and photographs, it is seen that ‘being modern’ was defined with reference to the contrast of two existing sites used for leisure.³¹ Hence, the text and the photographs were the basic tools of recording this definition. A formal description of the people during their “original” (which meant genuine but strange) *leisure activity* in Kayaş and Mamak was made in a negative tone. The practices performed in these sites where the author had felt *alien*, were defined as belonging to the Ottoman period, namely the *Tanzimat*.

²⁹ “ ‘Vikend’ ve ‘piknik’ sözleri iki haftadan beri Ankara kelimeleri arasına karıştı. Herkeste bu ihtiyaç var: Pazarları şehirden uzaklaşmak ... Bu haziranda İstanbul için sabırsızlananlar her seneden daha az. Baraj plajı ve istasyonun yanındaki büyük havuz ve park yapıldıktan sonra, daha iyi hasret dindirmiş olacağız...”, Falih Rifkı Atay, “Ankara ve Civarı”, *Ulus*, June 6,1938, p.1-3.

³⁰ In the pre-republican period, the inhabitants of Ankara used to make daily visits to the rural sites at the close surroundings of Ankara for recreational purpose. Some of these sites were small villages adjacent to the Kayaş stream, like Mamak and Kayaş situated at the east side of Ankara. (Şenyapılı, 1984, p.13) Hence, the introduction of the term “piknik” implied the change in the content of these recreational activities.

The author asked in wonder: "Why half of the citizens (*Ankaralılar*) do not go to the Farm but, they go to Mamak, Hatipçayı and Kayaş?" The sharply criticized practices of these 'backward' sites included the way people sat, the type of music they listened to and the way they danced. Then those modern versions of leisure practices performed in Karadeniz in the Farm were confronted with the previous forms expressed in various contrasting couples like those listening to the music of orchestra and those listening to *saz*. Finally, the author raised the question: "Why do we enjoy ourselves in one way in the Farm and in another way in Mamak?" As it was presented by the author, the scene he saw in Mamak was displayed again by the citizens of Ankara which he conceived as the *other*. As it was textually and visually presented in the article, those images of the past were considered as in need of radical change, while the *new* was appreciated for being *modern* which had to transform the former. Consequently, such a way of conceiving modernity attributed an exemplary quality to the *new* spatial orderings of modern Ankara as in the example of the Farm.

A much more general but striking confrontation of the 'unwanted' and the 'old' with the 'desired' and the 'new' was presented in a different visual composition in an earlier issue of the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*.³²(Fig.20) This remarkable visual composition, describing the 'unwanted' scenes in Ankara that were set in contrast with a view from the 'modern world', manifested the broadness of the ground where the gap between the two could be displayed. Finally the view of the swimming women from the West published before the pools in the Farm were constructed, was replaced few years later with similar views of Turkish women sunbathing at the Farm.(Fig.18)

The already stated intentions that were aimed to be realized by the foundation of the Farm produced a model for the comprehension of what was ideally aimed for the *new* Turkish society. The suggested dialogue that the Farm inaugurated with Ankara comprised of not only economic relation, but it also became a spatial extension of the city life. Accordingly, the Farm offered an alternative site of leisure for the *members* of the '*modern society*'. Also, the publicized descriptions and views of this site helped to draw the figure of the intended modern society during their recreational activity. While it is not possible to assess the power of this site in transforming the existing forms of leisure, the

³¹ "Ankaralı Nerede Nasıl Eğleniyor?", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, August 19, 1933, p.4.

Gazi Farm was the initial installation of this will into the physical and cultural landscape of Ankara, as a spatial manifestation of the modernization project.³³



³² *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, September 8, 1929, p.6.

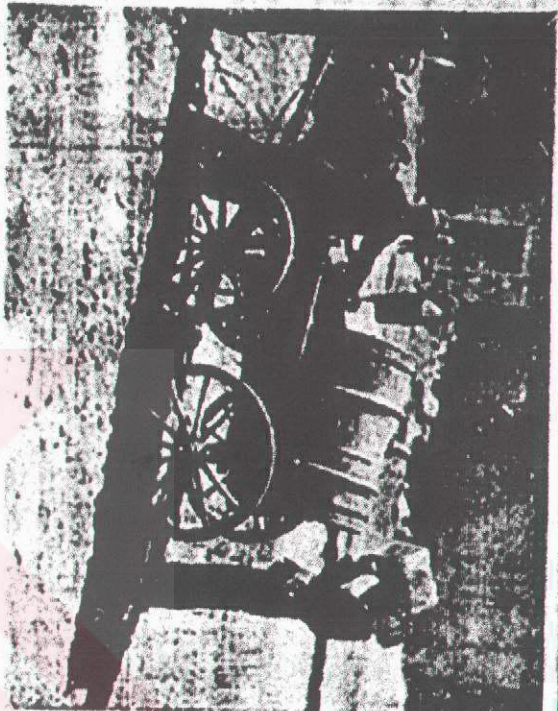
³³ When its agricultural activities are considered, the Gazi Farm can also be conceived as an attempt of re-defining the role of the **rural** in reference to its mutual relation with the **urban**, that was intended to be established between Ankara and the Farm situated at its milieu. Hence, this needs to be argued further which is not my aim here.

RESİM HAKİMİYETİ MİLLİYE İLAN.

The Mill Ottoman Press

PALAZ & BİLGE 1906

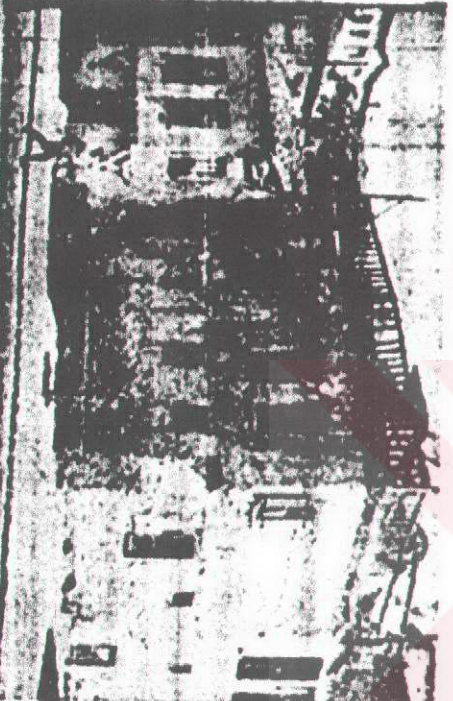
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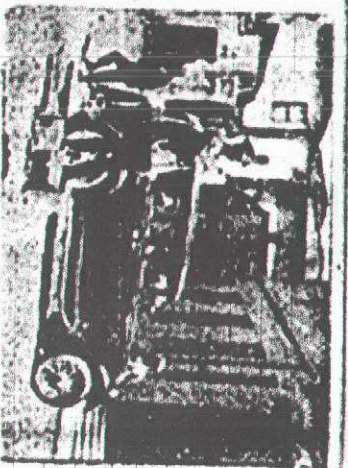
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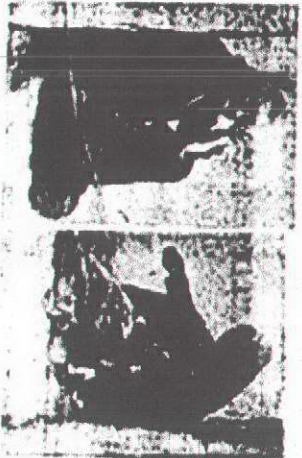
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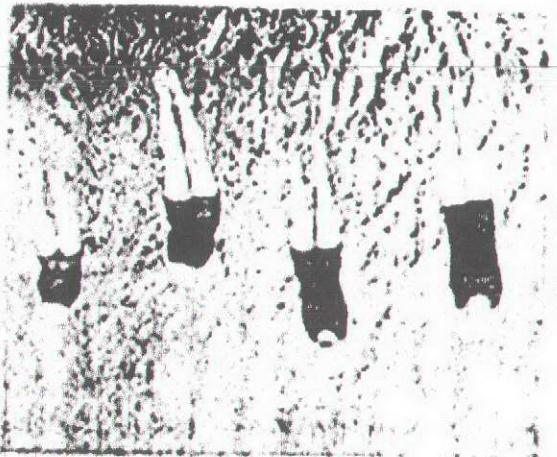
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Ankara, Mani f. Minder.

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Sakın ve Şişli Mektebi.

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2-4726

Figure 20. 'Unwanted' scenes from the old patterns of living practiced in the old parts of the city, confronted with a view from the Western world.

CHAPTER 5

THE ATATÜRK BOULEVARD AND ITS SPATIAL ORDERING PROCESS

5.1. Actualization of Intentions for the “Good” Society

5.1.1. The period between 1923-1929

Ankara, as the new capital of the Turkish Republic, was subjected to a transformation process with a twofold body of intentions. First of all, it would be a setting where the capital functions of the state would be performed. Secondly, it was to be the model city of the ‘modern’ urban-life promoted by the state for the whole country. I argue that it is possible to visualize the actualization of these intentions along the Atatürk Boulevard, since it was the main axis of the new urban order where all the routes and networks which linked up the places set aside for work, inhabitation and leisure, intersected. In this first interval between 1923, when Ankara became the new capital, and 1929 when an over-all city plan was designed, a strategy of growth and change was lacking. So, this was an experimental process in which intentions for the aimed modern society comprising prominent changes in the existing social structure were practiced in a *semi-spontaneous* process of spatial production.

5.1.1.1. The Socio-political Context

In the period between 1923 and 1929, the modernization project governed by the state was initially being defined and then put into practice in every realm of life. A primary concern of this new order was economy. Following the Congress of Economy in İzmir in February 1924, the national economic policy was based on the intentions of creating a liberal economy. Primarily, this policy presumed

that the private enterprise would be the basis of economy and the state would only interfere in the realms that could not be improved solely by private entrepreneurs. Accordingly, *İş Bankası* (Labour Bank) and *Sanayi ve Maden Bankası* (Industry and Mine Bank) were founded in 1925 in order to support industry by additional credits.¹ Also, the already established *Ziraat Bankası* (Bank of Agriculture) and *Osmanlı Bankası* (Ottoman Bank) increased the amount of credits they supplied for the private entrepreneurs. Additionally, in 1926 *Emlak ve Eytam Bankası* (Bank of Real Estate and Orphanage) was established for providing credits for the construction activities all around the country. Until the world economic crisis in 1929, the aim of creating liberal national economy was further supported by the state through additional laws like the *Teşvik-i Sanayii Kanunu* in 1927.² After 1929, the state would re-formulate its economic policy with statist principles.

Furthermore, the task of re-organizing the society and its life practices through modernization comprised the delineation of a cultural policy based on a new notion of 'national civilization', ideally associating the universal rules of *civilization* with a *national identity*. While *westernization* was the name given to this move towards the universal rules of civilization, there was also a parallel attempt of searching for the constituents of the Turkish culture. This search had apparently started after 1908, that could be witnessed through the appearance of periodical literature and a network of Turkist clubs. The objectives of this initial movement of Turkist clubs and literature included to study and acquire historical, ethnographic, social, linguistic and geographical knowledge of the ancient and modern Turks.³ After the establishment of the Turkish state, the idea of a "territorial nation-state based on the Turkish nation in Turkey" appeared at the basis of cohesion for the members of the state.⁴ In this new context of the nation-

¹ Şahin, 1995, p.37.

² By this major legislation, the state intended to create favorable conditions for private enterprise to produce industrial materials, by allocating government land for the establishment of factories and by allowing the duty-free import of building materials that can not be produced in Turkey, which also encouraged the development of building industry. Bozdoğan, Sibel, "Modern Architecture and Cultural Politics of Nationalism in Early Republican Turkey", (unpublished congress paper), 28. *Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, 15-20 Juli 1992, p.446.

³ The first of those clubs was *Türk Demeği* founded in 1880 and started to publish a monthly periodical in 1911 which was followed by a new journal *Türk Yurdu*. Also in 1912 another club *Türk Ocağı* was established. According to Lewis, these attained "a platform on which the major theoretical issues of cultural and political Turkism were discussed and elaborated". Lewis, 1968, p.349.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.352.

state, *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearth), which was a club founded in 1912,⁵ continued to exist, until it was transformed into *Halkevi* (People's House) in 1931. A leading nationalist writer of the time, Ziya Gökalp defined the new identity of the Turkish nation as a synthesis of Western "civilization" and the Turkish "culture".⁶ For the aim of developing cultural studies, the Turkish state supported scholarly activities by the establishment of new agents such as the Ethnographical Museum, the School of Music Teachers and organization of Painting and Sculpture exhibitions.⁷

Meanwhile, architecture is one of the principal subjects of spatial production that embodied the influences of the socio-political and economic context of the period. The search for defining the characteristics of a new national identity also extended into the field of architecture, whose theoretical foundations were already laid out in the late nineteenth century. Bozdoğan argued that the quest for a national style has produced its first explicit theory of architectural discourse in 1873 as an impressive volume titled *L'Architecture Ottomane, Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani*, published for the Vienna Exposition.⁸ This text constituted of a systematic catalog of the architectural elements derived from the Seljukid and Ottoman motifs, applicable to a newborn national style such as the domes, pointed arches, tile decoration, etc. Accordingly, this new style, also known as the *National Ottoman Renaissance*, superimposed these elements upon the plans based on *Beaux-Arts parti* and modern construction techniques. Hence, Bozdoğan claimed that the superimposition of formal elements from the historical architectural repertory upon the Western plans and construction techniques was in a way the adaptation of the theoretical synthesis between the national culture and universal civilization formulated by Gökalp.⁹ Thus, the so-called 'First National Style' of the early twentieth century was a continuation of this attitude, exercised in the major public buildings such as banks, museums, post offices, and hotels, by the leading architects of the time, such as Vedat Tek, Kemalettin Bey, Giulio Mongeri and Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu. As it will be explored along the

⁵ The Turkish Hearths were founded as a series of clubs in order to advance the national education and raise the scientific, social, and economic levels of the Turks. Accordingly, they organized courses, lectures, and debates, published books and pamphlets, and opened schools. See; *ibid.*, p.350.

⁶ Aslanoğlu, 1980, p.9.

⁷ *ibid.*, p.10.

⁸ Bozdoğan, 1992, p.439.

⁹ *ibid.*, p.439.

Boulevard, those new building types signifying the intended modern institutions and public life would be constructed by those architects in this first interval. Hence, this can be considered as the initial inscriptions of the growing nationalist consciousness in the newborn capital.

5.1.1.2. Initial spatial organizations along the Boulevard

In the process of the city's semi-spontaneous physical evolution, two plots gained remarkable significance and influenced further growth of the city along one main axis connecting these two sites.¹⁰ One of these plots was the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza, situated at the west margin of the Old City, that was marked for being the nucleus of the new administrative center emerging at its close surroundings. And the second plot was the residence of the national leader, Atatürk, in Çankaya, which was a country house that was already built on a high hill surrounded with vineyards at the south of Ankara.

5.1.1.2.1. Hakimiyet-i Milliye Plaza

The Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza (previously Taşhan plaza) was situated in the new administrative center of the city where several important roads intersected and it was paved with stone in early 1924.¹¹ On the east, the plaza was connected with the Anafartalar street which was the commercial artery of the early Republican Ankara that was also called *Karacaoğlan Çarşısı* (Market of Karacaoğlan) together with few other streets leading to the Citadel. On the north there was Çankırı street (also called Milli Müdafaa street) which had previously been a residential area and then became the place of entertainment with the "bar"s opened after 1926.¹² On the east, there was İstasyon street connecting the plaza and the city with the station building which was constructed after the city was connected to the railroad in 1892.¹³ On the south, there was Bankalar street

¹⁰ This axial theme of the city's growth was also mentioned by Tankut, 1990 and Şenyapılı, 1984.

¹¹ Şenyapılı, 1984, p.22.

¹² *50 Yıllık Yaşantımız:1923-1933*, Cilt I, İstanbul, Milliyet Yay., 1975, p.50 As it was presented in the advertisements these bars included Turkish and foreign music groups and various dance shows. I.e.Merkezbar, Tabarın Bar.

¹³ Yavuz, Erdal, "19. Yüzyıl Ankara'sında Ekonomik Hayatın Örgütlenmesi Ve Kent-içi Sosyal Yapı", *Tarih İçinde Ankara*, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği, Ankara 1984, p.195.

(also called Necati Bey street) where public buildings that were mostly banks, had started to be built by 1925. As an intersection point of these four important roads where different functions of the city-life took place in the early Republican Ankara, this plaza also became the nucleus of its growing social and political life. Thus, an analysis of its physical structure and the content of spatial and social practices taking place around this nucleus will be significant in understanding why this site was attributed particular prominence in the further growth of the city.

Along the Istasyon street that was intersected by the Hakimiyet-i Milliye Plaza at the west, the first and the second Parliament buildings were situated which made it a politically and symbolically important site.(Fig.21) On the corner where they met, there was the building of the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*, which was built in 1912. During the War of Independence this building was used as the building of the *Birinci Millet Meclisi* (First National Assembly) in 1920. As soon as the Republic was announced, the second building of National Assembly has started to be built along the same street at its west side. The parliament moved to this building in 1926 that was designed by Vedat Tek. On the other hand, the former building started to be used as the Headquarters of *Cumhuriyetçi Halk Fırkası*, so that it kept its significance as a political center. Another significant site of the social and political life was the Ankara Palas Hotel built across the Second National Assembly building on the same street, which was a popular place for the social gatherings of the period. As the first modern hotel in Ankara, the building facilitated pressurized water, central heating system, Western-style toilets and bathtubs and a powerful electric generator for comfort and hygiene in its rooms. There was also an international cuisine restaurant with qualified service, and a grand ballroom, where the earliest dance parties were organized in the Early Republican Ankara.¹⁴ (Fig.22) The building was designed by Vedat Tek in 1924, but its construction was finished in 1927 with some additional changes in its final design by Kemalettin Bey.¹⁵ At the eastern side of the Ankara Palas, where the Istasyon street met with the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza, the park of *Millet Bahçesi* was situated. This park was the first 'urban park' of Ankara in the very early Republican years. (Fig.23) There was also another park situated in front of the building of the National Assembly with a cascaded pool and geometric landscape

¹⁴ Bozdoğan, 1992, p.440.

¹⁵ Yavuz, Yıldırım, "Ankara'da Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarisi", *Ankara Konuşmaları*, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yay., Ankara 1992, p.98.

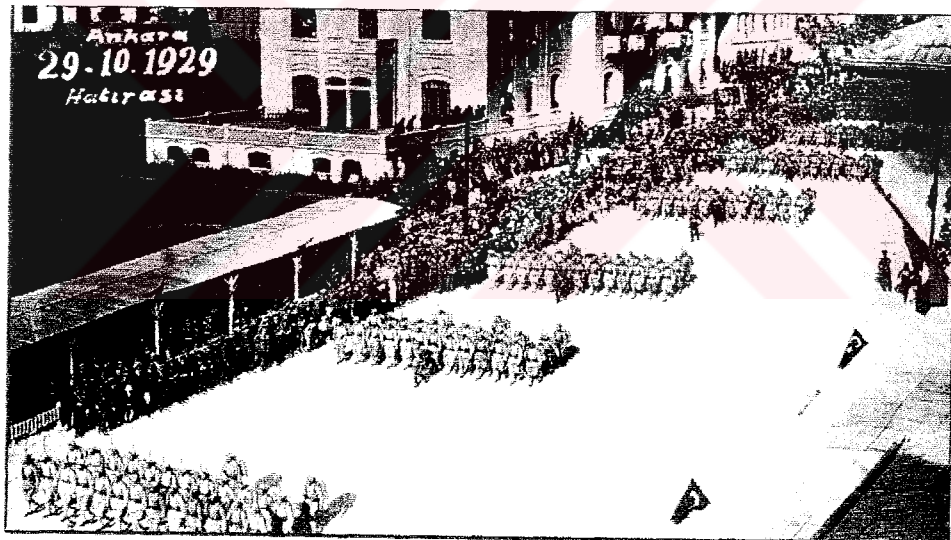


Figure 21. A ceremony of the marching soldiers in front of the building of the Second National Assembly.



ANKARA PALAS

**Yakın Şarkın en muhteşem
en modern, en konforlu oteli.**

**Her odada sıcak ve soğuk su,
mükemmel servis, nefis müzik.**

**Ankaraya giderseniz rahat etmek için
ANKARA PALAS'a gidiniz.**



Figure 22. Advertisement of Ankara Palas providing the first 'modern' hotel services in Ankara.

design and its date of opening was announced to the public by the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*.¹⁶ Since the Istasyon street was the center of administration, it used to house the parades held on the national festivals that were to end with the ceremony at the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza. Further, on the site between the buildings of the First and Second National Assembly the building of the Sayıştay (Audit Court) was constructed in 1926 the façade of which was re-designed with a “modern” outlook by Ernst Egli in 1928. Moreover, for the ones entering the city from the train station, this street was the primary road they had to pass through in order to arrive at the *city center*.

Entering the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza, from the Istasyon street, one would see the Taşhan building in front, which had given its name to that plaza before Ankara became the capital in 1923.(Fig.24) This building was built in the second half of the nineteenth century as a typical Anatolian *han* in its plan and function, for housing the visiting traders of the city. In the years of the War of Independence, between 1919-1922 the first delegates of the National Assembly also stayed in this “hotel”. Taşhan had an inner courtyard that became a socially significant place after the first “modern” restaurant of Ankara was opened on the ground floor of this building in 1928.¹⁷ This restaurant named Karpıç, became a ground of political conversations because of its popularity among the members of the government.¹⁸

The Anafartalar street, starting from the east of the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza and leading to the Citadel, had already been patterned as the commercial center of the pre- Republican Ankara. In the early Republican year, this street continued to act as the center of the social and commercial life because of the shops and “*kahvehane*”s¹⁹, coffee houses, serving for the new citizens of Ankara. (Fig.25) These *kahvehanes* were major places for social interaction in the city at the early

¹⁶ “Büyük Millet Meclisinin havuz bulunan kısmı dünden itibaren halka açılmıştır. Bu kısımda kanepeler ve gölge yerler vardır. Dün birçok halk bahçeye giderek hava almışlardır.” *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, June 11, 1929, p.1.

¹⁷ Mustafa Kemal felt the need for a modern (asri) restaurant where each time “new dishes were served” and suggested Karpıç, who was a Russian refugee already running a restaurant in İstanbul, to open a new restaurant in Ankara. *50 Yıllık Yaşantımız*, p.82.

¹⁸ See; İkin, Selim, “Ankara'nın ‘Yeme-içme Lokanta Atılımının’ Öncüsü: Karpıç Lokantası”, *Ankara Dergisi*, Ankara Büyükşehir Bel. Yay., Cilt 2, Sayı 6, Mart 1994, p.65-71.

¹⁹ The term **kahvehane** differed from the English term **café** because of its use in the social life. *Kahvehanes* were non-religious places for social gatherings of men in the Muslim societies that proposed new practices of leisure, like *nargile* and *meddah* performances. According to Turgut Kut, *kahvehane* has modelled a significant social and political practice in the Turkish society both in the Ottoman and the Republican period. Meanwhile women were excluded from these places that were ultimately masculine sites. See; Ralph S. Hattox, *Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, trans.Nurettin Elhüseyni and Turgut Kut, “Kahvehaneler”, *Cumhuriyet Dnemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, 3. Cilt, İstanbul, İletişim Yay., p.858-9.

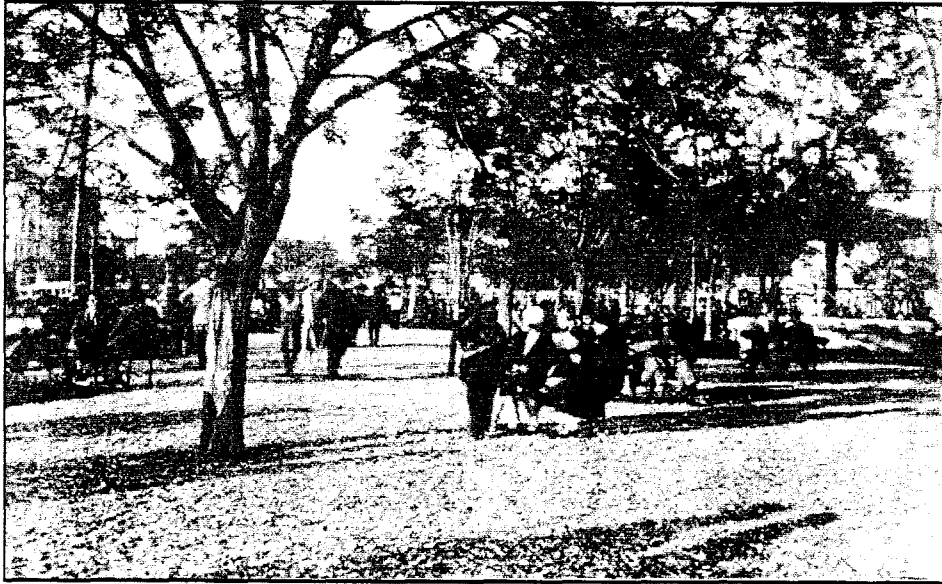


Figure 23. *Millet Bahçesi*, the first 'urban park' in Ankara.

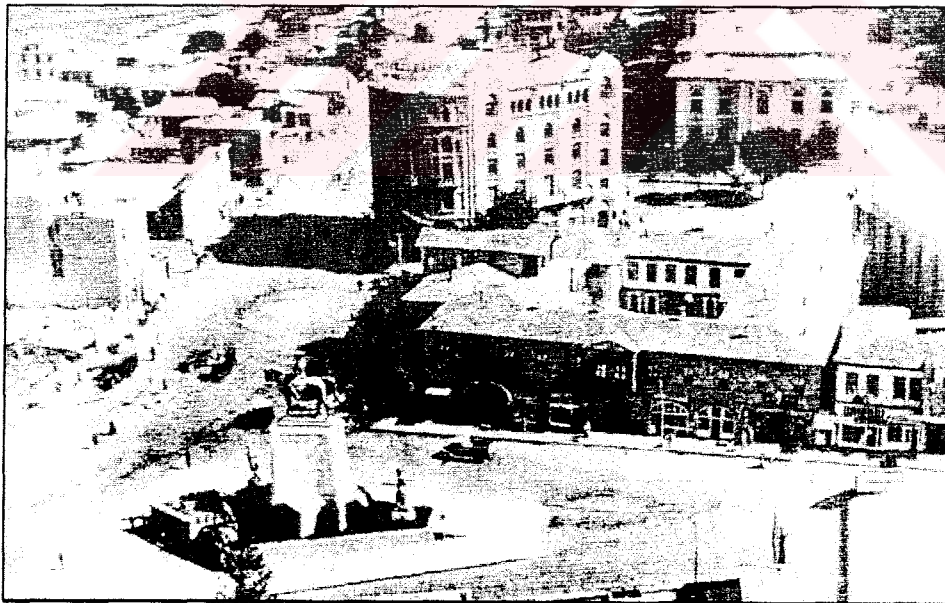


Figure 24. Taşhan and the Hakimiyet-i Milliye Plaza.



Figure 25. The Anafartalar Street in the 1930s with new apartment buildings and the shopping strip at the ground level.

Republican period. Also, members of this new society started to rent rooms in the already built houses of the Old City, so that they penetrated into the existing physical structure. Thus, the increasing population brought spontaneous growth in the Old City, besides the newly emerging residential districts in Yenisehir. The already constructed buildings started to be transformed into apartment blocks comprising four or five floors where flats were rented to families or bachelors. The Anafartalar street lived such a physical and social transformation which was assessed to be a natural consequence of the increased commercial capital in the city, by Şenyapılı.²⁰ Hence, throughout the 1920s the street became a popular place for the new citizens of Ankara where the commercial strip of continuous shop-windows displaying their goods for the public and also *kahvehanes* were situated all along the street level.

Those new citizens of Ankara coming from different parts of the country for various occupations formed an assemblage of people with different social and economic backgrounds. Thus, these *kahves* were used by different groups among the new and former citizens in different ways. Hence, from an article published in *La Republique* in 1935, we learn that there existed about 150 *kahves* in Ankara which were further classified in three groups.²¹ The first group of *kahves* were used by intellectuals and officers like bureaucrats facilitating to play games like chess, *bric* and *bezik* and read the newspapers of Ankara and Istanbul. The second group was used by young people for playing billiards. A third group of *kahves* comprised people belonging to various occupations and also coming from various provinces of the country. So, there were ones like *Erzurumlular* or *Trabzonlular kahvesi*, as well as ones used by different employment groups like the *kahves* of carpenters. In the same article, it was also emphasized that these places needed to be 'modernized' by forbidding any kind of gambling and facilitating books, newspapers and also radio in each of them. Meanwhile, this was presented as the *duty* of the state that was "aiming to renovate everything", to transform these places into a kind of "school" educating the masses during their spare time. Then, the task of transforming those *old*

²⁰ Tansı Şenyapılı, p.30 Şenyapılı has based her assessment on this part on the study of Nalbantoğlu, Gülsüm, *An Architectural Survey on the Development of Apartment Buildings in Ankara; 1923-1950*, (Unpublished Master's Thesis) Ankara, ODTU Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1981.

²¹ "Bir Şehir Nasıl Rahatlıyor; Ankara Kahveleri", *La Republique*, February 2, 1935, p.3 This article was based on a questionnaire prepared by the daily *Ulus* which was a newspaper published in Ankara. The aim of this questionnaire was acquiring information about the role that the *kahves* of the city played within the daily life of Ankara and the content of their services.

patterns of everyday life practices, which were set in contradiction with the social habits of the intended modern society were considered as a part of the modernization project. On the other hand, the author did not mention the exclusion of women from the use of these sites, which might have been proposed as another facet of modernizing these places. Meanwhile, the designation of urban parks, “modern” restaurants and various other new sites for the interaction of women in the new parts of the city had the implications of socializing women through new spatial arrangements in the city.

On the northern side of the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza along this route, on the corner where Çankırı street met the plaza, the administrative building of *İş Bankası*, was erected between 1926 and 1929. It was designed by Julio Mongeri who was an Italian architect teaching at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. The building had a triangular plan and it was entered from the round corner facing the plaza. It comprised of five stories that made it the highest building facing the plaza until the construction of Sümerbank Business center in 1935. On the right side of the building there was the road leading to the plaza in front of the *Hükümet Konağı* which housed most of the Ministries from the very beginning of the Republican period. This road called the *Hükümet* street was also leading to *Hacıbayram* area that comprised the traditional texture of Ankara houses and also a religious center where the Mosque of Hacıbayram was erected adjacent to the Temple of Augustus.

While the physical layout and the social life surrounding the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza was being re-defined during the early years of the Republican Ankara, the symbolic significance of the plaza, for being at the center of the political and social life, was marked with a statue in 1927. The erection of this statue was financed by the public for which a campaign was organized by Yunus Nadi who was the editor of a local newspaper *Yenigün*.²² The final design of the statue was made by an Austrian artist Heinrich Krippel²³ that was selected through an international competition. The overall design was a representation of the story of the national War of Independence.²⁴ Thus, this statue became a

²² Sarıoğlu, 1998, p.142.

²³ Heinrich Krippel was invited to Turkey by the state in 1925. He stayed in Turkey until 1938 and designed many other statues in various cities of the country. Mentioned by Sarıoğlu, the statue was used as a artistic medium of propaganda by the state for “reminding of the sour memories of the war and pride of the great victory and praise for newly organized country”. Sarıoğlu, 1998, p.140-141.

symbol of not only the plaza in which it is situated, but also of the city in the following years.(Fig.26)

5.1.1.2.2. Bankalar Street

The new administrative center that was initially situated at the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza, was extended towards the Bankalar street at the south. Entering the street from the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza, *Dar'ül Muallimin*, one of the pre-republican public buildings of Ankara was situated on the left corner. During the period of the War of Independence, the building housed the members of the first National Assembly at nights and then it was transformed into the Ministry of Education after Ankara had become the capital.²⁵ The building was a massive block facing the Bankalar street. It comprised of a rectangular plan with an inner courtyard and three stories. The building's formal characteristics implied the late Ottoman period such as the use of stone as the material of construction, the proportions of the windows, large eaves and the pitched roof.

Along the Bankalar street through Yenisehir, on the left-side, the buildings of Lozan Hotel and the Central Post-Office were situated. These buildings were built immediately after Ankara became the capital as a response to the increasing demand for hotels for the visitors and the provision of enhanced postal services. Further again on the left side there was the building of Boys' School of Artisan which was built before the Republic. It was surrounded with high walls separating its garden from the street. On the following site, the building of *Tekel Başmüdürlüğü*, (Headquarters of State Monopoly) was built, whose architect was Mongeri. Mongeri designed the buildings of *Ziraat Bankası*, and the *Osmanlı Bankası* along the same street at the opposite side. Accordingly, the Bankalar street was becoming a prominent site because it occupied primary functions of economy and the public services in the early Republican Ankara which also emphasized the route leading to Yenisehir that soon became a functional and formal spine of the city. By the end of 1929, the road was also paved, its sidewalks were organized with trees planted in lines.(Fig.27 and 28)

²⁴ In a guide book published for Ankara in 1932 the author gives a detailed description of the statue including the explanations of each figure depicted in the reliefs carved on the walls of the base and the stories they represent. A.C., *Vilayetlerimiz: Ankara*, İstanbul Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1932, p.28-34.

²⁵ *Bir Zamanlar Ankara*, p.48-49.

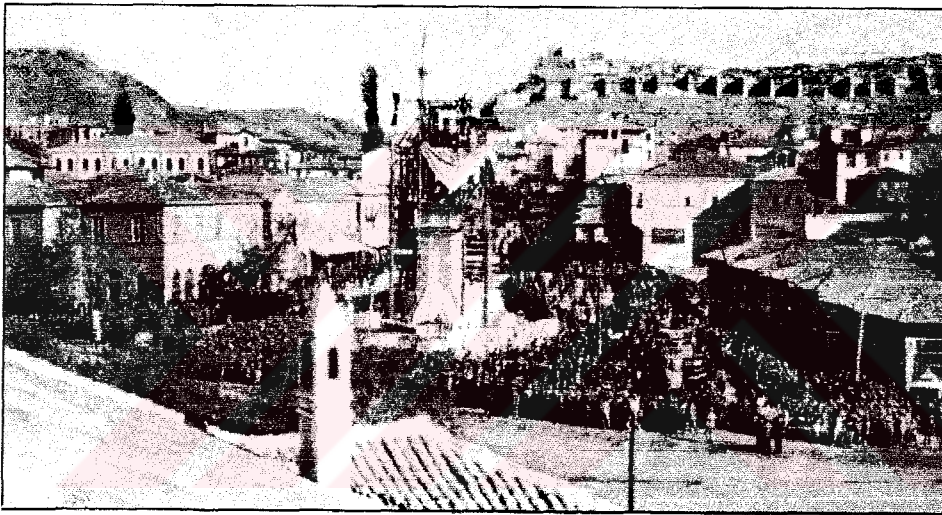


Figure 26. Hakimiyet-i Milliye Plaza in 1926, when its famous sculpture was under construction.

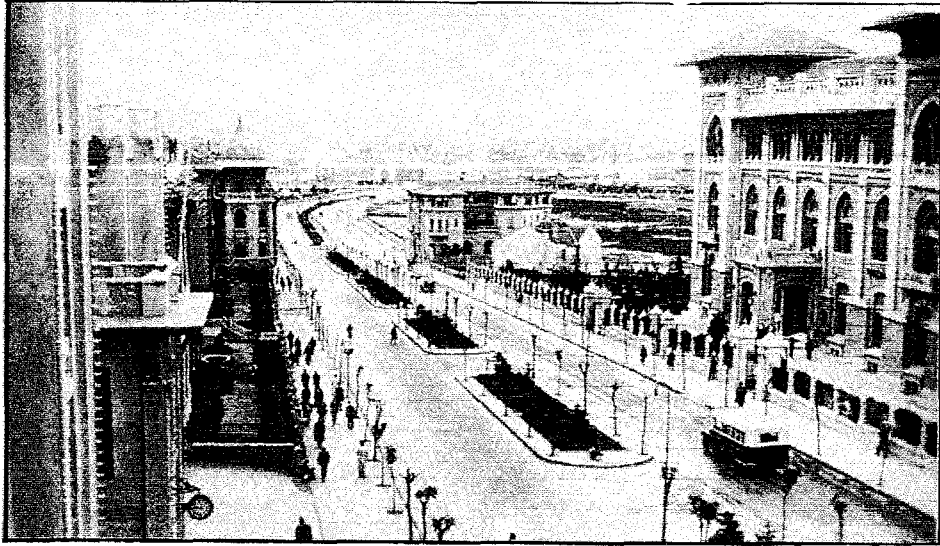


Figure 27. The Bankalar Street, view from the north.

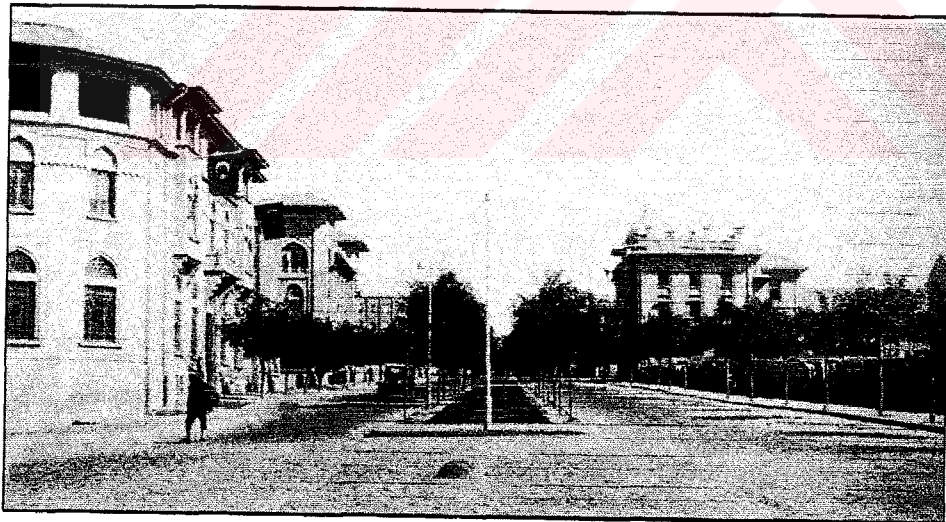


Figure 28. The Bankalar Street, view from the south end.

5.1.1.2.3 Areas between the Bankalar Street and Yenişehir

This section initially remained at the outskirts of the traditional city and comprised bare lands and large cemeteries. Following the route from the Bankalar street through Yenişehir, the vacant area on the left was named the *İtfaiye* 'plaza'. This was a plain site previously called *Hergelen meydanı* and animals for trade used to be gathered.²⁶ (Fig.29) The area across the road was a broad wet-land where the *Gençlik Parkı* would be erected in 1936. This site remained untouched in the earliest days of the Republic until the building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs started to be erected in 1925. The building was designed by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu and its construction was finished in 1927.²⁷ Koyunoğlu had two more buildings designed and erected in the same period and in the same stylistic fashion upon the *Namazgah* Hill which was the south west boundary of the old city. According to Şenyapılı, previously this site was a prominent religious place where the public used to gather for religious ceremonies on Fridays and other important religious days. The other two buildings of Koyunoğlu were *Türk Ocağı* and the Ethnographical Museum faced the route of the Boulevard from the high ground of the *Namazgah* Hill. In front of the *Türk Ocağı* building a statue of Mustafa Kemal was placed, that was designed by an Italian sculptor, Pietro Canonica. The erection of these two buildings in the very early period of the Republic was a part of the state's cultural policy that aimed to define the Turkish nationalism through scholarly and cultural studies. Thus, these two buildings housed events like meetings and exhibitions in line with the cultural policy on Turkish identity.(Fig.30, 31 and 33)

5.1.1.2.4. Sıhhiye and Yenişehir

Moving further on the same path towards Sıhhiye, there were unoccupied areas bisected by the railroad passing along the east-west axis. These were areas between the already existing Old-City and the newly constructed Yenişehir. The Ministry of Health was situated at the south of the railroad, which was designed by a German architect Theodor Jost and its construction has

²⁶ Şenyapılı, 1980, p.9.

²⁷ Aslanoğlu, 1980, p.77.



Figure 29. The Opera section. The view included the *Itfaiye* 'plaza' on the right hand at the bottom and the Bankalar Street at the far north.

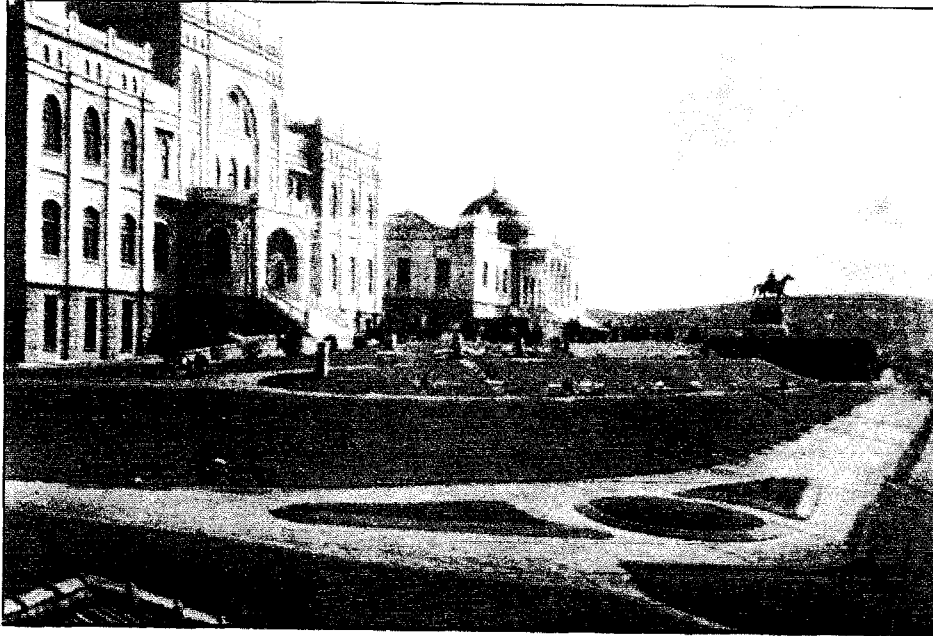


Figure 30. The *Namazgah* Hill with the Ethnographical Museum on the left and the *Türk Ocağı* on the right.



Figure 31. View of the Opera section from the north with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs situated in front of the *Namazgah* Hill.

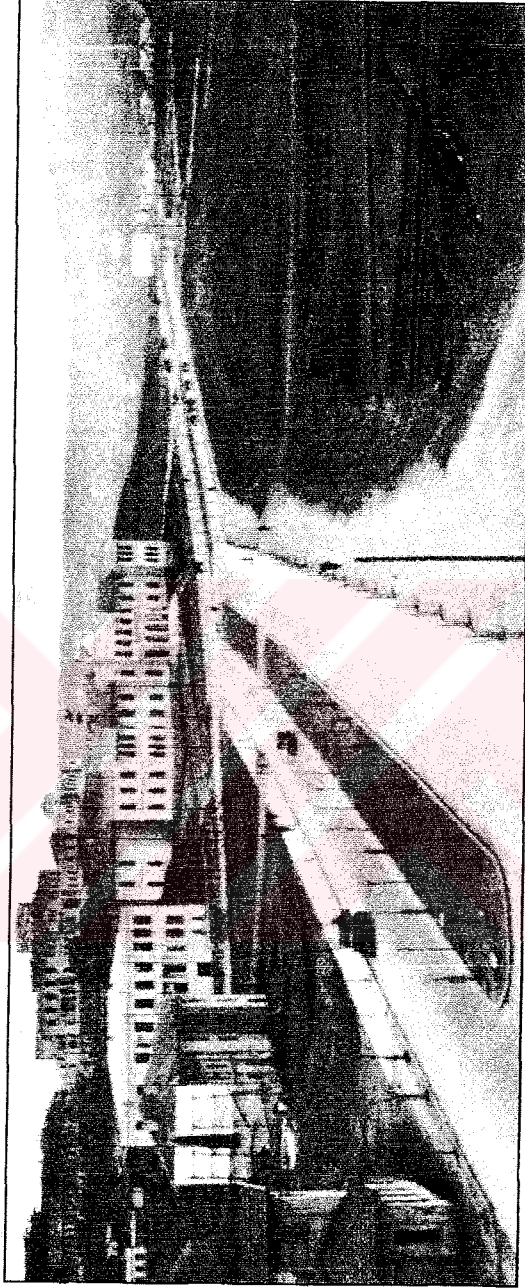


Figure 32. The Opera Section at the end of the 1920s.
Empty areas on the right were the site of future the *Gençlik Parkı* (Park of Youth).

finished by 1927.²⁸ The building was significant for its architectural features that were purified from the highly-stylized Ottoman-Islamic motifs on the facade. Hence, the building was celebrated in the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, for being the “most modern” building of Ankara. However, the criterion of being modern was explained in the same article to be “resembling to the latest buildings of Europe”.²⁹(Fig.33)

Sihhiye was in a way the gate to the Yenışehir and the construction of a new residential district initially started in this area. This initial housing scheme had started to be built upon the newly expropriated lands of Yenışehir behind the building of the Ministry of Health. It comprised of 198 detached houses of single floor with four or five rooms.³⁰(Fig.34) The construction of this new district was financed by several private firms and the government, in order to acquire accommodation for their officers and bureaucrats which were the new citizens of Ankara. Those houses were intended to be sold to their inhabitants through a reasonable schedule of repayment comprising long duration. This model of providing houses to the officers of the state was repeated along the Istanbul street situated at the north side of the future *Gençlik Parkı*. Accordingly, several different types of single houses with gardens were designed and only seven houses were constructed. One block comprised two detached houses with two stories and their facades were rendered with the features like pointed arches and large windows in one to two proportion, implying the Turkish architectural repertory. Financed by the *Vakıflar Müdürlüğü*, (Administration of Pious Foundations) these houses were designed by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu who was a well-known architect of the period. However, the architect’s intention of creating a house prototype, so that “anyone who saw it would wish to build one”,³¹ was in contradiction with the final product. If the aim was to design model houses that would be wished to be built by ‘anyone who saw them’, feasibility in finance and construction should be the primary concerns. However, those final solutions brought by Koyunoğlu were uneconomic and impractical to be built by a standard family because they were too large and massive houses.(Fig.35)

²⁸ Ibid., p.76.

²⁹ Quoted in Yıldırım Yavuz, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara’sında Mimari Biçim Endişesi”, *Mimarlık*, No.11-12, Nov.-Dec. 1973, p.29.

³⁰ Aslanoğlu, 1980, p.22.

³¹ Quoted in Şenyapılı, 1985, p.34.



Figure 33. The building of the Ministry of Health designed by Theodor Jost in 1927. The construction of the building was celebrated for its 'modernity'.

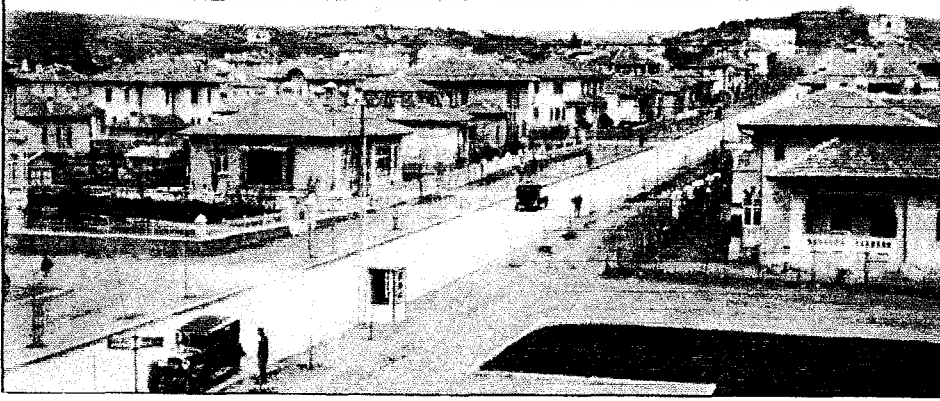


Figure 34. Initial housings in Yenisehir arranged according to Lörcher plan.



Figure 35. 'Model' houses designed by A. Hikmet Koyunoğlu.

Nevertheless, again on the west side of the Boulevard, where it intersected with the Ziya Gokalp Boulevard, new residential districts were erected. Depending upon the already indicated housing district in the plan that was given to Jansen, Şenyapılı assumed that this area was designed and built according to the Lörcher plan.³² As it was already mentioned in the section of initial planning attempts, this district comprised detached villas situated in separate gardens where the higher social classes lived. Those villas with various treatments in form and style, extended not only into Yenışehir but also to Cebeci, at the south eastern parts of the city.

The first house that was built adjacent to the Atatürk Boulevard was the villa situated at the corner where the Boulevard intersected with the Ziya Gokalp street.³³(Plate 11) The villa that belonged to Cemil Uybadin, the Minister of the Interior, was isolated from the street with high walls and impressive staircases surrounding its garden.(Fig.36) The most specific architectural features of the building were its tower and elongated eaves. This villa was a remarkable example of the villa district built in Yenışehir comprised of houses treated in similar fashion. Furthermore, a critical description of the physical environment and the social atmosphere in the villa district in Yenışehir, situated along the Boulevard, was made by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanođlu in his novel *Ankara*.³⁴ Accordingly, he described these houses as villas with embellished facades, isolated gardens, towers and large eaves that were resembling to the monumental medieval castles.³⁵ He also described these districts as constantly silent and desolate places where every family lived in their isolated houses within their detached gardens surrounded with walls. Those houses in Yenışehir were also criticized by the authors and architects of the time for the confused architectural expressions on their facades treated with diverse styles and forms, and the absence of common spaces shared by the public. Şenyapılı remarked the solitary and desolate atmosphere of these villa districts. Accordingly, she

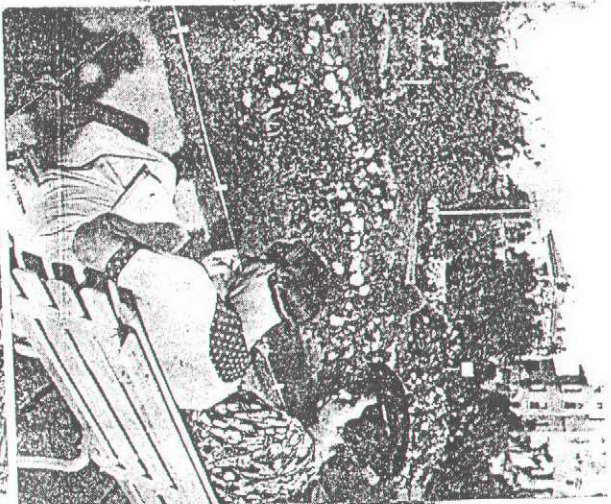
³² ibid., p.22.

³³ Sahil, Sare, *Cumhuriyet Sonrası Türk Toplumsal Yapı Deđişimlerinin Ankara Atatürk Bulvarı Mekansal Yapısında Örneklendirilmesi*, (Unpublished Ph.D.)Thesis, Ankara, Gazi Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 1986, p.116.

³⁴ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanođlu is a well-known novelist and journalist of the early Republican period. His novel *Ankara* and his essays published in the periodicals of the period that were depicting the physical structure of the early Republican Ankara and its new life practices confronted with the old patterns, have become significant documentations of the period. Karaosmanođlu, Yakup Kadri, *Ankara*, İstanbul first published in 1934, İletişim Yay.,1996, p.133.

³⁵ ibid., p.133.

YENİŞEHİRDE Akşam üstleri



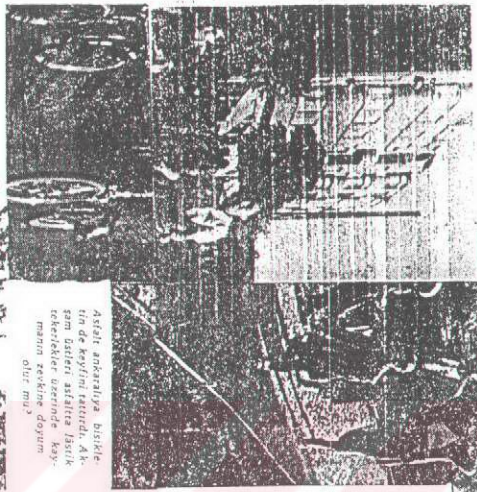
Yenişehirde parklarda akşam üstleri çocukları kareyi oturup kizib okumak zevkine bir hoyum olur mu?



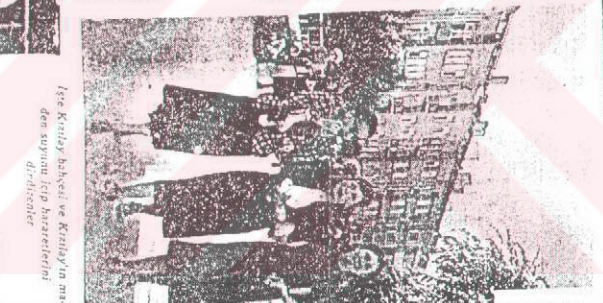
Yenişehirde akşam üstleri saatlerin ilerlemesiyle sokaklar dolup boşalan ve sınık sokakların en güzel zamanlarından biridir.



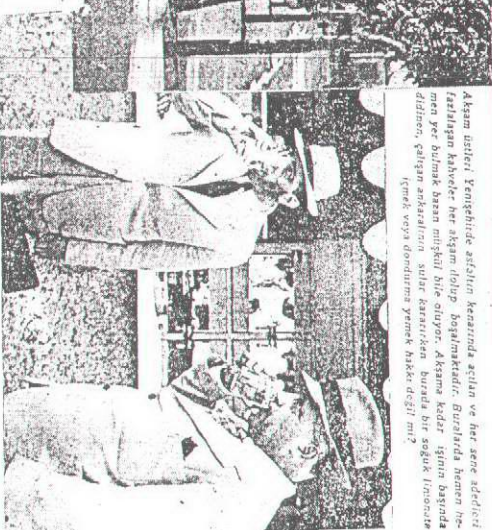
Yenişehir sokaklarında artık bir kezden çocuklar gelip geçiyorun en büyük hayranlarıdır.



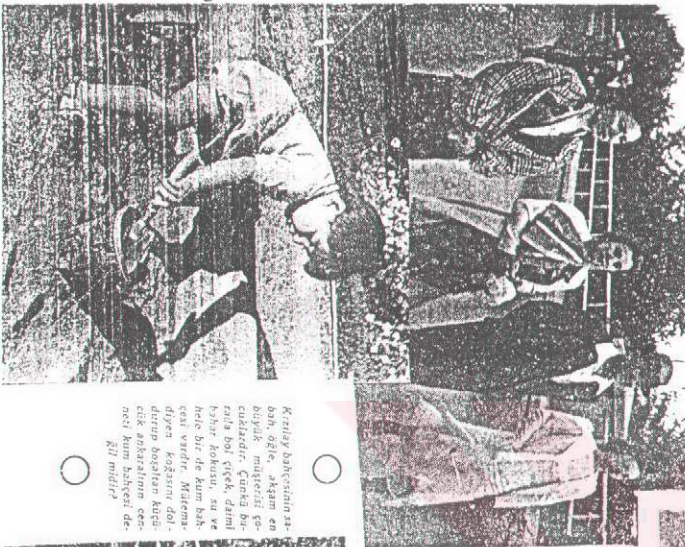
Azıcık arabaların başkalaşımında keşiflerin de keşifleri vardır. Akşam üstleri ariflerin başlık tebessümleri üzerinde kaymanan zekâna doygun olur mu?



İpe Kızılay bahçesi ve Kızılayın müden sığınan içip hareketlerini dirilticiler.



Akşam üstleri Yenişehirde ariflerin keşiflerinde aydın ve her seferinde edidirdiği kızıllığın kahveler her akşamın birer buluşmasıdır. Burada hem her zaman yer bulmak olan müjgüli birer buluşma. Akşama kadar ışığın başında dâimî, günün akşamın müjgüli birer buluşma. Burada bir sığınak İstanbulda (Yenişehir) doğrudan doğruya yemek kâğıdı değil mi?



Kızılay bahçesinde akşam üstleri, akşamın en büyük müjgüleri geciktirir. Çünkü her anlık kokusu, su ve her bir de kum bahçesi vardır. Müjgüleri diyecekseniz dâimîden buğulan kızıllık müjgüleri, her anlık müjgüleri değil müjgüleri?

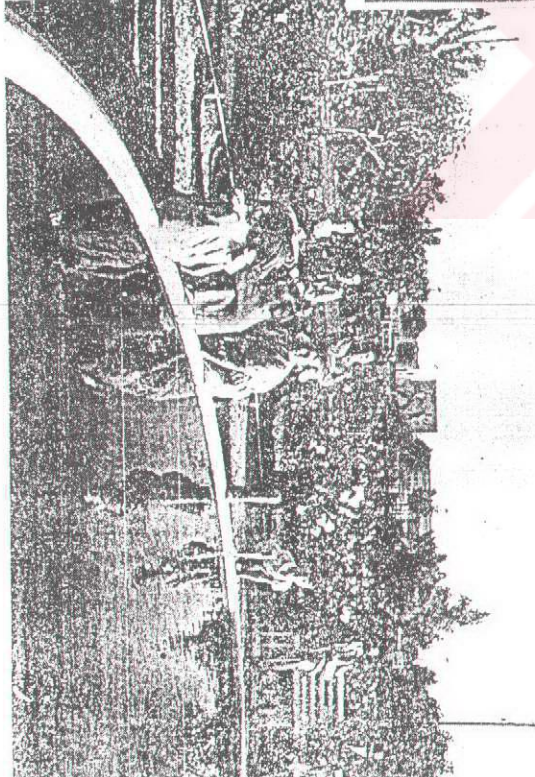


Figure 55. Views from Yenişehir, published in *Ulus*, October 6, 1938.



Figure 36. The *Havuzbaşı* park and Cemil Uybadin House. The house was an example of the villas in Yenişehir, criticised for its image of a 'medieval castle'.

proclaimed that this social scene was a consequence of the negative features in their spatial arrangement. Those were mainly the placement of the houses without giving reference to each other and to any common use, the monotonous/homogeneous use of land disregarding the changes in the topography, the absence of variety in housing and population density, and also the lack of additional functions diffused into those districts.³⁶ Then, those houses standing independently on the ground as secluded monuments were placed only with reference to the Boulevard disregarding their neighborhood. This scene was inevitably the consequence of an unplanned growth.

On the other hand, being the only common ground of social interaction for the inhabitants of Yenisehir, the Boulevard was elaborated with plazas and public gardens interrupting its monotonous flow towards Çankaya. In a way, the absence of public spaces within those districts was compensated by the existence of the Boulevard as the only axis of common space in Yenisehir, where events for social gatherings would start to be frequently held. Still, the nucleus of social life in the city was the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza and its close surroundings in this period. Also the city life was penetrating into the Old City through the Anafartalar street where commerce and leisure activities were situated.

Further on the southern part of the road proceeding to Çankaya, *Zafer Meydanı* (Plaza of Victory) was arranged in a rectangular plan split by the Boulevard at the center. On the west side of this plaza the building of *Danıştay* (Council of State) was erected in 1928.(Fig.37) The park in front of this building had a geometrical landscape design, and a pool with Roman figures placed at its center. The park on the other side of the Boulevard was a repetition of the same design placed symmetrically along the central axis of the Boulevard. The plaza was also marked with a statue of Atatürk at the center designed by Canonica in 1927. That statue of Atatürk, standing in his uniform and facing the south, was situated at the center of this plaza and it became a popular spot in Yenisehir for the public to have memory pictures as it was witnessed from the postcards of the period.³⁷(Fig.38)

Along the same route again proceeding to the south, the Boulevard intersected Ziya Gökalp street which became another important boulevard of

³⁶ Şenyapılı, 1985, p.30-31.

³⁷ *Ankara Posta Kartları ve Belge Fotoğrafları Arşivi*, Belko, Ankara 1994, p.185.

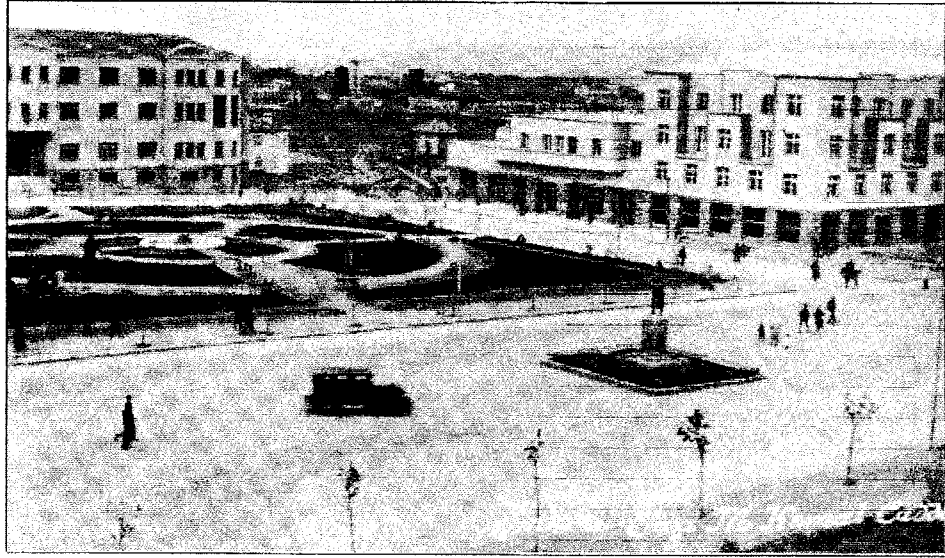


Figure 37. *Zafer Meydanı* (Plaza of Victory), surrounded with the buildings of the *Danıştay* (Council of State) and the *Orduevi* (Officers' Club).



Figure 38. Sculpture of Mustafa Kemal standing in his uniform that was situated at the center of the *Zafer Meydanı*.

Yenişehir on the east-west axis. This boulevard was leading to the housing districts of Yenişehir situated on both sides of the Atatürk Boulevard. This intersection point was also designed as a park named *Havuzbaşı*, earlier than the *Zafer Meydanı* was constructed. *Havuzbaşı* initially had a pool decorated with antique Roman angel figures placed at the center. After its surrounding was designed as a park with seats for the public, it became a popular site of Yenişehir's social. As it was also announced by the newspapers of the period, there were frequently held open-air concerts organized by the *Şehremaneti* and accordingly a pavilion for sheltering the orchestra was placed. This practice of listening to Western classical music played by *Riyaseti Cumhur Mızıkası* (Presidential Symphony Orchestra), in an *urban park* of Yenişehir was also announced in the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* with additional photographs.³⁸ This was the first nucleus in Yenişehir proposing a new social practice for the inhabitants of Ankara and creating a lively atmosphere as it was described in the newspapers and the photographs of the period. (Fig. 39 and 40)

By the end of this period there were still vast lands along the Boulevard through Çankaya, where embassies has started to erect their buildings. However this growth was still accidental and the need for an entire city plan was felt. The construction activities started from the first day of the Republic, were primarily based on the erection of the buildings needed to house the governmental and public functions of the young republic that would also represent the image of this new authority in its new setting. The arrangement of most of those new buildings along the Boulevard also implied that a new set of urban relations was installed into this straight axis of the city's expansion. Thus, surrounded and defined by the new functions of the capital life, the Boulevard has become the most prestigious artery of the whole city and the principal organizer of the city life which should inevitably be more emphasized by a coming city-plan.

³⁸ "Yenişehir'de güzel bir park halini alan meydana akşamları Riyaseti Cumhur Mızıkası çalıyor.", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, October 3, 1928, p.1.

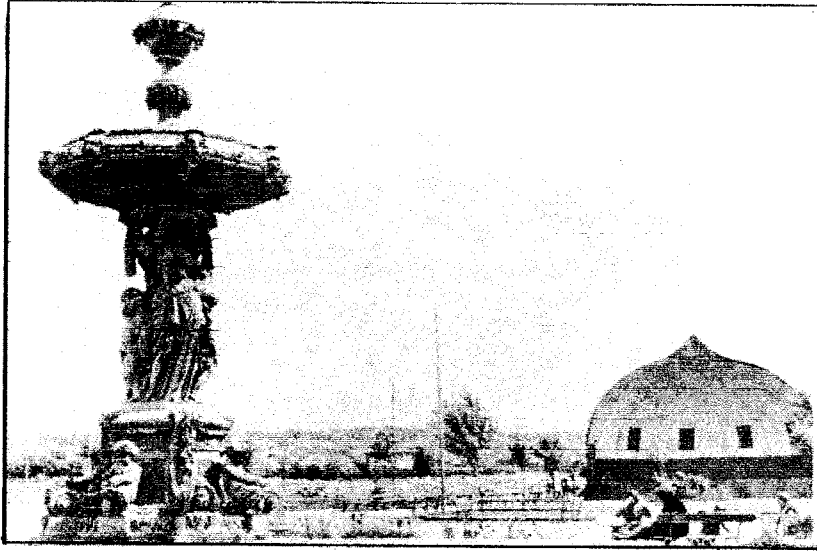


Figure 39. The park of *Havuzbaşı*, a popular site in Yenişehir with the pavilion sheltering the *Riyaset-i Cumhuri Mızıkası* and the pool.

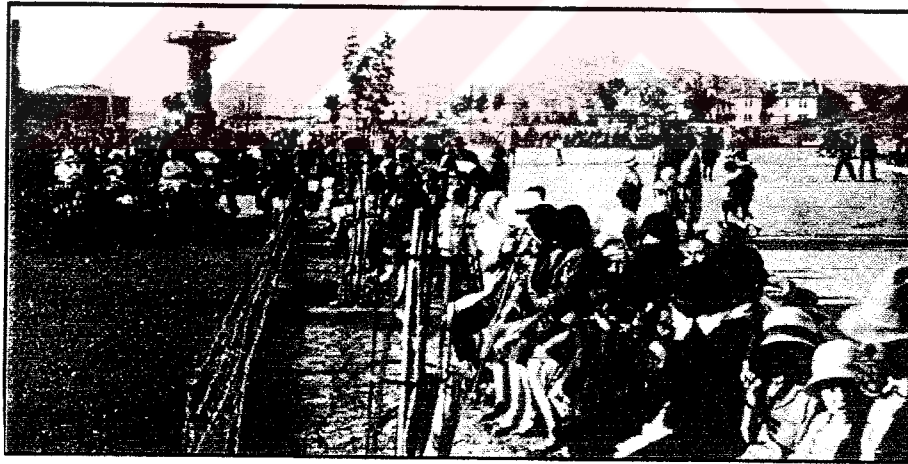


Figure 40. The 'lively' atmosphere in *Havuzbaşı* during a Yenişehir afternoon.

5.1.2. The Period between 1929-1932

5.1.2.1. The Socio-political Context

This second interval is specified as the period of practicing with the preliminary plan of Jansen.³⁹ After it was announced that Jansen's plan was selected as the city plan of Ankara in May, 1929, the idea of *progress through method and plan* would be tried to put into practice in the context of the entire Ankara. Thus, this period is significant for being the initial process of practicing with the ideals of the modernization project in a wider and definite perspective, again governed by the state.

In the aftermath of the World Economic Crisis in 1929, the economic policies had to be re-formulated by the state in order to protect the national economy. The defects of this crisis in economy were felt as decrease in the amount of exportation profits and increase in the prices of the imported goods. Consequently this crisis caused degradation in the progress of the national economy. Thus, state expanded its authority over the economical relations with foreign countries and limited the amount of importation.⁴⁰ This solely protective attitude of the state in 1930 and 1931 was transformed into the official ideology of statism in 1932.⁴¹ Accordingly, foreign firms were nationalized and new institutions were established in order to sustain the economy with additional credits such as *Eti Bank* and *Sümer Bank*. *Merkez Bankası* (Central Bank) was also founded in 1930 for controlling the state budget. In parallel with the extending state authority in economy, nationalism was transferred into the economic realm through organizations suggesting the use of national products. The *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti* (Society of National Economy and Savings), was founded for this aim in 1929. Conferences, publications and exhibitions were being organized with the same intention of promoting the use of 'Turkish' products.⁴²

³⁹ Such a classification of intervals in analyzing Ankara's progression in the early republican period is initially proposed by Tankut. Tankut 1990, p.67.

⁴⁰ Şahin, 1995, p.45.

⁴¹ The principal policy of this system is further explained by Boratav as the "existence of the state as the main entrepreneur and producer in all realms of production except agriculture". Boratav, Korkut, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi; 1908-1985*, İstanbul Gerçek Yayınevi, Yeni Dizi:1,1998, p.50.

⁴² Aslanoğlu, 1980, p.4-5.

In line with statist policies in economy, the state authority was extending in the political realm. In 1930, *Cumhuriyetçi Halk Fırkası* became the single authority in the political arena which implied the centralization of the state authority. In the third party congress held in May 10, 1931, the current ideology of the party, hence the state, was formulated with the already explained six principles. They comprised the future intentions for not only the national economy but also the cultural and social realm.

Also in this period, nationalism would be re-interpreted in the cultural realm by the guidance of the state. Accordingly, the *Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti* (Turkish Historical Society) was founded in 1930 and the *Türk Dil Cemiyeti* (Turkish Linguistics Society) was founded in 1932. Another very important institution that was founded in February, 1932, was the *Halkevi* (People's House) which replaced the previous *Türk Ocağı*. The *Halkevi* was founded for educating the public in accord with the political and ideological objectives of the state, which were not simply based on the Turkish nationalist discourse.⁴³ This shift from the *Türk Ocağı* to the *Halkevi* nine years after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, implied the shift in the interpretation of nationalist discourse towards the spread of populism into the cultural and social realms, which was previously signifying Turkishness.

5.1.2.2. The Architectural Scene

The attempts of re-interpreting the task of nationalism was also carried into the field of architecture. The highly stylized Ottoman and Islamic elements, abstracted from the already built mosques, *medreses* and the *kulliyes* had been applied to the public buildings designed to house the modern institutions and life practices in the early Republican Ankara. Nevertheless, being the capital of the newborn secular nation-state of the Turkish Republic, the spatial layout of Ankara including the architectural production, was intended to represent the image of this new state. Accordingly, the binary objective of constructing a national and also Western civilization was carried into the architectural field, and the search for finding a new way of expressing the modern Turkish architecture started. By the early 1930s, architectural discourse in Turkey improved its means of acquiring

⁴³ Yeşilkaya, Neşe G., *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimari*, İstanbul, İletişim Yay., 1999, p.63-64.

knowledge about the world architecture, especially from the Western world. First of all, as a consequence of the idea of utilizing foreign expertise, architects from several European countries were invited to Turkey. Initiated by Theodor Jost and Clemens Holzmeister, a new language of architectural expression appeared in the city-scape of Ankara, which inaugurated the discussions on modern (*asri*) architecture. Correspondingly, through the articles published in the first architectural periodical, *Mimar* that appeared in 1931, the aesthetic and social theories of the European avant-garde modernism were introduced into the Turkish architectural scene. Also in 1931, Celal Esat (Arseven)'s book *Yeni Mimari* was published as the first book on modern architecture. By this book, Celal Esat introduced further information on the avant-garde movements in Europe, on CIAM and its most outstanding figure, Le Corbusier.

In order to substantiate the claim that architectural modernism had influences on the Turkish architectural discourse in this period, a transparent definition of what is meant by modernism and in what way we can trace its effects on the architectural production of the period, has to be made.⁴⁴ Starting from the early twentieth century Modernism in architecture revealed itself as revolting against all the normative approaches towards traditions and history, which was represented by various avant-garde movements in Europe.⁴⁵ The aesthetic modernity, comprising all fields of art as well as architecture, was characterized by the changed consciousness of time, that placed a certain value on *the transitory* and *the dynamic*. Correspondingly, it revealed an abstract opposition between present and the past, and intended to break with the conventions of history. This motto was followed by the purification of form, formulation of rational attitudes based on functional, scientific and analytical approach towards architecture and the unification of all kinds of art with architecture, that were very new concepts for its time. Hence, a significant proposition of the avant-garde movements was their conceiving architecture as an imperative instrument for social change. The modernist theory in architecture did not only comprise the re-formulation of building aesthetics, but also the re-conceptualization of life practices in the city. The intervention of architects to urban structure was in the

⁴⁴ While it is not possible to attain a precise formulation of this term, I intend to draw its conceptual boundaries with reference to the argument of Jürgen Habermas, "Modernity an Incomplete Project", in *The Anti-Aesthetic*, Ed. Hal Foster, Washington Bay Press, 1987, p.3-15, and Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1989.

⁴⁵ Like, *Futurism* in Italy, *Expressionism* in Germany and Austria, *Purism* in France and Belgium, *Constructivism* in the USSR, *De Stijl* in Holland.

form of city planning. Accordingly, the architects of the modern era gained a political role by intervening into the existing situation of the society. For their primary aim of transforming the society by using architecture as means, they brought new visions for a "reconstructed form of life". Hence, throughout these attempts, they intended to re-define the role of the architect in the society. Meanwhile, Jansen was certainly acquainted with this avant garde discourse in Europe since he was also practicing in Berlin. In the master plan of Ankara he had also applied the zoning principle which was a new urban design theme promoted in the CIAM congress of 1928. However, when his concern on technology and traffic is considered, it is obvious that he was not an advocate of modernist urban design principles.

Those various architectural movements in western Europe and in the USSR were inevitably conceived as new theoretical and architectural directions in Turkey by the end of the 1920s. The modernist idea of breaking with the past and the creation of a revolutionary aesthetics in architectural production was fitting into the revolutionary context of the young Turkish Republic. Modernization was also lived as the appreciation of the current western material and formal culture conceived as the pre-requisite of progress. Thus, supported by the central authority, elements of modern architecture were introduced not only into the architectural field, but also into the sight of the entire society through daily newspapers.⁴⁶ New life patterns modeled in the new forms of modernist architecture with European origins, were promoted in those publications in order to penetrate into the citizens' every day life. In those publications, the architect was also being rendered as a socially responsible member of the young republic whose mission was creating new spaces where the proposed new life patterns would take place. Accordingly, an article published in the first issue of *Mimar*, was presenting the new role of the architect in the arrangement of a house plan and interior which was in fact a proposal of a new life pattern for the Turkish family.⁴⁷ The author, who was an architect, proclaimed: "today, the entire world has appreciated that the architect is not merely a workman who constructs our house for sheltering us from the rain and sun, but he is a contemplator on the way we

⁴⁶ For example, "Almanya'da Modern Mimarlık", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, September 24, 1929, "Viyana'da Açılan İnşaat Sergisinde Modern Evler", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, August 4, 1929, "Ev, Enteryör ve Mobilya Nedir?", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, July 9, 1929, "Yeni Mimari: Mimarlık Aleminde Yeni Bir Esas", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, December 2, 1930.

⁴⁷ Abdullah Ziya, "Binanın İçinde Mimar", *Mimar*, 1931, Sayı 1, p.14.

live our everyday lives.” Correspondingly, he introduced a model for living in an apartment, including its arrangement of functions and also furnishing principles, according to the most efficient way of living. And such an active role in the designation of life practices promoted by *Mimar* for the architect, revealed the influences of modernism in the Turkish architectural realm. Besides, this attitude disclosed the improving social consciousness of the Turkish architect as a designer of the life practices. Hence, such an attitude would be relevant to the revolutionary context in Turkey.

5.1.2.3. The Atatürk Boulevard in Jansen’s Preliminary Plan

As we return to the Atatürk Boulevard and its further development in this period, we have to look at what was planned specifically for the Boulevard by Jansen in his preliminary design which he submitted in October, 1928 for the competition. In the report that accompanied his final revisions on the city-plan, Jansen primarily emphasized the significance of *economy* and *health* in city planning. Accordingly, he promoted the provision of the least number of streets for vehicle traffic with straight routes, in order to maintain feasibility in the construction process. Also, he provided the isolation of pedestrian routes from these streets for protecting the pedestrians from the dust and gases of the vehicles. Additionally, he indicated the need for green areas and plazas in the city for creating a ‘healthy’ environment and also a *healthy nation*. These were his major concerns in designing the Atatürk Boulevard, the broadest traffic artery of the city which joined several functional zones in the final Ankara plan.⁴⁸

Since the route of the Boulevard had already been shaped, Jansen reserved this existing road as the primary axis of the city in north-south direction for the *uninterrupted* flow of the vehicle traffic. At the intersection point of the Boulevard with the railroad, he proposed the construction of a bridge providing the passage of trains upon the level of the vehicle traffic. Since Jansen had designed various districts comprising different functions like sports, industry, housing and administration, the Boulevard was rendered as the spine of the city in plan, assembling these different functions along the north-south axis.

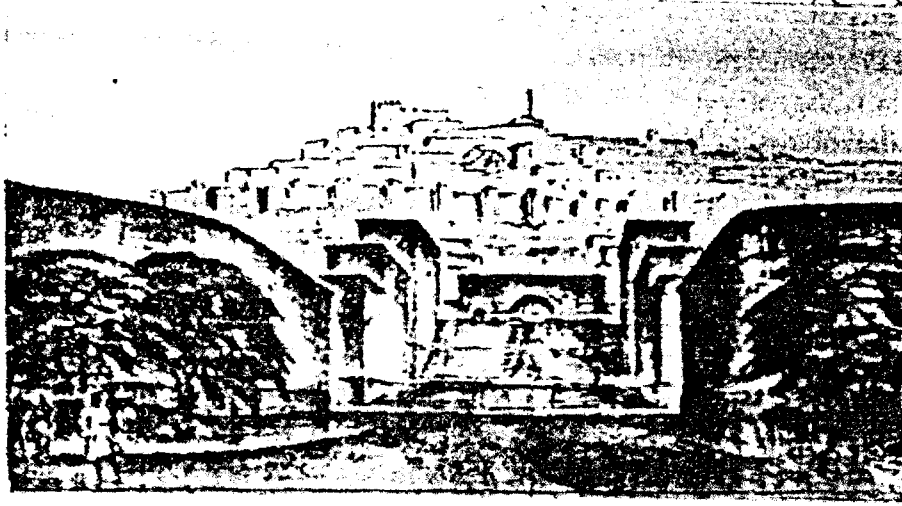
⁴⁸ Jansen did not apply the term ‘boulevard’ for this axis in his competition report, but used the specific names of the streets constituting the Boulevard. i.e. he uses the name *Gazi Street* for the section in Yenışehir.

Moreover, it is also necessary to mention how he organized the layout of those functions along this axis.

Although Jansen indicated this axis as a continuous line leading to Keçiören on the north and Çankaya on the south in his plan scheme, the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza will be considered as the starting point of the Boulevard, in order to record his specific suggestions along this route. It was previously mentioned that the Citadel was perceived as a visual and symbolic center of the city for which he had proposed seven plazas surrounding the Citadel all having direct physical and visual access to it. Accordingly, the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza was considered as one of those seven plazas situated at the west-side of the Citadel. Provided with a pedestrian alley connecting with Bentderesi Valley (the area on the north of the Citadel designed as a green park with additional recreational facilities by Jansen), the Plaza was considered as a prominent site upon which he also proposed to erect the Town Hall. A second plaza he designed circumscribing the Citadel was the Opera Plaza, for which he proposed renovation of the existing İtfaiye Plaza. Even more, Jansen considered this plaza as the most significant one of those seven plazas, because it would be uniting the pedestrian alley coming from the train-station through the park he designed across the plaza and leading to the Citadel. (Fig.41) Jansen, further mentioned that he aimed to maintain the vista of the Citadel from every point of the city in his planning of the roads and the building heights that should not disturb the view of the Citadel.

Proceeding through the new parts of the city, Jansen proposed a new administrative center on the south-west part of the city adjacent to the west-side of the Boulevard. According to Jansen's scheme, this district had a symmetrical plan along the central axis of a triangle, situated on the slope of Çankaya. This new administrative center comprised of cascaded plazas assembled with a pedestrian alley situated at the central axis bounded by the buildings of the Ministries on both sides and ended with the building of the Grand National Assembly, situated at the higher point of the triangular plan. Initially, the building of the Ministry of Education was proposed in the form of a *monumental arch* placed on the central axis as a gate to the inner courtyard of the entire setting. Access to this interior axis was provided from the park situated at the *Hilal-i Ahmer Square* on the Boulevard. This was an exceptional spot in Jansen's plan that presented an elaborate arrangement of the public spaces, pedestrian alleys

Jansen planı tatbik edilince.



Profesör Jansen'in planları arasında, plan tatbik edildikten sonra şehrin alacağı şekil hakkında bazı resimler vardır. Opera meydanı ismi verilen ve bugünkü Osmanlı Bankası karşısındaki meydandan Kaleye çıkan büyük ve merdiven varı bir yol yapılacaktır.

Meydana uzayan yolu ve Opera meydanından Kaleye çıkışı gösteren bu serilerin fotoğrafını aldık.

Yukarıdaki resim Opera meydanından Kaleye çıkışı ve diğeri de Opera ve kaleyi göstermektedir.

Duvar şeklindeki şeyler bina buluklarıdır.

Figure 41. Jansen's drawings of the Opera Plaza, presenting its future image according to the new city-plan of Ankara. It was published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on June 6, 1929.

and plazas in detail. Jansen further described this setting as “a monumental forum that was not less (*impressive*) than its historical archetypes”.⁴⁹ Apart from this new setting of urban plazas adjacent to the Boulevard, Jansen criticized the existing situation of the Boulevard for its being ‘in-filled with plazas having no systematic design concern’.⁵⁰

On the other hand, Jansen proposed various schemes of residential districts in Yenışehir which were attached to the Boulevard with secondary roads. When the overall city plan is considered, there were mainly three housing regions in Jansen’s design. First region was the houses in the Old City which would be renovated and preserved. Moreover, the road pattern would be re-organized according to the overall circulation scheme of the traffic. Secondly, Jansen designed the region between the governmental district and southern parts of the railroad as housing districts comprised of houses of single or two floors with individual gardens. Also, at the west side of the governmental district, three thousand houses for the officers were proposed to be designed in a similar approach. Thirdly, Jansen placed villas with large gardens in the region between Çankaya and the governmental district, which he defined as the most “prestigious” districts of the city. Additionally, Jansen had proposed a workers district (*amele mahallesi*) with similar housing patterns in low density at the northern parts of the city.

Furthermore, Jansen proposed different types of houses within those districts. Still, a common approach was the placement of low-rise houses within gardens either in detached single form or in continuous blocks constituting low density. Another prevalent idea in those districts was the arrangement of various types of houses as neighborhoods (*mahalle*) with their own public open spaces, such as green parks and public plazas. Those villas proposed for the higher social classes would also be designed as detached houses in their individual gardens along the Boulevard in Yenışehir.⁵¹ A significant note on these residential districts is their being severed from any other function like commerce or recreation apart from the green parks and public plazas.

⁴⁹ *Ankara İmar Planı*, Alaaddin Kiral basımevi, İstanbul 1937, p.37.

⁵⁰ Those plazas he criticised along the Boulevard were the *Zafer Meydanı* and the *Havuzbaşı*. *Ibid.*, p.147.

⁵¹ Şenyapılı defined this villa proposal as a stylized continuation of the farm-house (*bağevi*) tradition, that had already been built in the vineyards around the city by the local inhabitants of Ankara. Şenyapılı, 1985, p.37.

5.1.2.4. Spatial evolution along the Boulevard in light of Jansen's preliminary plan

5.1.2.4.1. Yenişehir and Sıhhiye

The preliminary plan that was prepared by Jansen for the competition in 1928, was not presented in detail of a master plan. The final master plan of Ankara would be prepared and approved in July 27, 1932. Meanwhile, Jansen's preliminary plan was to be put into practice immediately after the competition because of the ongoing construction activities in Ankara without the guidance of a program.⁵² Hence, assisted by Jansen's plan, the city continued its further expansion along the Atatürk Boulevard on the north-south axis.

On July 7, 1929, two months after the competition resulted, it was announced in the first page of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, that Jansen had started his studies on the plan after a survey in the city and an office would be maintained in Ankara for his further studies.⁵³ As it was recorded in the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, the beginning of the planning process was announced to the public in 'excitement', and the proceeding steps of planning activities would be informed with additional information about the objectives of the plan. Accordingly, the following days' publications informed that Jansen initially started his studies with the Gazi Boulevard (the previous name of the Atatürk Boulevard comprising its Yenişehir section).⁵⁴ There, it was announced that "Jansen would transform this street into the most appropriate form of road where automobiles would ride in *speed and comfort*".

The future accomplishments of the plan were being described and also praised with additional informative articles that were frequently published in the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. In fact, those were utilized as pedagogic instruments of informing the public on the city plan. The apprehension of the plan as in favor of the public's benefits was essential for acquiring public commitment to the execution of the plan. A significant example of these was the one published on August 1, 1929 written by Falih Rıfki. In his article, Falih Rıfki made a definition

⁵² Tankut, 1990, p.67.

⁵³ *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, July 7, 1929, p.1.

⁵⁴ "Profesör İlk İş Olarak Yenişehirdeki Gazi Boluvarını Tashih Edecektir.", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, July 9, 1929, p.1.

for the 'city-artist' whom he defined as the designer of not only the order of the city but also "the exterior view of every object in the city".⁵⁵ Attributing the authority of ordering the physical setting and the way of living in that setting to the city-artist, he admitted that in order to realize that design, it was needed (for the citizens) "to submit...to the *plan* and the *program*", and also "to the *new ideas* [they] are *not accustomed to hear*".

According to the directives of Jansen's plan, the physical layout of the Boulevard was re-arranged in proposed dimensions and the appropriate form of traffic flow. The new arrangement of the Boulevard according to Jansen's plan, was almost fully realized by the end of 1932.(Plate 12) This main axis with forty meters width was split into two channels for the flow of vehicle traffic in two directions. In the section between Sıhhiye and Yenişehir, there was an empty zone of eleven meters width between these two channels. This in-between zone was initially used for the horse-drawn carriages which was reserved for a tramway system and future transformations. In the remaining section between Sıhhiye and the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza, this empty zone in-between the two lanes was narrower because the tramway system would not reach to these parts of the Boulevard. Along the entire span on the both sides of the roads, there were four lines of trees placed in parallel with Jansen's principle of screening the view and the smoke of the vehicle traffic with greenery, for the pedestrians on the sidewalks.(Plate 13)

Within the first three months, Jansen also completed the final layout of the new administrative district.(Plate 14) This new setting of the *Devlet Mahallesi* (District of Government) was presented with several photographs of its model published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on September, 19 1928.(Fig.42) The construction of these buildings started in 1930 and the architect of all these buildings was the Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister. Holzmeister had already been commissioned by the state in 1927, for designing the building of the *Müdafa-i Milliye Vekaleti* (Ministry of National Defense) and the *Erkan-i Harbiyye-i Umumiyye Riyaseti* (General Staff), in the far eastern side of Yenişehir. In the decree approving his commission, the reason of giving the task of designing all those buildings to Holzmeister was explained as the 'absence' of a Turkish

⁵⁵ Falih Rifki, "Gündelik: Örnek Şehir", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, August 1, 1929, p.8.

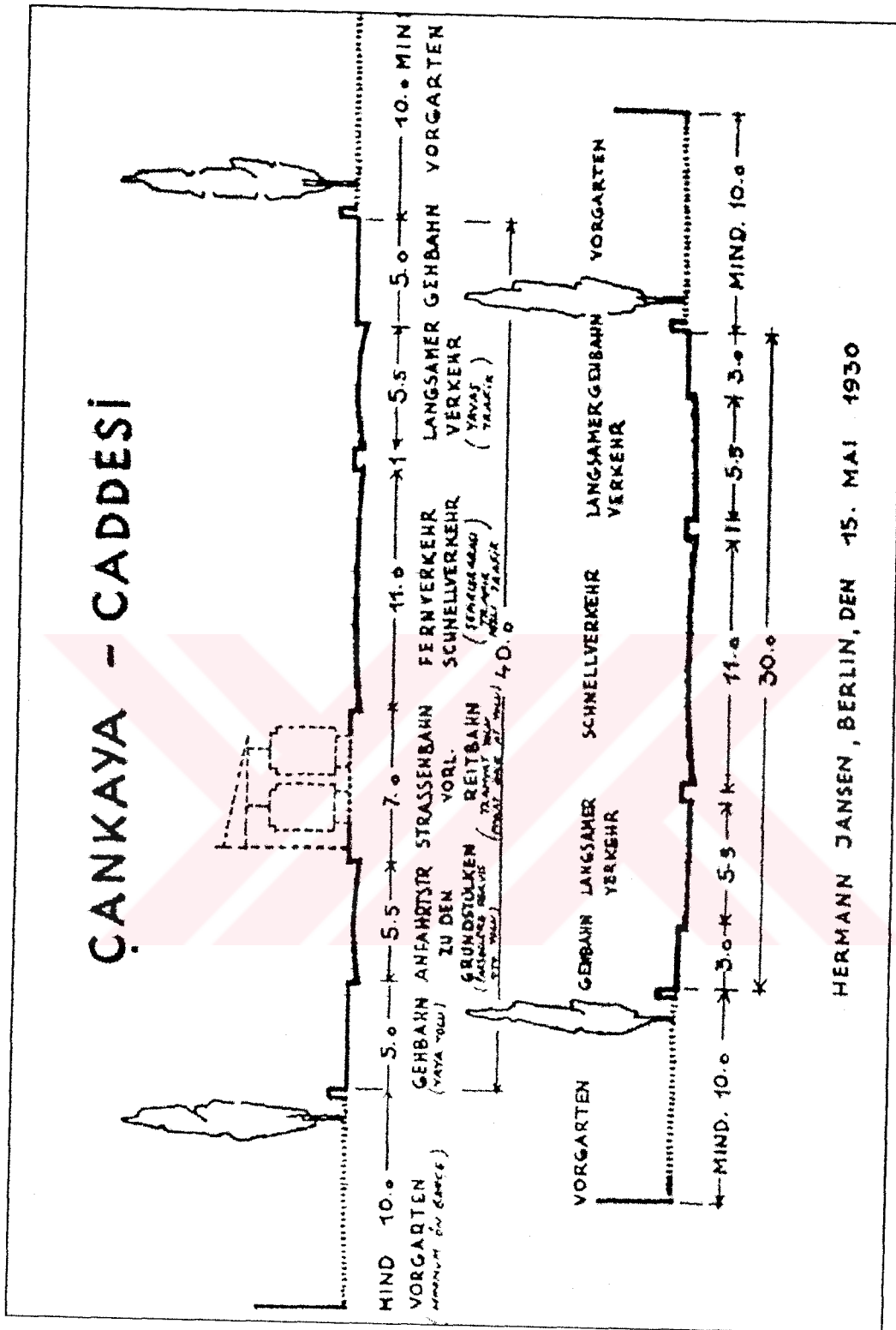


Plate 13. Two sections from the Atatürk Boulevard illustrating the division of the road and the screen of trees for the pedestrian, drawn by Jansen.

Devlet Binaları Mahallesi.

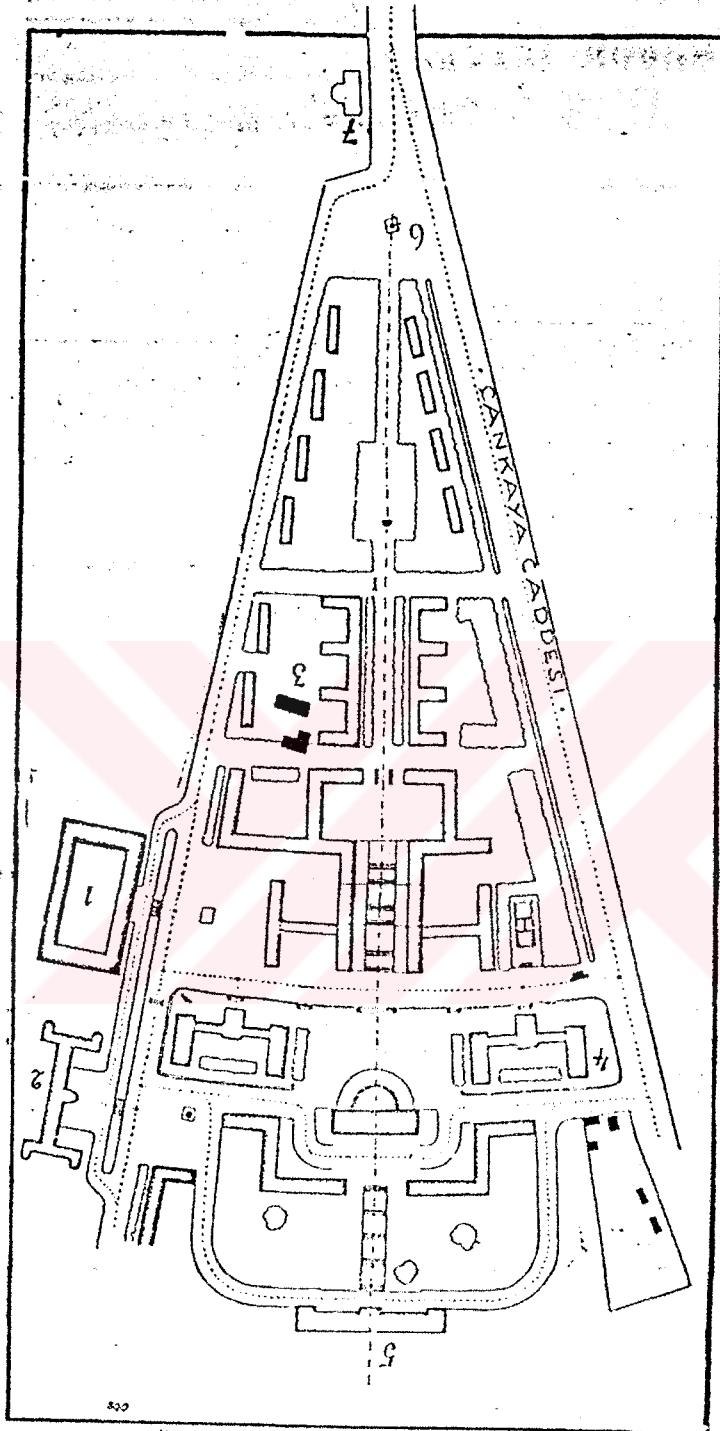


Plate 14. Plan of the District of Government published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on October 27, 1929.

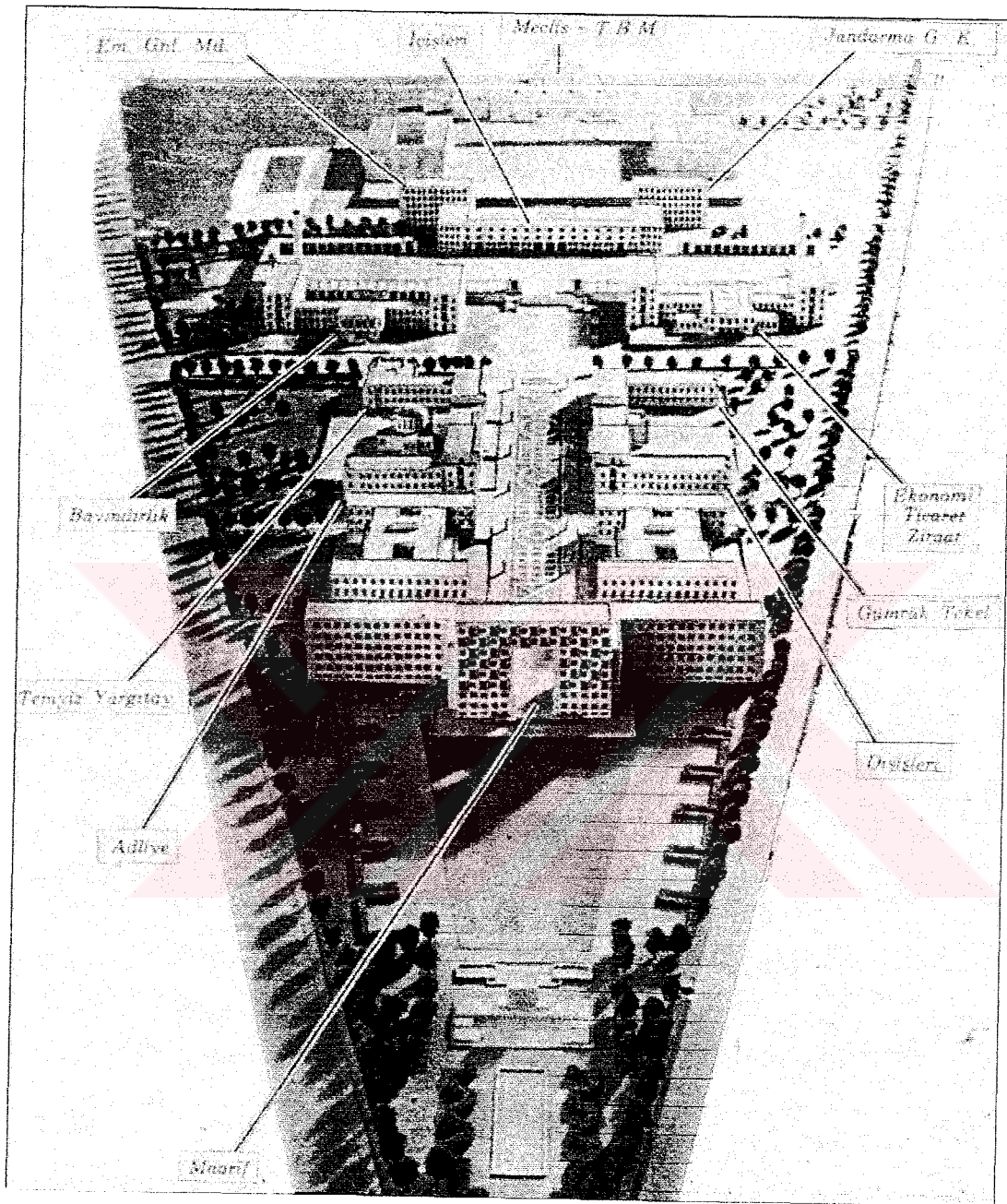


Figure 42. Model of Jansen's design for the District of Government.

architect experienced in designing such buildings.⁵⁶

Following the new increments promoting the rationalization of urban space with the execution of the plan and the advancement of the Boulevard into the primary route of the vehicle traffic for their speedy flow, the park of Havuzbaşı had to be removed from the Boulevard. (Plate 12) This park was already placed at the node where two significant arteries of the city intersected, and it was popularly used by the inhabitants of Yenişehir as a place of public gatherings in the afternoons. Meanwhile, the practice of listening to open-air concerts around the pool was being eliminated by the application of rational city planning principles into the traffic scheme of the city. And the displacement of this setting necessitated by the *new plan* was celebrated in the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on September 5, 1929, as the removal of the 'ugliest objects' in Ankara, mentioning the pool with the human figures of antiquity.⁵⁷ The use of these pools with archaic decorative figures as a frequently used urban furniture in the parks and plazas of the city was seemingly contradictory with the desired 'modern' image of the new capital.

On the other hand, again around the same square, the construction of the building of *Hilal-i Ahmer* (Red Crescent), started in 1929. After it was finished in 1932, the building also gave its name to this Square. Additionally a public garden was designed in front of the building in 1933, which was in fact a repetition of the *Havuzbaşı* park removed from the square after the Jansen plan.⁵⁸ (Fig.43)

In this period between 1929-1932, the task of housing was left to the private entrepreneurs. Even though the planar arrangement and the character of residential districts were settled in Jansen's design, there was not an effective organizational arrangement for the actualization of the plan's propositions by the state. Tankut assessed that this was parallel with the idea of creating a national bourgeoisie with the least intervention of the state.⁵⁹ The state only supplied financial aid for the officers accommodation instead of building for them. Regarding Jansen's plan, the applied rules for housing in Yenişehir were the

⁵⁶ Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başvekalet Muamelat Müdüriyeti, 5963 nolu kararname, December 18, 1927. (Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Cumhuriyet Arşivi, Ankara).

⁵⁷ "Ankara'nın en çirkin şeylerinden biri, alçı havuz ve heykellerdir. Bereket, yeni planda yukarıda resmini gördüğünüz havuzun bulunduğu bahçe kaldırılmıştır. O fırsatla biz de bu iptidai manzarayı görmekten kurtulacağız." *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, September 5, 1929, p.5,

⁵⁸ *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, "Hilal-i Ahmer Bahçesini Yarın Açıyor", May 31, 1933, p.1.

⁵⁹ Tankut, 1990, p.91.



Figure 43. The building of *Hilal-i Ahmer* (Red Crescent) and its public garden.

directions such as the land organization, the width of the building facades that should be 14-16 meters in Yenişehir and Cebeci, and the neighborhood gap (*komşuluk mesafesi*) that provided 3 meters on both sides of the buildings.⁶⁰

5.1.2.4.2. The Opera Section

Further on the Boulevard toward the north, the construction of new buildings for public services was going on. Accordingly, the empty areas in-between the Bankalar street and Yenişehir were being filled with new buildings along both sides of the Boulevard. A significant one of those buildings was the İsmetpaşa Girls' Institute designed by the Italian architect Ernst Egli.⁶¹ Egli acted as a representative of modern architecture in Turkey and wrote articles presenting theoretical knowledge on modern architecture that were also published in the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*.⁶² The construction of this building was finished in 1930. An important feature of the building was its simplicity in design that can be viewed as a modernist attitude. Mainly, the building comprised a long mass with three stories where classrooms and ateliers were placed along the long galleries and there were two higher blocks at the both ends containing the staircases. A pleasant attribute of the building was its location adjacent to the Boulevard, having almost direct entrance from the sidewalk without any isolating zone, which made it visually and physically penetrable from the Boulevard.(Fig.44) The institute was founded for educating girls for various professions such as textile design, embroidery and various decorative arts besides the main courses on science, literature and culture. Thus, it was significant in revealing the state's intention in making women active participants of the social and the economic life.(Fig.45 and 46) There were also frequently held public courses and seminars by the institute.⁶³ Moreover, it was noted by

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.87.

⁶¹ Ernst Egli was working as the consultant architect of the Ministry of National Education in this period and he designed various other schools in Ankara. Egli was also influential on architectural education in Turkey, because he assigned the re-organization of the curriculum of the Architecture Department of the Academy of Fine Arts, and organized architectural education as similar to the central European models. Batur, Afife, "To Be Modern: Search For A Republican Architecture", *Modern Turkish Architecture*, University of Penns. Press, 1984, p.83.

⁶² Ernst Egli, "Modern Mimari Tarzı", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, July 13, 1929, p.2.

⁶³ "Institut de Femmes Filles İsmet İnönü", *La Turquie Kemaliste*, April 1935, No.6, p.7.

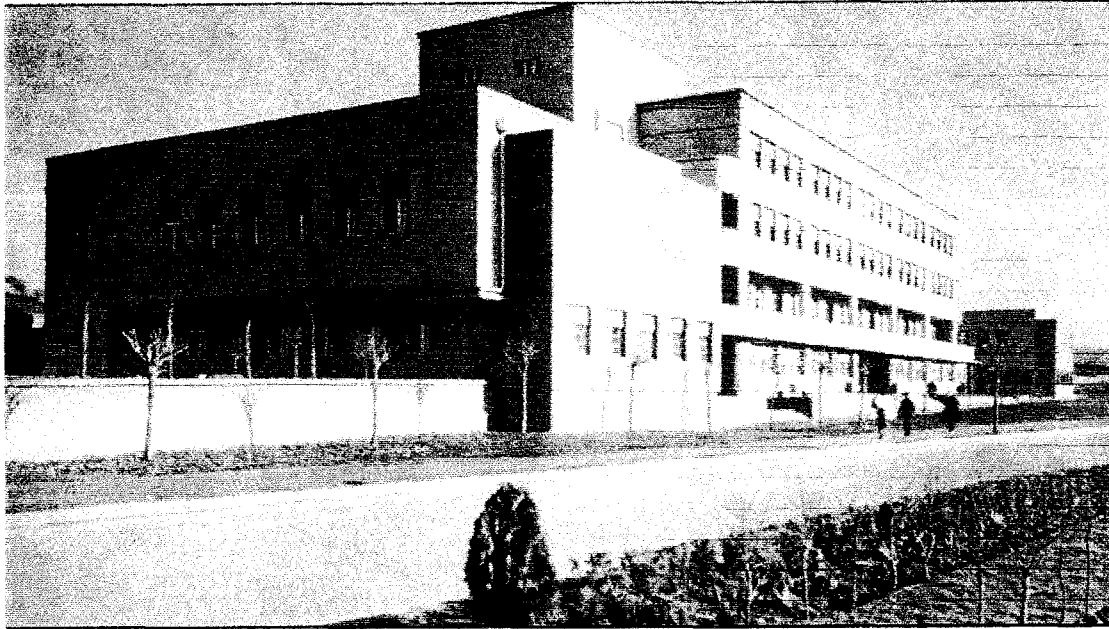


Figure 44. Ismetpaşa Institute for Girls, designed by Ernst Egli in 1930.

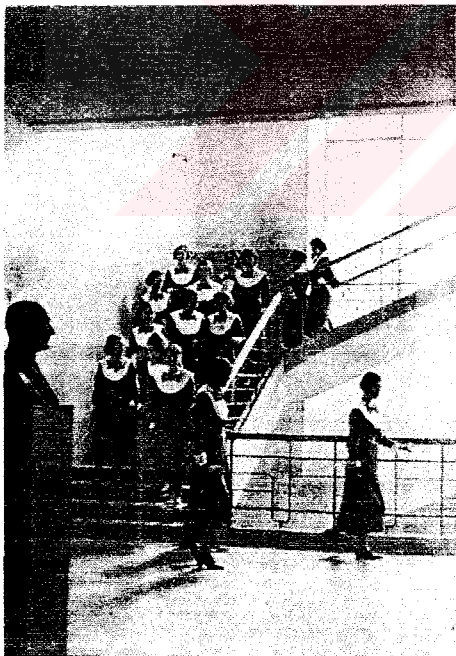


Figure 45 and 46. Views from the interior activities, published in *La Turquie Kemaliste*, April 1935.

Jansen that such educational institutions were placed along the Boulevard with a specific reason: considering the possibility of evening occasions held in these institutions like performances or evening courses, placing these institutions within the system of public transportation would facilitate accessibility to these places in the evenings.⁶⁴ That means, the planner took an active role in the installment of public buildings accommodating public events such as seminars and concerts, into the spatial organization of the city life.

After the building of the already built *Türkocağı* was transformed into the *Halkevi*, the building started to house frequently held public occasions which also activated the social life. The *Halkevi* comprised several branches established to educate and socialize the citizens in parallel with the cultural program of the state.⁶⁵ Accordingly, public courses, exhibitions, artistic performances such as theatres and concerts were held by the institution which also contained a library for the public use. Hence, implied by its name, the *Halkevi*, became a significant site for public events that served for large amount of people and animated the social life in the city. The citizens that were excluded from the special occasions taking place in the Ankara Palas were participating the public meetings in this building, where the first Turkish Opera was performed in 1934.⁶⁶ Therefore the *Halkevi* served for the populist ideology of the state that aimed to spread its cultural policy to the public.

5.1.2.4.3. Bankalar Street

Proceeding through the Bankalar street leading to the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza, new buildings were being constructed for the newly established banks. (Plate 15) The building of *Merkez Bankası*, designed by Holzmeister was started to be constructed on the west-side of the street in 1931 and it was finished in 1934. Also the *Emlak and Eytam Bankası* was being erected on the east side of the same street across Ottoman Bank. Thus, those buildings constructed immediately after new bank institutions were established as constituents of the

⁶⁴ *Ankara İmar Planı*, 1937.

⁶⁵ Yeşilkaya, 1999, p.79.

⁶⁶ Karaosmanoğlu, Y.K., has narrated several groups of people gathered in front of the Ankara Palas, watching the couples entering the ball room for at the new year's night and wondering about the meaning of "tango" taking place inside. Thus, Ankara Palas was inhabited by the occasions organized by the Republican *élite*. Karaosmanoğlu, 1996(1934), p.117.

new economic policies, inscribed the process of expanding economic perspective into the urban landscape of Ankara.

A prominent change in the beginning section of the Bankalar street was the addition of new continuous shop strips on both sides of the road. They were in the form of one story shop strips elongated along the street. These were built and rented to private entrepreneurs by the Municipality in 1932. Notably, these shops were the initial commercial increments along the Boulevard defining a new type of surface made of shop-windows where goods were displayed. This meant, the commercial strip that had evolved along the Anafartalar street expanded into the Boulevard, following the flourishing urban life at the south.(Fig.47 and 48) Thus, very modest versions of arcades which were described as the constituents of modern city life by Benjamin started to improve the commercial setting in Ankara in tune with the enriching social life.

5.1.2.4.4. Hakimiyeti Milliye plaza

Life in the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza and its close surroundings was activated with new increments like the *Yeni Sinema* opened on the west side of the plaza where it met the Anafartalar street. The prominence of the cinema, in public life was also underlined in the timing schedule of the public buses, for which an extra service was arranged after the film show on Saturday nights.⁶⁷

Besides the addition of new functions for the enrichment of the public life around the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza, it was also subjected to re-arrangement according to the rational principles of city planning designed by Jansen. A detailed information of this re-organization of the plaza, which was acting as the nucleus of public life in Ankara was published in the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* with additional information on the general concept of plazas based on the theoretical formulations of city planning.⁶⁸ The author Celal Esat inscribed schemes of the vehicular and pedestrian traffic flow organized upon the principles of public comfort. Accordingly, the vehicle traffic was split into three, comprising separate routes for buses, automobiles and carriages. The movement of pedestrian was completely isolated from the vehicle flow. This article, written by an architect,

⁶⁷ "Ankara Uray Otobüsleri İşe Başlıyor", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, September 21, 1935, p.1-3.

⁶⁸ Celal Esat, "Şehircilik Sayfası: Meydanlar Nasıl Olmalıdır?", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, October 19, 1931, p.5.

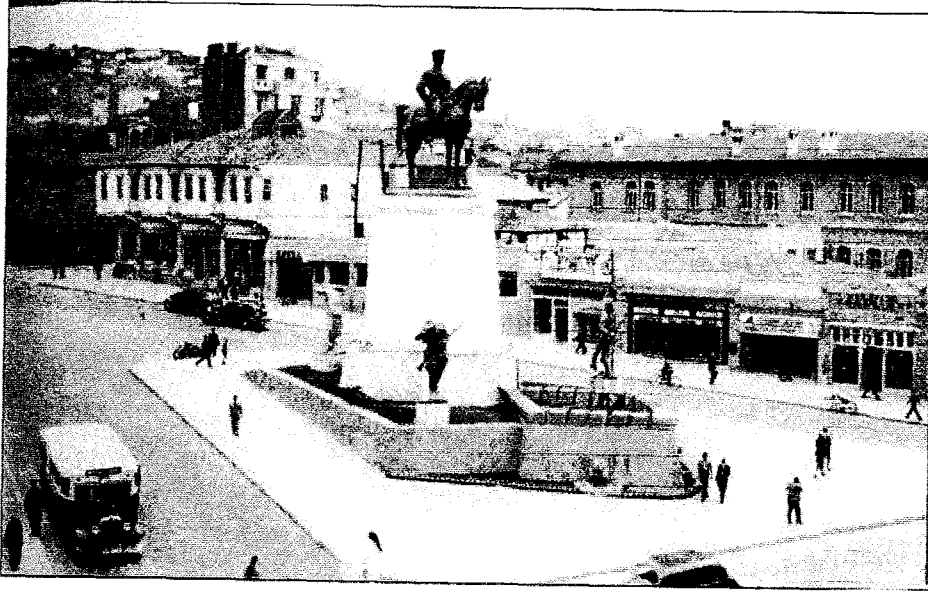


Figure 47. The shopping strip facing the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza as an extension of commerce in the Anafartalar Street.



Figure 48. New shopping strips on the Atatürk Boulevard covering the façade of the building of the Ministry of Education at the street level.

was a significant example of informing the public about the benefits of the city plan and its full application. This attempt of publicizing the planned and the realized increments in the city was one of the essential instruments of modernization that aimed to spread rational knowledge to every citizen.

5.1.3. The Period between 1932-1938

5.1.3.1. The Socio-political Context

This last interval comprised the period of practicing with the authorized final plan of Ankara designed by Jansen. The existence of a single authority in the construction activities of Ankara also matched with the extending authority of the state, that had become more influential in the economic and political policies of the period. Accordingly, government expenses increased in this period and the power of state policies upon the municipalities were felt more. Also in this period, the organs of the new state mechanism were spread all around the country.

After Jansen's final plan was approved in July 23, 1932, its scheme was put into practice by the Ankara Master Planning Bureau. A significant attempt of the period was the provision of a program for Ankara's further development process, in line with the objectives of this master plan. Accordingly, planning activities in the following seven years were figured out with seven plans for each year starting from 1933.⁶⁹ Tankut described this period as the 'most planned' period of Ankara's expansion process with reference to the reports of the *İmar İdare Heyeti* (Administrative Committee of Planning) that recorded the period of practicing with these plans between 1933 and 1939.⁷⁰ According to those records she noted that, the planning decisions were tried to be applied without much compromise until 1936. However, starting from 1934, the image of Yenışehir was being transformed with the demands of the inhabitants in various ways. While Jansen's scheme of Yenışehir comprised of a low density housing layout alluding to the *garden-city image*, there were demands for building high-rise apartment blocks containing shops in their ground floor. With the permission of the executive authorities in 1935, the buildings on the Boulevard started to be transformed into apartment blocks of five floors. Furthermore, additional changes were made in

⁶⁹ See; Appendix C.

the layout of site occupation that permitted construction on larger amount of site. Accordingly, the front gardens of those houses facing the Boulevard were abolished. In tune with the increasing demands for permissions jeopardizing the main principles of Jansen's plan, the process of constructing the Atatürk Boulevard went on.

5.1.3.2. Differences Between the Master Plan and the Preliminary Plan

Jansen changed his approach towards the Old City in his master plan. While he proposed the reconciliation of the old and the new parts of the city in his first plan, in its final version he proposed a sharp separation of the historic section from the further growth of the city. Regarding the traditional housing district and the Citadel as distinct treasures of Ankara, he proposed to preserve the existing character of the Old City from the influences of the growing new parts. Meanwhile, he applied a striking metaphor for expressing this aim as "covering the Old City with a glass shield".⁷¹ (Plate 16)

Another significant shift from the preliminary plan was the elimination of the commercial district that was proposed to be installed into the triangular area between the Station building, the Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza and the Opera plaza. Instead, Jansen left the existing commercial center as the future commercial center of the modern capital Ankara, and placed the *Gençlik Parkı*, that was a huge urban park, in this site.⁷² Along the railroad, Jansen had proposed a series of open-air activities comprising this wide urban park, a sports complex including a stadium and an extensive hippodrome, and an airport. This chain was ending with the Gazi Farm on the far west. Also, on the east side of the city along the railroad, he located the university complexes comprising public parks and plazas. Şenyapılı assessed that this arrangement of recreational, educational and sports activities along the railroad was quite an efficient attempt of transforming the dividing effect of the railroad into a unifying threshold.⁷³ Thus, the Atatürk Boulevard was the main axis cutting this chain and loaded with residential,

⁷⁰ Tankut, 1990, p.124-125.

⁷¹ "Yeni şehircilikte yeni şehir kısımlarının kurulmasını eski kısmın yayılışından ayırmak lazımdır. Hatta nazari olarak eski şehir üzerine haddi zatında bir cam levhası kapamalıdır." *Ankara İmar Planı*, 1937, p.6.

⁷² This was also mentioned by Tankut as an interesting shift in the plan, and the reason of this change was not documented. Tankut, 1990, p. 209.

⁷³ Şenyapılı, 1985, p.39.

governmental and further commercial functions that would grow in an un-planned manner.

Furthermore, Jansen defined the Atatürk Boulevard as the primary road touching the west-side of the old city and continuing towards the Governmental district and Atatürk's residence, that was designed as a *magnificent street*.⁷⁴ Accordingly, he mentioned that vehicles, namely buses, automobiles and trucks, were flowing on this recently completed street in *frightening speed* towards both directions.⁷⁵ In parallel with the fulfillment of the modern view along the Boulevard where the vehicles flew in high speed, riding of horse-drawn carriages on main streets, which were covered with *asphalt*, was prohibited.⁷⁶

5.1.3.3. The Architectural Scene

The task of creating a new setting for the capital functions of the young republic in Ankara has brought out an extensive building program, which inaugurated a period of action for Turkish architects. Ankara was conceived as capable of originating new life practices in line with the modernization project. Architects also felt the excitement of this new life vision and appreciated the premises of European modernism, proposing a radical break with the past. Meanwhile, various positions in the modernist avant-garde were disregarded and modernism was conceived as a unified project with a singular aesthetic concern in architecture. Still, its relevance to the Turkish context for being utilized needed to be justified by the Turkish architects. Accordingly, after 1933, there were attempts of defining a new Turkish architecture based on a simplified version of the aesthetic and theoretical ground of European modernism, expressed in the articles published in *Mimar*. Thus, the major reason of appreciating the modernist aesthetic in architecture was explained as a correspondent radical attitude with the modernization project of Turkey comprising revolutionary changes in all fields of life. So, the renovation of the historical architectural repertory would not be appropriate in the revolutionary context of the young republic. This attitude was expressed by architects Behçet and Bedrettin as following:

⁷⁴ *Ankara İmar Planı*, p.18.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p.25.

⁷⁶ This was proclaimed in the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* in 1935 as a serial announcement. The use of **asphalt** instead of the stone paved roads was emphasized for being the 'most modern' technique of covering the roads' surfaces, facilitating *speedy* flow for the vehicles.

The great Turkish nation did not think of modernizing (*asrileştirme*) the fez when making revolution in dressing, but accepted the hat. When making revolution in the script, it did not suggest to renovate the old with additional letters, but adopted the Latin alphabet. Similarly, architects of today abandoned domes, floral ornaments and tile decoration. They are marching on a new and rational path.⁷⁷

While Turkish architects celebrated the arrival of this new architecture in Turkey, they also demanded commission in the process of implementing Ankara as the modern capital. They believed that, after a period of learning and experimenting with the modern techniques in architecture by the contribution of foreign architects into architectural education, the young members of the growing profession were capable of creating a new revolutionary architecture appropriate for the Turkish context.⁷⁸ Hence, this was a competitive era for Turkish architects, because they had to enter several international architectural competitions in Ankara, in order to design prestigious public buildings along the Boulevard.

5.1.3.4. Spatial evolution along the Boulevard authorized by Jansen's plan

5.1.3.3.1. The Opera Section

In the period between 1932 and 1938, it is seen that new functions were attached to this spine. The empty areas between the Bankalar street and the Sıhhiye district were being filled with new public buildings facilitating new functions for the city-life. A significant one of those was the *Sergievî* (Exhibition Hall) that occupied a prominent role in the promotion of modern life practices. In 1933, the *Millî İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti* held an international design competition for the building of a multi-purpose hall in Ankara. The building would contain various halls for exhibiting products of national industry, agriculture and fine arts, for organizing conferences and meetings, for displaying films and facilitating sport activities like

⁷⁷ Türk İnkılap Mimarîsi, Mimar Behçet ve Bedrettin, *Mimar*, 1933, No.9-10, p.265.

⁷⁸ There are several articles written with similar emphasis on the reconciliation of modern architecture and Turkishness. See: "Büyük İnkılap Önünde Millî Mimarî Meselesi", Mimar B. O. Celal, *Mimar*, 1933, No.5-6, p.163-4, "Türk Mimarları", Falih Rıfki, *Mimar*, 1934, No.9-10, p. 289, "Mimarlık ve Türklük", Mimar Behçet ve Bedrettin, *Mimar*, 1934, No.1, p.17-20, "Mimarlıkta İnkılap", Mimar Behçet ve Bedrettin, *Mimar* 1933, No.8, p.245-247, "Cumhuriyet'in On Senelik Sanat Hayatı", *Mimar*, 1933, No.9-10, p.263-4.

boxing and wrestling.⁷⁹ The building was also asked to be designed in 'modern architectural style' in the requirement list of the competition. Twenty-six projects were submitted for the competition and ten of those projects were designed by foreign architects. The winning project was designed by Şevki Balmumcu, a Turkish architect. (Fig.49) The building that was designed in modernist aesthetic, was later celebrated, by Turkish architects as being the initiation of modern architecture in Turkey. By the end of October, 1934, the construction of the building was finished. Soon, it became the cornerstone of modernism in Turkish architecture and also Turkish architects' victory over the foreign architects of the period. The building, as soon as it was finished, started to house the exhibitions displaying the national products and showing off the progressive activities in various fields like art, agriculture, industry and the improvement in public services of the state. Moreover, a few years later, the building was intended to be used for in-door sports activities like skating and tennis with additional temporary installations, as it was published in *Ulus* on August 7, 1935.

The building of the *Sergievi*, was situated along the west side of the Boulevard across the already erected building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and on the south west of the Opera plaza. At the triangular area between the Boulevard, train-station and the stadium, *Gençlik Parkı* was situated. (Plate 17) Jansen also connected this park with the Citadel and the train-station with a green pedestrian alley. He described the contents of this urban park as a wide artificial lake in the form of cascaded pools surrounded with various pedestrian alleys and resting platforms around the lake shaded with trees.⁸⁰ There would also be playgrounds for the children and the possibility of swimming and sailing in the lake. Moreover, Jansen proposed to build an open-air amphitheater for 2500 people and a tower for viewing the park and the city, situated close to the *Sergievi*. This complex would be used for the city festivals and fairs isolated from the city by the greenery surrounding the park. The gate of the park on the Boulevard would be connected with the Opera Square with a pedestrian alley leading to the Citadel. After he designed the park, its future image was also announced in *Ulus* in July 20, 1935 with additional plans and sketches of Jansen. Even though, Jansen initially offered to situate the *Sergievi* within the park as a

⁷⁹ "Ankara Sergievi Müsabakası", *Mimar*, 1933, p.131.

⁸⁰ *Ankara İmar Planı*, p.33-34.

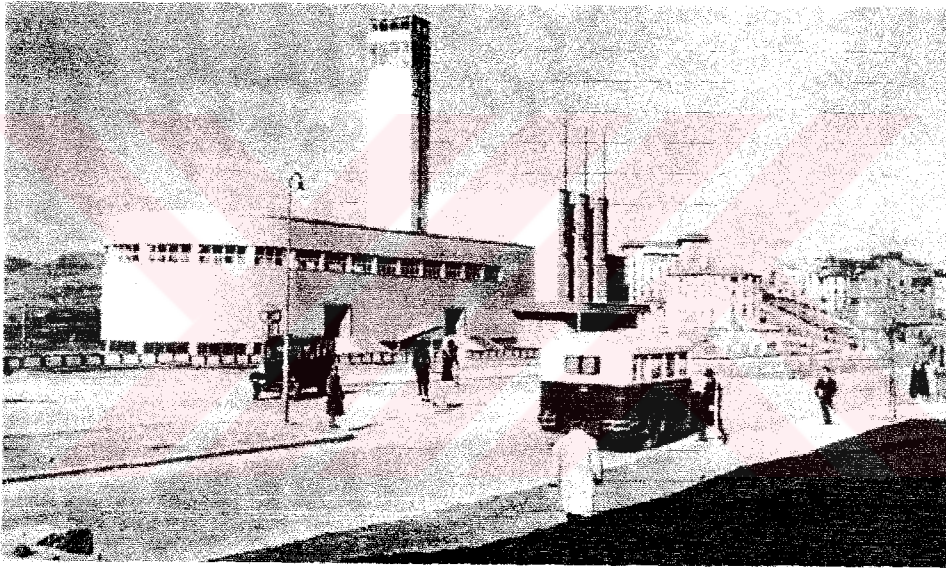


Figure 49. *Sergievi* (The Exhibition Hall) designed by Şevki Balmumcu in 1933.

component of the overall setting, it remained outside the boundaries of that future park.⁸¹ In contrast with what was anticipated for the Opera plaza by Jansen, this site remained untouched by the ordering process of the city. This plaza, that was previously called the *İtfaiye* plaza, continued to be occupied by the old patterns of the city life. Accordingly, there were open-air bazaars presenting the 'old' version of commerce and workers' *kahves* in this area, all of which were criticized for their being pre-modern social life patterns remained from the pre-republican period.⁸²

On the other hand, construction activities continued in the southern part of the railroad facing the east side of the Boulevard. This part of the Boulevard became the district of educational institutions. One of them was the building of the *Türk Tayyare Cemiyeti* (Turkish Aviation Institute) that was started to be constructed by the end of 1933.(Fig.50) The building had a long façade facing the Boulevard, and it was designed as a longitudinal simple mass where horizontality was emphasized by the strip windows on the façade. While its architect is not known, the building was one of the modern buildings of this era, built in Ankara. It was situated at the base of the Namazgah Hill below the buildings of the Ethnographical Museum and the *Türk Ocağı*. In tune with progress in the aviation studies around the world, the Turkish state also gave emphasis to aerial activities in parallel with the foundation of this institution in 1925. The objectives of the institution were promoting the military, economic, social and political significance of aviation studies and expanding the aviation field into military, civil and sportive realms. Accordingly, the aerial views of the city photographed by the planes over the city, were being published in the newspapers of the period. Thus, the physical structure of the city was also being viewed from air which allowed the citizens to have a complete image of Ankara and appreciate its modern outlook.⁸³ In the following years again on this part of the Boulevard, two new buildings for the *Radyoevi* (Radio House) and the *Türk Dil, Tarih, Coğrafya Fakültesi* (Faculty of Turkish Language, History and Geography) were started to be constructed in 1937, that were situated facing the

⁸¹ Tankut, 1990, p.88-174.

⁸² There were two articles published in different newspapers and different times, both describing life at İtfaiye Meydanı in similar ways. *Ankara Haftası*, March 1, 1934, No:72, "Opera Meydanı", p.4 and *Ulus*, August 26, 1935, "Şehirden Parçalar: İtfaiye Meydanı", p.5.

⁸³ There were cheap flight trips held above the city by the Administration of Turkish Airlines. There were also aerial views published in the previous publications indicating the progress in the construction activities of Ankara. "Düşünüşler: Ankara Üzerinde Yirmi Dakika". *Ulus*, July 9, 1935, p.3.



Figure 50. Representation of the building of the *Türk Tayyare Cemiyeti* (Turkish Aviation Institute), published in *Havacılık ve Spor*, February 1935.

Boulevard.(Plate 18) The latter was designed by the well-known German architect Bruno Taut, as a grand, horizontal and monolithic mass along the Boulevard. The elaboration of the façade, such as the window proportions, the use of material like Ankara stone, and the mass treatment of the building implied a synthesis of the modern architecture with the Turkish repertory of architectural features.

5.1.3.4.2. Bankalar Street

In parallel with the construction of the Sergievi, the buildings of the *Merkez Bankası* and *Emlak ve Eytam Bankası* were finished by the end of 1934. Moreover, two other bank buildings were constructed on the same street which were the *İller Bankası* and the *Devlet Sanayi ve İşçi Yatırım Bankası* (State's Industry and Workers' Assets Bank) which was later named as Etibank. Those two buildings were also designed by Turkish architects since their commission in Ankara expanded, after the *Sergievi* was designed by a Turkish architect.

5.1.3.4.3. Yenişehir and Sıhhiye

For the Sıhhiye and Yenişehir districts, the final scheme of Jansen's plan contained the idea of single and row-housing along the Boulevard, that were isolated from the street with their continuous gardens in 10m. depth.⁸⁴ Jansen also suggested that these houses along the Boulevard would comprise maximum three stories. Moreover, he criticized the existing layout of single houses in Yenişehir and Cebeci, for being designed and constructed according to individual taste, disregarding the total image and character of those districts. As a solution, he proposed to organize co-operatives in order to build planned environments with a common image and low cost.⁸⁵ Besides, in his design for housing districts in Yenişehir, Jansen did not include additional functions like commerce and entertainment including the houses facing the Boulevard.

⁸⁴ *Ankara İmar Planı*, 1937, p.14-15.

⁸⁵ This model was applied in the example of *Bahçelievler* by Jansen, which was a new residential district situated at the western part of Ankara.

Meanwhile, regarding the housing projects published in *Mimar*, dated 1933 and 1934, it is observed that the ten meter depth proposed for the gardens along the Boulevard were modified into five meters. Moreover, the proposed villa type housing was transformed into apartment blocks with four stories, surpassing the pre-determined height of three floors.⁸⁶ Another significant shift was the variation of the functions comprised by those apartment blocks. For instance, in the design competition held for an apartment block situated across the building of *Hilal-i Ahmer* along the Boulevard, the designers were asked to situate a music hall (*gazino*) and a cinema at the ground floor.⁸⁷ In the winning project designed by the architect Bekir Ihsan, besides the apartments designed for a family, there were rooms designed for bachelors where showers and toilets were shared. (Plate 19) Thus, the building offered variety of users and functions. There were various other apartment buildings, designed in a similar complexity of functions including shops, cinemas, music halls in their ground floors along the Boulevard, and they also facilitated variety in plans for different users. The varied mass treatments of these new apartment blocks also broke the monotony of these districts that were already designed in a homogeneous texture of single houses. Since these apartments constituted higher population density along the Boulevard and variety in functions, the solitary atmosphere of the detached housing districts described by Yakup Kadri, was transformed into a much more lively one with the spread of new life practices into Yenişehir.

In 1935, the Administrative Committee of Planning started to accept the demands for opening new shops along the Boulevard. Accordingly a new commercial strip was created in the section between the Ministry of Health and the *Hial-i Ahmer*. Hence, the west side of the Boulevard starting from the Sihhiye district was defined by new apartment blocks comprised of five floors and additional commercial functions in their ground floors. (Fig. 51) Also, these buildings were mostly designed by the Turkish architects. In contrast with the previous forms of the houses built in Yenişehir, these new buildings were purified from the previous architectural elements like towers and elongated eaves, and they carried modern features like simple mass and façade treatment, that were

⁸⁶ For example: "Refik Bey Apartmanı", *Mimar Refik*, *Mimar*, 1933, No.4, p.103-4, "Himayei Etfal Apartmanı Proje Müsabakası", *Mimar*, 1934, No.3, p.71-76, "Ankara'da Apartman Proje Müsabakası", *Mimar*, 1934, No.5, p.139-143.

⁸⁷ "Ankara'da Apartman Proje Müsabakası", *Mimar*, 1934, Sayı:5, p.139-143.

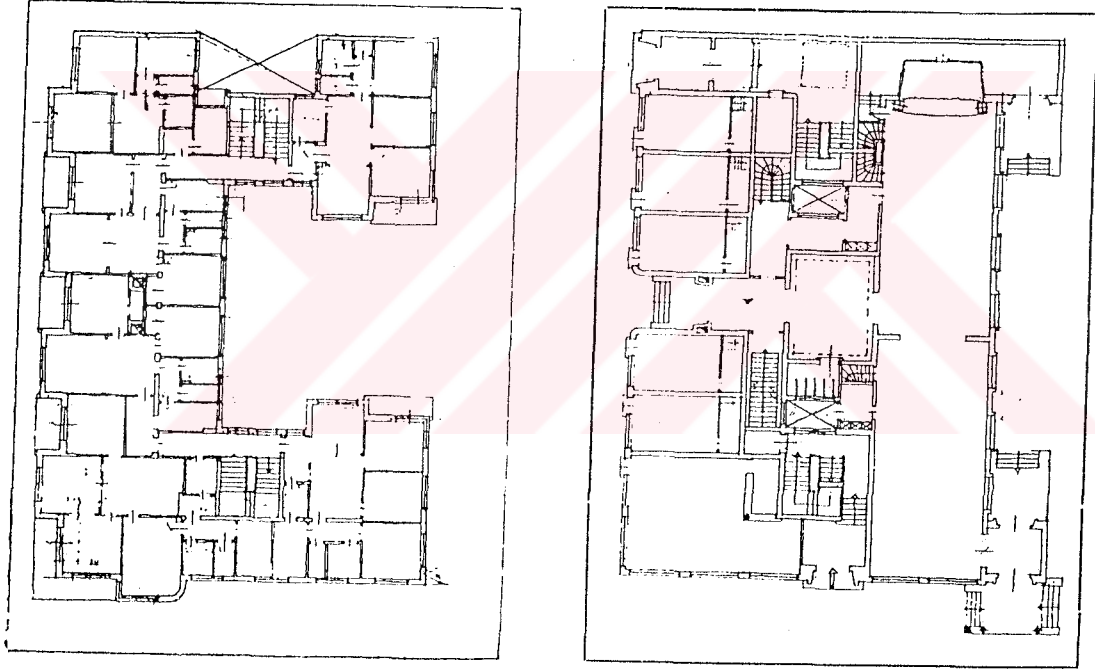
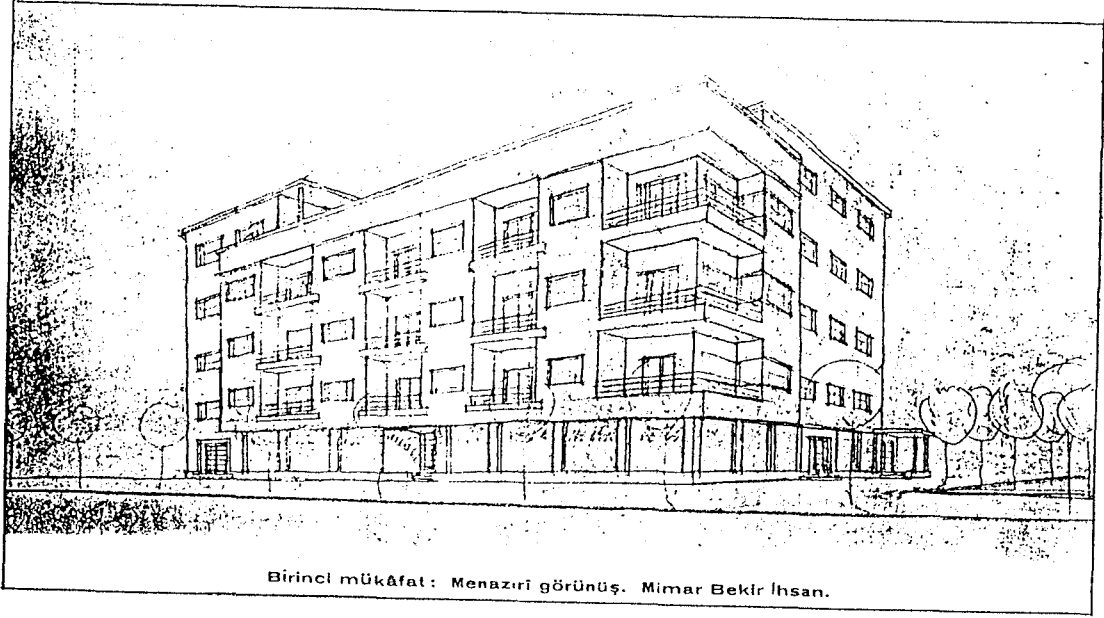


Plate 19. Drawings of Bekir İhsan for his winning project of an architectural design competition for a new apartment block in Yenişehir, across the building of *Hilal-i Ahmer*, published in *Mimar*, 1934, No: 5, p.139.

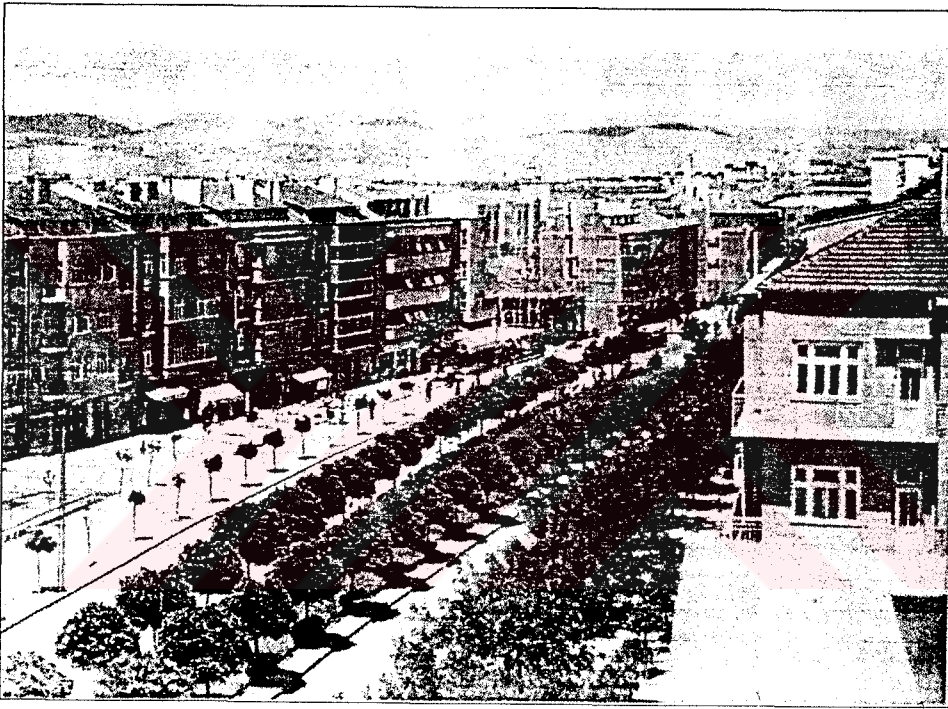


Figure 51. New apartment buildings built along the Atatürk Boulevard after 1935.

also appreciated by the authors of the period. Yakup Kadri described this shift in the architectural expression of the buildings in Yenişehir as:

Luckily, the awkwardness and distaste of the initial years was replaced by *modern architecture*. The towers of the villas were destroyed,... and most of the houses' facades were modified and purified as a man's face would be, after he shaved his moustache⁸⁸

Correspondingly, in the *Şehircilik* (Urbanism) page of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on November 19, 1933, the author highlighted two terms as keywords for the process of Ankara's construction; *plan* and *modern architecture*. Comparing with the un-coordinated development process of Ankara before a city plan was made, he advocated the use of program and modern language as the basis of the new discourses of progressive science and art. Consequently, the published photographs of some of those 'modern' buildings including houses and the apartments built in Yenişehir, were presented as the signifiers of Ankara's leading role in applying newest techniques of art and science in the whole country.

By the end of 1935, most of the buildings of the ministries constituting the District of Government were completed. Hence, the newly completed setting comprised the buildings of the *Genelkurmay* (General Staff), the *Dahiliye Vekaleti* (Ministry of Interior), the *Jandarma Genel Komutanlığı* (General Directorate of Security and Gendarmerie)(1932-1934), the *Nafia Vekaleti* (Ministry of Public Works)(1933-1934), the *Yargıtay* (Court of Cassation)(1933-1935) and the *Ticaret Vekaleti* (Ministry of Commerce)(1934-1935). The characteristic features of those buildings were the use of rectangular plans with central courtyards or U-shaped schemes, symmetrical axial plans and elevation arrangements and extended block units.⁸⁹ And those similar features in mass and façade organizations attributed unity and consistency of expression to the District of Government. Regarding this final scheme, Jansen claimed that "the new Turkish Government's idea of centrality was comprehended out of the convincing forms of the newly constructed buildings of the state functions".⁹⁰(Fig.52) Also, the sculpture designed by an Austrian artist Hanak in *Güven Park*, named the

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.134.

⁸⁹ Batur, 1984, p.79.

⁹⁰ *Ankara İmar Planı*, p.36.

Emniyet Abidesi (Security Monument) was finished at the end of 1933. Since, Jansen has conceived his design of the District of Government as a huge public forum, this park was presented as the gate to this forum where only pedestrian access was allowed through the central axis of this setting. (Fig.53)

Across the Güven Park a new urban park was opened in front of the building of the *Hilal-i Ahmer* in the spring of 1933, facilitating playgrounds for children and a café selling the famous mineral water of *Hilal-i Ahmer*. Accordingly, this site became a popular area for spending the afternoons by the inhabitants of Yenisehir. In an article announcing the opening of this park published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, the social mission of the *Hilal-i Ahmer* as servicing for the public benefit was associated with its park for its providing another public service including promenade with the view of nice flowers and comfortable seats.⁹¹

5.1.3.3.4. Ulus Plaza, previously Hakimiyet-i Milliye Plaza

The Ulus plaza, (previously Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza), was re-organized in 1937. In 1936 an architectural design competition was held for the construction of Sümer Bank's headquarters in the place of Taşhan. While the winner of the competition was a Turkish architect, Seyfi Arkan, the building was built according to Martin Elsaesser's design scheme who did not even enter the competition. Started to be erected in 1937, the building was finished in 1938 and the plaza had to be re-arranged. Accordingly, the statue at the center of the plaza was moved to the east. This new building situated on the west-side of the plaza comprised of two detached blocks with different formal organizations. The lower block of two stories with an entrance from the plaza, was used for the bank services and a sales-shop was installed. The higher one with six stories situated at the back, was the administrative block. After the building of Taşhan was replaced with this complex of Sümer Bank, the Ulus plaza changed its appearance with a 'modern' one, in tune with the continuous progression of Ankara's modern capital image and its necessary functions.(Fig.54)

⁹¹ *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, August 1, 1933, "Hilal-i Ahmerin Açtığı Park", p.1-5.



Figure 52. The District of Government, in the second half of the 1930s.



Figure 53. *Güven Park* (Park of Security) and *Hilal-i Ahmer Park* situated on two sides of the *Hilal-i Ahmer Square*.



Figure 54. The new setting of the Ulus plaza (previously Hakimiyet-i Milliye plaza) after Sumer Bank complex was built at the end of the 1930s.

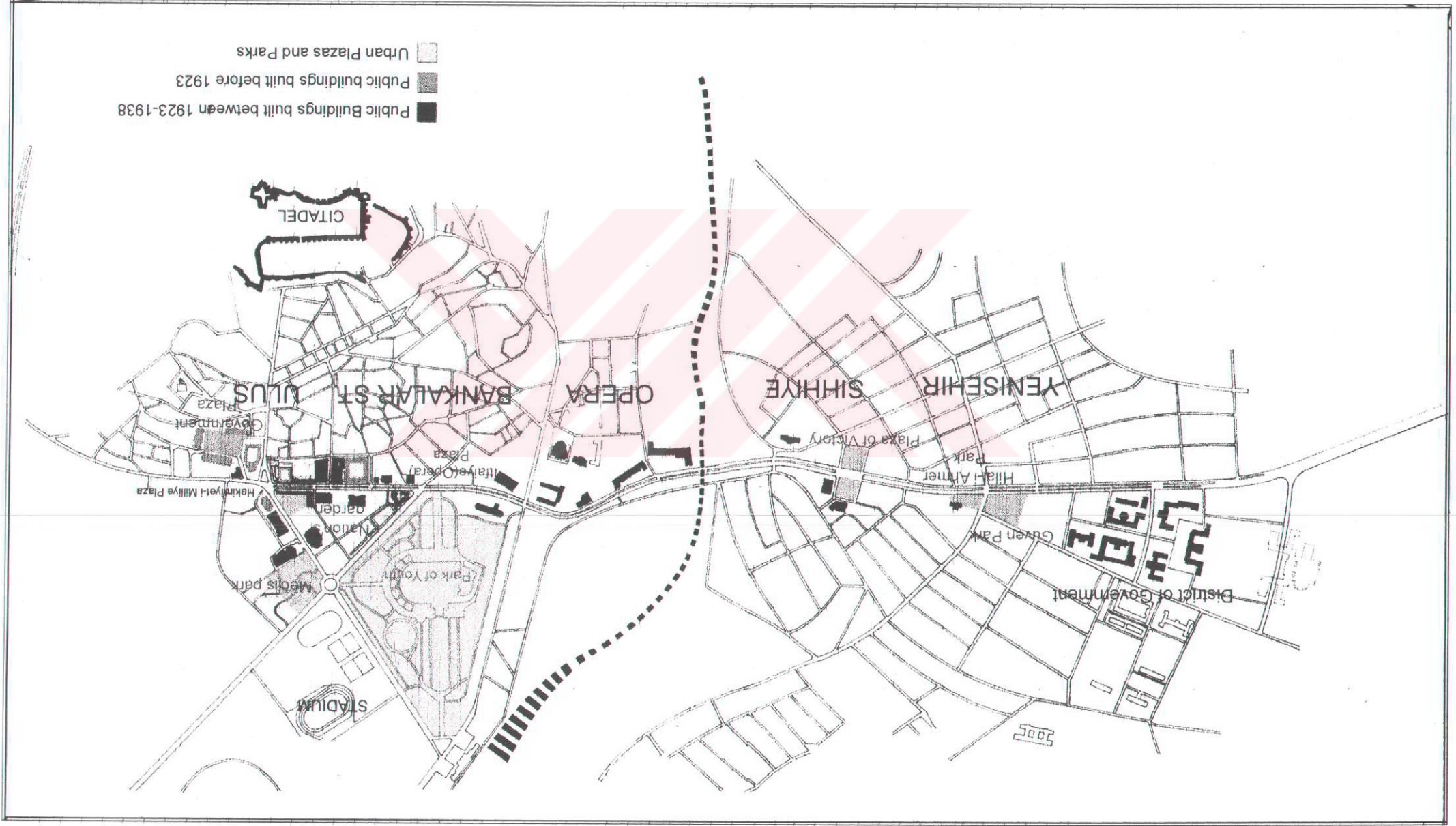
5.2. Intentions Deferred

For the final assessment of the spatial production process that has been analyzed through the Atatürk Boulevard, there are two major themes that can be considered as the subjects of this analysis. One of these themes that has to be further discussed is the proposition that the Atatürk Boulevard represented the installation of a 'new order' into the cultural and physical landscape of Ankara, hence Turkey. The second theme about the Atatürk Boulevard is how it related itself to the existing order(s) in Ankara, which was formerly an Ottoman town that consisted of previous social and spatial practices of the pre-Republican order.

Viewed as a whole, the Atatürk Boulevard appeared as the most privileged axis that provided coherence for the city's overall organization. As far as it developed between 1923 and 1938, it created a **spine** along the north-south axis of Ankara. (Plate 20 and 21) Through a proper distribution of activities in space and an improved design of the buildings and open spaces, that needed to be followed with the provision of new municipal services like the public transportation, the Atatürk Boulevard was intended to maintain a coherent body of urban relations and order, promoted by a Master Plan. The content of this 'new order' for the entire city was formulated by Jansen in his Master Plan, which supposed that the city would be organized as various districts differentiated according to their uses and users. Meanwhile, the role attributed to the Atatürk Boulevard in this plan presumed that it would function as the primary artery of transportation where the vehicles would 'flow speedily' without interfering with the pedestrian. This was a very pragmatic use of the Boulevard for the vehicle traffic where the pedestrian was intended to be detached from the view and the use of this axis. For this aim alternative public spaces would be created in those various districts where access with vehicles should be banned.

Hence, the District of Government was designed with this intention, as an alternative axis of public movement including pedestrian routes and public plazas for meetings and ceremonies in Yenışehir, laid parallel to the route of the Boulevard. Another remarkable section that was designed by Jansen as an alternative to the life on the street was the *Gençlik Parkı*. This huge park was conceived as a comprehensive urban mechanism of recreation that was isolated from the rest of the city. Correspondingly, all other districts comprising various housing patterns included common areas designed as urban plazas, greenery

Plate 20. The Ataturk Boulevard at the end of 1930s, illustrating the chain of public buildings, parks and plazas.



ankara 1923-1938

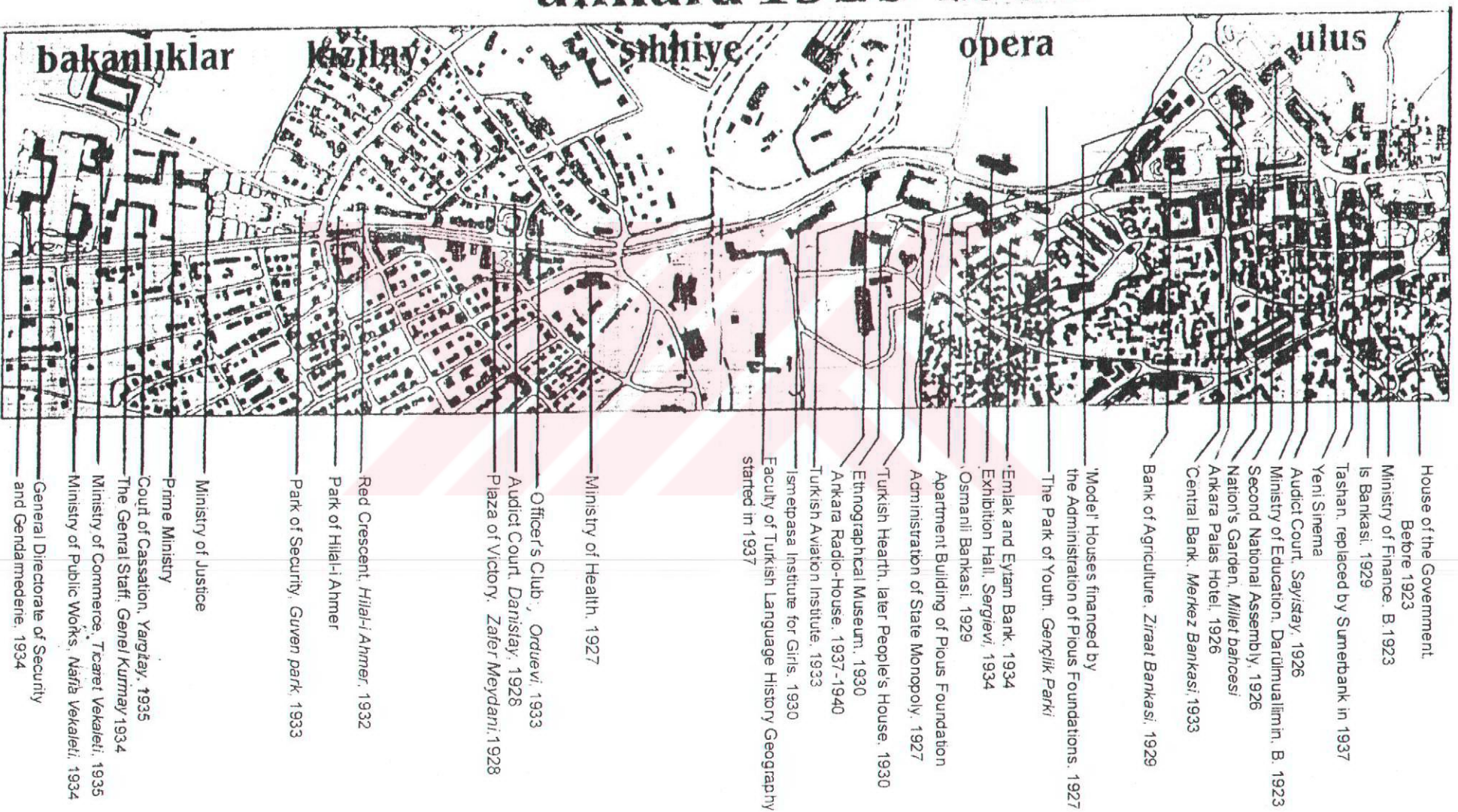


Plate 21. The Atatürk Boulevard at the end of the 1930s.

and parks in order to attain Jansen's idea of healthy city, where the pedestrian was secluded from the gases and the view of the roaming vehicles. Thus, the buildings within those districts, even along the Boulevard were planned according to the inherent design scheme of these distinct quarters, having their own idea of internal order for public space, instead of being situated with reference to the Atatürk Boulevard. A parallel attitude of Jansen was disclosed in his remark on the existing boulevards of many European countries, which he criticized for being places where "urban health was sacrificed for the sake of representation".⁹² Hence, when the street and the public activity were separated, parks of playing fields and gardens would propose a new focus on the activities of sports for the displaced life in the streets.

Meanwhile, in contrast to Jansen's perspective, the Atatürk Boulevard was rendered as the primary theme of spatial organization in Ankara's spatial evolution that had started even before Jansen's plan. As it would be grasped from the plan, the buildings along the Boulevard were situated solely in reference to this spatial corridor. It was explicitly manifest in the section called Opera where the public buildings constructed before Jansen's plan were arranged with reference to the Boulevard and the topography, disregarding the remaining areas in between. (Plate 18) Since their surroundings were not articulated for the extension of the public life, the Boulevard was more emphasized in the final design of those buildings as the primary element establishing a spatial relation among those distinct edifices. For instance, buildings of the Ethnographical Museum and the *Türk Ocağı* (later *Halkevi*), were situated on the slope of the *Namazgah* Hill facing the Boulevard and promoted new social activities for the public. While the vista of those buildings established a dialogue with the Boulevard, there was not a direct physical access to those buildings from the Boulevard. Meanwhile, the additional buildings, all public, had repeated a similar attitude by being separately oriented toward the Boulevard without communicating with each other under some principle of subordination or primacy. Namely, the buildings of the *Türk Tayyare Cemiyeti*, *İsmetpaşa Kız Enstitüsü*, and later additions *Radyoevi*, and *Türk Dil Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi* were oriented toward the Boulevard, which served as the sole principle of

⁹² "Hıfzıssıhha; ekseri Avrupa şehirlerinde halk sıhhatı reprezentasyon uğruna feda edilmiştir. Ön tarafta bulur, arka tarafta pis hava ve ziyasız avlular..." Jansen, *Ankara Şehrinin...*, Hakimiyet-i Milliye Matbaası, 1929, p.137;

organizational coherence. While those various functions, political, educational or cultural, that were represented in the buildings were articulated in the spatial organization as equivalents, they were related to each other indirectly, through their lonely confrontation to the Boulevard. The curling layout of the Boulevard has caused those buildings float in space as alternate centers of visual interest for the men in motion. Hence, the varying architectonic languages and the long facades of those buildings emphasized the sense of their distinct posture along the Boulevard, signifying the horizontal movement of the street. Then, the Boulevard allowed an autonomous life carrying the citizen from one building to another, from one aspect of city life to another.

In parallel with the idea that the Atatürk Boulevard had become the primary spatial reference in the development of its environment, its supremacy in Yenışehir as the focus of the social life led to the appearance of a new building typology. The already presented new apartment buildings designed and built along the Boulevard provided a new order adopted to the animated street life. These apartment buildings erected after 1934 adjacent to the Boulevard, comprised not only residences for various users like families or bachelors, but they promoted the activation of the street life with additional functions like cafes, cinemas or music halls. These were also prestigious buildings proposing a new complex of various activities arranged in a singular body, and demanded competent architectural solutions for which design competitions were held. (Plate 22) This newly emerged building type proposed the extension of the street life into the building, which was obviously separated in Jansen's plan. According to Jansen's Master plan, public life in residential quarters would be spread into the plazas and green parks, providing ample sun light and fresh air for the inhabitants. Hence, this new building type was an altered version of the open-air public space proposed by Jansen, into a single complex providing concentrated public life in its interior which was in fact shaped with the expansion of the street life along the Boulevard. This shift from the objectives of the city-plan is a significant example of tracing those intentions deferred into new modes of order. Because, such shifts reveal the interactive process of practicing with the ideas of a modern living during their transfer from the intended to the real.

The second issue to be remarked in the analysis of the Boulevard, is the way it related itself with the pre-Republican social and spatial order in Ankara that continued to be practiced in the Old City. Jansen, in his plan, defined the

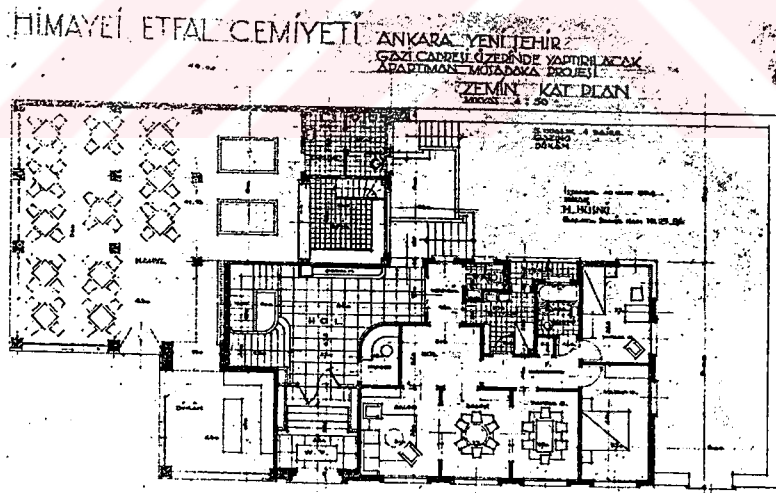
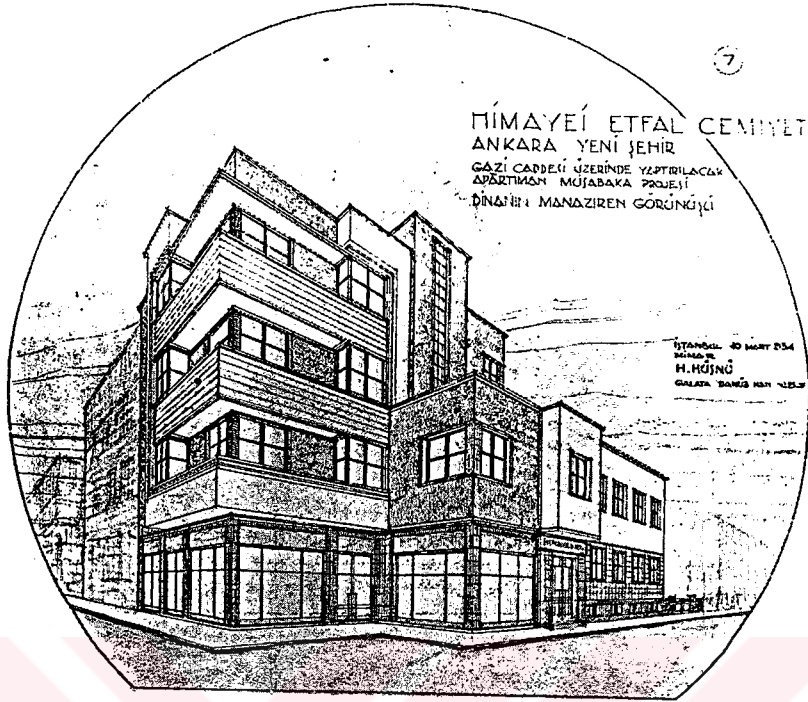


Plate 22. Drawings of Mimar Hüsnu for his winning project in the competition of *Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti* Apartment building, as another example of the emerging building typology along the Atatürk Boulevard.

Boulevard as the primary road 'touching' the west side of the Old City and continuing as a straight line towards Atatürk's residence in Çankaya, along the north-south axis.⁹³ While Jansen's Boulevard only 'touched' the Old City, an extremely contrasting example of designing new boulevards was seen in Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, Baron Haussmann, armed with the mandate of Napoleon III, inserted a vast network of boulevards through the heart of the medieval city. Those new roads envisioned a new curculatory system, that would provide traffic flow through the center of the city, and linear movement from the beginning to the end. This large-scale planning provided geometric order and a new scheme of broad avenues to unite the isolated areas of the city. While such extensive transformation in the city had various reasons special to the context of nineteenth century Paris, a significant outcome of this great urban renewal was the resultant dislocations in the previous social order.⁹⁴ This new construction aimed at the 'modernization' of the traditional city, by actually destroying hundreds of buildings constituting whole neighborhoods in the old parts, that had lived for centuries. According to Marshall Berman those boulevards created new bases –economic, social and aesthetic – for bringing enormous numbers of people, and disclosed cultural and social differences among the citizens that had previously been living in their isolated quarters. Hence, while the new face of the street level lined as small businesses and shops with additional cafes created a joyous and attractive setting for the modern city life, the manifestation of class division was drawn out in this new assemblage of the anonymous crowds.

In the case of the Atatürk Boulevard, while there were 'new' orders appeared during the actualization of the project of modernization, there were also 'old' patterns of life continued to exist in the Old City that was only 'touched' by the Boulevard. Described by Coe, the streets of old Ankara revealed "a different world remotely conscious of the changes at its very feet" in 1934, where access with camera was prohibited.⁹⁵ He further described the inhabitants of these sites as "ultra-conservative", with women dressed in veils in contrast to the 'modern

⁹³ "1.derecede bir ana cadde, eski şehir garp kenarına temas eder, burada muhteşem bir cadde kıymeti kazanarak düz bir çizgi halinde bakanlıklar kısmına ve cumhur reisi evine doğru gider. Atatürk'ü takdis için Atatürk Bulvarı adını alır...", *Ankara İmar Planı*, 1937, p.18.

⁹⁴ See; Berman, Marshall, *All That is Solid Melts into the Air*, London and New York, Verso, 1990, p.148-155.

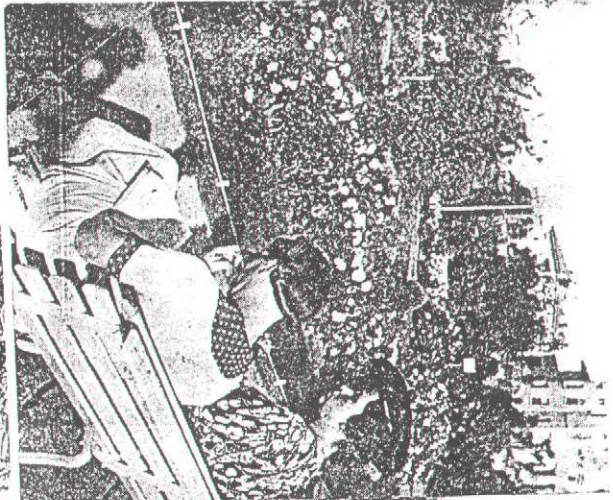
⁹⁵ Coe, 1934, p.11.

views' from the Boulevard, presented in the publications of the period.(Fig. 55) Remarkably, another description and also criticism of this dual life that was being lived in Ankara was published in the daily *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, where the author presented an inquiry of "who is *Ankaralı* (the citizen of Ankara)?". After setting in a contrasting couple of the *thesis* and the *antithesis*, the author criticised this coupled character of the society that lived in Ankara as two divergent groups without any ground of interaction and epitomized the question on the identity of the new *Ankaralı*, as a *synthesis* of the both.⁹⁶

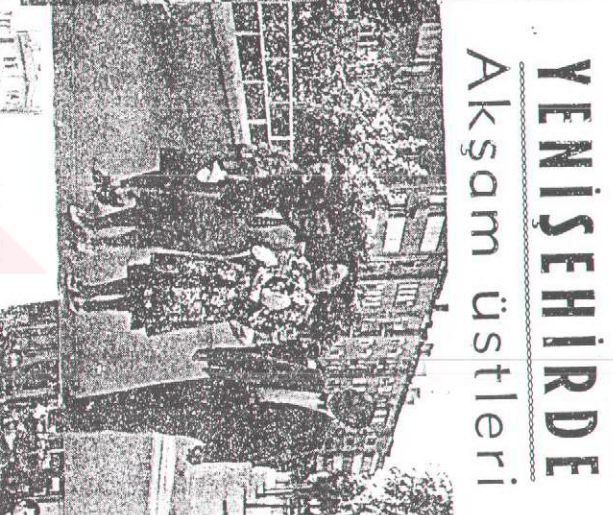
In tune with the physical actualization of state ideals in Ankara along the Boulevard, relations among work, residence, commerce and recreation were re-organized in the city with a new order. However, this new order remained out of the sites where previous patterns of social and spatial life continued to be performed. This situation was underlined in those texts and photographs published in the newspapers of the period and presented as an undesirable difference between the two existent societies in Ankara. Hence, the Atatürk Boulevard was ultimately conceived as the 'good' side of the couple where the criticism of the 'old' and the celebration of the 'new' were confronted. Provided with a master plan and the texts, it was mentally and spatially elaborated as a 'modern' site that was capable of producing new orderings in the early Republican Ankara. These new orders were revealed as partial attempts attached to the Boulevard, where this single spine appeared as the major principle of organizing those different spatial arrangements in the city. Hence, the existence of these various functions under a single theme of coherence in the urban structure, facilitated to observe a wider perspective on the spatial history of modernization in the early Republican Ankara.

⁹⁶ "Vilayet merkezi ve taşra Ankarasının Türk senekesi, bir milletin o şehre isabet eden kısmı gibi değil, ismi millet olan kocaman bir içtimai bünyenin parçası gibi değil; bir hırsiyani cemaatin yanbaşı (sürünüp bulaşmama dürtüsünü güden) bir müslüman cemaat gibi yaşamıştır: Sythese hadisesini kabul edebilmeleri için aralarında bir kimyevi alakanın mevcut olması sonuna kadar muhal bulunan thesis ve antithesis halinde... Sythese'in hadis olabilmesi için hariçten bir teşvikin getirilmesi lazımdır." B.A. "Ankaralı", *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, January 24, 1929.

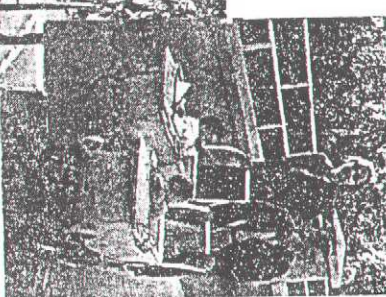
YENİŞEHİRDE Akşam üstleri



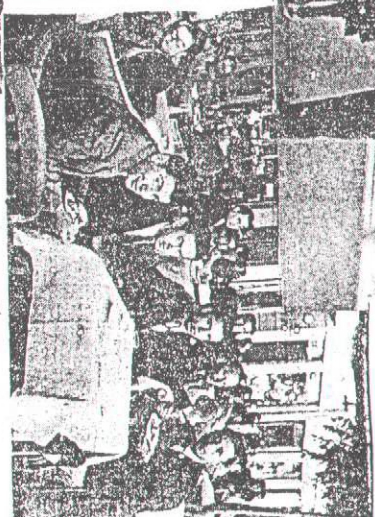
Yenişehirde parklarda akşam üstleri çocuklar kare oynuyor kizib oynamak zevkine hic hoyum olur mu?



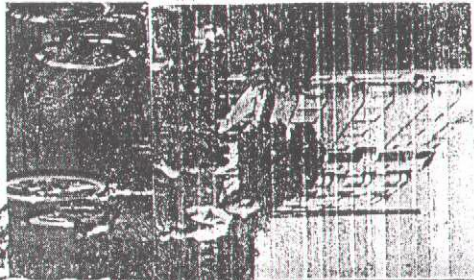
Yenişehirde akşam üstleri çocuklar kare oynuyor kizib oynamak zevkine hic hoyum olur mu?



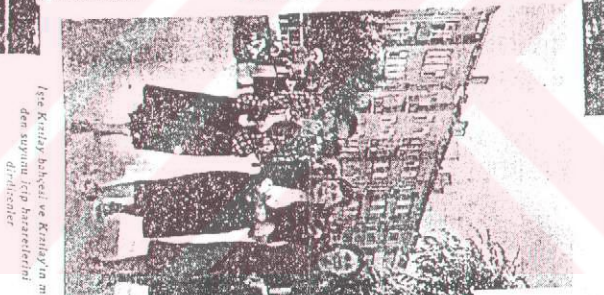
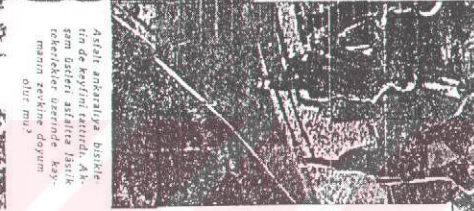
Yenişehirde sokaklarında akşam üstleri çocuklar kare oynuyor kizib oynamak zevkine hic hoyum olur mu?



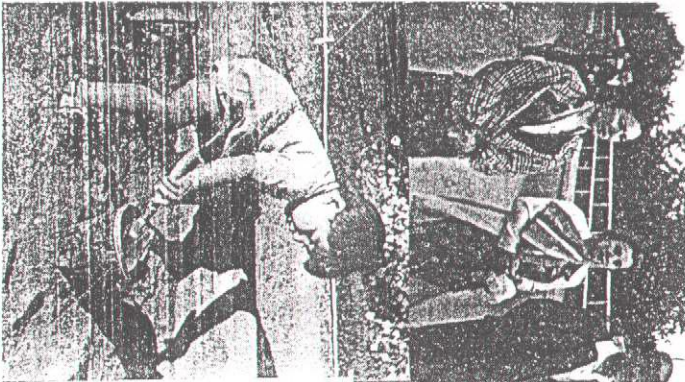
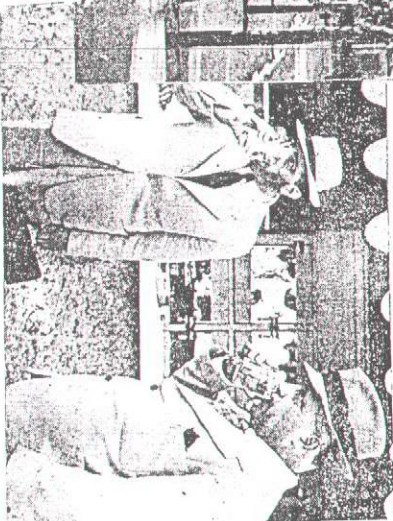
Akşam üstleri Yenişehirde sokaklarında akşam üstleri çocuklar kare oynuyor kizib oynamak zevkine hic hoyum olur mu?



Akşam üstleri Yenişehirde sokaklarında akşam üstleri çocuklar kare oynuyor kizib oynamak zevkine hic hoyum olur mu?



Yenişehirde akşam üstleri çocuklar kare oynuyor kizib oynamak zevkine hic hoyum olur mu?



Akşam üstleri Yenişehirde sokaklarında akşam üstleri çocuklar kare oynuyor kizib oynamak zevkine hic hoyum olur mu?

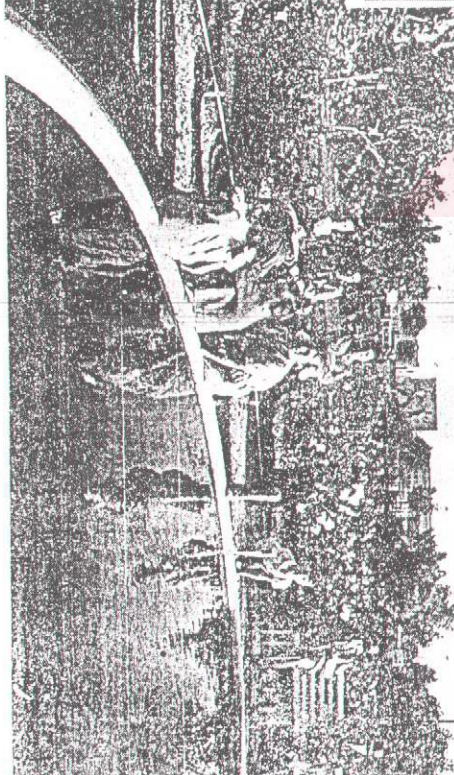


Figure 55. Views from Yenişehir, published in *Ulus*, October 6, 1938.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The intended new urban order of the newly born Turkish Republic was based on two sorts of transformations, one was institutional and the other was spatial. Those institutional changes consisted of the displacement of previous forms of social institutions regulating the domain of social organization such as administration, education and social associations. This was a state-sponsored comprehensive plan which I have already named as the modernization project of Turkey. The second issue of transformation, presupposed that this new form of public order would be architecturally legible in a new set of urban relations. Hence, Ankara served as the model of these new social practices in accord with the creation of a new urban order.

Consequently, the relationship that was searched between space and the intended social transformation was discussed in two newly created sites of capital Ankara, at the *Gazi Farm* and the *Atatürk Boulevard*. Starting from the date immediately after Ankara became the capital, the spatial evolution of these two sites were explored within the period of following fifteen years. This period was considered as embodying a process of practicing with the idea of modernization. At the end of this analysis there are few terms to be highlighted on the issue of how space referred to the modern definition of the Turkish society as they were practiced in these sites.

First of all, these two sites have become parts of the *capital myth*, embodied in the idea of founding a capital city as a civilizing agent at the heart of the untamed landscapes of Anatolia in tune with the foundation of a new state.¹

¹ The concept of the place myth is discussed by Shileds, R. as a social construction that "influence the reception of a place in popular representations or imaginings". And he called all kinds of place myth as "imagined cultural formations that fit into a symbolic system of placing." Quoted in Hetherington, 1997, p.24-25. Meanwhile, Holston discussed **capital myth** with reference to the creation of Brazil as the new capital of Brasilia. See; Holston, James, *The Modernist City*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1989, p.67-68.

These two synchronic events stimulated the desire of a 'new' beginning, for the provision of a 'good' society. This view promoted the appreciation of every new increment in Ankara as the constituent of a desired order and the renovation of life that were associated with *modernization* and *progress*. Hence, the excitement of a 'new' and 'modern' life vision, accelerated the reception of this idea of the 'new' that also meant a 'good' order. Then, 'newness' became one of the major criterion of modernity that was also set in contrast to the 'old' (sites and the social practices associated with those sites). And, the 'desired' modern society was introduced through the opposition of these two, confronted in various ways.

Many of those names given to the new increments in the city embodied the term *yeni* (new) like *Yenişehir*, *Yeni Sinema*, *Yeni Bar*, *Yeni Lokanta*, which were also celebrated for their provision of new practices to the city life. Hence, Ankara as a whole was continuously defined as the place of the 'newest' in textual representations which helped to construct that desired modern image. Consequently, the modern definition of the Turkish society should be associated with the spatial practices performed in those 'new' sites of Ankara. In this respect, I presented the Atatürk Boulevard and the Gazi Farm as two distinct sites in Ankara, that provided exercise with the new modes of spatial orderings in tune with the process of modernization in Turkey.

Nevertheless, the Gazi Farm and the Atatürk Boulevard differed in the way they experimented with the instruments of producing space and giving shape to the definition of modern society. The major source of this differentiation in the process of spatial production at these two new sites of early Republican Ankara, was their divergent positions in the city. The Atatürk Boulevard presented a complex relation of *urban* order, where various actors took role in its process of production. The existence of a Master plan for Ankara which included prospects for the future form of the Boulevard and the new urban order it constituted, maintained a guide in the exploration of those intentions and the process of their deferral into new orders. The Atatürk Boulevard also presented experimentation with the instruments of creating a new order, such as the use of a city plan, intervention of the planner and the government to the city, contribution of the architects into the creation of modern capital image and the organization of new executive bodies.

On the other hand, the Gazi Farm was built upon a rural landscape situated out of the city center. Soon after the provision of train and bus services, it had

become a sub-urban extension of the city life generating new social relations. Moreover, the foundation of the Farm was a comprehensive attempt of transforming the landscape and re-organizing the relationship of the urban and the rural. The Farm as initially established, upon a broad area of vast wet-lands, can be considered as situated in the middle of nowhere. Thus, excluded from the constraints of urban relations in the city, the Gazi Farm presented the role of imagination in the process of creating sites of leisure. Following the formation of a plain axis of promenade, in tune with the rapid transformation of the landscape, the Farm generated new focuses of attraction at its previously vast lands. Hence, the creation of the small scale replicas of Marmara and Karadeniz upon the hills of the Farm, produced a new geography for Ankara where the imagined and the real interacted.

Finally, viewed as a whole, both sites presented new visions on the intended 'modern' order of the Turkish society, that were attempted to be physically and mentally constructed in the actual sites of Ankara. The presented spatial history of these sites included continuous experimentation with the idea of modernization, that could never be fully described. By focusing on the Gazi Farm and the Atatürk Boulevard, it was seen that the notion of being 'modern' reproduced itself in an endless process of spatial practicing. Hence, this overall study should be considered as a practice of viewing how space was utilised in an attempt of creating a modern life vision, in tune with the foundation of a new state and a new capital. While this is one of the ways to view the spatial production in these new sites of the early Republican period, the complex relationship of the facts and the actors is capable of generating new readings in visualizing the spatial practice of modernization in Turkey.

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Arkitekt,

Mimar,

Kadro,

Belediyeler Dergisi,

Havacılık Dergisi,

Varlık,

Ankara Haftası,

La Turquie Kemaliste,

Mimarlık,

Arredamento Mimarlık,

Ankara Dergisi.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

The Decree describing the desired capital of Turkey, Dated December 11, 1922. (*Devlet Arşivleri genel Müdürlüğü, Cumhuriyet Arşivi, Ankara*)

BAŞBAKANLIK
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

Kıtme No.	399	
Ehli Defter	C. No.	II
	S. No.	80

KARARNÂME

Muâmelesi ikmâl edilmiştir.

İnâyet-i Hak ile İstanbul'un bilâ-kaydû şart ıstirdâdına muvafakîyet hâsıl olsa, onu bir merkez-i merâsim olarak muhafaza edüp, milletin asıl merkez-i istiklâlini, hakiki merkez-i faâliyet ve Hükümetini, fabrika ve müessesât-ı resmîyesini Anadolu'nun sevkül-ceyşî nokta-i nazârından en emîn ve mahfuz bir mahalline nakl ve vaz' etmek lüzümü harb-i ahir ile tamâmen ve kâmilen tezâhür etmiş olduğundan, 28/11/336 günü içtimâ'den Hey'et-i Vekile:

Evvelen) Hudûd-u millîyye ve müdâfâ-i merkeziyye nokta-i nazârından harîta üzerinde tedkikat icrasıyla merkez-i Hükümet olabilecek mîntakaların bir dâire ile tahdid edilmesinin Erkân-ı Harbiyye-i Umûmiyye Riyâseti'ne tevdi;

Sânîyen) Erbâb-ı fikr ve ihtisâs'dan bir komisyon-ı mahsûs teşkil ile işbu dâire dâhilinde seyahat-i tedkikiyye icra ettirerek merkez olmak üzere kabûl edilecek şehir mahallinin tesbitine;

Sâlisen) İşbu Paytaht Komisyonunun:

1- Merkez-i mutasavverin, mümkünse, sâhile kâbil-i seyrü sefer bir nehir ile merbut olmasına;

2- Merkez-i mutasavverin, mülkûn dört tarafına demiryoluyla merbutiyeti imkânı bulunmasına;

3- Elektrik istihsal edilebilecek tabîi veya sun'î şellalelere karîb olmasına;

4- Mümkûn olduğuna kadar kömür mâdeni civarında olmasına;

5- Ormanlık bir sahaya yakın bulunmasına;

6- İhtiyacât-ı umûmiyyeye muktazî sulara mâlik bulunmasına veya suların o mahalle nakli kâbil olmasına;

./..

1919

Karar No.	399
Fidi	C. No. II
Dâter	S. No. 80

- 2 -

Muamelesi ikmâl edilmiştir.

- 7- Mahallin ciyâdet-i âbî havâsına;
- 8- Büyük bir şehir te'sisine kâbil araziye mâlik bulunmasına;
- 9- Bina için mâlzeme-i inşâiyye tedârîki mümkün olmasına;
- 10- Ve medeni bir şehir için bunlardan başka lüzumlu göreceği husûsların lüzûm ve vücûduna dikkat etmesine ve işbu şerâitîn cümlesi mevcûd olmadığı halde ekseriyyeti câmi' mahallin intihâb edilmesine;

Râbian) İşbu istihzârât nihâyetinde, baharda lâzım gelen teşebbûsât ve inşââta der'akab başlanılarak 1337 senesi kışında paytaht-ı mutasavvere nakl-i Hükûmet edilmesine ve devâir-i muhtelif-i Hükûmetin şimdiden esaslı olarak vaz'ına teşebbûs edecekleri müessesât-ı resmîyye-nin bu merkezde tesisine dikkat etmelerine karar vermiştir.

İşbu kararın icrâ ve sür'at-i tatbikine Erkân-ı Harbiyye-i Umûmiyye ve Müdâfaai Millîyye, Nâfia, İktisad ve Sıhhiye Vekilleri me'mûrdur.

28/11/336

Büyük Millet Meclisi Reisi

M.Kemâl

Şer'îyye Vekili Müdâfaa-i Millîyye Vekili Adliye Vekili Namına
Fehmi Fevzi Ahmet Muhtar

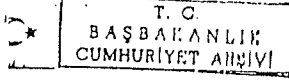
Dahiliye Vekili Namına Hariciye Vekâleti Vekili Maliye Vekili
Dr.Adnan Ahmet Muhtar Ferit

Maarif Vekili Nafia Vekili Namına İktisat Vekâleti Vekili
Dr.Rıza Nur Mahmut Celâl Mahmut Celâl

Sıhhiye Vekili Erkânı Harbiyye-i Umumiyye Reisi Vekili
Dr.Adnan Fevzi

APPENDIX B:

The Decree informing the foundation of Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü (Ankara Master Planning Bureau), Dated October 28,1927. (*Devlet Arşivleri genel Müdürlüğü, Cumhuriyet Arşivi, Ankara*)



Türkiye Cumhuriyeti
Başvekalot
Muamelat Müdiriyyeti

Aded
6006

Kararname

Dahiliyye Vekâlet-i Celflesinden yazılan 28 Kânûn-ı evvel 927 tarihli tezkirede; Hükümet-i Cumhuriyye merkezi olan Ankara şehrinin sıhhi, medeni icâbât dâ'iresinde te'sis ve idâresinin Ankara belediyesinin vâridât ve teşkilât-ı hâzirasıyla te'minine imkân-ı maddî olmadığı cihetle şehrin müsbet ve mu'ayyen bir program ve metod dahilinde tanzimi ve mu'ayyen hizmetlere â'id mâli külfetin devlet tarafından der-uhdesiyle mümkün olacağı bildirilmiş ve bu hususun ta'yin ve tesbiti için Dahiliyye, Maliyye Nâfi'a ve Sıhhiyye ve Mu'avenet-i İctimâ'iyye Vekillerinden veya tensib olunacak zevât tarafından bir encümen teşkili teklif edilmiştir.

Koyfiyyet İcra Vekilleri Hey'etinin 28 Kânûn-ı evvel 927 tarihli ictimâ'ında lede't-tezekkir teklif edilen Vekil beylerden mürekkeb bir encüme mes'elenin tedkiki ve Hey'eti Vekileye bir teklif dermeyanı tasvib olunmuştur.

28 Kânûn-ı evvel 927

Reisicumhur
Gazi M. Kemal

Başvekil
İsmet

Adliyye Vekili
M. Esad

Müdafa'a-i Milliyye Vekili
M. Abdülhalik

Bahriyye Vekâleti Vekili
M. Abdülhalik

Dahiliyye Vekili
S. Kaya

Hariciyye Vekili
Dr. T. Rüşdi

Maliyye Vekâleti Vekili
İsmet

Ma'arif Vekili
M. Necati

Nâfi'a Vekili
Behic

Zirâ'at Vekili
M. Rahmi

Ticaret Vekâleti Vekili
M. Rahmi

Sih. ve Muav. İct. Vekili
Dr. Refik

APPENDIX C:

The Decree informing the planned process of Ankara in the following five years, dated June 6, 1934. (*Devlet Arşivleri genel Müdürlüğü, Cumhuriyet Arşivi, Ankara*)

T. C.
ANKARA ŞEHİRİ
İMAR MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

Subesi
Umumi No. 1467.E
Hususi No.

193

Hulâsa: Yedi senelik İmar proğ-
ramı hakkında.

a n k a r a = 6. 6. 1934 =

Dahiliye Vekâleti Celilesine

1351 numaralı kanunun 2 nci maddesi Ankara şehri İmar müdürlüğü-
nün icraatta takip olunacak sırayı göstermek üzere beş senelik program
tanzim ederek, icra vekilleri hey'etinin tasdikinden sonra , her sene
bütçesine göre bu programı tatbik etmesini emrediyor.

Kanunun tarihi vechile tanzim edilen yedi senelik programa Maliye
Vekâletinin bütçe imkânları dahilinde tedricen ifasına dair olan mu -
taleası inzıman etmiş isede , Programın tasdiki vekiller hey'etinin ka-
-rarına iktiran etmiştir .

Başvekâlet müsteşarı beyfendi ile vaki şifahi mülakatta proğra -
mın beş senelik olması muvafık olacağını bildirdiklerinden programın
beş senede tatbik edilmesine görede ayrıca beş senelik program ve proğ
ram haritaları evraka lef edilmiştir .

Programsız Çalışma faydalı olmayacağından , leffen takdim edilen
program vekiller hey'etinde müzakereye sevk edilmediği takdirde bu se-
-ne ve gelecek senelerde İmar müdürlüğü faaliyetinin ne gibi prensip-
lere göre teselsül etmesi ve veche alması tensip buyrulduğunun bildi-
rilmesi rica olunur efendim.

İmar Müdürü

Semih

Lef/ 3.2.34 İmar müdürlüğü raporu .
31.3.34 idare komisyonunun kararı.
578/145 ve 4.4.34 Dahiliye vekâlet tezkeresi.
237.E No.lu yedi senelik İmar plânlaştırma programı .
1934 - 1941 seneleri için yedi adet program haritası.
5148 ve 19/22.V.934 Maliye vekâleti tezkeresi.
13065/383 ve 3/4.6.934 " " "
beş senelik İmar plânlaştırma programı.
1934 - 1939 seneleri için beş adet program haritaları.

Bas vekâlet yükeseş mekânına arz ve takdim
Dahiliye vekâli'nin
10-07 7-6-934 4

