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Building the Heritage: Politics and Historic Preservation in Turkey from the 19th Century to the 1980s

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I hereby declare that, the contents and organisation of this dissertation constitute my own original work and does not compromise in any way the rights of third parties, including those relating to the security of personal data.



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Summary

‘Cultural heritage’ is a contemporary construct that is produced through power relations. We define our relationship with past through cultural heritage. Therefore, historic preservation does not only mean conserving historic artifacts, it also means activating a mechanism where historic artifacts serve the needs of present. In this sense, historic preservation is not only a cultural activity, but also a political, economic, and ideological act.

Since the 1970s, aligned with postcolonial theories, scholarly interest arose especially among the Anglo-Saxon academia to investigate the relationship between cultural heritage and power dynamics in societies. This relationship becomes more evident and significant in sharp political and social changes. During the times of conflicts, cultural heritage gains a political value. This thesis explores these relationships in Turkey where they are especially meaningful/perceptible/fruitful for the connections between political changes, multiculturalism and postcolonial perspectives. It outlines the role of cultural heritage in Turkey from the nineteenth century until the 1980s in times of strong political and societal changes. These changes also define the chapters. Each chapter investigates historic preservation in a period that power dynamics changed.

In Turkey, the relationship between historic preservation and politics has continuously been constructed, deconstructed, and redefined since the nineteenth century. The main aim of this doctoral research is to investigate the dynamics of this process in terms of conceptualization and management of architectural and urban heritage.

Concept of ‘heritage’ emerged in Turkey in the nineteenth century with the term ‘old artifacts (*asar-ı atika*)’. This was the outcome of a dual process; on the one hand, it was a reaction against European actors who exported antiquities from Ottoman territories to Europe. On the other hand, the Ottoman interest in archaeology was a part of a bigger modernization project that was initiated with an aim to reach the level of the ‘West’. The Turkish Republic was founded with a state agenda to transform the Ottoman society to a modern secular ‘nation’. As the modernization reforms accelerated in this period, the new

ruling class needed to rewrite the ‘history’ through archaeology by-passing the Ottoman past. In this framework, modern architecture played a significant role in transformation of the society. Simultaneously, new committees, museums, selective restoration projects, and urban planning functioned as tools to manage the Ottoman heritage. In the post-war period, the power of the republican rulers was ceded by the opposition who were critical to republican reforms. With the US support, the new government reshaped the cityscape of the historic İstanbul. Interestingly, the most powerful autonomous preservation committee was established in this period with authority above all the government departments. This committee did not perform as expected until a coup d’etat generated a power gap in the governance of the country. After the coup, the committee could raise standards of historic preservation to the level of Europe. However, the central decision-making mechanism, bureaucracy, and limited manpower and resources prevented reaching the same level in implementations. The committee’s decisions triggered destruction of historic structures rather than preservation of them. Despite the efforts to create a magic formula, an ‘Eureka’ moment that may answer all the challenges of historic preservation, principle decisions did not correspond to real-life. Response to this situation was a conceptual shift to define ‘areas’ or ‘lands’ (*sit*) as objects to be preserved rather than individual structures. Also in other countries, this shift had come along with international heritage discussions. The legal and operational instruments of this approach were generated in a time that the army intervened the state structure once more. With the new preservation law, *asar-ı atika* laws were changed for the first time after the republic was founded. What followed the new law was designations of urban, rural, natural, and archaeological lands as conservation areas (*sit*). Local authorities reacted against these designations since the centrally-made decisions did not meet the local needs. Moreover, they found *sit* procedures challenging. The conflict between the central decision-making mechanism and local authorities had started with the establishment of the committee, gradually accelerated, and finally reached its peak with *sit* designations. Ironically, the committee was shutdown with another coup d’etat in the early 1980s. Instead of a central committee, local preservation boards have been established allover Turkey and remained active until present day.

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*To those whose heritage
go unrecognized.*

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List of Abrevations

AAED: Permanent Committee of Old Monuments (*Asar-ı Atika Encümen-i Daimisi*)

AKK: Council for the Protection of Monuments (*Anıtları Koruma Kurulu*)

CHP: Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*)

CIAM: International Congress on Modern Architecture (*Congrès internationaux d'architecture modern*)

DP: Democratic Party (*Demokrat Parti*)

DPT: State Planning Organization (*Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*),

EAHY: European Architectural Heritage Year in 1975

EEB: Old Monuments Bureau (*Eski Eserler Bürosu*)

EEKE: Permanent Committee of Old Monuments ,(Eski Eserleri Koruma Encümeni)

EEMGM: General Directorate of Old Artifacts and Museums (*Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü*)

HC: High Council for Immovable Old Assets and Monuments (*Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu*)

ICCROM: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

İTHF: Scientific Committee for the Construction and Repairs (*İnşaat ve Tamirat Heyet-i Fenniyesi*)

İTÜ: İstanbul Technical University

KAİP: Conservation Master Plan (*Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı*)

KGM: General Directorate of Highways (*Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü*)

MBK: Committee for National Unity (*Milli Birlik Komitesi*)

METU: Middle East Technical University

TAÇ Foundation: Foundation for the Preservation of Monuments-Environment Tourism Values Turkey (*Türkiye Anıt-Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı*)

TİP: Turkey Workers Party (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*)

TTK: Turkish History Association (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*)

TTOK: Turkey Touring and Automobile Organization (*Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu*).

TTTC: Society for the Study of Turkish History (*Türk Tarihini Tetkik Cemiyeti*)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

VGM: Directorate General of Foundations (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*)

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Introduction

On July 15, 2016, a coup d'état was attempted in Turkey and was prevented by public resistance. In that turbulent summer, if a doctoral researcher needed to undertake research in the archives of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in the Ulus (*Nation*) district of Ankara, as I did, he/she would first have to pass in front of the first parliament of the Turkish Republic. This building, which is currently a museum (the Independence Museum), was originally constructed during the late Ottoman era, and during the Turkish Independence War (1918-1922), it housed the rulers of the soon-to-be-founded Turkish Republic. Indeed, in that period, some would also call them 'traitors'. Walking down the same avenue (*Cumhuriyet Caddesi* - the Republican Avenue), the researcher would reach the second parliament of the republic a few ten-meters away from the first one. This building, which is also a museum (the Republic Museum) today, was designed by Vedat Tek (1873-1942) in the Ottoman revivalist style, and housed the rulers of Turkey until 1960. In that period, no one could dare to call them 'traitors' anymore. To reach the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's buildings, the researcher would need to get through a narrow driveway, which can be easily missed. After the security check at the kiosk on the driveway, finally he/she would be able to enter a large garden which first-time visitors may find surprising due to its enclosure and serenity which contrasts to the present-day chaos of the Ulus district. This garden was initially used only by deputies, and then became a public park, and today, it has again limited access. It is used only by the ministry staff. Guided by security, at the far end of the garden, the researcher could finally find the correct office to ask permission to investigate the archives. Due to the failed coup attempt, the researcher would be asked to request everything in the written format, and to come back in the following days to receive a written response from higher officials.

In Ankara, traversing *Ulus* Square, walking down the large *Republic* Avenue with a vista of a Roman citadel and the Hittite Museum¹ to the north and a vista over the republic's new city to the south, passing in front of the Independence Museum and the Republic Museum, one is constantly reminded of 'a' national past. Even just by walking in *Ulus* district, one may observe that these buildings, museums, avenues, parks, and arranged vistas were tools that collectively constructed an image about national identity and the national past. However, one can also observe that, in the present day, this national image and national past now function as tools for producing another narrative about another national image and another past. This is evident in the contrast between architectural and urban artifacts in *Ulus*. The republican-era buildings are in a visible process of decay whereas the Islamic edifices are selectively restored and promoted as the main attractions of *Ulus*.

In Turkey, efforts to produce a national narrative are constant. In the time span from the republican era to the present day, the tools of this narrative have constantly changed. Cultural heritage has been a major tool enabling this process. Especially in times of social conflicts and political instability, role of cultural heritage can be better observed. For instance, since the above-mentioned 2016 coup attempt, new museums have been built to celebrate the public resistance and remember what happened that day; new sites have become 'cultural heritage', street names have been changed, and July 15 has been declared as the 'Democracy and National Unity Day'.

Cultural heritage can be defined not as remnants of the past, but as a 'process or a human condition' which helps a society to choose what to tell the next generations and other people, what to forget and what to remember. Thus, the concept of 'cultural heritage' continuously changes; it is a process of deconstruction and reconstruction. In this sense, heritage becomes temporal; its definition changes with time because it is defined by the present. Thus, cultural heritage is a contemporary product, and preservation of it solely depends on who defines it.

¹The Hittite Museum, as will be discussed in chapter 2.1., was on the state agenda as a part of bigger program to archaeologically generate a national identity after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. In 1930; two Ottoman structures on the Ankara fortress and the surrounding lands were expropriated. Following the completion of the restoration project, the museum was opened to public in 1945. It was renamed as the Anatolian Civilizations Museum in 1968.

When one begins to develop a certain definition of heritage, one simultaneously starts an exclusion process, because each community in a society has a different way of engaging with their heritage. Considering architectural and urban heritage, these communities may embrace different sites and buildings instead of those that are defined by the predominant communities. For this reason, preservation of cultural heritage is directly related to societal dynamics. In order to understand the process of historic preservation, one has to understand what underpins power relations in that society.

‘Cultural heritage’ is linked to the present as much as it is linked to the past. This situation is not specific to Turkey; it is international. For instance, Neil Kaufman² has showed how cultural heritage became a designator of social injustice by discussing the case of the African Burial Ground in Harlem, New York. In this case, the Afro-American community was successful in stopping a development project on this heritage site and getting the site designated as a national monument after long debates. In this case, cultural heritage became an agent of racial politics.

Historic preservation, through preserving cultural heritage, generates a representative narrative; and any criticism on this narrative must address identity politics. This criticism to cultural heritage has emerged and developed through postcolonial approach which generated this vital question in the discipline of historic preservation; who preserves what, for whom, when and in which conditions?³.

² Neil Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York, Routledge, 2009).

³ Mainly until the 1980s, until the postcolonial approaches received a wider international recognition in historic preservation, preservation implementations did not consider this aspect. Rosa Tamborrino and Willeke Wendrich address this problem and they argue that digital technologies are helpful to document plural aspects of cultural heritage that have been lost in these past implementations. They adopt these technologies to document the lost character of the temples in the Nubia region in Egypt. In the 1960s and 1970s, preservation of these temples was a major international debate with the Aswan Dam project. Most of the temples are today under an artificial lake produced with the dam project and seasonal flooding; except the Abu Simbel and Philae monuments which were transferred to a different zone with an international expert consensus. See Rosa Tamborrino, Willeke Wendrich, “Cultural heritage in context: the temples of Nubia, digital technologies and the future of conservation”, *Journal of the Institute of Conservation*, 40 (2), 2017, 168-182.

Aim of the study

This research aims to contribute to the evolving body of scholarly works which investigate the political value of cultural heritage from a critical perspective. Thus, the main curiosity is to understand the relationship between power structures and historic preservation in a society. To undertake such a research, Turkey presents an extraordinary case. The continuous de(re)construction process of heritage may unfold in an unsubtle way in a country like Turkey where political changes have been constant and sharp. In parallel to these political changes, actors have also changed, each requiring their own definition of heritage to highlight their own preferred area of the past. Not only politics, but also the notions of ‘religion’ and ‘multiculturalism’ make Turkey an extraordinary case study, because, since the start of the modernization process in Turkey –a process dates to the Ottoman period-, cultural heritage has been defined through conflicts. These conflicts have been mainly between pro-modernization/secularization community and the reactive community who were preoccupied that the authentic Islamic identity would be lost with reforms. Moreover, both communities had a complex relationship with multicultural nature that the Ottoman state had; because of these complexities, in the mid-twentieth century, many communities became minorities.

The main research question is: How does historic preservation serve the political needs of the ruling class? What happens to the concept of cultural heritage in times of strong social and political changes during which new social dynamics generate a new ruling class? What are the dynamics of this process in Turkey?

To research these questions, this study focuses on Turkey, and mainly on İstanbul over a long period since the nineteenth century (the modernization era of the Ottoman Empire) until the 1980s (the neoliberal era of modern Turkey which started with a coup d’etat). Previous studies to discuss the links on politics and preservation are limited. Nur Altınyıldız’s research⁴ presents concise information, mainly focusing on the republican period (1920s to 1950s) İstanbul and shows how ideology was the main impetus on preservation activities in this era. Ümit

⁴ Nur Altınyıldız, “The architectural heritage of İstanbul and the ideology of preservation.”, *Muqarnas*, 24, 2007, 281-306.

Fırat Açıkgöz's research⁵ also focuses again on historic preservation activities in the republican period İstanbul based on archival materials of EEKE, which are also studied in this research in the second and third chapter to a lesser extent.

This doctoral research is the first study to study historic preservation in Turkey from a critical perspective in a comprehensive structure discussing its links to politics and social dynamics.

State of art

The use of cultural heritage as a tool of the predominant power structures has drawn the attention of academics, especially since the 1980s. Scholars developed a critical approach towards cultural heritage to underpin how this notion (cultural heritage) served the needs of power holders. This critical approach developed through some milestone works of scholarship that were not primarily produced to make a contribution to heritage studies; nevertheless, these works influenced preservationists as much as other disciplines.

Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm documented how cultural heritage can be exploited to the extent that traditions are even invented to achieve national unity⁶.

In 1983, the same year that Hobsbawm's co-edited book was published, Benedict Anderson made another contribution, arguing that the whole idea of 'nation' was, in fact, an invention⁷. Anderson showed that the concept of 'nation' was needed for nationalism to function for the sake of the improved continuation of capitalist modes of production. In this process, a common past is a vital factor in imagining nations, and this common past is made possible via cultural heritage. The nineteenth century is a historically critical point in this regard, because the

⁵ Ümit Fırat Açıkgöz, "On the Uses and Meanings of Architectural Preservation in Early Republican İstanbul On the Uses and Meanings of Architectural Preservation in Early Republican İstanbul (1923-1950)", *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 1, 1-2 (2014), 167-185.

⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14. The articles in this book mostly focus on this process of 'tradition invention' in the nineteenth century England.

⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, Verso, 1983).

idea of ‘cultural heritage’ was produced in this period aligned with the idea of ‘nation’ and spread of ‘nationalism’.

Anderson historically investigates the formation of this concept, ‘nation’, and argues that it is an imagined community. However, he investigates this process of imagination not only through political ideologies, but rather by focusing on the wider cultural system that enabled such imagination. In Anderson’s analysis, ‘nation’ enacts a ‘deep horizontal hierarchy’ among diverse individuals who can even willingly die for the sake of nationalism.

David Lowenthal⁸ has demonstrated how perception of the past has changed throughout history. He explored how the past becomes crucially important especially during times of strong social upheaval that create sharp political, social, and cultural change in the society. The French Revolution stands out in this narrative with its impact triggering such change on a global scale.

A major contribution came with Pierre Nora’s monumental project⁹. In this project on France, Nora documented the ways in which history is produced. Nora produced the term *lieux de memoir* (space of memory), enabling discussions on the relationship between memory and history¹⁰. Nora argues that in the process of

⁸ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983). Developed in three sections, *Wanting the Past*, *Knowing the Past*, and *Changing the Past*, Lowenthal’s book, in a dialectic way, shows how concepts on history gained diverse meanings even though they surfaced in similar circumstances.

⁹ Pierre Nora, *Lieux de memoir*. This project led by Nora published 136 articles in French over a long period from 1981 to 1992. Collectively these articles revealed the construction process of the image of the French nation. English reading community could reach 46 of these articles published in three volumes; Pierre Nora (ed.) *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, 3 vols., Arthur Goldhammer (trans.), (New York, Columbia University Press, 1996-98). The English version also includes a foreword by Lawrence Kritzmar and a new preface by Nora himself. Nora’s work in this project is also published as an article; Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire” in *Representations*, 26, 1989, 7-24.

¹⁰ In fact, even in the mid-1920s, Maurice Halbwachs had already argued that every community builds a ‘collective memory’, a term which is often associated with cultural heritage. Cf. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992 [1926]). Many scholars highlighted that collective memory is a dangerous concept since power can easily operate on it and it can be exploited by authorities to discipline certain groups in a community. However, in Halbwachs formulation, collective memory is communally produced by all the members of a community generating a link between individual and bigger community. Through this link, continuity is sustained. It should be also highlighted that collective memory and national history are not the same things. For Halbwachs, history is directly related to events within a narrative structure whereas collective memory is produced within the present. The notion of collective memory is

history-making, some monuments and sites emerge which memory attaches itself to. He distinguishes memory and history and stressed that “history is perpetually suspicious of memory, and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it”.

Nora’s work is essential for gaining an insight into how cultural heritage constructs a national narrative. Even though Nora investigates this process for France, there are some common themes that can be interpreted internationally. In a way, Nora deconstructs all the elements that construct the French national past and studies each element through critical scholarly lenses. Sites of memories, as described and exemplified in Nora’s work, are crucially important generators of this national past.

François Choay also contributed to studies on the development of historic preservation, focusing mainly on France but also comparing it to England¹¹. Choay generates a chronological narrative on the role of the ‘historic monument’ from the fifteenth century to the 1960s. However, the main core of her book is about the nineteenth century developments which emerged in the post-French Revolution context.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, these above-mentioned works prompted a critical scholar perspective towards historic preservation, which would emerge as a discipline in the twenty first century, however, indeed there existed a critical perspective before that¹². For instance, as early as 1939, Grahame Clark expressed

significant for the development of historic preservation because certain modes of cultural heritage are strongly linked to collective memory in the form in which it is defined by Halbwachs.

With the possibilities of emerging technologies, today, it is possible to articulate on this relationship between memory and history. See Rosa Tamborrino (ed.), *Digital Urban History: Telling the history of the City in the Age of the ICT Revolution*, (Roma, Croma, 2014). For a critical view on the use of digital technologies in this regard, in the same publication, see Peter Stabel, “Opening a Pandora’s Box? an Essay About the Pitfalls of Digital History and Digital Heritage.”, Rosa Tamborrino (ed.), *Digital Urban History: Telling the history of the City in the Age of the ICT Revolution*, (Roma, Croma, 2014), 29-37.

¹¹ Choay’s work was originally published as *Allegorie du patrimoine* in 1992. The English version of the book was entitled *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, Lauren M. O’Connell (trans.) (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹² Indeed, even in the late nineteenth century there existed a criticism that was related to historic preservation. This approach had internationally evolved throughout the twentieth century. Some reference works are highlighted throughout this thesis in order to understand and evaluate preservation within a wider framework. The works outlined in this ‘state of art’ section, on the other hand, present the development of a certain scholar perspective which I am to contribute.

his concerns on the use of archaeology for nationalistic purposes¹³. Andrea Emiliani¹⁴, in 1974, argued that a control mechanism is needed for the ruling class who can use cultural heritage according to their own will.

Especially in the first decade of the 2000s, with this critical perspective, cultural heritage began to be discussed not necessarily only by architects, archaeologists, planners, or *restuoratori*, but also by scholars of a wider range of disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, museum studies, cultural studies, etc. Within this multidisciplinary framework, historic preservation has begun to be discussed from various aspects that included, but were not limited to, the relationship between cultural heritage and politics, national identity, identity making, writing of history, ethnic conflicts, gender, indigenous communities, intangible values, international diplomacy, genocides and social confrontations, etc.¹⁵. One of the main developments that prompted this criticism was internationalization of historic preservation in the post-war period. Establishment of UNESCO and formulation of the concept of ‘world heritage’ defined a concrete mechanism to both define and preserve cultural heritage through a bureaucratic process that involved state parties. This strong control over cultural heritage created another conflict zone; many scholars criticized the notion of ‘world heritage site’ and the UNESCO-defined designation process¹⁶.

¹³ Grahame Clark, *Archaeology and Society*, (London, Methuen, 1939).

¹⁴ Andrea Emiliani, *Una politica dei beni culturali*, (Torino, Einaudi, 1974); republished (Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2014). Emiliani is also the founder of l'Istituto per i Beni Culturali dell'Emilia-Romagna (1974) and he is a professor of Italian art history. In this work, written in an era of debates on regional governance scheme Italy, Emiliani questioned the role of art historians to prevent political exploitation of cultural heritage.

¹⁵ Niamh Moore and Yvonne Whelan (eds.), *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity New Perspectives on the Cultural Landscape* (Hampshire, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007). Brian J. Graham and Peter Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Hampshire, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008). Rodney Harrison (ed.), *Understanding the politics of heritage* (Manchester, Manchester University Press & the Open University, 2010). Helaine Silverman (ed.), *Contested Cultural Heritage: Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Global World* (New York, Springer, 2013), Peter F. Biehl, Douglas C. Comer, Christopher Prescott, Hilary A. Soderland (eds.), *Identity and Heritage Contemporary Challenges in a Globalized World Identity*, (Cham, Springer, 2015).

¹⁶ Michael A. Di Giovine, *The heritage-scape: UNESCO, World Heritage, and tourism* (Lanham, Lexington Books, 2008). Sophia Labadi and Colin Long (eds.), *Heritage and Globalisation* (Oxon, Routledge, 2010). Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Perspectives* (Oxon, Routledge, 2013). Lynn Meskell, “States of Conservation: Protection, Politics, and Pacting within

One of the earliest and most influential examples of such studies is Laurajane Smith's work, *Uses of Heritage*¹⁷. In this work, Smith demonstrates the existence of an 'authorized heritage discourse' which provides authority and recognition to experts of historic preservation¹⁸.

In the 2010s, this growing academic interest has triggered institutionalization efforts. Several research centers, academic journals, and university departments were established to support and encourage researchers to study cultural heritage from a critical perspective¹⁹.

Methodology

The title of this research, *Building the Heritage*, relates to the above-mentioned formulation of 'cultural heritage' which frames the term not as tangible or intangible entities to be preserved, but as a 'process'. This process is operated by present conditions to selectively define the past in order to produce a history. The context for this process is the 'city', because cities are in a continuous process of change. Similarly to cultural heritage, cities are also reshaped in each period by urban planning activities that are designed by social dynamics. Thus, a research which deals with historic preservation as practiced through cultural politics will

UNESCO's World Heritage Committee", *Anthropological Quarterly*, 87 (1), 2014, 217-243. Christoph Brumann and David Berliner (eds.), *World Heritage on the Ground: Ethnographic Perspectives* (New York, Berghahn, 2016).

¹⁷ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York, Routledge, 2006).

¹⁸ Smith points to dangers of 'authorized heritage discourse' that, either deliberately or unconsciously, it functions as a tool for social exclusion. Focusing on Australia, she argues that cultural heritages of some communities are not included in historic preservation efforts due to existence of 'authorized heritage discourse'.

In this research, historic preservation in Turkey is discussed focusing on how cultural heritage is defined and how preservation is undertaken by those who held enough power. Indeed, as Smith suggests, on the other side of this spectrum, there are also those who were excluded. However, even though these excluded Turkish communities are discussed in some sections, the main emphasis of this research is concentrated on predominant power structures and their actions.

¹⁹ Academics from Australia, Sweden and the UK established the Association of Critical Heritage Studies in 2010. An academic journal, *the International Journal of Heritage Studies* started to be published to support studies in this area. Centre for Critical Heritage Studies was formed in 2016 at the University of Gothenburg. As a part of this research center, University College London Centre for Critical Heritage Studies was also formed.

inevitably investigate the history of urban planning²⁰. To plan a city is an act to generate a future strategy, a future image for an urbanized land with a history. Thus, to study the history of urban planning is, in a way, to study the relationship between past, present, and future where a plan for future is generated in present based on past. For this reason, in addition to architecture, archaeology, and museums, also urban planning activities in Turkey are also investigated since some major preservation problems/issues are revealed in these activities, especially in İstanbul as a city with the history of being the capital of two empires almost for a millennium and six centuries.

The research develops in four chapters. The chapters are divided based on strong political changes which restructured the state. *Appendix A* presents a brief timetable that may help readers follow timely developments in politics, institutes, and major events which had an impact on historic preservation. In the sense that Bourdieu defines the state, each chapter discusses how cultural heritage was managed by a different ruling class with different cultural and political engagements to generate a stable state²¹. The thesis aims to discuss historic preservation in a broad context where different attitudes towards cultural heritage are visible. In this regard, compared to rural sites, cities are especially relevant

²⁰ Rosa Tamborrino showed that protection of old artifacts and urban transformation projects are inevitably linked. This relationship operates in a complex way that actors of urban projects do not necessarily perform against conservation of cultural heritage. On the contrary, urban projects prompts the concern for conservation simultaneously. Cf. Rosa Tamborrino, *Parigi come modello, 1852-1902: idee e progetti di trasformazione della città e conservazione dei beni architettonici*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Politecnico di Torino, 1994.

²¹ Pierre Bourdieu, "Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field" Loïc J. D. Wacquant and Samar Farage (trans.), *Sociological Theory*, 12 (1), 1994, 1-18. According to Bourdieu, the state is "the culmination of a process of concentration of different species of capital". Thus, the state is a formation process where power is concentrated on a central mechanism. He argues that the power of state can be understood by distinguishing the perception of social relations in two diverse mechanisms; relations of physical force and relations of symbolic force. For Bourdieu, symbolic force is more brutal. Thus, it is vitally important for state to own symbolic capital, which means value of any property acknowledged by any social agent. Thus, concentration of symbolic power means having the control over the perception of any value. He exemplifies "the concept of honor in Mediterranean societies" as "a typical form of symbolic capital", because via this concept, it becomes possible to define what is honorable and what is dishonorable. Through concentration of symbolic capital, state becomes "the site par excellence of the concentration and exercise of symbolic power". In this sense, also in this research, each chapter focuses on the acts of a different community who wanted to form the Turkish state through concentration of cultural heritage as a symbolic capital.

because in cities, one can observe both how citizens engage with heritage and how a certain image is presented to outsiders (tourists, visitors, foreigners). In order to understand this broad context of historic preservation with all its layers, urban operations and new architecture are discussed to understand what ‘past’ and its remains really meant while ‘future’ was also being constructed.

Each chapter first presents a brief introduction followed by a description of the political atmosphere in relation to its impact on historic preservation. The chapters are not structured around an identical narrative where certain criteria are defined and then each chapter is developed discussing those criteria. This is a conscious decision. For each chapter, the relationship between historic preservation and politics is discussed focusing on the methods that the ruling class exploited. For instance, while the major part of Chapter 1 is based on archaeological activities, Chapter 3 rather focuses on urban planning activities and their implications. Similarly, Chapter 2 discusses how architectural production and urban planning functioned on an ideological level, and Chapter 4 generates a similar link through the archival materials of a preservation committee.

In the first two chapters, new architectural tendencies are also discussed. My aim is to understand how political/ideological atmosphere influenced architectural communities, how this influence was revealed in their projects, and in which ways heritage discussions and preservation systematic were aligned with these developments. Discussions on new design languages are not directly related to historic preservation. However, they are included in the thesis to present the context. Thus, even though the main motivation of the thesis is to understand the relationship between historic preservation and politics, architectural production is also discussed to gain a deeper insight into the meaning of this relationship.

The first chapter discusses the emergence of the concept of cultural heritage in the nineteenth century Ottoman world. This was a period in which the Ottoman state started a process of modernization by enacting reforms restructuring the institutions of the state. These reforms had immense impacts on the military, education, infrastructural investments, the role of women, minority rights, architecture, urban planning, transportation, fashion, daily habits, art, etc. In parallel to this process started by the late Ottoman ruling class, a consciousness towards the concept of cultural heritage was raised through preservationist attempts such as the first museum in the Empire, the first Ottoman archaeology

campaigns, legislations on old artifacts, and attempts to collect archaeological artifacts in the capital of the Empire²². At the turn of the century, instead of movable archaeological objects, preservation of immovable historic monuments gained importance²³. The main study material of the first chapter comes from secondary sources. The main reason for this is the language barrier: it is necessary to read French and Ottoman²⁴, in addition to Turkish and English, to undertake a study focusing on the late Ottoman era²⁵. Nevertheless, Chapter 1 investigates the

²² These early attempts of historic preservation were taken with a dual motive; on the one hand, efforts to collect antiquities and generate regulations to claim an authority over them emerged from a reaction against the Western actors of archaeology who collected and transported artifacts to their own countries. Moreover, there was a Western attitude which suggested that *Turks* were not conscious enough to take care of these artifacts, thus, collecting them was a matter of preservation. On the other hand, through collecting these artifacts, the Ottoman ruling class and intellectuals could generate a narrative on the national past emphasizing links with Europe. Indeed, the Ottoman attitude towards archaeology in this period is strongly related with discussions on colonialism. The first chapter is not entirely structured around discussions of colonialism ; nevertheless, it points to colonialism since it is essential to address these discussions for a study on this period.

As will be discussed further in Chapter 1, there are similarities between Europe and the late Ottoman Empire in terms of efforts to collect artifacts. For Paris, Rosa Tamborrino showed Haussmann's efforts to preserve urban memory of Paris (see Rosa Tamborrino, "Museo, identità e costruzione della memoria urbana nella Parigi di metà Ottocento", *Città e Storia*, III (1–2), 2008, 15–36.) and Viollet-le Duc's efforts to preserve antiquities (see the fourth chapter in Rosa Tamborrino, *Parigi nell'Ottocento. Cultura architettonica e città*, (Marsilio, Venezia 2005)). Among other motives, both intellectuals had pedagogical motivations to educate future generations through cultural heritage. It is necessary to investigate if a similar motivation existed for Ottoman intellectuals as well. However, at least until 1903, Ottomans museums had limited access. In the mid-nineteenth century, no one could visit the museum without an official permit. Thus, I suggest that even though there were attempts to educate the public through cultural heritage, these Ottoman efforts mainly targeted the European community to inform them that the Ottomans were also European.

²³ In this period, also new buildings were designed with an Ottoman revivalist style. Similarly to how Gothic architecture was adapted to reinforce the national image of France, fifteenth and sixteenth century Ottoman architecture was adapted to reinforce the national image of Turkey.

²⁴ As discussed in chapter 1.1.2., language was not just a skill, but also a form of power in this period. Even the actors of modernization reform were officers working in the Official Translation Office.

²⁵ Even though gaining an insight into the content of the French documents was easier for me, the Ottoman documents were more challenging. Moreover, French documents are accessed more easily especially through *Gallica*, the digital archives of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. In fact, some of the materials in the Ottoman archives are also digitalized (with no-public access) and translated into Turkish (Ottoman archives and Republican archives are separately categorized and

emergence of the concept of ‘cultural heritage’ in Turkey during the late Ottoman era and the political implications of this emergence.

The second chapter focuses on the republican period. It investigates the efforts of the founding members of the Turkish Republic (founded in 1923). This period is studied with a focus on how cultural heritage was essential for the ruling class to transform a society that was ruled as an Islamic monarchy for centuries into a modern, secular society within a few decades. This chapter discusses how archaeology helped the republican rulers to define a new historic reference. In addition, the attitude towards the Ottoman monuments is discussed through Pierre Nora’s conceptualization of *lieux de memoir* by researching both how buildings and institutions of the old regime were managed and how new actors and institutions generated the preservationist attitude of the new regime. In the second chapter, the study material is both primary and secondary sources. State publications, proceedings of congresses organized by state institutes, books by eminent preservation actors who held important duties in public preservation offices, and annual reports and publications of these public preservation offices are the primary sources that are studied and evaluated within a political framework drawn through studying secondary sources.

The third chapter focuses on a period during which the power of republican rulers was surpassed by the opposition, who gradually increased power from 1950 until 1961 when a coup d’état was organized to reclaim the state, or as Bourdieu states, to reclaim “a process of concentration of different species of capital”²⁶. In this period, a powerful preservation committee was also established in 1951 as an autonomous public office with excessive authority above local and central authorities. All individuals, state departments, municipalities and other local authorities were legally bound to recognize and obey the decisions taken by this committee. The fourth chapter investigates the aftermath of the coup and looks at the developments until another coup d’état took place in 1980, restarting another process of concentration. In this period between two military coups, no power structure could gain enough power to form a functioning parliament. In addition,

located at the General Directorate of State Archives of the Prime Ministry [*Başbakanlık Devlet Osmanlı Arşivleri*] in İstanbul). However, within the scope of the Chapter 1, an archival research was not a *sine qua non*.

²⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, “Rethinking”, 4.

in line with cold war politics, political movements reached a new level of militant violence. Political and social chaos was common in this period. Meanwhile, the preservation committee sustained its power and directed the preservation activities of Turkey via a centralized top-down decision making mechanism. As such, chapters three and four discuss the attitude of the preservation committee under two opposite political circumstances. Chapter 3 investigates how the committee responded to a centralized power which wanted to implement immense destructive urban projects in historic areas of İstanbul in order to sustain, display, and by doing so, finally reproduce its power. Chapter 4, on the other hand, investigates how the committee functioned in and responded to a socio-political atmosphere in which conflicts (social and political conflicts) escalated to a point that the state became dysfunctional. The main study material for the third and fourth chapter are the archives of this preservation committee.

Since the preservation committee was responsible for all the cities of Turkey, the amount of the archival material is excessive. There are three copies of these materials in separate archives. One copy is in the archives of the Ministry of Culture in the Ulus district in Ankara. Another copy is in the archives of the local preservation board of İstanbul (Preservation Board No. 4) which is located in the Eminönü district in İstanbul. And a third copy is in the archives of the local preservation boards²⁷ in various cities. The Ankara archives of the committee provide very limited information. A small number of documents are kept in a folder in no order. The İstanbul archives, on the other hand, provide rich material to evaluate the attitude of the committee. The committee's archive is combined with the archives of the republican era preservation committee²⁸. The İstanbul archive includes all the principle decisions of the committee²⁹.

²⁷ With the 1980 military coup, the preservation committee was replaced with local preservation boards established all over Turkey. Not all cities have their individual boards. One board is responsible for surrounding cities. Currently, as 2018, there are 32 boards for 81 cities of Turkey. İstanbul, on the other hand, has seven boards responsible for different districts.

²⁸ The authority of this republican era committee covered only İstanbul. When the 1951 committee was founded, the duties of both conflicted. Towards the 1970s the İstanbul committee became ineffective and was shut down in 1970. In the second chapter, archival material from the İstanbul-committee is also used, however, in the third and fourth chapter, materials from archives constitute the main discussions.

²⁹ The decisions on singular cases on a historic building, on the other hand, are found in the archive of the local board where that historic building is located. For instance, in order to undertake

Even though the information in the third and fourth chapters is directly obtained from archival materials, these materials are evaluated via secondary sources. Thus, all the archival material collected from the archives are not presented in this research. Rather, these materials are categorized, evaluated, and filtered based on a question: ‘Does this material help me to understand how actors of preservation responded to the political and social context in which they operated?’. This social and political context is defined via secondary sources. Then, the study material is filtered to demonstrate how politics were effective on historic preservation.

For instance, in the archives of the local preservation board of the city of Konya, my research revealed that some buildings on a building block were collectively designated as buildings to preserved before the 1973 law, and a boundary was designated as the preservation zone after the law. Thus, I preferred not to present this material since this attitude was already outlined in other principle decisions. Moreover, repetitive cases were also omitted, and only the attitude of heritage experts is highlighted. However, these materials are not used simply to document what the committee did or how the committee decided on a specific issue related with politics; rather they are discussed to underline the complexities of historic preservation emphasizing the links between preserving, renewing, and modernizing especially in a city like İstanbul with a rich history.

research on historic buildings in a district of Konya (an inner Anatolian city), a researcher can find only the text of the final decision in İstanbul. In order to reach drawings, photographs, and detailed final decisions, the researcher has to go to Konya. The same situation applies also for conservation areas that are designated as preservation zones by the committee. In İstanbul, the archival material provides only the information that boundaries of the preservation zone for Konya were designated. For maps and detailed plan notes, again it is necessary to go to Konya.

The archives in local preservation boards are kept in a good condition. When I visited the Konya board, all the archival materials were digitalized and the blueprints are also preserved. In the İstanbul archives, none of the materials are digitalized, and some documents are not readable due to the deterioration of their paper. However, an inventory of this archive is done categorizing the decisions. The Ankara archives are in the worst condition among these three locations.

One of the challenges of this research was that my time in the archives coincided with the aftermath of the 2016 coup attempt. As a result of this attempt, public offices were cautious to provide any information, and bureaucratic procedure was strictly obeyed, which is not very common. Usually, researchers may receive some flexibility from the officers. However, even in this strange situation, I was able to study in the archives even though I needed to write several documents and talk to several officers.

Finally, the thesis is concluded with a final conclusion which outlines the findings of the research.

Chapter 1

Discovering the Power of the Past: Interest in Antiquities during the late Ottoman Era

In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman state realized intensive reforms to reorganize the state structure, to overcome the backwardness of the Empire, and to take precautions against European colonialism³⁰. In this era of ‘westernization’, new concepts (such as archaeology, museums, artifacts, archaeological excavation, etc.) were introduced into Ottoman cultural life. The concept of cultural heritage was also imported from the West into Ottoman cultural life during the nineteenth century.

³⁰ There are countless numbers on studies discussing the Ottoman modernization and its relation to European colonialism. Key references among these studies are; Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. (London, Oxford University Press, 1961). Reşat Kasaba (ed.), *Turkey in the Modern World*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008). Selim Deringil, *The Well-protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, (London, I.B. Taurus, 1999). Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A modern history*, (New York, I.B. Taurus, 2004). Carter Vaughn Findley, *The Turks in World History*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2005). Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey: The quest for identity*. (Oneworld Publications, 2014). Sibel Bozdoğan, Reşat Kasaba (eds.), *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1997).

This short paragraph outlines how archaeology started in Turkey. However, even this limited information tends to raise some questions. The emergence of the concept of ‘cultural heritage’ in Ottoman society, or the emergence of any other concept in any other society, is not a simple transformation. On the contrary, the emergence of concepts in a society in each period are the result of broad changes in political, economic, and socio-cultural conditions. Therefore, in this chapter, I will try to discuss the questions relating to this transformation in Ottoman cultural life. This chapter will look at the early steps towards a raised consciousness of cultural heritage during the modernization process.

In the current literature, the modernization of the Ottoman Empire, as well as other non-European territories, is defined as a process that started with cultural interaction with Europe. For instance, the prominent Turkish historian Halil İnalcık categorizes the modernization of the Ottoman Empire in three stages; the first stage started with the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 by Sultan Mehmet II and continued until the eighteenth century. This was not a deliberate attempt, according to İnalcık, but rather a consequence of empire’s confrontation with a cosmopolitan culture which marked a new cultural era. The second stage came in the eighteenth century with the intention of improving the military. The third stage, finally, came in 1839 with *Tanzimat* (an Arabic word that literally translates as ‘restructuring’) and lasted until 1876³¹. This well-known three-staged process does not only narrate a chronological development; it also reproduces the West-East dichotomy. In this formulation, the West is the reference point and modernization of the East depends on interaction with the West. However, recent

³¹ Cf. Halil İnalcık, “Turkey between Europe and Middle East”, *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs*, 1998, 5-18. There are studies that challenge this narrative. For instance, Necipoğlu-Kafadar’s seminal work on Sinan the Architect –the most renowned and productive chief architect of *Hassa Mimarlığı* (the Imperial Architecture Office)- rewrites the Ottoman architectural history in a global context. Cf. Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, Reaktion Books, London, 2007. In this work, Necipoğlu-Kafadar shows how the sixteenth century Ottoman architecture and the Italian Renaissance architecture almost simultaneously gained a new characteristic via innovation of the dome-centralized plans. Her work shows that Sinan’s achievements were not due to individual endeavors of Sinan but rather due to cultural, political, and social context that Sinan directed the *Hassa Mimarlığı*. Unfolding the complexities of the relationship between architectural production and societal and political dynamics, Necipoğlu-Kafadar reminds that it is reductive to explain historical developments simply via the influence of the ‘developed’ West.

scholar studies show that cultural interaction is not a one-way movement from west to non-west, but rather it is a complex network of movements³².

The development of modernism is mostly regarded as a point in the history of mankind that started (and arguably ended) within Europe. Non-European experiences of modernism are generally regarded as unsuccessful attempts to imitate a European culture³³. Indeed, postcolonial theories criticized this understanding by rejecting the West – East dichotomy and disavowing the given categories³⁴. Edward Said's work *Orientalism*³⁵ has been a major step of this critic in humanities. Also Gayatri Spivak's seminal article "Can the Subaltern Speak?"³⁶ has been a key scholar work in questioning and altering the Eurocentric approach.

Following the criticism against the West - East polarization, as stated in the introduction, this chapter will analyze how cultural heritage and historic preservation served the needs of various power structures.

³² One of the recent studies in this regard is Finbarr Barry Flood, Gülru Necipoğlu, *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture, vol. 1 & 2* (Hoboken, John Wiley & Sons, 2017). In this comprehensive work covering a period from the seventh century to the twenty first century, a wide range of articles collectively outline that a singular narration of Islamic east is not accurate. Thus, this study challenge binary categorizations of West-East, Islam-Christianity, traditional-modern.

³³ Timothy Mitchell, "The Stage of Modernity", Timothy Mitchell (ed.), *Questions of Modernity*, (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 1-34: 9. Mitchell reacts to this understanding and suggests that diverse experiences create a collective narration for the history of modernism. He argues that since history constructs a singular narrative (because of the nature of the discipline itself), that narrative has to be inclusive.

³⁴ Esra Akcan, "Postcolonial Theories in Architecture," Elie Haddad and David Rifkind (eds.), *A Critical History of Contemporary Architecture (1960-2010)*, (London, Ashgate, 2014): 115-136. In this work, Akcan reviewed the postcolonial literature in architecture under two main approaches; first approach suggests that the representation of the repressed is impossible within a system generated and operated by the repressor. An example to first approach is cf. Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu and Wong Chong Thai (eds.), *Postcolonial Space(s)* (New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1997). Second approach, on the other hand, argues the possibility of a universally valid criteria that is not necessarily Eurocentric. An example of the second approach is cf. Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Özkaya (eds.), *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 50, 2014.

³⁵ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York, Vintage, 1994). Original work is published in 1978. Said argued that European colonialism required the image of 'other', 'non-western' to set up a hierarchy between the Orient and the Occident.

³⁶ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", Cary Nelson, Lawrence Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-313.

1.1. How to Look Like Europe: Archaeology and Museums during Modernization

In the nineteenth century, since owning the antiquities would mean owning the civilization, there was a global contest among the powerful nations of the period³⁷. As will be discussed below, the Ottoman Empire gradually became an important actor in this contest.

Özdoğan argues that archaeology in Turkey developed in a different fashion from European examples; in Europe, it developed from a Renaissance-born interest whereas in Turkey, it was an imported discipline from the West³⁸. Akcan³⁹, in her key study on cultural exchanges between Germany and Turkey during the first half of the twentieth century, uses the term ‘translation’ to underline that cultural flow from one place to another is “international transportation of people, ideas, technology, information, and images”. By perceiving the flow of a concept as *translation*, it becomes possible to relate the act of transportation (or ‘import’, as Özdoğan suggests) to “the geographical distribution of power or capital”. Also in this section of the thesis, emergence of the concept of ‘cultural heritage’ in the late-Ottoman cultural life will not be outlined as the import of archaeology from the West, but rather it will be discussed through power relations.

As the Ottomans were interested in European lifestyles, similarly, there also existed a European interest in Ottoman society. This interest increased with the influences of travelers’ engravings, which eventually became the primary tool

³⁷ Zeynep Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem. “Introduction: Archaeology and Empire”. In Zeynep Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem eds., *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, SALT/Garanti Kültür A.Ş., İstanbul, 2011, 13-44.

³⁸ Cf. Mehmet Özdoğan “Ideology and archaeology in Turkey”. In L. Meskell, ed., *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, Routledge, New York, 1998, pp. 111-123.

³⁹ Cf. Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2012). In this work, Akcan comprehensively integrates translational studies to architectural history to generate a historiography on modernity which is not simply based on dualities such as ‘western-eastern’, ‘local-international’, etc. Rather, through an investigation of different levels of *translation*, she underlines that transportations lead to transformations. By doing so, Akcan reveals the complexities on cultural exchanges.

introducing archaeological sites to the Europeans. Use of engravings continued until the nineteenth century then it was replaced with photography⁴⁰.

The nineteenth century saw a raised consciousness of cultural heritage among the Ottoman ruling elites. This interest in patrimony can be suggested to have evolved chronologically from collecting *spolias* to undertaking archaeological excavations all over the Empire. The foundation of the Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*) in 1869 was the most important and crucial step in this evolution. This institution made the empire one of the main global actors in archaeology.

It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that the Ottoman state claimed her own place in this contest. In this period, the museum took on a new ideological direction. The Imperial Museum also operated in a similar fashion to other European Museums in terms of claiming ownership of the archaeological findings.

In this first section of the first chapter, the narrative will unfold in three parts. First part will discuss management of cultural heritage before the foundation of the Imperial Museum, second part will discuss the impact of the Imperial Museum, and the third part will investigate archaeological activities managed under the museum.

1.1.1. Adapting to European Interests: Archaeology and removal of artifacts before the foundation of the Imperial Museum in 1869

In the sixteenth century (an era during which the Ottoman Empire was at the peak of its economic and military power), the first visuals of Ottoman life were introduced into European society. In this period, the European artists accompanied the European ambassadors, diplomats, and merchants who visited the Ottoman Empire. They drew the landscapes they saw during their visits, and after going

⁴⁰ Zeynep Çelik, Edhem Eldem (eds.), *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire, 1840-1914* (İstanbul, Koc University Press, 2015). This work investigates the role of photography in Ottoman modernism. It includes essays on photo albums commissioned by the Sultan to display the empire to the western audience. Also see, Pierre de Gigord, *Images d'empire : aux origines de la photographie en Turquie*, (İstanbul, Institut d'etudes françaises d'Istanbul, 1993). Pierre de Gigord collected photographs of Turkey, mainly İstanbul, in the nineteenth century from various photographers. De gigord collection is purchased and digitalized by the Getty Research Insitute. For the relation between photography and orientalism; Ali Behdad, Luke Gartlan (eds.), *Photography's Orientalism*, (Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2013).

back to their countries, they published drawing albums. However, there were also cases that the European artists drew the Ottoman life in İstanbul from what they read or heard without visiting, or they drew what they remembered after returning to their countries. Thus, these visuals can be misleading. In the seventeenth century, not only İstanbul, but also the antique settlements in Asia minor attracted travelers; however, visuals of İstanbul were still the main topic of the engravings. In the eighteenth century, with the influences of the Enlightenment challenging the power of the church and the king, the Ottoman Empire appeared as an alternative form of social organization, which attracted intellectuals. Nevertheless, it was during the same period that the East became an exotic object that provoked the curiosity of the Europeans. By the late eighteenth century, the images did not satisfy this curiosity any longer. Particularly after the conquest of Egypt by Napoléon Bonaparte in 1798, archaeological artifacts began to be removed from the Ottoman Empire and shipped to Europe⁴¹.

When Napoleon occupied Egypt in 1798, he also initiated a process to collect antiquities from the Ottoman Empire. He was accompanied by a committee of scholars⁴² and these scholars acknowledged the importance of the antiquities in the region. Consequentially, many artifacts in Egypt were catalogued and shipped to France. When British troops took over the control of Egypt in 1801, the removal continued. The famous Rosetta Stone that is today displayed in the British Museum was also removed in this period⁴³.

⁴¹ Necla Arslan Sevin, *Gravürlerde Yaşayan Osmanlı [the Ottoman Empire that Remains in the Engravings]*, İstanbul : T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2006. Egypt had always been a problematic case for the Ottoman Empire due to governor Mehmet Ali Pasha's rebels and his claims for an independent Muslim state. The rebellion governor Mehmet Ali Pasha had also sent the famous Luxor Obelisk as a gift to France in 1830. See, Zeynep Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem. "Introduction: Archaeology and Empire". In Zeynep Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, Edhem Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, (İstanbul, SALT/Garanti Kültür A.Ş., 2011), 16.

⁴² His scholars included 21 mathematicians, three cosmography experts, 15 geologists, 17 civil engineers, 15 geographers, four architects, three civil engineering students, eight painters, one sculptor, three gunpowder experts, 10 machine experts, 10 editors, 15 consulates and translators, nine health nurses, nine quarantine officials, 22 publishers, and two musicians. This army of scientists produced and published an exhaustive inventory; *Description de l'Égypte*.

⁴³ The famous trilingual Rosetta Stone was also discovered during this campaign. This stone, which was an agreement carved in three languages (ancient Greek, hieroglyph, and Demotic) helped decipher the hieroglyph alphabet.

Even though removal of over-ground antiquities by Europeans was already a practice that the Ottomans were familiar with, digging the earth to discover underground objects only emerged as a practice in the mid-nineteenth century. Before elaborating on Ottoman attitudes towards these antiquities, I will firstly give examples from the archaeological excavations by foreign teams on Ottoman lands to demonstrate how Ottoman lands represented a major archaeological resource.

The Ottoman Empire was already familiar with the archaeological campaigns (both within and outside today's Turkey) carried out by Western excavators. This familiarity was charged with a frustration relating to the export of the findings to European or northern American museums. For example, findings from excavations at Khorsabad, Nineveh (close to Mosul, northern Iraq) were shipped to the Louvre and to the British Museum; those from Nimrud (which is not the same site as Nemrud in Adiyaman which will also be mentioned below. Nimrud is to the southeast of Mosul in today's Iraq) to the British Museum, and those from Tello/Telloh (Northwest of Lagash, southern Iraq) to the Louvre Museum⁴⁴.

The export of antiquities⁴⁵ was a concern for a limited sector of Ottoman society; however, most notably, the infamous excavations of the German self-educated explorer Heinrich Schliemann created a major controversy. Schliemann smuggled out the treasures of Priam that he discovered during his excavation of the site of Troy in the 1870s⁴⁶. However, even long before Schliemann, the Ottoman state had experiences with foreign excavators removing findings. These instances of removals had started at the end of the eighteenth century. The growing frustration with the removals eventually led the Ottomans to formulate and enact strong legislative and institutional change in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Another mode of transportation of antiquities from the Ottoman lands to abroad was sultan's giving them as gifts to European monarchs as a gesture aiming to improve diplomatic relations. For instance, in 1838, Sultan Mahmud II gave some artifacts from Assos (on the Aegean Mediterranean coast) to King

⁴⁴ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi [Westernization in Art and Osman Hamdi]*. İstanbul, Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı, 1995, pp.290-293.

⁴⁵ Removal of antiquities from non-European territories to Europe is a well-studied phenomenon. In this part of the thesis, only a section of these removals are discussed.

⁴⁶ Zeynep Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem, "Introduction": 24-25.

Louis-Philippe of France⁴⁷. It is noteworthy that also the rebel Egyptian governor, Mehmed (Muhammed) Ali Pasha, who established his own dynasty in Egypt rebelling against the Ottoman state, regularly gave gifts from Egypt to the same European monarchs, with the same agenda. He also gave a gift to King Louis Philippe; the Luxor Obelisk which has been reassembled at the Place de la Concorde in Paris. A special ship was also constructed to transfer the obelisk⁴⁸. In fact, just like the Ottoman state, Mehmed Ali Pasha was also undertaking a project to modernize Egypt through extensive reforms in the military and in education. The *Tanzimat* reforms of the Ottoman state were “no doubt in part to demonstrate to Europe that the Sultan's government, as well as that of the Pasha of Egypt, could produce a liberal and modern regime”⁴⁹.

To Europeans (ambassadors, travelers, archaeologists, etc.) on the other hand, Ottomans seemed indifferent towards archaeological artifacts. For them, these unique pieces of ancient beauty were suffering in the hands of the Turks. These diplomats were concerned for the condition of the artifacts and shipping the findings to their own countries was viewed as a necessary step towards safeguarding them⁵⁰. Salomon Reinach, for instance, in his article *Le Vandalisme Moderne en Orient*, suggested that Turks were not capable of taking care of Hellenistic works of art, and he called upon Europe to take action to save these unique pieces from the hands of the Turks⁵¹. However, contrary to Reinach's opinions, the Ottoman state had enacted even stronger policies to keep the antiquities within the boundaries of the Empire and limit foreign intervention. In fact, even though in general it seemed like the Ottomans could not take care of these antiquities, there were many instances in which locals and officials either reacted against those who would remove the artifacts, or informed the central authority and called on them to act.

⁴⁷ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: museums, archaeology, and the visualization of history in the late Ottoman Empire*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003. p.72.

⁴⁸ Zeynep Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem. “Introduction”, p.16.

⁴⁹ Bernard Lewis, *Emergence*, p.106.

⁵⁰ Benjamin Anderson, ““An alternative discourse”: Local interpreters of antiquities in the Ottoman Empire”. *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 40:4, 2015, pp.450-460. Also, see Eldem, 2011: 281-329.

⁵¹ Salomon Reinach, “Le Vandalisme Moderne En Orient”, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 56, March 1883, pp.132-166.

It is interesting that almost a century before, when artifacts were removed from Italy to France with the Treaty of Tolentino of 1798, many French intellectuals insisted that these works of art should remain in Italy. This was a brave reaction to the Napoleonic expansion. The letters written by Antoine C. Quatremère de Quincy (1755-1849) to General Miranda represented a part of this reaction. In these letters, de Quincy not only criticizes France for the removal of the artifacts from Italy, but also questions the museum as an entity. Moreover, he argues that these antiquities could be removed from those who did not safeguard them, but not from Italians⁵². The main argument in the letters of Quatremère de Quincy was that the western countries had the moral authorization to protect the monuments in the museums from ‘wild’ cultures like Ottomans who did not appreciate the value of these monuments by destroying them, thus, he reacted that removal of antiquities from Italy who took care of these monuments.

All these removals forced the Ottoman Empire to take precautions. In 1869s, the same year that the Imperial Museum was founded (as will be discussed in the chapter 1.2.), the Ottoman Empire formulated legislation to prohibit the export of archaeological findings. However, even before these first steps, the Ottoman Empire had already imposed some regulations on archaeological excavations that were undertaken by foreign teams. In the nineteenth century, these excavations had been increasing rapidly in number. In this context, the Ottoman ruling class developed an increased understanding of material heritage. The first museum of the Empire was also a part of this developing awareness. In fact, the first museum was founded to display not archaeological artifacts, but military objects; however, following its foundation in 1846, due to the rising interest in archaeology, this first museum evolved to become the Imperial Museum. Therefore, 1846 was the year that the Ottoman Empire declared its interest in antiquities through the adaption of a Europe-imported medium: the museum. Almost a half-century after Lenoir’s “*Le musée des Monuments français*”⁵³, also in the capital of the Ottoman

⁵² Antoine Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres sur le préjudice qu'occasionneroient aux arts et à la science, le déplacement des monumens de l'art de l'Italie, le démembrement de ses écoles, et la spoliation de ses collections, galeries, musées, etc.* (Paris, 1796) (reached via Gallica).

⁵³ This museum functioned in a similar fashion to the French model during the French Revolution. Cf. Dominique Poulot, “Alexandre Lenoir et les musées des Monuments français”, Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les Lieux de memoire, II. La Nation*. (Also in English, “Alexandre Lenoir and the museum of French monuments”, John Goodman (trans.), Pierre Nora (ed.), *Rethinking France: Les*

Empire, a similar process took place to convert a church –Hagia Irene church, which functioned as a magazine after the Conquest of İstanbul- into a museum (Figure 1, Figure 2).



Figure 1: Perspective drawing of Hagia Irene Church showing the construction of the dome of the church. In Jean Ebersolt, Adolphe Thiers, *Les Eglises de Constantinople*, Paris, Ministère de L'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, 1910. This publication presents a restitutive survey of Byzantine churches in Constantinople with architectural drawings.

Lieux de Mémoire, Volume 4: Histories and Memories, (London, the University of Chicago Press, 2010), 101-136.). After the French Revolution, the revolutionary Committee on the Ecclesiastical Affairs, in 1790, had suggested that a *depot* be created at the Petits-Augustins by the painter Doyer. When Doyer's student Lenoir became the general guardian of the museum in 1791, he expanded the museum collection. In 1796, the depot was opened to public and renamed as "*Le musée des Monuments français*". The Museum's collection was an assemblage of ancient dresses, military artifacts, and architectural fragments. Rest of the items These building pieces were either collected from ruined buildings, or removed from intact ones. During the years of the Terror, revolutionary committees directly sent the artifacts to the museum.



Figure 2: Longitudinal section of the Hagia Irene Church. In Jean Ebersolt, Adolphe Thiers, *Les Eglises*.

Rearrangement of the weapons collection in San Irene Church, and the display of this collection along with some antiquities, marks the beginnings of the Ottoman museum⁵⁴. San Irene Church is located in the first courtyard of the Topkapı Palace and it is the only Byzantine church that was not converted into a mosque, but was rather used as a weapon depot. Ahmet Fethi Pasha was the main actor responsible for rearranging this collection for future visitors.

Ahmet Fethi Pasha had served as an ambassador to Moscow in 1833, to Vienna from 1834 to 1836, and then to Paris from 1837 to 1839. When Ahmet Fethi Pasha returned to the capital, he had made industrial investments that were able to help the Empire reinstate favorable economic conditions. He was the head of the Military Storehouse and he was already familiar with how museums and antiquities functioned in Europe⁵⁵. Therefore, he is likely to have already had an agenda on his mind for the rearrangement of San Irene. The museum's collection of weapons was curated to narrate a calculated Ottoman history to visitors, to praise the achievements of the Ottoman army. Saint Irene Church had been divided into two wings; one wing for the weapons, the Magazine of Antique

⁵⁴ Emre Madran. "Cumhuriyetin ilk otuz yılında (1920-1950) koruma alanının örgütlenmesi [Institutionalization of preservation discipline during the first three decades of the Republic (1920-1950)]. *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, 16:1-2, 1966, pp. 59-97.

⁵⁵ We don't have any archival documents to prove that he personally visited museums or saw the collection of the musée des Monuments français (which was already distributed to the various museums when he was in Paris). However, it is known that he was a Europe-minded intellectual. As narrated by Ogan (cf. Aziz Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin 100üncü Yıldönümü [the 100th Anniversary of the Turkish Museology]*, Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu İstanbulu Sevenler Grubu Yayınları, İstanbul, 1947, p.3), Lamartine, in his book "Voyage en Orient", mentions Ahmed Fethi Pasha as an intellectual "whose mentality and life style is no different than those at the highest level of Europe".

Weapons (*Mecmua-i Esliha-i Atika*), and the other wing for antiquities, the Magazine of Antiquities (*Mecmua-i Asar-i Atika*) (Figure 3). The knife of Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror of Constantinople, was the highlight of the museum's collection. It was located on the apsis of the museum, representing the Ottoman victory of conquering Constantinople from the hands of the non-Muslim Byzantines. This sword was the only object that visitors could touch. The antiquities, on the other hand, were described as "some human and animal figures". Such description shows that it was not important for the Empire where these 'figures' were found nor which period they belonged to. In that sense, it is possible to suggest that their motivations for engaging with archaeological artifacts was almost entirely different from the driving factors of European appreciation⁵⁶ (Figure 4, Figure 5).

Mannequins were also used in the museum to narrate the Ottoman army's glories. Mannequins of the *Janissaries* (soldiers who accomplished multiple military achievements in the golden ages of the Empire, but then became corrupt in the seventeenth century and challenged the authority of the sultan) were displayed at the Magazine of Antique Weapons. The use of *Janissaries* was ceased by Sultan Mahmud II less than three decades before their re-appearance in the museum as reenactors of Ottoman military achievements⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*. pp.47-59.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.54-58. Considering that the Islamic rules limited the use of personified visuals in two and three dimensional representations, it is noteworthy that mannequins were used in this museum. The renowned Turkish author Orhan Pamuk, in his seminal work *The Black Book*, writes that Sultan Abdulhamid II ordered the manufacture of mannequins for a Naval Museum. According to Pamuk's narration, this museum was never constructed and the mannequins remained at the home of the manufacturer who turned this collection of mannequins into a private museum. Of course, this story and the museum are the fictional creations of Pamuk's imagination as he ingeniously intertwines his imagination with historical facts. He uses this made-up story to link the lives of the protagonists with the urban history of İstanbul. He depicts this private museum as an underground cave with multiple floors. In this sense, Pamuk depicts İstanbul in a similar fashion to Dante's *L'Inferno*.

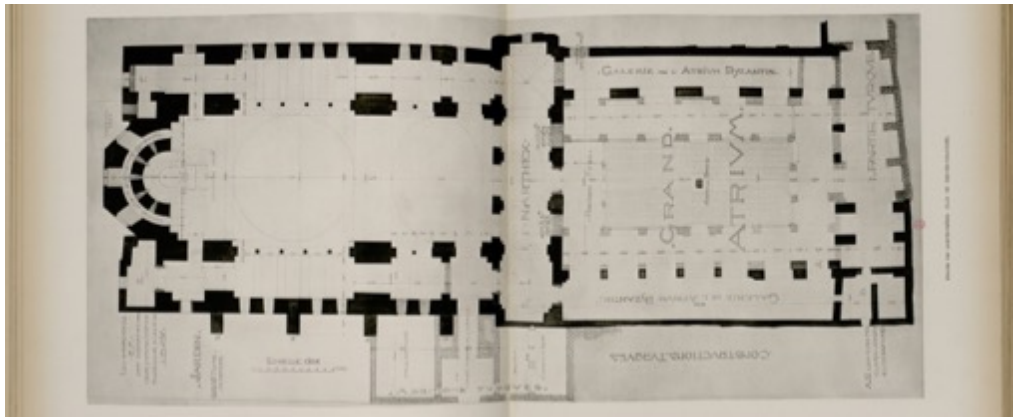


Figure 3: The floor plan of Hagia Irene Basilica. In Jean Ebersolt, Adolphe Thiers, *Les Eglises*.



Figure 4: Hagia Irene Church in 1880 showing the weapons collection of the museum. In Pierre de Gigord, *Images d'empire : aux origines de la photographie en Turquie*, Istanbul, Institut d'etudes françaises d'Istanbul, 1993.



Figure 5: Hagia Irene Church in 1880 showing the weapons collection of the museum. In Pierre de Gigord, *Images*.

In this era, interest in antiquities gradually increased and the weapons collection started to attract less attention. Following this rising interest, official requests were sent to the governors in the provinces. These decrees asked the governors to list all the overground antique ruins in their cities. After receiving the list, the central authority then sent a second decree to the same governors to order them to pack the selected pieces and ship them to the capital⁵⁸. In a way, these lists were the first steps towards an inventory for the Ottoman Empire.

The collection of the museum in its first years was not catalogued –or is missing from the archives–therefore, it is not possible to know the number or nature of the materials collected. However, it is possible to understand that the museum collection was visited by a very limited community. A special permission was needed to visit this museum. The visitors, apart from the Ottoman ruling class and their family members, were European intellectuals or diplomats who visited the Ottoman capital. Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880) also visited the museum in 1850; and much like the French writer and art critic Théophile Gautier (1811-1872), he was also more interested in the Ottoman military part of the museum

⁵⁸ İlber Ortaylı, “Tanzimat’ta Vilayetlerde Eski Eser Taraması [Surveying Historic Assets in the Provinces during *Tanzimat*.]” in *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopedia on Turkey from Tanzimat to the Republic]. İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1985, p.1599-1560.

rather than the archaeological artifacts⁵⁹. French writer and diplomat Maxim du Camp (1822-1894) mentions that he saw a Roman statue in the museum which he had wanted to buy during his visit to Aydın (western Turkey) a few months earlier in October, 1850. This piece was brought to the museum in 1851 and it had the inventory number 560⁶⁰.

The first museum catalogue was prepared in 1868 and published as an article by A. Dumont⁶¹. Dumont wrote that most archaeologists did not even know of the existence of the museum, and those who knew were frustrated by the formalities of obtaining an official permit to visit the museum. Dumont also wrote “it is a pity that the origin of each object is not indicated and there is no reliable information. There are only the tags which can easily be replaced and all of them superficially note that the object is from outside of İstanbul. I wish that the Ottoman government would consult a European archaeologist. The possible candidates, without a doubt, would not miss the opportunity presented by this task which would be a source of pleasure for whoever undertook it”⁶². The former attorney general of the United States, Edwin Grosvenor, was able to see the collection of arms in the period when the museum was closed –with the collection inside- for about three decades following the Russo-Turkish Wars of 1877-78⁶³.

In 1869, the collection at the San Irene Church was restructured and renamed as the Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*). This change is arguably due to Sultan Abdülaziz’s fascination with archaeological artifacts. Sultan Abdülaziz had started his tour through Europe with a visit to the International Exposition in Paris

⁵⁹ Semavi Eyice, “Arkeoloji Müzesi ve Kuruluşu [The Archaeology Museum and Its Foundation]. In *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1985, pp.1596-1603.

⁶⁰ Aziz Ogan, *Türk Müzeciğinin*, p.4.

⁶¹ Albert Dumont, “Le Musée Sainte-Irene a Constantinople: Antiquités grecques, gréco-romaines et byzantines *Revue Archaeologique*, XVIII, 1868.

⁶² Ibid, p.238. “En même temps, et rien n'est plus regrettable, la provenance de chaque monuinent n'est indiquée par aucun témoignagedigné de foi. Des étiquettes mobiles, par suite faciles à déplacer, font connaître en termes souvent très-vagues l'origine des objets découverts en dehors de Constantinople. Il. serait; souhaiter que la Porte ottomane priât un archéologue européen de classer tous ces restes antiques. Les candidats, sans doute aucun, ne manqueraient pas pour une tâche qui-promet un sérieux plaisir à celui qui en seracharge”.

⁶³ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, p.54.

in 1867. He was the first sultan to visit Europe with a cause other than war⁶⁴. He also visited London, Brussels, Koblenz, Nuremberg, and Vienna. In Vienna, he took part in the negotiations for the construction of a railway in the Balkans. This friendly visit was welcomed by the European hosts, and the positive images were published in the newspapers⁶⁵ (Figure 6).

After the foundation of the Imperial Museum, the collection continued expanding parallel with an increase in archaeological activities.



Figure 6: Sultan Abdülaziz's visit to Ambras Gallery in Vienna. In *L'Illustration, Journal Universel*, No 1277, Volume L, August 17, 1867.

1.1.2. Grabbing the Attention of Europe: The Imperial Museum and its expansion

The minister of education, Saffet Pasha (1815-1883) was the key figure in the transformation of the collection of St. Irene into the Imperial Museum (Figure 7). It is noteworthy that the person who took initiative was the minister of education, even though the museum operated under the Ministry of Education only after the

⁶⁴ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi [Westernization in Art and Osman Hamdi]*. İstanbul, Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı, 1995, 147.

⁶⁵ Hubert Szemethy, "Archaeology and Cultural Politics: Ottoman-Austrian Relations". In Zeynep Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem, eds., *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, SALT/Garanti Kültür A.Ş., İstanbul, 2011, p.331-375.

decree of 1889. This early link with education can be considered as the first step towards the Ottoman state's acknowledgement of the educational value of the museum.

As mentioned above, there were already some requests from the central authority for local governors to pack and ship archaeological fragments to the capital. Saffet Pasha issued an edict which asked all governors to acquire "any old works, otherwise known as antiquities, by any means necessary, including direct purchase"⁶⁶. In a sense, the earlier efforts were now centralized and enforced upon local authorities all over the Empire (Figure 8). This edict was not very efficient in spurring the governors to action; therefore, a second edict was issued in 1870⁶⁷. The edict requested that these old assets be well-packed to prevent any damage during transportation. The governors of Tripolitania, Salonica, Crete, and Konya were relatively more active in response to this edict, however the condition before the removals was not documented⁶⁸.



Figure 7: The courtyard of San Irene Church in the late nineteenth century. In Wendy M. K. Shaw, "From Mausoleum to Museum", p.428.

⁶⁶ Cf. Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, p.85. It should be noted that the location of this artifact, where they were collected from was not the main consideration for the rulers. These objects mere functioned on a representative level as objects of art rather than historic documents.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.86. In this period, the press were also influential in promoting the idea of antiquities.

⁶⁸ Aziz Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin*, p.4.



Figure 8: An example of the decree that was sent to the provinces requesting the collection and transportation of antiquities to İstanbul to be displayed at San Irene Church. In Cezar, Sanatta, 605.

Saffet Pasha appointed one of the teachers of the Lycée Impérial de Galatasaray (*Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultani*), Edward Goold, as the museum's director⁶⁹. Goold's appointment was a surprise for the European community living in İstanbul; while the German author A.D. Mordtmann thought his capacity was limited, another French author (Alfred de Caston) wrote that Goold was very knowledgeable and an ideal candidate to serve future generations⁷⁰. Like Saffet Pasha, Goold also worked on collecting antiquities from the provinces. The same year that he was appointed, he went to Kyzikos ruins in Kapıdağ peninsula (northwestern Anatolia) and returned with many pieces. He worked with a private agent, Titus Carabella. Carabella excavated many sites in Tripolitania and sent the

⁶⁹ The establishment of the Lycée Galatasaray in 1868 was also a Tanzimat development. It was a strategic step by the Ottoman Empire to raise the individuals of the intelligentsia to advocate the co-existence of different communities under Ottoman rule instead of federal or independent states. Other foreign educational institutions were also established following the Lycée Galatasaray. Cf. Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey: The quest for identity*. (Oneworld Publications, 2014), p.35.

⁷⁰ Semavi Eyice, , "Arkeoloji Müzesi", p.1598.

findings to the museum⁷¹. Carabella hoped to work as the vice director of the museum; however, he was never officially appointed, and he continued digging at other sites as well, including in Bursa⁷².

Goold also worked on the preparation of the museum catalogue which included only selected works; *Catalogue explicatif, historique, et scientifique d'un certain nombre d'objets contenus dans la Musée Impérial de Constantinople fondé en 1869 sous le Grand Vizirat de Son Altesse Alli Pacha*⁷³. This publication was a reduced version of a 288-page inventory; it included only 147 objects accompanied by ten illustrations drawn by a member of the museum staff, the Armenian painter Limonciyan⁷⁴.

The objects were displayed with labels showing the location of discovery and the name of the local officers who sent the object. These objects in the museum, in a sense, became devices of the contemporary relationship between the Ottoman state and its territories. Shaw⁷⁵ suggests that sending antiquities to the capital was a matter of representation for these provinces; their cities would be represented in the Museum through the tags that noted where the artifact was sent from. Thus, these antiquities functioned to reinforce the political tie between the capital and periphery.

Goold, who was an Irish army officer before taking on this duty, had a close relationship with Ali Pasha, who had great sympathy for Britain. When Ali Pasha died in 1871, all the officials he had appointed were replaced with new staff appointed by the new vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha (1818-1885), who was nicknamed 'Nedimov' due to his Russian sympathies. Mahmud Nedim Pasha retained an Austrian painter, Terenzio, as the official guard of the collection. He

⁷¹ He did not necessarily distinguish antiquities from other materials, he even sent a whale skeleton.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.1599.

⁷³ Cf. Edward Goold, *Catalogue explicatif, historique, et scientifique d'un certain nombre d'objets contenus dans la Musée Impérial de Constantinople fondé en 1869 sous le Grand Vizirat de Son Altesse Alli Pacha* (Konstantinopolis, Imprimerie Zellich, 1871). This publication was dedicated to Ali Pasha who was, as mentioned in Chapter 1.1., with Fuad Pasha, one of the two key figures of the *Tanzimat's* legal and financial reforms.

⁷⁴ Wend M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, p.87.

⁷⁵ Cf. Wendy M. K. Shaw, "From Mausoleum to Museum: Resurrecting Antiquity for Ottoman Modernity" in Zeynep Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, SALT/Garanti Kültür A.Ş., İstanbul, 2011, pp.423-441.

and Heinrich Schliemann penned many letters to each other. Terenzio's service ended the next year in 1872 when Mahmud Nedim Pasha was dismissed. In this period, the minister of education was Ahmed Vefik Pasha, who was an admirer of Francophone culture and developed a progressive relationship with the European community⁷⁶.

When Ahmed Vefik Pasha became the minister of education, he restructured the Imperial Museum and appointed Dr. Philipp Anton Dethier (1803-1881) as the museum director. Dethier was a German teacher who came to Istanbul as the director of the Austrian High School. Since then he had been involved in restoration works of some monuments in Istanbul (he cleaned the Serpent Column that is displayed in the Hippodrome of Byzantine Istanbul, at Sultanahmet Square) and made publications on old buildings and numismatics⁷⁷. He also helped to prepare a publication on İstanbul to be presented at the International Vienna Exhibition in 1873.

When he became the director of the Museum, Dr. Dethier worked on the expansion of the museum collection. Similarly to Goold, Dethier also had his agents; he worked with Yuvanaki, a Greek man from Salonica, the Armenian Takvor Aga from Bandırma, and, after 1874, with Dervish Huseyin from İstanbul⁷⁸. During the directorship of Dethier, the number of objects increased from 160 to 650⁷⁹.

Dethier made efforts to bring back the treasures taken away by Heinrich Schliemann; he even went to Greece with two lawyers in 1874, however he returned without anything, and the official case was closed when Schliemann made a payment in return for the artifacts he smuggled⁸⁰. As will be discussed later, the Schliemann case was instrumental in Dethier's formulation of the decree of 1874, which limited foreign archaeological activities. This law was the first step towards Ottoman control over archaeological entities on Ottoman lands. Published in both Ottoman and French, the decree targeted the European community more than the Ottomans.

⁷⁶ Semavi Eyice, "Arkeoloji Müzesi", p.1600.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.1601.

⁷⁸ Semavi Eyice, "Arkeoloji Müzesi", p.1600; Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, p.91.

⁷⁹ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, p.235.

⁸⁰ Semavi Eyice, "Dethier, Phillippe Anton" in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopedia Istanbul from Yesterday to Today], İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993.

The debt payment from Schliemann, for Dethier, was also an opportunity to construct a new museum building which was needed due to the museum's growing collection, especially after Dethier brought 88 crates from Cyprus in 1873⁸¹. The need for a new building was already on the agenda and this need was already highlighted, arguably by the former Minister of Education Suphi Pasha (1818-1886) who served twice as minister in 1867 and 1878. However, the transportation of the collection to another building took place in 1875 under the ministry of another pasha, Cevdet Pasha (1822-1895)⁸².

The Tiled Kiosk was the first building of Topkapı Palace, constructed in 1478. A series of bureaucratic procedures had to be completed before the transfer of the collection to the Tiled Kiosk; it was an imperial property (*Hazine-i Hassa*) and when it was chosen as the new building in 1873, it needed to be transferred to the Ministry of Education. It is known that these objects were carried piece by piece until the transportation was completed in 1876⁸³. Simultaneously, restoration of the Tiled Kiosk was necessary to transform this oriental building into a museum in the European style (*Figure 9*, *Figure 10*).



Figure 9: Tiled Kiosk in the late nineteenth century. In Cezar, Sanatta, 239.

⁸¹ Semavi Eyice, "Arkeoloji Müzesi", p.1602. Some of the statues that were brought were also published in the November and December 1874 issues of a journal called *Medeniyet (Civilization)*. It is peculiar that the photographs of the statues were printed in this journal which is one of the oldest journals of the late Ottoman era. Cf. Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, p.235.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.1602.

⁸³ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, pp.236-241.



Figure 10: The portico of the Tiled Kiosk in the late nineteenth century. In Wendy M. K. Shaw, "From Mausoleum to Museum", p.429.

A European architect, Montrano, undertook the restoration project; he changed the entrance; before the restoration, the building was entered from the door under the portico. He converted this place into a coal store and elevated the entrance by inserting a new two-armed staircase. He covered the niches, removed the chimneys, and shut off some doors and windows. Tiles were covered with panels and shelves and much of the glazed brick was plastered over. Thus, the museum was appropriated to look like the European museums. Through these restorations, the Tiled Kiosk finally gained the qualities necessary to house the Hellenistic artifacts⁸⁴. As the collection included only the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine artifacts, the museum, as the space itself, was also Europeanized to represent the identity that the late Ottoman state wanted to adopt.

This willingness to appear European was not simply an emulation nor it was solely a precaution against imperialism (since Europe was colonizing everywhere which appeared non-European). In addition to these urges, the Ottoman state had to look European for her own self-recognition as well⁸⁵. The Ottoman state had to

⁸⁴ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Poseessors*, p.92.

⁸⁵ This was a similar situation to that which Frantz Fanon explained for the Africans. Fanon brilliantly narrates that a black African man from the Antilles, when he goes to France, has to master French to feel like a white man. The better he speaks French, the more he can overlook his

master the language of museums and archaeology to define and locate itself within the power dynamics of the nineteenth century.

The Ottoman ruling class was aware that the Ottoman state needed to improve itself in archaeology and museology. Nevertheless, they also acknowledged that the Ottomans lacked the capacity and they saw the need to raise a new skilled generation. Therefore, with the initiative of Dethier, an archaeology school was conceptualized in order to educate future experts who could undertake archaeological excavations, recognize and appreciate the value of archaeological artifacts, and conserve and manage these artifacts⁸⁶. This Archaeology School (*Asar-ı Atika Mektebi*) was never established; however, the way in which it was formulated may help us gain an insight into the Ottoman understanding of archaeology.

The attempts to establish a school for archaeology, shows that there was the demand to create Turkish experts in the field due to the dominance of foreign archaeology experts doing research on Turkey. Even though the Archaeology School was never brought to life, the formalities and the necessary arrangements were completed fast. Apparently, the need for skilled experts in archaeology was an urgent one. In 1874, the newspapers printed the news and in early 1875, the sultan had already approved the foundation of this school. The new school would accept students with full scholarships. Graduate opportunities included working all over the Empire undertaking archaeological campaigns, or working in state institutions. The requirements for application were knowledge of general history and geography and advanced language skills; students were expected to know French, ancient Greek, Latin, and Ottoman and to make translations in these languages⁸⁷. As one can easily imagine, even among the intellectual community of the Ottoman state, speaking distinct languages was not the most common skill. Therefore, it is noteworthy that the school targeted a specific Ottoman community; these skills were those that Christian community acquired rather than the Muslim or Jewish. It can be too simplistic to suggest that Christians were targeted only because the Ottoman state saw archaeology as a solely European

other black friends, and the closer he can get to a white man. This way, power dynamics are reproduced even among the black community. Cf. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skins White Masks*, New York, Grove Press, 1967.

⁸⁶ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, p.243-244.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.244.

practice. Without a doubt archaeology functioned as a means of European-ness; however, this request for high language skills was mostly due to practical concerns. Nevertheless, ancient Greek and Latin aren't just foreign languages; also in the Western countries these languages were known only by an elite. However, despite this fact, language was an outstandingly important issue of the *Tanzimat* era. After all, the first steps of *Tanzimat* could be taken only according to chief executers' (Reşid Pasha, Ali Pasha, and Fuad Pasha) ability to speak a foreign language. The Translation Office also functioned as a school that managed the *Tanzimat*'s statecraft. "At a time when the Ottoman Empire was obsessed with the sheer problem of survival in a world dominated by an aggressive and expanding Europe, the positions of trust and decision inevitably went to those who knew something of Europe, its languages, and its affairs. The new elite of power came not from the army, not from the *ulema* (intellectual class), but from the Translation Office and the Embassy secretariats"⁸⁸.

As said by Fanon, to speak means "to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization"⁸⁹, and the culture which the Ottoman state wanted to assume was the European culture. Of course, to speak did not only mean literally giving voice to words; it also meant making use of archaeology and museums to claim a space in the given world order. As the Greco-Roman past of the Ottoman territories helped the Ottoman state to claim that space, the management of the material evidence of this past also required a European-minded institutional structure. The establishment of the museum commission in 1877 was only one of these steps of institutionalization; however, it was an important one. Not only did the museum commission change the management of the museum, but also Osman Hamdi Bey, the next director of the museum, became involved in the museum's activities for the first time. As will be explained further below, under the directorship of Osman Hamdi Bey, who was generally regarded as the mastermind of late Ottoman era cultural life, the Imperial Museum saw its greatest achievements.

The commission had eight members and their duties were "completion of the restoration of the Tiled Kiosk, secure transfer of old artifacts and coins to their new location, future management of the museum, conservation of the artifacts without damaging their current conditions, providing a fine guideline for

⁸⁸ Bernard Lewis, *Emergence*, p.118.

⁸⁹ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skins*, p. 17.

archaeological researches and excavations, transformation of the museum into an attractive spectacle space for visitors, appropriate classification and arrangement of the current objects, legally formulating bills to undertake these duties and to address other relevant issues if need be, providing consultancy”⁹⁰. In 1878, the members of this commission were Dr. Déthier, Köçeoğlu Kirkor Efendi- the Armenian guard of the Museum, Sebilyan Efendi- the administrator of the coins, Mustafa Efendi- Muslim-Turkish member of the education board, Messrs. Mosali and Delaine- two Levantine bureaucrats, and Osman Hamdi Bey- the Ottoman chief of the sixth municipality⁹¹.

The Imperial Museum and the collection at the Tiled Kiosk were finally opened to the public in August 1880. Münif Pasha, then minister of education, delivered a speech at the opening ceremony. His speech was emblematic in highlighting what the museum meant for the Ottoman ruling class. The museum was a sign of civilization; for a long time they had hoped to have this institution which existed in other civilized countries. Without a doubt, the civilized countries were the European ones. However, the museum was also a reaction to the same Europeans whose “museums are from the stores of antiquities in our country”⁹². In a sense, by presenting this image of the museum, the Ottoman Empire were proving that they could have the same power, the same level of civilization, the same cultural interests with Europe⁹³. Apart from Münif Pasha, Dethier and his assistant Aristokli Efendi also delivered their speeches. Dethier had also prepared a catalog, probably to be distributed during the opening, however this catalog was never published⁹⁴.

When Dethier died in 1881, Dr. Millhofer from the Berlin Museum was requested as the new director of the museum. Even the salary of Millhofer was agreed and the contract was prepared. However, he was not appointed for unknown reasons; Cezar notes the possibility that Sultan Abdülhamid II may have preferred a Muslim director⁹⁵. Even though the reasons that obstructed Millhofer’s appointment remain unknown, the next director, Osman Hamdi Bey, managed to

⁹⁰ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, p.251.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 251.

⁹² Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, p.94.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp.93.96.

⁹⁴ Semavi Eyice, “Arkeoloji Müzesi”, p.1602.

⁹⁵ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, p.253.

transform the museum into a renowned institution which contributed to the global production of archaeological knowledge. In other words, Osman Hamdi Bey subverted the power dynamics.

1.1.3. Challenging the Authority of Europe: The Imperial Museum under the direction of Osman Hamdi Bey

Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910) enforced reforms in art education, museums, archaeology, and legislation. He realized significant changes in these areas to initiate and/or improve the formation of institutions. Especially regarding his paintings, there is a scholarly controversy on the question of whether Osman Hamdi Bey was an Orientalist painter –like his teachers in Ecole des Beaux-Arts– or if he challenged the stereotypes reproduced in the paintings of the nineteenth century Orientalist painters⁹⁶. However, in terms of archaeology and museums, there is an academic consensus that the Imperial Museum lived its heyday under the management of Osman Hamdi Bey.

⁹⁶ Edhem Eldem, “Osman Hamdi Bey ve Orientalism”, *Dipnot*, 2, 2004, 39-67. In this work, Eldem summarizes the points of views of various scholars (cf. Wendy M. K. Shaw) who suggested that Osman Hamdi Bey is distinguished from other orientalist painters of the nineteenth century, especially through his depiction of Ottoman women as knowledgeable, strong, independent individuals rather than the objects of the male gaze. Moreover, he does not paint a barbaric violent Orient, but show the individuals of the Ottoman life in their daily activities. However, Eldem disagrees with these scholarly perspectives and suggests that his attitude towards the Ottoman Orient is not clearly evident in his paintings. Studying his achievements in archaeology and museology, Eldem argues that besides some differences, Osman Hamdi Bey was also an Orientalist who created the Ottoman Orient. He argues that these scholars tend to believe that Osman Hamdi Bey could not be an Orientalist because he was an Ottoman and a Muslim. However, as Eldem argues, the dynamics of Orientalism are much more complex than this simple definition and it functions through power mechanisms rather than a simple West-East dichotomy. Mary Robert’s study offers a new approach to discuss orientalism and art history researching the complex system of networks of cultural exchange in Ottoman Constantinople in the late nineteenth century. Cf. Mary Roberts, *İstanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015). On orientalism and Ottoman painting, cf. Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (eds.), *Orientalism’s Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography* (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2002). Zeynep İnankur, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts, *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism* (Istanbul, Suna and İnan Kiraç Foundation, Pera Museum, 2011). Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic* (New York, I.B. Tauris, 2011).

Osman Hamdi Bey was born in a family of the highest elites of the Ottoman society. His father was İbrahim Eldem Pasha (1819-1893) who had several significant duties in the state. Considering that he had close relationships with the several sultans whom he served, one can easily understand how his son Osman Hamdi Bey also enjoyed this privileged position throughout his life. Osman Hamdi Bey was raised in a family who were highly educated and who embraced the European lifestyle⁹⁷.

Osman Hamdi Bey was born in 1842. Like his father, he was also sent to Paris to study law in 1860. Even the pension he lived in was the same pension as his father's, and this way his father was able to remain informed on how his son was doing in Paris through the landlady. After one year of law education, Osman Hamdi Bey discovered his love for painting and studied at École des Beaux-Arts. He trained under the French Orientalist painters Gérôme (1824–1904) and Gustave Boulanger (1824–88). Meanwhile, he also followed some archaeology courses. He stayed in Paris for nine years. In 1862, two other Ottoman painters, Şeker Ahmet Pasha and Suleyman Seyyid, also went to Paris, and presumably, the three became friends. When Sultan Abdülaziz started his Europe tour in 1867 to visit the International Paris Exhibition, both Şeker Ahmed Pasha and Osman Hamdi Bey had their works submitted and displayed in the same exhibition. Therefore, it is likely that Sultan Abdülaziz met these two young Ottoman artists during his visit⁹⁸.

During Osman Hamdi Bey's Paris years, he became accustomed to French culture and he was reluctant to go back to his country. He first resisted his father's

⁹⁷ His father, İbrahim Eldem was born in Sakız, a Greek Orthodox village. After he was held captive during the rebellion in Sakız, he was brought to Istanbul as a slave. His destiny changed when he was adopted by Kaptan-ı Derya Hüsrev Pasha, the head of the Ottoman navy. Hüsrev Pasha had other adopted children as well, and he introduced his children to the sultan to suggest sending them to Europe to receive an education. Thus, İbrahim Eldem was one of the first students to be sent to France. He was nine or ten years old, and he was able to learn French culture from his childhood. He returned to the capital educated as a mining engineer and serving the army. During his service at the Palace, he taught French to Sultan Abdülmecid. He became ambassador to Berlin in 1876. He was called back to İstanbul from Berlin to represent the Ottoman state at the İstanbul Congress – which was organized for the countries that signed the 1856 Paris Treaty. He became grand vizier in 1877, in an era which was politically chaotic. When parliament was opened in 1878 (the first attempt at constitutional monarchy), he was the president of the parliament. He then became the ambassador to Vienna in 1879 and 1882. Cf. Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, pp.196-201.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.205-210.

constant letters calling him back from Paris, but then he was convinced to temporarily turn back to the capital⁹⁹. However, Osman Hamdi Bey never returned to Paris. What awaited him in the Ottoman lands was even worse than he feared. His father sent him to Baghdad to work with the governor Mithat Pasha. He worked for the Baghdad Province Directorate of Foreign Affairs (*Vilayet Umur-u Ecnebiye Müdürlüğü*) for two years. The two years he spent in this Arab province was influential for Osman Hamdi Bey in his confrontation with another Ottoman reality¹⁰⁰.

After his Baghdad stint, Osman Hamdi Bey undertook several duties: the Vice Director of the Foreign Affairs Protocol (*Teşrifat-ı Hariciye Müdür Muavini*) in 1871, the imperial commissary for the Vienna World Exhibition in 1873, the Secretary of Bureau of Foreign Affairs (*Hariciye Umur-u Ecnebiye Katipliği*) in 1875, the Head of the Foreign Press in 1876, the chief of the sixth municipality (Beyoğlu) in 1877, and finally the head of the Imperial Museum in 1881. In this diverse range of postings, the common bond was that these duties required engagement with the western population living in İstanbul. Even when he was chief of the municipality, his district, Pera and Galata, was a district populated by foreign diplomats and bureaucrats¹⁰¹. As will be discussed further below, it seems like Osman Hamdi Bey was finally able to find the occupation that could

⁹⁹ "For the moment being" he wrote to his father, "I shall be content with telling you, my dear father, that I leave Paris with the firm intention of returning by any possible means, not because life here seems better than there, but certainly because there is something binding me here: as I told you more than once, I do not wish to abandon painting at any cost, as one does not learn it through books but has to see it done, has to see the ancient and modern masters, and Constantinople is not where I shall find this". Cf. Edhem Eldem, "An Ottoman Archaeologist Caught Between Two Worlds: Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910)" in Shankland, D., (ed.) *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F. W. Hasluck, 1878-1920*. Isis Press, İstanbul, 2004, pp. 121-149.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p.126. Osman Hamdi Bey's personal notes, his letters (mainly to his father) and the replies to these letters are published in French. Cf. *Un Ottoman En Orient: Osman Hamdi Bey en Irak, 1869-1871/ textes d'Osman Hamdi Bey, Rudolf Lindau et Marie de Launay ; publiés annotés et introduits par Edhem Eldem ; texte de Rudolf Lindau traduit de l'allemand par Rana Eldem*. Paris, Arles: Actes sud; Sinbad). Even though the letters he wrote to his father had an insulting tone against the Arabs, at the same time, these letters reveal his growing understanding of patriotism and political consciousness. However, one can find the roots of such patriotism also in the years he spent in Paris. Thus, it is not clear if the Baghdad duty made Osman Hamdi Bey more ambitious in his patriotism.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p.128. Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, pp.212-217.

intellectually satisfy him. Under his management, not only did the museum become an internationally recognized public institution of archaeology, but it also gained an ideological vision that challenged Western authority over archaeological activities, antiquities, and the museum.

Before moving on to the achievements of the Imperial Museum, it is necessary to mention another significant historical keystone in the cultural life of the late Ottoman era; the Academy of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*). The establishment of this school in 1883 was realized again on the initiative of Osman Hamdi Bey, who also served as the first director of the school. Education took place in four departments; architecture, painting, sculpture, and calligraphy¹⁰². l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts was the model for *Sanayi-i Nefise*. Osman Hamdi Bey took initiative for the construction of the new school building on the same site as the Tiled Kiosk. He envisioned that the school should be in the museum's vicinity¹⁰³.

Following his promotion to head of the Imperial Museum, Osman Hamdi Bey initiated archaeological campaigns that would fulfil his vision: redefining the museum as a reputable institution of the Western archeological world¹⁰⁴. With Osman Hamdi Bey, the Ottoman Empire took steps towards becoming an internationally-acknowledged actor in the field of archaeology¹⁰⁵. This was a very important step; he started the first articulated cultural policy by 'creating' a new memory through archaeological excavations, and preserving finds in the museum. As the current archival materials suggest, he was the first Ottoman to undertake an archaeological excavation¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰² Cf. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. University of Washington Press, Seattle, 2001. P.28.

¹⁰³ Since then, the school continuously changed until it was finally transferred to its current location in 1953. Cf. Hattat Talip Mert, "Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi" [Academy of Fine Arts] in *Tarih ve Medeniyet Dergisi* [Journal of History and Civilization], 48, 1998, 45-49. For the curriculum of the academy and information on the works of the graduates, see Adnan Çoker, *Osman Hamdi ve Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 1983. In this work, Adnan Çoker also addresses the issue that art education (especially working with human models) was a challenge for Muslim students since human representations were strictly banned in Islamic tradition. However, as mentioned above, late-nineteenth and the early-twentieth century was an era in which these Islamic restrictions were constantly questioned for the favor of a secular society.

¹⁰⁴ Edhem Eldem, "An Ottoman Archaeologist".

¹⁰⁵ Zeynep Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem, "Introduction", p.13.

¹⁰⁶ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, p.312.

The first excavation managed by Osman Hamdi Bey in the name of the Imperial Museum was of Nemrud Dağı (Mount Nemrut, in Adıyaman). In 1883 from April to June, he excavated the tumulus of Antiochus I of Commagene Civilization (Figure 11). As mentioned earlier, Osman Hamdi Bey's education did not include archaeology, other than the few courses he had followed in Ecolé des Beaux Arts. During this excavation, six other professionals helped him, two of whom were European archaeologists¹⁰⁷.

In fact, the site had already been discovered by a German team two years earlier. An engineer named Sester had spotted the site in 1881, and after his report, the German Archaeological Institute commissioned one of its young members, Otto Puchstein, to survey the site in 1882. Later that year, the Berlin Museum published the first report. The Prussian Academy of Sciences also published the report with more details. Osman Hamdi Bey knew of this report, and he first sent Osgan (Oskan) Efendi to Nemrud Dağı to survey the site, and then went to the site himself to start the excavation¹⁰⁸ (Figure 12). Osgan Efendi (1855-1814) was an Armenian sculptor who repaired and restored the sculptures and reliefs that were found in the excavations (he also contributed to the establishment of the Academy of Fine Arts). He was also the co-author of the excavation report *Le Voyage a Nemrud Dağı d'Osman Hamdi Bey et Osgan Efendi (1883)*¹⁰⁹; this report was rapidly published to claim the site before the Germans¹¹⁰. With this achievement, as Osman Hamdi Bey's status as an archaeologist was internationally acknowledged, the Museum could gain international recognition, and the Ottoman Empire could contribute to the production of archaeological knowledge.

¹⁰⁷ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, p.314.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp.313-314, Edhem Eldem, "An Ottoman Archaeologist", p.130-131.,

¹⁰⁹ This report was published in 2010 with Edhem Eldem's additional annotations by Institut français d'études anatoliennes-Georges Dumézil in Paris. Both the original report and the 2010-publications are in French.

¹¹⁰ Edhem Eldem, *Osman Hamdi Bey sözlüğü*. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı yayınları, Ankara, pp. 423-424.



Figure 11: The statues located on the east terrace of the Tumulus. In *Le Voyage a Nemrud Dağı d'Osman Hamdi Bey et Osgan Efendi* (1883).

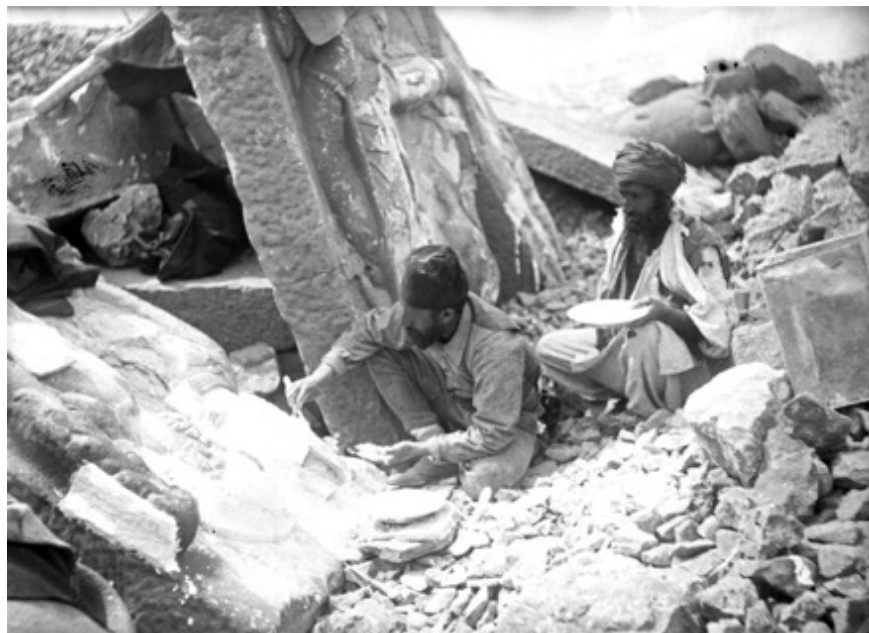


Figure 12: Osman Hamdi Bey producing casts of the reliefs discovered during the Nemrut Excavation. In Cezar, *Sanatta*, 315.

It is possible that for Osman Hamdi Bey, it was more important to make his name (and the name of the Imperial Museum) known among the European archeological community, rather than this unique Anatolian site and its archaeological values. And as Eldem notes, he leveraged the museum to political ends, to compete with the Germans, to show that the Ottoman Empire still had power. This motivation becomes even more evident when one notes that no

further studies or excavations were carried out in Nemrut after the publication of the report¹¹¹.

Even though the Nemrut campaign demonstrated to the Europeans that Turks could produce archaeological knowledge, the Ottoman Empire's position within the international archeological community was not yet fully recognized. Certainly, there was widespread doubt as to whether Turks could have the capacity to understand and appreciate archaeological value. At this point, as will be discussed below, I would like to reiterate that the role of the Nemrut campaign was purely strategical to gain a space withing the European archaeology circles and to prove that the Ottoman Empire was still alive.

The nineteenth century, despite all of its well-structured and carefully-designed reforms, can be suggested to resemble a political chess game. Each Ottoman move could only be undertaken after understanding and evaluating the European move. Even though there were some patterns which could be observed from past experiences (Europe's colonialist expansion in non-European territories was the main source for these observations), the Ottoman state had to delicately formulate her next move. The Nemrut campaign was the first time that the Ottomans emerged from their defensive position to make an assertive move. This initial surprising move was followed up with another shocking move. Osman Hamdi Bey enforced a legislative change with the 1884 Decree. This decree prohibited the export of antiquities; in other words, the decree was a serious cut in the resources available to for foreigners¹¹². As the evaluation of the legislative structure on antiquities will be more closely explained further below in chapter 1.2., it is necessary only to highlight that with the 1884 decree Osman Hamdi Bey

¹¹¹ Ibid, pp.403-406.

¹¹² The question of who owns cultural heritage is a very important question still today, and it is a question that we need to discuss and interrogate. The national and international institutionalized heritage theories seem to generate a consensus which mainly accepts that the findings belong to the country they are found in. A controversial view against this consensus is Cuno. Cf. James Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity?: Museums and the Battle Over Our Ancient Heritage*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2008. Cf. James Cuno (ed.), *Whose Culture? The Promise of Museums and the Debate over Antiquities*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2012. James Cuno is the CEO of the Getty Trust, which owns the richest private museum of the world. Thus, as he states in the latter book, his views present a controversial perspective suggesting antiquities can be removed and displayed in museum overseas.

was able to establish management of the cultural heritage of Turkey in the late-nineteenth century.

The Nemrut Dağı excavation, despite the success of the report, did not give the museum the prestige that Osman Hamdi Bey was hoping to gain. The statues were too big to be transported; therefore, the findings were left at the site, and only a few objects could enter the museum. However, another campaign was carried out in 1887 in Sidon (Lebanon), and this time, the museum was finally able to gain the recognition and the prestige that Osman Hamdi Bey dreamt of.

The site of the Sidon excavations, a 13-meter long tunnel, was accidentally discovered by a villager who reported the site to local officials, who then reported the situation to the museum, and thus to Osman Hamdi Bey. Osman Hamdi Bey immediately went to Sidon. He went down the well on a rope, and saw the sarcophagi. Some of them even had remnants of paint. Long tunnels and a railway mechanism were constructed to carry these sarcophagi to take them out of the well (Figure 13, Figure 14). Other rooms were also excavated and more sarcophagi were discovered, one of them with hieroglyphics. Osman Hamdi Bey informed the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* through several telegrams; he wanted to promote this discovery¹¹³.



Figure 13: Workers carrying a sarcophagus in the Sidon Excavation. In Edhem Eldem, *Osman Hamdi Bey sözlüğü*, 458.

¹¹³ Edhem Eldem, *Osman Hamdi Bey sözlüğü*, p.458.



Figure 14: Sarcophagus at the Sidon excavations. In Cezar, *Sanatta*, 316.

When the sarcophagi reached the museum, they were kept behind wooden panels; Osgan Efendi, the sculpture instructor at the Fine Arts Academy, repaired the damages to the sarcophagi. The Hellenistic reliefs on the findings included many works that are well-known in Hellenistic literature. Some of them were in human form (anthropoid Egyptian style), and others were built like a temple as in Hellenistic tradition. This was a big discovery for the archeological world, as it was finally going to provide further scientific information on the kings of Sidon¹¹⁴. But apart from the archaeological value, for Osman Hamdi Bey, this was a big opportunity to reinforce the museum's international position. Osman Hamdi Bey informed Ernest Renan, who was an expert on Phoenicia (one of the anthropoid sarcophagi had Phoenician inscriptions). Renan was publicly critical of

¹¹⁴ The report of this campaign was published in 1892: Cf. Osman Hamdi Bey, Theodore Reinach; Ernest Chantre. *Une necropole royale a Sidon fouilles de Hamdy bey / par O. Hamdy bey, Theodore Reinach*. 1892.

this recent Ottoman attempt to establish itself by means of the Imperial Museum and its archaeological activities. Now he had to cooperate with the museum, which would help the museum achieve recognition¹¹⁵.

With the Sidon excavations, Osman Hamdi Bey became an internationally known actor in the field of archaeology; as will be explained below, the decision was taken to construct a new museum building both to house the sarcophagi and to welcome European and American visitors. A second excavation was carried out in Sidon, this time not by Osman Hamdi Bey himself but by Makridi Bey from the museum staff. Unlike the Nemrut Dağı site, Sidon continued to be excavated by various teams even in the twentieth century¹¹⁶.

The international scientific community was also simultaneously excavating sites in Turkey. However, the finds were being transferred to their own countries. Thus, the same community was already annoyed by the 1884 decree. They thought Hellenistic artifacts were irrelevant objects to the Turks and Turks were capable neither of appreciating the value nor of taking care of these objects that were the material remnants of the roots of not the Ottomans but the Europeans. Some scholars, on the contrary, were critical of the Europeans who thought the Louvre or the British Museum was the correct spot for these objects.

With the Sidon excavations, the international community found themselves in a position in which whether they liked, hated, or stood neutral to it, they had to appreciate the contribution that the Imperial Museum made to the archaeological world¹¹⁷. The main reason for the importance of the Sidon excavations was that they provided insight on a topic which concerned the archaeologists; the use of color in the Greek world. Some sarcophagi had color on them in a well-preserved condition. Colors were clearly visible especially on the sarcophagus of Alexander (even though it was well known even back then that this tomb had nothing to do with Alexander, this piece –even today-carries his name) (Figure 15). Therefore, these objects played an instrumental role for the scholars no matter what they advocated. The scholars who advocated that Greeks used color both on buildings and sculptures, or those who suggested partial use of color (only on statues), or

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p.459. O. Hamdi Bey was already aware of Renan's studies.

¹¹⁶ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, pp.316-319.

¹¹⁷ Zeynep Çelik, *Asar-ı Atika: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Arkeoloji Siyaseti* [About Antiquities: Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire], trans. Ayşen Gür., Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2016. Pp.63-69.

those who completely rejected the color issue now all had to refer to the findings of Sidon¹¹⁸.



Figure 15: The Alexander sarcophagus in Zeynep Çelik, *Asar-ı Atika*, 76.

Osman Hamdi Bey handled the situation with possibly the cleverest strategy; he kept the objects in the museum basement, did not let anybody see them, and meanwhile was able to obtain the permits necessary for the construction of a new museum building to display the sarcophagi. During the construction, these unique pieces of the Hellenic world became a growing source of curiosity for the European community¹¹⁹.

The Tiled Kiosk was already insufficient to house the objects, let alone to display them. The construction of a new building was inevitable. The official document asserted that “because the solidity and weight of the antiquities recently found in Sidon makes their entrance into and their protection within the Imperial Museum impossible, [it has been decided that] there is a need for a new hall”¹²⁰. Osman Hamdi Bey worked with the Levantine architect Alexander Vallaury to draw the plan for the new building, and then he wrote a letter to his father in July

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 70-78.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. P.74.

¹²⁰ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, p.157.

1887 about his intentions to construct the new museum building on the site across from the Tiled Kiosk. Arık¹²¹ suggests that one specific sarcophagus, the Sarcophagus of the Wailing Women (*Ağlayan Kadınlar Lahiti*) was the main inspiration for the design of the new museum (Figure 16). The construction started in 1888 and the initial building was planned to be a single-story museum. That plan changed in 1889 to include a second floor. The Museum was finally ready to be opened in 1891¹²² (Figure 17).



Figure 16: the Sarcophagus of the Wailing Women (*Ağlayan Kadınlar Lahiti*). In *Musées d'Istanbul . Guide illustré des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, İstanbul, İstanbul Devlet Matbaası, 1935, 37.

The process for the construction of the new building started again with the letters of Osman Hamdi to his father discussing the budget of not only the construction related costs, but also display-related costs (such as manufacturing the showcase cabinets). The budget was another issue that Osman Hamdi Bey handled cleverly; he made use of his and his father's network to launch a donation campaign as well as convincing the government to provide more funding. With the sultan's approval, the building was opened in 1891. Since the new Sidon findings were to be displayed here, the museum was called Sarcophagi Museum

¹²¹ Cf. Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış* [A Look at the Turkish Museums], Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 1953. P.3.

¹²² Wend M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, p.157.

(*Lahitler Müzesi*). When the museum was opened, the Tiled Kiosk continued functioning as a part of the museum complex¹²³.



Figure 17: The Sarcophagus Museum in 1891. In Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, 158.



Figure 18: Construction of the new museum building. In Cezar, *Sanatta*, 261.

The opening of the museum grabbed media attention as well. The prestigious elite literary journal *Servet-i Fünun* (*Wealth of Knowledge*) stated that “Thanks to

¹²³ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, pp.257-261. For a reading of the new additions to *Müze-i Hümayun* aligned with “neo-Grecian” interventions in the British Museum in London within the context of circulation, cf. Belgin Turan Özkaya, “The British Museum, Müze-i Hümayun and the Travelling “Greek ideal” in the Nineteenth Century”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 50, 2014, 9-28.

our sultan... Europeans can see how the Ottoman state has entered a period of progress. They write about the service of archaeology to the spirit of arts and progress in their press. They admit that for the examination of history and fine arts, just as London, Paris, and Rome have each been a center of the treasures of antiquities, İstanbul has also become the same way”¹²⁴. With these words, it was once more revealed that the main Ottoman interest on archaeological artifacts was due to their significance as objects of art history rather than historic documents that reveal the evolution of mankind.

The expansion of the museum collection continued in the meantime. Especially after the Osman Hamdi Bey-formulated 1884 decree, all findings now had to be sent to the museum. It was not possible to remove them to foreign museums anymore. In 1891, several friezes were found in *Lagina* (southwest Turkey – northeast of Milas/Mylasa) in excavations carried out by Osman Hamdi Bey (Figure 19); in 1893 the German team also sent another series of friezes from the Artemis Temple in Magnesia; therefore, even during the construction of the new wing, it was obvious that very soon, the museum was going to have to be expanded once more¹²⁵.

An extension project was prepared, again by the Levantine architect Vallauray, construction started in 1898, and the building was opened in 1903. This additional wing also was quickly filled with new objects and construction began on another extension in 1904, which was completed in 1907¹²⁶ (Figure 20, Figure 21). The continuous expansion of the museum and the construction of new building wings received positive media attention, and the museum was thought to be representative of the progressive spirit of the Ottoman state. *Servet-i Fünun* also carried the museum on its front cover page (Figure 22).

¹²⁴ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, p.158-159.

¹²⁵ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta*, p., 266-267, 319,

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 266-274.

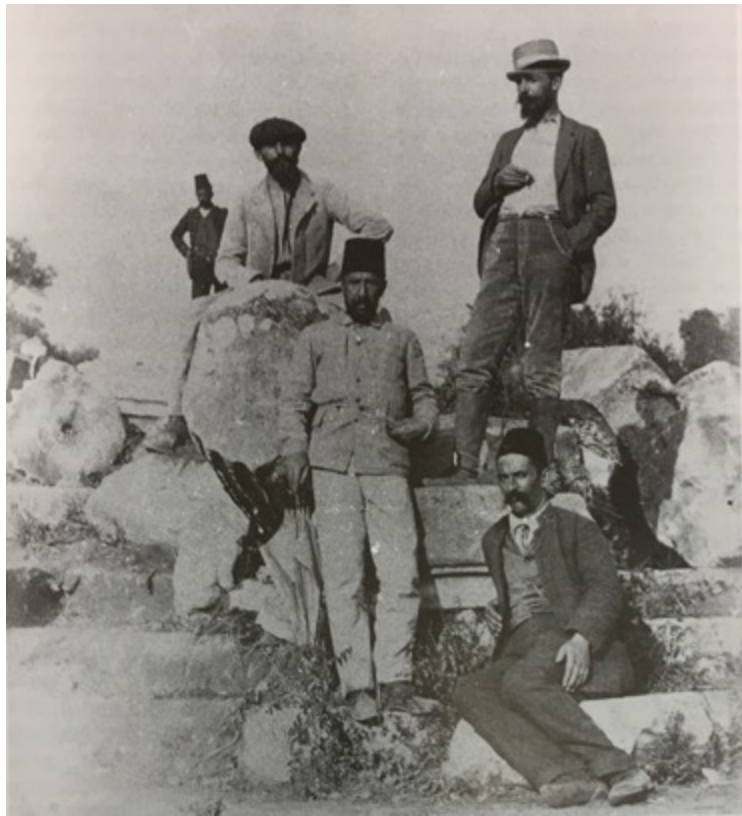


Figure 19: Osman Hamdi bey (center) during the Lagina excavations in 1892 accompanied by French archaeologists Chamonar and Carlier. In Cezar, *Sanatta*, 319.

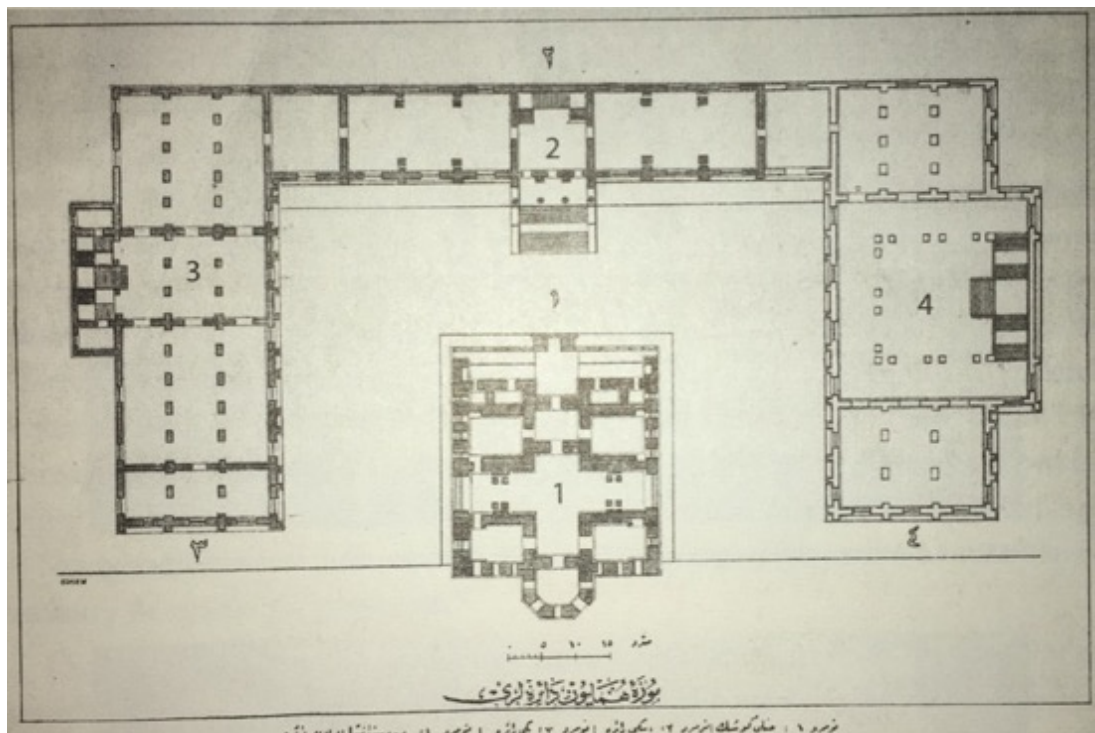


Figure 20: The Imperial Museum with the extension wings, 1. Tiled Kiosk, 2. The main building, 3. The second extension, 4. the last extension. In Zeynep Çelik, *Asar-ı Atika*, 33.



Figure 21: The staff of the Imperial Museum



Figure 22: The cover of Servet-i Fünun's October 1906 issue on Osman Hamdi Bey and the Museum

In the foreign media, on the other hand, there were mixed attitudes towards the Imperial Museum. Even before the construction of the new building, views were put forward that this Ottoman project to collect antiquities should have been terminated since these objects belonged to the foundational basis of Europe rather than the Ottoman Empire's culture and history. These views were promoted in media outlets, and the foreign officials living in the Empire performed lobbying activities. These discussions became more intense especially after the 1884 decree. As American archaeologists initiated archaeological research projects in Turkey, they also started to take a position in these discussions. In consequence, also in the American media, articles were published on the Imperial Museum and the Ottoman policy on antiquities¹²⁷.

The Imperial Museum was, without a question, different from other European museums, not only because it was located in a country whose former glory and power was now being questioned and challenged, but also because the ways in which the objects were collected and displayed were quite different. The collection was not arranged to document the evolution of human civilization from ancient ages onwards through the objects collected from across the globe; neither did it include casts of the unique landmark works of this evolution¹²⁸. Unlike Britain or France, where the juxtaposition of objects from all over the world generated a symbolic colonial dominion, the Imperial Museum's objects were solely from its own territory¹²⁹. Nevertheless, this collection also functioned on a symbolic level. These objects were meant to prove that the Ottoman state also had a place in the modern world.

In the beginning of his seminal work, Foucault states that “the great obsession of the nineteenth century was, as we know, history”¹³⁰. In his conceptualization, ‘time’ is regulated and secularized by modernism whereas ‘space’ is still not completely secularized / de-sanctified. This work-in-progress status of ‘space’ generates the ‘heterotopia’; the mirror reflection of utopias in our everyday environment. The European museum is a heterotopia: “the idea of accumulating everything, of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one

¹²⁷ Zeynep Çelik, *Asar-ı Atika*, p.63.

¹²⁸ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, p.164.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.165.

¹³⁰ Cf. Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces”, Trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, 16 (1), 22-27.

place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place, this whole idea belongs to our modernity”¹³¹. In this sense, considering the differences between the Imperial Museum and the European museums, one can consider the Imperial Museum a heterotopia, not because of its direct relation with modernity but because it has some other heterotopia-n qualities, such as functioning as the ‘mirror’ into which the individual looks and understands where he/she is or where he/she is absent. However, it should be remembered that the Imperial Museum was a *modernization* project of the Empire. Even though the objects were collected only from the Ottoman territories, the Ottoman territories were not a homogeneous entity. On the contrary, the Empire was about to dissolve. Moreover, the collection was in İstanbul, the political, economic, and cultural center of the Empire. The peripheries, on the other hand, still needed to be modernized. If the Orient was the Ottoman Empire for the Europeans, for the Ottomans it was the peripheries. This is how Orientalism functions; each society produces its own orient. Because, Orientalism does not only reproduce a simple distinction between orient and occident. In the contrary, it reproduces the power relations from which a center and a periphery emerge. Thus, as long as power is inequally distributed, a hierarchy between center and periphery is inevitable. The distinction between center and periphery does not address geographical locations, but it addresses the unequal geographical distribution of power. Per Ussama Makdisi¹³² the paradox of the Ottoman modernist reforms was their conflicting efforts to both unite the various communities all over the Empire under a single umbrella of official nationalism, while simultaneously segregating them, especially the Arab people and provinces. These peripheries were not yet Ottoman but needed to be Ottomanized. Makdisi also notes that the motivation of Osman Hamdi Bey in collecting the antiquities was not so different from the Europeans. For Europe, these pieces needed to be saved from the ignorance and barbaric uses of Turks. Similarly, Osman Hamdi Bey thought that these antiquities needed to be rescued from the hands of Arabs.

¹³¹ Ibid., p.26.

¹³² Cf. Ussama Makdisi, “Ottoman Orientalism”, *The American Historical Review*, 107, 3 (2002), pp.768-796.

Osman Hamdi Bey saw the Arabs and Persians as undeveloped civilizations. He documented and shared his ideas about them in his letters to his father. In addition, during his archaeological expitions, the way he described the village workers shows how unfamiliar he was with rural Anatolian culture and life¹³³. It is ironic that as Quatremère de Quincy saw Turks as incompetent to appreciate and protect antiquities, a Turk, Osman Hamdi Bey saw Arabs and Persians the same way.

In his seminal work, Bruce G. Trigger¹³⁴ categorizes three different types of archaeologies and his definition of colonial archaeology includes this statement: “...Indeed, they sought by emphasizing the primitiveness and lack of accomplishments of these peoples to justify their own poor treatment of them”¹³⁵. He describes how politically and economically dominating Europeans carried out archaeological studies in the countries they colonized without establishing any link with the people in these countries. Even though Trigger addresses Europe with this definition of the ‘colonialist archaeology’, the same statement could easily be made to describe Osman Hamdi Bey’s perspective regarding the Arabic and Iranian population.

In the current literature, Osman Hamdi Bey is generally regarded as a mastermind and a culturally influential figure who challenged Europe’s Orientalist stereotypes –especially through his paintings. However, Eldem¹³⁶ is critical of this idea that Osman Hamdi Bey was a national hero who deliberately enacted patriotic efforts to westernize the empire. He highlights that the motivations for his achievements were much more complex and his worldview may have been shaped by the Western cultural system (and a desire for acceptance into that system) rather than the Ottoman system. This complexity can be clearly understood when one learns that he occasionally gave some antiquities

¹³³ For Osman Hamdi Bey’s –possible- position on the Ottoman peripheries, cf. Edhem Eldem, “An Ottoman Traveler to the Orient Osman Hamdi Bey” in İnankur, Z., Lewis, R., Roberts, M, (eds.) *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman İstanbul and British Orientalism*. Pera Museum Publications, İstanbul, 2011, pp. 183-195.

¹³⁴ Cf. Bruce G. Trigger, “Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist”, *Man*, 19: 3 (1984), pp. 355-370.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.360.

¹³⁶ Edhem Eldem, “An Ottoman Arhcaeologist”. Cf. Edhem Eldem “Osman Hamdi Bey” for an account of the literature on the paintings of Osman Hamdi Bey –as well as the literature on the Orientalist tones in these paintings.

to French museums after his paintings were bought by the same museums or after he was given honorary memberships by these institutes.

At this point, I would like to highlight that almost all scholarly research about late Ottoman era cultural life is dominated by Osman Hamdi Bey. Since he was the most powerful figure of this cultural life, it may seem natural that scholars have to refer to him, just as this research also does. Moreover, the lack of archival materials and the poor maintenance of existing ones make it even more difficult to generate new historic points of view or develop a comparative analysis¹³⁷. However, this is also a very dangerous domination because it may create an illusion that there were no alternative engagements with archaeology during the Ottoman Empire; in fact, there existed other modes of archaeological activity. For instance, there were cases in which not official bodies but locals claimed ownership of antiquities when foreign teams wanted to remove them. This occurred not because the locals' engagement with the antiquities was related with the past, but rather because these antiquities were a part of their everyday life¹³⁸. Similarly, it was again the locals who stood against Elgin and his team when they constructed their scaffoldings at the Parthenon¹³⁹. In fact, the reaction against the removal of the antiquities was not only a concern for the locals, but also the ruling class and the Ottoman elite, who were the main actors in managing the museum, and acted to prevent these removals. A series of legislative arrangements were enforced, especially by the directors of the Museum, to create a legislative framework that would manage archaeological activities all over the Empire. Most notable is the 1884 decree that was enforced by Osman Hamdi Bey, which was the most outrageous one for the European communities.

When Osman Hamdi Bey died in 1910, his brother Halil Edhem (Eldem) took over the position and he became the new museum director until his resignation in 1931 when he became a member of parliament. He had already attained the position of vice-director in 1892. Also under his directorship the museum collection continued expanding with the findings of the excavations in various archaeological sites such as Didyma, Ephesus, Milletus, Priene, and Sardis. Even

¹³⁷ This scholar problem is highlighted during a talk delivered by Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem. (2012, September 18). Cf. *In Conversation: Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem Empire, Architecture, and the City*. Retrived from: <http://saltonline.org/en/407>

¹³⁸ Benjamin Anderson, "An alternative discourse".

¹³⁹ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, p.71.

though the museum space was not sufficient to include all the objects, prehistoric and Islamic works of art also began to be collected. The collection was subdivided into three categories; Ancient Oriental¹⁴⁰, Greek-Roman-Byzantine, and Turkish-Islamic collections¹⁴¹.

Evkaf Nezareti (the Ministry of Pious Foundations) started to collect the works of Islamic art 1891. This was, in a way, a reaction against westernization which would continually escalate at the turn of the century. In 1914, this collection became a museum, *Evkaf Muzesi* (the Ministry of Pious Foundations) and it was transferred to the *madrassa* of the Süleymaniye Complex (*Külliye*)¹⁴². As will be mentioned below, this interest in the Islamic period and the search for the Turkish works of art was not a coincidence, but rather it was the outcome of the political atmosphere. Nationalist and Islamic ideology was being widely embraced among the late Ottoman intellectuals. The peak of this movement was the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, which succeeded in transforming the absolute monarchy into a constitutional monarchy which would eventually develop into a parliamentary autocracy until the end of the First World War.

The Ministry of Education formed a committee in 1910 to investigate possible ways to preserve Islamic and Ottoman works of art. This decision to form a committee was emblematic of the Islamic ideological thoughts of the post-Revolution era. Accordingly, mosaics, tiles, and other removable ornaments in these buildings were kept at the Imperial Museum. The curator of this collection,

¹⁴⁰ It is noteworthy that a new department, Ancient Oriental Works (*Eski Şark Eserleri*) was also another important link between the late Ottoman era and the soon-to-be-founded Turkish Republic. Oriental Works included objects from Mesopotamia, Egypt, Hittite civilisation, etc. As will be discussed in chapter 2, also during the early Republican period, there existed a tendency to link the Turkish national identity with these prehistoric civilizations and archaeology was the main instrument to produce these links. Therefore, even though modern Turkish history is generally regarded as a detachment from the Ottoman past, at the same time, it can be considered as the continuity of a trend in nationalist and reformist thinking from the late-Ottoman era to the modern Republic.

¹⁴¹ Arif M. Mansel. "Halil Edhem ve İstanbul Müzeleri". In *Halil Edhem Hatıra Kitabı Cilt:II.*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1948, pp. 315-328.

¹⁴² Wendy M. K. Shaw "National Museums in the Republic of Turkey: Palimpsests within a Centralized State", *EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna 28-30 April 2011*. Peter Aronsson & Gabriella Elgenius (eds.), EuNaMus Report No 1. Published by Linköping University Electronic Press: http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=064. (accessed on 12.05.2016).

Friedrich Sarre (1865– 1945) (who would become the director of the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art in 1921) moved these objects to the *imaret* (socio-religious complex) of the Süleymaniye Mosque between 1911 and 1913. This collection became the first museum of Islamic works. The Islamic Endowments Museum (*Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi*) was founded in 1914¹⁴³, the same year that the First World War started (Figure 23).



Figure 23: Collections of Islamic art in the upstairs gallery of the Imperial Museum. In Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, 177.

Even during the First World War and the Turkish Independence War, the museum collection kept expanding. During the war, Halil Edhem directed the museum with a strategy of safeguarding the antiquities. The Sardis excavations demonstrate these strategies. The Sardis excavations began in 1909 and were managed by Princeton professor Corosby Butler for ‘the American Society for the Excavations of Sardis’. Per the 1884 law, all findings from the excavations were sent to the Museum in İstanbul; however, when the war started, the excavation team kept the artifacts in the depots and left the country immediately. Meanwhile, Halil Edhem formed a committee to be sent to Sardis. This committee’s work was to select the most valuable artifacts in the depots, pack them together with the personal belongings of the excavation team, and send this package of crates of antiquities to İzmir, the closest city to Sardis. The crates remained at the İzmir

¹⁴³ Wendy Shaw. “Museums and Narratives of Display from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic”, *Muqarnas*, XXIV, 2007, pp. 253-279. See also, Nur Altinyıldız, “The Architectural Heritage”, p.286.

Imperial School (*İzmir Sultani Mektebi*) and the personal belongings were given to the Swedish consulate who oversaw the protection of American assets. During the Greek occupation of İzmir, the artifacts were sent to New York from İzmir, and this way they were rescued once more. Out of 56 crates that were kept in the Metropolitan Museum, 53 crates were sent back to İstanbul. After classification, twelve crates were again sent to the Metropolitan Museum as a gift in return for their help. Eldem managed the negotiations between the Turkish parliament (convincing them to send back the crates as a measure of gratitude and to cover the costs of the shipment) and the Metropolitan Museum (threatening to prohibit any future American excavations in Turkey)¹⁴⁴. The Sardis case may be immediately reminiscent of the *partage* system (sharing archaeological findings between the excavating institution and the host country)¹⁴⁵. However, this was not a mutually agreed sharing system; on the contrary, neither the Metropolitan Museum nor the Turkish government compromised their positions on ownership of the antiquities. This was a unique win-win instance that was accomplished by Eldem's initiative.

In the next section of the first chapter, the formulation and the evaluation of the Ottoman legal framework will be discussed.

1.2. Claiming Ownership: Formulating the Legal Framework of Cultural Heritage

The legal framework around issues related to artifacts was a nineteenth century development for the Ottoman state. These legal regulations came as a reaction to the above-mentioned removal of the precious antiquities. The first of these decrees came in 1869 and it was only the beginning of a series of decrees that are known as the Laws on Old Monuments (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnameleri*). Other decrees came in 1874, 1884, and finally 1906. This set of late-nineteenth century decrees remained active for more than a half century following the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Even the Old Monuments Law, which was promulgated in 1973, contained only minor changes in terms of archaeology. This

¹⁴⁴ Arif M. Mansel. "Halil Edhem ve Sard Eserleri". In *Halil Edhem Hatıra Kitabı Cilt:II.*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1948, pp. 1-12.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. James Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity?: Museums and the Battle Over Our Ancient Heritage*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2008. p.14.

was the first comprehensive law (not decree) directly targeting historic preservation. Therefore, these decrees are still in effect to regulate archaeological activities in Turkey.

Even before the first 1869 decree, there were some rules to regulate acts of historic preservation. These regulations were a part of the Islamic laws (*fikih*); however, these Islamic rules regarded only the anonymous objects (without an owner), mainly antiquities. Therefore, immovable objects were not considered as an ‘old monument’ almost until the beginning of the twentieth century, because the immovable objects were either privately owned, or publicly owned by either the pious foundations (*vakıf*)¹⁴⁶, or the state¹⁴⁷. Also in the above-mentioned decrees, movable objects were not considered within the legal context. Therefore, the Islamic worldview, which classified cultural heritage according to a system of ownership, was reflected also in the legal framework. Movable objects, on the other hand, were managed in a better-structured systematic in accordance with Islamic rules¹⁴⁸.

Before the first decree, there were also some articles in the criminal code that briefly mentioned old assets. For instance, the 133rd article of the 1858-criminal code decrees punishment for vandalism of sacred or monumental edifices¹⁴⁹. In addition, another imperial order in 1863 included a regulation about excavation permissions¹⁵⁰. Other than these articles, the first legal regulation on old monuments is the 1869 decree.

¹⁴⁶ *Vakıf* buildings will be more elaborately discussed in chapter 1.4.

¹⁴⁷ Ahmet Mumcu, "Eski Eser Hukuku ve Türkiye [Old Monuments Law and Turkey]", *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 26, 3-4, 1969, p.66.

¹⁴⁸ When the object was from the Islamic culture (if it had an Islam-related mark on it), the finder could just take it if he was poor; however, if the finder was rich, then he had to donate the object either to the poor or to the State Treasury (*Beytülmal*). If the object was of non-Islamic origin then the State Treasury would take one fifth, and the rest would be given either to the first owner(s) of the land deeds (the male Ottoman who the sultan appointed owner of the land after its conquest) or to the heirs of the first owners. If heirs did not exist, then the State Treasury would take it all. If the first owner did not exist, in other words, if the sultan did not grant the land to anybody, then the finder would take four fifths of the findings. Ahmet Mumcu, "Eski Eser", pp.67-68.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.68.

¹⁵⁰ According to this order, the Museum (Hagia Irene) would take one copy if there existed twin pairs; otherwise, the finder would take all the findings but could not export it. Cf. Halit Çal, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Asar-ı Atika Nizamnameleri", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, XXVI, 1997, pp.391-400. The first known excavation with permission took place in 1843; therefore, Çal suggests that between 1843 and

When the Hagia Irene Museum was opened to the public, there were no regulations relating to the collection of antiquities. Therefore, we can suggest that it was a necessity to generate legal regulations. The Ottoman experience with museums and archaeological artefacts made it essential to draw a legal framework for cultural heritage. This experience raised consciousness of cultural heritage. When the Hagia Irene Church became the Imperial Museum in 1869, this was also the first step towards a comprehensive institutionalization of the Ottoman understanding of cultural heritage. Efforts towards institutionalization, naturally, were accompanied and boosted by legal enactments. The 1869 decree, which was promulgated the same year as the establishment of the Imperial Museum, was the first step of this shift in the Ottoman mentality.

Erdem¹⁵¹ states that three incidents in particular triggered this motivation to promulgate a decree about old assets in 1869. The first was the removal of the Parthenon friezes by Lord Elgin between 1801 and 1802¹⁵², the second was the siege of Athens by Ottoman troops in 1826 during the Greek Independence War (which gave the Ottomans the opportunity to witness the political power of

1869, the findings could not be exported. However, it is known that there were cases even in this given period, that the findings were removed.

¹⁵¹ Edhem Eldem, "From Blissful Indifference to Anguished Concern: Ottoman Perceptions of Antiquities, 1799-1869". In Zeynep Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem, eds., *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*, SALT/Garanti Kültür A.Ş., İstanbul, 2011, p.281-329.

¹⁵² Lord Elgin's case can be considered as the start of the disturbance in the Ottoman state over the removal of the antiquities. When Elgin first was given permission to study the Parthenon, this permission was limited to the drawings and the casts. When his team set up their scaffoldings for the casts, the military governor of Athens wanted to terminate their activities by closing all military zones to the foreigners. However, Elgin was successful in directly reaching the sultan to obtain a decree which would allow him and his team not only to study but also to take away any pieces of stone. Even then, Elgin and his team encountered resistance from the locals during the transportation of the big stones. Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: museums, archaeology, and the visualization of history in the late Ottoman Empire*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003. p.71. For an account of the Elgin marbles from the Greek point of view, cf. Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007. In the seventh chapter of this seminal work, Hamilakis revisits the controversy of the Elgin marbles through an examination of "the continuing production and reproduction of national imagination, the links between nationalism (including various competing nationalisms) and colonialism, the interplay between local, national, and global, the personification of antiquities, the notions of alienability and inalienability" (p.31).

antiquities in a society), and the third was the removal of the findings of the Ephesus excavation in 1860s by Briton John Turtle Wood.

The 1869 decree was a short text with seven articles following a short introduction. The introduction text states the need for the law, and states that objects should be allocated to the newly-established museum in İstanbul just like the museums in foreign countries. However, the collection of the museum also had to be enlarged. Per previous regulations, the state could take the objects from the excavations only if the found object had a twin copy. However, such instances were quite rare, therefore, the museum collection could not expand in the previous years¹⁵³. The seven articles, on the other hand, were; (1) any excavation work should be done with permission from the Ministry of Education, (2) the findings could not be exported but could be sold within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire and the state had to be given priority for the purchase, (3) if the objects were found on private land, the landowner owned the findings, (4) coins were exempted from the second article, (5) removing or disturbing overground ruins was prohibited and excavation permissions were only for underground findings, (6) if a foreign state officially wanted to undertake an archaeological excavation, the decision was to be made by the sultan, and (7) if someone knew of the existence of objects on a site and informed the officials of his intention to excavate that site, the excavation costs were to be covered by the Ottoman state¹⁵⁴. As can be seen from this brief summary of the articles, this legislation was insufficient to ensure comprehensive management of cultural heritage. Moreover, immovable objects were not mentioned in this decree.

When Dr. Dethier was the museum director, new legislation was prepared with his guidance in 1874. This new decree had five sections and 36 articles and the first two articles related to the definition of the 'old artifact'. Every man-made object from history was considered an 'old artifact' and old artifacts were in two categories: coins and other objects¹⁵⁵. As all over-ground objects belonged to the state, excavations of underground sites were regulated with excavation permits and illegal excavations were prohibited. In addition, a sharing system was also formulated: per this law; "of the antiquities that are found by those with research

¹⁵³ Ahmet Mumcu, "Eski Eser", p.68.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p.70.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p.70.

permission, a third belongs to the excavator, a third to the state treasury, and a third to the landowner. If the excavator and the landowner are the same, this person will receive two-thirds of the finds and the state shall receive one-third.... The division of antiquities will occur according to the desire of the state and according to the nature or the value... The state is responsible for the preservation of sites that cannot be moved and for the appointment of an administrator to such sites”¹⁵⁶.

Regarding immovable objects, there was only one single article which obscurely defined the conditions for the safeguarding of ‘spectacular’ buildings¹⁵⁷. Other articles were about movable ones. In this sense, this decree was closer to an archaeological excavation manual rather than an official decree on historic preservation.

Even though the new article was much-improved compared to the 1869 decree, it had some major drawbacks. The definitions were odd; there were some statements but the process was not defined¹⁵⁸. More importantly, with this decree, archaeological objects from an excavation were arbitrarily distributed all over the world. Researchers needed to visit different places to see the findings of an excavation. The decree was not sufficient to control antiquities trafficking either. European excavators were still exporting findings either by directly reaching the sultan or exploiting their financial ties with the Ottoman state, especially for railway construction¹⁵⁹. In that sense, it was not effective. When Osman Hamdi Bey became the museum director in 1881, one of the first things he addressed was the ineffectiveness of the existing decree. He re-formulated this decree and in 1884, a new decree was promulgated.

The 1884 decree came just after the first Ottoman excavation undertaken by Osman Hamdi Bey in 1883, to research Mount Nemrud. Nemrud had already been excavated by Germans two years earlier and Carl Humann was in the process of completing the necessary procedures to carry out a Berlin Museum-sponsored campaign at this unique site. However, Osman Hamdi Bey had rushed to the site and made research on this mountain –which was under thick snow- to claim the

¹⁵⁶ Translation is re-typed after Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, pp.90-91.

¹⁵⁷ Ahmet Mumcu, “Eski Eser”, p.71.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.72.

¹⁵⁹ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, pp.108-109.

site before the Germans. The findings were so monumental that it was impossible to transport them, therefore they remained in situ. However, he published the report on this research in French to reach the European community. Therefore, the European archaeology community was already surprised by this Ottoman attempt. The following year, the 1884 decree came as a bigger shock. This time the removal of findings was strictly prohibited. The decree caused a series of outraged reactions among European archeology and museum professionals. This community published their ideas to a wider audience through printed media. Of course, there were also some conflicting views among the same community¹⁶⁰. As mentioned above, the Sidon excavations were undertaken three years after this legislation. The findings of this excavation provided some fascinating results especially regarding the use of color in the Hellenistic period, which was still a controversial issue in this period. All these successive attempts transformed the Museum and the Ottoman Empire into a reputable and debated actor in the global archaeology community.

The 1884 decree reinforced the existing decree. It defined ‘old artifacts’; it listed item by item what could be considered as old artifacts: “all of the artifacts left by the ancient peoples who inhabited the Ottoman Empire, that is, gold and silver; various old and historical coins; signs engraved with informative writings; carved pictures; decoration; objects and containers made of stone and clay and various media; weapons; tools; idols; ring stones; temples and palaces, and old game- areas called circuses; theaters, fortifications, bridges and aqueducts; corpses, buried objects, and hills appropriate for examination; mausoleums, obelisks, memorial objects, old buildings, statues and every type of carved stone are among antiquities”¹⁶¹. With this law, all findings also became state property;

¹⁶⁰ Zeynep Çelik, *Asar-ı Atika*, p.63-69. Most notably Salomon Reinach’s article “Le vandalisme en Orient” which he published in *Revue des deux mondes* (1 March 1883), portrayed the Ottoman state as incapable of, and lacking the resources to, take care of antiquities. Reinach stated that the Turkish nation has its own art whereas the antiquities had nothing to do with that art. The leftist American journal *the Nation*, on the other hand, accused Reinach and like-minded Europeans of provoking the Ottomans to enact stronger legislations. Reinach penned a letter to the editor of *The Nation*, that the legislation had already been prepared before his article and argued that the Western archaeological world needed to raise its voice to react against these barbaric Ottoman sanctions. However, in European and American newspapers and journals, there were also articles that mocked the European attitude that was reflected in Reinach’s words.

¹⁶¹ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, p. 111.

they could not be sold or exported. However, if the findings were accidentally found on private land, then the landowner would be granted half ownership of the artifacts. Moreover, the land where the overground antiquities lay belonged to the state. In fact, all lands already belonged to the sultan under Islamic rules, however, especially after the *Tanzimat* regulations, such an understanding could not be appropriate for modern life. Therefore, with the 1884 law, the land arrangements for the favor of the central authority was reestablished. However, this condition was valid only for the over ground antiquities. There were no property arrangements for underground archaeological findings.

The 1884 decree brought about radical changes, and it formed the principles of the current Turkish legal framework on archaeology.

All findings now had to be sent to the Imperial Museum in İstanbul, and consequently the museum space became inadequate to house this fast-growing collection. Therefore, the 1884 decree was instrumental for the construction of the above-mentioned new museum building across from the Tiled Kiosk.

As the museum grew, a need developed for new museum management regulations. In May 1889, the Decree on the Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun Nizamnamesi*) was promulgated. This decree, which had five sections and 43 articles, provided detailed descriptions and explanations of issues related to the management of the museum, including job descriptions for the museum staff. The Museum started to operate under the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Nezareti*) and was given authority to execute the 1884 Old Monuments Decree. The decree also included important remarks on the maintenance and conservation of the artifacts. Moreover, a need was also foreseen to establish other museums in the provinces. Consequently in 1902, the second museum of Turkey was opened in Konya, and in 1906 the third was opened in Bursa¹⁶².

The Decree on the Imperial Museum was also the first step toward recognition of the heritage value of works of Islamic art and architecture. A sub-organization was also formed for Islamic works¹⁶³.

The last decree on historic artifacts came in the same year that a new museum in Bursa was opened, in 1906, and remained active and mostly unchanged until 1973. This law made minor changes to the 1884 decree; basically, it declared that

¹⁶² Ahmet Mumcu, "Eski Eser", p.74.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p.75.

all over and underground ancient artifacts belonged to the state, no matter if the land was privately or publicly owned. In the 1884 decree, half of the artifacts were given to the landowner if the findings were accidentally found on private land¹⁶⁴.

The Ottoman legislative structure on historic preservation was mostly developed by enforcements by the museum directors. These regulations were mostly on movable architectural objects. However, as westernization efforts stimulated an interest in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine past, in the twentieth century, before the foundation of the Turkish Republic, interest in the Ottoman and Seljukid past, or in other words, in the Islamic past, also increased.

The actors of modernization were criticized for neglecting Islamic works of art and architecture. This neglect was partially related to the *vakıf* system. The pious foundations, [*vakıf*; *evkaf* in plural] that are the basic elements of the Islamic cultural and social life, were the main responsible body for the maintenance of most of the Islamic monumental architecture. However, this criticism against the Ottoman elites and the increasing interest in Islamic architecture was mainly due to a change in the political climate. In this period (the second half of the 1900s), westernization efforts were criticized and the Turkish nation as an Islamic society was reinforced. The advocates of such nationalist and Islamic ideology gained power in 1908 with the above-mentioned Young Turk Revolution.

The Young Turk Revolution in 1908 was a keystone in this shift of interests; the sultan was dethroned with the Revolution, a parliament was formed, a constitutional monarchy was established, and lastly, nationalist-Islamic ideas started to spread among the intellectuals. And consequentially, rather than non-Muslim archaeological artifacts, Muslim monuments penetrated the historical preservation discourse.

In the last sub-chapter, the historical preservation activities and efforts of this era will be explained further. However, before doing this, it is necessary to

¹⁶⁴ For a critique of late Ottoman and contemporary Turkish policies on archaeological findings, cf. James Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity?: Museums and the Battle Over Our Ancient Heritage*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2008. Cuno underlines the complexities related to the Ottoman Empire's, hence Osman Hamdi Bey's, efforts to claim ownership over antiquities. He draws a contemporary critique of the Turkish Republic's recent attempts to request objects from the foreign museums and raises questions on the antiquities found in the sites that were once Ottoman lands but are independent states today.

understand what other tools were beneficial for the Ottoman state to self-define and represent itself. I will examine the dynamics that generated this image of the Ottoman, and how it was reflected in the decision-making mechanisms of historic preservation. The aim of the next sub-chapter is to elaborate further how the cultural heritage of the Ottoman Empire was redefined as objects from the Islamic past when it had been objects from the pagan and Christian past only a few decades ago.

1.3. Rediscovering the Ottoman Self, Revisiting the Muslim Past

In the changing world order of the second half of the nineteenth century, Europe was gradually increasing her control over non-Western territories especially in North Africa and in the Middle-east. The Ottoman Empire, as a result, had already been losing most of its territories; Egypt was an autonomous Ottoman state under the control of the rebellious governor Mehmet (Muhammed) Ali Pasha until first the French, and then the British occupation. Algeria was colonized by France after being taken from the Ottomans in 1830, as was Tunisia in 1881. As the geographical and political unity of the Ottoman state was already increasingly damaged, the financial structure was also already under European control through the Foreign Debt Administration (*Düyun-u Umumiye*) which was established in 1881 by the Western countries from whom the Ottoman state had taken huge loans. For these debts, the Ottoman Empire was forced to accept the financial control of the same Western powers. Under growing recognition of Western power, non-Western countries began to seek an identity. This inquiry was not only due to the need to take a precaution against European colonialism, but it was also an urge to create an intimacy with the powerful player. World fairs were one of the main stages for both poles –both the powerful and the colonized – to present the images they wanted to acquire¹⁶⁵.

The interest of the Ottoman Empire in these world fairs (Figure 24) –and their desire to participate in European cultural practices- had already emerged during Sultan Abdülaziz's European tour, which he began by visiting the Universal

¹⁶⁵ Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at nineteenth-century world's fairs*. University of California Press, Oxford, 1992. Pp.1-16.

Exposition in Paris in 1867¹⁶⁶. Works promoting Ottoman architecture were presented in this exhibition¹⁶⁷ using mainly the newly-discovered technology of photography. The Ottoman state often used photography as the main medium to introduce herself to the foreign eye¹⁶⁸. The pavilions were designed by a self-trained French architect named Léon Parvillé in collaboration with the Italian architect Barbordini. Parvillé aimed at preparing a publication which would reveal the “rules” of the Ottoman architecture. He also published his studies in *Architecture et décoration turques* (Paris, 1874) for which Viollet-le-Duc wrote the preface. Viollet-le-Duc wrote: “The book of Parvillé makes a valuable contribution to the already existing publications on the Orient, he unfolds the Oriental arts which until very recently, we knew very limitedly because it had not been studied with a spirit of examination and analysis, that is necessary today, to bring the truth into the scientific field as well as the artistic field.”¹⁶⁹. With these words of Viollet-le-Duc, one can easily understand that Parvillé investigated the works of the Ottoman architecture in a European fashion through technical drawings, geometrical and volumetric relations, construction techniques and materials (Figure 25). In fact, even in the Ottoman lands there was a tendency to

¹⁶⁶ Osman Hamdi Bey was a student in Paris at that time and he also presented three paintings for the Paris Exposition. It is likely that he also personally met with Sultan Abdülaziz during his visit.

¹⁶⁷ Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, p.96.

¹⁶⁸ For the role of photography in the late Ottoman era, cf. Esra Akcan, “Off the Frame: The Panoramic City Albums of Istanbul,” Ali Behdad, Luke Gartlan (eds.), *Photography's Orientalism*, (Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2013): 93-115. Wendy Shaw, “Ottoman Photography of the Late Nineteenth Century: An ‘Innocent’ Modernism?”, *History of Photography*, 33 (1), 2009, 80-93. Esra Akcan, “The Gate of the Bosphorus: Early Photographs of Istanbul and the Dolmabahçe Palace,” Markus Ritter, Staci Gem Scheiwiller (eds.), *The Indigenous Lens: Early Photography in Near and Middle East*, (Zurich: University of Zurich Press, 2017). Engin Özendeş, *Abdullah Frères: Osmanlı Sarayının Fotoğrafçıları* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998). Engin Özendeş, *From Sebah and Joaillier to Foto Sabah: Orientalism in Photography* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları). Engin Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul, Haset Kitabevi, 1987).

¹⁶⁹ “Le livre de M. Parvillée vient donc ajouter un appoint précieux aux publications déjà faites sur l'Orient; il montre un côté de cette question des arts orientaux que l'on connaissait si mal, il n'y a pas encore longtemps, parce qu'on n'avait pas apporté dans leur étude l'esprit d'examen, d'analyse, nécessaire aujourd'hui pour découvrir la vérité dans la domaine de la science aussi bien que dans celui de l'art.” Viollet le-Duc, “Préface” in *Architecture et décoration turques*, V A. Morel et C. Libraires-éditeurs, 1874. p.III.

conceive of Ottoman architecture in a similar fashion. This transformation was clearly visible especially in the Vienna Exhibition in 1873.

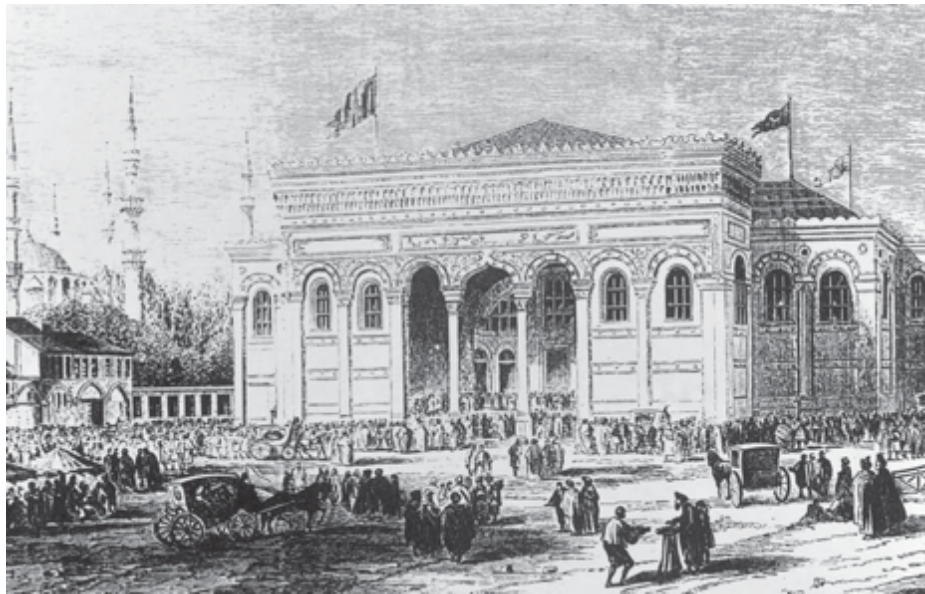


Figure 24: Exterior of the main hall, 1863 Ottoman Exposition published in *Le monde illustrée* 312 [April 4, 1863].

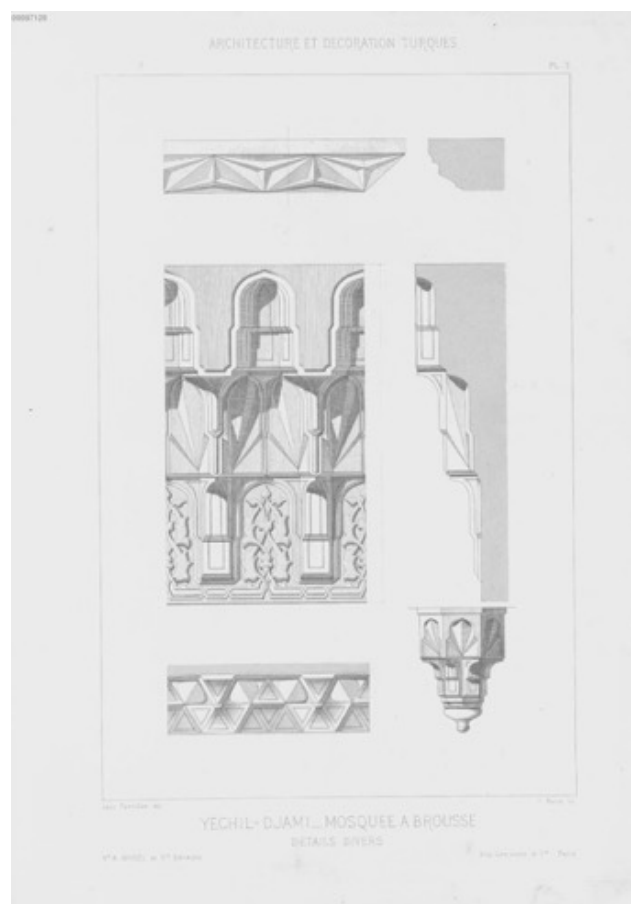


Figure 25: The details of the Yeşil Cami Mosque in Bursa in Parville's book. In Parville, *Architecture and decoration turque*.

Osman Hamdi Bey's father İbrahim Edhem Eldem Pasha was the key actor who took the initiative for the Ottoman participation in the 1873 Vienna Exhibition. He also assigned his son, Osman Hamdi Bey, as the commissary of the exhibition. Two publications were prepared; the *Elbise-i Osmani*¹⁷⁰, published simultaneously in French as *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873* and the *Usul-u Mimari-i Osmani*, published in French as *L'architecture ottoman*¹⁷¹. The costumes in the costume book were also brought to Vienna and despite Osman Hamdi Bey's efforts, they remained there¹⁷².

Even from the start, the Ottoman commission had decided that due to budget limitations, the scholarly qualities of the works should surpass the lack of spectacular pavilions. These two publications, therefore, were carefully prepared after extensive scholarly research. Both the *Elbise* and the *Usul-u Mimari-i Osmani* (*L'architecture ottoman*) were well-studied and formulated scholarly works. The *Usul-u Mimari-i Osmani* was the product of a team; Victor Marie de

¹⁷⁰ *Elbise-i Osmaniye* was translated and re-published. Cf. Osman Hamdi Bey, Marie de Launay, *1873 yılında Türkiye'de halk giysileri: Elbise-i Osmaniyye*, translated by Erol Üyepazarcı (trans.), (İstanbul, Sabancı Üniversitesi, 1999). *Elbise-i Osmaniye* had seventy-four photo plates, all with figures posing in front of a blank wall, dressed in traditional clothes that were grouped in three categories (the European territories, the Aegean/Mediterranean Islands, and the Asian/African Territories). The intention was to provide an accurate description of Ottoman traditional life -with all its diversity- to the Western viewer. In a way, orientalist stereotypes were challenged with this exhibition. 'The Ottoman' was not a single figure who was stereotyped through the Western mainstream media, but it was a compilation of geographically diverse, multiethnic, and multicultural communities. However, as highlighted also by the authors of the publications, these people were not the ones that one would see in today's modernized Ottoman world. Rather, they were located on the peripheries of the Ottoman lands. Nevertheless, the publication itself, in a way, was also a demonstration that a mutual coexistence was possible between these reforms and older traditions. Cf. Ahmet A. Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire* (Farnham and Burlington, Ashgate, 2015). Cf. Ahmet Ersoy, "A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: the *Elbise-i Osmaniye* Album", *Muqarnas*, XX, 2003, 187-207. Even though the aim of the *Elbise-i Osmaniye* was to challenge the European understanding of the Orient, Çelik argues that it repeated the same European generalizations by not considering current developments of everyday life and generating a historically frozen culture. Cf. Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying*, 42.

¹⁷¹ There was also a third publication in German, *Der Bosphor und Constantinopel* (Vienna, 1873). This was a İstanbul guidebook written by then director of the Imperial Museum, Dr. Dethier.

¹⁷² This was a life changing experience for Osman Hamdi Bey not only because it was the first time he dealt with curating a collection or thought about the Ottoman image abroad, but also because he met his second French wife also during this duty. Cf. Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors*, pp.98-99.

Launay, Montani (an Italian architect), Boghos Efendi Chachian (an Armenian architect), and M. Maillard (a French architect). The team was supervised by Edhem Hamdi Pasha (Osman Hamdi Bey's brother) who was the head of the exhibition commission. He specified that the book should document the "rules" of Ottoman architecture and include all the necessary drawings in addition to historical and artistic descriptions of Ottoman monuments¹⁷³.

In this publication (*Usul*), a long descriptive text was followed by the monuments of three Ottoman capitals; İstanbul, Bursa, and Edirne. Another chapter, "Technical Documents" documented the constructional principles of Ottoman architecture. The originally French text was translated into Ottoman-Turkish and German as well. After the exhibition, more copies were distributed to the major cities of Europe. The main goal was to promote Ottoman architecture to foreign audiences and its methodology was borrowed from Europe. It presented the development and evolution of the Ottoman architecture from the early ages to the golden ages of the Empire (the fifteenth and the sixteenth century). In a way, this book was an adoption of the European understanding of architecture and architectural history into the Ottoman context¹⁷⁴. As the Imperial Museum echoed the Ottoman elite's perspective that the Ottoman state was equal to Europe, the same statement was reinforced in the area of architecture by the *Usul*.

With the *Usul*, Ottoman architecture was categorized into three orders: the conic, the diamond, and the crystalline. This categorization artificially corresponded to the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian orders¹⁷⁵. This book, in a way, was an improved version of the previous publication that was prepared by Léon Parvillé (*Architecture et décoration turques*) for the 1867 Paris Exhibition. Also in this book, the way in which the Ottoman monuments were studied was reminiscent of the Beaux-Arts model (Figure 26, Figure 27). These monuments were

¹⁷³ Ahmet A. Ersoy, *Architecture*.

¹⁷⁴ Ahmet Ersoy, "Architecture". Cf. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism*, p.24. Bozdoğan states that as "the authors of *Usul-i Mimari* sought to restore the dignity of Ottoman architectural heritage and claim its theoretical equality to European styles; they simultaneously confirmed the superiority of the European construction of knowledge from which they borrowed their analytical frameworks, methods, and techniques... At the same time, as rationalist, self-knowing, post-Enlightenment subjects in the European sense, they adopted the same objectifying constructs of knowledge-the same systematic study, classification, and ordering of knowledge-that European orientalist had applied to non-Western 'others'".

¹⁷⁵ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism*, p.24.

studied in the same way that Violet-le-Duc studied Gothic architecture. For each monument, the historical context was also provided. In fact, the motivations for the selection of the material studied were different. For the Ottoman Empire, the works of the Hellenistic period were the main tools for generating the Ottoman national image. However, in the *Usul*, instead of presenting the Hellenistic works to the Europeans (who had stronger national ties with this heritage and who had accumulated more scientific archaeological knowledge compared to the Ottoman state), the Ottoman past itself was presented. The material presented was selected according to the audience. For the Europeans, surely, Ottoman architecture was something new compared to archaeological artifacts. However, even with this material, the exhibition team managed to present the Ottoman state as something European. The methodology of the presentation was completely undertaken with European scientific methods. This way, also for the exhibition team, it was possible to look at the Ottoman architecture from the same distance as Europe¹⁷⁶.

As Gothic architecture was the image of the French national identity in the late nineteenth-century, the period that *Usul* studied was also meant to construct the image of the Ottoman national identity. However, it was not the Ottoman monuments studied in themselves, but the way in which they were studied which helped the exhibition team construct the image of Ottoman national identity.

The *Tanzimat* reforms came with a new understanding of history, and in consequence, the writing of history also became ‘modernized’. In this renewed understanding of history, the fifteenth century was at the center of the narrative of Ottoman history. Centralized imperial power was established which enabled the efflorescence of the Empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The fifteenth century was an era in which the Ottoman state initiated ideological and institutional changes enforcing a centralized imperial power under the conditions which followed the Timurid invasions. It was not a coincidence that in the *Usul*, the fifteenth century was regarded as the origin of the Ottoman state (instead of the thirteenth century when the Ottoman state was founded as a feudal principality, *beylik*)¹⁷⁷.

¹⁷⁶ Ahmet A. Ersoy, *Architecture*.

¹⁷⁷ Cemal Kafadar, “A Rome Of One’s Own: Reflections On Cultural Geography And Identity In The Lands Of Rum”, *Muqarnas*, XXIV, 2007, 7-25. Cf. Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1995).

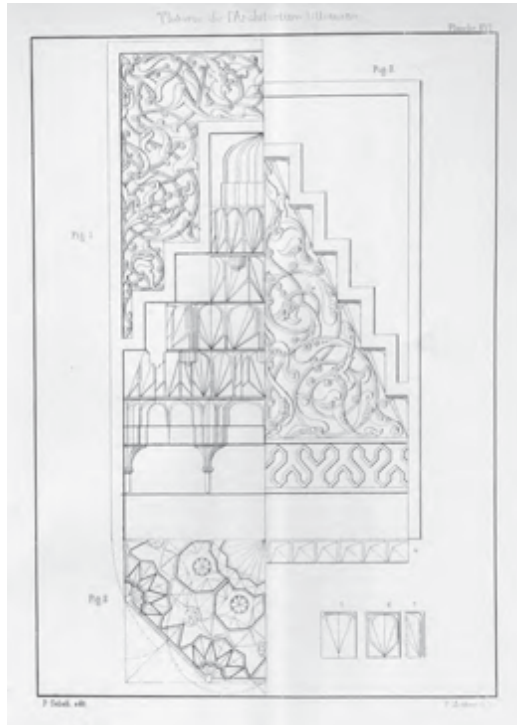


Figure 26: Detail from Usul-u Mimari-i Osmaniye.

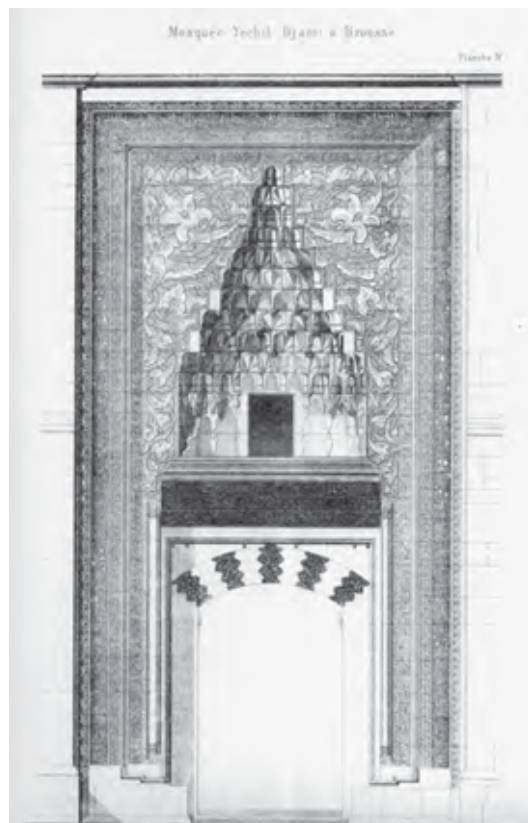


Figure 27: Portal of the Green Mosque (Bursa) as published in the Usul.

As the *Tanzimat* rewrote the Ottoman history, it also created a break from the Ottoman past and it restructured and modernized the Ottoman state. However, in society, these transformations were not easily accepted. It was a concern for a limited community to manage the balance between modernization and the preservation of the Muslim-Ottoman self-identity¹⁷⁸. This small community gradually gained power, and they undertook the Young Turk revolution in 1908 which overthrew the long-lasting Hamidian regime and replaced it with a constitutional monarchy which started the second constitutional era¹⁷⁹.

The Revolution had a strong effect on architectural production as well. Before the Revolution, the architectural style had already been transformed during the *Tanzimat*. The *Tanzimat* had a full package of building policies which included the construction of military buildings, public buildings, schools, hospitals and sanitary buildings, industrial structures and factories, religious buildings, mosques, and tombs (*türbe*), palaces, summer mansions (*kasır*) and houses, and theatres¹⁸⁰. As the Ottoman architects were not sufficiently trained to meet official

¹⁷⁸ For a history of the Young Turks movement before the 1908 (so-called) Young Turk Revolution, cf. M. Şükrü Hainoğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995.

¹⁷⁹ The main difference between the Young Turk Revolution and other nineteenth/early-twentieth century revolutions elsewhere is that the Ottoman revolutionaries did not want to terminate the monarchy; rather, they required 'Liberty, Equality, and Justice' under a tolerant sultan who would govern the Empire with more freedoms but still with the sharia. Nevertheless, especially until the start of the First World War (1914), it created a liberated environment that enabled the spread of nationalist thought. As mentioned earlier, this nationalism was also a reactive response against the modernizing tone of the *Tanzimat*. Cf. Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics*, Oxford, University Press, London, 1969. Cf. M. Şükrü Hainoğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2008.

¹⁸⁰ In fact, even before the *Tanzimat*, in the early-eighteenth century, an era which is known as the 'Tulip period' had marked the first signals of western influences in Ottoman architecture. The bureaucrats who visited France were influenced by the French palaces and their gardens. When they returned, they initiated some urban projects that were mainly landscape arrangements. The common theme of these arrangements was the use of water as a design material, both in parks and in urban settings as fountains. The excessiveness of the 'Tulip period' was terminated by public rebellion. Later in the eighteenth century, Baroque architecture was another source of influence. Baroque was adopted into Ottoman monumental architecture. However, the main breakthrough came with the *Tanzimat*. Cf. Afife Batur, "Batılılaşma Döneminde Osmanlı Mimarlığı" *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1985),1037-1067. In addition to these development, the institutions and legislation were also changed. The Imperial Architectural Office was closed and its duties were transferred to the directorate with the same name, and urban

needs in designing and constructing these buildings (since they were raised with the Ottoman tradition in the Imperial Architectural Office), foreign architects played a significant role. Architects like the German professor August Jasmund and the French architect, Alexander Vallaury designed buildings with Renaissance influences rather than references to the golden ages of the Ottoman Empire, which was the key reference of self-identity and a source of pride for the actors of the upcoming Young Turk Revolution. Like Jasmund, Vallaury also made use of Ottoman elements (such as pointed arches, window lattices, large roof overhangs) only superficially and for decoration purposes. Foreign architects were dominant also in the academia. The establishment of the Fine Arts Academy (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*), which included architectural education in its program, was a response to the need to raise a new generation of Ottoman architects¹⁸¹.

Students of these foreign professors reacted against the architectural ideas of their professors. These students criticized their professors as lacking a comprehensive understanding of Ottoman architecture. It is not a coincidence that this reaction emerged during the second constitutional era where Islamic and nationalist ideas were widely acknowledged. Three architects were the most influential actors of this period; Vedat Bey (1873-1942) (Vedat Tek, after the 1934 Surname Law), Kemalettin Bey (1870-1927), and the Levantine Italian architect Giulio Mongeri (1875-1953). These architects generated a new architectural style with Ottoman revivalism; which is called the First National Architectural Movement (also known as the National Architectural Renaissance).

regulations were applied to building heights, street widths, illegal constructions, etc. Moreover, contra non-Muslim regulations of the pre-Tanzimat era (such as the prioritising of Muslims in selecting construction sites and material before non-Muslims, or limiting the building height of non-Muslim constructions to ensure they did not exceed that of Muslim constructions) were now eliminated. The first attempts to develop a contemporary municipality system were also a Tanzimat development. The urban projects of the nineteenth century were also an urgent necessity for the city; İstanbul was suffering from fires that were easily spreading due to the wooden building stock and were difficult to extinguish due to the organic street pattern. For the nineteenth century urban developments, cf. Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the nineteenth century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1986). The urban projects implemented in İstanbul were, as Çelik shows, a strategic tool for the Ottoman elites to generate a seemingly-European city in İstanbul.

¹⁸¹ Yıldırım Yavuz and Süha Özkan, "Osmanlı Mimarlığının Son Yılları" [Last Years of the Ottoman Architecture] In *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopedia on Turkey from Tanzimat to the Republic]. İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1985, p.1078-1085.

Both Kemalettin Bey and Vedat Bey were educated in Europe, and on returning to their country (which they found in an even more chaotic condition than when they had left) they tried to Ottomanize the Empire, yet were still influenced by their European education. The First National Architectural Movement was not just a reaction to European influences, but it was also an investigation of Turkish identity during the last decade of the Ottoman Empire.

The decade after the Revolution (the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, which continued with a decelerating pace until the end of the First World War, 1918) represented “all the cultural/ideological complexities of the patriotic ‘dynastic nationalism’ of the late Empire, the foundations of which were set in the latter part of the nineteenth century when the Ottoman intelligentsia sought to recast the Ottoman state as a modern nation and to construct a ‘national self’ based on a historicist interest in the cultural and artistic heritage of the Empire”¹⁸². Unlike the pre-Revolution period, archaeological artifacts of paganism no longer defined ‘the cultural and artistic heritage of the Empire’. Instead, the Islamic past of the empire became the heritage that can construct a common national past.

Among the intellectual actors of the second constitutional era; Kemalettin Bey was the most vocal in his efforts to give voice to his search for *Turkishness* in architecture¹⁸³. Kemalettin Bey was already under the influence of the nationalist ideas that spread after the Revolution. He had carried out several restoration projects of various *vakıf* buildings (pious foundations; the importance of these Islamic institutes in the historical preservation culture will be explained below). He repaired many landmarks on the historic peninsula of Istanbul including the Hagia Sophia, the Sultan Ahmet Mosque, and the Fatih Mosque¹⁸⁴. He continuously published not only about his ideas regarding neglect of monuments

¹⁸² Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, *Turkey: modern architectures in history*, Reaktion Books, London, 2012: 21. Also see, Yıldırım Yavuz and Süha Özkan, “Osmanlı Mimarlığının”.

¹⁸³ On Mimar Kemalettin Bey; cf. Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin, 1870, 1927* (Ankara, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009). Afife Batur (ed.), *İstanbul Vakıflar Bölge Müdürlüğü Mimar Kemadeddin Proje Kataloğu* (Ankara, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009). Ali Cengizkan (ed.), *Mimar Kemalettin ve Çağı: Mimarlık/Toplumsal Yaşam/Politika* (Ankara, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009).

¹⁸⁴ Yıldırım Yavuz, “Mimar Kemalettin Bey (1870-1927)”, in *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, 7:1, 1981, 53-76.

from the Ottoman and Seljukid periods, but he also promoted the architectural and artistic features of the significant works of these periods¹⁸⁵.

Even though the roots of the historicist interest in Ottoman architecture are laid out in the *Usul-i Mimari*, post-Revolution architects criticized the elite late-Ottoman community who produced the publications during the 1873 Vienna exhibition. As mentioned above, the *Usul* was prepared using European methodology (the European process of production of knowledge) and carried out to produce knowledge of Ottoman architecture. This was not only an effort to present Ottoman architecture in a scientifically taxonomic and rationally structured academic order, to make it accessible for European audiences, but it was also an effort to show the Europeans that the Ottomans were capable of both comprehending modern scientific studies and carrying out similar studies. For the actors of the second constitutional era, on the other hand, it was not possible to comprehend the theoretical fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture with these Europe-minded classifications and methodologies. They thought, as Kemalettin Bey stated,

...this book [the *Usul*], as useful as it is for its photographic layout, is erroneous for its statements on the foundational principles of the scientific architecture and is useless for the new generation of architects. The content with the titles and the accompanying explanatory figure plates, which constitute the main part of the book, if possible, should immediately be destroyed.

The basics of these theories generated by Montani are not only bizarre, but they can be considered also as an insult, for they contradict the constructional qualities of the Ottoman architectural style and Turkish professional practices. This inventor [*Montani*] who thinks that architectural science only consists of the atlas of Vignola, should come up with the idea of creating the rules of the principles of the Ottoman Architectural Style, just like the forenamed atlas's taxonomy, by producing oriental drawings of some typologies through categorizing (creating a matrix of) the lines of roof cornices in diverse types with the capitals of posts (columns) and naming each matrix some girlish and jewel-inspired names¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸⁵ İlhan Tekeli and Selim İkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları* [Writings of Architect Kemalettin], Şevki Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara, 1997.

¹⁸⁶ "Türkçe ve Fransızca ve Almanca olmak üzere tariffât ve nazariyâtı ve birçok büyük kıtada 'asâr-ı Osmanîye'nin istinsâh olunmuş çizgili ve renkli levhalarını hâvi olan bu bu kitap resim tezyini nokta-i nazarından ne kadar mucib-i istifade ise fenn-i mimarinin kavâid-i esâsiyesi cihetiyle o

As seen in this counter statement by Kemalettin Bey, what Ottoman architecture meant to the Tanzimat (pre-Revolution) elites and to the Revolution-era intellectuals was quite different. As I mentioned above, for the exhibition commission, the *Usul* functioned as a tool to generate a European identity. It meant to prove that the Ottomans were also academically capable of undertaking research with objective, scientific, and well-investigated methods just like the high level intellectual community of Europe did in the post-Enlightenment context. Similarly to how the Imperial Museum operated at a metaphorical level, the *Usul* (and the Vienna exhibition) was also a mirror (in the sense that Foucault used in describing the ‘heterotopia’, which is “... a placeless place. In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent”)¹⁸⁷. For Kemalettin Bey and his like-minded contemporaries, on the other hand, Ottoman architecture itself was that mirror, which helped them to locate themselves in the political, economic, and cultural Ottoman context of the early twentieth century. Ottoman heritage was a tool for them to look at and understand where they were not. This heritage helped them self-identify themselves. Therefore, studying Ottoman architecture with European methods would only alienate them from this heritage. They held the belief that it should be studied from inside with the knowledge that Kemalettin Bey acquired restoring the Ottoman monuments.

It is noteworthy that even though they had different references and motivations to identify themselves within a fast-changing world order, both actors

nisbette hatalı ve yeni yetişen mimârlar için o kadar muzırdır. Kitabın en esaslı kısmını teşkil eden serlevhalı mevâd ile bunları izâh için ilâve olunan resim levhalarının mümkün olduğu takdirde imhası elzemdir.

“Montani tarafından ihtira olunan bu nazariyat kavâid-i esasiye itibariyle gayet abes olmakla beraber tarz-ı mimârî-i Osmanî'nin veyahut Türk mesleğinin mahiyet-i inşâyesine tamamıyla muhalif olduğundan tarz-ı mezkûr hakkında bir istihkâr addolunabilir. Mimârî fennini mekteplerde talebenin elinde gezen Vignola'nın atlasından ibaret zannedenlerden olduğu anlaşılan bu muhterî Tarz-ı Mimârî-i Osmanîyi tıpkı mezkûr atlasın taksimatı gibi bir takım tarzlarla taksim ederek muhtelif tarzlara ait saçak silmesinin bazı zehleriyle direk başlıklarını şark usulüne mutabık tersim ve herbirine mücevheri ve sâire nâmıyla bir takım adlar itâ eylemekle bir kâide-i nazâriye altına almış olmak fikrinde bulunmuştur”. İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin*, pp.72-73.

¹⁸⁷ Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces”, p.24.

had to deal with the Ottoman past. The former group (the *Tanzimat* elites who produced the *Usul*) utilized this heritage as a scientific object to be studied with the competence and the skill that only Europe seemed to have acquired; the latter, (Kemalettin Bey and his contemporaries) on the other hand, saw the roots of their identity in this heritage in a period in which the alienating reforms of the *Tanzimat* were challenged by a so-called revolution. However, in both cases, there was a common acknowledgement that the Ottoman past was becoming a ‘history’. As a result, the remnants of this past and preservation of them became a significant problem. A historic preservation systematic was also structured in this period as an answer this problem. However, this systematic mainly addressed immovable monuments of the Muslim past.

The Ottoman system of historical preservation –in terms of legal and institutional management of tangible heritage- continued in the Republican period. This system, as mentioned above, mostly regarded the movable tangible object until the second constitutional era. Immovable architectural structures were not included in this system of historical preservation. However, there were still attempts to protect architectural monuments. The first decisions regarding the conservation of immovable objects regarded the city walls of İstanbul (Figure 28, Figure 29).



Figure 28: City walls in Yedikule, İstanbul in 1870. In Collection of Pierre de Gigord¹⁸⁸.



Figure 29: İstanbul city walls, aka. Justinian Walls. In Collection of Pierre de Gigord.

¹⁸⁸ Pierre de Gigord, *Images d'empire : aux origines de la photographie en Turquie*, İstanbul, Institut d'etudes françaises d'Istanbul, 1993.

In 1864, when the city walls were illegally occupied, a special committee was formed to value these walls. In 1884, this committee was terminated after managing the transfer of the city walls to the Municipality. However, the disastrous 1894 earthquake heavily damaged the walls and the municipality needed a project to repair parts of the walls that would be dangerous for the environment¹⁸⁹. This earthquake affected many historic buildings and they were restored in the following decades. However, the restoration of these edifices was an urgent physical need rather than a strategically planned construction intervention due to the heritage significance of the monument. Therefore, we can suggest that the appreciation of monuments for their heritage value was a Young Turk phenomenon.

In this era, historic preservation was also a reaction to urbanization projects, because urban development was one of the key goals of the ruling class of the second constitutional era¹⁹⁰. In fact, the old tradition of working with foreign architects to realize state projects was objected to for the first time in this era. When the mayor of the city, Ziver Bey, wanted to hire French Joseph-Antoine Bouvard, local professionals published articles arguing that Turkish professionals should be given the duty. Halil Edhem, in 1909, became the new mayor and one of the first acts of his municipality was to hire Lyon's urbanist engineer Andre Auric as the head of the Municipality's Scientific Committee, as well as contracting a French company to produce a topographical map of Istanbul¹⁹¹.

Halil Edhem (Eldem) was also the member of a 1911-founded civil initiative called 'the Society of the Admirers of the City of İstanbul (*İstanbul Şehri Muhipleri Cemiyeti*)'. The main purpose of this society was to promote the natural and historic features of İstanbul, and to encourage local authorities to protect these features. They initiated restoration works for some small-scale monuments (like fountains) and reacted against demolition projects. Just a few years after its foundation, this initiative was forgotten in the chaos of the First World War. However, it was restructured after the foundation of the Republic as the 'Istanbul

¹⁸⁹ Stefanos Yerasimos, "Tanzimattan Günümüze Türkiye'de Kültürel Mirası Koruma Söylemi [the Conservation Discourse in Turkey from Tanzimat to Present]", *İstanbul*, 54, 2005, pp. 42-55.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p.47.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p.47.

Devotees Club (*İstanbul'u Sevenler Kulübü*)¹⁹². According to the 1912 action report of the *İstanbul Şehri Muhipleri Cemiyeti*, its accomplished works included documentation of the condition of the city walls, protection (from demolition) of a madrasa (*Feyzullah Efendi Medresesi*), documentation (*rölöve*) of a seashore house (*Köprülü yalı*), clearance of vegetation and slum-structures from Rumeli Hisarı (Rumali Castle), and the preparation of a guidebook for Istanbul¹⁹³. Moreover, some old monuments were saved from destruction for the construction of a tram rail (between Şehzadebaşı and Edirnekapı). However, this tram rail also provoked public debate through printed media. Some articles argued that even though the old structures deserved respect, considering the improper state of public transportation in İstanbul, even for the smallest investment in an improved transportation system, one should not hesitate to demolish a few *madrasas*. Moreover, the Ministry of Pious Foundations/Endowments (*Evkaf Nezareti*) was held as the main body responsible for obstructing the urbanization of İstanbul¹⁹⁴. In fact, the buildings that were owned by the pious foundations (*vakıf*)¹⁹⁵ were mainly the neglected ones and at the turn of the new century, almost all of these *vakıf* buildings were in bad condition.

¹⁹² Semavi Eyice, "İstanbul Şehri Muhipleri Cemiyeti" in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994), 236.

¹⁹³ Stefanos Yerasimos, "Tanzimattan", p.47.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p.48.

¹⁹⁵ The pious foundations, *vakıf* and *evkaf* [plural] in Turkish, were the basic structures of Islamic societies (Similar social organization, in fact, had already existed in the Roman and Greek periods). *Vakıf* simply means donating a property for public use for charity purposes. Sultans, family members of the sultans, members of the ruling class, and wealthy community leaders are the actors who established pious foundations. Privately owned *vakıfs* were directed by a board, controlled by *kadı* (judges who solved cases per the sharia rules), and inspected by the investors under *kadı*. Especially after the thirteenth century, *vakıf* institutions were the primary actors of architectural and urban development. Also after the conquest of Constantinople, *vakıf* complexes (*imaret*), both triggered urban sprawl (new districts would emerge around the socio-religious complexes) and gave the city its Islamic character. Built as imperial feats or as enterprises of lower-ranking patrons, imarets constituted the cores of residential settlements. Neighborhoods grew around them and were named after them. They not only served as indispensable public institutions and estimable monuments but also as signs of permanence amidst ephemeral gardens and precarious wooden mansions. Cf. Mehmet Bayartan, "Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Vakıflar ve Vakıf Sisteminin Şehre Kattığı Değerler", *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları*, X, 1 (2008), 157-175. Ömür Bakırer, "Vakfiyelerde Binaların Tamirâtı ile İlgili Şartlar ve Bunlara Uyulması", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, X, (2006), 113-126. Nur Altınyıldız, "The Architectural Heritage", p.282.

In the eighteenth century, the *vakıf* structure started to deteriorate, and in 1836, the Imperial Ministry of Pious Foundations (*Nezaret-i Evkaf-ı Hümayun*) was established for the central management of these pious foundations. In the nineteenth century, following the *Tanzimat* reforms, an urban planning system had already emerged which surpassed the role of *vakıfs* in urban activities. Such ineffectiveness necessitated the reorganization of the Ministry after the above-mentioned Young Turk Revolution in 1908¹⁹⁶. In this restructuring process, the Ministry of Pious Foundations/ Endowments was also reorganized and a sub-committee was formed to oversee the restoration works of the *vakıf* properties in 1909. The Scientific Committee for the Construction and Repairs (İTHF) (*İnşaat ve Tamirat Heyet-i Fenniyesi*) was a key institution in these restoration works. Kemalettin Bey was appointed head of this sub-committee and he was the key actor in the Ministry of Endowments.

When it was restructured in 1908, İTHF was formulated as a public bureau for the restoration of the *vakıf* properties. Kemalettin Bey was successful in convincing the minister that İTHF was capable of taking responsibility for the design and construction of new properties as well.

Kemalettin Bey was one of the actors who reacted against the urbanization projects of Cemil Pasha, the mayor of the time. Cemil Pasha (Topuzlu) had started an urban transformation project with the intention of modernizing İstanbul. He had already completed his medical education in France. When he was governing İstanbul, he sent expert teams to European cities to discover solutions for urban problems and to study the urban landscape of the European cities. Cemil Pasha wanted modernize İstanbul in a way which would make it resemble European cities¹⁹⁷. For Kemelettin Bey, these efforts of modernization damaged the historic character of İstanbul. In 1913, for the journal *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Land), Kemalettin Bey wrote:

...Poor İstanbul! You, the most gorgeous city of Islam... The most precious and important piece of the world...! They will destroy your sacred unity cutting your centuries-old trees, breaking the bones of the dead ones, and burying your remains under the roads that are plenty and

¹⁹⁶ Nur Altınıldız, "The Architectural Heritage", p.284.

¹⁹⁷ Birge Yıldırım Okta, "Urban iln İstanbul during the Term of Mayor Cemil Topuzlu (1)", *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, 34 (1), 2017, 1-19.

ugly, the roads that are long and dark. They will do it only so electrical engineers can construct the tram railroads cheaply and easily¹⁹⁸.

This heavily dramatic tone of Kemalettin Bey continued with his insistence that real Turks should appreciate the value of the Ottoman past. His main argument was that a true Muslim Turk should consider the works of the Ottoman past more valuable than new modern houses. Only in this way would İstanbul be developed in accordance with its precious beauty. “And those who worked for this purpose could get their tomb stones carved ‘*Pray [Fatıha] for the soul of this person who worked for the protection of the monuments of Turkish and Islamic civilization*’”¹⁹⁹.

As can be understood from these dramatic words, Kemalettin Bey was already under the influence of the nationalist ideas that developed and spread during the second constitutional era. He declared that the Turkish monuments had long been being neglected because of European influences. His teachings in the Academy of Fine Arts had a strong focus on Ottoman and Seljuk works of art. He not only continuously published about his ideas on the neglect of old monuments from the Ottoman and Seljuk periods, but he also promoted the architectural and artistic features of the significant works of this period²⁰⁰.

The Ministry of Endowments, where Kemalettin Bey worked as the head of the sub-committee İTHF, was responsible for the construction of new buildings as well and Kemalettin Bey, as mentioned above., was the architect of many of these buildings. These new buildings were also a source of income for the Ministry of Endowments. In accordance with the suggestions of Kemalettin Bey, the staff of İTHF expanded and functioned as a school that promoted the Turkish nationalist and Muslim religious worldview. In this school, a group of architects, engineers, and masons were educated. In a way, İTHF was the key actor of the First National Architecture Movement²⁰¹. Kemalettin Bey reached the peak of his professional career in 1911; soon after, it was disrupted by the Balkan Wars in 1912. This war was the first blow of a decade of wars which would eventually lead to the collapse

¹⁹⁸ İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları* [Writings of Architect Kemalettin], Şevki Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara, 1997: 114.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 115.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Yıldırım Yavuz, “Mimar Kemalettin Bey (1870-1927)”, *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture* 7, n.1 (1981), 53-76.

of the Ottoman Empire. Most of the projects of Kemalettin Bey remained unimplemented due to wars in this period²⁰². Kemalettin Bey undertook the restoration works of many significant *külliyes* (religious complexes) such as Sultan Ahmet Mosque, Fatih Mosque, Hagia Sophia (restoration of Hagia Sophia continued in the republican era as well). In addition, he restored many smaller *vakıf* properties²⁰³. Even though Kemalettin Bey and the architecture of his era is well-studied, there is very limited information on his restoration works.

One of the significant features of this late-Ottoman era is that the restorers and the constructors were the same actors. They both constructed new buildings in an Ottoman revivalist style, and restored Ottoman monuments at the same time. The interest in the Ottoman past, on the other hand, was a political development that emerged along with the post-Revolution transformation. Ironically, the same actors both reacted against the urbanization projects in İstanbul and constructed the buildings that were a part of the same urbanization project. For instance, *İstanbul Şehri Muhipleri Cemiyeti* was able to organize a protest movement and stop the construction of the Vakıf Inn (*Vakıf Hanı*) which was a project of Kemalettin Bey. Kemalettin Bey was not a member of the *İstanbul Şehri Muhipleri Cemiyeti*, which was a community mainly dominated by intellectual architects/restorers and the wives of ambassadors²⁰⁴. Kemalettin Bey, as a conservative Muslim and proud nationalist Turkish man, would hardly have felt comfortable among this community. Even though he and the society both worked for the preservation of buildings, they were at complete opposite ends of the spectrum.

This period of Ottoman Empire history is particularly interesting in terms of the definitions of cultural heritage. The archaeological activities of the Ottoman elites were criticized and they were accused of ignoring Turkish monuments in favor of non-Muslim artifacts. In the *Dergâh* journal, in an article called ‘Development of Istanbul and the Protection of Old Monuments’, the author wrote:

A vulgarity (tastelessness) of Europe-pretentiousness entered our country during *Tanzimat* and under Sultan Abdülaziz, it grew so widely

²⁰² Ibid., p.64.

²⁰³ Ibid., p.62.

²⁰⁴ Stefanos Yerasimos, “Tanzimattan”, p.49.

that this Frank-import seemed fundamental to us. Even in the restoration works we see these inventions, we see this evil. To make the public know and like their own nation, and to gain the respect of other nations, we need to contemplate traditions in restoration works.

The article continued with fake claim that was widely considered as true news back then. According to this fake news, Baron Hausmann had been invited to undertake the planning of İstanbul and he wanted to demolish many monuments, including the Hagia Sophia Mosque. This urban legend was reiterated in other written sources as well. In fact, Hausmann had visited İstanbul in 1873 for a meeting with the banker Pereire Brothers, however, he did not undertake any construction projects²⁰⁵.

In terms of preservation of architectural heritage, the restructured Ministry of Endowments and its 1909 sub-committee were the fundamental Ottoman institutions that continued to operate in the Republican period. With the start of the war, it became impossible to sustain the bureaucratic structure necessary to manage the restoration works and a committee was formed to generate a system of historical preservation. In the last decades of the Empire, the establishment of the Permanent Committee of Old Monuments (*AAED - Asar-ı Atika Encümen-i Daimisi*) in 1917 was the last attempt at the preservation of historic monuments²⁰⁶. This committee can be considered as the predecessor of the High Council for Real Estate and Monuments (*Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu –GEEAYK*) which will be discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

The Ottoman legislative framework did not include any articles about immovable heritage. Only the last legal change had some articles, but these articles did not regulate the protection of old buildings but rather generate a system on how to demolish them when they were a source of danger to the environment. AAED had to decide which buildings should be demolished; therefore, in a sense, AAED functioned as a public body that accepted from the beginning that the loss of built heritage was inevitable in İstanbul²⁰⁷.

The members of AAED included Kemalettin Bey (whose service was brief due to his death in 1927), Halil Edhem (Eldem), Celâl Esad (Arseven) and Doctor

²⁰⁵ Stefanos Yerasimos, "Tanzimattan", p.50.

²⁰⁶ Emre Madran. "Cumhuriyetin", pp. 61-62.

²⁰⁷ Nur Altinyıldız, "The Architectural Heritage", p.286.

Nazım, a member of the ruling single party. AAED was ratified by the Republic government in 1924²⁰⁸ and some of its founding members continued their service.

The authority of AAED was limited to İstanbul and both the individuals and the public bodies were obliged to obtain AAED approval for the repair, removal, or demolition of any old structure. The members had to be experts in history, historic artifacts, fine arts, and architecture²⁰⁹.

In the political atmosphere of the second constitutional era, there was an interest in Islamic heritage and this interest was reflected in the restoration and preservation of many Ottoman monuments. However, as explained above, this era just before the First World War was politically chaotic. Even though there was an attempt to restore the Ottoman monuments, resources were limited. Only a small number of buildings were restored. As will be explained further in chapter 2, when the Turkish Republic was formed after the Turkish Independence War, the Ottoman monuments and the Ottoman national identity, once more, became forgotten in favor of modernization. Strangely, archaeology and archaeological artefacts again became vitally important in constructing the Turkish national image in the Republican era.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Ümit Fırat Açıkgöz, (2014). "On the Uses and Meanings of Architectural Preservation in Early Republican İstanbul On the Uses and Meanings of Architectural Preservation in Early Republican İstanbul (1923-1950)", *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 1, 1-2 (2014), 167-185. Açıkgöz's research shows that the activities of AEED could be considered mainly as a struggle against the urbanization projects of early Republican İstanbul.

²⁰⁹ Emre Madran. "Cumhuriyetin", pp. 64.

Chapter 2

Renewal of the Past: Cultural Heritage in the Service of the Modern State

On the other hand, the sadness of this collapsed empire and its dead culture was everywhere. In my opinion, the efforts of westernization, rather than a desire for modernization, were a rush to get rid of the remains of the Ottoman Empire that were embodied with sadness and grief...²¹⁰

David Harvey²¹¹ suggests that cultural heritage is a product of contemporary political mechanisms. These mechanisms of power generate ‘cultural heritage’ which becomes a tool for the present as much as it is the reminder of the past. Thus, through cultural heritage it becomes possible for a society to tell its members what to remember and what to forget. This mechanism (forgetting and remembering through cultural heritage) is the defining essence of the early Republican era in Turkey.

The Turkish Republic, founded in 1923, was designed as a secular modern state run by a representative parliamentary system. Modern Turkey needed a model to identify itself; it needed an external eye for self-identification. It needed

²¹⁰ Orhan Pamuk, *İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir* [Istanbul: Memories and City], (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006).

²¹¹ David Harvey, “Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies”, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7, 4 (2001), 319-338.

an image for the new nation. Even though modern architecture was one of the main tools used to produce this image, to the external eye, the Ottoman past and its remnants were still a defining reference for the Turkish national identity. Therefore, the ruling class needed to generate a system to both alienate the Ottoman past and simultaneously create new historical references. Prehistoric civilizations were promoted as this historic reference that the new nation could identify itself with. This was a formulated thesis and during the formative years of the Turkish Republic, archaeology was the primary tool to validate and scientifically prove this thesis.

As seen in the chapter 1, during the westernization period of the nineteenth century, archaeology was once again the primary source for the production of the image of Ottoman national identity. Ottoman westernization was interrupted by the 1908 Young Turk Revolution and remained limited after the revolution. In this period, the question of national identity was associated with the golden ages of the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, the condition of Ottoman monuments grabbed the attention of Ottoman elites, and the preservation of these monuments became an important issue. However, due to the harsh conditions produced by successive wars, restoration of monuments was not possible. In the 1930s, the condition of Ottoman monuments was an issue that the Turkish state addressed once more, but this time it was managed more carefully. However, the interest in Ottoman monuments in the 1910s and in the 1930s had very different political motivations. In the 1910s, the preservation of Ottoman heritage was a reaction to the excessive archaeological activities of the Ottoman westernization period. In other words, the advocates of nationalist and Islamist ideology gained power and they superseded the authority of the previous power holders who tried to create a Europeanized Ottoman Empire. In the 1930s, on the contrary, the westernization and secularization of the modern Turkish Republic were still on the agenda while the Islamic monuments were being restored. As will be discussed later, preservation of these monuments was not only a matter of pleasing the Muslim community of the new secular state (who were already skeptical of a secular state); but it was also a way of controlling Ottoman memories in a structured system. This was a project carefully designed by the Turkish Republic for the Turkish nation.

The Turkish Republic was founded in 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938), who started the Turkish Independence War (1918-1922) after the loss of

the First World War (1914-1918) as an ally of Germany. The parliament, which was already established in 1922, rapidly accepted widespread reforms under the presidency of Atatürk. The Sultanate had already been abolished in 1922; in 1924 the caliphate was also abolished and the educational system was renewed to replace the Islamic education system. In 1925, religious lodges (*tekke*), shrines (*türbe*), and spaces of fraternities (*zaviye*) were abolished; the alphabet was changed from Arabic to Latin in 1928. Another important aspect was the improvement in the area of women's rights²¹². In 1934, Turkey became one of the first countries in Europe in which women could vote and become parliamentary candidates. All these reforms were a part of a modernist project to create a secular modern nation-state. The change of capital from İstanbul to Ankara in 1923 was a crucial step in this transformation.

The transition from an Islamic monarchy to a secular republic was not a consensual change for war-torn Turkish society. In fact, even Atatürk's comrades reacted against some of the republican reforms, in particular the abolishment of the caliphate. The caliph was a guarantor who played an important role counterbalancing the power of Atatürk. These opposition leaders, who fought in the Turkish Independence War, soon established the first opposition party of the parliament, the Progressive Republican Party (*Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*). This party was shut down after the Kurdish rebellion in 1925, which is also known as the Sheikh Said rebellion. Atatürk's 36-hour long speech from 15 to 20 October 1927, *Nutuk*, was also presented to the parliament in the aftermath of these events, addressing the need to eliminate any conflicting power structures²¹³.

²¹² After a decade of devastating wars, the female population was even more vital in the transformation of society since the males died in the wars. However, other than this practical reason, women's liberation was a key aspect of the cultural transformation of the new society. The educated women could play a vital role both in the family and in society. It should be also remembered that the women's movement was already an active force during the Young Turk years. Even the actors of the post-Revolution era had acknowledged that the 'women must be liberated from the shackles of tradition', however, these actors did not have enough power to realize strong reforms. For the educated women, on the other hand, this revolution had turned out to be a festival for men. For an account of the women's role in the early Republican decades and the reaction to that changing role, cf. the fifth chapter of Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (New York: Routledge: 1993).

²¹³ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A modern history*, New York, I.B. Tauris, 2004. The tenth chapter of Zürcher's work, "The Emergence of the One-Party State, 1923–27" is about the autocratic governance of Turkey under the single party parliament.

The second party, Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası, was formed within the parliament in 1930 on the specific orders of Atatürk to allow opposition to be represented in the parliament. This party became popular among those who felt repressed by the republican power. The new party received sympathy from large sections of society. Due to the sudden increase in the number of its supporters, the founder of the party himself, Fethi Bey, shut down the party in August, 1930, almost three months after its foundation. The same day Fethi Bey shut down his own party, Atatürk started his tour of Anatolia on which he was able to investigate the political climate first hand. During his tour, one of the biggest protests of the republican era was held in Menemen, a small town near İzmir. A pro-sharia and pro-caliphate rebel group started these protests. In the following days, the group became a larger community who wanted the restoration of sharia and the caliphate. The protests led to the deaths of two guards and one soldier in Menemen²¹⁴.

Given this context, one can easily conclude that the young Republic was eager to forget the Islamic Ottoman past. Therefore, it was a struggle to manage the material evidences that the Empire had left behind. This heritage had to be managed without compromising the goal of creating a modern state. Therefore, in this era of intense reforms, historical preservation was not the most urgent issue, but remained an important one. The focus of the new republic was on transforming society, establishing and sustaining the new state structure, forming the new bodies of the new state, constructing new cities with new infrastructure, and erecting new public buildings. Therefore, even though one may question the selection of Ankara as the new capital in 1923, to a certain extent, it helped the Republic overcome the problems related to its Ottoman heritage.

Benedict Anderson²¹⁵ suggests that the nation “is an imagined political community” that first began to be ‘imagined’ in the sixteenth century, and then

²¹⁴ Ibid, 179. This event, the ‘Menemen incident’ still relates to the discussions on secularism in Turkey.

²¹⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (Verso Books, London, 1983). Anderson suggests that especially after the sixteenth century, the widespread use of printed media fuelled the formation of new ideas that gradually challenged the power of religion. Moreover, the print media, accompanied with a then-emerging system of production (capitalism), created also a sense of unity among readers; ‘a nation’. Anderson’s seminal work questions how this product (nation) could become something so powerful

took form with the French Revolution. In that sense, the ‘nation’ is a product that was produced almost two centuries ago. This chapter will analyze how the holders of power during the early Republic imagined the Turkish nation, and how they exploited cultural heritage throughout the early decades of the Republic.

The chapter will unfold in three sections. First, it will focus on how Turkish history was re-written and how archaeology produced the ‘cultural heritage’ of a re-written history (since the ties with the Ottoman past were broken, another tie with another past needed to be established). In the second section, it will focus on the restoration efforts to preserve monuments and the public bodies that managed these restoration works. In other words, the second section will discuss how the secular Republic managed the Islamic past. Finally, in the third section, it will focus on two capitals; new capital Ankara and old capital İstanbul. It will discuss the conflict between the modern secular nation and the Islamic past through the urban planning activities.

2.1. Rewriting the History of the Turkish Nation with Archaeology

In the 1930s, a new Turkish identity was being formulated. Archaeology was the main scientific tool to validate this formulation for the global audience. This section of the second chapter will discuss the use of archaeology as a tool “to write” the history of the Turkish nation.

It is noteworthy that the new nation embraced ‘*Türk*’ as the national identity. This word had pejorative connotations during the Ottoman era and only a small Western-educated community identified themselves as Turks²¹⁶. In the nineteenth century, the ideology of *Turkism* was formulated by some eminent intellectuals (such as İsmail Gasparinski (1851–1914), Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935) and Ahmet Ağayev (1869–1939)) who were influenced by pan-Slavic ideology²¹⁷. The

(that the individuals are willing to sacrifice themselves for the nation) despite the fact that it is a very new concept.

²¹⁶ Cf. Mehmet Özdoğan, “Ideology and archaeology in Turkey”. In L. Meskell, ed., *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, Routledge, New York, 1998, pp. 111-123: 116.

²¹⁷ Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*, Oneworld Publication, Oxford, 2003, 44. Ahmad argues that for the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Türk* identity

Republican ruling elite of the new state did not only carry on the West-oriented reformism of the late Ottoman era but they also continued ideologically formulating a nation oriented towards westernness. Even during the Ottoman era, nationalization efforts caused a dilemma for elites because they both wanted to implement the reforms for modernization of their country but also feared that they would lose the authentic features of their national culture. In fact, this dilemma was a common feature of what Akman calls ‘modernist nationalism’, which is experienced in non-colonized third world countries²¹⁸. This concern with finding a balance between two selves, the westernized-self and the authentic self, can be considered the repeating theme of Turkish modernism, and is best evinced in the works of Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924)²¹⁹. Ziya Gökalp formulated a definition of ‘nation’ which merged the eighteenth century’s Enlightenment rationalism with the nineteenth century’s romanticism. In other words, he saw the future of the Turkish nation in the marriage of ‘culture’ and ‘civilization’.

Kadioğlu²²⁰ stresses there were three different social tendencies in the 1920s; the first was to restore an Islamic sharia-based society, the second was embraced by supporters of Westernization, and the third one was the pan-Turkic ideology’s which sought to achieve a pre-Islamic Turkic unity. Gökalp, in a way, struggled to merge these diverse tendencies. As discussed in chapter 1.3., the architectural style which combined elements of the Ottoman architecture (culture) with advanced construction technology (civilization) reflects Gökalp’s ideas.

A differentiation between culture and civilization had already developed in Europe as well. On the one hand, there was French liberalism’s rationalism, universalism, and positivism; on the other hand, there was the German reaction

was not a nationalist Pan-Turkic notion but rather, an inclusive term: that anyone who lives in Turkey and considers himself/herself so, can be considered *Türk*. Ibid, 89.

²¹⁸ Ayhan Akman, “Modernist Nationalism: Statism and National Identity in Turkey”, *Nationalities Papers*, 32 (1), 2004, 23-51, pp. 30-31. In this work, Akman argues that the Turkish form of nationalism is different from civic and ethnic nationalism, which are problematic dual categories formulated by Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*. Penguin Books, London, 1991. According to Akman, the Turkish case falls under a third category, ‘modernist nationalism’, which is a form of nationalism that non-colonized third world countries experience through modernization practices.

²¹⁹ Ayşe Kadioğlu, “The paradox of Turkish nationalism and the construction of official identity”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32 (2), 1996, 177-193, p.183.

²²⁰ Ibid.

with romanticism, particularism, and idealism. These two poles had dominated Western discourse for almost two centuries²²¹. In the 1930s' Turkey, 'culture' was regarded as an integral element to 'civilization'; civilization would come with its own culture. Turkey had to reach the level of contemporary civilizations (*muasır medeniyetler*), therefore had to embrace contemporary culture. This definition, *muasır medeniyetler*, was a theme repeated multiple times by various intellectuals as well as by the founder of the republic, Atatürk²²².

Archaeology was the primary tool employed to reformulate the history of the Turkish nation. As the West was the reference for the *muasır medeniyet*, it is not surprising that archaeology was the discipline used to justify this new history, because archaeology has emerged (or developed from the Renaissance-born interest in antiquities) as a scientific discipline to satisfy modernity's need to rationally understand mankind's roots²²³. Therefore, archaeology was fundamental in making the history thesis scientifically acceptable. In addition, the political use of archaeology was already well-known in Europe. Archaeology had already been exploited to reinforce nationalist ideas. In fact, the relationship between nationalism and archaeology has existed ever since the emergence of archaeology as a discipline. However, this relationship becomes more obvious in the times of change in which old regimes are replaced by new states²²⁴. For the

²²¹ Bruce Trigger, "Romanticism, nationalism, and archaeology", in Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett, ed., *Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, 263-279.

²²² Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism*, pp.106-109. It should be noted that also in other countries, new nation states were being formed from the ruins of collapsed empires and these new nation states were also recognizing the West as their model. For instance, during the same period in Iran, Reza Shah was also undertaking a project of modernization and secularization in a lower "degree of administrative and organizational single-mindedness" compared to the reforms of Atatürk. Roger Owen, *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*, Routledge, London, 1992.p. 22. Also, cf. Touraj Atabaki and Erik J. Zürcher, "Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah", New York, I.B. Tauris, 2004.

²²³ Julian Thomas, *Archaeology and Modernity*, Routledge, London, 2004.

²²⁴ Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett, ed., *Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995. This edited publication by Kohl and Fawcett provides geographically diverse case studies which explore the relationship between nationalism (as a political and ideological concept) and archaeology. They suggest that for a long time, the relationship between archaeology and nationalism did not appeal to scholars as a field of study because it was so natural and obvious that scholars thought that nationalism was in the nature of archaeology.

new Turkish Republic, archaeology also functioned as a medium to validate the *Turkish History Thesis*.

The Turkish History Thesis emerged in 1930-31. Following the instructions of Atatürk, a committee was formed to investigate the history of the Turkish nation, which Atatürk believed dated to the prehistoric civilizations. The Turkish Hearths' Committee for the Study of Turkish History (*Türk Ocakları Türk Tarihi Tetkik Heyeti*) was founded in 1930 following Atatürk's orders and the very same year, the committee had their first meeting in the Ankara Turkish Hearth Building²²⁵. The primary goal of the committee was to undertake the most crucial task in the Turkish Republic's quest to gain distance from the Ottoman Empire, and to rewrite the history of the modern nation in relation to a more distant past (Figure 30).



Figure 30: Ankara Turkish Hearths Building (on the right) and the Ethnography Museum being constructed (on the left) in 1926. Both buildings were designed by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu in the style of the First National Architecture. *Koç University VEKAM Archive, ID No: 2181*.

²²⁵ It is noteworthy that in the 1930s, as the Republican ruling class reinforced its power, cubist architecture replaced Ottoman revivalist architecture. The Ankara Turkish Hearth Building was constructed in the Ottoman revivalist style by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu in 1926. At the beginning of the 1930s, not only this architectural style, but also the Turkish Hearths organizations were replaced with their modern counterparts, People's Houses (*Halkevleri*). Moreover, the Turkish Hearths Committees was an institution inherited by the second constitutional era as was the Ottoman revivalist style. This is emblematic of the rising power of the republican ruling class and the abandonment of late Ottoman era ideology in the 1930s. For the activities of the Turkish Hearths Committees, cf. Füsün Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları 1912-1931*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1997.

In its first meeting, the committee was given the duty of writing the history of the Turkish nation, despite the protestations of some members that such a project should not be rushed. However, the very same year, the committee produced its major work: *Main Outlines of Turkish History (Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları)*²²⁶.

This 606-page single-volume book was published in a print run of 100 copies by the State Print House (*Devlet Matbaası*). The book had eleven sections. The first two sections were introductions. The other nine sections were organized in a geographical order. The history of Turks in China, India, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, the Aegean region, the Italian Mediterranean region, Iran, and the Middle East were narrated in these nine chapters. The bibliography of the book solely concentrated on European studies (mostly French); among 125 sources there was not a single Ottoman reference. Moreover, Ottoman history was given only 50 pages. The design of the book was similar to the other books published by the State Print House in the 1930s and the 1940s; the text was followed by photographs of selected monuments in Turkey. These photographs did not refer to any specific information in the preceding text, nor were they organized to follow a spatial or temporal order. The images in this book (and also in other state-published books) were selected photographs of the important monuments and historic sites in Turkey. In a way, these images functioned to display the selected sections of the history narrated in the written part. However, in the *General Themes of Turkish History*, Ottoman history was completely excluded from the photography section. In the preface of the book, the aim of the book was manifested very clearly:

The role of the Turkish nation in history is deliberately or unconsciously undermined in the history books in our country and in the French sources that are based on those history books. This has been damaging for Turks' self-realization and self-development. The main goal of this publication is the correction of these mistakes which damage our nation, which reclaimed its globally recognized position and which lives with this consciousness now. At the same time, this is the first step in writing a national history for the Turkish nation whose soul now bears a sense of unity and self-respect following recent developments. With this first step, we want to explore the path leading to the depths of the creative skills of our nation, to reveal the mystery of the Turkish genius and character, to show the power and

²²⁶ Afet Hanım, et. al, *Türk Tarihinin Genel Hatları*, İstanbul, Devlet Matbaası, 1930.

uniqueness of Turks to themselves, and to demonstrate that our national development is linked to deep racial roots: we do not claim that we are writing the grand national history that we are in need of, however we address a direction and a destination for those who will study this subject in the future²²⁷.

Even though the publication was designed as a draft and guide for future studies, the book was prepared very fast and carelessly. In some chapters, the author was not an expert in his field and even the major reference sources were not checked. Atatürk himself had also read and disliked the book; it became obvious that writing the history of the Turkish nation would require more investigation. The committee was reorganized to study the thesis further and it was decided that each section would be written by its expert, and then would be reviewed by other members. Atatürk himself also attended the meetings and reviewed the sections²²⁸.

In 1931, the committee was reorganized as the Society for the Study of Turkish History (*Türk Tarihini Tetkik Cemiyeti* – TTTC). Atatürk dictated a program for TTTC. A few months later, the Turkish Hearths became inactive (after its seventh convention) whereas the sub-committee continued its mission (from here onwards, TTTC refers to this sub-committee). TTTC would eventually become the Turkish History Association - TTK (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) in 1935²²⁹.

The major duty of TTTC was to study Turkish history. The committee referred to the failed publication, and revised and republished it as Introduction to the General Themes of Turkish History (*Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları-Methal Kısmı*)²³⁰, which claimed that the motherland of Turks is Central Asia, and suggested that Turks diffused throughout China, India, the Middle-East, Egypt, North Africa, the Aegean coast, and Europe from this motherland, searching for a better climate after a devastating drought. The earliest footprints of Turks in Anatolia were also dated. It was suggested that the Sumerians and Hittites were

²²⁷ Ibid., p.1.

²²⁸ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Türk Tarihi Yazılırken Atatürk'ün Alaka ve Görüşlerine Dair Hatıralar", *Bellekten*, 3 (10), 1939, 349-353.

²²⁹ Afet İnan, *Gazi M. Kemal Atatürk ve Türk Tarih Kurumu*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basım Evi, 1953.

²³⁰ Afet [İnan], et. al, *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları - Methal Kısmı*, İstanbul, Devlet Matbaası, 1931.

the ancestors of the Turkish nation²³¹. Even though the thesis encompassed all the periods in Anatolia, as Zeynep Kezer suggested, there were some cultures that were deliberately excluded from the history; these were Anatolian Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, and Kurds. As the Turkish race was linked to the Neolithic period, these links helped the republic create a national identity as the ancestors of European nations²³².

As the Turkish History Thesis was being formulated, history course books for primary and secondary education were also being prepared. In July 1931, in a meeting with TTTC, Atatürk ordered that the draft course book should be improved and prepared for publication before the new school term. He also arranged a special room in the Dolmabahçe Palace for the committee to prepare the four-volume history course book (Figure 31). Even when Atatürk was not in the office, the drafts would be sent to him for review. The Islamic history part of the course book was the section to which Atatürk paid the most attention and provided the most feedback. The last volume was solely on Republican history²³³. As such, the main purpose was to create a past for the present, thus the present could have a solid foundation.



Figure 31: TTTC meeting with Atatürk (on the middle) on July 19, 1931 in the Turkish Hearth Building in Ankara.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Cf. Zeynep Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey: state, space, and ideology in the early republic*, (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 8.

²³³ Uluğ İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973, 8-9.

Even though the thesis was formulated, it became clear that the thesis needed scientific data. Within this context, the First Turkish History Congress was organized in 1932²³⁴. The History Thesis was backed up with a language theory, which suggested that Turkish language was the root of contemporary Indo-European languages. TTTC formed another committee for this mission; the Society for the Study of the Turkish Language (*Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti*) was formulated to frame the theoretical background of this suggestion²³⁵.

Afet [İnan] was one of the key actors in the formulation of both TTTC and that of the thesis. She was adopted by Atatürk, and encouraged by him to study and research the history of the Turkish nation. She obtained her PhD degree at the Geneva University in 1939, under the supervision of Eugene Pittard. She was the head of TTTC during the congress.

According to Vaugn Findley, the Turkish Republic's history thesis had a triple direction; the first direction is the Anatolian heritage covering the prehistoric ages, the second is the Islamic heritage dating back to seventh century Arabia, and the third is the Turco-Mongol heritage²³⁶. Moreover, the thesis was also beneficial in balancing internal dynamics. The late nineteenth century Westernization project had been an epic failure for the Ottoman Empire and intellectuals had become even more critical of Western culture. Therefore, a new historic reference was needed to unite the devastated population of this new state²³⁷. The First History Congress was a milestone for the international recognition of this new historical reference.

In the First History Congress, the members of TTTC presented their papers, all of which elaborated the history thesis. The opening speech was by Esat Bey, the Minister of Education. His speech provided a clear framework for the nine-day long congress's other speeches. He mainly argued that the Turkish people were ahead of other civilizations throughout history, as proved by archaeological,

²³⁴ Cf. Çiğdem, Atakuman, "Cradle or crucible: Anatolia and archaeology in the early years of the Turkish Republic (1923 – 1938)", *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 8(214), 2008, 214–235.

²³⁵ Soner Cagaptay, "Race, Assimilation and Kemalism: Turkish Nationalism and the Minorities in the 1930s", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40:3 (2007), 86-101.

²³⁶ Carter Vaugn Findley, *The Turks in World History*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2005.

²³⁷ Mehmet Özdoğan, *Türk Arkeolojisinin Sorunları ve Koruma Politikaları -I*, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2001.

anthropological, and ethnographic investigations. He suggested that Turks spread and disseminated civilization to the whole world. Among many other sources of evidence, the Turkish language was proposed as evidence for this suggestion. Esat Bey praised Atatürk's efforts to formulate and investigate this thesis, and his presentation was often interrupted by audience applause.

Ms. Afet (*Afet Hanım*; Afet İnan –after the Surname Law of 1934) was the first presenter after the opening speech. Ms. Afet's paper's title was "Before History and at the Dawn of History" (*Tarihten Evvel ve Tarih Fecrinde*)²³⁸. In her presentation, her main argument was that the civilizations in Europe were formed through the migration wave from Central Asia to both the east and the west. To prove her suggestions, she used skull measurements. According to these measurements, the Turkish race was not a *dolichocephalic* but *brachycephalic* race (these two types of cephalic index group are anthropologically generated by skull measurements techniques. There is also a third *mesaticephalic* group). This suggestion would mean that the Turkish nation is related to the Europeans, not to Mongoloid or Near Eastern societies. She also referred to various European experts who previously mentioned or highlighted that the European nations were formed through migrations from the Central Asia. Eugene Pittard was one of Afet Hanım's key references.

Afet Hanım suggested that civilization was born in Middle Asia and Europe has always fallen behind in the development of civilization. Her presentation was basically questioning the autochthone race of the Middle Asia. She said

When I talk about Middle Asia and the masses of people who settled, reproduced, and created a culture, I think of only one single race and I call that race *Türk*. I am sure that there have been many people who avoided this subject and there will be many who will consider this suggestion inappropriate; but for us, these are of secondary importance. The main problem for us is that our principles are confirmed by reason and science²³⁹.

This Enlightenment-influenced quotation from Afet Hanım reiterates that the main aim of the congress was to provide scientific material backup for the History Thesis. However, it is significant also in terms of the dichotomy between

²³⁸ Afet Hanımefendi, "Tarihten Evvel ve Tarih Fecrinde", in *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi Konferanslar Müzakere Zabıtları*, Ankara, TC Maarif Nezareti, 1932, 18-41.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

culture and civilization. As mentioned above, in the 1930s, it was accepted that civilization comes with a certain culture and that the modern culture was the one to which the Turkish Republic aspired. With the thesis, this aspiration was driven forward to the next stage. Modern Turkey was presenting itself as the owner and the originator of civilization, in other words, that of European culture. This claim was supported also with claims relating to the language:

The autochthone Middle Asian community, apart from the dialects that emerged through time, was speaking one single language in all its territories; even today, in the mainland, the same language is spoken. This language is not imported from outside in any periods by any exterior communities; on the contrary, this language has been exported to other world languages. This language has a name: Turkish language! Then what can we call the people who naturally own this language since their birth? Of course, they can be no one but *Turks*²⁴⁰.

Afet Hanım argued that the Hittites were the ancestors of Turks and were the first and autochthone settlers of current Turkey. Her presentation was often interrupted by audience applause. At the end of her speech, the applause was constant. As one of her closing remarks, Afet Hanım said “today’s Turkish children know and they will acknowledge that they are not a tribe with 400 tents; but they are a ten-thousand-year-old, pure, contemporary high-skilled nation formed from a high race”²⁴¹.

Dr. Reşat Galip, the general secretary of TTTC, also presented his paper entitled “A General Look at the Turkish Race and Civilization” (*Türk Irk ve Medeniyet Tarihine Umumi Bir Bakış*)²⁴². He listed the developments in research on human races throughout the nineteenth century and underlined that Turks were classified as a Mongoloid race in these studies. He rejected these studies, stressed that Turks were a *brachycephalic* race, and moreover, suggested that Turks were the ancestors of the Alpines. He argued that all archaeological materials on Alpines dated to a later period succeeding the interaction with Turks. He reiterated Afet Hanım’s argument that the Hittites were Turkish; “scientific

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 31.

²⁴¹ Ibid, 41.

²⁴² Dr. Reşat Galip, “Türk Irk ve Medeniyet Tarihine Umumi Bir Bakış”, in *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi Konferanslar Müzakere Zabıtları*, Ankara, TC Maarif Nezareti, 1932, 99-161.

studies revealed that the Hittites have common anthropological characteristic with the Turkish race”²⁴³.

Other presentations also focused on how Turkish expansion improved world civilizations. For instance, TTTC member Hasan Cemil Bey presented his paper “A General Look at the Origins of the Aegean Civilization” (*Ege Medeniyetinin Menşesine Umumi Bir Bakış*) which suggested that Aegean civilizations improved after the interaction with the Hittites. He also criticized the literature in which ancient Greece was appraised as if it simply emerged by itself without any interaction with or influence from other civilizations²⁴⁴. Another member, Professor Yusuf Ziya Bey, suggested the Egyptian belief and philosophy was originally Turkish. Moreover, he argued that the names of the Egyptian Pharaohs were of Turkish origin²⁴⁵. Atakuman suggests that this race-based philosophy is different from the other racial political systems of the given period (the 1930s), because it was born not to prove that the Turkish race is superior to other races, but as a reaction to the suggestion that *Turks* are a secondary Mongoloid race²⁴⁶. However, it should also be noted that this race-based thesis ignored diversity of the society and it operated a mechanism which excluded non-Turkish communities such as Kurds, Rums (Anatolian Greeks), Armenians, Arabs, etc.

High school teachers were invited to this congress so they could learn and pass this information to their students. As mentioned above, the history course books were already being rewritten and now, teachers were also being educated on this renewed history. 196 teachers were invited by TTK²⁴⁷ (Figure 32). The education of the young nation on the new history thesis was an important goal for the nascent state. TTK’s library acquired new entries to achieve this goal. Not

²⁴³ Ibid., 131.

²⁴⁴ Hasan Cemil Bey, “Ege Medeniyetinin Menşesine Umumi Bir Bakış” in *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi Konferanslar Müzakere Zabıtları*, Ankara, TC Maarif Nezareti, 1932, 199-214.

²⁴⁵ Yusuf Ziya Bey, “Mısır Din ve İlahlarının Türklükle Alakası”, in *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi Konferanslar Müzakere Zabıtları*, Ankara, TC Maarif Nezareti, 1932, 261-269.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Çiğdem Atakuman, “Cradle or crucible”, 219. Even though Atakuman suggests that the Turkish approach differed from the racist tendencies of Germany or Italy, I argue that this suggestion ignores the global rise of nationalism in the 1930s. Moreover, the race-based project of nation-making was influential in the formation of the Turkish society to such an extent that today’s Turkish political problems (especially those related with the minorities) are still discussed as the 1930s-born issues.

²⁴⁷ *Uluğ İğdemir*, Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973), 11.

only were new books purchased, but also the collections of some existing libraries were transferred to TTK's library. In a few years, TTK's library acquired over 20000 new entries²⁴⁸.



Figure 32: Atatürk with the school teachers invited for the First History Congress. In *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, p.81.

Atatürk himself also attended all the presentations (Figure 33), took notes, and talked to the Turkish and foreign experts (Figure 34).

It is noteworthy that the USSR Academy of Science and Ministry of Culture sent telegrams congratulating the Turkish Republic for organizing this important Congress. This was the same era in which the Turkish Republic asked a Soviet team to prepare a video documentary. This documentary, *Ankara: The Heart of Turkey (Ankara:Türkiye'nin Kalbi)*, was prepared for the tenth anniversary of the Republic in 1933, and it was a propaganda movie that praised the Republic's achievement of the construction of a new capital.

²⁴⁸ Muzaffer Göker, "Türk Tarih Kurumunun İlimi ve İdari Faaliyeti", *Bellekten*, 2 (5/6), 1938, 13-17.



Figure 33: (right to left) Atatürk, Marshall Fevzi Çakmak, Minister of Health Dr. Refik [Saydam], Bolu deputy İsmail Hakkı [Umay], Minister of Interior Şükrü Kaya, Ministry of Education and President of the Congress Esat [Sagay], military assistant Celal [Üner], CHP General Secretary Recep [Peker], and President of the Parliament Kazım [Özalp] at the First History Congress. In *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*, p.6.



Figure 34: Atatürk with Thomas Whittemore who worked on the cleaning of Hagia Sophia's mosaics. In Uluğ İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin*.

In the First History Congress, most of the presentations investigated how the Turks diffused all over the world, dominating and improving the civilizations of the lands they migrated to. It is significant that the late Ottoman Empire had suffered from the consequences of European colonialism (as argued in the Chapter 1), and now, the Turkish Republic was not only trying to gain distance

from the Ottoman legacy but also claiming its own space within European history as a once-colonizing power.

Following the Congress, TTTC was renamed as the Turkish History Association (*Türk Tarih Kurumu* - TTK) in 1935 and was restructured as an institution that was responsible for undertaking archaeological missions in various parts of Turkey. Not only TTK, but also foreign teams continued their excavations (which they had started during the Ottoman period) or started new ones. Atatürk's encouragement to foreign teams to carry out research in Turkey was well-received by the European and American community. Many universities and institutes such as the French Archaeological Institute in Turkey, the Oriental Institute of Chicago University, the German Archeological Institute, and the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton undertook archaeological research projects and subsequently museum collections expanded in many cities of Turkey²⁴⁹. These extensive archaeological researches did not only represent Turkey as a powerful country that contributed to the global production of archaeological knowledge, but also reinforced the claim that *Turks* owned Anatolia.

As TTK assigned experts for the excavation of the designated sites, it became obvious that more experts were needed in the field. In 1932, a group of students were sent abroad with government scholarships to be trained in archaeology. These students were sent to Europe, mainly to France, Germany and Hungary. In 1935, these students were called back by Atatürk to work at the excavations run by TTK²⁵⁰. In the aftermath of the First World War, professors escaping from escalating Nazi power also worked as chairs in the newly founded or reformed universities of Turkey. Özdoğan groups these European professors and the returning students as the second generation of archaeologists in Turkey (the first generation is the late-Ottoman era archaeologists and TTK experts). Özdoğan also suggests that the second generation set the highest teaching standards in archaeology²⁵¹.

²⁴⁹ Thomas Whittemore, "Archaeology during the republic in Turkey", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 47 (1943), 164-170.

²⁵⁰ Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, "Archaeology as a source of national pride in the early years of the Turkish republic", *Journal Of Field Archaeology* 31 (2006), 381–393: 384.

²⁵¹ Mehmet Özdoğan "Ideology and archaeology in Turkey". In L. Meskell, ed., *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (New York, Routledge, 1998), 111-123: 118.

Following the First History Congress, the archaeological sites were decided and mapped by TTK and forwarded to the Ministry of Education for the assignment of an expert to excavate each site. Halit Ziya Koşar excavated Ahlatlıbel in 1933 and found some artifacts from the Chalcolithic Age and the Hittite period. Remzi Oğuz Arık excavated Karalar, a Galatian site 16km from Ankara in 1933, and he also excavated Göllüday, a Post-Hittite Phrygian site in 1934. In 1937, Arık excavated both Ankara Castle and Çankarıkapı tumulus, also in Ankara. The same year, the students of the Ankara University History Faculty undertook an archaeological mission on the Hittite Hill on the Çubuksuyu Valley in Ankara and found prehistoric ceramic artifacts. In 1937, Pazarlı site around Alacahöyük and the *namazgah* district in İzmir were also excavated. Moreover, the director of the İstanbul Archaeology Museum, Aziz Ogan, was asked to investigate the Hippodrome on the historic peninsula in Istanbul. In addition, 500 sites (potential *tumuli* or *höyüks*) were designated for future excavations and work commenced at four of them. All these excavations suggested that there were a limited number of artifacts from the Paleolithic Age. Artefacts from the Hittite period, on the contrary, were abundant all over Anatolia²⁵². It should be underlined that archaeological activities did not produce cultural heritage but rather interpreted them aligned with state ideology.

The Alacahöyük excavation between 1935 and 1937 was the most significant accomplishment among the TTK-commissioned excavations. This site was a tumulus around Boğazköy, which is another significant site, being the capital of the Hittite civilization, Hattushas. Since the nineteenth century, many archaeologists had excavated Boğazköy. Alacahöyük, on the other hand, was an inhabited village with a population of 400. Throughout the nineteenth century, researchers considered this tumulus to be an extension of Boğazköy. However, by order of Atatürk, a modern village was constructed to relocate the inhabitants. The excavation of the site was possible only after this relocation²⁵³.

The tumulus was excavated to a depth of 14meters. Findings were grouped in four historical periods. The top layer covered the period from the Ottoman era

²⁵² Afet İnan, "Türk Tarih Kurumunun Arkeolojik Faaliyetleri", *Bellten*, 2 (5/6), 1938, 5-12.

²⁵³ Hamit Z. Koşay, "Türk Tarih Kurumu tarafından Alacahöyükte yaptırılan Hafriyatta elde edilen Neticeler", *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20-25 Eylül 1937, Kongrenin Çalışmaları ve Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, (Ankara, Kenan Matbaası, 1943), 21-32.

until the Hittite civilizations. The second layer was from the Hittite period and findings proved that the site was a political and religious center. The third layer was from the early-Hittite and proto-Hittite civilizations and it covered the Copper Age. The fourth layer provided the earliest artifacts excavated from Alacahöyük, which were dated to Chalcolithic Age, 4000 BCE. All these layers suggested that Alacahöyük was the biggest Hittite site yet discovered and that it was an important religious center²⁵⁴.

The results of the Alacahöyük excavation was published by TTK as a separate book²⁵⁵, unlike the results of other excavations which were generally disseminated in *Bellekten*²⁵⁶. These results were also disseminated in foreign journals²⁵⁷. As will be discussed further below, during the Second History Congress, Alacahöyük was at the center of discussions, since the artifacts bore similarities to archaeological findings excavated in other territories such as southern Russia or Central Asia. These similarities made it possible to generate anthropological links. Therefore, Alacahöyük was a strong reference for the Turkish History Thesis.

Another archaeological site that was important for the Turkish History Thesis was Troy. One of the thesis's main arguments was that ancient Greek civilizations developed after the migration wave from the Central Asia to the west. As will be discussed further below, there were reactions to this argument at the Second History Congress.

As TTK-managed excavations presented material evidence for the History Thesis, members of TTK were participating in international conferences in order to gain international recognition. When the *Congres International d'Anthropologie et d'Archeologie prehistoriques* took place in Bucharest between September 1-8, 1937, Afet İnan and Hasan Reşit Tangut participated and

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, Remiz Oğuz Arık, *Türk Tarih Kurumu tarafından yapılan Alaca Höyük hafriyatı. 1936'daki çalışmalara ve keşiflere ait ilk rapor* (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1937).

²⁵⁶ The name of the journal *Bellekten* was also generated by Atatürk to strengthen the Turkish Language Thesis, finding a correspondence for the Italian word, *bulletino*. 'Bellekten' was produced by Atatürk, formed from the Turkish word 'bel' which is the root of the words belge-document, bellek-memory, belli-obvious, belle-comprehend, bellet – make someone comprehend, bellekten-what makes one comprehend something. Cf. Uluğ İğdemir, "Atatürk ve Bellekten", *Bellekten*, 3 (10), 1938, 355-356.

²⁵⁷ Hamit Zübeyr Koşar, "Disques Solaires mis au jour aux Fouilles d'Alaca-Höyük", *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 37, 1937, 160 – 165.

presented their papers on TTK's activities (Figure 35). Afet İnan took some samples to be presented to the international experts. Earlier issues of *Bellekten* were also distributed to the congress participants. According to Afet Hanım, the committee members were impressed with the hard work that TTK had accomplished, and her presentation grabbed the attention of most of the experts. In her report to the Ministry of Education, she also noted that the foreign professors enthusiastically discussed the arguments presented in her paper. Unlike Afet Hanım's successful presentation, Hasan Reşit Tankut's presentation of the Language Theory was challenged, but still appreciated by the foreign experts. Afet Hanım concluded her report: "(Since it is international), the issues discussed at this congress about language and history will occupy all the scientific world. Again, with this congress, a new path is constructed to carry the new Turkish science into the heart of European science"²⁵⁸.



Figure 35: A view from the Congres International d'Anthropologie et d'Archeologie prehistoriques

If TTK had continued to work with the support of the most powerful figure in Turkey, the thesis could potentially have dominated European scientific anthropology circles as Afet Hanım suggested. However, Atatürk's death in November 1938 signaled an abrupt downturn in the investigation and promotion

²⁵⁸ Anonymous (1938), "Haberler", *Bellekten*, 2(5), 257-262. *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20-25 Eylül 1937, Kongrenin Çalışmaları ve Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, (Ankara, Kenan Matbaası, 1943), 769-774: 769.

of the Turkish History Thesis. Even before Atatürk's death, the Second History Congress had made it obvious that there were some concerns that the thesis had a speculative side. It should also be noted that the Turkish History Thesis had been influential not only in archaeology, but also in the formation of other institutional organizations. As stressed by Bilsel²⁵⁹, the preoccupation with the origins of the Turkish race led to the establishment of chairs in Sumerian and Hittite philology in the Faculty of Languages, History, and Geography at Ankara University. Ironically, the university did not even have a classical archaeology department back then. The glorification of the pre-Islamic history of Anatolia was symbolically represented in the names of two state-funded banks as well; SumerBank and HittiteBank (*Etibank*)²⁶⁰.

The Second History Congress was organized in İstanbul between September 20-25, 1937. On Atatürk's orders, Dolmabahçe Palace was reserved for the congress and a temporary exhibition was also prepared. The exhibition was open only for the duration of the congress and organized primarily for foreign visitors to promote the reforms of the new republic and its archaeological missions. The preparations began in June and two separate committees were formed to organize the exhibition and the congress. The participants were asked to submit their full papers before July and all papers were translated into Turkish. Two site visits were organized, to Troy and Alacahöyük. The participants were from Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, France, England, Greece, Romania, Hungary, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, the United States, Yugoslavia, and Italy²⁶¹.

As noted by Tanyeri-Erdemir, not only the change of venue from Ankara to İstanbul, but also the target audience are noteworthy. As the First History Congress primarily targeted an internal audience, the Second Congress was dominated by international participants. It was designed to show the young

²⁵⁹ Cf. S. M. Can Bilsel, "Our Anatolia: Organicism and the Making of Humanist Culture in Turkey", *Muqarnas*, XXIV, 2007, 223-242. In this essay, Bilsel questions how the next generation of Turkish intellectuals received the Turkish History Thesis in the 1950s and onwards. He argues that even though this community was disconnected with the racial tone of the thesis, they felt emotionally engaged with 'their Anatolia' which still was the birthplace of civilizations.

²⁶⁰ Hugh Seton-Watson *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nation and the Politics of Nationalism* (London, Methuen, 1977), 259.

²⁶¹ Muzaffer Göker, "İkinci Tarih Kongresi", *Bellekten*, 2 (5/6), (1938), 5-12.

republic's accomplishments in the last 14 years²⁶². This goal was manifested in the exhibition of the congress.

The exhibition greeted the visitors with a large-scale map on the ground, with an inscription surrounding the map, and Atatürk's bust hung on the wall (Figure 36). The map displayed the lands that Turks migrated to from Central Asia. The inscription was a quotation from Atatürk: "writing history is as important as making it. If the writers are not faithful to makers, then the unchanging truth becomes a source of surprise for mankind".

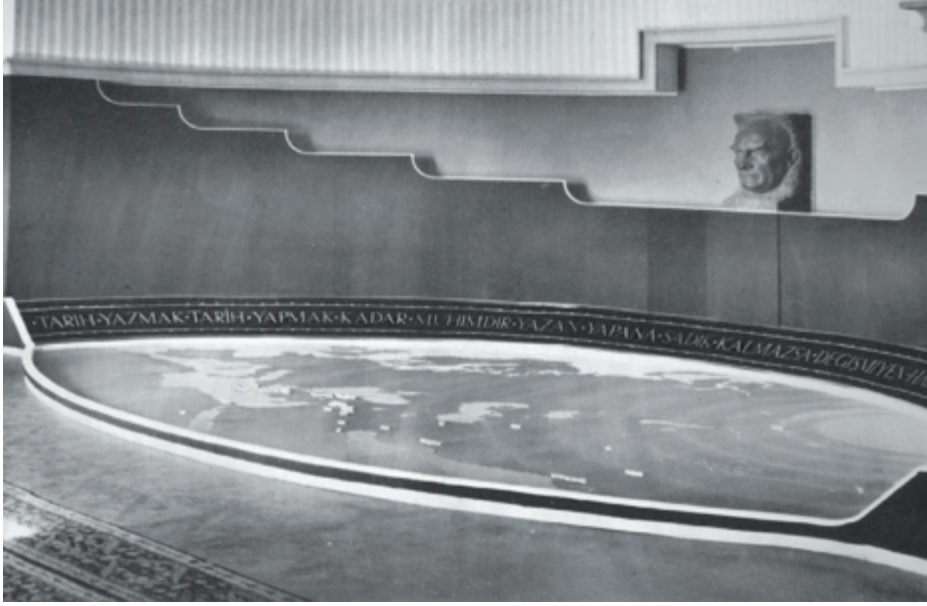


Figure 36: The entrance of the exhibition at Dolmabahçe Palace organized for the Second History Congress. In Uluğ İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973).

As reinforced by the map, the exhibition acknowledged the *Türk-ness* of Anatolia; it was curated with the archaeological findings displayed in a chronological order to represent all the civilizations that had settled and disappeared in Anatolia²⁶³ (Figure 37, Figure 38). However, the republican section was the largest part of the exhibition (Figure 39).

²⁶² Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, "Archaeology", 385.

²⁶³ Thomas Whitemore, "Archaeology", 164.



Figure 37: Selected artifacts from the third and fourth millennia BCE found in Anatolia, Syria, and Mesopotamia displayed at the exhibition. In Uluğ İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin*.



Figure 38: The Bronze Age and Assyrian section of the exhibition. The steel on the front was brought from the Louvre Museum. In Uluğ İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin*.



Figure 39: The republican history section of the exhibition. In Uluğ İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin*.

The opening speeches and the first presentations were about the activities of TTK in preceding years and its extensive archaeological missions. Not only the findings of the excavations, but also the methodology for the study of the archaeological materials, were presented in the papers of TTK members. This extremely careful methodology of TTK (in terms of studying the archaeological materials) was proudly displayed with the exhibition and the field trips as well.

There were 97 papers presented at the congress; 46 of these papers were by foreign participants. The papers included a wide range of periods, however, in contrast to the first congress, the context of most of the papers was Anatolia. The papers investigated the anthropological links between Turks and the ancient civilizations of Asia Minor. Yet, the topics were not limited to archaeology. The history of Anatolia through all historic periods was discussed, starting from the prehistoric ages to the middle ages and to the Ottoman era. Moreover, the topics of the papers included various aspects of Turkish culture such as Christianity in Turks, the legal status of Turkish women, the prophet and Turks, Turkish sports, etc²⁶⁴. Republican history was also covered, however, unlike the exhibition, this period was not the primary focus. Cemil Bilsel's paper, for instance, underlined

²⁶⁴ *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20–25 Eylül 1937, Kongrenin Çalışmaları ve Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, (Ankara, Kenan Matbaası, 1943).

the importance of the Lausanne Treaty and provided a historic background for this treaty²⁶⁵.

There was a significant difference between the first and the second congress. In the first congress, the main aim was to promote the history thesis which basically suggested that Turks diffused and civilized most of the globe. The archaeological data collected in the preceding years, on the other hand, was gathered only from Asia minor. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the thesis was contextually reduced to Anatolia rather than the whole world. One may suggest that it is natural that the context was limited to Anatolia since TTK's archaeological excavations covered only Anatolia. However, this reduced frame of the thesis triggers some questions, as stressed by Tanyeri-Erdemir: "Was it a response to changing international or national political currents? ... Or, was it the impressive results of the first Turkish excavations, and their ready acceptance by the international community, that changed the perception of Turkish field practitioners?"²⁶⁶. In fact, the ambitious claims of the first congress had already triggered some reaction, especially as it suggested that Western civilizations and especially Greek civilizations evolved as a result of the migration of Turks. There were arguments that Central Anatolian and Western cultures had very different characters²⁶⁷. These arguments were discussed in the presentations during the congress. As mentioned above, Alacahöyük and Troy were at the center of discussions. These two sites clearly provided evidence for the two main arguments of the history thesis. The former site demonstrated that Anatolia was Turkish since the Hittites, and the latter –allegedly- showed that Turks were influential in the development of ancient Greek civilizations.

The results of the Alacahöyük Excavations were presented by Hamit Z. Koşar. He first presented all the archaeological data he and his team had gathered. Judging by the tools and the figures carved on these tools, Koşar suggested that these findings belonged to horse-riding migrant communities. "Without a doubt", Koşar said, "the motherland of this first culture, according to the current researches, is Central Asia. In the later periods, this culture diffused to other

²⁶⁵ Cemil Bilsel, "Lozan Barış Andlaşması", *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20–25 Eylül 1937, Kongrenin Çalışmaları ve Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, (Ankara, Kenan Matbaası, 1943), 996-1002.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, "Archaeology", 389.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Çiğdem Atakuman, "Cradle or crucible", 227.

territories from China to Scandinavia and created an important stage in human development... From all aspects, the tumulus's history is related to Asian, and thus to Turkish culture. The Turkish race was active and operative in creating and disseminating human civilization not only in the historic ages, but also in the prehistoric ages. This is our main argument. ²⁶⁸. Pittard Eugene, who was the honorary chair of the congress, also supported the idea that European civilizations were formed through migration waves²⁶⁹.

During the conference, even though there were no discussion sessions, papers were presented responding to the arguments of the history thesis. For the most part, there was a consensus that the prehistoric ages in Anatolia were a significant period in human development. However, the claims that this heritage is Turkish was not consensually agreed. Moreover, some papers challenged the idea that Greek civilizations were transformed through interaction with this Turkish heritage. As Atakuman stresses, some researchers suggested that Aegean culture could possibly have been influenced by Anatolia in the third millennium BCE, but the real focus should be on the second millennium BCE when Aegean culture expanded over Anatolia²⁷⁰. For instance, the paper of Axel W. Persson, professor of Classical Archaeology at Uppsala University, was about the relationship between Asia Minor and Greece in prehistoric ages. He suggested that, despite the ongoing archaeological excavations, light still needed to be shed on the third millennium BCE, whereas the second millennium BCE was better-known as the period in which the Ionian invasions forced other Greek cultures to migrate and settle in Anatolia²⁷¹. Similarly, Spyridon Nikolaou Marinatos argued that even though the connections between Greece and Anatolia are obvious, the development of Crete was under Greek rule. He stated that both Crete and Greece

²⁶⁸ Hamit Z. Koşay, "Türk Tarih Kurumu", 32.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Eugene Pittard, "Neolitik devirde küçük Asya ile Avrupa arasında antropolojik münasebetler", *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20-25 Eylül 1937, Kongrenin Çalışmaları ve Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, (Ankara, Kenan Matbaası, 1943), 65-84.

²⁷⁰ Çiğdem Atakuman, "Cradle or crucible", 227.

²⁷¹ Cf. Azel, Persson, "Prehistoryada Yunanistanla küçük Asya arasındaki münasebetler", *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20-25 Eylül 1937, Kongrenin Çalışmaları ve Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, (Ankara, Kenan Matbaası, 1943), 224-228.

developed together with Anatolia through cultural interactions²⁷². Arif Müfit Mansel, the author of the Aegean section of *General Themes of Turkish History*, on the other hand, presented his paper about the history of the Achaean civilization. Münsel reiterated that Greek civilization developed in the third millennium BCE through interaction with the then-better-developed Anatolian culture²⁷³.

Troy, as mentioned above, was a significant site that could potentially provide a conclusion to these debates on Turkish influence on ancient Greek civilization. This site has occupied the attentions of the archaeological community since the nineteenth century, particularly after the ambitious excavations managed by Schliemann. Moreover, this site was elaborately described by Homer; however, his description in the *Iliad* did not match the archaeological findings. Prof. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, who had excavated Troy together with Schliemann, after mentioning the story of Troy and describing the archaeological findings, stressed that the current findings were not sufficient to answer to discussions on the origins Troians:

“There have been many discussions on the nationality of Troians. Some researchers suggested that they were Phrygian whereas others suggested they were Thracian or Aachen Greeks... Until now, there were not enough investigations. However, we can hope that the excavations by Americans and the careful study of the findings [ceramics] will solve the problem of the nationality of Troians and at the same time, it will shed light on the history of the region around the Castle of Troy”²⁷⁴.

The Americans that Döperfeld addressed had been excavating Troy since 1932. Even though these excavations revealed much data on the history of Troy, Dr. Carl M. Blegen from Cincinnati University presented only the Chalcolithic

²⁷² Spyridon Nikolaou Marinatos, “İkinci Binyılda Gird adası ve Gird - Anadolu Dünyası”, *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20–25 Eylül 1937, Kongrenin Çalışmaları ve Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, (Ankara, Kenan Matbaası, 1943), 157-170.

²⁷³ Cf. Arif Müfit Mansel, “Ege Tarihinde Akalar meselesi”, *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20–25 Eylül 1937, Kongrenin Çalışmaları ve Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, (Ankara, Kenan Matbaası, 1943), 181-211.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, “Turova Hafriyatı”, *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20–25 Eylül 1937, Kongrenin Çalışmaları ve Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, (Ankara, Kenan Matbaası, 1943), 271-280.

period. However, he did not provide any clear answer on the national origins of Troians.

“Our research revealed much new information on the earliest settlement on Troy, *Troy I*. It is impossible to clarify which centuries are covered in this layer. However, clearly this period dates to the Bronze Age, more precisely, to the Copper Age when it was known that copper could be used in producing tools and weapons. Without a doubt, development was slow and long in this period. The origin of this civilization is unknown yet, however, when they came to Troy, they were in a relatively-improved development stage; they constructed big houses from stone and rough brick”²⁷⁵.

With the Second History Congress, compared to the arguments presented at the First History Congress, the Turkish History Thesis was reduced. The Turkishness claim over Anatolia was internationally accepted through Hittite and Sumerian links; however, disagreements emerged when it was also claimed that ancient Greek cultures were also Turkish. Moreover, other geographical regions from China to Scandinavia were not discussed.

Atakuman stresses that this change between the first and the second congresses was due to the limitations of the archaeological data. In a way, TTK imagined that excavation findings would confirm the Turkish History Thesis as concrete fact. However, after a half decade of immense archaeological missions, the findings forced the thesis to reduce its scope. She also underlines that the thesis is still effective in the present day and she exemplifies this effect with the widely-used description of Anatolia as the “cradle of civilizations”²⁷⁶. Similarly, Tanyeri-Erdemir suggests that these archaeological excavations functioned as a means of cementing national pride during the 1930s²⁷⁷. Both scholars underline that this change had political motivation, to take precautions against the upcoming war. In addition, Bilsel also suggests that the claims over ancient Greek civilizations were a defensive act to take precautions against “the threat of Fascist Italy’s territorial claims in the Eastern Mediterranean looming large”²⁷⁸.

²⁷⁵ Carl M. Blegen, “Turova hafriyatı”,

²⁷⁶ Cf. Çiğdem Atakuman, “Cradle or crucible”.

²⁷⁷ Cf. Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, “Archaeology”.

²⁷⁸ Cf. S. M. Can Bilsel, “Our Anatolia”, 226.

The race-based nationalist tone of the history congresses was embodied in Prof. A. Fuad Başgil's paper "Turkish Nationalism- Its Birth, Meaning, Purpose, and Tools"²⁷⁹. Without making any reference to the history thesis, he outlined how nationalist engagements stood at the core of the nascent republic. In fact, with the Institutional Law (*Teşkilat Kanunu*) promulgated on February 5, 1937, nationalism was already promoted as one of the six principles of the Turkish Republic. The other five principles were republicanism, secularism, populism, statism, and reformism. These six principles were represented with the six-armed symbol of the single party of the parliament, CHP.

In his seminal essay, Bruce Trigger²⁸⁰ suggests that most archaeological activities are undertaken with a nationalist agenda. He gives the example of the Czechs, who exploited archaeology to glorify their national past and to encourage resistance against Habsburg, Russian and Turkish domination. Similarly, in late-nineteenth century Western Europe, archaeology was used to create a common bond among communities divided by class differences. Trigger also notes that in Egypt and Iran, when the nationalist and relatively secular rulers gained power, they used archaeology to recapture the glories of pre-Islamic ages. Likewise, Hamilakis also underlines the relationship between archaeology and nationalism:

"nationalism produces the entity that gives meaning and purpose to it, 'the nation', and so does archaeology, as it produces the object of its desire, its *raison d'être*, the archaeological record".

However, he also stresses that

"the study of the link between archaeology and nationalism, therefore, is not a study of the abuse of the first by the second, but of the development of a device of modernity (archaeology as autonomous discipline) to serve the needs of the most powerful ideology of that modernity (nationalism)"²⁸¹.

As seen in Hamilakis' words, the relationship between archaeology and nationalism is established through state practices of modernity. In this regard,

²⁷⁹ Cf. A. Fuad Başgil, "Turkish Nationalism- Its Birth, Meaning, Purpose, and Tools", *İkinci Türk Tarih Kongresi, 20-25 Eylül 1937, Kongrenin Çalışmaları ve Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, (Ankara, Kenan Matbaası, 1943), 983-995.

²⁸⁰ Bruce G. Trigger, "Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist", *Man*, 19: 3 (1984), pp. 355-370: 358.

²⁸¹ Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007: 14.

Turkey is not the only state to have formulated a national past through archaeology. Given these discussions, it is possible to suggest that the young Turkish Republic made use of cultural heritage through archaeology to generate a national past; a past that the new nation could proudly advocate. However, another past, the Ottoman past, was still visible in the daily lives of the people of the war-torn new state.

2.2. Remembering the Ottoman Past: Preservation of Ottoman Monuments

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's book *Huzur* is about how individuals living in modern Turkey struggled to come to terms with the Ottoman past. *Huzur* demonstrates how the Ottoman past was still vividly alive in the minds of intellectuals even as late as the 1940s. The main protagonist of *Huzur* is Mümtaz, a young intellectual whose memory still bears the terrors of previous wars and who feels a new war is approaching fast. For Mümtaz, the memories of war "would continue for years, and make him stumble in each step"²⁸².

The Ottoman past, as remembered by Mümtaz and his intellectual friends, and its conflict with modernity, is the main theme that shapes the daily life and thoughts of the protagonist. Mümtaz is an admirer of İstanbul and its centuries-old history. In İstanbul, the remnants of the urban qualities of the Ottoman past were still visible in the late 1930s and the early 1940s. However, for Mümtaz, İstanbul, this eastern edge of Europe "was not the old east, but it was not new either. Perhaps, it was a timeless life in a different climate"²⁸³.

Tanpınar's book, in a very sophisticated way, investigates the effects of the passage from one past (the Ottoman past) to another (the republican past) on the daily life of individuals. This chapter of the thesis, on the other hand, investigates not how individuals but how the power holders exploited cultural heritage to manage the Ottoman past.

Dealing with the Ottoman past was a major problem not only for Turkey, but also for other nation-states that emerged as the Ottoman Empire collapsed. Particularly in Balkans, a process of de-Ottomanization was on the agenda of the

²⁸² Cf. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Huzur* (İstanbul, Remzi Kitabevi, 1949): 32.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 46.

newly-formed state structures. For instance, after Bulgaria became independent from Ottoman rule with the Russo-Turkish Wars in 1878, as Koyuncu²⁸⁴ suggests, Ottoman monuments were deliberately destroyed to erase the Islamic landmarks and to create new Christian monuments. She suggests that religion was the main trigger for the de-Ottomanization of the city-scape. The Ottoman era was conceived as an era in which Christianity was oppressed. In Skopje, where there existed a bigger Muslim community, on the other hand, after centuries of Ottoman rule, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes enacted secular reforms to generate a de-Ottomanized, European-looking city. Secularism, in this sense, functioned as an urban exclusion mechanism²⁸⁵. Mattioli suggests that in Yugoslavia and Macedonia, the socialist state's secularism necessitated disciplining Islamic communities through urban exclusion and inclusion mechanisms²⁸⁶. Also in Turkey, as the secular reforms did not match with the old traditions of Ottoman daily life practice, the preservation of Ottoman monuments produced what Foucault²⁸⁷ called 'heterotopias'. Strangely, until the 1930s, the Ottoman preservation legacy was used in this process²⁸⁸.

As seen in chapter 1, an interest in the preservation of Islamic monuments had already emerged in the second constitutional era of the Ottoman Empire, an era which created an atmosphere in which nationalist and Islam-oriented religious ideas were widely embraced. The efforts of historic preservation had been interrupted by successive wars. However, as ironic as it may seem, in the 1930s, in a period in which Ottoman references were strictly excluded and the Ottoman past was detested, preservation activities again accelerated. However, as will be elaborated further below, before the 1930s, historic preservation was also institutionalized through actors and institutions inherited from the Ottoman Empire.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Aşkın Koyuncu, "Bulgaristan'da Osmanlı Maddi Kültür Mirasının Tasfiyesi (1878-1908)", *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi OTAM*, 33, 2013, 139-196.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Fabio Mattioli, "Unchanging boundaries: the reconstruction of Skopje and the politics of heritage", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20 (6), 2014, 599-615

²⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 602.

²⁸⁷ Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces".

²⁸⁸ The influence of the second constitutional era on the first decade of the Turkish Republic is a repeating theme in other state institutions such as education, architecture, or institutions like *Türk Ocakları*.

In fact, the interwar period was a keystone in the development of an internationally organized scientific approach to conservation. An architectural conservation conference was organized in Athens, bringing together 120 representatives from 23 countries for 10 days²⁸⁹. This conference in Athens, which was organized two years before the famous CIAM congress, produced one of the main preservation documents, *carta del restauro*, drafted by Gustavo Giovannoni²⁹⁰. Athens hosted another significant meeting that shaped the interwar planning approach; CIAM (International Congress on Modern Architecture) was held in Athens in 1933²⁹¹.

As will be discussed further below, in Turkey, instead of the conclusions of the Athens meetings, Viollet-le-Duc was still the main source of influence²⁹². However, urban planning principles outlined on the Athens Charter (of CIAM) would gradually gain more importance to regulate the Turkey's relationship with

²⁸⁹ This development had emerged as part of efforts to recover from World War I. The League of Nations, despite its later reputation for being ineffective, established an International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation in 1922, and an International Museums Office in 1926. A conference on scientific preservation of works of art was organized by the International Museums Office in Rome in 1930. In this conference, it was decided that a new conference should be organized in Athens next year. Athens conference of 1931 was chaired by the head of the *La Commission nationale des monuments historiques* and during the sessions, each representative presented the conservation approaches commonly employed in their countries.

²⁹⁰ Also in the 1960s and 1970s, this document was a key influential text which evolved and generated main international charters. It is also noteworthy that this conference was possible with an international multicultural collaboration in a period when nationalism was on the rise; however, it was the outcome of a long process. With this conference, in fact, the notion of 'heritage' started to gain an international value rather than being the property of a single nation. The document stated the scientific methods to be adopted in restoration projects.

²⁹¹ Le Corbusier, who was the key figure who shaped the twentieth century understanding of modernism, published the conclusions of CIAM Congress, *Charter of Athens*, in 1941. In Europe, the dialectic relationship between the modernists and the conservationists shaped the heritage discourse. Glendinning states: "Both [conferences] were structured around an internal narrative of progress, one springing organically from the past, the other breaking from it". Cf. Miles Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement: A History of Architectural Preservation Antiquity to Modernity* (New York, Routledge, 2013): 200.

²⁹² For Viollet le-Duc's preservation approach, Cf. Rosa Tamborrino (ed.), *E. Viollet-le-Duc, Gli architetti e la storia. Scritti sull'architettura* (Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1996). In the introduction part of this publication, "Introduzione: Ritorno a Carcassone", XI-LXIII, Rosa Tamborrino documents le-Duc's pedagogical motivations in generating a history of art through cultural heritage to educate future generations.

past. The *carta del restauro*, on the other hand, needed to wait three decades, until the 1960s, to be translated and read by Turkish professionals.

Even though Turkey was among the countries that fought in World War I, the preservation approach mostly did not develop in parallel with the European approach. Rather than recovery, concern with historic structures was mainly related to the goal of the new regime, which was to gain a distance from the imperial past and reshape the past through architectural, urban planning, and redefining cultural heritage.

In order to gain an insight into the republican attitude towards Ottoman heritage, one should ask “Why did the nascent Turkey begin a state program for the protection of Islamic monuments at a time when Ottoman practices were being abandoned in favor of secularization?”. This question may help address the main argument of this thesis: that historic preservation is a tool for power holders to establish and sustain their authority. The republican ruling class preserved the Ottoman and Seljukid monuments not to create a link with the Islamic past but to generate a heritage discourse related to the Islamic past. The relationship between the new secular nation and the Islamic past was not interrupted, but disciplined. This chapter will discuss how this complex mechanism operated.

2.2.1. Buildings of the *ancien régime*²⁹³

The French Revolution had a great impact on the second constitutional era. As mentioned above, with the Young Turk Revolution, nationalist and Islamic ideas were spread among society. However, with the foundation of the Turkish republic, the spread of Islamic ideas was stopped and under the presidency of Atatürk, secular reforms began to be enacted.

With the Turkish Republic, the sultanate was abolished in 1922. The dominance of religion was undermined to a further extent when the caliphate was abolished in 1924, which was followed by the abolition of religious lodges (*tekke*), shrines (*türbe*), and spaces of fraternities (*zaviye*) in 1925. Not only for secularism, but also for the creation of a nation-based unity, the aftermath of the French Revolution was an active force. In fact, the republican ruling class was

²⁹³ Even though this term denotes the regime in France before the French Revolution, in this part it is used both to highlight the similarities and to underline the sharp breaking of the new Turkish Republic from the Ottoman Empire.

experiencing the same problems that revolutionary committees had also faced more than a century ago: dealing with the empty building stock of the monarchy and clergy.

In contrast to the French context, in Turkey, despite the fact that Ottoman practices were repudiated through media outlets, there was no deliberate vandalism targeting the Ottoman structures. One may list several reasons that the republican state would not demolish the Ottoman buildings. One of these reasons, I suggest, is that there was already a scientific preservation discourse regarding the ‘historic monument’ in Europe. This term, ‘historic monument’, had already been invented in Europe²⁹⁴. Even in the nineteenth century historic preservation had already begun to be institutionalized in the post-French Revolution socio-cultural context. As a country that wanted to reach the level of *muasır medeniyetler*, Turkey needed to find a system other than deliberate demolition of these buildings²⁹⁵.

Even though Turkey did not demolish the structures as the French revolutionary committees did before the Napoleon’s rule, it exploited another French tool; adapting the structures to new functions²⁹⁶. Adapting these structures to the uses of the new regime was a way to break with the past. For revolutionary France, Choay states:

to break with the past means neither to abolish its memory nor to destroy its monuments, but to conserve both in a dialectical movement that

²⁹⁴ Cf. Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, Trans. Lauren M. O’Connell, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001. Focusing on the French experience, Choay traces what old structures meant for European society and how these meanings changed throughout history.

²⁹⁵ For urban projects, many Ottoman buildings were demolished, but these were not attempts at ideological vandalism. It should be noted that imperial monumental buildings such as Hagia Sophia, Topkapı Palace, or Fatih Sultan Mehmet Mosque were never threatened through such urban projects since there was a consensus that these buildings mattered. However, the republican heritage discourse, as this chapter will discuss, can be examined through investigating how less iconic buildings were protected. For a republican history of the preservation of the above mentioned monuments, Cf. Burcu Selcen Coşkun and Demet Binan, “Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Koruma ve Onarım Süreçlerine İstanbul’daki Anıtsal Yapılar Üzerinden Bir Bakış”, *tasarım + kuram*, 15, 2013, 103-126.

²⁹⁶ Françoise Choay, *The Invention*, 69.

simultaneously assumes and transcends their original historical signification, by integrating it into a new semantic stratum²⁹⁷

This same statement would be valid also for the Turkish Republic's break with the Ottoman past. Converting imperial buildings into museums was one of the ways in which the republic was able to generate the new semantic stratum that Choay highlights.

As the *tekke*, *türbe*, and *zaviye* were abolished, the objects in these structures were collected and classified. Valuable objects would be included in the collections of the nearest museums, or would be sent to Ankara. Other objects would belong to the Ministry of Education. The Directorate of Culture (*Hars Müdürlüğü*), a new directorate established under the Ministry of Education, oversaw this process. The buildings on the other hand were transferred to the General Directorate of Pious Foundations²⁹⁸. The *tekke* of Rumi was an exception. This was the thirteenth century mausoleum of one of the most influential figures of Islamic philosophy. The Ministry of Education asked for the opinion of the director of Museums,²⁹⁹ Halil Edhem Bey, who suggested that the building should be protected with all the objects inside it. A more detailed report was requested for the convention project and was prepared under Halil Edhem Bey and Hamir Zübeyr, the director of *Hars*³⁰⁰.

The designation of the Topkapı Palace as a museum in 1924, only one year after the foundation of the republic, and its opening in 1927, can be considered the most symbolic act of the republic in this regard. Since the nineteenth century, the sultan and his family were firstly in Yıldız Palace, and then in Dolmabahçe Palace. Topkapı Palace was used mainly by the staff. It had various collections of guns, tiles, manuscripts, books, miniatures, dresses and fabrics, paintings, etc. International experts were invited to take part in the inventory of these collections; for instance, the director of the Munich Army Museum Hans Stocklein came in

²⁹⁷ Ibid, 75.

²⁹⁸ Cf. Pelin Kotaş, *Modernite İlişkisi Bağlamında Türkiye'de Korumacı Zihniyet: Kurumsallaşma Öncesi Koruma Olgusu*, doctoral dissertation, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, İstanbul, 2015.

²⁹⁹ The museums of *Müze-i Hümayun* continued functioning in the republican period as *Asar-ı Atika Müzeleri*.

³⁰⁰ Cf. Hüseyin Karaduman, *Belgelerle Mevlana Konya Müzesi'nin Kuruluşu*, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 29, 2005, 135-161.

1928 and 1929 to assist with the arrangement of the armories; the porcelains and tiles were arranged by Professor Ernst Zimmermann from the Dresden Porcelain Museum, who had already been invited in 1910, again for the porcelains of the palace. Berlin Museum helped with the inventory of the books that were kept in the crates in various edifices of the palace³⁰¹. Even though the museum was opened in 1927, most pavilions were kept closed. The Pavilion of the Holy Mantle of the Prophet Muhammad contained relics of the Prophet that were obtained during the 1517 conquest of Egypt. The Quran was continuously read in this pavilion. This was the most sacred section of the palace because the relics symbolically validated the caliph status of the Ottoman sultans. In 1927, this pavilion was arranged by Tahsin Öz (1887-1973) to historically narrate the objects' significance. With Öz's arrangements, in line with the secular reforms of the republic, Quran readings were suspended and the room was kept closed. Visitors could visit the room only in 1962, and Quran readings were able to restart only in 1982³⁰².

A more controversial conversion project came in 1934 when the most important ceremonial mosque of the imperial capital was designated as a museum. The project to reopen Hagia Sophia Mosque as a museum was the strongest indicator of the secularization of the Republic.

As the Ottoman heritage in İstanbul helped the government make statements about secularism, the new museums in Ankara, likewise, reinforced the Republican statements about the new modern Turkish nation. State museums in Ankara were operational in spatially narrating the official ideology³⁰³.

The Ethnography Museum in Turkey both presented a history based on the Turkish History Thesis and alienated visitors through objects collected from the religious buildings that were abolished (*tekke, türbe, zaviye*). As Kezer noted: “the nation's leaders were determined to erect impregnable barriers between the present and the immediate past. They were particularly concerned about the persistence of

³⁰¹ Cf. Aziz Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin 100üncü Yıldönümü*, İstanbul, Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu İstanbul'u Sevenler Grubu Yayınları, 1947.

³⁰² Cf. Wendy Shaw, “Museums And Narratives Of Display From The Late Ottoman Empire To The Turkish Republic”, *Muqarnas*, XXIV, 2007, 253-279: 269-270.

³⁰³ Cf. Zeynep Kezer, “Familiar Things in Strange Places Ankara's Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam, Republican Turkey”, *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, 8, 2000, 101-116.

certain socio spatial practices that reaffirmed premodern communal allegiances³⁰⁴.

The Hittite Museum is a fine example demonstrating how the Turkish ruling class attempted to address both prehistorical societies as ancestors of the Turkish nation (see chapter 2.1) and the Ottoman past. An open air museum to display archaeological relics of the Hittites was planned³⁰⁵; however, this museum was not established. Instead, another Ottoman building was selected to be restored as the Hittite Museum. The Hittite Museum was designed to reinforce claims that the Hittites were Turks. Under special orders from Atatürk, a new museum was already on the state agenda. In 1930, *Kurşunlu Han* was designated as the new museum with its old bazaar, *Mahmud Paşa Bedesteni* (Figure 40).



Figure 40: Kurşunlu Han prior to restoration. *SALT Online Archive, Code: TASUH6742023*

Until 1945, the buildings were restored and surrounding buildings were expropriated for both liberation purposes and to give the museum a nice view over

³⁰⁴ Ibid, 103.

³⁰⁵ *Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu'nun 1933-1935 Yıllarındaki Çalışmaları*, (İstanbul, Devlet Matbaası, 1935), 14.

the city³⁰⁶. Gasco suggests that with the project “the recent Ottoman past was erased, the remote one was exhumed”³⁰⁷.

The Hittite Museum was designed to present the artifacts found in the archaeological excavations mentioned in the chapter 2.1. The project was prepared by the German archaeology professor Hans Güterbock and the Turkish architect Macit Kural with the supervision of Hamit Zübeyr. As the perspective drawing of the project highlights, with the project, not only the artifacts but also these Ottoman buildings themselves were considered as objects to be displayed to the visitors (Figure 41). A visitor would be expected to leave the museum as a proud Turkish citizen, not only because she could see that her Hittite roots shaped world civilizations but also because she could observe that her present state was powerful enough to reshape and restore the monuments left by the old Ottoman ruling class.



Figure 41: Perspective drawing from the restoration project for the Hittite Museum (currently known as the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations). *SALT Online Archive TASUH6742001*

³⁰⁶ Wendy Shaw, “Museums”, 298.

³⁰⁷ Cf. Giorgio Gasco, “Bruno Taut and the Program for the Protection of Monuments in Turkey (1937-38): Three Case Studies: Ankara, Edirne and Bursa”, *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, 27/2, 2010, 15-36: 22.

This museum and the restoration project demonstrate the tools that the republican ruling class exploited to discipline the memories of individuals. In that sense, this project produced a place of memory, *lieux de memoire*. As Nora writes,

history is perpetually suspicious of memory, and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it. At the horizon of historical societies, at the limits of the completely historicized world, there would occur a permanent secularization. History's goal and ambition is not to exalt but to annihilate what has in reality taken place. A generalized critical history would no doubt preserve some museums, some medallions and monuments -that is to say, the materials necessary for its work- but it would empty them of what, to us, would make them *lieux de memoire*. In the end, a society living wholly under the sign of history could not, any more than could a traditional society, conceive such sites for anchoring its memory³⁰⁸.

Since “memory attaches itself to sites, whereas history attaches itself to events”³⁰⁹, the restoration of a ruined building into a spectacle would produce the ‘event’ which would eventually help the republic generate Ottoman ‘history’. Moreover, with the museum, it was also possible to teach and promote Turkish History to Turkish citizens.

Similarly, another museum, The Ethnography Museum, is an example of the very same movement. It was opened to the public in Ankara in 1930 (Figure 42). The collection was an assemblage of objects collected from the abolished spaces of various religious activities. The presentation of these objects was supposed to alienate visitors from the religious activities³¹⁰.

³⁰⁸ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire” in *Representations*, 26, 1989, 7-24. p.9.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

³¹⁰ Cf. Zeynep Kezer. Familiar Things in Strange Places: Ankara's Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey. *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, 2000 (8), 101-116.



Figure 42: Ethnography Museum during construction. *SALT Online Archive, TASUH6814*.

Apart from converting the imperial buildings into museums and constructing new museums, some restoration works were also managed in the 1920s. Some of the works that were completed in the early republican years included the repair of the dome of the Hagia Sophia by Kemalettin Bey in the mid-1920s. In addition, the Sultan Ahmet mosque was restored by special order of Atatürk³¹¹.

Restored or converted, the empty imperial building stock was an important problem for the republic. The ruined look of the old structures did not only create a melancholy (*hüzün*), as Orhan Pamuk suggests³¹², but it also presented a weak image for a country which claimed space within the changing power dynamics in the aftermath of the First World War. Although the new capital, Ankara, was becoming the main center of governance of the country, İstanbul, the old capital, was still the main showcase for Turkey. Therefore, institutional changes were necessary to address the problem of the dilapidated look of İstanbul.

It is noteworthy that when the Ottomans conquered Constantinople, they also exploited similar tools, converting the churches into mosques. However, they also established a new system to control urban sprawl through the *vakıf* system. Now, the Turkish Republic had to deal not only with the old structures but also with these old institutions that were inherited from the Ottoman past.

³¹¹ Yıldırım Yavuz, "Mimar Kemalettin".

³¹² Cf. Orhan Pamuk, *İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006).

2.2.2. Institutions of the *ancien régime*

The *vakıf* system had already been dismantled to a certain extent through the establishment of the Imperial Ministry of Pious Foundations (*Nezaret-i Evkaf-i Hümayun*) in 1836. With the modernization process in the nineteenth century, new urban mechanisms surpassed the role of *vakıfs* in urban administration. In 1924, the Ministry of Pious Foundations became a directorate functioning with the same name under the Prime Ministry.

As mentioned in the chapter 1.3., İTHF was established in 1914 as a public bureau under the Ministry of Pious Endowment (*Evkaf Nezareti*). İTHF both managed the restoration works of *vakıf* buildings and designed new buildings in the style of the First National Architecture to increase the income of the Ministry. Kemalettin Bey, the prominent architect of the late Ottoman era, was the head of the bureau. He was influenced by the Islam-oriented nationalist ideas of the second constitutional era. İTHF, despite its conservation activities, was more effective in the construction of new *vakıf* buildings than restoration works. However, according to Ali Saim Ülgen, another prominent actor in republican-era historic preservation, the quality of these works was very poor due to the lack of specialized professionals and also due to scarce construction materials. Ülgen suggests that İTHF restorations were completely against the modern architectural conservation system³¹³.

Apart from İTHF, the Permanent Committee of Old Monuments (AAED - *Asar-ı Atika Encümen-i Daimisi*) was established in 1917 for the conservation of monuments in İstanbul. Halil Edhem (Eldem) had taken initiative in 1915 for the formation of a special committee to stop the destruction of the historic monuments of İstanbul. AAED operated under the İstanbul Archaeology Museum. It was responsible for safeguarding only of the monuments in İstanbul. Eight members of the committee met in the museum once or twice a week to make decisions about the structures of İstanbul, both on the European and the Asian sides, including the Bosphorus coasts. It was the only public body authorized to make decisions for the repair, removal, or demolition of monuments. AAED approval would be

³¹³ Cf. Ali Saim Ülgen, *Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması – I*, Ankara, Maarif Matbaası, 1943, 21. Ülgen demonstrates that most restoration works of İTHF would require re-intervention after a period as short as twenty years.

requested from both public and private actors for any action regarding monuments. It was the first public body formulated as an authority relating to historic monuments³¹⁴.

AAED was the authority for all construction activities regarding the old structures of İstanbul: however, its authority was not recognized by other local authorities. AAED would be informed of the destruction of an old house after the demolition was completed, and most of the time it would not be informed at all. Most of the items on the meeting agendas were proposed by the council members on events that they coincidentally witnessed. In fact, even if AAED knew what was going on in İstanbul, it lacked the staff to report on the situation. Moreover, the budget of the council was not sufficient to manage the historic building stock of İstanbul³¹⁵.

AAED was ratified in 1924 during the reorganization process of the Imperial Museums in various cities. AAED became the Council for the Preservation of Monuments (*Muhafaza-i Asar-ı Atika Encümeni*) in 1924 and some of its founding members (Kemalettin Bey, Halil Edhem (Eldem), Celal Esad (Arseven)) continued their service. This council would later be called *Eski Eserleri Koruma Encümeni* (EEKE), the Ottoman words replaced with Turkish words.

Even though EEKE was the main institution that the republic inherited from the empire, it evolved to meet the needs of the republic. The general pattern of republican modernism was reproduced in EEKE's evolution as well. The early 1930s saw the generation of this pattern, because in the 1930s republican reforms accelerated to an even stronger extent towards the rejection of the Ottoman legacy and the elimination of the influence of the second constitutional era which was still visible in daily life. This pattern could be easily read in architecture –as discussed in the chapter 1.3. -, in archaeology –as in the chapter 2.1.- and in institutionalization efforts, as well.

In the 1930s, a breakthrough that shaped the preservation approach came with a series of legal enactments. These legislative arrangements helped municipalities initiate urbanization projects for the modernization of cities and eventually, the modernization of society. The Municipalities Law (*Belediyeler Kanunu*) and the

³¹⁴ Emre Madran. "Cumhuriyetin ilk otuz yılında (1920-1950) koruma alanının örgütlenmesi". *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, 16 (1-2), 1996, 59-97: 64.

³¹⁵ Aziz Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin*, 17-21.

Public Sanitary Law (*Umumi Hıfzıssıhha Kanunu*) were promulgated in 1930. Three years later, the Municipal Legislation on Buildings and Roads (*Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Yasası*) was promulgated. This legal framework provided more autonomy for municipalities under a powerful central control mechanism³¹⁶. The municipal changes of the 1930s required strong heritage advocacy skills to react against the demolition of structures in favor of modernist urban projects. EEKE was accused not only of lacking these skills, but also for being an obstacle to the urban development of İstanbul. EEKE irregularly published ‘work reports’ and in the report for 1940-1941, EEKE defended itself against accusations of ineffectiveness and of obstructing development. Thus, EEKE could satisfy neither the development advocates nor the preservationist community. In fact, the actions of EEKE presented an inconsistent attitude that legitimated the accusations of both parties. For instance, in 1940 the Ministry of Education ordered EEKE to undertake an on-site investigation of the feasibility of a new urban development project to be implemented over a building complex in the Kağıthane district, where the eighteenth century Çağlayan and İmrahor Mansions (*Köşk*) were located. In fact, in the 1930s, EEKE itself had already penned several letters to direct the attention of the municipality to these mansions. However, this time, EEKE came to the conclusion that the conservation project would be costly. Moreover, if converted, according to the same EEKE decision, these structures would be only seasonally used. For the committee, they had done enough in the past by warning the authorities, and if these warnings had been taken into consideration, these structures could have been saved. Now, only the façade of the Çağlayan Köşke and the staircase of the İmrahor Köşk were stated as worthy of protection, together with the surrounding fountains³¹⁷.

³¹⁶ Cf. İlhan Tekeli, *Cumhuriyetin Belediyecilik Öyküsü (1923-1990)*, (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009). 50-54. There were legislative arrangements also before the 1930s, however these arrangements focused on improving the sanitary conditions of cities and urban recovery from the wars. It should also be mentioned that the republican ideology targeted the modernization of society in a local context. The cities were transformed simultaneously. In other words, there were no migration waves from rural areas to cities, but rather, rural areas were modernized through various tools. *Halkevleri*, which are discussed in chapter 2.1., were one of the major tools to achieve this goal. As will be discussed in chapter 3, this attitude of ‘village-ism’ would be reversed in the 1950s creating a migration wave mainly to İstanbul.

³¹⁷ -, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Eski Eserleri Koruma Encümeni, 1940-41 Yılı Mesai Raporu*, İstanbul, Rıza Koşkun Matbaası, 1943: 8-9.

In the same 1941-1942 report, two new members of EEKE were also celebrated in the preface of the report, Reşat Saffet Atabinen (1884-1965) and Sedad Hakkı Eldem (1908-1988)³¹⁸. The former had served as a state officer in several positions for the late-Ottoman government and he had also served as a member of parliament for the new republic. He was a member of TTK and the founder of the Turkey Touring and Automobile Organization (TTOK-*Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu*). TTOK was an initiative founded for preservation of the touristic values of Turkey and dissemination of these values. TTOK also published journals which provided information on recent restoration activities³¹⁹. The latter, as will be discussed further below, was one of the most productive architects of the early republican era. It is noteworthy that as a member of EEKE, Sedad Hakkı Eldem often judged the suitability of his own projects for the historic texture of İstanbul.

Another major development which shaped the 1930s' republican understanding of historic preservation was a telegram that Atatürk sent to the prime minister İsmet İnönü during his tour of Anatolia in 1931. This telegram was about the poor condition of monuments in Konya. After this telegram, which will be discussed later, a special committee was formed to generate guidelines and a methodology for the management of historic artifacts. The committee outlined the problems and proposed an agenda. As a part of this agenda, the need for a central committee as a decision-making authority was highlighted. This committee was established in 1933 as the Council for the Protection of Monuments (AKK – *Anıtları Koruma Kurulu*). AKK will be discussed further below.

A major problem that the 1931-committee highlighted was about the ownership pattern. With the Republican reforms, different buildings of a single complex –*vakıf* properties- were distributed to various governmental bodies. Mosques of architectural significance were owned by the Directorate of Endowments; religious lodges (*tekke*) and shrines (*türbe*) by the Ministry of Education, Islamic education schools (*madrassa*) by various bodies (only if they did not fit with the renewed educational system; otherwise they were owned by

³¹⁸ Ibid., 3. See chapter 2.3.3. for more information on Sedad Hakkı Eldem.

³¹⁹ Cf. Ahmet Altıntaş, Feyza Kurnaz Şahin, "Reşit Saffet Atabinen (1884-1965) ve Türk Turizmine Katkıları", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 26 (42), 2007, 9-36.

the Ministry of Education), fountains and cemeteries by the municipalities. Such a diverse management scheme made it impossible to generate a conservation strategy for the *vakıf* complexes (*külliye*)³²⁰. The committee also highlighted that municipalities lacked the expertise to distinguish the values of historic monuments. The absence of specialized staff was underlined as one of the main problems regarding historic monuments³²¹. EEKE had also suffered from these municipal problems. Moreover, these problems in the late-1930s when the urban planning of İstanbul could find its place on the state agenda. In fact, modernization of İstanbul had already started in the nineteenth century, however, the most significant step came with Henri Prost's projects for İstanbul which will be discussed in section 2.3.2. The French urban expert Henri Prost was invited by the republican government to undertake the planning of İstanbul. He submitted the first phase of his proposal, for the European side of İstanbul, in 1937. This plan did not generate a holistic planning approach but rather was a compilation of urban interventions to be implemented in a piecemeal fashion. These implementations forced EEKE to generate a list of structures that should be protected. Creating an inventory of historic structures had always been a major problem even when the committee was first established in the mid-1910s. By the mid-1940s, EEKE had registered four thousand structures in the inventory³²². These lists also included an estimated restoration budget for each building. For instance, in 1933, the list of monuments that urgently needed to be repaired was sent to the Ministry of Education together with another list of monuments that needed repairs without any major restoration work³²³. However, these budgets were requested from the Ministry of Education but never granted.

Prost's implementation put EEKE in a more important position. EEKE either was asked for its opinion by other authorities, or took initiative by itself. For instance, two Ottoman buildings, Simkeşhane, an eighteenth-century Ottoman monument, and the Beyazıt *Hamamı*, a fifteenth-century Ottoman bath, were proposed to be deconstructed in order to reveal the Byzantine Forum Tauri under

³²⁰ . – *Türkiye Tarihi Anıtları (Öntasarı)*, Ankara, 1946, Milli Eğitim Basımevi. Also see Emre Madran, "Cumhuriyetin", 66.

³²¹ Cf. Pelin Kotaş, *Modernite İlişkisi*, 146.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ -, *Anıtları Koruma Komisyonununun 1933-1935 Yıllarındaki Çalışmaları*, İstanbul, Devlet Basımevi, 1935: 18-19.

the Beyazıt Square. Prost had already been accused of favoring Byzantine monuments over Ottoman ones. EEKE were able to stop this project with support from the local architectural community³²⁴ (Figure 43). Another debated project of the 1940s was about the site of the new Palace of Justice which was a project again proposed in the Prost Plan. EEKE proposed the site of the sixteenth-century İbrahim Paşa Palace. This provoked heated debates which mostly included accusations against EEKE. The head of TTK, Camil Çambel wrote a letter to the Prime Ministry highlighting the heritage significance of the İbrahim Paşa Palace and stressed his concerns about the destruction of this unique structure³²⁵. As will be discussed below, Sedat Çetintaş, the architect member of AKK, was the most vocal critic of EEKE. He found EEKE incompetent and unqualified³²⁶. In fact, Çetintaş had already criticized the efforts of Atabinen and TTOK publicly in journals³²⁷.



Figure 43: Prost's drawing for Atmeydanı with the project for the Palace of Justice. In *Henri Prost et le Plan Directeur d'Istanbul 1936-1951*, exposition virtuelle produite par la Centre d'archives d'architecture du XXe siècle de la Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine

EEKE had not been successful in generating a historical preservation system. In fact, considering the modernization goal of the republican ruling class, one can

³²⁴ Cf. Cana Bilsel, "Remodelling the Imperial Capital in the Early Republican Era: the Representation of History in Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul", in Jonathan Osmond (ed.), *Power and Culture: Identity, Ideology, Representation* (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2007), 95-115: 111.

³²⁵ Cf. Pelin Kotaş, *Modernite*, 159-160.

³²⁶ Cf. Ümit Fırat Açıkgöz, "On the Uses and Meanings of Architectural Preservation in Early Republican Istanbul On the Uses and Meanings of Architectural Preservation in Early Republican Istanbul (1923-1950)", *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, 1/1-2, 2014, 167-185: 176.

³²⁷ Cf. Sedat Çetintaş, "Türk Tarihi Anıtları Şunun Bunun Oyunağı Olmamalıdır", *Yapı*, 37, 1943.

conclude that the same ruling class conceived of historic preservation as a barrier to development. EEKE operated in such a context. Therefore, historic preservation was limited to reaction against the urbanization projects implemented for the sake of a modern İstanbul³²⁸.

Apart from ITHF and EEKE, another institute that was inherited from the Ottoman Empire was the reputed *Müze-i Hümayun*. The museums in the cities had functioned under the İstanbul-based *Müze-i Hümayun*, the Imperial Museum. These museums were reorganized in 1920 under the *Âsâr-ı Atika Müdürlüğü* (the Directorate of Old Monuments), which became the *Hars Müdürlüğü* (the Directorate of Culture) the next year. *Hars* was mainly responsible for archaeological activities.

Apart from these state institutions, a major role was played by TTOK, established in 1923 as Touring Club Turk (*Türk Sayyahin Cemmati*) (Figure 44). TTOK functioned as the main opposition against the Prost projects. Prost himself visited the office of TTOK to explain his projects, and the members advocated that the historic and urban fabric of İstanbul was under threat of damage due to admiration for roads and boulevards. Reşat Saffet Atabinen was one of the founders of TTOK and he helped the organization function as a semi-public institution. TTOK helped raise new tour guides, undertook street rehabilitation works, and campaigned for the restoration of monuments. Its main duty was promoting the natural and cultural values of Turkey to foreigners. Its journal *TTOK Belleteni* helped disseminate information on the recent restoration works and promote tourist destinations in Turkey³²⁹.

³²⁸ Ümit Fırat Açıkgöz, "On the Uses". Drawing a picture of how the early Republic conceived historic preservation, Açıkgöz's research shows that the activities of EEKE could be considered mainly as a struggle to resist the urbanization projects in early Republican İstanbul.

³²⁹ -, "Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, v.7, İstanbul, Ansiklopedisi, Dünden Bugüne İstanbul. Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayını, 1993.



Figure 44: Poster of the Turkey Touring Club. In -, “Türkiye Turing”.

As mentioned above, the 1930s were a turning point for the republican era. They were also a turning point for institutions. With the rising power of the republican regime in the 1930s, it became possible not only to align these old institutions with republican politics but also to establish new decision-making mechanisms. Various actors were influential in the formation of these new mechanisms. However, these actors did not always share the same vision for the future of the historic monuments. On the contrary, their perspectives conflicted, as did their political worldviews.

2.2.3. Actors

When AAED was ratified by the republican government in 1925, some of the founding members continued their service. Among those, the collaboration of Halil Edhem (Eldem) and Kemalettin Bey is noteworthy.

Halil Edhem (Eldem) had taken initiative for the establishment of AAED in the late-Ottoman period. He was the brother of Osman Hamdi Bey. He succeeded his brother in directing the museum and like his brother, Halil Edhem also aspired to embrace European culture. He was a member of ‘the Society of the Admirers of

the City of İstanbul (*İstanbul Şehri Muhipleri Cemiyeti*)' whose members included the European community of İstanbul (mostly the wives of European bureaucrats). Halil Edhem's productive life shows the rising interest in Islamic heritage at the turn of the twentieth century; he wrote many publications, most of which were about the Seljukid and Ottoman works of art and architecture. His works included publications on old coins (on numismatic), articles about the inscription panels on Islamic monuments, inventories of the Museum collection, translations from German to Ottoman, and popular books to promote the Ottoman art to the public. Following the foundation of the Turkish Republic, his studies and publications also included the researches on prehistoric ages³³⁰. Halil Edhem's wide range of interests, which covered both the Hellenistic world and Islamic arts, is emblematic in demonstrating the transition from the modernization era of the Ottoman Empire to the Islam-oriented nationalism of the second constitutional era and then back to the modernization era of the Turkish Republic in the 1920s. Halil Edhem maintained his position as an eminent intellectual throughout this process of change. I suggest that his successful career did not only depend on his diplomatic skills but also on the fact that in each period, it was necessary to have deep knowledge of both the alienated old-past and the newly-formed present past. As a modern intellectual of the late Ottoman period coming from a powerful family, he sustained the recognition of his intellect.

Kemalettin Bey, on the other hand, was another powerful actor, but he was more motivated and active in politics. He argued that the Turkish monuments had long been neglected because of European influences. His teachings in the Academy of Fine Arts included a curriculum studying Ottoman and Seljukid works of art. He gained first-hand experience in historic preservation through the restoration works of the *vakıf* properties. It is significant that Kemalettin Bey both restored old monuments and constructed new buildings. He undertook works in both development/construction, *imar*, and repair, *tamir*. This phonetic closeness of two terms despite their conflicting meanings is emblematic in the operations of Kemalettin Bey. As he restored many *vakıf* properties in İstanbul, he also demolished many other old structures (some of them also belonging to *vakıf*) for

³³⁰ Semavi Eyice, "Eldem, Halil Ethem (1861-1938)", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol:11, İstanbul, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1995, 18-21.

the construction of new buildings³³¹. It is also needed to highlight the conflict of interests in Kemalettin Bey's being both the judge as a member of AAED, and the defendant as a restoration architect. Kemalettin Bey's service was very brief because he died in 1927. In the 1930s and the 1940s, one of the most vocal critics of AAED was one of his students, Sedat Çetintaş³³².

The selection of a new site for the construction of the Palace of Justice was at the core of public debates in the late 1930s. In 1938, Çetintaş wrote in a newspaper that the selected site was the Palace of İbrahim Paşa, a sixteenth century palace that was unrecognizable due to the dilapidated look of the surroundings. The palace was used as a prison in this period. Çetintaş suggested that once the site was liberated from the surrounding eighteenth-century structures, the Palace could reclaim its former glory. Çetintaş also underlined the significance of the palace in that it was constructed under the management of Sinan the Architect (*Mimar Sinan*)³³³. Two things that Çetintaş highlights are noteworthy: Firstly, Çetintaş proposed liberation of old structures, which was a common practice in Turkey in the restoration of imperial monuments in the given period. Liberation would both clear the spatial-temporal context and provide more visibility for the monument. Secondly, Çetintaş underlined the national value of the palace through highlighting that it was constructed under the management of Mimar Sinan. The Turkification of Sinan, the chief architect of the golden ages of the Ottoman Empire from 1539 to 1588, was a process which started in the second constitutional era and continued throughout the twentieth century. Çetintaş had personally learnt to take pride in Sinan's Turkness from his master Kemalettin Bey³³⁴.

³³¹ Nur Altınyıldız, "The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation", *Muqarnas*, 24, 2007, 281-306: 284.

³³² Çetintaş was the architect member of the Council for the Safeguarding the Monuments (AKK – Anıtları Koruma Kurulu), established in 1933. AKK, which will be discussed further below, was established by special order of Atatürk for the preservation of monuments not only in İstanbul but all over Turkey.

³³³ Sedat Çetintaş, "Kör Kazma Hortlayabilir mi? Sinan'ın Eseri Olan Atmeydanı Sarayı Yıkılmaz", *Cumhuriyet*, June 5, 1938. In Sedat Çetintaş, *İstanbul ve Mimari Yazıları*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2011, 58-61.

³³⁴ Cf. Gülru Necipoğlu, "Creation of a National Genius: Sinan and the Historiography of "Classical" Ottoman Architecture", *Muqarnas*, XXIV, 2007, 141-183.

Demolition of İbrahim Paşa Palace began in 1939. Advocates of the demolition suggested that the palace was constructed by Armenian masons, therefore it could not have heritage value. Çetintaş rejected these arguments not advocating that the Armenian constructions constitute a part of Turkey's cultural heritage, but by rejecting the argument itself and suggesting that the palace was constructed by Turks. He stated that the claims regarding Armenians were "ridiculous and worthless"³³⁵. For Çetintaş, the Ottoman Empire started to become decadent in the eighteenth century and after this period, the Turkish architecture started to deteriorate and Baroque became imperial³³⁶. He often expressed his ultra-nationalist views; he argued that Armenian masons, western influences, and women of the palace were responsible in the loss of Turkishness in Ottoman architecture³³⁷.

In fact, EEKE was at the core of these discussions because the site was proposed by EEKE after long discussions³³⁸. For Çetintaş, EEKE was not only responsible for the demolition of this significant monument but it was also incompetent as the only authority guiding the municipality. He accused EEKE of being unable to even produce an inventory, the only tool that could assist the İstanbul municipality³³⁹.

The discussions on the Turk-ness of the İbrahim Paşa Palace continued even in 1949 when the construction of the new Palace of Justice started³⁴⁰. A national competition was launched for the design of this new structure, which was won by Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat³⁴¹ (Figure 45).

³³⁵ Sedat Çetintaş, "Gülünç ve Kıymetsiz İddialar", *Cumhuriyet*, November 16, 1939. In Sedat Çetintaş, *İstanbul ve Mimari Yazıları*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2011, 58-61.

³³⁶ Sedat Çetintaş, "Sedat Çetintaş'la Mülakat", S. Gürçınar (interviewer), *Bozkurt*, 5, 1942. In Sedat Çetintaş, *İstanbul ve Mimari Yazıları*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2011, 162-165.

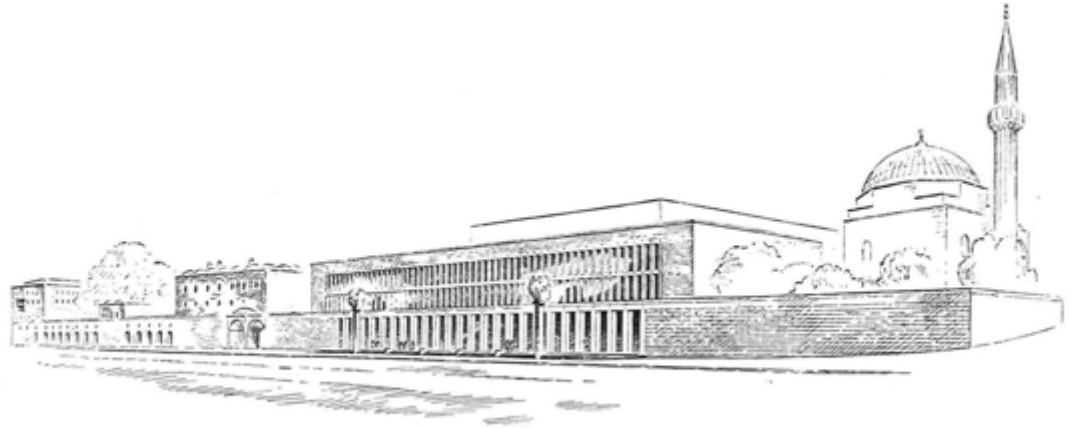
³³⁷ Sedat Çetintaş was not the only actor to vocalize nationalism with a chauvenist rhetoric. See Esra Akcan, *Çeviride*, 371-372.

³³⁸ Cf. Pelin Kotaş, *Modernite İlişkisi Bağlamında Türkiye'de Korumacı Zihniyet: Kurumsallaşma Öncesi Koruma Olgusu*, doctoral dissertation, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, İstanbul, 2015: 158-159.

³³⁹ Sedat Çetintaş, "Abidelerimiz ve Zihniyetimiz", *Cumhuriyet*, September 26, 1942. In Sedat Çetintaş, *İstanbul ve Mimari Yazıları*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2011, 178-180.

³⁴⁰ Ümit Fırat Açıkgöz, "On the Uses", 172.

³⁴¹ -, "İstanbul Adale Binası Projesi Müsabakası", *Arkitekt*, 07-10, 1949, 179-194.



1 nci Mükâfat: Y. Müh. Mimar Ord. Prof. Emin Onat ve Prof. Mimar Sedad Hakkı Projesi

Figure 45: The winning proposal for the Palace of Justice. In -, “İstanbul Adalet Binası Projesi Müsabakası”, *Arkitekt*, 213, 1949, 179-194.

Sedad Hakkı Eldem (1908-1988), as will be mentioned in chapter 2.3.3., was the most productive architect of modern Turkey. As Altan Ergut notes, he is the second most scholarly studied Turkish architect after *Mimar Sinan*³⁴². He was also a powerful professor at the Academy of Fine Arts. His course at the Academy was structured in a similar fashion. For his course ‘Seminars on National Architecture (*Milli Mimarlık Seminerleri*)’, students would produce measured surveys (*rölöve*) of historic residential houses in Turkey. This course can be considered as the beginning of historic preservation education in Turkey³⁴³. Like Eldem, Çetintaş was also a well-reputed architect for his *rölöve* drawings, which he produced as a part of his duty at the AKK. However, unlike Eldem, Çetintaş believed that the real virtue of Turkish architecture was embedded in Ottoman monumental architecture rather than civic architecture³⁴⁴.

At this point, I would like to point that Çetintaş was educated by Kemalettin Bey, a religious Muslim and a proud nationalist Turk. Eldem, on the other hand, was raised in a well-educated modern family. This difference in their social backgrounds was revealed in their architectural viewpoints as well. Eldem interpreted the characteristics of historic traditional residences within a modernist

³⁴² Cf. Elvan Altan Ergut, “Cumhuriyetin Mekanları Zamanları İnsanları: Mimarlık Tarihyazımı Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme”, Elvan Altan Ergut, Bilge İmamoğlu (eds.), *Cumhuriyetin Mekanları Zamanları İnsanları* (Ankara, Dipnot, 2010), 11-24.

³⁴³ Cf. Burcu Selcen Coşkun and Demet Binan, “Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki”, 106.

³⁴⁴ Nur Altinyıldız, “The Architectural Heritage”, 294.

architectural language. His efforts accompanied republican efforts to modernize a traditional society. Çetintaş's appreciation for Ottoman monumental architecture, on the other hand, was emblematic in demonstrating that the effects of the second constitutional era were still influential to a certain extent even in the 1940s. As will be discussed in chapter 3, the sector of society that was not happy with the power of the republican elites would gradually gain power in the 1950s and reshape the parliament, accusing the republican rulers of elitism and of being 'detached from the public.'

Another important actor who shaped the republican understanding of cultural heritage was Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963). Even in his student years, Ülgen participated in the inventory studies of EEKE. After graduation, he was sent to Germany to study historic preservation in 1938, with state funding. When the war started, Albert Gabriel(1883-1972)³⁴⁵, who was the professor of art history at İstanbul University, helped Ülgen continue his studies in France. After his return to his country, he served as a consultant for the conservation of *vakıf* properties at *Evkaf*, as a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts, and as an expert at the Ministry of Education³⁴⁶. In 1943, Ülgen published his book *Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması – I, (Protection and Repair of Monuments – I)*³⁴⁷. This was planned to be the first book of a four-volume publication; the first volume providing a theoretical framework, the second examining scientific methods of restoration implementation, the third discussing case studies, and finally the fourth exploring Turkish monuments. The last three volumes were never written.

The first chapter of Ülgen's book, "What is a monument and why do we protect it?", provides a history of historic preservation in Europe, and then in Turkey. Ülgen lists European countries and narrates the development of

³⁴⁵ Gabriel also wrote a preface for Ülgen's book. His piece, the only part published in both French and Turkish, reaffirmed that Ülgen was a skilled architect capable of undertaking scientific conservation projects. Gabriel was an influential academic for the local architectural community. He researched and published on the Seljukid architecture. He traveled eastern Anatolia and advocated for the safeguarding of monuments either through his publications or through reacting against authorities. He also helped young architects complete their education in Europe. Ülgen was one of these architects. Cf. Semavi Eyice, "GABRIEL, Albert-Louis (1883-1972)", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, v13, İstanbul, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1996, 275-278.

³⁴⁶ Cf. Zeynep Ahunbay, "Genç Cumhuriyetin Koruma Alanındaki Öncülerinden Y. Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963)" *Restorasyon Konservasyon Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 16, 2013, 3-20.

³⁴⁷ Ali Saim Ülgen, *Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması – I*, Ankara, Maarif Matbaası, 1943.

preservation in these countries, followed by the legislative arrangements regarding historic monuments. France, and particularly the restoration principles of Viollet-le-Duc, significantly dominate this first chapter. After investigating the history and the institutionalization of conservation in European countries, Ülgen sketches the institutional scheme in Turkey. Lastly, he outlines French, British, and Italian legislation on monuments, and highlights how the Turkish system needed to be improved. The second chapter, “Protection of Old Monuments and Repair Methods”, was also dominated by examples from France and the methods of Viollet-le-Duc. Italy, England, Germany and Austria are briefly presented. Ülgen also investigated the condition of unused structures and the organization of museum collections. The last chapter is only nine pages and discusses the conditions requiring the repair of monuments and works for these repairs. Also in this chapter, Ülgen’s admiration for Viollet-le-Duc is easily apparent. The final 100 sheets of the book are set aside for photographs of historic monuments from Europe and mostly from Turkey.

Ülgen’s book provides fine material for discussing the republican understanding of historic preservation, because it both demonstrates where the Turkish practice stood in the European context and exemplified the general preservation tendencies in Turkey in the 1930s and the 1940s.

The influence of Viollet-le-Duc on Ülgen may seem inevitable since Ülgen completed his education in France. However, John Ruskin’s name is not mentioned in the entire book³⁴⁸. Thus, in terms of philosophy of preservation, Ülgen embraced le-Duc’s approach rather than Ruskin³⁴⁹.

³⁴⁸ For Ruskin’s ideas on restoration, Cf. Giovanni Leoni, “Il comandamento scritto nelle cose. Sul problema del restauro in John Ruskin” in John Ruskin, *Il riposo di San Marco-St. Mark’s rest. La storia di Venezia, scritta a servizio di quei pochi viaggiatori che hanno a cuore i suoi monumenti*, M. Pretelli (trans.), Collana Politecnica (ed.), (S. Arcangelo di Romagna, Maggioli Editore 2010). For Ruskin’s impact on modern thought, Cf. Giovanni Leoni, “Architecture as Commentary: Ruskin’s Pre-modern Architectural Thought and its Influence on Modern Architecture”, Giovanni CianciPeter Nicholls (eds.), *Ruskin and Modernism* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 194-210. As mentioned earlier, Ruskin’s works are not solely on historic preservation. Ruskin’s ideas on monuments are mainly on the second chapter of *Seven Lambs of Architecture, the Lamb of Memory*.

³⁴⁹ As an architect and preservationist, it is natural that le-Duc influenced Ülgen. As an intellectual familiar with European developments, it is possible to suggest that Ülgen was familiar with Ruskin’s ideas, but Ülgen was interested in the implementations rather than philisophical aspects. Thus, in the England section of Ülgen’s book, William Morris’s projects are highlighted rather than Morris’s friend Ruskin’s ideas.

Moreover, it is questionable that neither CIAM conference of 1932 nor the *Carta del Restauro* were mentioned in Ülgen's book. One may suggest that Ülgen did not know about the *Carta del Restauro* or CIAM, however, Ülgen had often visited Europe even after his education was completed. In his book, he described the contemporary restoration works of monuments in Europe. Therefore, doubtlessly, Ülgen was aware of the most recent developments in Europe. There could be several reasons that he did not include these developments in his book. One may suggest that he would have thought these were topics to cover in other volumes. It can also be suggested that the reason was that Turkey was not one of the countries who signed the Athens Charter. Among these suggestions, I hold that Ülgen ignored the *Carta del Restauro* because the principles of this document would not fit with republican needs. The republic needed to stage interventions on the monuments in a way which would cause these monuments to reshape the memories of the new society.

In the Italy section of *Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması – I*, Ülgen wrote:

In the preservation of Italian monuments, prime minister M. Mussolini's methods, which contemplated touristic benefits have been very effective.

Bozdoğan³⁵⁰ stressed the similarities between Italian Fascist architecture and Turkish republican architecture. In that sense, it is not a coincidence that Ülgen refers to Mussolini in describing historic preservation in Italy. However, in the period during which Ülgen published his book, Mussolini's overseas empire had already failed and Italy had already had a new heritage preservation approach that was generated by a new generation of architects such as anti-fascist philosopher-historian Benedetto Croce, Giulio Carlo Argan, or Cesare Brandi. Moreover, *Istituto Centrale per il Restauro* was already established.

Ülgen's book, as mentioned above, does not only enable discussions on the effect of the European preservation legacy on the Turkish architectural community, but it also demonstrates some tendencies in Turkish practice. One of these tendencies is to compare the Ottoman system and the republican system, stressing how careless the former had been regarding 'our' monuments. In fact, this is an incorrect argument because it ignores firstly the preservationist efforts of the second constitutional era, and secondly, the late Ottoman efforts to prevent the

³⁵⁰ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism*.

removal of archaeological artifacts. Lastly, this argument ignores that Ottoman institutionalization was effective until the 1950s. Another tendency was quoting important state officers to reiterate the preservation consciousness of the republic. For instance, Ülgen's book started with two directives sent by the prime minister İsmet İnönü in 1936 and 1938³⁵¹. The first directive was a warning about official authority over historic structures. İnönü stated no structures would be used without the consent of the General Directorate of Pious Foundations³⁵². The second directive was on how public bodies demolished historic buildings. İnönü stressed that only an expert committee could decide which monuments could be demolished and no monuments would be demolished without the consent of the Ministry of Education³⁵³. The formation of this expert committee, as Choay states:

“professionals demand not only positive, historical, technical, and methodological knowledge. It also implies a doctrine as well, which can articulate these skills and competencies in very different ways, by modifying the objectives and the nature of architectural intervention”³⁵⁴.

The institutions of historic preservation in the republican period, which were either carried over from the Ottoman past or were newly-formed in the republican era, functioned in a similar fashion.

2.2.4. New institutes

In 1933, AKK was established and two years later, in 1935, it published ‘The Works of AKK between 1933-1935’³⁵⁵. This publication's first sentence was “Turkey is the land of antiquities” and it was followed by the suggestion that Turkey has the oldest monuments in the world. The authors asked readers: “Where could you find a better Hellenistic city and castle than Pergamum?” or

³⁵¹ When the book was published in 1943, İnönü had already become the president after Atatürk's death in 1938 and he was already honored as ‘national leader’ (milli şef) by the single party of the parliament that he had led since the foundation of the republic.

³⁵² Ibid, p.IX. In the same directive, İnönü also gave the example of a case in which two mosques in Diyarbakır were used by the Agriculture Bank with the governor's consent to store the wheat stock. The governor was sent a directive for the proper use of these historic structures.

³⁵³ Ibid, p.X.

³⁵⁴ Françoise Choay, *The Invention*, 101.

³⁵⁵ -, *Anıtları Koruma Komisyonununun 1933-1935 Yıllarındaki Çalışmaları*, İstanbul, Devlet Basımevi, 1935

“Who on earth would not know Hagia Sophia?”. In line with the Turkish History Thesis, a national identity was attached to these old artifacts: “One of the factors that valorizes the unique Anatolian monuments is the complete representation of works from all periods of art history. In other countries, we cannot see such an unbroken chain. To prove this reality, it is enough to have a look at the historic layers in Troy and Alişar”³⁵⁶.

In this publication, it was strongly reiterated that the most important and spectacular works of the history are in the land of *Turks*. These works were incomparable to any other country. Also, the Ottoman mentality was despised for giving antique artefacts to foreigners without hesitation: “the evil mentality of the Ottoman state is completely dismantled by the Republican will. Atatürk initiated the first step of this dismantling”³⁵⁷.

The first step that the book referred was Atatürk’s telegram to İsmet İnönü, sent during his Anatolian tour in 1931. The telegram was as follows:

“On my last investigation tour, I inspected museums, old works of art and civilization in various places:

3. Other than İstanbul, I also visited museums in Bursa, İzmir, Adana, and Konya. In these museums, some of the findings that we collected so far are protected and some are partially-classified with the help of foreign experts. However, we need archaeology experts to work on excavations and undertake duties at museum directories for the protection of monuments that became ruins due to the constant neglect of the previous periods and for the scientific protection and classification of the old civilization artifacts that currently lie all over our country as unique treasures but will be dug out in the future by ourselves. For this reason, I am of opinion that a portion of the students that are sent abroad by the Ministry of Education shall be assigned to this department.
4. In Konya, there are some buildings that were the masterworks of the eight-century antecedent Turkish civilization even though they are now in ruined condition due to centuries-long neglect. Among these, Karatay Madrasa, Alaaddin Mosque, Sahipata Madrasa, Mosque and Tomb, Sırçalı Masjid, and İnce Minare immediately and urgently need repair. Since any delay on this repair will lead to complete destruction of these monuments, I request firstly the evacuation of those that are used by the army, and then total restoration under the guidance of an expert team.”

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 3-4.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 8.

This telegram was also published in another 1933 publication by the State Publication House; “We Are Obligated to Protect Our Historic Monuments and Assets”. The publication provided “the List of Historic Buildings in Need of Urgent Repair” which included more than 250 monuments in 95 cities. This list is a very important document (in terms of understanding the Republican attitude towards the Ottoman past) not only due to the issues that the letter addressed, but also, due to those that were avoided. It is noteworthy that Istanbul only had five monuments on this list. The publication included also a draft for the law on the protection of old monuments with a supporting text explaining the reasoning behind the law³⁵⁸.

Atatürk’s telegram emblematically underlines two ideological goals of the republican regime, separately in the first and the second article. The first article is about the education of young archaeologists to manage future archaeological excavations. As one can easily observe, and as already discussed in chapter 2.2., these archaeological excavations were meant to provide material evidence for the Turkish History Thesis, which generated a ‘secular’ historic reference for the roots of the Turkish nation. The second article, which is about the protection of the Islamic heritage in Konya, may seem to conflict with the first article. However, given the political climate of 1930s’ Turkey, as suggested before, the republican authority had to generate a conservation approach to Islamic heritage. Therefore, the two issues addressed in Atatürk’s letter: facilitating the production of a new historic reference and the management of the old past, had to be managed simultaneously.

Atatürk’s tour of Anatolia was his longest and arguably, one of his most significant tours. For Atatürk, this Anatolian tour was not only an investigation of the public reception of republican reforms, but also of the economic effects of the Great Depression. Moreover, failed attempts to form a multiple-party parliament also made it necessary to adjust the tone of the republican reforms to an unthreatening mode for the sharia sympathizers³⁵⁹. I don’t suggest that the restoration of monuments in Konya was an urgent issue for the religious Muslim community, but the context in which Atatürk penned this article necessitated

³⁵⁸-, *Tarihi Abide ve Eserlerimizi Korumağa Mecburuz*, İstanbul, Devlet Matbaası, 1933.

³⁵⁹ Erdem Çanak, “Atatürk’ün Yurt Gezilerine Bir Örnek: 1930-1931 Gezisi”, *Akademik Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 4/23, 2016, 128-178.

elimination of any reaction from the very same community. The republican ruling class was powerful enough to silence the opposition, but in 1931, opposition was still strong. Nevertheless, this telegram spurred the Ankara government to action on the conservation of historic monuments.

As mentioned above, a committee was formed following Atatürk's telegram. The committee members were the general secretary of the Ministry of Interior, the general director of the Directorate of Pious Foundations, the general director of Museums, and that of the Ethnography Museum. They outlined the issues as: the diverse stakeholder regime on *külliyeler* buildings, the high budget that should be allocated to historic monuments, the need for a national listing mechanism, the dissemination works, and the need for a central decision-making mechanism³⁶⁰. Thus, with a cabinet decision, four committees were foreseen in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, and Elazığ³⁶¹ with a minimum of five members for each city; one archaeologist, minimum two architects, one painter, one photographer, and one formwork mason if need be. Preparation of maps would be either undertaken by the local experts or outsourced³⁶².

Following the cabinet decision, the Ministry of Education formed the Ankara-based AKK in 1933, for the safeguarding of all the monuments in Anatolia. Prof. M. F. Miltner, who excavated Ephesus for many years for the Institute of Archaeology in Vienna, was appointed head of the council. Other members included two architects, Sedat Çetintaş and Macit Kural (who was a practicing architect for the İstanbul Museums), and the German photographer Schuller (who worked in *Alişar* archaeological site [close to Ankara], excavated by the Chicago University Oriental Institute) with his Turkish assistant³⁶³. Between 1933 and 1935, CPM undertook 44 monument-related projects in twenty cities. Most of

³⁶⁰ -, *Anıtları Koruma*, 9

³⁶¹ The selection of Elazığ in the cabinet decision is a surprising one, as the other other three cities were metropolitan centres. Elazığ is located in southeastern Turkey. As Tanpınar describes in *Beş Şehir*, Elazığ played a vital role in the Independence war. Apart from its significant value for the political history of Turkey, Elazığ was also apparently selected geographically as a regional centre for management of the cultural heritage of lands that were mostly populated by the Kurdish community. After the removal of Armenians during the First World War, the eastern region had a vast building stock mostly left by the Armenian community. After this demographic change, the Kurdish community was the predominant community of the eastern terrain.

³⁶² *Ibid*, 10-11.

³⁶³ *Ibid*, 10-11.

these projects were the repair of monuments, however, there were also some projects for the removal (dismantling and then re-construction) of obelisks, fire prevention projects, the construction of visitor promenades, inventories, printing brochures, and survey drawings- the last requiring an important portion of the budget. Only five of these projects were in İstanbul³⁶⁴.

The work of generating an inventory was a problem both for EEKE and AKK. EEKE struggled to create a list of historic structures for İstanbul. AKK, on the other hand, was overwhelmed by undertaking the same duty for the rest of Turkey. In two years, AKK filled inventory forms for 3500 structures. The members prepared separate reports regarding the inventory problem: Miltner classified the monuments prioritizing the urgency of intervention and his list included mainly archaeological sites. Macit Kural's list, on the other hand, included mosques, masjids, tombs, caravanserais, madrasas, and Ottoman baths. His list also classified these monuments, again with the goal of prioritizing interventions³⁶⁵. Investigated together, these two lists provided a bizarre compilation. First of all, neither Kural nor Miltner provided a selection criteria. Their classification was based on their expertise, thus on subjective manners. Secondly, the list included both archaeological sites and architectural heritage in urban settlements. Archaeological conservation and architectural conservation require diverse scientific skills. With this list, AKK presented itself as a committee claiming authority on both disciplines.

The other architect member of AKK, Sedat Çetintaş, was given a separate bureau. He was commissioned to produce survey drawings (*rölöve*, in Turkish) of the Turkish monuments in various cities³⁶⁶. Çetintaş started surveying the monuments in Bursa, the first capital of the Ottoman Empire. As mentioned before, Çetintaş was educated under Kemalettin Bey, and he was also influenced by the nationalism of the second constitutional era. His impressive drawings, rather than documenting the monuments in their present condition as expected from a survey drawing, depicted Ottoman monuments in their ideal conditions.

³⁶⁴ The Republican apathy towards İstanbul was not only evident in the number of restoration works, but also in the number of new constructions. Throughout the 1930s, many modern buildings were constructed in the major cities of Turkey. In İstanbul, on the other hand, only a few modern buildings were constructed in the early decades. Cf. Murat Gül, *Emergence*, 79.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Emre Madran. "Cumhuriyetin", 72.

However, Çetintaş's selective restoration understanding prioritized monumental structures, overlooking residential architecture, eventually causing the loss of these structures since these houses could not be documented and listed by AKK³⁶⁷. Çetintaş was, however, a reputed architect for his survey drawings.

Çetintaş's drawings were displayed in various cities and sent to Europe for exhibitions. His drawings were displayed at the 1953 Paris exhibition and grabbed the attention of international experts for their quality³⁶⁸ (Figure 46).



Figure 46: Sedat Çetintaş's drawings of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne (on the left) and the tomb (türbe) of Sultan Mahmud in İstanbul. These drawings were exhibited in several European cities. In *Türk Mimari Eserlerine*.

AKK often referred to the *Turkification* of monuments in highlighting the heritage value of the monuments in Anatolia. In addition, the economic value of the monuments was also highlighted. AKK suggested the cultural heritage of Turkey could trigger touristic activity. However, even though Turkey housed the most significant artistic and architectural works of the whole world, even more beautiful and significant than what Greece and Italy had to offer, she was not good at promoting either these works or natural attractions to foreigners³⁶⁹.

AKK can be considered as the mock-up for GEEAYK, which will be discussed in the third chapter. It functioned as a central authority for the management of cultural heritage. Its authority covered all of Anatolia, from archaeological sites to villages and urban areas. This authority did not have the sources to be recognized by all local authorities all over Turkey. For this reason, its service was mainly limited to historic monuments.

As the conservation of Islamic monuments was a serious problem to be addressed by the republican ruling class, the modernization of Anatolian towns

³⁶⁷ Nur Altınyıldız, "The Architectural", 293-294.

³⁶⁸ -, *Türk Mimari Eserlerine Ait Rölöve Sergisi Resim ve Heykel Müzesinde*, İstanbul, Maarif Basımevi, 1956.

³⁶⁹ Hamit Zübeyr, *Tarihi Abidelerimizi Koruyalım*, Ankara, Hakimiyeti Milliye Matbaası, 1932.

was a project implemented in full force. İstanbul was finally remembered as a city that could also be modernized. It was only in the mid-1930s that modernist urban transformation of İstanbul could start.

2.3. Imagining the Future, Suppressing the Past: Ankara and İstanbul

Among the major reforms undertaken by the Turkish Republic, one may question the selection of Ankara as the new capital on October 13, 1923. However, abandoning İstanbul was a relatively less controversial decision since İstanbul, having served as the capital of the Ottoman Empire for nearly four and a half centuries, was not the best fit to represent the modern secular face of the Republic. The selection of Ankara as the new capital, on the other hand, raised some doubts among society. Moreover, the economic resources of the new state were limited and the construction of a new capital would consume a huge portion of these resources.

Despite some industrial investments, the Ottoman state was not successful in generating a well-functioning industrial base. Therefore, following the foundation of the Republic, economic development was one of the key goals³⁷⁰. During the early years of the Great Depression, Turkey also had limited economic investments. Moreover, the Turkish Republic was still paying back debts incurred during the Ottoman period. However, the Republic had to make new investments for new institutions. All these circumstances had left the Republic in an economically challenged position. Therefore, changing the capital from İstanbul to Ankara seemed a radical decision since this rural city was going to require immense investments in new construction in order to serve as the capital of Turkey.

Not only the new capital, but also other cities of the Republic were in an extremely poor condition after the war. Most of the cities had vast empty areas resulting from fires and damage caused by the war. Moreover, health conditions were so poor that malaria was a common disease in many Anatolian cities. The

³⁷⁰ Even before the Republic, under the orders of Atatürk, a congress was organized in İzmir to outline the economic policy of the new state. As a result of the İzmir Economy Congress (17 February -4 March 1923), the Economy Pact was promulgated.

new republic tried to overcome these problems through promulgating decrees to regulate urban activities. Even though these decrees created a conflict between the new institutions sharing authority, they were instrumental in eliminating the municipal power of the single party authority of the second constitutional era, the Party of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası*). This party did not exist anymore following the Republican revolution but its power was still felt in city life³⁷¹.

As mentioned above, until the beginning of the 1930s, the impact of the second constitutional era was still influential. It was only after the 1930s that the ruling class reinstated its power and enacted more reforms in secularization. This timely development was evident in planning of two capitals. Urban planning and architecture created and presented the modern face of the new state in Ankara. Once the making of Ankara was completed and the government held enough power, modernization of İstanbul via urban planning could also find a place in the state agenda. The main goal was to transform the old capital which was still remembered with the Ottoman past. The questions on architectural character of these cities and its relation to national identity triggered the emergence of the ‘Turkish House’ myth.

As mentioned in the introduction, the nature of the change in the two cities present the context that historic preservation was performed, because, in both cases a historicist approach was embraced which shaped the preservation discourse of the republican era. For this reason, an investigation of architectural and urban planning projects in both cities help us understand the dynamics of historic preservation.

³⁷¹ İCf. İhan Tekeli, *Cumhuriyetin Belediyecilik Öyküsü (1923-1990)*, (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), 36-42. The Party of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası*) was formed by those who executed the Young Turk Revolution. At the beginning, the Revolution had created a liberated milleau, however, in the following years this atmosphere was lost. The power of this party increased step by step to carry the Empire to the level of an even more autocratic state. The Balkan Wars started in 1912 and were followed by the First World War (1914-1918). During the war, the parliament was ruled under the dominance of the military with a totally authoritarian attitude. Cf. Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey*, 36-39.

2.3.1. Making of the new capital: Ankara

The new municipal laws addressed town planning issues for cities all over Turkey; however, the main Republican experience in managing cities (in terms of municipal activities) was acquired with its experience in Ankara. When Ankara was first declared the new capital, the city was governed using the same institutional Ottoman scheme as İstanbul; it was declared a municipality (*Ankara şehremaneti*) and governed by the Public Society of Municipality (*Cemiyet-i Umumiye-i Belediye*). However, throughout the 1920s, the governance of Ankara was managed with total autonomy and a big budget allotted to the local authorities in Ankara. (Figure 47).

The old capital İstanbul, on the other hand, had already been the testing ground for westernization efforts in the nineteenth century and thus, the urban fabric had already been changed. In addition, fires and earthquakes had devastated the city in the late nineteenth century. After a decade of wars, the condition of İstanbul had further deteriorated; moreover, İstanbul was occupied by British, French and Italian troops from the loss of the First World War until the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Therefore, Ankara was poorly prepared to be the capital, but İstanbul was not the best option either (Figure 48).



Figure 47: Ankara before becoming the capital. Excerpts from the documentary movie *Ankara: The Heart of Turkey*, 1933. This documentary was commissioned to Soviet film-makers for the celebration of the tenth year of the Republic. It is one of the most important visuals on republican Ankara.



Figure 48: İstanbul in the first quarter of the twentieth century. In Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul* (İstanbul, Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı, 2002), 388-389.

When the capital was first moved to Ankara, there were expectations among bureaucrats, intellectuals, and even the military that the capital would be moved back to İstanbul after the new state and its bodies had been established. Even consulates were not located in Ankara for a long period due to the same expectation. Even today, the Italian consulate, for instance, is in İstanbul. However, these expectations were gradually disappointed by the Republican ruling class through political tactics carefully planned to avoid a major reaction. In fact, even in the parliament, some representatives advocated that İstanbul should be treated the same as any other Turkish city regardless of its being the capital of both the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires for centuries. The intellectual community of İstanbul, on the other hand, were not best pleased by their sudden loss of prestige and status³⁷². The members of this intellectual community in İstanbul were the eminent figures in the Ottoman era. They had also undertaken important achievements during the Ottoman period, and they were still powerful in İstanbul to a certain extent. Zürcher states:

The government was highly unpopular in Istanbul at the time, not so much because of the proclamation of the republic as because it had officially made Ankara the new capital of Turkey a fortnight earlier. This was

³⁷² Murat Gül, *The Emergence of Modern İstanbul: Transformation and Modernisation of a City* (New York, Tauris Academic Studies, 2009). pp. 84-91.

something that not only hurt the pride of the inhabitants of the old capital, but it also meant continuing unemployment for the tens of thousands of civil servants among them³⁷³.

Changing the capital facilitated the formation of a new powerful intellectual community that was committed to republican ideals rather than the Ottoman Islamic past, whose intellectuals were disappointed with the republican regime³⁷⁴. Indeed, this was only possible with urban planning and architecture³⁷⁵.

The first urban plan for Ankara was the Lörcher plan in 1924.. However, this plan was only partially implemented and another plan became necessary in the late 1920s due to uncontrolled urban growth³⁷⁶. The establishment of the Bank of Real Estate (*Emlak ve Eytam Bakanlığı*) in 1926, and the outsourcing of infrastructural constructions to foreign capital with a new law in 1927, helped Ankara acquire enough power to transition into a capital. In 1928, the Ankara Development Directorate was established under the Ministry of Interior, and an international urban planning competition was launched for Ankara. German urbanist Hermann Jansen won the competition. His plan was improved in 1932³⁷⁷.

³⁷³ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey*, 167.

³⁷⁴ Şerif Mardin, *Türkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset: Makaleler 1* (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1990).

³⁷⁵ For an overview of the early republican architectural activities Cf. Elvan Altan Ergut, Bilge İmamoğlu (eds.), *Cumhuriyetin Mekanları Zamanları İnsanları* (Ankara, Dipnot, 2010). On an evaluation on changing scholarly approach in architectural history writing regarding to early republican architecture; see; Elvan Altan Ergut's work in the same publication; Cf. "Cumhuriyetin Mekanları Zamanları İnsanları: Mimarlık Tarihyazını Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", 11-24. On the same issue, also cf. the preface in Bernd Nicolai, *Modern ve Sürgün: Almanca Konuşulan Ülkelerin Mimarları Türkiye'de*, Yüksel Pöğün Zander (trans.) (Ankara, Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2011 [1998]).

³⁷⁶ Cf. Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın ilk planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı: kentsel mekan özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı'na ve bugüne katkıları, etki ve kalıntıları* (Ankara, Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 2004). Also Cf. Ali Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati: 20. Yüzyılda Modernleşme ve Demokratikleşme Pratiğinde Mimarlar, Kamusal Mekan ve Konut Mimarlığı* (Ankara, Mimarlar Derneği 1927, Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2002).

³⁷⁷ For Jansen plan, Cf. Esra Akcan, *Architecture*. Akcan demonstrates how Jansen adopted the garden city approach to Ankara. Akcan shows how the idea of 'garden city' was *translated* in different geographies. Akcan suggests that this plan, and new housing proposals in particular, was irrelevant to the Turkish context and implementation of these proposals were indicators of top-down modernization approach of the republican rulers. Cf., Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı: Ankara (1929-1929)* (Ankara, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1990). Tankut's comprehensive study chronologically examines the need for a new capital, selection of Ankara as the new capital, the competition process, selection of the Jansen Plan as the winning proposal, problems of

Jansen also prepared master plans for other six cities; İzmit, Adana, Ceyhan, Tarsus, Mersin, and Gaziantep. In all these cities, the Ankara plan was the model³⁷⁸.

In the republican period, mainly foreign architects helped create the image of modern Turkey. They were invited not only for planning towns and constructing buildings; they were also asked to teach in academia³⁷⁹. As mentioned in chapter 1.3., foreign architects had taken on an important role in the late-Ottoman period as well. This situation had changed with the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. What followed this so-called revolution was the emergence of Ottoman revivalist architecture. Architects of this era used the construction materials of modern architecture (concrete and steel) to construct buildings based on Ottoman references (such as spherical domes, buttresses, tile decoration). They confronted the emerging architectural principles, building typologies, and construction techniques of the nineteenth century for the first time and they responded to this change with an ideological perspective which referred to the golden ages of the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, they produced the first works of ‘modern architecture’ (Figure 49, Figure 50). Even though the power of the Young Turks

implementation phase, and the results of the implementations. Cf., Fehmi Yavuz, *Ankara'nın İmarı ve Şehirciliğimiz* (Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1952).

³⁷⁸ Esra Akcan, *Architecture*, 93-94.

³⁷⁹ On foreign architects in republican Turkey; Cf. Esra Akcan, *Architecture. Modern ve Sürgün: Almanca Konuşulan Ülkelerin Mimarları Türkiye’de*, Yüksel Pöğün Zander (trans.) (Ankara, Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2011 [1998]). In Nicolai’s work, early republican architectural production is not presented as a one-way transfer of skill and knowledge from German-speaking countries to Turkey, but rather, similar to Akcan’s work, it is discussed as a process of interculturality and acculturation. Both studies integrate concepts such as transfer, migration, movement, etc. to architectural history writing. In a similar fashion, Doğramacı’s study also focuses on architectural discourse that is produced through cultural encounters between Turkish architects and foreign architects (coming from German-speaking countries). Cf. Burcu Doğramacı, *Kulturtransfer und nationale Identität. Deutschsprachige Architekten, Stadtplaner und Bildhauer nach 1927*, (Berlin, Mann, 2008). For the reception of foreign architects by Turkish architectural communities; Cf. Gürhan Tümer, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi’nde Yabancı Mimarlar Sorunu* (İzmir, Mimarlar Odası İzmir Şubesi Yayınları, 1998). Tümer’s study surveys architectural journals to outline the reaction against foreign architects. Foreign experts were invited not only for planning towns and constructing buildings; they were also asked to teach in academia. In Ankara, Ernst Egli was the most productive architect and he was also teaching at the Fine Arts University in İstanbul. Cf. Oya Atalay Franck, *Politika ve Mimarlık. Ernst Egli ve Türkiye’de Modernliğin Arayışı 1927-1940*. (Ankara, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 2015). Cf. Oya Atalay Franck, “Ernst A. Egli: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarı ve Eğitimsi 1930-1936”, *Arrademento Mimarlık*, 167, 2004, 110-119.

and the power of the Party of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası*) were initially interrupted by the wars and then superseded by the Republican ruling class, the Ottoman revivalism continued until the 1930s. In Ankara and in other cities, many public buildings were constructed in this style. In the 1930s, the era in which the power of the Republican ruling class was entrenched within the single party parliament of the Republican People's Party (CHP – *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*), Ottoman revivalist architecture was abandoned in favor of the adaption of the 'International Style', or 'new architecture' that made use of the simplistic geometries of modern architecture. Any reference to Ottoman architecture could not possibly be the representative of the Turkish Republic. New constructions should demonstrate the contemporary face of the Republic. The use of Ottoman references, at the beginning, helped achieve a smooth transition and now, in the 1930s, a complete rejection of Ottoman forms was necessary in order to break ties with the Empire's memories³⁸⁰. In this period that Ottoman forms were rejected and the 'new architecture' was embraced, examples of these two diverse architectural styles stood next or opposite to each other along the new Atatürk Boulevard in Ankara (Figure 51).

³⁸⁰ On architectural tendencies during the republican era; cf. Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism*, Esra Akcan, *Architecture*. Sibel Bozdoğan, Esra Akcan, *Turkey*. İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938* (Ankara, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşbirliği, 1980). İnci Aslanoğlu, "Evaluation Of Architectural Developments In Turkey Within The Socio-Economic And Cultural Framework Of The 1923-38 Period", *O.D.T.Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, 7, 2 (1986), 15-41. İlhan Tekeli, "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey", Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin (eds.), *Modern Turkish Architecture*, (Pittsburgh, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 9-33. For a more critical scholarly work against the republic's nationalist exploitation of modernist architecture, cf. Zeynep Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey: state, space, and ideology in the early republic*, (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015).

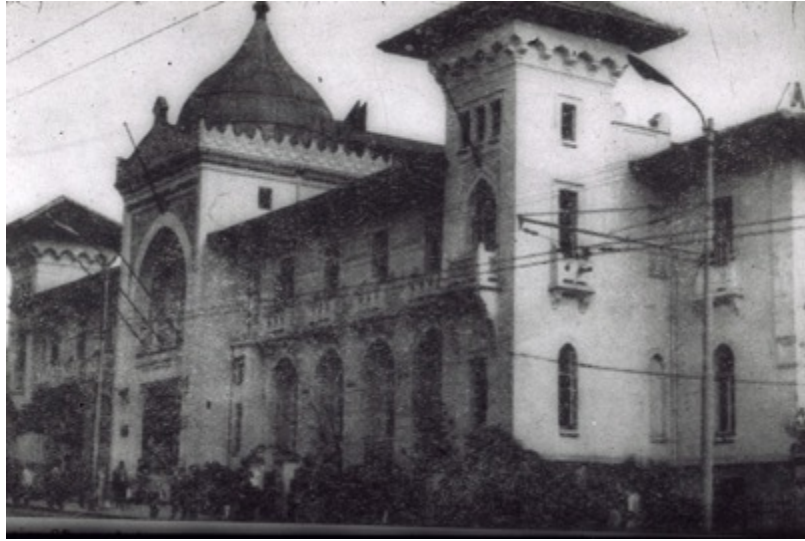


Figure 49: Ankara Palace Hotel, designed by Vedat Bey and Kemalettin Bey. *SALT Online Arhive, TSOH222.*



Figure 50: The Fourth Office Complex of the Ministry of Endowments (4. Vakıf Hanı), designed by Kemalettin Bey. In Mimar Nihat, "Mimar Kemalettin ve eserleri", *Arkitekt*, 25, 1933, 19-21.



Figure 51: View of Atatürk Boulevard in the 1940s. *Koç University VEKAM Archive, ID No: 1082.*

In addition to big cities, the modernization of rural areas was also an important agent in making of the modern society. Construction of railways was a pivotal investment in reaching these rural areas. In the Ottoman period, railroad constructions were outsourced to foreign companies and in return, the Ottoman state could reach these territories and could collect taxes³⁸¹. In the Republican period, on the contrary, the main motivations for railroad constructions were “economy, national integration, and security”³⁸². These republican projects helped deliver modernist ideology to rural areas; the rural population was supposed to become modernized within their villages. This republican policy did not pose a danger of urbanization for Turkish cities (except Ankara)³⁸³. The Republic designed an institution to undertake the duty of modernization in rural areas. This

³⁸¹ In the late Ottoman period, railway constructions were mostly managed by German companies. For the social and political context of this German-Ottoman relationship in railway construction; cf. Peter H. Christensen, *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire and Infrastructure* (New Haven, Yale University Press, London).

³⁸² Cf. Zeynep Kezer, “An Imaginable Community: the material culture of nation-building in early republican Turkey”, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 27:3 (2009), 508-530. In this work, Kezer argues that the railroads created uniform urban forms in rural towns. Due to the lack of budget, a formula was found for the transformation of these towns. Only the main buildings were constructed (such as school, hospital, post office, police stations) and the same pattern was being implemented at the next destination to which the railroads arrived.

³⁸³ İlhan Tekeli, *Cumhuriyetin*, 53.

institution was the People's Houses (*Halkevleri*)³⁸⁴. Also in Europe, a similar tool was used for a similar purpose; *Maison du Peuple* in French and Belgium, *Casa del Fascio* in Italy, *Volkshochschule* or *Volkshaus* in Germany were similar to *Halkevleri* in Turkey. *Halkevleri* was the centers of public education, which were key instruments that were generated and executed by the CHP; thus they functioned as primary political tools to spread republican ideology. These centers created environments in which, for the first time, people in the villages were able to become engaged with sports, typewriting, music, books, and art exhibitions. Moreover, *Halkevleri* helped improve women's rights in rural areas. Women instructors educated the young population. Thus, they contributed to women's visibility in the public sphere. Moreover, the architecture of these centers promoted modernist architecture as the optimum building form that could accommodate these modern practices³⁸⁵ (Figure 52, Figure 53).

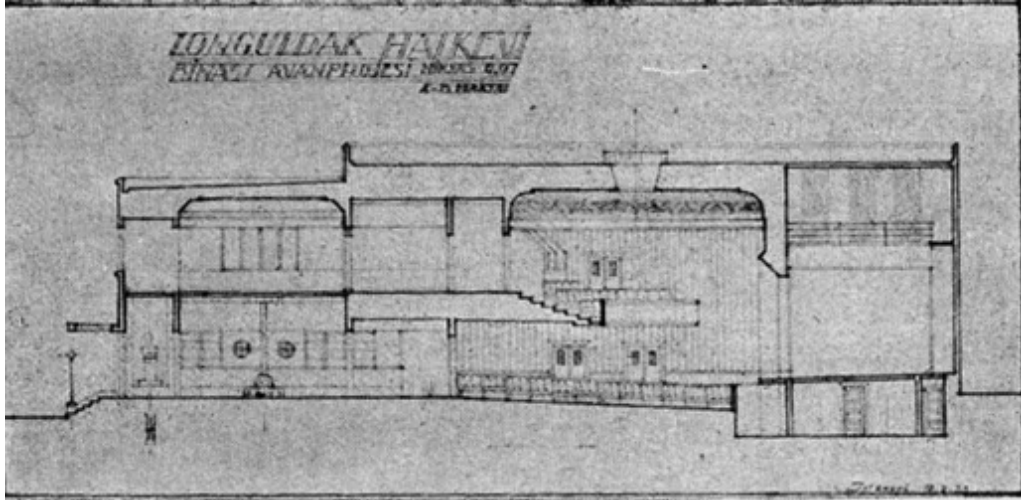


Figure 52: Façade drawings of the winning proposal for the Zonguldak Halkevi architectural competition. In Hasan Adil, "Halkevi projesi esbabı mucibe raporu", *Arkitekt*, 27 (1933), 89-91.

³⁸⁴ For an architectural analysis of *Halkevleri*, cf. Ayşe Durukan, *Cumhuriyetin Çağdaşlaşma Düşüncesinin Yaşama ve Mekana Yansımaları, Halkevleri Binaları Örneği*, unpublished PhD dissertation, İTÜ.

³⁸⁵ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism*.

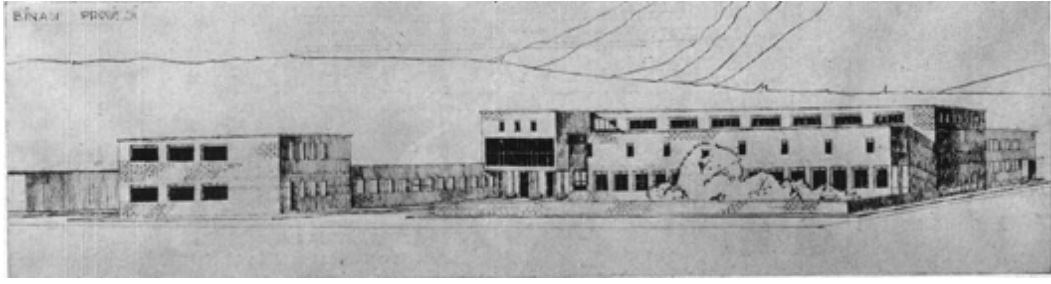


Figure 53: Façade drawings of the winning proposal for the Kayseri Halkevi architectural competition. In Leman Tomsu and Münevver Belen, “Kayseri Halkevi binası projesi”, *Arkitekt*, 76 (1937),107-109.

The new modern image of the nascent state was promoted via the official media outlets as well. Mainly the printed media was the primary propaganda tool for the single party government. With journals, posters, and publications, wide-ranging and fundamental change was promoted to the new nation. Moreover, the foreign eye was also an important external subject that needed to be convinced that Turkey was in the process of becoming a modern state³⁸⁶. *La Turquie Kemaliste*, a state periodical for propaganda purposes, published from 1934 to 1948, was instrumental in promoting Republican achievements to foreigners. The articles were mainly published in French, but some were in English and German. It was published by the General Directorate of the Press, the same governmental organization which also compiled foreign media news on Turkey’s achievements³⁸⁷. In a sense, Turkey was both creating and presenting its own image to the Europeans and positioning itself according to European perceptions at the same time³⁸⁸.

As seen in this section, during the formative years of the Turkish Republic, urban planning and architecture functioned to generate a modern nation from

³⁸⁶ For a study on how western travelers conceived this change in Ankara, cf. Davide Deriu, “Picturing modern Ankara: New Turkey in Western imagination”, *The Journal of Architecture*, 18:4 (2013), 497-527. Deriu, following the Said-ian criticism against the West, concludes that the modernization of Ankara was never conceived equivalent to European modernism, thus, Europe saw itself as the sole owner of knowledge on modernism.

³⁸⁷ Cf. Esra Akcan, “Society of Political Images: Centric and Common Circulation of Photography in Ottoman and Republican Turkey”, *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts, Turkey: Theme Issue*, 28 (2016), 88-111.

³⁸⁸ For the role of art and architecture in the making of modern Turkey; cf. Sibel Bozdoğan, Jonathan Mogul (eds.), *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts Turkey: Theme Issue*, 28, 2016.

diverse religious communities (*millet*) who had been ruled under sharia for centuries. The most ambitious pace of this transformation was during the 1930s.

In current literature, the 1930s are discussed through the conflict between the old and the new. This decade is depicted as an era in which the ‘new’ was the object of desire, and the ‘old’ was the object of disgust; the ‘old’ was a kind of disease that needed to be kept away. However, such an understanding undermines awareness of the preservation efforts in this era. It was obvious that the Ottoman past and monuments were the objects of a ‘no longer wanted past’; however, the 1930s was also an era in which efforts for the preservation of these objects accelerated. Moreover, not the Ottoman past, but another point in history was selected, as a historical reference for the Turkish nation. As with the interest in Hellenistic artifacts, Hittite and Sumerian archaeological layers were excessively archaeologically studied in the 1930s. Therefore, as the republic created ‘new’ towns with modernist architecture, it should be remembered that it also managed the ‘old’ very carefully.

As the preservation of old monuments became an important concern for the republican ruling class in the 1930s, a new national image was also needed. This image could not resemble the Ottoman past; however, the old capital was full of these images. For a government with an agenda to modernize the country, modernization of İstanbul was inevitable and urgent. İstanbul also needed to be cleansed from the predominant Ottoman character; and had to gain a modern image.

2.3.2. Preservation while planning the modern city: İstanbul

İstanbul’s masterplan was prepared by Henri Prost (1874 – 1959) in a piecemeal fashion in the 1930s and implemented throughout the 1940s. Since then, Prost has been a controversial figure in İstanbul’s urban history. His projects did not only shape the urban form of İstanbul, but also effected urban conservation discourses in Turkey³⁸⁹. When his contract was terminated by the 1950-government, most of

³⁸⁹ Cana F. Bilsel, “Henri Prost’s Planning Works in İstanbul (1936-1951): Transforming the Structure of a City through Master Plans and Urban Operations”, *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost’s Planning of İstanbul*, eds. Cana F. Bilsel, Pierre Pinon (İstanbul, İstanbul Research Institute Catalogues, 2010), 101-165. Bilsel’s work is one of the most comprehensive researches on Prost’s İstanbul Plan. İpek Akpınar’s doctoral research is another key source for Prost’s İstanbul plan; cf. İpek Akpınar, *The Rebuilding of İstanbul After the Plan of Henri*

his proposals were left unimplemented. However, the very same government used Prost's plans to generate urban projects that demolished historic structures to an even greater extent than Prost proposed. In fact, even in 1980s, one could trace Prost's proposals in the major projects in İstanbul.

Prost occupies an important space not only in the urban history of İstanbul, but in the political history of Turkey as well. His plan was implemented under the presidency not of Atatürk, but of his predecessor, the national leader (*milli şef*) İsmet İnönü. İnönü was an easier target to criticize for the opposition. The opposition gained electoral power in the 1950 elections, in which Turkey experienced a multi-party voting system for the second time. The new government's power gradually increased and the İnönü government received accusations of elitism. In 1960, a military coup overthrew the new government and judged the government members on the infamous *Yassıada Cases*. An important portion of the accusations focused on the construction activities of the 1950s³⁹⁰; however, the prime minister defended himself, arguing that the projects were based on the Prost Plan. In this context, Prost's plan became a point of political debate that still relates to the contemporary political scene. Even though this research investigates the relationship between politics and cultural heritage, in this section, Prost will not be discussed in the context of this political debate that relates to the contemporary Turkish politics. Neither will his accomplishments in the urban planning history of Turkey be the focus; rather, implementations of his master plan will be discussed from a preservationist point of view, in order to

Prost, 1937–1960: From Secularization to Turkish Modernization, unpublished PhD Dissertation, London, University College London, 2003. Also see, İpek Akpınar, "The Rebuilding of İstanbul Revisited: Foreign Planners in the Early Republican Years", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 50, 2014, 59-92. Pelin Bolca's research also demonstrates the transformation of İstanbul with Prost Plan taking into account the aftermath of the plan focusing on the Maçka Valley. Cf. Pelin Bolca, *Henri Prost in İstanbul: Urban Transformation Process of Taksim-Maçka Valley (Le Parc no2) and its Historic Urban Landscape (HUL)*, unpublished master thesis, Turin, Politecnico di Torino, 2017. Pelin Bolca, Rosa Tamborrino, Fulvio Rinaudo, "Henri Prost in İstanbul: Urban transformation process of Taksim-Maçka Valley (Le parc n°2)", *24th ISUF International Conference 27th-29th September 2017 City and territory in the Globalization Age Conference proceedings*. Murat Gül's research is more critical of Prost. Gül suggests that the Prost plan damaged the historic character of the city. Cf. Murat Gül, *Emergence*.

³⁹⁰ The construction activities of the 1950s will be discussed in the third chapter.

generate a comprehensive narrative about the republican era understanding of historic preservation.

In fact, the urban problems of İstanbul were on the agenda long before Prost's plan even in the first half of the 1930s. Even Le Corbusier had penned a letter to Atatürk in the early 1930s and expressed his interest in planning İstanbul. Le Corbusier had visited İstanbul in 1911 during a journey on which he developed an utter fascination with İstanbul (which is also documented in the famous *Voyage d'Orient*). The main suggestion of Le Corbusier for İstanbul was to preserve the historic environment and significance of the city³⁹¹.

Since the Republican authorities made use of urban planning not as a tool to control urban growth but as a basic instrument of modernization, it was not likely that a master plan aiming at historic preservation would appeal to the authorities³⁹². Le Corbusier was not given the contract for the job; instead, an international competition was launched in 1933. Prost was also invited to participate in the competition but declined due to his heavy workload and suggested Jacques Lambert, who worked under Prost on the Paris plan. Other participants were Donato Alfred Agache, the planner of Buenos Aires, and German planner Elgötz.

The jury judged three proposals through a matrix based on these criteria: rearrangement of the port facilities, zoning decisions, main arteries, railroads and stations, air traffic, public spaces, legislative arrangements, and historic monuments. According to the jury report, Agache's proposal would generate a temporary solution for the problems of İstanbul but it lacked a future vision. Lambert did not include a report on his vision for İstanbul, but he rather directly presented a set of projects. Elgötz's proposal, on the other hand, was realistic. The natural and historic features of İstanbul and their protection were a design input for him. Instead of huge boulevards, he proposed a network of smaller streets that

³⁹¹ Cf. Enes Kortan, *Le Corbusier Gözüyle Türk Mimarlık ve Şehirciliği*, Ankara, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1983, 93-96.

³⁹² In a meeting with the Turkish architect Şemsa Demiren, Le Corbusier said: " I could have been planning İstanbul now instead of my biggest rival Prost if only I did not write that letter to Atatürk, which was my biggest strategic mistake. In this letter that I sent to the biggest revolutionary of a revolutionary nation, I suggested keeping the beautiful city of İstanbul as it was; with the dust and the earth of the centuries". Şemsa Demiren, "Le Corbusier ile Mülakat", *Arkitekt*, 11-12 (1949), 230-231.

would connect the historic monuments and important landmarks. The main arteries were designed in a way which would not disturb monuments³⁹³. Even though this competition helped the republic generate an urban strategy for İstanbul, implementation was not intended at all. In a letter sent from the mayor-governor Muhittin Üstündağ to the three invited architects, the invitation was specified not as a masterplan competition but rather as a request for consulting on their opinions about İstanbul's future³⁹⁴.

Even though the jury selected Elgötz's project, he was not contracted. İstanbul's masterplan still needed to be prepared. Even without a masterplan, urban problems required partial implementations. Martin Wagner was an influential and productive architect in this period between the competition and Prost's arrival in İstanbul. Wagner had run from the Nazi regime to Turkey, which he later left in 1938 and moved to the United States³⁹⁵. He worked for İstanbul Municipality after being invited by the republic. He was concerned with İstanbul's growth transportation needs and old houses of İstanbul. For the latter, instead of preserving these houses, Wagner advocated demolishing them and restructuring İstanbul as a whole³⁹⁶.

After the competition, Prost was contacted again and directly offered the job and he submitted the first phase of his proposal, the Master Plan for the European Side, in 1937. A major drawback was related to the preservation of monuments.

Prost liberated the historic monuments (demolished the surrounding buildings through expropriations); he proposed height limitations to sustain the visibility of the monuments in silhouette; and then re-organized the street network to provide a view of these monuments which were left without a context, floating on a

³⁹³ -, "İstanbul Şehir Planı", *Arkitekt*, 29 (1933), 154-161.

³⁹⁴ A mayor-governor position was not a common practice in Turkey. In 1857, a new municipal system was established surpassing the role of *evkaf*. A mayor, *şehremini*, would be appointed to form a municipality, *şehrameneti* with his officers. In the second constitutional era, a new system was established for the governance of cities. The parliament started to appoint governors and in İstanbul, the authority of the *şehremini* and governor often conflicted. This conflict was overcome by appointing the same person for both positions. İlhan Tekeli, *Cumhuriyetin*, 35.

³⁹⁵ Cf. Bernd Nicolai, *Modern*, 183-190. On Wagner's ideas on housing and garden city; and the *translation* of these ideas during his time in Turkey, cf. the seventh chapter in Esra Akcan, *Çeviride*.

³⁹⁶ Esra Akcan, *Architecture*, 164-168.

surface³⁹⁷. His project for Sultanahmet Square is a fine example demonstrating this approach (Figure 54).

Prost suggested that the western edge of the historic peninsula of İstanbul should be designated an archaeological park; *Park No. 1*. This area covered Hagia Sophia, the Byzantine Hippodrome, Topkapı Palace, and Sultanahmet Mosque. The area would function as an open public museum. The archaeological park manifests Prost's interest in revealing the Byzantine Constantinople beneath Ottoman İstanbul. Even though he paid attention to protection of certain monuments, he proposed the demolition of late-Ottoman structures. Atatürk received the proposal of an archaeological park positively. Even though this project was not fully implemented as Prost proposed, it helped reveal the Byzantine past (Figure 55).



Figure 54: View of Sultan Ahmed Mosque from Hagia Sophia in İstanbul after the Prost plan. In *Henri Prost et le Plan Directeur d'İstanbul 1936-1951*.

The most radical transformation in Prost's plan involved heavy industry. For Prost, the shores of the Golden Horn were the most appropriate area to be designated as the industrial zone. He suggested both coasts be reorganized. In fact, in the nineteenth century, there was already some small-scale industry in this

³⁹⁷ Cana F. Bilsel, "Henri Prost".

historic area. However, these coasts had constituted the boundaries of historic İstanbul since Byzantine times. Thus, such a planning decision would irreversibly damage the Golden Horn³⁹⁸. Jacques Lambert, in his competition entry, also proposed transforming the Golden Horn into an industrial zone. In terms of port facilities, the Golden Horn was an appropriate place but due to historic preservation, the jury had judged that industry would damage the historic fabric. The winning entry, Elgötz's proposal, also used the Golden Horn for industrial facilities but on a smaller scale³⁹⁹.



Figure 55: Binbirdirek Sarnıcı (Cistern), İstanbul, prior to demolition. In *Henri Prost et le Plan Directeur d'İstanbul 1936-1951*.

As mentioned earlier, İstanbul was already an unmaintained city. Most of the historic quarters had been lost to fires. The infamous 1894 earthquake exacerbated the damage to a dire extent⁴⁰⁰. Prost made use of these areas. While constructing large boulevards and arteries for cars, he was careful to utilize these empty lots instead of proposing the demolition of surviving structures. However, especially

³⁹⁸ Murat Gül, *Emergence*, 103.

³⁹⁹ -, "İstanbul Şehir Planı".

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. Hamiyet Sezer, "1894 İstanbul Depremi Hakkında Bir Rapor Üzerine İnceleme", *Ankara Üniversitesi DTCF Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 19 (29), 1997, 169-197.

in terms of historic residential architecture, he was less careful. He proposed demolition of many historic buildings in order to enlarge the streets and construct new boulevards⁴⁰¹. Prost also proposed the protection of the Eyüp district as an historic area. This district is particularly important for the Muslim community due to the existence of the tomb of Abu Ayyub el-Ansari, whose name is given to the district. He also suggested that all the tombs that obstructed new road constructions be removed to Eyüp. This proposal, according to Bilsel⁴⁰², can be considered the first time the conservation of ‘urban areas’ was introduced to the Turkish historic preservation system. Gül⁴⁰³, on the other hand, argues that Prost should be considered as a representative of his time, therefore, conservation at the urban scale could not have been his goal since this concept, ‘urban conservation’, emerged within the global conditions of the post-Second World War era. However, both intellectuals agree that Prost’s plan was the official instrument of the republican ruling class in modernizing the old capital and transforming city into a modern city.

The modernization of İstanbul would eventually lead to the modernization of society. Women were the most crucial actors in managing this process. Prost’s plan also aimed to empower women. He wrote:

One of the astonishing reforms is that ATATÜRK removed and abolished the women’s veil. This last reform had a great impact on the urban environment of İstanbul. Turkish women no longer wanted the old caged houses, but requested flats with elevators, heating, and hot water in four seasons. Some other women had mansions constructed with spectacular gardens on the Marmara and Bosphorus shores⁴⁰⁴.

⁴⁰¹ Murat Gül, *Emergence*.

⁴⁰² Cana F. Bilsel, “Henri Prost”, 132.

⁴⁰³ Murat Gül, *Emergence*.

⁴⁰⁴ In 1948, a conference presentation was given by Prost to Turkish audiences to explain the ongoing plan implementations. In this presentation, he also mentioned his appreciation for the accomplishments of the new regime. Moreover, he praised the women’s movement. This presentation was translated and published in the *Arkitekt* journal for three issues. Cf. Henri Prost, “İstanbul”, *Arkitekt*, 195-197-199, 1948.

Such empowerment underlined the secularization process. Through open public spaces (*espaces libres*), Prost encouraged the visibility of women in public and challenged the mosque-dominated urban character of the city⁴⁰⁵.

As Prost's project helped the government secularize urban space, state publications helped publicize these projects to a wider audience. In 1944, İstanbul Municipality published a book to promote the urban project, *Güzelleşen İstanbul* (İstanbul Becoming Beautified)⁴⁰⁶. In this publication, an impressive number of projects were promoted with before and after comparisons. Demolished buildings were highlighted. The graphic design of the book is also noteworthy since it is a fine example of mid-century modernist visual language. This laboriously prepared publication indicated all the demolished structures through folded papers, transparent sheets, removable sheets, etc. (Figure 56, Figure 57)

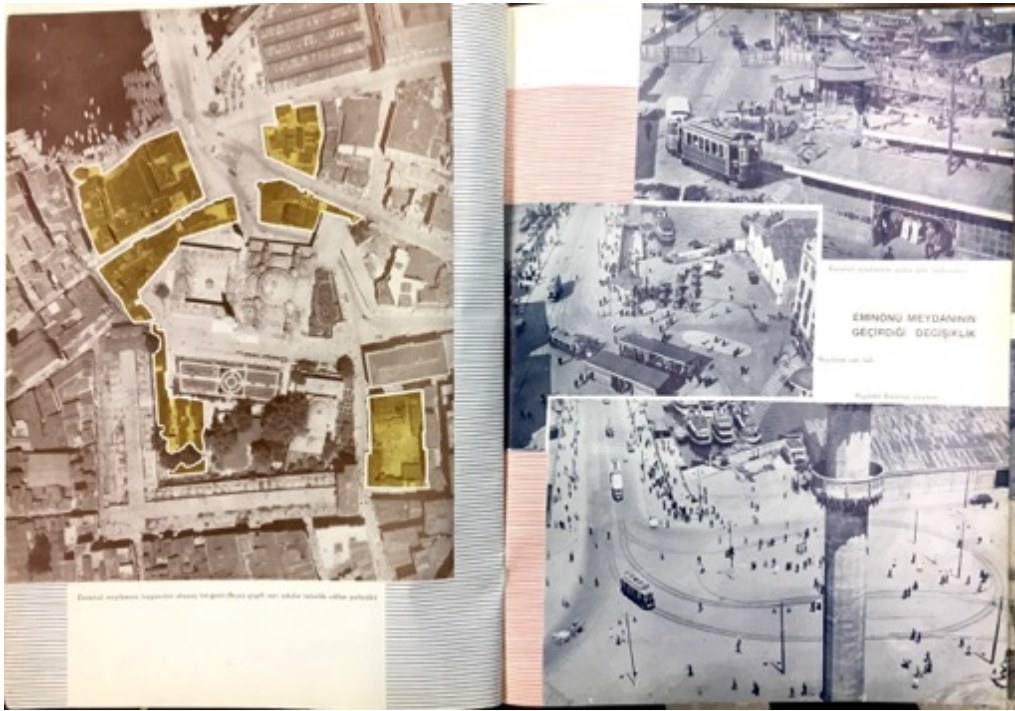


Figure 56: Eminönü Square in the historic peninsula. Demolished edifices are outlined in the 'before' images to suggest the demolition created a 'beautified' İstanbul. In *Güzelleşen*.

⁴⁰⁵ İpek Akpınar, "The Rebuilding", 59-92. Also cf., İpek Akpınar, "İstanbul'u (Yeniden) İnşa Etmek: 1937 Henri Prost Planı", *2000'den kesitler II: Cumhuriyet'in Mekanları/Zamanları/İnsanları*, Elvan Algut, Bilge İmamoğlu (eds.), Ankara, Dipnot Yayınları - Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2010.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Abidin Daver, Sefa Günay, and Mazhar N. Resmor (eds.), *Güzelleşen İstanbul XX. Yıl*, İstanbul, İstanbul Maarif Matbaası, 1944. Cana Bilsel, based on her research in Prost's archives, told me that Prost was also in charge of the design of the publication.



Figure 57: Eminönü Square with before (*dün* – yesterday) and after (*bugün* – today) comparisons. In *Güzelleşen*.

Another publication, *Yenileşen İstanbul* (İstanbul Renewed)⁴⁰⁷ continued disseminating information on the finished projects to the public. Compared to *Güzelleşen*, *Yenileşen* is more text-dominated. Both publications provided a list of the implemented projects of the Prost Plan. Moreover, it also displayed the authority and power of the single party in modernizing the old capital.

In the preface of *Yenileşen*, the anonymous authors wrote:

To appreciate the construction activities in İstanbul, one needs to have stayed away from the city for a while. That's why when the foreigners revisit İstanbul after an 8 or 10-years break, they say the cityscape has changed to a certain extent and lots of accomplishments have been achieved. We do not see it since we live in it. Take Eminönü Square for instance, and let's imagine how it was 10 years ago. How much has this part of the city changed? 10 years ago, Eminönü was like Karaköy on the other side of the bridge, it was very narrow, traffic was jammed all the time, pedestrians were always alert not to be crushed. Even though the Eminönü project is not finished, compared to Karaköy, it is much wider. This said, Eminönü Square also seems narrow due to increasing traffic especially during rush hours. However, compared to its condition a decade ago, it has become widened⁴⁰⁸.

⁴⁰⁷ -, *Yenileşen İstanbul: 1939 Başından 1947 Sonuna Kadar İstanbul'da Neler Yapıldı* (İstanbul, Belediye Matbaası, 1947).

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid, 4.

As this paragraph outlines, for the construction projects, transportation needs were the main aim. These projects were designed to allow cars to move within the city without any blockage.

Prost's contract was terminated in 1950 by the new government, *Demokrat Parti*, who ruled the country only for one decade until the *giunta* staged a *coup d'etat* in 1960. This ten-year period, as will be discussed in the third chapter, was an era in which Prost's legacy was questioned, and eventually detested. However, Prost's approach to historic urban fabric of İstanbul outlines the republican attitude of historic preservation.

2.3.3. Turkish House: A myth on vernacular architecture as cultural heritage

In the republican period, restoration works mainly targeted monuments; preservation of historic residential architecture did not appear to heritage professionals as an important issue. For instance, none of the committees mentioned in chapter 2.2. spared a budget for restoration of historic houses in their detailed reports which were ordered by the government to help define a road map for historic preservation in Turkey. Moreover, urbanization projects easily demolished these buildings for construction of a modernized city. However, historic Ottoman house gained a new ideological value in the very same era and became a part of national cultural heritage with the label 'Turkish House'⁴⁰⁹.

Indeed, traditional Ottoman house has many variations in different Ottoman territories developed throughout centuries. At its most basic, the Turkish house is

⁴⁰⁹ For an account of meanings attributed to the traditional wooden houses in the second constitutional and the early republican periods, cf. Carel Bertram, *Imagining the Turkish house: collective visions of home* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 2008). Carel Bertram, "After the Ottomans Are Gone: Imagining the Turkish Ottoman House", Stanley Ireland, William Bechhoefer, *The Ottoman House: Papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September, 1996* (London, The British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, 1998). Uğur Tuztaşı, İlgı Yüce Aşkun, "'Türk Evi' İdealleştirmesinde "Osmanlı Evi" ve "Anadolu Evi" Kavramlarının Ortaklıklarına İlişkin İşlevsel Açıklamalar", *bilig*, 66, 2013, 273-296. Yavuz Sezer, *The Perception of Traditional Ottoman Domestic Architecture As A Category Of Historic Heritage And A Source Of Inspiration For Architectural Practice (1909-1931)*, unpublished MA thesis, İstanbul, Boğaziçi University, 2005. Sibel Bozdoğan, "Nationalizing the Modern, Appropriating Vernacular Traditions", *Modernism and Nation Building, Modernity and National Identity*, (Seattle, London, University of Washington Press, 2001), 255-271.

the wooden structure with pitched roof and large eaves. However, correct definition of the Turkish house, the roots of it, or the existence of such an ideal house in real world have been questioned by many scholars⁴¹⁰. Sedad Hakki Eldem's fascination with historic residential houses and his scholarly studies on architectural typologies, as will be discussed further below, generated the main core of discussions on *Turkish House*. However, even before Eldem, art historian Celal Esad Arseven and the Swiss architect Ernst Egli had studied traditional houses⁴¹¹.

As mentioned above, even in the second constitutional era, the Ottoman imperial monumental architecture was influential in the design of new buildings. This influence continued in the republican era until the 1930s and after 1930s cubist and simple forms of modernist architecture were embraced. In his major work, *Türk Sanatı*⁴¹² written in 1928, Arseven advocated this change, but he also advocated that a national architectural language should be generated without excluding vernacular architecture⁴¹³. Arseven had already written on domestic architecture in 1909 differentiating Byzantine and Ottoman houses⁴¹⁴. However, his ideas on *Turkish House* were further developed in the French edition of *Türk*

⁴¹⁰ Cf. Önder Küçükerman, *Anadolu'daki Geleneksel Türk Evinde Mekân Organizasyonu Açısından Odalar* (İstanbul, TTOK, 1973). Ayda Arel, *Osmanlı Konut Geleneğinde Tarihsel Sorunlar* (İzmir, Ege Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi Yayınları, 1982). Önder Küçükerman, *Kendi Mekanının Arayışı İçinde Türk Evi* (İstanbul, TTOK, 1985). Doğan Kuban, *Türk "Hayat"lı Evi* (İstanbul, Eren Yayınları, 1995).

⁴¹¹ On how Eldem's understanding of *Turkish House* differed from Arseven and Egli's understanding; cf. Esra Akcan, "Eldem, Arseven, Egli ve 'Türk Evi' Tezinin Algılanan Nesnelliği", Bülent Tanju, Uğur Tanyeli (eds.), *Sedad Hakki Eldem II: Retrospektif* (İstanbul, Osmalı bankası Arşiv ve araştırma merkezi, 2008), 47-52.

⁴¹² Celal Esad, *Türk Sanatı* (İstanbul, Akşam Matbaası, 1928).

⁴¹³ According to Tanyeli, Arseven ignores that traditional practices in domestic architecture were still alive in the time that the book was written. Tanyeli argues quiet unconvincingly that this conflict is due to impact of modernism which prompts a struggle for individual identity struggle for individuals. Cf. Uğur Tanyeli, "Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Verneküler Mimari Gelenek: Bir Cumhuriyet Dönemi İkilemi", Zeynep Rona (ed.), *Bilanço 1923-1998: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 75 yılına Toplu Bakış" Uluslararası Kongresi, 1. Cilt: Siyaset – Kültür – Uluslararası İlişkiler* (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), 283-290.

⁴¹⁴ Djelal Essad, *Constantinople Da Byzance a' Stamboul* (İstanbul, Librairie Renouard H. Laurens, 1909).

Sanatı, published in 1939⁴¹⁵. Aligned with the Turkish History Thesis, Arseven saw the roots of the *Turkish House* in nomadic practices of Turks. Egli, on the other hand, saw *Turkish House* as a rational response to context and he argued that authentic examples of these structures were lost in İstanbul due to modernist tendencies but they still exist in Anatolia⁴¹⁶.

Both Arseven's and Egli's approach to *Turkish House* was influenced by a course taught in Fine Arts Academy; *Milli Mimarlık Seminerleri (Seminars on National Architecture)* which was initiated by Sedad Hakkı Eldem⁴¹⁷.

Sedad Hakkı Eldem was a prominent productive architect, he lived his adolescent years in Europe and was educated in Germany and Switzerland. His family was one of the most reputed families of both the late Ottoman and the early Republican era⁴¹⁸. Eldem's academic and professional life had an impact on the architectural culture of Turkey⁴¹⁹.

Eldem was interested in vernacular Anatolian architecture even during his student years, but his main ideas on *Turkish House* developed after graduation during his tour to Europe from 1928 to 1930. During his visit to various European cities, Eldem found basic features of modernist architecture in *Turkish House*. For instance, he formulated the wooden-frame modular construction system of traditional Anatolian houses as an open plan, low large eaves as Frank Lloyd

⁴¹⁵ Celal Esad Arseven, *L'art Turc: Depuis son Origine jusqu'a nos Jours* (İstanbul, Devlet Basımevi, 1939).

⁴¹⁶ Cf. Esra Akcan, *Çeviride Modern Olan: Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri* (İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 228-234. Through a detailed analysis of Egli's archives, Akcan shows that Egli's ideas on *Turkish House* developed not in Turkey but in Zurich after leaving Turkey.

⁴¹⁷ For the selected documentation projects produced on Eldem's course, cf. *Rölöve I : İstanbul Boğaziçi köyleri yerleşmesi, resmi ve kültürel taş binalar, İstanbul ve Anadolu evleri, çeşmeler ve selsebiller* (İstanbul, İstanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yüksek Mimarlık Bölümü Rölöve Kürsüsü, 1968). This publication was prepared by Eldem himself and published by the department he directed.

⁴¹⁸ Edhem Eldem, "Sedad Hakkı Eldem Olunmaz, Doğulur (Mu?) Bir Aile Ve Gençlik Hikâyesi 1830-1930", Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju., and Uğur Tanyeli (eds.). *Sedad Hakkı Eldem: Gençlik yılları*, İstanbul, Osmalı bankası Arşiv ve araştırma merkezi, 2008, 10-40.

⁴¹⁹ On Sedad Hakkı Eldem; cf. Sibel Bozdoğan, Süha Özkan, and Engin Yenil (eds.). *Sedad Eldem: Architect in Turkey*. Singapore: Concept Media, 1987. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju and Uğur Tanyeli (eds.), *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, (İstanbul, Osmanlı Balkası Arşiv ve Araştırı Merkezi, 2008). Bülent Tanju and Uğur Tanyeli (eds.), *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 2. Retrospektif*, (İstanbul, Osmanlı Balkası Arşiv ve Araştırı Merkezi, 2009). Serena Acciai, *Sedad Hakkı Eldem. An aristocratic architect and more* (Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2018).

Wright's horizontal designs, elevated ground floors as Le Corbusier's pilotis, and natural context as an answer to discussions in Germany⁴²⁰.

It should be highlighted that Eldem's interpretation of traditional architecture should not be discussed based on *modern/traditional* duality, which is generally used as a synonym to *East/West* distinction and has been criticized by postcolonial theories. On the contrary, Eldem's interpretation mediates to show complexities of modernity in Turkey where modernism was experienced as a state program⁴²¹. For Akcan⁴²², Eldem's understanding of *Turkish House* as a modern and global architectural product is due to melancholy of the east which is caused by the *translation* process; Eldem's language was less powerful compared to languages of European countries he visited, and this imbalance prompted *melancholy*. Thus, advocating that 'Turkish House' was modern, Eldem generated a link between local architecture and modernist architecture to overcome this melancholy.

After his tour to Europe, Sedad Hakkı Eldem and his professor Ernst Egli initiated the course *Milli Mimarlık Seminerleri*. For this course, students were expected to study and produce architectural survey drawings (*rölöve*) of tradition residential buildings all over Turkey.

Turkish House occupied Sedad Hakkı Eldem for his entire career and in the 1980s, he published his monumental work *Türk Evi (Turkish House)*⁴²³. Also, in his architectural designs, he searched for a national architecture where *Türk Evi* was interpreted through lenses of modernist architecture⁴²⁴.

Türk Evi was a reaction to social and architectural context of the 1930s. A huge portion of historic wooden structures were already lost with fires in the nineteenth century and living in the existing ones was not attractive since these structures were not considered adequate for modernist daily life practices. Moreover, in the 1930s, Ottoman references in new buildings were abandoned. Instead, cubist forms were embraced. Thus, the myth of *Türk Evi* was a reaction to

⁴²⁰ Esra Akcan, *Çeviride*, 185-201.

⁴²¹ Cf. Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "Between Civilization and Culture: Appropriation of Traditional Dwelling Forms in Early Republican Turkey", *Journal of Architectural Education*, 47 (2), 1993, 66-74.

⁴²² Esra Akcan, *Çeviride*, 208-209.

⁴²³ Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi* (Istanbul, Tac Vakfı, 1984). This three-volume publication was initially intended to be five volumes.

⁴²⁴ Bülent Tanju and Uğur Tanyeli (eds.), *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 2. Retrospektif*.

this change⁴²⁵. However, this reaction gained a chauvinist character in the late 1930s and early 1940s with rising nationalism⁴²⁶.

Türk Evi and its real character occupied the academic circles in the following decades. In Eldem's conception, the relation between the main living space, *sofa*, and rooms was the main paradigm that generated plan typologies. His ideas were carried further by architectural historians in the following decades. These studies were mainly on the origin of the Turkish House and its real character⁴²⁷.

This strong interest on *Turkish House* made traditional residential fabric a part of cultural heritage of the Turkish nation. However, actual efforts to preserve this heritage could only emerge in the 1970s. Sedat Hakkı Eldem was influential in this era as well. Nevertheless, the focus of these efforts were not the Anatolian houses, but rather seashore houses (*yalı*) on Bosphorus shores which were constructed in the nineteenth century by the late-Ottoman upper class for vacation purposes⁴²⁸.

It may seem conflicting that there were no house restorations in this era where historic houses gained a new meaning that defined the Turkish national identity. However, *Turkish House* was a concept rather than a building. It could not be located, surveyed, or restored because, in a way, it was an ideal, a myth. Secondly, also in a global context, preservation of urban fabric attracted the attention of heritage actors only in the post-war period. As will be discussed in the next chapter, such a need to preserve historic houses was aligned with an international tendency to define globally valid conservation standards. Emergence of organizations such as UNESCO or ICCROM facilitated such internationalization. Lastly, even if there was an actual project to restore a *Turkish House*, it would be a technical challenge due to the wooden frame construction technique. Even the above-mentioned international standards failed to generate a preservation systematic for timber structures, because, these standards were defined mainly for stone structures which are common construction technique in Europe. This Eurocentric standization in historic preservation was addressed even by UNESCO with the Nara Document on Authenticity, which was the declaration

⁴²⁵ Esra Akcan, *Çeviride*, 208-209.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid*, 367-372.

⁴²⁷ Uğur Tuztaşı, İlgi Yüce Aşkun, "“Türk Evi”.

⁴²⁸ See chapter 4.3.1.

of The Nara Conference on Authenticity, held in Nara, Japan, in 1995. This declaration is the main text addressed that European definitions on authenticity becomes non-applicable for timber structures. Thus, restoration of a *Turkish House* would require a skill that is relatively recent. In fact, even in the 1970s when *yalı* structures were being restored, these restoration projects were mainly limited to reconstruction of deteriorated sections of the building.

Since Turkey did not fight the Second World War, there were no massive urban destructions which could potentially trigger discussions about urban conservation. However, urban projects of the 1950s were almost equally destructive. These urban projects and their impact on preservation discussions will be discussed in third chapter.

Chapter 3

Generating the Doctrine: Historic Preservation by an Expert Committee

The intervention on historic monuments by specialized professionals demand not only positive, historical, technical, and methodological knowledge. It also implies a doctrine as well, which can articulate these skills and competencies in very different ways, by modifying the objectives and the nature of architectural intervention⁴²⁹.

Being the realist is not seeing the truth as it is. It is, perhaps, determining your relationship with the truth in the most beneficial way. You may see the truth, so what? What does it help other than making lots of judgements that have no meaning and no value by themselves? What can you do with it other than having a long list of needs and requirements? Does it change anything? On the contrary, it detains you. You become pessimist, you get perplexed, you crash. Seeing the truth as it is...is becoming a disrupter...⁴³⁰

⁴²⁹ Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001): 101.

⁴³⁰ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (İstanbul, Remzi Kitabevi, 1961): 232.

Tanpınar's *The Time Regulation Institute*⁴³¹, published in 1961, was initially published in the form of a series (*tefrika*) in a newspaper in 1954. The book is about the establishment of a government institute for synchronizing the clocks all over the country. Halit Ayarç, a businessman who comprehends how to act in the new world order, takes initiative in establishing this new institute. The book metaphorically, imaginatively, and humorously depicts the Turkish modernization experience through conflicts such as East-West, modern-old, religion-secularism, etc. The new age and its socio-economic and socio-political circumstances, according to the protagonists of the book, changed the perception of 'reality'. In the book, the conflict between the authentic self and the modern self creates a dysfunctional society with dysfunctional institutions.

As Tanpınar was publishing his book as a serial in the newspaper, he was also serving as a member of the most powerful preservation committee in the new modern Turkey. This committee, the High Council for Immovable Old Assets and Monuments (GEEAYK – *Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu*, abbreviated as HC), was established in 1951 and Tanpınar was one of the selected male elite members. It is not possible to investigate if his duty as a member had an impact on *The Time Regulation Institute*, however, the conflicts that Tanpınar elaborated on his book provide an insight into the socio-political environment of the 1950s. In the 1950s, a new government that was formed within the single party government in the late 1940s gradually gained power through a populist political discourse and became more autocratic against opposition including the CHP.

This chapter will discuss the relationship between HC and new power-holders. The republican era was a period in which society needed to be modernized not only for the emergence of a new state but also for detachment from an old empire. In the 1950s, a new government started a newer project to become detached from the republican past in a similar fashion. However, unlike the republican ruling class, the *Demokrat Parti* did not need to reshape the memories of a dead regime, but had to fight with an entrenched power structure. The republican ruling class was still influential in the parliament, in the army, and partially but effectively in the society as well. Therefore, the old monuments had

⁴³¹ Ibid.

an even more vital role in adjusting a heritage discourse that could grab the attention of the masses.

The new power holders who started ruling the country in 1951 were replaced by the military with a coup d'état in 1960. This military coup helped HC grow in power and influence. It was only in this improved position in the 1960s that HC could generate a preservation scheme that followed European preservation discourse. With these efforts, the historic preservation of entire areas and the designation of conservation zones became possible even as early as 1973. The council itself was finally shut down in 1983, in the aftermath of another military coup, which took place in 1980. During its three-decade life span, in an era when conservation had long been viewed as an obstacle to urban development, HC facilitated a raised consciousness of the management of cultural heritage and aligned concerns about cultural heritage with international developments. However, due to its central decision-making mechanism, despite its power, decisions made by the council did not function and in most cases, were ultimately impossible to apply. In the first decade of its thirty years of service, the council gradually became better-known by other departments, as its decisions were legally binding on all authorities. In this first decade, the council had an important role in the central government's İstanbul-specific project *the Development of İstanbul*. Even though the council already had enough impact in its first decade, in the second decade it became more powerful, and started to disturb other public departments with its decisions. As HC became more popular, it was also criticized for being a 'black box' in which a group of experts met around a table and made decisions behind closed doors⁴³². In its last decade, HC introduced 'conservation area' (*sit*) designations for historic areas. With these designations, HC caused even more inconvenience for local authorities who found it difficult to implement HC decisions but were legally bound to do so. HC did not step back in conflicts with local authorities, and eventually it was conceived as an obstacle in the progress of the country and was shut down following the coup. In fact, even since the establishment of the Council for the Preservation of Monuments (*Muhafaza-i Asar-ı Atika Encümeni*), preservation authorities had always been conceived as barriers blocking urban development and economic growth. However, the main

⁴³² Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu Yılları* (interviewer: Şener Özler) (İstanbul, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası İstanbul Büyükkent Şubesi, 2003).

reason for the disturbance which HC created was its limitless power, and central decision-making mechanism.

The third chapter of this thesis will focus on the formative years of HC from its establishment in 1951 until 1973 when the first law on old monuments was recognized by the parliament. It will discuss how cultural heritage was conceived, conceptualized, and through which mechanisms it was preserved. In addition, the response of the preservation council to political and socio-economic changes will be discussed.

3.1. Turkey, the Small America: the post-war period changes politics, politics changes the physical environment

The 1950s was a significant stage in the development of Turkish democracy because a new political party challenged the Republican rulers, won the elections, either reversed or slowed down some of the reforms, and was finally suppressed by the army. In fact, soon after Atatürk's death, there had already been a political reaction within the CHP itself. The opposition had formed Democratic Party (DP - *Demokrat Parti*). Celal Bayar (1883-1986), a military officer who fought the Independence War with Atatürk, and Adnan Menderes (1899-1961), a deputy in the CHP were two of the key actors of the opposition. The former became the president and the latter was the prime minister. Together, they ruled the country throughout the 1950s. The Democrat Party's electoral victory was attributed to many factors, including a bad harvest in 1949. However, at the bottom line, all the reasons represent the frustration of society after a quarter century of single party rule of the CHP.

Within the postwar global context, the relations with Europe continued, but USA became another model of modernization. With strong American economic and military support, the new government seemed to have a promising future at the beginning. However, as Shaw and Kural Shaw suggest⁴³³, the new government

⁴³³ Stanford J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of The Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977): 402-413. These comprehensive two volumes chronologically narrate the history of Turkey.

struggled in three main areas towards the late 1950s. The first of these is economics, despite the fact that financial restructuring helped the country to recover from the war. The private sector was encouraged, agricultural and industrial production increased. Moreover, literacy increased. In terms of the physical environment, the urban character of villages, towns, and cities physically changed with widened roads, new arteries, and demolished buildings. This sudden economic growth threatened overall economic policies leading to debts and eventually placing the government in economic hardship. The second problem was related to political freedom. The DP had made efforts to repress the press, universities, and intellectuals who opposed DP policies. Moreover, CHP's assets and properties were transferred to the Treasury. *Halk Evleri* were closed, and the political activities of new parties were restricted. This political tension provided legitimacy to a possible army intervention. The third problem was about religion. The DP was accused in reversing many secular reforms. For instance, religion courses were re-included in the curriculum, and unless parents asked for an exemption, all Muslim students were required to follow the course. Islamic education schools, *imam-hatip* schools, were also established in this era. Religious leaders appeared in public and preached against secularism. There was an interest in restoring the dervish orders. Even though a generation was already raised under republican reforms, Islam was still a uniting force in society. As will be discussed further below, this interest in Islam would be seen in conservation projects as well.

One of the most significant developments of the 1950s was the anti-communist efforts which started in the mid-1940s and continued accelerating throughout the 1970s⁴³⁴. Some principal anti-communist texts of the 1950s were republished in the 60s and the 70s. Anti-communism became the primary factor uniting the nationalists and conservatives under the same umbrella⁴³⁵. In fact, in the late 1940s, with the Truman Doctrine, the United States already had a program to support Greece and Turkey as a precaution against the spread of communism in the Middle East. As a part of the Doctrine, Turkey received the US funds, trained

⁴³⁴ Anti-communist policies may seem irrelevant to preservation of historic environments, but these policies shaped government decisions in urban planning and urban discussions as well. As a result, historic edifices and environments were enormously affected.

⁴³⁵ Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar: Türkiye'de Siyasi İdeolojiler* (İstanbul, İletişim Kitabevi, 2017): 286-297.

its staff in America, and opened doors to American officials. As the next step in American support, the Marshall Plan provided economic support to encourage investments to reshape the country. Turkey's participation in the Korean War followed its NATO membership, and these developments accelerated the US-Turkey alliance. What followed was the Americanization of daily life in street markets, universities, gastronomy culture, journals, theatres, cinemas, books, night life, home appliances, etc. This change was promoted in media outlets as well⁴³⁶.

Another significant development was migration from rural areas to urban areas. The main reason for this migration wave was the industrialization in the agricultural sector driven by US aid under the Marshall Plan⁴³⁷. Machines replaced manpower, and consequentially this change in the mode of agricultural production shaped the urban character of the city.

The migration of rural population was not only due to American aid to agriculture. In fact, a major political concern in which the DP differed from the CHP was its attitude towards *villagers*. The CHP's strategy aimed at the modernization of society without demographic changes. This policy required *keeping the villager in his village*. Even though the construction of the new capital in Ankara conflicted with this goal, in the rest of the country this program was implemented successfully. *Halk Evleri* were constructed all over the country and brought a program of education, and thus, modernization. Regulations such as *The Law on Land Provision for the Peasants (Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu)* foresaw the distribution of unoccupied land to villagers with very little or no land. As Karaömerlioğlu⁴³⁸ suggests, these policies were produced to prevent the formation of a working class in the cities; in other words, the republican ruling class aimed to integrate the peasant population into the new system but without forming social unity. In the late 1940s, peasants had already started to leave their hometowns despite these precautions. In the 1950s, as the village-based policies

⁴³⁶ Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Soğuk Savaş'ın Toplumsal, Kültürel ve Günlük Hayatı İnşa Edilirken", in Mete Kaan Kaynar (ed.), *Türkiye'nin 1950'li Yılları*, (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2015), 591-617.

⁴³⁷ The increase in the number of tractor promotions even in the architecture journals of the 1950s is noteworthy.

⁴³⁸ M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycü Söylem*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2006). Also see, M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, "The People's Houses and the Cult of the Peasant in Turkey." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34 (4), 1998, 67-91.

were abandoned, migration accelerated rapidly (Figure 58). The DP did not oppose the modernization of the peasants but suggested that people in the villages should also benefit from the opportunities of urbanization. For the DP, the members of the CHP ruling class had long kept these opportunities only for themselves.



Figure 58: Migration to İstanbul. In Hilmi Şahenk, *Bir Zamanlar İstanbul* (İstanbul, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1996): 99.

Both industrialization and immigration required infrastructural improvements. As mechanization increased agricultural production, transportation of goods required a new road system. Moreover, as an outcome of Americanization⁴³⁹, the ‘car’ became the main transportation need rather than public transportation. Thus, in addition to inter-city and local public transportation, new road constructions dominated the cities. Immigration, on the other hand, introduced a new typology of housing, *gecekondu*⁴⁴⁰. *Gecekondu*, literally means *built over a night*, became the most common construction technique and many districts of İstanbul were

⁴³⁹ For a discussion on *Americanism*, cf. Esra Akcan, “Çoğunluğun Zulmü, Farklılık ve Gökdelen Amerikanizmi”, *Arrademento Mimarlık*, 212, 2008, 81-84.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Sinan Yıldırım, “Köylüler ve Kentliler: Elli Yılların Dönüşen Yeni Sosyo-ekonomik ve Kültürel Coğrafyası”, in Mete Kaan Kaynar (ed.), *Türkiye'nin 1950'li Yılları*, (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2015), 541-563. In this work, Yıldırım discusses how the change on the peasant-oriented policies had an impact on the society and on the cities.

formed through *gecekondu* infills. *Gecekondu* became an urban planning problem as well as a political tool in the following years⁴⁴¹.

Another building typology that was introduced to the Turkish architectural tradition was ‘apartment’ (*apartman*). In 1954, a new law on property ownership made it possible for individuals to acquire flats within a structure and as a result, apartment blocks which already existed in cities since the 1930s started to dominate the cityscape in the second half of the 1950s⁴⁴².

For some scholars, the 1950s was an era in which an Islam-oriented rhetoric dominated the political atmosphere along with nationalism. Menderes-era construction activities are generally considered an echo of a populist nationalist Islamic discourse over architecture and urban planning. As will be discussed below, the 1950s implementations are considered damaging for historic structures, and the lack of a holistic town strategy (the lack of a master plan) is highly criticized. Menderes-era projects are narrated as piecemeal projects which aimed to win support from the Muslim community⁴⁴³. As such depictions dominate the architectural historical narratives on the 1950s, Murat Gül⁴⁴⁴ stresses that the critical arguments against Menderes-era constructions could be validly applied against Henri Prost’s projects as well. However, besides this criticism, all scholars underline that DP policies in the 1950s had an irreversible impact not only on İstanbul’s historic character but also on Turkey’s historic preservation approach.

As soon as the DP government was established, Prost’s contract was terminated. The CHP rulers were already under heavy criticism by the DP governments, thus, Prost, as an expert appointed by the CHP, could no longer enjoy his former privileges. Conservative and Islam-oriented political rhetoric

⁴⁴¹ For a historic and political background on *gecekondu*, see Kemal H. Karpat, *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976). Also cf., Orhan Pamuk, *Kafamda Bir Tuhaflık* (İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014).

⁴⁴² Cf. Nurbin Paker, Funda Uz, “50’ler Modernizmi İçin Bir Okuma: Çatışmalar ve Uzlaşmalar Sahnesi Olarak “Apartiman””, *Arrademento Mimarlık*, 290, 2015, 96-102.

⁴⁴³ İpek Akpınar, “Menderes İmar Hareketleri Türkleştirme Politikalarının Bir Parçası mıydı?”, *Arrademento Mimarlık*, 290, 2015, 85-90. Nur Altınyıldız, *Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye’ye Özgü Koşulları (İstanbul 1923-1973)* (doctoral dissertation, İstanbul, İstanbul Technical University), Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul, An Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis, İstanbul*, (İstanbul, The Economic and Social History Foundation in Turkey, 1996), Doğan Kuban, “Menderes ve İstanbul” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993), 389-392.

⁴⁴⁴ Murat Gül, *Emergence*.

made it possible to attack Prost together with the CHP rulers. Ironically, after Prost's contract was over, foreign experts and companies were again invited to prepare reports and present strategies for the future of İstanbul⁴⁴⁵. A temporary commission was put in charge of reviewing Prost's plan. The commission, after a thorough investigation of Prost's materials, found the master plan extremely superficial, stressed that preliminary studies and analysis were absent, and recommended that ongoing projects would be completed. Moreover, a permanent commission was recommended for İstanbul, which was eventually established in 1952 as *İstanbul Şehir İmar Planı Daimi Komisyonu* (the Permanent Commission for İstanbul's Master Plan) also known as *Müşavirler Heyeti* (the Board of Advisors). *Müşavirler* undertook some significant projects in İstanbul and underlined the importance of an inventory generated through a detailed survey as well as the need for an up-to-date map of the current condition⁴⁴⁶.

The shift of focus from Ankara to İstanbul was one of the main paradigms in this period. Even though İstanbul's modernization had already started with the Prost Plan, the process could not be completed and most of the masterplan's decisions remained unimplemented. With DP rule, as earlier social policies were being criticized, it was inevitable that Prost's projects would be stopped to generate a newer urban program through a critic of the CHP-implemented projects. Therefore, even though the urban projects implemented in the second half of the 1950s were based on Prost's initial suggestions, a counter-republican political discourse had to include the republican urban strategy as well.

The first major intervention to the Prost Plan was the construction of the Hilton Hotel (Figure 59).

⁴⁴⁵ İpek Akpınar, "The Rebuilding", 87-88.

⁴⁴⁶ Murat Gül, *Emergence*, 134-140.



Figure 59: The Hilton Hotel (on upper left), constructed over the largest park of İstanbul that was designed and constructed as a part of the Prost Plan. In Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul*, 520.

The construction of the Hilton Hotel in Turkey as the first Hilton in Europe and the Middle East is significant in terms of demonstrating how the Americanization of Turkey shaped architectural traditions. In 1955, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill designed the Hilton under the supervision of Gordon Bunshaft and consultancy of Sedad Hakkı Eldem. The Hilton İstanbul is emblematic in discussing mid-century modernist architecture in Turkey, because this building functioned as an advertorial tool to promote the American lifestyle to individuals in Turkey⁴⁴⁷. In addition, design and construction process of the Hilton Hotel also demonstrates the anxiety of Turkish architectural communities against Americanization. The response of American partners to this anxiety was using oriental figures in decoration of rooms and reception halls. This was an orientalist attitude to adopt international modernism to local context⁴⁴⁸.

In fact, Turkey's openness to American influence was publicly expressed to the press by president Celal Bayar during the 1956 election campaigns, when he declared that the DP would eventually and hopefully make Turkey the Small America of the Middle East.

Sedad Hakkı Eldem, who took a role in the Hilton project, was the most powerful architect of the 1950s and, as discussed in chapter 2.3.3., his

⁴⁴⁷ Meltem Ö. Gürel, "Introduction" in Meltem Ö. Gürel (ed.), *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*, (New York, Routledge, 2016).

⁴⁴⁸ Esra Akcan, "Amerikanlaşma ve Endişe. İstanbul Hilton Oteli," *Arredamento Mimarlık*, 141, 2001, 112-119.

documentation courses also shaped the basics of historic preservation education. Sedat Hakkı Eldem was also one of a member of HC.

Establishment of HC in 1951, according to Kuban,

was a great step towards the conservation of monuments. It was the Council's responsibility to decide the listing and classification of all kinds of historical monuments. The superior Council of Monuments had great authority and was autonomous, but its control over implementation was not well organized, yet between 1951 and 1983 the Council was able to save a great number of historical monuments and important examples of residential buildings from destruction. Although founded by Democrats when in power, the concept of conservation represented by the Council was not part of the cultural baggage of the government, not of its prime minister. Thus, the Council's greatest fight was against Prime Minister Menderes' reconstruction activities⁴⁴⁹.

Kuban is one of the most influential art and architectural history professors in Turkey. He produced some of the key scholarly references for Ottoman art and architecture and İstanbul's urban history⁴⁵⁰. He served as a member of the council from 1967 until its shutdown in 1983⁴⁵¹. Even though Kuban suggests that the concept of conservation that HC represented differed from that of the ruling class, throughout the 1950s, projects on historic environments were produced through the relationship between both. As suggested in other chapters, built heritage is managed through the relationship between various power structures. HC was the most powerful authority in the preservation of historic environments. Therefore, even though there are many cases in which HC struggled against the central governance, from another point of view, HC also functioned as an authority which legitimated and enabled the realization of the deconstructive urban projects of the Menderes regime.

⁴⁴⁹ Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul*,

⁴⁵⁰ Jale Erzen. "Türk Sanat Tarihinde Düşünsel Boyut ve Doğan Kuban" in Zeynep Ahunbay, Deniz Mazlum, Kutgün Eyüpgiller (eds.) *Prof. Doğan Kuban'a Armağan* (İstanbul, Eren Yayıncılık, 1996), 3-5.

⁴⁵¹ For Kuban's memories on his HC years, see Doğan Kuban, Müjgan Yıldırım, *Bir Rönesans Adamı: Doğan Kuban Kitabı* (interview) (İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2007): 134-138.

3.2. An autonomous preservation council with “frightening power to sanction”⁴⁵²

HC was founded by Act No. 5805 in 1951, which is a brief 8-article law that declared the foundation of a scientific committee to deal with architectural and historic monuments in the country. First article outlined the function of this new committee:

Article 1: the High Council of Monuments is established under the Ministry of Education to determine the principles to be obeyed for the preservation, maintenance, repair, and restoration works and related programs on all the architectural and historic monuments in the country; to follow and supervise implementations, to provide scientific opinion for any historic structure-related issues or conflicts...⁴⁵³.

The fifth article stressed the limits of the authority of the council:

Article 5: government organizations and institutions, legal entities and individuals are obligated to obey the council decisions.

Thus, in fact, the council’s power in decision-making and sanctioning the outcomes of its decisions was unprecedented. Its authority was above even the authority of central government.

The rest of the law dealt with membership arrangements. One member from each of the following institutes would be selected as a member; Ankara University, İstanbul University, İstanbul Technical University, the Fine Arts Academy, the Ministry of Public Works, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Education, and the Directorate of the Pious Foundations. These members would select four other members. In addition, the General Director of the Pious Foundations (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*) and the General Director of the Old Monuments and Museums (*Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü*) would directly become members of the council. The fourteen members had to be experts and have earlier studies in at least one of the following disciplines; history, archaeology, art history, architecture, and urban planning. Membership would end only through death, resignation, or unexcused absence. A new member could join only if a new position was opened after these conditions. The act also specified

⁴⁵² Ibid, 135. “

⁴⁵³ Official Gazette. (1951, July 2). *Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu teşkiline ve vazifelerine dair Kanun*, T.C. Resmi Gazete No. 7853.

the rules about the committee members (the number, disciplines, and level of expertise of the members; conditions of resigning; per diem regulations; etc.)⁴⁵⁴.

The law was penned by Ali Saim Ülgen. As mentioned in the chapter 2.3.3., Ülgen was one of the most prominent names in historic preservation during the early years of the Turkish Republic. He carried out the restoration works of many important monuments in İstanbul (including the Süleymaniye complex), and made efforts to create an inventory of the historic structures of Turkey even before the establishment of HC. Ülgen became the expert-advisor of the Directorate General of Foundations (VGM - *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*) in 1953 and became involved with the restoration works of endowment properties all over Turkey. Meanwhile he continued his position as a member of HC until his death in 1963.

In fact, Ülgen had already prepared a draft in the late 1940s to highlight the need for a committee that would generate a historic preservation system, especially for the buildings owned, occupied, or maintained by VGM. This draft was transmitted to the Prime Ministry by VGM in 1949, however, due to the upcoming elections, no action was taken regarding the draft. In 1950, before the elections, the Ministry of Education formed an expert committee with seven members, however, this committee vanished after two separate meetings in March and April. After the elections, the draft that had been submitted to the prime ministry was forwarded to the parliament and promulgated with one change; the committee would be charged with the protection of not only the properties of the pious foundations, but all the assets in Turkey⁴⁵⁵.

HC had its first meeting on 27th October, 1951 in Ankara, with nine members. In this first meeting the head of the HC was selected as Celal Esat Arseven (1875-1971) who was a retired professor at the Architecture and Urban Planning Department of the Academy of Fine Arts. Arseven was an art historian and one of the eminent proponents of the Turkish History Thesis as a member of the Turkish History Society. Thus, he had already taken an important role in the cultural formation of the nascent Turkey and now, he was chairing the most powerful preservation council of Turkey. He continued his duty as the head of the council

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Ali Saim Ülgen, *Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu ve Bu Teşekkülün Doğuşunu Hazırlayan Amiller ve Tarihiçesi*, Salt Research, Ali Saim Ülgen archive, Archive No. TASUDOC0994.

until October 15, 1953 and resigned to become a member. He resigned from the council entirely in the early months of 1958⁴⁵⁶. The nine members selected four other members of the council as stated in the law; and they held the second meeting on November 5, 1951.

Other members of HC were Ekrem Akurgal, professor of archaeology at Ankara University; Orhan Alsaç, the architect at the Ministry of and Public Works (*Bayındırlık Bakanlığı*); Orhan Çapçı, the General Director of VGM; Arif Müfit Mansel, a professor of archaeology at İstanbul University; Tahsin Öz, the retired director of the Topkapı Museum; H. Kemal Söylemezoğlu, a professor at the Architecture Faculty in the İstanbul Technical Universtiy; Kamil Su, the General Director of the Old Monuments and Museums; A. Hamdi Tanpınar, the literature professor at İstanbul University; Osman Turan, the Middle Ages professor at Ankara University; Behçet Ünsal, the architectural historian at the Fine Arts Academy; and Mithat Yenen, director assistant of the Bank for Cities (*İller Bankası*). It is noteworthy that all the members of the council were males. In fact, the republican ruling class had invested in women. As discussed earlier in the second chapter, this was due to both recognition of power of women in the construction of a new nation and displaying the secular face of the new regime through increased visibility of women in the public space. Moreover, as Özdoğan⁴⁵⁷ suggests, women were predominantly active especially in archaeology during the 1950s.

After the resignation of Arseven from the duty of chairing, Tahsin Öz, the second eldest member, was selected as the chair and he continued his duty until his death in 1970. Orhan Alsaç, then took over and kept his position until the closure of the council.

In its early years, the Council's meeting agenda had very few items. In their second meeting, only four decisions were made. The council met four or five times a year in the early years. Even though Menderes-era İstanbul's development project started in the second half of the 1950s, there were many projects implemented in the first half as well. A report of the İstanbul Municipality, *Üç Yıl İçinde Yapılan İşler 1950-1952*⁴⁵⁸ (Works Completed in Three Years 1950-1952)

⁴⁵⁶ Semavi Eyice, "Arseven, Celal Esat", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 3, 1991, 397-399.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. Mehmet Özdoğan "Ideology", 119.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. -, *Üç Yıl İçinde Yapılan İşler 1950-1952*, (İstanbul, Belediye Matbaası, 1953)

lists the works implemented in historic quarters of İstanbul including restoration works. None of these works are listed on .HC's meeting agenda.

In fact, in the first half of the 1950s, the council functioned the same way that Ülgen initially formulated; it made decisions on conservation projects undertaken by state offices. In other words, in this period, HC decisions were made only on those historic monuments whose significance was consensually agreed by all parties. In fact, even though all the preservation activities were subject to HC approval, the council was almost unknown by public. Even the municipalities, including İstanbul Municipality, did not obtain the HC consent for projects affecting the historic environment.

In some specific occasions, HC was put in charge of supervising conservation works⁴⁵⁹. For instance, one of these occasions was the *Kapalıçarşı* (Grand Bazaar) Fire which burnt down 1364 shops for 28 days in October, 1954. After this devastating fire, *İstanbul Kapalıçarşısının tamir ve ihyası hakkında Kanun* (the law on repair and rehabilitation of İstanbul Kapalıçarşı) was promulgated. The law declared that the Ministry of Public Works would be in charge of the restoration project, and the HC would scientifically scrutinize the basics of the projects and the specifications of the implementations⁴⁶⁰.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 17-18.

⁴⁶⁰ OfficialGazette. (1955, April 25). *İstanbul Kapalıçarşısının tamir ve ihyası hakkında Kanun*, T.C. Resmi Gazete No. 8989.



Figure 60: Kapalıçarşı after the 1954-fire. In Hilmi Şahenk, *Bir Zamanlar*, 406.

One of the earliest decisions undertaken by HC was about the use of lead as a finishing material on domes. The use of lead in Ottoman *imarets* (pious complexes) was a symbol of the high status of the complex. As this material required constant maintenance, some *imarets* even had permanent lead-maintenance staff. In the 1930s, this lead was being either stolen or sold by the *Evkaf* for income. In 1950s implementations, instead of repairing the lead, which was a method Kemalettin Bey recommended, use of cement plaster was the common practice⁴⁶¹. HC also addressed this problem in 1952, and consented that instead of lead, concrete could be used to cover shallow and small domes⁴⁶².

In 1953, the HC decided that some measures needed to be taken in adopting new functions for old structures. This decision emphasized that the new function should be adequate for the longevity of the authentic features of the converted structure⁴⁶³. In 1954, HC had a role in the formulation of a new law on *vakıf* properties, Law No. 7044: “the law on transfer of the originally *vakıf*-owned old

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Nur Altıntıldız, “The Architectural”, 296. Principles highlighted on *carta del restauro*, were not taken into consideration in this period it did not have received enough recognition within the Turkish preservation community in the 1930s.

⁴⁶² HC Archives, Meeting no. 4, Decision no. 19, Date: 10.05.1952

⁴⁶³ HC Archives, Meeting no. 15, Decision no. 155, Date: 10.08.1953

structures with historic and architectural value to the General Directorate of the Pious Foundations⁴⁶⁴. As the name suggests, with this law, the ownership of the structures was transferred to VGM. During the preparation of this law, HC was also consulted and approved the law⁴⁶⁵.

Like the previous committees, HC also struggled through the problem of generating a national registry system for historic structures as well as providing a guideline for the buildings to be demolished. In 1954, a sub-committee was formed following the initial suggestion from Celal Esad Arseven to investigate how European countries managed their national listing mechanism and how Turkey could generate its own. Tahsin Öz, Ülgen, and Arseven formed this sub-committee⁴⁶⁶. For demolition, on the other hand, HC required two copies of the survey drawings together with a photograph album to be submitted by the public body that requested deconstruction⁴⁶⁷. In another meeting, HC decided that this process needed to be improved. Another sub-committee was formed for this under the management of Orhan Alsaç⁴⁶⁸. The Council took initiative in regulating all the aspects of historic preservation. This required coordinating with other public bodies such as VGM, or the Directorate of Museums. For instance, HC asked VGM to draft the qualifications of the contractors of the restoration works⁴⁶⁹.

In 1955; the council decided to prepare a leaflet publicizing their own works and duties⁴⁷⁰. According to the information in the leaflet that Ülgen prepared, prior to January 9, 1956 the council had 35 meetings and made 463 decisions. More than half of these decisions were on İstanbul (244); 32 were on Bursa, 21 were on Edirne, 4 on Ankara, and the rest (162) were on other cities⁴⁷¹. These numbers are noteworthy because it is parallel to the tendencies of the DP regime. In the 1950s, the republican attention on Ankara was criticized and İstanbul was again at the center of state investments. This shift of focus was a symbolic one; it demonstrated disapproval against the CHP for neglecting this former Ottoman

⁴⁶⁴ Official Gazette. (1957, September 13). *Aslında Vakıf Olan Tarihi Ve Mimari Kıymeti Haiz Eski Eserlerin Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğüne Devrine Dair Kanun*, T.C. Resmi Gazete No. 9705..

⁴⁶⁵ HC Archives, Meeting no. 23, Decision no. 292, Date: 24.07.1954.

⁴⁶⁶ HC Archives, Meeting no. 23, Decision no. 296, Date: 24.07.1954.

⁴⁶⁷ HC Archives, Meeting no. 39, Decision no. 506, Date: 06.06.1956.

⁴⁶⁸ HC Archives, Meeting no. 45, Decision no. 556, Date: 12.10.1956.

⁴⁶⁹ HC Archives, Meeting no. 27, Decision no. 316, Date: 05.10.1954.

⁴⁷⁰ Salt Research, Ali Saim Ülgen archive, Archive No. TASUDOC1484.

⁴⁷¹ Ali Saim Ülgen, *Gayrimenkul*.

capital. Nevertheless, the opposition was not powerful enough to change the status of Ankara⁴⁷². It is also noteworthy that Edirne and Bursa had relatively higher numbers of decisions. All three cities (İstanbul, Edirne, and Bursa) had been the capital cities of the Ottoman Empire, thus, the numbers suggest that the Ottoman past was once again the focus of the power structures who managed historic preservation.

HC agendas can be considered a natural extension of governmental problems because most of the items on the agenda were correspondences to local authorities who asked their opinion on whether this or that structure could be demolished or if it was historic at all. Given that the DP increased its power in successive municipal elections, HC's program was formed through these local authorities who wanted to realize urban projects. However, despite the legal requirements, only a few municipalities applied for the council's consent in its early years. Even the İstanbul municipality undertook conservation works without notifying the council. Even the existence of the council was not known of by local authorities. HC became better known by the authorities in the second half of the 1950s⁴⁷³.

Together with HC, EEKE⁴⁷⁴ was also active, however, it was less effective in the decision-making process. For instance; when Henry Puget, the head of the France Touring Club, came to Turkey for the International Economy Congress in 1953, his comments about the dilapidated surroundings of the monuments of İstanbul echoed in EEKE through his friend Reşit Saffet Atabinen (1884-1965), the founding member of the Turkey Touring and Automobile Club. Atabinen wrote a letter to the VGM which expressed that İstanbul should be saved from this ruined image. The letter was transferred firstly to the Ministry of Education, and from there to EEKE. EEKE firstly asked Atabinen the location, which Atabinen replied addressing *arastas* of Sultanahmet, Fatih Mosque, the Çarşuyikebir district, the slums attached to the monuments, the factory chimneys around the monuments, illegal constructions, etc. In other words, Atabinen addressed all the city. Thus, the story of the letter passed without any action⁴⁷⁵. As will be

⁴⁷² Doğan Kuban, *İstanbul*, 425.

⁴⁷³ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*.

⁴⁷⁴ For EEKE, see the chapter 2.3.

⁴⁷⁵ With their unreadable archival numbers and dates, a set of letters from VGM, EEKE, Atabinen, and the Ministry of Education were found inside the archive folder of the HC. The unfolding of this story is noteworthy to speculate on the question of the 'image'.

discussed below, Atabinen, who himself was also a member of EEKE and the founder of a powerful civil organization recognized by the government, TTOK, was vocal in criticizing HC especially for their position on the urban projects by the new government. If it was not Atabinen (who was a powerful businessman and the founder of a well-reputed cultural civil organization) who wrote the letter but a less-powerful citizen, probably VGM would not even have considered transferring the letter to the Ministry of Education. However, these simple archival documents are significant in underlining how important the image of Turkey was, especially as it was seen by Europe, for the Turkish intellectuals. In fact, this image was ‘beautified’ with the Prost plan in the late 1930s and the 1940s as discussed in the previous chapter. However, the implementations were terminated, thus, despite the completed projects İstanbul was still a city in a poor condition.

As Açıkgöz⁴⁷⁶ argues, for EEKE the foreign eye was one of the main motivations in heritage advocacy during the republican period. In the 1950s, following the HC’s establishment, EEKE’s authority diminished. Controversial issues would immediately be transferred to HC. In the late 1960s and 1970s, EEKE became completely dysfunctional in the decision-making process regarding architectural heritage⁴⁷⁷. However, the European gaze was still a dominant force for the preservationist community. For instance, when the Tenth International Byzantine Studies Congress was organized in İstanbul in September 15-21, 1955, the government set aside a budget for the repair of the Byzantine monuments. Through these repairs, as the Minister of Education stressed, the aim was to show that “the caution of the Turkish nation in preserving the monuments of world civilization is demonstrated with an equal care and attention to Byzantine monuments”⁴⁷⁸. In April 1955, following the proposal of HC member Arif Müfit Mansel, visitors’ paths were improved in many structures; in addition, the directorates were asked to include the rearrangement of public squares in their annual agendas⁴⁷⁹. Some of the Byzantine structures, including those that were converted to mosques, were repaired for the international audience. These were

⁴⁷⁶ Ümit Fırat Açıkgöz, “On the Uses”.

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. Semavi Eyice, “İstanbul Eski Eserleri Koruma Encümeni”, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 4, (İstanbul, Kültüre Bakanlığı – Tarih Vakfı, 1994), 222.

⁴⁷⁸ *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper, September 16, 1955.

⁴⁷⁹ HC Archives, Meeting no. 30, Decision no. 369, Date: 22.04.1955.

Hagia Irene, the Fethiye Mosque, the Bodrum Mosque, the Fenari İsa Mosque, the Chora Mosque, the Imrahor Mosque, the Küçük Hagia Sophia Mosque, and Tekfur Palace⁴⁸⁰. Even though international participants in the congress were able to visit these Byzantine structures, the effect of the September 6-7 events probably had a bigger impact on their impression of İstanbul. As mentioned above, with violent attacks by the public, the non-Muslim community, especially the Anatolian Greek (*Roum*) community, had experienced traumatic events due to which they felt forced to leave the city. They were physically attacked and their properties were looted. It is ironic that while there were preservationist efforts to display Byzantine monuments to improve the prestige of Turkey, the residents who had settled in İstanbul since the Byzantine era, the real owners of the city in other words, were simultaneously being forced to leave the city. Thus, even though the image of İstanbul was still an active force, this image was formed not only by some peculiar actors, but also by events. In fact, in most situations, the actors who wanted to re-generate or preserve the image of İstanbul were challenged by the events which deprived them. *The Development of İstanbul* was one of those events.

3.3. *The Development of İstanbul: urban projects as political tools*

İmar Hareketi, or *İstanbul'un İmarı* (the Development Movement, or İstanbul's Development, from here onwards abbreviated as *İmar*) was a project launched by the DP government in 1956, one year before the parliamentary elections. The prime minister announced the project in a press meeting on September 23, 1956. In this meeting, the prime minister underlined that:

We should avoid that those who arrive in the city from Trakya, or from Europe using the same road, or from the Yeşilköy Airport, enter the city lacking a first-class road, and are presented a landscape resembling an underdeveloped medieval town. We have no right to create such a first impression of İstanbul. In at least three months, the section of the state road until Silivri will be completed and this state road which will extend until the Greek border will enter the city from between two bastions which are now being revived...

⁴⁸⁰ Asım Uz, "Bizantoloji Kongresi İçin Hazırlık", *TTOK Belleteni*, 161, 1955, 9.

For the inner city roads, nodes such as Aksaray, Beyazıd, Eminönü, Karaköy, Tophane, and Taksim, which are jammed all the hours of the day, will certainly be solved and accordingly, these squares will be rearranged and reclaimed.

Also the streets that connect these squares forming the spine of the city are going to be revived. The city will be weaved from one suburb to the other, for instance from Topkapı to the Bosphorus, through equally-perfect roads...

Since there is no way to imagine a city without big and beautiful squares, all squares in İstanbul will be worth of its glory and will be surrounded by big buildings⁴⁸¹.

The large squares surrounded by big buildings, a network of large avenues, and a solution to the traffic problem were the key aspects of the Prost's plan as well. Even though Prost's plan was interrupted and his contract was terminated as soon as DP rule started, as will be discussed further below, many projects that were implemented as a part of *İmar* were based on Prost's initial ideas with exaggerated spans and heights. Moreover, modernization of İstanbul and the improvement of sanitary conditions were the focus of the projects of both Prost and Menderes. However, even though some similarities can be highlighted in the implementations on both periods⁴⁸², there are also some obvious differences. First of all, the prime minister was the main decision-maker in *İmar* rather than an urban expert like Prost. Secondly, in Prost's plan, modernization of İstanbul was the main goal. The same goal was a motivation for the DP as well, however displaying power was a stronger motivation. Lastly, the promotion of the projects to the public were alike to a certain extent. In both periods, municipal publications helped promotion. However, in the 1950s, an ideological tone was more visible. This was one of the main reasons that the *İmar* projects were promoted to the public as the *conquest* of İstanbul.

3.3.1. *The Development of İstanbul as an urban planning project*

As mentioned above (the chapter 3.1.), with the migration from rural areas to the cities, mainly to İstanbul, urban problems accelerated. The population of İstanbul

⁴⁸¹ *Cumhuriyet Newspaper*, 24 Eylül 1956, 1,5. The full text was also published in -, "Başvekil Adnan Menderes'in, İstanbul'un İmarına ve Eski Eserlerine dair beyanati", *TOK Belleteni*, 177, 1956, 3-8.

⁴⁸² Cf. Murat Gül, *Emergence*.

was 1 million in 1950, and 1,8 million in 1960. Also mentioned above are the *gecekondu* and *apartman* structures which dominated the cityscape. Moreover, urban infrastructure was insufficient. This situation worsened the already-poor sanitary conditions. Therefore, İstanbul already needed an urban strategy, in other words, a master plan, immediately. Therefore, *İmar* may seem a response to these urban problems at first glance. In the preface of a book published by the municipality, *İstanbul'un Kitabı*, it was written:

Our Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, who is personally and closely engaged with the work of programming new sites to satisfy the needs of the increasing population and with starting the implementations, is present at all stages of the development⁴⁸³

However, the implementations suggest that addressing “the needs of the increasing population” was not the primary concern for *İmar*.

Menderes’s own words also confirm that rather than solving urban problems, these urban operations were mainly designed to show that DP still had enough power to rule the country despite the economic hardship which came in the second half of the 1950s. In a press meeting, Menderes said:

We could not get 300 million the from Americans. Moreover, we have had a drought for the last two seasons and this season too does not seem promising for the harvest. We will even import wheat from abroad. However, Turkey’s own opportunities are now revealed. With these opportunities, Turkey has become self-sufficient... As a government, we are having some troubles but we have no worries... We are doing all these things in a period where the State and the Government are alleged to be too exhausted to perform their duties⁴⁸⁴.

Some scholars suggest that the main motivation for the *İmar* was purely political to cultivate the votes for the next elections⁴⁸⁵. Moreover, also the promotion of *İmar*, according to Boysan, was a strategy to create the illusion that Turkey as a whole was developing. Manipulating his dominance in the media, the

⁴⁸³ -, *İstanbul'un Kitabı* (İstanbul, İstanbul Vilayeti Neşriyat ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, c.1957).

⁴⁸⁴ After İlhan Tekeli, *Cumhuriyetin*, 169.

⁴⁸⁵ Aydın Boysan, “Adnan Menderes Belediyeciliği İmar Hareketi Uygulama ve Sonuçları”, *Türkiye Belediyeciliğinde 60 Yıl Uluslararası Sempozyum, Ankara, 23-24 Kasım 1990* (Ankara, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1990), 225-234; republished in *Mimar.ist*, 13, 2004, 25-31. Doğan Kuban, “İstanbul”. Nur Altınyıldız, *Tarihsel*.

prime minister did not only prepare the voters for the upcoming election, but also silenced any opposition⁴⁸⁶.

In addition, it is noteworthy that one of the most repeated themes/phrases that helped promote *İmar* was ‘the second conquest of İstanbul’. The word ‘conquest’ may raise some other questions as Akpınar asks: “Why did Menderes see the urban reconstruction of İstanbul as a second conquest? From whom was he once more going to conquer the city?”⁴⁸⁷. The answers to these questions vary. It should be noted that the implementation of the *İmar* started just after the events of September 6-7 1955. In September 1955, a fake news was circulated on the Turkish media that Atatürk’s birth-house in Thessaloniki was bombed. The fake news triggered a violent public lynch mob against particularly the Roum (Anatolian Greek) community of İstanbul. Minorities’ houses, worship places, shops, and even cemeteries were attacked and destroyed within a few hours. This systematic, massive, government-organized tragic act of violence forced the non-Muslim minorities leave their homes and emigrate to Europe⁴⁸⁸. Keyder⁴⁸⁹ argues that the *İmar* was a part of a program that aimed at the Turkification of İstanbul. He establishes a link between the *İmar* and the September 1955 events based on his personal observations and memories. İpek Akpınar⁴⁹⁰, on the other hand, investigates the ownership patterns before and after the *İmar* for two districts of İstanbul and disagrees with Keyder’s suggestion. However, she also confirms that Menderes-era activities had a nationalist political agenda along with an Islam-oriented rhetoric.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. Burak Boysan, “Halkla İlişkiler Stratejisi Olarak İstanbul’un İmarı: Politik Hummanın Silinmeyen İzleri”, *Türkiye Belediyeciliğinde 60 Yıl Uluslararası Sempozyum, Ankara, 23-24 Kasım 1990* (Ankara, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1990), 235-241; re-published in *İstanbul*, 4, 1993, 84-89.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. İpek Akpınar, “Urbanization represented in the historical peninsula: Turkification of İstanbul in the 1950s” in Meltem Ö. Gürel (ed.), *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s*, (New York, Routledge, 2016). Interestingly, the immigration from the rural areas were also considered as the conquest of the *peasants* in the same period.

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Program of September 6-7, 1955, and the Destruction of the Greek Community of İstanbul* (New York, Greekworks.com, 2005).

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. Çağlar Keyder, “A Tale of Two Neighbourhoods” in Çağlar Keyder (ed.), *İstanbul: Between the Global and the Local* (Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 173-186.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. İpek Akpınar, “Menderes”.

DP rulers, on the other hand, had a different answer. In the above-mentioned *İstanbul'un Kitabı* (the Book of İstanbul), an anonymous municipal publication which was published probably in 1957 (the work is undated) to promote the projects to the public, it was stated:

İstanbul is now being conquered for the second time by dear Prime Minister Adanan Menderes. Fatih [*the Conqueror*] was victorious against the Byzantines. Menders has given us a victory of civilization against pain, looseness, irregularity, and disorder. Because İstanbul is tackled from the beginning; rearranged from the start with its streets, squares, buildings, mosques and historic buildings, cultural and educational facilities, and from all aspects.

The works we ahve accomplished in a very limited time are powerful enough to make proud not only the İstanbulites, but all the Turkish citizens.

İstanbul was not just a potential pool of votes for the next elections, it was also an opposition to Ankara. In a way, any investment in İstanbul would be a chance to underline how the preceding rulers neglected the city. In a way, *İmar* operated to undermine the power of former elites and display the power of the new rulers.

One of the main criticisms was the pace of the construction works. With the above-mentioned aims, indeed, projects were completed in a very limited time. However, the conditions to undertake these projects were already well-prepared. The social and cultural background of the *İmar* project was produced through developments managed under DP governance discussed in chapter 3.1., the economic support was provided through American aid, and finally the legal framework was drawn with a new law in July 1956. The new law, Law No. 6785 “The Development Law” introduced regulations on town planning and was put into practice in 1957⁴⁹¹. With the law, the municipalities became authorized to produce urban plans and control construction works, however, the Ministry of Development and Housing (*İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı*) was the controlling body for the administrative process. Thus, the ministry’s authority was above the municipality in urban plans, the ministry could make any changes, and approve the plan with these self-made changes⁴⁹². Three months after the development law, and one month before the prime minister publicly announced that İstanbul

⁴⁹¹ Official Gazette. (1956, July 16). *İmar Kanunu*, T.C. Resmi Gazete No. 9359.

⁴⁹² Cevat Geray, “Belediyelerin hızlı kentleşmeye yenik düştüğü dönem (1945-1960)”, *Türkiye Belediyeciliğinde 60 Yıl Uluslararası Sempozyum, Ankara, 23-24 Kasım 1990* (Ankara, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1990), 217-224.

would be reconstructed from the start in a period of economic hardship, another new law was promulgated in August 1956; Law No. 6830, “Expropriation Law” which regulated the expropriations to be undertaken in accordance with the construction activities⁴⁹³. With this new law, the municipality was authorized to expropriate lands if the masterplan was approved. Otherwise, the municipal council had to approve that the expropriation was needed for ‘public benefit’ (*menti-i umumiye*).

İmar lasted three and a half years. Over the course of this period, around 7300 structures were expropriated and the total cost of these expropriations was 536 million Turkish Lira. This amount was only for expropriations and an additional 117 million TL was spent on construction activities in these three and a half years. In 1956, the total income of all the municipalities in Turkey was 434 million TL. These numbers may help have an idea on the scale of *İmar* works⁴⁹⁴. A list of these projects is presented in **Appendix B**.

İstanbul was not the only city impacted by these regulations; for instance also in Kayseri, an inner Anatolian city, the mayor was able to start development projects forming a coalition between the landowners, the municipality, and the investors. This initiative did not require big sums of financial support from the municipality budget⁴⁹⁵. However, these laws were designed not to generate a development movement for Turkey, but to reconstruct İstanbul to show that the government was still powerful and in control in an era of economic and political instability. Moreover, not the mayor, but the prime minister was the main actor. Considering that the new laws helped the government have a higher authority than municipalities in urban planning, *İmar* can be conceived as a mediator of the centralization of power in the hands of the government. In addition, the prime minister’s immediate interest in municipal activities after the new laws were promulgated demonstrates that the legal framework was formed to facilitate such centralization. Despite the dangers of such centralization, both the professionals and the media were highly receptive of the massive urban projects in İstanbul at first. İstanbul urgently needed an urban strategy and these projects could potentially provide a satisfying solution to the problems of İstanbul. However,

⁴⁹³ Official Gazette. (1956, September 8). *İstimlak Kanunu*, T.C. Resmi Gazete No. 9402.

⁴⁹⁴ İlhan Tekeli, *Cumhuriyetin*, 171.

⁴⁹⁵ Cevat Geray, “Belediyelerin”, 224.

when the expropriations and the demolitions started, reactions quickly emerged. These criticisms could not echo strongly in the public sphere, mainly due to the DP's domination and repression of the media outlets. Moreover, any threat or opposition triggered the DP to become more autocratic. DP power was threatened by an opposition which was united under the CHP umbrella and supported by the army. Moreover, the coup d'état in Iraq increased the possibility of an army intervention also in Turkey. 'Democracy' became a slogan that the DP exploited to warn its supporters against the opposition; *Vatan Cephesi* (the Homeland Front) was established as the civil branches of the DP all over Turkey. On the radio, the activities and the members of *Vatan Cephesi* would be heard almost after each news session. Thus, any opposition criticizing the DP would also get immediately labelled as 'anti-democratic'. Such an atmosphere of oppression muffled the voices in opposition at the beginning. However, towards the end of the 1950s, opposition grew more visible⁴⁹⁶.

Expropriations were the main reason for criticisms directed against the *İmar* projects and against the prime minister, Menderes himself. The Chamber of Architects, which was founded in 1954 (two years before the *İmar* started) had published a critical essay which suggested that the works did not create a development but on the contrary, represented a burden, especially to people with lower incomes. Frustration also stemmed from the fact that the expropriation costs were paid to the property owners in installments, worsening their financial conditions⁴⁹⁷.

Another criticism was the lack of a masterplan. These urban projects were produced neither through a statistical study nor with enough analysis of the city. Because of this, Ottoman İstanbul was disappearing as a result of *İmar*. According to Kuban, Menderes regarded the city in the same way in which old Ottoman sultans constructed *külliyes* to leave their mark; and similarly to those sultans, Menderes also spared a huge portion of the state budget for these constructions⁴⁹⁸. In fact, as soon as Prost was decommissioned, a commission (*Revizyon Komisyonu*) was formed in 1951 to assess and revise the Prost Plan. Two HC members were also in this commission: Behçet Ünsal and Mithat Yenen. After a

⁴⁹⁶ Mete Kaan Kaynar (ed.), *Türkiye'nin 1950'li Yılları*, (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2015)

⁴⁹⁷ Türkiye Mimarlar Odası, *Bildirisi* (İstanbul, Türkiye Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 1960).

⁴⁹⁸ Doğan Kuban, "Menderes ve İstanbul", 391.

seven-month study of the 143 approved plans, together with the plan reports and notes, the commission reported that the Prost Plan was not up to date with the contemporary planning approach, and in addition, no survey maps were prepared before the plan; the proposals did not match the city's topographic characteristics due to lack of preliminary studies; the initial idea was forgotten scale-wise; the beautification of the city was the main goal rather than solving problems related to housing, transportation, social and economic problems. The same commission also recommended that the ongoing works of Prost should be completed. In addition to an assessment of the Prost plan, the commission also generated a road map for future studies and recommended an immediate survey study to determine the scale of future projects and zoning decisions. Thus, the commission stressed that the Directorate of Development should have more staff. In addition, the commission also recommended that a permanent committee should be formed to collaborate with the City Council Development Commission (*Şehir Meclisi İmar Komisyonu*), to advise, to cooperate, to make decisions on the principal layouts of the plan, and to organize the planning studies⁴⁹⁹.

As mentioned above, this permanent commission was called the *İstanbul Şehir İmar Planı Daimi Komisyonu* (the Permanent Commission for İstanbul's Master Plan). This commission was also called *Müşavirler Heyeti* (the Advisors Board). In fact, *Müşavirler* was designed to function as a consultant for the Directorate of Development at the İstanbul Municipality, which was responsible for producing the master plan. Unlike the *Revizyon Komisyonu*, no HC members were included in *Müşavirler*. Such organization may affirm Kuban's above-mentioned suggestion that the formation of HC was not a part of the DP's urban programs. In fact, HC had the potential to challenge the urban projects of the DP since it was legally given such power. As will be discussed below, HC did not always use its power to such purpose. On the contrary, there were cases where HC functioned to legitimize DP projects which destroyed many historic structures.

The DP era was an era in which nationalism and conservatism were rising with the support of the state to block communist influences. In accordance with nationalist expectations, in architectural and urban projects it was proposed that

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. Niyazi Duranay, Ersen Gürsel, Somer Ura, "Cumhuriyetten Bu Yana İstanbul Planlaması", *Mimarlık*, 105, 1972, 67-108: 81-2.

instead of foreign experts, Turkish professionals should prepare the plans. The *Müşavirler* and their studies partially satisfied this need.

Müşavirler prepared the first section of the plan for the Beyoğlu district, and the plan was approved in 1954. The plan was prepared through a detailed in-situ survey. The completed and implementable sections of the Prost Plan was preserved, however, the sections that were outdated or non-implementable were redesigned. The new plan was a very detailed proposal in 1/500 scale and it proposed the distribution of the population in a way that the density would gradually increase from the center towards the peripheries. However, in the implementations, the plan's decisions were not taken into account. 1/500 scale projects were also prepared for several other districts. These included Azapkapı-Tophane, the rearrangement of Karaköy square, Taksim-Gümüşsuyu Harbiye-Mecidiyeköy, Taksim Square and İstiklâl Street, the coastal roads, etc. However, the main project was the Beyoğlu district⁵⁰⁰. The selection of Beyoğlu was not a coincidence. During the press conference in September, Menderes stressed that the first project should take place in Beyoğlu⁵⁰¹.

In 1954 *Müşavirler* invited Sir Patrick Abercrombie, a renowned English urban expert, to give his opinion about the implementation of the plan. After a ten-day investigation, Abercrombie prepared his report and presented it to the governor's office. His report reaffirmed that the methodology proposed by the *Müşavirler* was successful. He also highlighted some specific problems related to the Golden Horn, however, he stated that *Müşavirler*'s studies would be a better solution than a foreign expert's view⁵⁰².

Between 1956 and 1960, the era in which *İmar* began and the construction activities in İstanbul accelerated, German urban expert Prof. Hans Högg was invited to direct the construction activities. Högg's plan was mainly on infrastructure and transportation. He proposed coastal roads in addition to a radial road network to connect the old city to the new settlements. His proposal also

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid, 82-3.

⁵⁰¹ Given that the Beyoğlu district was mainly populated by non-Muslim communities before the September, 1955 events, the emphasis on Beyoğlu triggers suggestions that this was a deliberate attempt at the Turkification of İstanbul through *İmar*. It is also noteworthy that since the 1950s, Beyoğlu had a symbolic political significance in all periods including the *Gezi* protests in 2013.

⁵⁰² Niyazi Duranay, et. al, "Cumhuriyetten", 83-4.

included airport connections and transportation for the suburbs as well⁵⁰³. According to Kuban, Högg did not know or was not interested in the history of İstanbul. His duty was mainly providing the expert view -not necessarily being scientific- that the political power required to justify the *İmar*⁵⁰⁴. In fact, for the public eye, the government and the municipality needed legitimation to increase political credibility. For this reason, even Prost was re-invited to present his opinion on *İmar*. Prost observed the ongoing works and as one can easily imagine, did not have positive opinions about the implementations. This was Prost's last visit to İstanbul⁵⁰⁵

In 1958, a new directorate was established specifically for the planning of İstanbul. This department, the Directorate for İstanbul's Development and Planning (*İstanbul İmar ve Planlama Müdürlüğü*) was directed by the Italian architect Luigi Piccinato, who was invited to take the position by the Istanbul Municipality. The directorate prepared a 1/10000 scale master plan for İstanbul. Piccinato's proposed a linearly growing city instead of a compact, concentric city. He foresaw that zones in close proximity to each other would be dispersed along linear roads radiating from the historic center⁵⁰⁶. For Piccinato, the wooden-framed houses of İstanbul were an advantage since they could be easily demolished unlike the stone houses in Rome. Also legislation was formulated to expedite promulgations and constructions. Once a building was designated as dangerous for the environment (*maili inhidam*) with reports obtained from the municipality, the structure could easily be demolished. Lastly, according to Piccinato, Menderes himself was one of the most advantageous aspects of İstanbul's development⁵⁰⁷.

The invitation of foreign architects triggered reactions from local architects. In 1956, Zeki Sayar, the chief editor of the journal *Arkitekt*, one of the most influential Turkish architectural journals published between 1931 and 1980, wrote:

⁵⁰³ Hatice Ayataç, "The International Diffusion of Planning Ideas: The Case of Istanbul, Turkey", *Journal of Planning History*, 6(2), 2007, 114–137.

⁵⁰⁴ Doğan Kuban, "Menderes ve İstanbul", 391.

⁵⁰⁵ Pelin Bolca, *Henri Prost in İstanbul*, 68.

⁵⁰⁶ Hatice Ayataç, "The International Diffusion", 125-6.

⁵⁰⁷ Burak Boysan, "Halkla", 85.

The situation of our colleagues working in the municipality should be mentioned. Five years ago, after Prost was dismissed, the experts and professors who worked in the municipality resigned from their positions one by one except one, and they have been substituted with foreign urban experts as happened in the past.

Thus, it is obvious that an opportunity is now being missed for Turkish planners and architects⁵⁰⁸.

Sayar also added:

Unfortunately, the architects and the planners of this country cannot perform their duties. It is almost like the duties are exchanged. The administrator is not in the position to ask for development, but to practice, which is the role of the planner.

In the previous article, we praised the collaboration between the state and the municipality, and expressed that we have positive expectations from this⁵⁰⁹.

In the rest of the article, Sayar criticized the municipality for its unpreparedness for the *İmar* and letting the state take control. In the previous issue of the journal, Sayar had praised both the legislative arrangements, and the government's taking initiative to generate a program for İstanbul. He also had warned that the implementations should not be rushed⁵¹⁰. Sayar, in his next

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. Zeki Sayar, "İstanbul'un İmarında Şehirci Mimarın Rolü", *Arkitekt*, 285, 1956, 97-98. It should be noted that also in the second constitutional era there existed a reaction by the local architects against the foreign experts. It is noteworthy that in both periods nationalism and conservatism were on the rise. These tendencies surfaced after the periods of modernization when religion and nationalism were repressed. Before the second constitutional era, *Tanzimat* rulers were powerful enough to implement a process of modernization; and their power was undermined by the *Young Turk Revolution*, as discussed in chapter 1. As discussed in chapter 2, the republican rulers restarted a program of modernization to generate a secular European country, in other words, a country at the level of *muasır medeniyetler*. In the 1950s, once more the power of pro-modernization rulers was surpassed by a political power (DP) which ruled the country with nationalist and Islam-oriented religious tendencies. The DP program was a result of the global power dynamics; DP power was backed up by the US to eliminate communist influences. However, in the second half of the 1950s, US support decreased and in the 1960s, DP's power was also overthrown by the army. As will be discussed in the next chapter, a liberal constitution was written under the military government; and even though the influence of SSCR was still visible and the political situation was not stabilized, the Islam-oriented political activities were repressed. In this sense, the activities on the built environment as well as the architectural reactions were formed by this context where the nationalist-conservative and the pro-modernization power structures exchanged and exercised their powers.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid, 98.

⁵¹⁰ Zeki Sayar, "İstanbul'un İmârı Münasebetiyle", *Arkitekt*, 284, 1956, 49-51.

article, was still positive. He expressed his satisfaction with the ongoing works, but also questioned the financial capacity of a municipality who lacked the ability to produce masterplans. He also underlined that the municipality had only managed demolitions but no new construction had been completed until that time⁵¹¹. In the other next issue, Sayar wrote an article with a more critical tone compared to his previous articles:

It is not possible to observe the implementations of İstanbul's *İmar* and not be preoccupied with how these works should be done. One experiences not human speed but an unnecessary rush and unplanned program in İstanbul, which has gained the look of a bombed city in a very short period, and one, then, becomes sorrowful and surprised that completed works are shattered and then redone⁵¹².

It is noteworthy that Sayar's criticism was negatively directed against the municipality; when it came to the DP government, which was the initiator and the main actor of the projects, Sayar was either neutral or positive in his tone. Sayar, probably, was cautious not to become a DP target in an era where many newspapers were being shut down for opposing the DP. However, the municipality was an easier target and by questioning and undermining the professional capacity of the architects in the municipality, Sayar could reaffirm the influence of *Arkitekt* in architectural circles. Another article⁵¹³, which was originally published in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, and republished in *Arkitekt*⁵¹⁴, criticized the municipality for being incompetent. This piece by Prof. Sami argued that local authorities should not be authorized to undertake urban development projects, and the central government, the state, should direct the process instead. Based on both Sayar's articles and Sami's article, it is seen that a group of intellectuals were critical of the municipality but they could not oppose the central government which was, in fact, the main actor of the *İmar* process.

3.3.2. *The Development of İstanbul as an urban catastrophe*

As mentioned above, one of the main criticisms against *İmar* was that there was no master plan, and that the projects were implemented arbitrarily based on

⁵¹¹ Zeki Sayar, "İstanbul'un İmarı Hakkında Düşünceler!", *Arkitekt*, 286, 1957, 3&11.

⁵¹² Zeki Sayar, "İmar ve Eski Eser", *Arkitekt*, 287, 1957, 49-50.

⁵¹³ Sıddık Sami, "Mahalli ademi Merkeziyet prensibi ve imar işleri", *Cumhuriyet*, July 2, 1957.

⁵¹⁴ Sıddık Sami, "İstanbul'un İmariyle Alakalı Yazılar", *Arkitekt*, 287, 1957, 84-85.

Menderes's own will. However, given that both local and foreign experts undertook planning projects, and after the discussions presented in previous sub-chapter, one may question the validity of this criticism. For instance, Gül stresses that the plans were prepared, the prime minister informed the public even in the early stages of *İmar*, and the projects were approved by the relevant authorities⁵¹⁵. However, even though the planning decisions were made through such mechanisms, the criticism mainly concerns the implementation process. In fact, the process that is narrated by some experts present the most bizarre cases of decision-making in urban projects. In an interview, Boysan reports:

Now, it will be understood better when I tell you this scene. Menderes was standing on Beyazıt. He was pointing to the horizon. He was saying "Open here!" and they were opening. And then they were drawing the project on the master plan after the work was completed. This is deplorable, this is heart-rending⁵¹⁶.

Kuban, citing HC member Behçet Ünsal, reports that when experts asked Menderes the length of a street (*Meclisi Mebusan Caddesi*, in front of the Fine Arts Academy), Menderes grabbed a stone from the ground and threw it to the other side of the road to mark the length. Kuban also cites Turgut Cansever that the masterplans were revisions of Prost's larger-scale proposals without on-site analysis of the new conditions. The revisions included multiplied road spans. Expert road engineers were consulted for determining road widths⁵¹⁷. Burak Boysan also recounts that Menderes phoned officials in the middle of the night during his Baghdad visit, and told them "I decided to demolish the building across from the Spice Bazaar (*Mısır Çarşısı*). Start the expropriation process."⁵¹⁸

İstanbul'un Kitabı was published probably in 1957 to present and publicize the construction works in this period. In the preface, as these works were praised, the approach of *İmar* was also outlined:

İstanbul is now saved from shabby conditions and disorder. We should not forget that even diamond, is not a diamond unless treated.

İstanbul, weaved with light, water, color, and all the grace of God (*cenab-ı hakk*), is now being wrapped with a new architectural gusto, a new

⁵¹⁵ Murat Gül, *Emergence*, 167-171.

⁵¹⁶ Aydın Boysan, "50 Yıla Tanıklık: Sevgili Aydın Boysan'la Bir Kahve İçimi Sohbet", Bülend Tuna, Mücella Yapıcı (interviewers), *Mimarlık*, 320, 2004.

⁵¹⁷ Doğan Kuban, "Menderes ve İstanbul", 390.

⁵¹⁸ Burak Boysan, "Halkla", 84.

sense of art; the diamond is being cut and becoming bright. Therefore, when we say Adnan Menderes is conquering İstanbul for the second time, we definitely have the exact expression for the truth.

Now İstanbul gained a fresh and civilized new identity with the 60-meter wide Vatan Avenue, the 50-meter-wide Millet Avenue, the asphalted Laleli road, the restored city walls, the new squares, the Florya-Sirkeci road, the mosques that are liberated and shine like a diamond ring, the wide Bosphorus roads and the Bosphorus Bridge, the secondary roads, the port facilities and industrial complexes, various buildings and new public centers⁵¹⁹.

Even this brief description reveals that the urban projects in the second half of the 1950s aimed at creating a new city in historic İstanbul. İstanbul needed a program to answer the urban problems which emerged with the population increase and the government did not only want to solve these problems with an immense construction that would alter the city's urban character but also saw it as a political opportunity which would eventually increase its own popularity and public credibility. However, in less than a year the city became a huge construction site.

The promoted works in *İstanbul'un Kitabı* included the construction of a new airport, the widening of the İstanbul-Edirne road from 6 meters to 50 meters, the conservation project for the city walls, Millet (*Nation*) Avenue which is in the historic city center between two bastions and was widened to 50 meters (Figure 61, Figure 62), Vatan (*Homeland*) Avenue (Figure 63) again in the historic city center and widened to 60 meters, Ordu (*Army*) Avenue, Aksaray Square which became a junction for Vatan and Millet Avenues, Beyazıt Square, the Sirkeci district, the tram route passing through the historic center, the construction of the Municipal Palace, the conservation project for the Grand Bazaar, Edirne-Kapı Beyazıt Avenue, the conservation project for the Süleymaniye Mosque, the coastal road between Unkapanı and Eyüp, the road between Eminönü and Unkapanı, the conservation project for Eyüp Sultan district, the new Mosque and its square (Eminönü Square), the coastal road between Sirkeci and Florya, the new Ataköy district with its beaches, new facilities in Florya, conservation of Karaköy Bridge, Karaköy Square, Tophane Square, the Salıpazarı Port Facilities, the Bosphorus coastal roads, the roads on the Bosphorus hills, the conservation of

⁵¹⁹ *İstanbul'un*, 7.

Rumeli Fort, the new Bosphorus Bridge, the Taksim-Şişli road, the Pendik-Haydarpaşa road, the Haydarpaşa Port, and the squares and roads on the Anatolian side. (See *Appendix B*).



Figure 61: Millet Avenue. In *İstanbul'un*, 17.



Figure 62: Millet Avenue towards the Topkapı district. "... this is such a scene from the construction site that once completed, this street will always be praised". In *İstanbul'un*, 20.



Figure 63: Vatan Avenue. "... one of the most beautiful and modern avenues of the world. The traffic load that the linear avenue can bear is perfectly calculated". In *İstanbul'un*, 24.

In *İstanbul'un*, for each project, images and texts provided explanatory notes. This publication both supports the argument that the *İmar* of İstanbul was planned, and that the public and experts were informed about the process, and also confirms that the operations in the historic center and the newly constructed urban areas caused an unprecedented urban catastrophe. Each project in this list could potentially be the subject of a detailed impact assessment in terms of not only the change it introduced to the physical environment, but also its effect on the inhabitants. As mentioned earlier, many shop owners suffered in this process, and many residents were forced to leave their districts. Moreover, the budget for the expropriations especially after 1958 was limited, thus those whose properties were expropriated could not receive the full amount they were promised.

Millet Avenue was one of the largest and longest new axes which connected İstanbul to Edirne. It linearly connected the city walls, which bounded historic İstanbul, to Aksaray Square, which is geographically in the center of the historic İstanbul. Before the construction, there were orchards around the city walls; agricultural production was still active to a certain extent⁵²⁰. These unbuilt lands

⁵²⁰ It is noteworthy that in the current literature, critics of Menderes and *İmar* do not refer the infill over these farms adjacent to the city walls. Only in the 2010s, the continuation of the historic use of these lands as orchards started to be advocated by the civil initiatives which emerged through social media after 2010s. The city walls were one of the four sections of the historic

were empty; however, the section of Millet Avenue close to Aksaray Square was urbanized. The municipality expropriated both the orchards and the structures to construct the 50-meter wide new avenue. In addition to the road construction, the bastions on the city walls were restored as an entrance to the city. Entering the city traversing the bastions and getting directly to the city's center was a symbolic re-enactment of Sultan Mehmet II's conquest of Constantinople.

500 years ago, the soldiers of *Fatih* (the Conqueror) entered from this door, and now a civilized understanding is entering. Tangled houses, old raddled districts are history now. The power of civilization has removed these ruined houses, and constructed a perfect road instead. This road now leads straight to Aksaray so much so that if you stand between these two bastions and have a look, you see the people on the furthest spaces you can see.⁵²¹

Similar to Millet, Vatan Avenue was also simultaneously constructed as an axis radiating from Aksaray Square, traversing the city walls, and reaching the new stadium. The lands along Vatan were spared for big blocks owned by both the private and the public sector. Vatan was the largest avenue of Turkey until then. Ordu Avenue again radiated from Aksaray Square as an extension of Millet towards the east. It extended along Laleli and Beyazıt. All these deconstructions revealed Byzantine Constantinople. As will be discussed below, even though İstanbul Museum intervened to collect these monuments, the construction process was very fast.

New coastal roads along the Bosphorus and Marmara shores were also being constructed as a part of the *İmar*. Even though the infrastructural investments were not limited to road constructions, as one can trace, these new roads were the main projects. In addition, the Yeşilköy airport was also renewed to host more planes, and new facilities were added.

All over İstanbul, new road constructions formed a major part of city life. A new road was built from Galata Bridge to Dolmabahçe (Figure 68), and from Beşiktaş to Zincirlikuyu; the Marmara coastal road was connected to Florya and to Sirkeci. The first ideas for the construction of a bridge connecting the European and Anatolian sides were also drafted in this period. In fact, this bridge was

peninsula of İstanbul was inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1986. These orchards were designated as the buffer zone for the preservation of the inscribed zones.

⁵²¹ *İstanbul'un*, 19.

proposed by the participants of the competition that was organized before Prost was commissioned.

All these road constructions required levelling the slope; as a result, some structures were half-buried under the new road whereas others had their foundations visible above the new level. For instance, the ground level of the Aksaray Square, which became the urban junction of the new transport network, was raised by one meter. After the roads were levelled, concrete was poured, and then asphalted.

All these roads, as they were constructed under the management of a powerful mind (Menderes) created a *dominated* İstanbul. According to Henri Lefebvre, just a concrete slab or a motorway can create what he calls ‘dominated space’. The dominated space is the space that is transformed by technology. The process of this domination is fundamentally related to political power. For Lefebvre, dominant spaces are not the products but the works of construction, and are ‘the realization of a master’s work’.

In order to dominate space, technology introduces a new form into a pre-existing space - generally a rectilinear or rectangular form such as a meshwork or chequerwork. A motorway brutalizes the countryside and the land, slicing through space like a great knife. Dominated space is usually closed, sterilized, emptied out.⁵²²

Lefebvre underlines that the concept of the dominant space can only be understood with its inseparable opposite concept *appropriated space*:

a natural space modified in order to serve the needs and possibilities of a group that it has been appropriated by that group. Property in the sense of possession is at best a necessary precondition⁵²³.

The roads constructed in the 1950s in İstanbul are *dominated spaces*.

In 1963, Guy Debord wrote:

The dictatorship of the automobile – the pilot product of the first stage of commodity abundance – has left its mark on the landscape with the dominance of freeways, which tear up the old urban centers and promote an ever-wider dispersal⁵²⁴.

⁵²² Cf. Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1991): 164-5. The original work published in 1974.

⁵²³ Ibid, 165.

⁵²⁴ Cf. Guy Debord, *The society of the spectacle*. (New York, Ny: Zone Book, 1994): 123. The original work published in 1967.

In fact, both Lefebvre and Debord had observed how totalitarian regimes invested in roads. Both Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany undertook immense road constructions⁵²⁵. One may remember *l'autostrada dei Laghi* of Piero Puricelli in Lombardia, which connected Milan to surrounding lakes and was constructed under the Mussolini regime. The construction of these surfaces of cement and asphalt, which was a common practice in Europe in the 1920s and the 1930s, was now dominating the İstanbul's cityscape in the 1950s. Even though the power of Turkey in a global context in the 1950s is not comparable to the that of Germany or Italy in the 1930s, in terms of the rhetoric of the predominant power structures, there is a similarity. Xenophobia, conservatism, and nationalism were the impetuses of the society. Thus, these infrastructural investments that irreversibly altered İstanbul's character were strategies of domination of İstanbul by the DP government. In fact, when the actors of *İmar* celebrated these projects as the *second conquest of Istanbul* in newspapers and journals, and on the radio, they affirmed that İstanbul was becoming a dominant space in the sense that Lefebvre outlines. The roots of *dominant spaces* coincide with the roots of the power structure which produces them, explains Lefebvre.

Paul Virilio⁵²⁶, who argues that military (wars) and technology (roads, speed) were the main agents that produced the urban character of European cities, conceives modernity in its relation to roads (*dromocracy*). For him, Haussmann's Paris is under a permanent siege by roads for modernity⁵²⁷. Also in the *İmar* operations, the same link between roads, modernity, and siege exists. However, this time, the link was so apparent that even in the state publications, as mentioned above, *İmar* was promoted as an urban program in which İstanbul was conquered (besieged) by civilization (modernity) through road constructions. Naturally, this conquest damaged the historic character of the city.

⁵²⁵ Also in the USSR, new highways were being constructed to foster the socialist transformation of the society. It is interesting that in 1950s' Turkey where anti-communism was the main force getting a national unity, the tools of the power structures were alike.

⁵²⁶ Cf. Paul Virilio, 1974. *Speed and politics*. (New York, Semiotext(e), 1974)

⁵²⁷ For Haussmann's impact on Paris, cf. Rosa Tamborrino, *Parigi nell'Ottocento. Cultura architettonica e città*, (Marsilio, Venezia 2005).

3.4. The problem of old structures during *The Development of İstanbul*

The Development or *İmar* was a project covering all of İstanbul, however, its most significant impact was on the historic structures. The streets presented in *Appendix B* covered only the historic peninsula of İstanbul. In addition, *Appendix C* visualizes the list of demolished structures that Behçet Ünsal⁵²⁸ published in 1969. Nevertheless, not only the historic peninsula, but all the historic quarters of İstanbul, including Beyoğlu and the Bosphorus shores, were under construction during *İmar*. Even before September 1956's press meeting, there were many projects in İstanbul, however, in this period, instead of main arteries, smaller streets were being constructed. The road constructions accelerated after the press meeting and the above-mentioned main roads were opened. As Boysan⁵²⁹ notes, for the DP rulers, these roads themselves were monuments. Similar to the prestigious historic urban projects such as mosques of the sixteenth century, palaces of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, or the bank buildings of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, in the mid-twentieth century, roads were the prestigious urban projects. However, these roads were constructed over the most historic districts of Turkey. The preservation discussions, on the other hand, were mainly limited to the demolition of single monuments without an emphasis on urban heritage. Moreover, these discussions did not develop in parallel to the international discussions.

In the postwar Europe, criticism against the modernist movement triggered discussions about the conservation of historic cities. This reaction gradually shaped an international conservation movement which paved the path for establishment of national and international institutes to generate a theoretical framework for conservation and practice it. Moreover, in the 1960s it became evident that the modernist movement produced poor living standards in housing and public urban spaces. Especially Italian architects' reaction to modernism and their subsequent search for a method for integration of conservation and

⁵²⁸ Behçet Ünsal, "İstanbul'un imarı ve eski eser kaybı", *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri II* (İstanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Türk Sanatı Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1969), 7–61.

⁵²⁹ Burak Boysan, "Halkla", 85.

development had already generated some urban planning methods for historic cities. However, in accordance with the scope of this research, it is a question with no clear answer whether the Turkish preservation experts were up to date with the latest international developments. In the following sub-chapters, this question will be discussed by analyzing firstly the scale of the demolitions and secondly, the position of HC against the *İmar*.

3.4.1. Demolition of historic buildings

There were four offices that dedicated their shifts to work related to *İmar*. These were the office established by Hans Högg under the municipality, the Directorate of Development, again under the municipality, the *İller Bankası* (Cities Bank), and the General Directorate of Highways (KGM -*Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü*)⁵³⁰. *İller Bankası* was converted in 1946 from the Municipalities Bank which was established in 1933 to plan and supervise the financial structure of the municipalities in their projects such as surveying, planning, implementing, etc. The management of the bank, however, was central. It is noteworthy that no representatives from the local authorities were appointed in *İller Bankası*, but rather it was centrally managed⁵³¹. As discussed above, central management schemes increased the power of DP governments. Thus, centralization of power helped the DP government implement *İmar* more easily. Moreover, these directorates under different ministries helped by-pass the bureaucratic blockages. When one department blocked the process, or rejected a project, necessary procedures could be completed through other departments⁵³².

Among these four offices, KGM was the most influential decision-making actor. KGM was established in 1950 under the Ministry of Public Works. Its establishment was a part of the Marshall Plan and it was mainly needed for the distribution of agricultural products. Agricultural production dramatically increased with the mechanization that was possible again with the Marshall Plan. The visit of an American expert team to survey and plan the highway network of Turkey in 1948 followed an agreement between the forenamed Ministry and the Public Roads Group of the American Aid Mission the very same year. In addition

⁵³⁰ Ibid, 168-9.

⁵³¹ Cevat Geray, "Belediyelerin", 222.

⁵³² Burak Boysan, "Halkla", 89.

to a long-term cooperation, the KGM's establishment as a semi-autonomous office was included in the agreement⁵³³. Moreover, a new network was now needed more than ever since the American influence had a profound impact on the automotive sector. Cars were the main transportation vehicle and a car-friendly city was the main goal. The decisions on the construction were mainly based on the decisions of the KGM. However, for the engineers, the city's existing historic and topographic features needed to be 'fixed' for the city have a well-functioning road network. The KGM engineer Muzaffer Uluşahin's remark "this city has a hunchback; we need to fix it" is still used to outline the planning approach of the 1950s. This approach of KGM was to use the intra-cities highway construction standards in a historic urban setting without an adaptation process⁵³⁴. Inevitably, such an understanding which conceived of hills as obstructions for new roads, would not mind deconstructing old buildings.

The major effect of the *İmar* on historic environments was the loss of significant historic structures. However, there were also structures that were conserved. These conservation projects were mainly for mosques. As mentioned earlier, there were some minor maintenance works to prepare some Byzantine monuments for the visit of the participants of the Tenth International Byzantine Studies Congress⁵³⁵. After the congress, the restorations continued for Fenari İsa Mosque, Tekfur Palace, and Hagia Irene⁵³⁶.

In addition, the city walls, which were designed as the gates of İstanbul in *İmar*, were restored. As mentioned above, the restoration of the bastions on two sides of the Millet Avenue was a symbolic act to reenact Sultan Mehmed II's conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

Apart from the city walls of İstanbul, the restoration project of the Rumeli *Hisarı* (Castle) located on the city walls on Bosphorus was also significant. This project was initially designed to celebrate the 500th year since the Conquest of Constantinople. HC approved the conservation project and requested the project from the municipality to investigate whether it was correctly implemented⁵³⁷. In April 1955, a group of experts met to discuss the methods to be adopted in the

⁵³³ Murat Gül, *Emergence*, 123-4.

⁵³⁴ İlhan Tekeli, *Cumhuriyetin*, 171.

⁵³⁵ -, "Tamiri kararlaştırılan Camiler ve Mescidler", *TTOK Belleteni*, 161, 1955, 6

⁵³⁶ -, "Türk ve Bizans yapısı eserler tamir ediliyor", *TTOK Belleteni*, 165-166, 1955, 4.

⁵³⁷ HC Archives, Meeting no. 7, Decision no. 51, Date: 09.09.1952.

restoration approach. They investigated the reports and the conservation projects. The participants of the meeting were the head of HC, the head of EEKE, the head of *Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu* (TTOK), the director of the İstanbul Museum, Prof. Albert Gabriel, the members of the city council, and the local authorities⁵³⁸. This project was delayed and its realization was possible only for the 505th year of the Conquest in 1958. Unlike other projects that were completed with a very limited time and budget, this project lasted three years and a significant budget was spared by special order of minister Celal Bayar.

The adaptive reuse project of the Çırağan Palace as a hotel was also one of the significant projects implemented in İstanbul. This nineteenth century palace was firstly reused as the parliament of the second constitutional era. This new use required new construction works and the renewal of the electrical system caused a fire that burnt down the palace in a few hours. Only the exterior walls and marble columns survived. Until the new hotel project, the palace had remained in a ruined condition. Thus, in a way, the reuse of the building helped save the structure from further damage⁵³⁹.

The irony with the *İmar* was that it was implemented by a ruling class which both accused its predecessor of repressing Islamic activities with a populist discourse while simultaneously destroying the highest number of mosques in modern Turkish history. Indeed, in accordance with the conservatism which helped DP receive public sympathy, some significant imperial mosques were repaired. Among these, the restoration of the Süleymaniye Mosque is significant. This restoration, on the one hand, took pride in owning the heritage of Sinan the Architect as a *national genius*⁵⁴⁰, and on the other hand, functioned as a promotion for DP and reinforced the Islam-oriented discourse. As soon as the government was overthrown by the army in the 1960 military coup, the quality of this restoration work began to be criticized in the newspapers.

In addition, during the restoration of the Hagia Sophia, the roof on the lower levels of the east façade was repaired with concrete. In conservation works, cement-based repairs were a common practice⁵⁴¹. Cement is a disastrous material

⁵³⁸ -, "Rumelihisarı ve tarihi eserlerin restorasyonu", *TTOK Belleteni*, 160, 1955, 9.

⁵³⁹ E. Korkut, "Çırağan Sarayı", *TTOK Belleteni*, 174, 1956, 17-18.

⁵⁴⁰ Gülru Necipoğlu, "Creation".

⁵⁴¹ Burcu Selcen Coşkun and Demet Binan, "Cumhuriyet".

for porous materials such as stone. However, this potential for damage was not well-known in the 1950s. Even HC had made a principal decision to use concrete for repairing lead-covered domes.

Although mosques were at the center of the restoration works, according to the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, before May 11, 1958, 46 mosques were demolished. Among these, there were buildings constructed under Sinan's management as well as those that dated to the Fatih period (the fifteenth century). The demolitions started almost immediately, and were already underway in the early years of the DP government.⁵⁴²

Mosques constituted a small part of the demolitions. Residential architecture, on the other hand, was the most easily demolished type of structures, which even the professionals did not oppose. Indeed the deconstruction of historic residential architecture did not just create empty areas; on the contrary, these deconstructions created new land for new high-rise constructions which had been enabled by the new master plan. This was planned as a means by which the cost of the *İmar* could be counterbalanced⁵⁴³. Most of the time, these residential structures were demolished for the liberation of the mosques and to give the mosques more visibility. Even in the publication *İstanbul'un*, the new roads were praised for increasing the visibility of the significant Ottoman mosques. However, due to the population increase and migration, new *gecekondu* structures would be erected adjacent to the facades of the monuments. Despite these conservation projects designed mainly for the mosques, as mentioned above, the major impact of *İmar* was the complete or partial deconstruction of historic urban areas.

Eyüp, as mentioned earlier in the chapter 2.4, was a significant district for the Muslim community. Also for the DP rulers, Eyüp required special attention. This religious site was planned as an integral whole, unlike other districts where monuments were singled out.

As the demolitions of monumental architecture triggered public reaction, for the smaller examples of built heritage, there were no discussions. Small scale

⁵⁴² Cf. Nur Altınyıldız, *Tarihsel*, 96. Altınyıldız, through a daily investigation of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper to assess preservation culture in Turkey. However, a chronological list of preservation-related events based on a single source presents a biased research. Moreover, *Cumhuriyet* was the newspaper of the opposition. Nevertheless, her dissertation is helpful in gaining an insight into the preservation culture of Turkey with a chronological perspective.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid*, 101-102.

architectural works such as small fountains or tombs were easily demolished. The Kazasker Mosque which had been restored in 1951, was demolished for the Millet Avenue. This was a building constructed, again, under the management of Sinan. However, the mosque was not on Millet Avenue, thus, it was demolished for no reason. The building lot, which became empty land, was sold to the private investors for the construction of apartment blocks. The Selçuk Hatun Mosque was removed to a new site with the approval of the HC; a new mosque with the same footprint was reconstructed on the same site in the following years by public donations. The Sırmant Çavuş Mosque and Tomb, which dates to the sixteenth century, was again removed with HC consent. Another mosque dating to the fifteenth century, the Çakırağa Mosque, which was registered as national heritage site in the records of the Ministry of Education, was deconstructed. A tea-house was constructed on the site of the Çakırağa Mosque in the following years⁵⁴⁴. As seen in these examples, even though these buildings were demolished or removed for road constructions, there were cases in which the new road, in fact, did not require any intervention at all. For instance, the Karaköy Mosque, which was reconstructed in the late nineteenth century by order of Sultan Abdülhamid II, was demolished during the constructions of Karaköy Square, even though it was not needed at all. This was a unique mosque that was designed by the famous Italian architect Raimondo D’Aronco in the art nouveau style and was one of the most significant architectural works on Karaköy Square. It was destroyed with HC’s consent⁵⁴⁵. Similarly, Süheyl Bey Mosque was demolished even though it did not disturb the new road construction. Moreover, a new restaurant was constructed over the empty site after the demolition by VGM⁵⁴⁶.

The methods of the demolitions were also peculiar; dynamite was abundantly used; this dynamite was disastrous for surrounding structures as well. During the constructions in Eminönü, the Rüstem Pasha Mosque was also damaged due to dynamite; its glazed tiles fell and its windows broke⁵⁴⁷.

As an irony of history, even the building in which Menderes first announced *İmar* in 1956, the *Tekel* Building in Kabataş, was first half-destroyed and then

⁵⁴⁴ Behçet Ünsal, “İstanbul’un imarı”. Also see, *the Appendix C*.

⁵⁴⁵ Fatih Güldal, *İstanbul’un 100 Kaybolan Eseri*, (İstanbul, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2009): 90-91.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 94-95.

⁵⁴⁷ Nur Altinyıldız, *Tarihsel*.

reconstructed in 1956, and completely deconstructed the next year⁵⁴⁸. All these road constructions required both a huge budget for expropriations and many demolitions to obtain land (Figure 64).

The destruction of the buildings surrounding Beyazıt Square caused controversy among professionals. The deconstruction of the Simkeşhane was one of the most heated debates during the *İmar*. It was a seventeenth century building constructed as the imperial mint (for coin production). When the mint function was transferred to another building, the structure started to be used as a *simkeşhane*, where gold and silver were treated to produce glittered yarns for textile⁵⁴⁹. The Byzantine past of the site of Simkeşhane was already known as the Theodisus's Forum, or the Forum Tauri, which was the largest forum of the Constantinople constructed in the fourth century ACE. This forum extended towards the Hippodrome in front of the Sultan Ahmad Mosque (the Blue Mosque), and during the archaeological excavations in 1927, a British team led by Prof. Stanley Casson for the British Academy received special permission to study the inner courtyard of the Simkeşhane. Here, the team had already revealed some archaeological artifacts⁵⁵⁰ (Figure 65). These pieces found by the British team were architectural fragments of the Triumphal Arch that stood over the Forum Tauri.

⁵⁴⁸ Burak Boysan, "İstanbul'un Sıçrama Noktası", in İpek Yada Akpınar (ed.), *Osmanlı Başkentinden Küreselleşen İstanbul'a: Mimarlık ve Kent: 1910 – 2010* (İstanbul, Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2010), 81-95: 90.

⁵⁴⁹ For the history of Simekeşhane, see Hüseyin Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, "Simkeşhane", *TTOK Belleteni*, 169, 1956, 3.

⁵⁵⁰ For the documentation of the Simkeşhane before the deconstruction, cf. -, *Rölöve 1: İstanbul Boğaziçi Köyleri Yerleşmesi Resmi ve Kültürel Taş Binalar İstanbul ve Anadolu Evleri Çeşmeler ve Selsebiller* (İstanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1968). This publication includes a selection of survey drawings produced for Sedat Hakkı Eldem's course *Seminars on National Architecture* (Milli Mimarlık Seminerleri), where the students were expected to document historic vernacular architecture in İstanbul.



Figure 64: Construction of the Eyüp - Eminönü road and Eminönü Square. Cf. the *Appendix B*. In Hilmi Şahenk, *Bir Zamanlar*,



Figure 65: the Simkeşhane after deconstruction. The findings in the courtyard remained on the sidewalk after the buiding was half-demolished. In -, *Rölöve*.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁵¹ The source notes that the photo dates from before the demolition. However, as mentioned above, the ruins seen on the photograph are the pieces of the Triumphal Arch which were in the

For the construction of Ordu Avenue (see *the App. A* and the *App. B*), a portion of the Simkeřhane needed to be deconstructed. In fact, this deconstruction project was firstly proposed by Prost in the second half of the 1940s to reveal the forum and make İstanbul's Byzantine past more visible⁵⁵². However, Prost was already being accused by local architects of undermining Ottoman monuments in favor of the Byzantine ones⁵⁵³. EEKE, who used to have a higher authority over İstanbul then, had decided in favor of the preservation of Simkeřhane⁵⁵⁴. And now in 1956, this once-saved monument was once again under threat of being demolished. Interestingly and ironically, the actors of the deconstruction (DP) were not the ones accused of neglecting Ottoman heritage but were those who embraced a nationalist rhetoric which favored the Ottoman past over the Byzantine monuments.

The Turkish Chamber of Architects had published a manifesto to oppose the demolition decisions. In the manifesto, the chamber stated that the Beyazıt Mosque, madrasa, and the Hasan Pařa Han were integral, thus, should not be disturbed. For the Simkeřhane and the Hasan Pařan Han, it was underlined that deconstructing these structures would not solve the traffic problem, moreover, it would worsen the situation. It was argued that road constructions provide temporary solutions. Lastly, the architects who were included in the project and registered to the chamber were urged to reconsider their decision⁵⁵⁵.

When the demolition started (Figure 67), the İstanbul Museum, who already knew that a Triumphal Arch was in the inner courtyard, started excavations on the site to save the artifacts of the forum and move them to the museum. The new road's level was below the Simkeřhane's floor, thus, the constructions had already revealed the foundations of the Simkeřhane where the pieces from the forum were used as the *spolia*. The excavations lasted three months from September to

inner courtyard. Moreover, when viewed together with Figure 10, it is evident that this photo was taken after the deconstructions. In addition, the demolished sections are detected easily.

⁵⁵² Bilsel, C. (2007). "Remodelling the Imperial Capital in the Early Republican Era: the Representation of History in Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul" Jonathan Osmond (ed.) *Power and Culture: Identity, Ideology, Representation* içinde Pisa: Pisa University Press, 95-115: 111.

⁵⁵³ Nur Altınyıldız, "The Architectural Heritage of İstanbul and the Ideology of Preservation", *Muqarnas*, 24, 2007, 281-306.

⁵⁵⁴ Pelin Kotan, *Modernite İliřkisi Baęlamında Türkiye'de Korumacı Zihniyet: Kurumsallařma Öncesi Koruma Olgusu*. Doktora tezi, MSGSÜ, İstanbul, 2015, s.154; Madran, E., 1986, 82.

⁵⁵⁵ -, "T.M.M.O.B. Mimarlar Odası İstanbul Şubesi teblię olunur;" *Cumhuriyet*, March 9, 1956.

November 1957. The municipality provided workers and materials for the excavation⁵⁵⁶.

After the demolition, only one wing of the structure remained. Even today, the remains of the Forum Tauri are displayed on the sidewalk with no sufficient information panel or enough preventive precautions.

Due to promotion of the *İmar* as a national matter, even the opposition party kept silent during the many projects. Nevertheless, the Simkeşhane project was one of the few instances that the reaction from the professional community was strong enough to be heard in the public sphere. For instance, when the deconstruction of Simkeşhane was proposed by the İstanbul Municipality in 1956, a group of eminent architects penned a statement and published it in a brochure. In this brochure, it was written “It will be a responsibility that no Turkish person will want to take [...] to confide to ourselves and to those who will come to our country in future, in five or ten years, that we demolished one of our most significant works in an era where this idea [preservation] was particularly gaining more importance”⁵⁵⁷. However, the main reaction came after the military coup of 1960 when the power of DP was no longer a threat.

⁵⁵⁶ Rüstem Duyuran, “Beyazıt’taki Zafer Takı”. *Arkitekt* 289, 1957, 157-159. Even today, these ruins are displayed on the sidewalk next to the heavy traffic in a painstakingly awful presentation with no panels or information.

⁵⁵⁷ Cf. Uğur Tanyeli, “Düşlenmiş Rasyonalite Olarak Kent: Türkiye’de Planlama ve Çifte Bilinçlilik”, Selim İlkin, Orhan Silier, Murat Güvenç (eds.), *İlhan Tekeli İçin Armağan Yazılar* (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004), 503-538: 516. In this work, Tanyeli assesses the Turkish planning discipline partly using Hayati Kemal Söylemezoğlu’s archival documents which he accidentally found and purchased from a dealer. The forenamed brochure is among these documents. Despite my investigation, I could not find this brochure. Tanyeli’s reference for the brochure is: -, *Mevcut Eski Eserler ve Yeniden Yapılmak İstenen İnşaat: İstanbul Belediyesinin Umumi Hizmetlerini İfasona Dair*, (İstanbul, Kağıt ve Basım İşleri A.Ş., 1956).



Figure 66: Simkeşhane and Ordu Caddesi before the demolition. After the demolition, only the shops on the back façade of the structure remained together with the fragments of the Forum Tauri displayed over the sidewalk. In Behçet Ünsal, *İstanbul*, 33.



Figure 67: Ordu Avenue during the constructions. The Simkeşhane can be seen half-deconstructed on the upper middle part of the frame. In *İstanbul'un*, 35.

In the building block on the east of Simkeşhane is the Hasan Pasha Hanı (*khan*, inn) which was also half demolished for the construction of Ordu Avenue. Together with the Simkeşhane and Hasan Paşa Hanı, the Beyazıt *Hamamı* (the

urban planning. For this site, in our opinion, preliminary studies were not sufficiently done and the project was rushed.

Similarly, for the construction of the Karaköy Square, the municipality should have had a plan. Everyone knows that the square was not constructed according to the Prost plan and there were some other designs for this site. It is not even known in precision the form of the square⁵⁶¹.



Figure 69: Demolitions in the Karaköy district. In *Ara Güler*.

It is noteworthy that for Menderes, *İmar* was a project designed for İstanbul against Beyoğlu. Beyoğlu was the district where the republican rulers' modernization projects were mainly concentrated. In accordance with the Prost's plan, *espaces libres* were mainly in Beyoğlu and these projects were named after the ex-prime minister, the national chief İsmet İnönü. Thus, what was meant with 'İstanbul against Beyoğlu' was in fact '*İmar* against İnönü'⁵⁶².

Through the new road network, Karaköy was connected both to the furthest districts of the historic peninsula (Azapkapı, Topkapı) by coastal roads and to the upper Bosphorus passing through the Beşiktaş district. In addition, also on the Anatolian side of İstanbul new roads reshaped the city.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid. Sayar, also adds that these urban projects were not seen even under the governance of *Cemil Pasha*, the late Ottoman era mayor (*şehremini*). Thus, such large-scale urban projects needed a plan.

⁵⁶² Burak Boysan, "İstanbul'un Sıçrama".

İmar was ceased following the coup d'état. Even though HC could possibly have made efforts to react against the *İmar* operations, in most instances, it helped the strategy to better function.

3.4.2. The silence of experts: the response of the experts committee

In accordance with the above-mentioned new development law (Law No. 6785 “The Development Law”), a municipal decree was promulgated the same year in 1956. The 39th article of the decree stressed:

“On the surroundings of the nonadjacent façades of an old structure that is identified by the Ministry of Education, no construction is permitted within a distance equal to the height of that structure and minimum 10-meter periphery.

This distance can be changed only with the consent of the High Council for the Immovable Old Assets and Monuments that is established with the law number 5805. The consent of this council is essential in the development plan or the road regulation plan.”

According to the legislation, HC decisions were already above the authority of other local and central authorities. With this new law, the authority of HC now increased to cover not only issues related to historic structures, but also the surroundings of historic structures. Thus, this decree, which came soon after the *İmar* started, was a milestone. However, there were two drawbacks regarding the decree. Firstly, for a building to be considered historic in legal terms, the deed of the property needed to be annotated as ‘historic structure’. Such annotation required an enlisting mechanism; a national registration system to classify historic buildings. However, in the given period, most historic buildings were not registered as ‘historic structures’. Even though some public offices took initiative in generating an inventory for the historic building stock of İstanbul, these inventories were not presented to the relevant directorates for registration. Secondly, as mentioned earlier, most of the public offices, including the İstanbul Municipality, did not know of the existence of HC which was the authority for registration works⁵⁶³.

In 1958, the year that the pace of *İmar* slowed down due to financial limitations which obstructed expropriations, a bureau was established under the Directorate of Development under the municipality. This bureau, *the Bureau of*

⁵⁶³ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 17-18.

Old Assets (Eski Eserler Bürosu), was established to find a balance between development and conservation. This bureau had next to zero activities during *İmar*, however, in later years, it functioned to generate inventories for İstanbul⁵⁶⁴.

Even though HC neither had a proper list of historic structures nor was well-recognized by other public authorities, the meeting agenda of the council became much busier following the municipal decree. For instance, on the agendas, the 32nd meeting in July 1955 had 18 items, the 33rd in the next month had 16, and the 34th had nine. On the 52th meeting in May, 1957, on the other hand, there were 45 topics to be discussed. In the early 1960s, this number would increase to more than 150 items. The sudden increase of the number of items on the meeting agenda was not solely related to the new municipal decree which required HC control the surroundings of historic structures, rather, it was related to the *İmar*.

With the *İmar*, KGM also started to correspond with HC and frequently asked HC if a structure could be demolished or if it was historic. Before 1957, mainly the VGM, the municipality, and the Ministry of Education asked HC to give their opinion on certain projects or buildings. The meeting agenda consisted mainly of the requests from these public bodies. In addition, the committee members would individually suggest cases. After 1957, KGM was also added to this group. For instance, in November 1957, when HC had an emergency meeting with a special request from VGM to make decisions on urgent issues regarding *İmar*, KGM informed HC that the coastal road between Sirkeci and Florya along the Marmara shores of the historic peninsula would traverse the city walls both on the coast and inland. This issue was on the agenda two months earlier but was not concluded.

Each HC meeting started with a reading of the decisions passed in the previous meeting. Many items on the agenda would not be concluded and were discussed again in following meetings. Most significantly the coastal roads, the Sirkeci-Florya road and the Üsküdar-Beykoz road (the latter on the Anatolian site of İstanbul) occupied HC for several years. Due to absence of an inventory, it was necessary to investigate the historic structures along these roads. However, once the scale and the construction pace of the *İmar* is considered, one can easily imagine that with the limited manpower, HC was ineffective in making on-site surveys.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid, 18.

Another important agenda was reviewing and rewriting the HC regulations that were prepared in 1952. After years of reviewing, the new regulations were finally prepared in 1959. These regulations were mainly about the organizational structure of HC such as the process of the meetings, the decision-making mechanism, regular attendance of the members, etc.⁵⁶⁵. All the members had important duties in the public sector (such as universities or ministries); thus attendance was a problem that blocked conclusion of decisions. Some meetings were even canceled when members were busy with their other duties. In 1958, a decision was made that the main duties of the members could not be an excuse for not attending since the meetings were held on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays⁵⁶⁶.

It is noteworthy that in an era when HC was more powerful than before, destruction of historic structures accelerated. Before the establishment of HC, despite the established committees mentioned in the previous chapters, there were no authority to designate a structure as the *historic structure*. Moreover, HC's decisions were legally binding. However, as one can trace in the above-mentioned processes of construction which took place under *İmar*, HC did not act as a preservation council. On the contrary, it is possible to suggest that the HC functioned as an authority that would silence opposition and justify the demolitions as they were approved by experts. In fact, most of the time, HC's authority was by-passed through formulation of bureaucratic mechanisms. For instance, HC was the main body to approve the demolitions of historic structures. However, with the new Development Law, for a historic structure to be demolished, it could be enough to obtain the municipality reports which stated that the structure was about to fall apart (*mail-i inhidam*). When a structure was given the *mail-i inhidam* report, then HC consent was no longer required for demolishing that structure. Such a process easily by-passed HC authority. In June 1956, the council made a decision that old structures could not be demolished even in the condition of *mail-i inhidam*, but rather they should be restored⁵⁶⁷. In another meeting, the council made another decision that if an old structure needed to be demolished, HC should receive the photographs and survey drawings⁵⁶⁸.

⁵⁶⁵ Salt Research, Ali Saim Ülgen archive, "Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu toplantı yazışma ve gündemleri", Archive No. TASUDOC0996.

⁵⁶⁶ HC Archives, Meeting no. 36, Decision no. 466, Date: 19.03.1956.

⁵⁶⁷ HC Archives, Meeting no. 62, Decision no. 879, Date: 08.01.1958.

⁵⁶⁸ HC Archives, Meeting no. 39, Decision no. 506, Date: 06.06.1956.

Two years later, the committee saw the need to re-emphasize that old structures should be exempted from *mail-i inhidam*⁵⁶⁹.

In fact, *mail-i inhidam* condition was included in the 1933 Law on Buildings and Roads. This law also regulated the heights of the buildings in accordance with the width of the roads. HC made attempts to keep old structures exempt from this condition. However, the practice of demolishing old buildings based on *mail-i inhidam* continued in the decades following DP rule. The council remade the same decision in 1958 and in 1970. It is noteworthy that also in 2012, a new law, *Law No. 6306: The Law on Regeneration of the Areas at Risk of Disaster*, made it possible to demolish a structure under the risk of *mail-i inhidam*. This law resulted in many urban regeneration projects where low rise apartments started to be demolished and replaced with high-rise residential structures. As a result, the construction sector once again has become the main fuel of the state's financial structure. According to Bora⁵⁷⁰, the immense interest in construction is a common feature of Turkish right-wing conservative political tendencies. This legacy, which Bora traces up to the contemporary politics of Turkey in 2010s, began with the Menderes era.

The demolition of Simkeřhane, which was a controversy for experts as mentioned above, was also achieved with *mail-i inhidam* report. The demolition was also approved by the HC. As mentioned earlier, in addition to the HC, EEKE also still had an impact on the decisions related to the old structures of İstanbul. However, the final decision was the HC's. EEKE, which had already opposed the deconstruction of the Simkeřhane when it was proposed on the Prost plan, once more did not give consent to the demolition of Simkeřhane. HC, on the other hand, had a special meeting with its nine İstanbul-based members and decided that both structures could be demolished. Even though HC's authority was higher than EEKE's, and HC's decisions were final, EEKE did not step back and protested the HC decision before the Ministry of Education under which the HC operated. The decision of HC had to be reconsidered in subsequent meetings due to absence of some members on the day of the decision⁵⁷¹.

⁵⁶⁹ HC Archives, Meeting no. 63, Decision no. 889, Date: 15.02.1958. This meeting was planned to happen two weeks earlier, however, due to absence of the members, it was postponed.

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. Tanıl Bora, "Türk Muhafazakarlığı ve İnşaat Şehveti – Büyük Olsun Bizim Olsun", *Birikim*, 270, 2011, 15-18.

⁵⁷¹ Yekta Ragıp Önen, "Fatih'in Yapırdığı ilk Darphane", *TTOK Belleteni*, 172, 1956, 3-4.

The conflicting decisions coming from two different preservation councils caused debates between two departments. In an interview conducted with EEKE member Reşit Saffet Atabinen, published in the contra-government newspaper *Dünya*, he publicly criticized HC⁵⁷².

In the following meetings, the Simkeşhane and the Beyazıt Hamamı were among the topics that HC discussed. The reports from both the Museums and the Directorate of Planning were also presented to the council. The members were given two options; the first was to construct one road passing from the front and another from the back of Simkeşhane⁵⁷³; however, the reports outlined that the expropriations for this option would cost 32.774.500 Turkish Lira. The second option was to demolish 12 meters of the Simkeşhane from its front façade. This second option would cost 11.971.300 Turkish Lira, almost one third of the first option. The committee went for the second option, however, a counter statement by some members was also included in the decision. The opposing members, Kemali Söylemezoğlu, Zeki Faik İzer, Celal Esad Arseven, Arif Mufit Mansel, and Ali Saim Ülgen made several arguments. These included that the traffic load on the historic peninsula would be reduced once the main arteries were projected to alternative roads as foreseen in the new master plan, the integrity of the Beyazıt Square and its surroundings should not be disturbed, the widened road would not be sufficient in the future and further road-widenings would be required. Given these arguments, the opposing members suggested that the first alternative was more feasible⁵⁷⁴.

In the decision, it was stated that:

After the investigation of the reports, it was understood that by moving Ordu Avenue towards the south it would become possible to regulate the sharp curves of the road from Beyazıt Square to Topkapı in both its length and width and this way it would also become possible to value the old structures along the road, and to sustain the road standards on each point over the road, and to extend the sidewalk in front of the Beyazıt Hamam and the University.

⁵⁷² Uğur Tanyeli, "Düşlenmiş", 519-520.

⁵⁷³ When the Prost Plan proposed the deconstruction of Simkeşhane, this solution was decided in a joint meeting with Prost and EEKE. However, like many of Prost's projects, this was also left unimplemented.

⁵⁷⁴ Uğur Tanyeli, "Düşlenmiş", 521.

Even though these arms of Simkeřhane on the side of the Beyazit Square, which are to be removed, bound the square with an old structure and have a significant and distinctive character for urban planning, considering the above-mentioned aspects, it was decided by the majority of votes that its preservation shall be ignored and only the block on the back side of Simkeřhane, which is shown in red on the plan and proposed to be preserved, should be preserved due to its being a part of Simkeřhane and having the potential to give an idea about the architecture and the history of the structure⁵⁷⁵.

Ünsal⁵⁷⁶, who was a HC member himself, notes that the HC had to fight with the municipality for the preservation of Simkeřhane. He also highlights that Tanpınar, another HC member, had penned an objection letter which should be considered as a work of art⁵⁷⁷. Strangely, Tanyeli⁵⁷⁸ notes that Ünsal was one of the members who did not have any reservations whatsoever regarding the demolition of Simkeřhane. Sayar⁵⁷⁹, on the other hand, accuses HC of approving the demolition ignoring the solution published by a group of architects in a brochure which advocated that the new road should run around the Simkeřhane.

Simkeřhane was not the only structure *trimmed*⁵⁸⁰ for Ordu Avenue. The Hasan Pařa Han, a sixteenth century Ottoman khan, was also half-demolished; however, it was not debated nearly as much as Simkeřhane. Tanyeli⁵⁸¹ alleges that the main reason for this silence by the professional community was due to the eighteenth-century additions. The architectural style of the eighteenth century, as mentioned briefly in the first chapter, was an import of Baroque architecture with the Francophone tendencies of the Ottoman elites. This period is called the ‘Tulip period’, and it marks the first stage of the western influences in the Ottoman architecture. For the Turkish architectural community, until the mid-1950s, this period of architectural history was undermined; the Ottoman-Baroque was

⁵⁷⁵ HC Archives, Meeting no. 54, Decision no. 661, Date: 08.07.1957.

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. Behçet Ünsal, “İstanbul’un imarı”.

⁵⁷⁷ Even though Ünsal states that this piece from Tanpınar is in the archives of HC, I could not find this letter in the archives that are now kept in the archives of the İstanbul Preservation Board No. 4.

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. Uğur Tanyeli, “Düşlenmiş”.

⁵⁷⁹ Zeki Sayar, “İstanbul’un İmârı Münasebetiyle”, 50.

⁵⁸⁰ It is noteworthy that in the current literature, and in the newspapers of the period, an unusual terminology is used in defining the demolition: *shaving* or *trimming* (*trařlamak*).

⁵⁸¹ Cf. Uğur Tanyeli, “Düşlenmiş”.

regarded as a pretentious architectural misstep by the Europe-admiring Ottomans⁵⁸². The Beyazıt Hamam, on the other hand, was subject to threat of demolition even before the *İmar*. The distance between the hamam and the other two structures, the Simkeşhane and the Hasan Paşa Han, which stood across from the hamam, was debated since the integrity of the complex (*külliyeye*) was already broken. The hamam was in a ruined condition and in addition, it was being used as a leather depot which caused a bad smell. The advocates of the demolition of the hamam argued that it should be demolished since Patrona Halil, the key actor of the rebels which concluded the tulip period, once worked in this bath as a *tellak* (bath attendant). The name of the hamam, for this reason, is also known as the Patrona Hamamı⁵⁸³. This hamam was also deconstructed with the *mail-i inhidam* report given by the municipality experts⁵⁸⁴.

TTOK's founder Reşat Safet Atabinen was the most vocal critic of HC. In fact, Atabinen's political and diplomatic skills can be appreciated through the journals of TTOK. During *İmar*, prime minister Adnan Menderes's press releases were published in this journal, his visits abroad were promoted, and he was praised as a savor for İstanbul. *İmar* was also well-received in these journals. For instance, Haluk Şehsüvaroğlu, the director of the Topkapı Museum wrote:

Today, İstanbul is the stage of the most comprehensive, the bravest development works since its foundation. The issue of large roads and large squares was handled, some districts are cleared of bad buildings, and restoration has begun on almost all the big mosques⁵⁸⁵.

Şehsüvaroğlu regularly wrote in TTOK journals about the history of important monuments of İstanbul. However, like the paragraph above, he also wrote pieces with a sympathy for *İmar*. This sympathy for *İmar* and Menderes was lost after the coup d'état of May, 1960. Instead, the new military government

⁵⁸² This attitude has changed since the 1950s. Kuban, with the guidance from his supervisor Prof. Paolo Verzone (1902 – 1986), Italian civil engineer and architectural historian, was the first to focus on this period as a research topic. Cf., Doğan Kuban. *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Deneme* (İstanbul, Pulhan Matbaası, 1954).

Following his doctoral research, Kuban was sent to Italy by the ITU with the funding from the Italian government to carry out a research on Italian Renaissance. Following his study trip, he produced another major work which compared the Ottoman classical architecture with Italian Renaissance architecture.

⁵⁸³ Nur Altınyıldız, *Tarihsel*, 99.

⁵⁸⁴ Behçet Ünsal, "İstanbul'un imarı", 36.

⁵⁸⁵ Haluk Şehsüvaroğlu, "İstanbulun imarı ve eski eserler", *TTOK Belleteni*, 204, 1959, 3-4.

was praised and the speeches of the soldier-rules found their place in TTOK journals. The cover of the June-July, 1960 (221-222) issue celebrated the coup with a portrait of the general who was the manager of the coup. The next issue of August 1960 (223) had photos of army members arbitrarily distributed on several pages to introduce the new officials; the staff colonel (*kurmay albay*) was now the general director of tourism, and the senior lieutenant commander (*kurmay binbaşı*) was the representative of İstanbul. As the photos of new soldier officials were published in several pages, the demolished structures from the previous period were also listed and published⁵⁸⁶. In the November 1960 issue, the HC was once more criticized, reminding readers of the demolition of Simkeşhane and how HC prioritized the Byzantine monuments (the Forum Tauri) over the Ottoman monuments⁵⁸⁷.

As seen in *Appendix C*, the buildings on Beyazıt Square were not the only monuments that HC approved for deconstruction. All the historic structures on the new roads were demolished. Some structures were reconstructed on a nearby empty site. Many fountains were removed. Sometimes, the same fountain needed to be removed several times. For instance, the fountain of the Nusretiye Mosque in Tophane was first transferred to the park of Dolmabahçe Palace, and then to Maçka Valley. In addition, there were also monuments for which the municipality did not make a case to obtain HC approval. Behçet Ünsal's article⁵⁸⁸ lists the monuments that were demolished with HC consent. These monuments are showed on a map in *Appendix C*.

The council was not effective in reacting against this harsh deconstruction movement. However, as political power was concentrated in İstanbul, HC could test its authority in other cities more easily. For example, in Çorlu, which is an inner Anatolian city, the High Council was able to stop the municipality from demolishing another Ottoman bath which was also constructed under the

⁵⁸⁶ -, "Sabık devrinde İstanbulun imarı münaseetile yıkılan eski eserlerin elde edilen eksik listesidir", *TTOK Belleteni*, 223, 1960, 7.

⁵⁸⁷ -, "TTOK 3 Ekim Pazartesi Günü Toplanan İdare Heyetinin 1960 Yılı (9)uncu İçtimai Zaptıdır", *TTOK Belleteni*, 226, 3-10.

⁵⁸⁸ Behçet Ünsal, "İstanbul'un".

Architect Sinan⁵⁸⁹. Unfortunately, in the following year, in 1959, the municipality illegally demolished the bath⁵⁹⁰.

HC's muteness in response to the widespread destruction in the *İmar* process cannot be due to their professional incompetence. On the contrary, as mentioned before, the members were highly intellectual, well-educated, influential individuals who were familiar with European culture. They had personally witnessed the urban planning projects designed and implemented as an outcome of the above-mentioned international discussions. Thus, it can be suggested that despite the power granted by the law, the HC was reluctant to use its power, to avoid a conflict with the central government's power. The outcome of this attitude was the demolition of historic structures and discussions surrounding the deconstructions. There were many instances when HC struggled through *İmar* projects. There were many instances when HC were able to prevent the demolitions. Nevertheless, there were also many instances in which HC consented to the demolitions.

As quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Choay⁵⁹¹ states that expert committees generate a doctrine. In the context of *İmar*, this doctrine was generated to the advantage of the central power structure.

In May 1960, power was seized from the DP rulers by the army. This was a shutdown and restart of the state which restructured the government. In accordance, HC needed to reposition itself to align with the needs of the new power holders.

The coup d'état brought an end to the centralized power. What followed was the establishment of a new constitution with improved citizen rights to reach a stabilized state structure where the dynamics of power could be 'balanced'. However, towards to end of the 1960s, the situation was far from what was expected. Social conflicts, political radical movements, and economic instability dominated Turkish society. In such an atmosphere, HC could function with increased authority to improve the standards of historic preservation. In 1971,

⁵⁸⁹ Haberler [News]. (1955). Çorlu'da Medeniyet Ve Kanun Dışı Bir Olay [An Illegal and Uncivilized Incident in Çorlu]. *Arkitekt*, 279, 43-44.

⁵⁹⁰ Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu toplantı yazışma ve gündemleri [HC meeting notes and agendas]. (1959). (Code: TASUDOC0996). Salt Research Institute Online Archive, İstanbul.

⁵⁹¹ François Choay, *Intervention*.

another army intervention was announced on the radio with an aim to restart the government, asking cabinet members to resign from their positions. Throughout the 1970s, several coalition governments were formed. Political parties of these coalitions unsuccessfully hoped to gain enough power to control the situation. These failed attempts generated an environment where societal conflicts accelerated to an even greater extent, and militant political activities became daily routine. HC, as an independent autonomous committee, introduced the conservation of historic areas to Turkish preservation practice. Doing so, the council increased the conflict between themselves and local authorities. In 1980, another coup d'état was announced, this time on television. This time, the army elites did not only paralyze the country, but also terminated HC as a solution to increased conflicts.

The next chapter will discuss this cold-war period during which several army interventions generated a chaotic society in which HC was able to operate to define improved processes of historic preservation. As this chapter investigated the position of the expert preservation committee under a centralized political power, the next chapter, on the contrary, will discuss the motivations and implications of the actions of HC in times of political conflict.

Chapter 4

Expert Committees in Times of Social and Political Conflict

In the first three chapters, the concept of cultural heritage was discussed, investigating firstly the late-Ottoman context in which it emerged, secondly its role in an emerging centralized state power that orchestrated the transformation of society, and thirdly, the efforts to discipline cultural heritage through the power of a centralized government via an expert committee (HC). The fourth chapter will discuss efforts to discipline cultural heritage not by a powerful government, but by the expert committee itself. It will discuss if the committee could meet the needs of society, or if it could assess those needs at all, in the absence of a strong governance scheme.

The council was terminated in 1983 with a new law, Law No. 2863, which formed local conservation boards in various Anatolian cities instead of a single centralized council. The dissolution process of the HC regime was prompted by a military attempt to regenerate the state in 1980. As Pierre Bourdieu argues, “the state is the culmination of a process of concentration of different species of capital: capital of physical force or instruments of coercion (army, police), economic capital, cultural or (better) informational capital, and symbolic capital.” It is through such a process of concentration that state can exercise its power⁵⁹². In

⁵⁹² Pierre Bourdieu, “Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field,” Loïc J. D. Wacquant and Samar Farage (trans.), *Sociological Theory*, 12 (1), 1994, 1-18: 4.

fact, the period from the 1960 coup d'état – which brought an end to the DP government - until the 1980 coup d'état, can be considered as a period where various power structures continuously attempted to start a process of concentration. However, these attempts failed to establish ownership of the state and no centralized authority could exercise power. The military memorandum in March 1971 authorized the army to rule the country for a limited time. In this period the application of martial laws, even torture, became a common practice. In a way, the 1971 coup generated a 'state of exception' where the state could suspend laws and basic human rights. Nevertheless, when the army handed power to an elected parliament, no political parties could manage to organize a functioning coalition. What followed was social and political chaos. Indeed, not only the internal politics but the global context of the cold war era had been effective in creating this instability within Turkey. A strong working class movement which had the potential to threaten the US-Turkey alliance, the situation in Iran which led to the Islamic Revolution and its possible influence on Turkish Islamic groups, the need for a secular model in the Middle East, and the infamous Cyprus problem were some of motivations that kept Turkey mainly following the agenda of the US.

In this context where no power structure could establish sovereignty, HC could operate to impose its own standards on historic preservation. After a decade in which HC was under pressure to fulfil the needs of the central government, finally there was no government powerful enough to direct HC's decision mechanism. Thus, HC could practice its own power to improve standards in historic preservation, following up international developments and adopting these developments into Turkey.

In the fourth chapter, HC's actions will be discussed in the context of the political and social conflicts experienced in Turkey.

4.1. Conflicts emerge: the cold-war re-deals the cards

In the cold war period, the absence of a powerful functioning government resulted with a deteriorated state structure. In fact, the acts of a powerful government had also provided legitimating conditions to the 1960 coup. Compared to other coups that would happen in 1971, and 1980, the 1960 coup can be considered as an not as an attempt to take over government but just to obtain a

right to operate behind the scenes. With the 1971 army intervention, on the other hand, the military operated as the guardians of the regime to discipline the civilian government. Lastly, the 1980 coup was the most ambitious, with an agenda to instruct structural changes in the political, economic, and even social system⁵⁹³.

The effects of the 1960 coup were relatively lesser compared to other two: following the coup, within a year and a half, a new constitution was formed by referendum and the power had been handed back to civilians with general elections. Since then, the 1960 coup has been either praised for producing a liberal constitution or detested as a power-grab by a once-powerful but now discredited elite community⁵⁹⁴. The new constitution of 1961 had generated various control mechanisms to limit the actions of the government in order to prevent the re-emergence of an authoritarian centralized government. Nevertheless, it created a liberal atmosphere where political ideas could flower, especially on the left. Socialist parties were represented in the parliament. However, due to rising political tensions, the army made a second intervention, forcing the government to resign. With the agenda of preserving a status quo that was threatened by the increasing leftist movement, the army did not exercise its power fully but to an extent to veto the government. The best word to describe the decade after the 1971 intervention is 'chaos'. Fragmented and polarized political movements confronted each other. Extremist militants also emerged in this era of conflicts, in which waves of violence gradually escalated. By the late 1970s, the parliament could not even select a president⁵⁹⁵.

To discuss historic preservation in conflicted times, it is better to first understand the context in which such conflicts emerge. Thus, the periods between army interventions will be discussed separately in the following two sub-sections.

⁵⁹³ Cf. Frank Tachau and Metin Heper, "The State , Politics , and the Military in Turkey", *Comparative Politics*, 16 (1), 1983, 17-33. The main structural change that military coups aimed at, according to Harvey, was to create a milieu to enable a neoliberal state. Not only in Turkey, but also in other countries, mainly in Latin America, military coups transformed states to adopt neoliberalist economies. Also for Turkey, the 1980 coup marks the start of neoliberalism. The common theme in these global coups is that they are backed up by the upper class who felt their power was being threatened by social movements. See David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2005): 39.

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. Çağlar Keyder, *State and class in Turkey: A study in capitalist development* (New York, Verso, 1987): 141.

⁵⁹⁵ Frank Tachau and Metin Heper, "The State".

4.1.1. Constitutional rights trigger social upheavals

In the second constitutional era of the Ottoman Empire, being a soldier was not the most prestigious profession. This situation changed when the military founded and operated the new republican state; being in the army now appealed to lower-income or middle class males as a fine opportunity for receiving a good education and securing a prestigious job with opportunities even after retirement. The managers of the 1960 coup also came from a similar background. A small group within the military, who called themselves the Committee for National Unity (MBK, *Milli Birlik Komitesi*) concluded the decade long DP regime, an era in which democracy was being practiced in Turkey for the first time. The first job of the junta was to form a council of scholars to generate a road map until the new government was elected. The council's chair was the law professor, Prof. Dr. Sıddık Sami Onar. This was a calculated act to gain the support of the intelligentsia, and indeed, it changed the general perception surrounding the coup to a certain extent. Rather than a coup, it started to be conceived as a revolution. The council of scholars prepared a report outlining the faults of the DP in governing the country. Similar to HC legitimizing the *İmar* demolitions, this group of experts justified the MBK's intervention in overthrowing an elected government. The commission recommended that a new constitution should be prepared before the elections to restructure all bodies of the state. The commission took the lead in preparation of the new constitution which was accepted in 1961 by the parliament. As the military became the guardians of the new state regime, the army did not tolerate any act either from left or right that could potentially threaten stability. Ironically, towards the end of the 1960s, stability would again be lost gradually, and the army would once more intervene.

In the early 1960s, the main ideology that the MBK members embraced was a free market ideology⁵⁹⁶.

In the constitution, the new state was formulated as a social state. In the second article, it was indicated that:

⁵⁹⁶ Feroz Ahmad, *The Quest*, 119-124. In 1961, the junta established the Army Assistance Association (OYAK – *Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu*) to make businesses in various sectors covering businesses from automotive to gold-trade. OYAK became 'the third sector' of economy, as often described in Turkey, along with private and public sectors.

The Turkish Republic is a national, democratic, secular, and social law state based on human rights and the principles indicated in 'Introduction'.

With this second article, the state was defined as a 'social state' which provided not only basic rights and freedoms for its citizens, but also a financial structure to ensure that citizens' life standards would be above certain limits. In this way, rights of all individuals from all social layers, and especially the rights of the working class, would be assured. The 41st article supported the creation of a social state:

Economic and social life shall be regulated in a manner consistent with justice and the principle of full employment, with the objective of assuring for everyone a standard of living befitting human dignity.

According to Mümtaz Soysal⁵⁹⁷, who himself was also a law professor on the constitution and was detained after the military intervention of 1971, the military coup of May 1960 cannot be conceived as the end of democracy in Turkey, but it was rather the collapse of a form of democracy and the generation of another form, which he calls 'balanced democracy'. In fact, Prof. Onar confirmed this, stating:

As it is obvious that the May 27 revolution⁵⁹⁸ and reforms had several reasons, it is seen that one of the most important ones are to re-establish the broken balance of state forces and based on stronger principles, to hand the power of the public to legitimate and balanced bodies, which had been seized by an oligarchy and exploited for personal benefits and ambitions rather than an idea and a consciousness of state.⁵⁹⁹

The balance that Onar mentions, according to Soysal, was between the intelligentsia and the politicians. In other words, the 1961 constitution was a product of politician-intelligentsia collaboration. In a way, the new constitution re-emphasized the power of an upper class that was threatened by the peasant class who migrated to cities in waves throughout the 1950s. Moreover, these immigration waves were the result of a strategic state move against republican-era

⁵⁹⁷ Mümtaz Soysal, *Dinamik Anayasa Anlayışı: Anayasa Dialektiği Üzerine Bir Deneme*, (Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1969).

⁵⁹⁸ It was a common to call the 1960 coup a revolution.

⁵⁹⁹ Sıddık Sami Onar, *İdare hukukunun Umumi Esasları*, (İstanbul, İsmail Akgün Matbassı, 1966): 10.

policies which aimed to modernize of society, particularly rural society, without causing major demographic changes. Those who immigrated from rural areas to cities following the abandonment of republican modernization policy formed a working-class movement which gained momentum throughout the 1960s with the Soviet influences. In fact, even in the 1950s, there was already a small political group among the workers of Turkey. Under the new constitution, this group was now given a liberated space to accelerate their political activities⁶⁰⁰. The socialist intellectuals established the Turkey Workers Party (TİP – *Türkiye İşçi Partisi*) in 1961 to prompt a political movement uniting workers and intellectuals. In the next elections, TİP even won seats in the parliament.

In this new *balance*, the constitutional rights of the working class disturbed capital owners who argued that in the development process of Turkey, it was too early for workers to gain the right to strike or to collective bargaining. The ultimatum of the army to the government in 1971 brought this early luxury for Turkey's working class to an end. The military intervention responded to the request of the business/industry community.

As the workers' movements gained momentum, the private sector also founded its own organizations. In 1971, the Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen (*Türk Sanayicileri ve İş İnsanları Derneği*) was founded and since then, this organization has had a political impact even throughout the 2010s.

The new social state provided more liberties than ever; universities gained their autonomy, university students could protest, and workers could strike. Women's movements were also active. The second wave of Turkish feminism took place in this era. In a way, in the changing atmosphere of the post-war world, Turkey was also re-defining its position. This position, in a bi-polar global power struggle, was in the capitalist pole. Nevertheless, Soviet power was also still influential.

The State Planning Organization (DPT- *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*), established in 1960, managed the economic structure of the new state by

⁶⁰⁰ These workers were organized under the *Türk-İş Union* founded with the advice of the American Federation of Labour–Congress of Industry Organizations (AFL–CIO). *Türk-İş* became a pro-government union in the second half of the 1960s. In 1967, a group of workers resigned from *Türk-İş* to unite under the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Unions (*DİSK – Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*). Afterwards, *Türk-İş* became a pro-government union whereas *DİSK* attracted left-wing sympathizers.

generating financial policies. DPT formulated three Five-Year Development Plans for this purpose. Structures similar to DPT were already active in Europe. However, in Europe, many states' resources had already increased following a certain period of capitalist development. In Turkey, on the other hand, this process of development was not yet reached. Nevertheless, DPT was devised to help Turkey recover from economic hardship. In the parliament, a financial structure like DPT received support from many parties⁶⁰¹.

The new constitution, in general, provided a framework which could function for the emergence of autonomous and powerful local authorities. The main steps of this process were left blank to be organized in the future through new laws to be promulgated by the new governments. Thus, even though local authorities had autonomy and authority according to the constitution, their operational processes were not defined. The establishment of DPT, on the other hand, generated a central administrative scheme. Thus, the possible efforts to generate a decentralized decision-making mechanism would be obstructed with a central structure. According to Tekeli⁶⁰², this was a conflicting situation. Nevertheless, the Five-Year Development Plans fostered economic activities.

The First Plan was for 1963-1967. It included a series of reforms to restructure the central administration. Urban issues were also addressed in this plan, such as the definition of various planning schemes. *Gecekondu* structures were still a major urban problem, and the plan stated that new housing zones should be defined to transfer the residents prior to demolitions. However, no financial structure was proposed to organize the budget of the municipalities. The Second Plan was for 1968-1972. It was prepared to meet market demands. This plan was generated under a civil government directed by the prime minister Süleyman Demirel, thus, political inputs were considered drafting the plan. Modernization in agriculture, urbanization, and industrialization were formulated as integral goals, and urbanization, once more, was projected to provide a major income for the state budget. In addition, the need for social housing was highlighted in this plan. The third plan came in a completely different political context; the military had once more intervened with an ultimatum. It was accepted in parliament even though all the parties rejected it in protest against army

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² İlhan Tekeli, *Cumhuriyetin*, 177, 179.

repression. In this plan, the duties of the Ministry of Development and Housing (*İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı*) were redefined to include social housing needs which had been proposed in the previous plans but remained unimplemented. Moreover, a financial structure for local authorities was also designed; the local branches of DPT would coordinate all the financial activities of all the directories in a town⁶⁰³.

As one can trace, parallel to the societal changes, the 1960s was an era in which Turkey became politicized and a left tradition emerged from the liberal milieu that the new constitution produced. The students in the universities were following Marxist literature even in small towns. However, the US was still an ally to Turkey. The government was still committed to US policies. Strangely, Turkey's emerging left and the conservatives were both on the same page in criticizing the government's loyalty to the US. Both the left and the right became anti-American. International developments also had influence on Turkey's leftists; May events in France encouraged them to be more involved and active in politics. The conservatives, on the other hand, established organizations such as the Association to Fight Communism as early as 1962. This was a global trend. In fact, the Union of the World of Islam was also established with a similar agenda, to fight communism.

In the global cold-war context, the tension between right and left wing sympathizers accelerated. In the late 1960s, everyday life in Turkey was explosive. The universities were battlegrounds where two groups constantly conflicted. The situation was completely out of the control of the government in 1971; banks were robbed, US officials were kidnapped, leftist professors were attacked, militant groups were formed among both left and right wing communities. On March 12, the army demanded the resignation of the government, and the formation of a stronger cabinet. Their demands were reluctantly accepted.

Due to the societal change in the 1960s, consumption patterns changed. Industrial clothing became readily-found, beer production was privatized following the classification of beer as a non-alcoholic beverage which consequentially accelerated beer consumption. Radios became abundant in almost every town. The army intervention of 1971 was also announced on the radio.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

4.1.2. Chaos under dysfunctional governments

With a memorandum announced on the state radio, the army demanded the resignation of the government with all the members of the cabinet. Unlike the 1960 coup, the elected members of parliament kept their positions; however, a new government was required be formed. Prof. Nihat Erim, who was also a CHP deputy, was asked to resign from the CHP to form the new government as an objective minister. For Erim, 1961 constitution was a luxury. Under his cabinet, martial law was declared in 11 cities, mainly the Kurdish cities but also including İstanbul and Ankara. The Workers Party had already been shut down on the day of the memorandum, and now under martial law, all political activities were banned, strikes became illegal, and political actors were imprisoned along with many intellectuals⁶⁰⁴. Turkey was no longer a social state as outlined in the 1961 constitution. Until 1973, several cabinets were formed by several actors like Erim. Meanwhile, political parties demanded restoration of civilian order. They were even able to unite to resist army pressure to select army-proposed candidates as ministers⁶⁰⁵.

In 1973, the single party of the republican era was also able to change its director, İsmet İnönü, who was one of the founding military figures of the republic. The new leader was influential in attracting various left-wing political groups under 'social democracy', a theme which dominated the 1970s. In addition to the mainstream left, the nationalist parties and the Islamic parties were also formed with political programs based on anti-capitalism. The leaders of the parties that were shut down with the army intervention reestablished their parties⁶⁰⁶.

The infamous Cyprus-Turkey issue also emerged in this period when the new leader of the CHP, Bülent Ecevit (1925-2006), decided to intervene in the coup d'état attempt in Cyprus organized against the president. However, the intervention lacked the British support that was needed. Following the Cyprus intervention, debates became so intense that Ecevit decided to resign from the

⁶⁰⁴ Cf. Sevgi Soysal, *Yıldırım Bölge Kadınlar Koğuşu* (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1979). In her book, Soysal, one of the eminent authors of Turkey, provides an insight into the prison conditions of the early 1970s through her own experiences.

⁶⁰⁵ Feroz Ahmad, *The Quest*, 134-138.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 138-140.

prime ministry; consequentially, the right-wing parties did not want a new election, and Turkey remained with no government for 241 days⁶⁰⁷.

As mentioned earlier, especially in the second half of the 1970s, the best word to describe the social atmosphere was ‘chaos’. Militants from nationalist armed radical political groups attacked not only leftist political parties, including CHP, but also Kurdish and Alevi (a Shia sect of Islam) people. Towards the end of the 1970s, political violence was a daily routine that reached its peak with the May 1977 massacre at an event organized by the workers union to celebrate the May 1st Workers Day in Taksim Square⁶⁰⁸. The partisan polarization affected the bureaucratic level as well. Each leader appointed their own sympathizers to civil service duties. Moreover, the political parties were not able to form a functioning coalition that could receive the votes of majority in the parliament. Thus, at the end of the 1970s, the parliament was dysfunctional, both society and the institutes of the state were divided by strong political conflicts, and daily life was fueled with terror. This politically and socially chaotic atmosphere accelerated until September 12, 1980 when the army managed another coup d’etat. What followed the coup was a process of paralysis of the state and society in which new power structures could emerge.

In this given context, in terms of historic preservation, the 1960s was an era in which international standards were followed and adapted to the Turkish context. Indeed, the new state restructuring had an impact on conservation works as well. The 50th article of the new constitution stated that “the state ensures the protection of all the monuments with historic or cultural value”. This article was added to the constitution at the last moment during discussions in the parliament. Thus, the methodology that would be applied to protect monuments was left blank⁶⁰⁹. However, in terms of the administrative structure of HC, the regulations that were

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid, 141.

⁶⁰⁸ Feroz Ahmad, *The making*, 169. Since May 1977 this square, which was designed by Prost in the republican era, has been at the center of political events. The Gezi Resistance of 2013 started for the protection of Gezi Park in Taksim Square. For a discussion on the preservation of Gezi Parkı and its political implications, cf. Can Bilsel, “The Crisis in Conservation: Istanbul's Gezi Park between Restoration and Resistance”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 76 (2), 2017, 141-145.

⁶⁰⁹ Ahmet Mumcu, “Eski eserler hukuku ve Türkiye”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 28 (1), 1971, 41-76.

prepared and accepted in 1959 remained active. The council continued their meetings except the 85th meeting to be held on March 4, 1960 which was cancelled due to 'known reasons'.

HC was the main actor in Turkey's preservation system. Until 1973, HC raised the theoretical standards of historic preservation, again with a central decision-making mechanism. As mentioned above, 1973 was a milestone for historic preservation in Turkey since the first law on old artifacts was accepted in this year. Until then, preservation law had been based on the 1906 *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* which was an updated version of Osman Hamdi Bey's previous *nizamname* (decree).

Even though the standards of historic preservation were increased by HC in accordance with the internationalization of conservation movements throughout the world, HC decisions did not always correspond to the needs of the local conditions. HC's reputation increased as a committee operating behind closed doors to make irrelevant decisions with great impact. The local authorities and the HC had completely different perspectives.

As mentioned above, the new constitution re-balanced the power distribution between the intelligentsia and the politicians. This balance was broken by the decade-long DP regime. In the new situation, HC also regained its power as a strong member of the intelligentsia. As will be discussed below, even when the HC decisions were harshly criticized, the intellectual capacity of the members were never questioned. In the 1950s, on the other hand, HC's capacity was not acknowledged and its power was not recognized.

Kuban argues that in the 1950s, the ideals of HC were different from prime minister Adnan Menderes's ideals. Also in the 1960s and the 1970s, it is not possible to suggest that the ideals of HC had a wider recognition. Even though HC gained a greater representational power within the state structure and among the governing public bodies, in fact, in many cases the HC conflicted with local authorities over the heritage value of historic structures. There were instances in which a structure enlisted as a 'historic structure' did not appeal to local authorities whereas some other that local authorities advocated for preservation of were not enlisted by HC. As such disturbances increased towards the end of the 1960s, the situation got even more intense after the 1973 laws. The *sit* (urban conservation area) designations seemed completely irrelevant to the local context.

This was a normal situation since these decisions were made in İstanbul without on-site surveys. However, despite the increasing hostility of local authorities, HC continued to operate practicing the power granted by law.

4.2. Catching up with Europe: improving the standards of preservation with a centralized power

In the post-war era in which Europe's historic cities had suffered the violent consequences of political nationalist movements, a discourse had loosely emerged in the mid-1950s to designate cultural heritage as the heritage of all mankind. In addition, in inter-war and post-war Europe, following the Athens Conference of 1931 (not the CIAM's), a diversity of debates had already emerged to address the shortcomings of the Modern Movement. The initiatives taken by a limited group of eminent actors in each individual country collectively paved the road to international standardization of the conservation movement. Establishment of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) in 1957 was one of consequences of this internationalization.

The fame of ICCROM influenced Turkey's preservationist experts as well. In its meeting in February 1966, one of the items on the meeting agenda was a request from VGM for the determination of restoration standards. HC members agreed that a careful discussion on this request and a definition of standards would be tremendously beneficial; however, this discussion was rescheduled for future meetings due to a busy agenda. However, some members remarked that there was an institution in Rome that was occupied with such issues. Thus, HC decided in 1966 that the Ministry of Education and the VGM should apply for ICCROM membership⁶¹⁰. Turkey became an ICCROM member in 1969. The impact of ICCROM had already begun to diminish with the larger initiatives, particularly with UNESCO-organized conferences which tackled the same issues as those which VGM raised with HC. Nevertheless, ICCROM helped improve preservation practice on a global level. Also in Turkey, as initially suggested by Kemali Söylemezoğlu, HC took the decision in 1965 to send two officials (one

⁶¹⁰ HC Archives, Meeting no. 146, Decision no. 3029, Date: 04.02.1966.

from EEMGM, and one from VGM) to a UNESCO training in Rome that took place between January 10 – June 15, 1966⁶¹¹.

Promulgation of the Venice Charter⁶¹² charter was another development that had an immense impact on Turkish preservation culture. As early as 1967, the council embraced the Venice Charter in 1967 with a principle decision⁶¹³.

In the following year, the text was translated into Turkish by Cevat Erder⁶¹⁴. Erder, in the article in which he published the translation of the text, also included an introductory section in which he expressed his pleasure with HC's acceptance of the charter. He foresaw the significant role that the text would have in Turkish practice due to the lack of such standards. He emphasized that the text would fill a gap. He also vaguely criticized HC:

We would love it if there were a publication system like other countries for the intense repair works in our county to follow technical developments and principles, in a way that would allow people who are not directly involved in these works, and even people in other countries, to follow and exchange ideas...

...Systematic publication of the more than ten-year long survey works of the High Council for the Immovable Old artifacts and Monuments, which is in the position to make final decisions on these works, will both reveal how the cases are handled, and define the current principles, and will make it possible to comparatively assess with other countries.

With these words, Erder affirmed the criticism that HC functioned like a black box. As a heritage expert, Erder had demanded information on the working system and principles of HC. This article, published in the journal *Vakıflar*, which

⁶¹¹ HC Archives, Meeting no. 145, Decision no. 3014, Date: 26.07.1965. This training should be the course 'the Study Restoration of Monuments' that the Rome Center (ICCROM) took over from the University in this period.

⁶¹² In 1957, UNESCO organized a conference in Athens, *the International Conference of Architects and Technicians of Monuments*. At this conference, it became evident that international standards needed to be defined for the conservation movement. For this purpose, *Second International Conference of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments* was organized in Venice in 1964. Turkey was also represented in this meeting. Two architects, Doğan Kuban and Selma Emler, attended the meeting. 23 members (Turkey was not one of these members) drafted a document to define the standards of conservation. This document, *the Venice Charter*, in a way, was the internationally updated version of the *carta del restauro*.

⁶¹³ HC Archives, Dec. No. 3674, Dec. Date: 24.9.1967.

⁶¹⁴ Cevat Erder. "Venedik Tüzüğü": Uluslararası Tarihî Anıtları Onarım Kuralları". *Vakıflar*, 7, 1968, 111-115.

was the official journal of VGM, was influential in the development of the conservation movement in Turkey. As Erder's translation introduced the Venice Charter to Turkish professionals, Kuban had also translated *Carta del restauro* to be published in *Vakıflar* with a three-decades delay. All these developments helped the Turkish preservationist catch up with international theoretical developments. The *carta del restauro*, which Ali Saim Ülgen ignored in the 1940s, was now being appreciated for the developments it triggered in the internationalization of the conservation movement.

Erder, a Turkish archaeologist who was also the director of ICCROM from 1981 to 1988, also took initiative in the establishment of the first conservation department of Turkey, with the name 'Maintenance and Repair of Historic Monuments', in the Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara, in 1966. The main aim of the department was to raise qualified specialized architects with technical and theoretical knowledge, and to attract professionals from other disciplines to take part in historic preservation. The Venice Charter was accepted as the definition of the foundational principles of this department. The whole university, and also this program, was planned to address the needs of not only Turkey, but all of the Middle East⁶¹⁵. Thus, architectural preservation began to be conceived as a scientific discipline that required specialized expertise. In fact, the first steps of preservation education were already taken when the Turkish Ministry of Education requested a professor from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the chair of the History of Architecture Department at the Istanbul Technical University (ITU) in 1951. The dean of the faculty managed to invite Paolo Verzone (1902-1986) using his UNESCO connections⁶¹⁶. Verzone started teaching at ITU in 1952 and continued until 1957. The first restoration courses of preservation education started with his course. His assistant Doğan Kuban translated the course from French to Turkish to help Verzone communicate with his students. Since there was no cultural context for the institutionalization of

⁶¹⁵ This university was founded with US financial aid to raise capacity in the Middle East. Ironically, in the late 1960s, it was the main campus where leftist student groups organized anti-American campaigns. Even the car of the US ambassador who visited the university in 1969 was turned upside down and burnt.

⁶¹⁶ Cf. Donetella Ronchetta, (ed.). *Paolo Verzone 1902-1986. Tra storia dell'architettura restauro archeologia*. (Torino, Celid, 2005).

historic preservation in the mid-1950s, a specific restoration department could not be established⁶¹⁷.

As discussed in the second chapter, modernist principles influenced local architects of Turkey in the 1930s and in the 1940s. In the 1950s, architects such as Turgut Cansever or Sedad Hakkı Eldem contemplated generating a localized modernist architectural language. The discussions on historic preservation, on the other hand, were still happening among an elite community of professional experts, and there were no concrete cases in which these discussions were tested with implementations. As suggested in Erder's above-mentioned article HC was the main authority who shaped both theoretical preservationist discussions and conservation practice. Despite this gap between theory and practice, HC effectively continued raising standards to the level of European preservation discourse which, at that time, was forming an international standardization process aligned with universal critical discussions against the modernist movement by architects, planners, activists, etc.

The theoretical discussions on the restoration projects that dominated Turkish practice were mainly based on the conflict between stylistic restoration and the modern restoration principles which were outlined in the Venice Charter. The members of the former camp, such as Ekrem Ayverdi, argued from a nationalist viewpoint that Turkish monuments could not be restored with international

⁶¹⁷ In İTÜ, following Verzone's departure, the department was called *Architectural History and Survey Department* (Mimarlık Tarihi ve Rölöve Kürsüsü) in 1957, and again was renamed as *Architectural History Department* in 1960. From 1963 to 1972, it was again called *Architectural History and Survey Department*. In 1974, it was again renamed as *Architectural History and Restoration Department*, and in 1982, the *Restoration Department* could be separately established. İlknur Kolay, Zeynep Kuban, "İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Mimarlık Tarihi Anabilim Dalı'nın Tarihi", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, 7:13, 2009, pp. 673-683. It is noteworthy that also in the Fine Arts Academy, Sedad Hakkı Eldem named the department as *Survey Department* (Rölöve Kürsüsü). These choices of name suggest that until the 1960s, the preservation approach mainly focused on the documentation of old monuments. This can be considered as a natural outcome that during the *İmar* period, documenting old structures was the only way to make efforts in historic preservation. Also, Verzone had a chance to document the Byzantine past of İstanbul during his time in İstanbul which coincided with the *İmar* deconstructions. These deconstructions provided an opportunity for Verzone when the artifacts of Constantinople were revealed. Cf. Paolo Mighetto, *La storia come scavo della realtà architettonica. Paolo Verzone (1902-1986): un percorso di ricerca*. (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Politecnico di Torino, 1999).

standards. They argued that these monuments needed to reach their authentic glory through reconstructions⁶¹⁸.

The Venice Charter had a significant impact in Turkey. Söylemezoğlu had already presented the full text of the Venice Charter to the committee. All the members had discussed each article and a sub-committee (Kemali Söylemezoğlu, Feridun Akozan, Semavi Eyice, and Ankara-based member Ekrem Akurgal if necessary) was formed before the text was approved as a principle text. Moreover, HC acknowledged the significance of the new conservation institute in the METU for the development of historic preservation in Turkey. In parallel to the sub-committee, an autonomous second sub-committee was formed with members of the METU, VGM, and two Ankara based HC members (Orhan Alsaç and Aptullah Kuran) to prepare a report on the principles of restoration to be urgently submitted to HC. After this process, the Venice Charter was accepted as the main regulatory text defining the principles of restoration in Turkey⁶¹⁹.

HC was forced to generate these principles as a response to the requests from other departments, such as VGM's above mentioned letter dated to 26 July, 1962. In this letter, VGM consulted HC not only on the principles and standards of restoration, but also over the reuse of the *Çifte Hamam*, an Ottoman bath constructed under the Sinan the Architect's management in Sultanahmet Square, as a museum of mannequins. Ironically, HC opposed this new use since it contradicted the principles outlined in the Venice Charter. HC took a decision that the *Çifte Hamam* would be immediately restored as an Ottoman bath⁶²⁰.

In the following decade, the Venice Charter already began to be internationally criticized for not responding to the needs of practice. Most articles conflicted with each other. Moreover, implementations that strictly followed the rules of the Venice Charter were also criticized. With the 1975 European Year of Architectural Heritage, a new document was announced, mainly for Europe. The Venice Charter, on the other hand, caused debates. Within a decade, it became evident that the doctrine of the charter was not sufficient to save historic areas. Moreover, the text was written mainly by European experts. Soon after the text was announced, it became evident that the European solutions were not globally

⁶¹⁸ Nur Altinyıldız, *Tarihsel*, 106-107.

⁶¹⁹ HC Archives, Meeting no. 152, Decision no. 5268, Date: 21.08.1966.

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

applicable. Non-European experiences were neither represented in the text, nor in the committee who penned the text⁶²¹. Cevat Erder contributed to these international debates. He argued that the Venice Charter also needed to be conceived as a cultural heritage item and should be preserved rather than being strictly followed as a doctrine⁶²².

As the internationalization of heritage discourse improved standards of preservation in Turkey via HC, as will be discussed further below, it became evident that national regulations were needed. In 1973, Turkey's first law on old artifacts was accepted by the parliament. The impact of international developments on Turkish preservation culture continued throughout the 1970s as well. Most notably the designation of 1975 as the European Architectural Heritage Year by the European Council triggered various events and establishments in Turkey. In addition, the Amsterdam Declaration accelerated the debates on the conservation of historic sites. Moreover, in the late 1970s, this wave of conservation movements in Turkey paved the way for the emergence of strong non-profit associations which made significant contributions to the valorization of residential old structures in İstanbul⁶²³. Among these associations, the Association of Preservation of Historic Old Houses Turkey (*Türkiye Tarihi Evleri Koruma Derneği*) was established by Perihan Balcı in 1976 to organize activities and provide funding to historic home owners. TAÇ Foundation (*Türkiye Anıt-Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı*, The Foundation for the Preservation of Monuments-Environment Tourism Values Turkey) raised awareness and made significant contributions to the conservation mainly of the Bosphorus shores. The foundation also was active in other cities of Turkey. TTOK also continued its activities in this period⁶²⁴. TTOK also undertook a project for the conservation of

⁶²¹ As a result, especially in the Far East, different standards needed to be defined. The Burra Charter of 1979 responded to this need even though it was mainly written to generate a national standard for Australia.

⁶²² Cevat Erder, "Venedik Tüzüğü Tarihi Bir Anıt Gibi Korunmalıdır", *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, 3 (2), 1977 190.

⁶²³ Cf. İpek Türeli, "Heritagisation of the "Ottoman/Turkish House" in the 1970s: Istanbul-based Actors, Associations and their Networks", *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 19, 2014. <http://ejts.revues.org/5008>. In this work, Türeli also investigates the role of women in the development of historic preservation in Turkey focusing on the works of two women; Oya Kılıç Karabekir) and Perihan Balcı.

⁶²⁴ Zeynep Ahunbay, *Tarihi Çevre Koruma ve Restorasyon* (İstanbul, YEM Yayın,1996): 142-3.

historic houses on Soğukçeşme Street located between Topkapı Palace and Hagia Sophia. This project was completed in the mid-1980s but the initial plan started in the late 1970s⁶²⁵.

In the 1960s, the economic value of historic heritage and its role in fostering economic development was also discovered. This potential was formulated in the DPT's Five Year Development plans, which highlighted that the conservation of dilapidated structures would be beneficial for touristic purposes. In DPT plans, it was also recommended that old monuments such as madrasas, caravanserais, or mansions should be used for touristic accommodations managed by the private sector or VGM. Even the 1973 Old artifacts Law was an outcome of economic concerns on tourism⁶²⁶. In accordance, VGM was also given a budget for the restoration of its own properties⁶²⁷. As will be discussed further below, especially after the mid-1970s, the local authorities were obligated to prepare conservation masterplans following the *sit* designations. However, in DPT's plans there were not enough measures taken to support local authorities. Despite the developments in historic preservation to recognize the need for area-based conservation, state apparatuses were not well-defined⁶²⁸.

In general, the set of circumstances that defined historic preservation in the 1960s can be summarized as the better institutionalization and conceptualization of architectural and urban heritage. This improvement emerged with the influence of European developments. In the 1960s and the 1970s, in Europe, there was a similar tendency to scientifically define the historic preservation. Nevertheless, in Europe, the internationalization movement in the 1960s was the outcome of decades-long discussions on modernist planning practices, and had evolved through two devastating wars. In Turkey, on the other hand, the inter-war and post-war discussion were by-passed. International developments were caught up to only when a power gap emerged whereby HC could operate in the process of

⁶²⁵ The restoration projects for the buildings on this street had been debated within the preservation community. The restoration projects were prepared to present the street in its nineteenth-century Ottoman look.

⁶²⁶ Emre Madran, Nimet Özgönül, "Planlı Dönemde (1963-1981) Tarihsel Çevre'nin Korunması ve Değerlendirilmesinde Kamu'nun Yakalaşımı", *Türkiye Birinci Şehircilik Kongresi, 2. Kitap* (Ankara, ODTÜ Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü, 1982), 283-301.

⁶²⁷ Nur Altınyıldız, *Tarihsel*, 108-109.

⁶²⁸ Emre Madran, Nimet Özgönül, "Planlı Dönemde".

power exchange that was caused by the 1960 coup d'état. This power gap re-emerged with the 1971 military intervention. Throughout the 1970s, HC continued both to follow international discussions and to increase its power and authority in historic preservation.

4.3. Emergence of urban conservation under the regime of experts

Throughout the 1960s, despite HC's efforts to fill the gap between the Turkish preservation system and the European one, it was not possible to observe any improvement in the condition of historic buildings or areas. As more old buildings were demolished, the conflict between HC and other departments and the public increased accordingly. Nevertheless, these problems revealed that a shift in mindset was needed in historic preservation. Despite the HC-managed developments in historic preservation, in practice, the council still had to struggle through the negative impact its decisions created due to their lack of response to the local circumstances.

Despite the efforts to improve standards in historic preservation, throughout the 1960s, the lack of a national registration system was still a problem for HC. France's well-structured enlisting system was a source of aspiration for Turkish experts⁶²⁹. Turkey was still struggling through the problem of enlisting. The absence of a registration scheme and that of well-functioning institutions, as discussed above, was the main reason that *the Development of İstanbul* project was able to undertake an immense program of urban destruction. However, even in the 1960s when HC functioned in a cultural atmosphere where higher standards were achievable, the council lacked the manpower, time, and budget to systematize an enlisting scheme.

In addition, the regulations for HC itself needed to be redefined. HC itself redefined the regulations and wrote them. The regulation of HC was the first item on the meeting agendas in the late 1950s. These regulations basically focused on

⁶²⁹ Cf. Feridun Akozan, *Türkiye'de Tarihi Anıtları Koruma Teşkilatı ve Kanunlar* (İstanbul, Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yayını, 1977). A significant section of this publication was on development of preservation systematic in France. Turkey's drawbacks are often compared with the French system. In addition, Ali Saim Ülgen's work *Anıtların Korunması* also makes similar comparisons throughout the book.

the membership scheme to define criteria for the selection of new members. Moreover, the number of members was increased to allow representation for other departments, such as the Ministry of Tourism and Publication-Broadcasting (*Turizm ve Basın-Yayın Bakanlığı*)⁶³⁰. In a HC meeting in Ankara on July 7, 1961, the new minister of education Ahmet Tahtakılıç joined the meeting, became informed about the function of HC, and together they decided a new protocol could be signed between the Ministry of Education and HC to redefine and improve the structure of HC. The minister himself also presented his revisions on the existing law. For the following few days, a sub-committee was formed from various HC members (the co-president Orhan Alsaç, Mithat Yenen, Nihat Danışman, and Rüstem Duyaran). This sub-committee studied the Law No. 5805, and wrote down the protocol. This protocol improved the power of HC by reinforcing HC's role in decisions for the surrounding sites of historic structures. In fact, HC was already authorized in 1956 under the new *Development Law*, but the related article of the law was rarely put into practice. The new protocol also made HC the only decision maker for the removal, transfer, or repair of immovable architectural, historic artifacts and monuments as well as natural monuments. The membership scheme was redefined to increase freedom in the selection of members whereas the previous article of the law named each institution. All individuals and public/private institutions became obligated to recognize and take necessary actions to implement the rules, and refusal to comply was made punishable by a prison sentence. Allowances of members were also regulated. The most significant change that the protocol proposed was an additional new article. With this new article, local boards would be formed under the Ministry of Education in various regions to register old structures. The inventory forms filled by these local boards would be checked by the General Directorate of Old Monuments and Assets; and one copy would be sent to HC for a final check. Following HC approval, the monument would finally be registered⁶³¹. In fact, a similar structure was highlighted in a letter written and presented to HC earlier by the then-president Tahsin Öz. According to this letter, the workload of HC was already heavy with a meeting agenda with more than 100

⁶³⁰ HC Archives, the document sent from the Ministry of Education to the HC for the revision of the Law. No 5805. The document number: 031./145.

⁶³¹ HC Archives, This document was titled *Protokol*, and was not given a document number ..

items, unlike the earlier meetings where there were seven or eight items. On top of that, new regulations, which made HC the authority for the surroundings of the monuments, had increased this workload⁶³², which kept some cases on-hold for months. Moreover, despite efforts in the past, only a limited number of historic structures were registered. As a solution, Öz also suggested the formation of local boards. In addition, Öz highlighted the need for additional sub-committees under HC to help with the doubled workload. A new law, for Oz, should be prepared by studying Western methods for creating these sub-committees⁶³³.

These sets of documents, the protocol, the Ministry's revision, and Öz's letter were finally combined. Together with some additional minor revisions of the protocol, the committee wrote to the minister that the old artifacts law should be formalized. In addition, HC requested additional officers to work under HC including civil servants, a secretary, two architects, and two ministry inspectors based in İstanbul and Ankara (the latter would be responsible for all Anatolia)⁶³⁴.

With its increased power, HC could make statements on issues that were not necessarily related to old structures. In 1966, HC made a statement criticizing the poor quality of the new mosques that were unworthy of a nation which produced the most influential works of Islamic architecture⁶³⁵.

Even though centralization increased the power of HC, real-life practices challenged the council. The authority of the council gradually increased the problems related to built heritage. These problems were mostly about the historic residential structures; in particular, the wooden frame houses, which once constituted the majority of the historic civil buildings stock. In the 1960s, there was already a public tendency to live in apartment buildings rather than old houses. In addition, even when the owners wanted to repair their properties, both the authentic constructional qualities and complex ownership patterns challenged their decision. Wood was a difficult material to repair, thus, demolishing the

⁶³² In this part of the letter, Oz resents that his warning on the outcomes of this law was not taken into consideration.

⁶³³ This letter, signed by Tahsin Öz with the date 13.08.1961, is in the archives of the High Council which is now located in the archives of the İstanbul Preservation Board No. 4. Even though the date of Öz's letter is the day that new protocol was accepted, it is understood from the letter that in the earlier meetings, Öz had already highlighted the issue.

⁶³⁴ like Öz's letter.

⁶³⁵ -, "yeni yapılacak camiler hakkında anıtlar yüksek kurulunun görüşü", *Mimarlık*, 35, 1966, 2.

existing structure and building a new house appealed as an easier option. Moreover, each old structure had multiple owners, this condition created problems in completing the bureaucratic processes.

On the one hand, old houses were divided into several smaller houses through new partition walls and new doors to provide a separate house for the married son under the same roof. On the other hand, the ownership of the house was being divided between heirs when the father died. Thus, the ownership scheme was very complex and there could be more than ten owners of a historic structure. Despite these problems, an HC decision declaring any structure as a 'historic structure' would be enough for the preservation of that structure and if the residents or the owners did any illegal construction work, they could be sentenced to prison. However, on implementation, the actual conditions challenged the legally-formulated preservation process. This challenge mainly functioned in a dual simultaneous process; firstly, old buildings were collapsing either due to neglect or deliberate sabotage. Secondly, the increased power of HC caused conflict with local authorities.

4.3.1. Collapse of old buildings

The preservation of residential architecture became gradually more important throughout the 1960s. These historic houses were being demolished steadily for the land values. Sometimes, the owners themselves demolished their own properties to avoid the limitations of being enlisted⁶³⁶. Registration of buildings as 'historic structures' on deed registers would decrease the land value, which could otherwise rise with the new proposals on the master plans. Thus, HC decisions were disturbing for the property owners. As Çeçener narrates⁶³⁷, there were cases in which members received death threats.

Although HC was conceived as the single authority that could possibly stop the loss of old residential structures, there were also cases in which HC facilitated the demolitions. For example, when illegal restoration works started on İbrahim Paşa House, a three-storey timber-frame house on Şair Nedim Street (Figure 70), one of the well-known streets of the Beşiktaş district, the architect Ümit Yurtseven published a brief article in *Mimarlık* accusing many public directorates

⁶³⁶ Doğan Kuban, "Türkiye'de".

⁶³⁷ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 39-40.

of not taking any action⁶³⁸. Erdoğan Celasun, the director of the Development Planning Department of the Istanbul Municipality responded to the accusation, stating that the Old artifacts Bureau of the municipality had done its job by detecting the illegal work, and reporting it to the relevant directory which was the department that Celasun directed. Celasun's department asked HC whether this "timber house with a pine-tree in its garden, one of the most valuable examples of our civil architecture, located on the corner of the building block reviving Beşiktaş's history from the house's own time" should be protected. HC decided the demolition could be completed since "it is understood that the house has no value to be preserved"⁶³⁹. In the following issue of the *Mimarlık*, Yurtseven's accusations were directed to only one department this time, HC. The council, according to Yurtseven, was responsible of the loss of timber structures. HC was a passive audience to this ugliness that replaced the now-lost old timber structures that were the examples of the refined Turkish tastes, and an expression of the Turkish life style, with ugly buildings. The members of HC, who were the renowned experts of Turkey, were either incompetent or exploited for economic purposes, Yurtseven argued⁶⁴⁰.

As argued by Celalsun, the main duty of the Old Monuments Bureau was to ask HC for their opinion on the new construction conditions for the building lots adjacent to a historic structure. Then the HC recommendation would be transferred to the planning department of the municipality. The bureau could operate only in cases such as mosques, madrasas, churches, Byzantine ruins, etc. where it was relatively more obvious that the structure was historic⁶⁴¹. For the less clear cases, as in the historic houses, this process was by-passed.

Not only in İstanbul, but also in other cities, historic structures were disappearing fast. In Milas (in south-west Anatolia), Arslanlı House (Figure 71,

⁶³⁸ Ümit Yurtseven, "Bir varmış bir yokmuş", *Mimarlık*, 25, 1965, 49.

⁶³⁹ Erdoğan Celasun, "Eski eserler ve anıtlar yüksek kurulu şair nedim'in konağını muhafaza edilecek değerde bulmuyor", *Mimarlık*, 27, 1966, 3.

⁶⁴⁰ Ümit Yurtseven, "Yerle bir edilen konak hakkında söyleyecek daha sözümüz vardır...", *Mimarlık*, 29, 1965, 28.

⁶⁴¹ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 34.

Figure 72), which bears the unique qualities of Anatolian civic architecture, was lost within a few months of its Council enlisting⁶⁴².

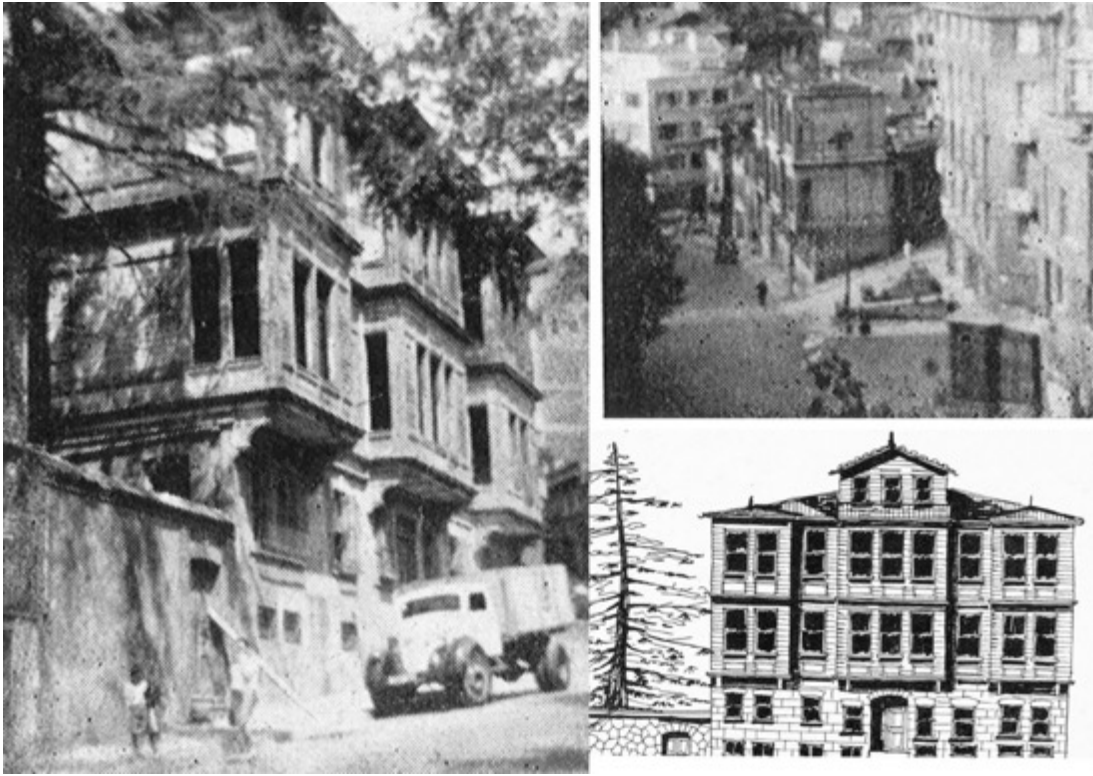


Figure 70: The İbrahim Paşa house in Beşiktaş. In Ümit Yurtseven, “Yerle”, Erdoğan Celasun, “Eski eserler”.



Figure 71: Arslanlu House in Milas before registration. In Azra Erhat, “Anıtlar”.

⁶⁴² Azra Erhat, “Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu’nun İhmalini Belgeleyen Bir Örnek”, *Milliyet Sanat Dergisi*.155, 1975, 13.



Figure 72: Arslanlı house after restoration. In Asım Mutlu, “Türk Evleri”, Sanat Dünyamız, 1 (3),1975, 2-11.

In the early 1960s, experts prepared urban plans taking into account that the problem of old structures needed to be addressed on an urban scale. Piccinato, who was hired during the Menderes era, continued his projects, which were completed towards the end of the 1960s. He maintained his former urban agenda to project İstanbul’s development on a linear scheme rather than a central one. With the new civil government, two separate planning departments were formed under two separate public bodies in the second half of the 1960s; the Ministry of Development and Housing and the İstanbul Municipality. The former would generate a strategy in the regional scale, and the latter would adapt that plan to İstanbul.

In 1966, with the support of the World Bank, a larger office was established: ‘İstanbul Grand Master Planning Bureau’ (*Büyük İstanbul Nazım Plan Bürosu*). It was established by special order of Süleyman Demirel, the prime minister of the elected government. This bureau completed preparation of the master plan in 1971, however it was not approved until 1980. Mithat Yenen, who was also a HC member, was the head of the bureau. The primary concerns in the urban projects produced throughout the 1960s were the construction of a bridge to connect the

European and the Asian sides, the expansion of the city to the north, and the level of urbanization on the Bosphorus shores⁶⁴³ (Figure 73). The problems related to urbanization on the shores, and the loss of the historic houses, was the main theme of an exhibition planned by TTOK⁶⁴⁴. This exhibition was organized to generate discussions on the preservation of Bosphorus shores, and highlighted the need for a Bosphorus-specific master plan. Indeed, HC had a significant role in this process.



Figure 73: the Bosphorus shores in the 1960s. In Hilmi Şahenk, *Bir Zamalar*.

Even though İstanbul had many timber structures across the city, the seaside mansions, *yalı(s)*, were the most significant and unique examples⁶⁴⁵ (Figure 74, Figure 75, Figure 76). As the HC was the main authority in the preservation of *yalı* buildings, the restoration of the *Amcazade Yalısı* (Figure 77, Figure 78), also known as *Köprülü Yalısı*, *Meşruta Yalı*, *Kırmızı Yalı*, and *Direkli Yalı* triggered public debates⁶⁴⁶. This seventeenth century residential timber house needed an extensive restoration intervention despite minor repairs in the previous decades.

⁶⁴³ Nur Altınyıldız, *Tarihsel*, 110-112.

⁶⁴⁴ Necva Akçura, “Korunması Gereken Boğaziçi’ Sergisi Hakkında Görüşler”, *Mimarlık*, 104, 1972, 45.

⁶⁴⁵ Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Boğaziçi Yalıları* (İstanbuli Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 1993-1994).

⁶⁴⁶ Cf. Murat Yıldız, “Türk Sivil Mimarisinin En Eski Yapılarından Amcazade Hüseyin Paşayalısı’nın Tarihî Serüveni”, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 21, 2011, 395-433. For a history of Amcazade Yalısı, see *Süheyl Ünver and Sedat Hakkı Eldem, Anadoluhisarı’nda Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı (İstanbul, TTOK, 1970)*.

T.T.O.K. developed a conservation project for the *divanhane* (reception hall) of the *Amcazade Yalısı* with the stipulation that in the future, the *yali* would be used as a museum, not as a house, since residential use could potentially threaten the future condition of the *yali*. The project started after both VGM and the board of the foundation consented the stipulation. However, during construction, HC decided that the *yali* should be completely demolished and then reconstructed. T.T.O.K. disagreed with the HC's decision, and the restoration stopped half-finished. Even this partial restoration improved the condition of the *Amcazade Yalısı* (Figure 79).



Figure 74: Yalis on Bosphorus shores. *Salt Online Archive, Harika, Kemali Soylemezoglu Archive, TSOH11201.*



Figure 75: Two yalis in Emirgan. İki Kuleli Yalı (on the left) does not survive today. *Salt Online Archive, AHISTSARI017.*



Figure 76: İsmail Paşa Yalısı (left) in Kandilli and Sadullah Paşa Yalısı (right) in Çengelköy.
In Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Boğaziçi.



Figure 77: Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı. Salt Online Archive, Ali Saim Ülgen Arşivi, TASUH3471001.

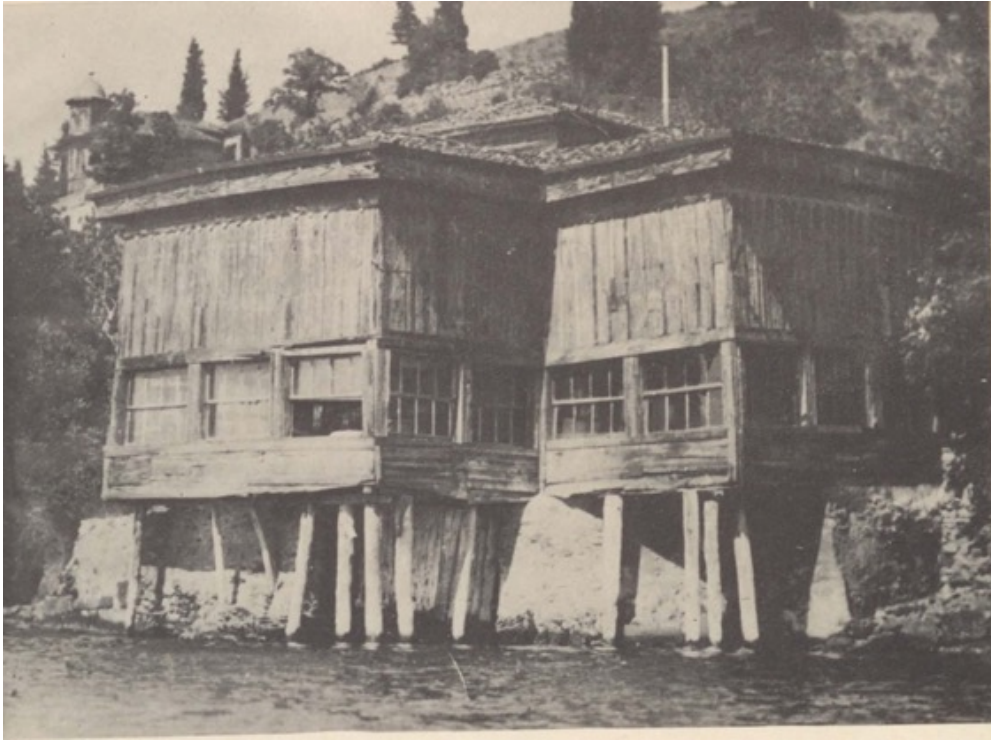


Figure 78: Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı. Source: Süheyl Ünver and Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Anadoluhisari'nda Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı*. In *İstanbul*, TTOK, 1970.



Figure 79: Amcazade Yalısı. *Salt Online Archive, Harika, Kemali Soylemezoglu Archive, AHISTDIV00122*.

Master plans were prepared with a consciousness of old buildings. These master plans were designed as tools which could both change İstanbul to create a contemporary city (even after the attempts of the previous decades, İstanbul still lacked the image of a contemporary city) and preserve the residential architectural

heritage of İstanbul that was now being lost. However, in the second half of the 1960s, *yali* structures were threatened with these master plans, and through land speculations. In 1970, under the management of the İstanbul Grand Master Planning Bureau, officials from the municipality and the HC collaboratively prepared a master plan for the Bosphorus Coastal Strip⁶⁴⁷. This plan can be considered Turkey's first urban conservation plan⁶⁴⁸. As the plan generated the outlines for new constructions, decisions regarding the *yali* buildings remained under the HC authority. *Yalis* could be registered as 'historic structures' by HC and conservation projects would be prepared under HC supervision, as well as the implementation process of the projects. In addition, HC defined a system of categories and designated each *yali* to one of these categories. This categorization was completed in two different meetings previously. In September 1970⁶⁴⁹, the council defined a system for the conservation of *yalis*. The most significant innovation of this new system was separating the interior and exterior of buildings. The building categories were also defined based on this separation. Three categories were defined; the first category included buildings in which both the interior and the exterior should be preserved, the second category was for buildings for which only the exterior should be preserved, and the third category was for buildings that could be demolished with HC consent⁶⁵⁰. For the second category, the level of construction works that could be done on the interiors was to be determined by the master plan. However, this was a problematic decision since the master plan generated a framework for new construction works, not

⁶⁴⁷ The problem with the Bosphorus shores and their planning was a debate which continued throughout the 1980s.

⁶⁴⁸ In fact, it had already become obvious that master plans would not sufficiently answer the needs of historic structures and specific regulations and a new law needed to be prepared for historic environments. The last *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* promulgated in 1906 (see the chapter 1.2.) was still in effect. This late-Ottoman era law was formulated to sustain complete ownership over the antiquities on Ottoman lands and limit foreign archaeological activities. This law would be changed in 1973 with modern Turkey's first law of on historic monuments, however, despite the fundamental changes it introduced, in terms of archaeological activities, it made minor changes.

⁶⁴⁹ HC Archives, Meeting no. 201, Decision no. 5505, Date: 11.09.1970.

⁶⁵⁰ -, "Boğaziçi İmar Plânı Raporu: İstanbul Belediyesi İmar Ve Planlama Müdürlüğü Tarafından Hazırlanıp Tasdik Ettirilen Boğaziçi Sahil Şeridi İmar Planı Raporu", *Mimarlık*, 104, 1972, 26-28.

restoration works⁶⁵¹. Despite this drawback, with a second decision in October 1970⁶⁵², each *yalı* was appointed to one of these three categories with photographs and maps⁶⁵³.

Sedad Hakkı Eldem had taken initiative in the registration and the categorization process. Architectural survey drawings, which were compulsory for registration, were not requested and categorization was based on photos and maps prepared by the İstanbul Grand Master Planning Bureau. However, out of 386 *yalı*s, approximately only 80 of them were registered in the first category. Only three buildings were in the third category, and the rest were categorized in the second category⁶⁵⁴. It should be noted once more that a similar study based on maps and photographs was undertaken also for Edirne, the EEMGM, but HC did not register any structure due to absence of architectural survey drawings. Moreover, by categorizing the majority of *yalı*s as second category buildings, HC in fact allowed complete renewal of the interior spaces. In doing so, HC activated a process which caused the loss of a traditional legacy of architectural production.

In the same meeting, HC proposed a program for privately-owned structures to support and encourage owners to preserve their structures. For structures in the first group, the primary proposal was to expropriate the building and convert it for a new use such as a museum, touristic facility, hotel, etc. When expropriation was not possible, HC suggested that property owners should be provided with privileges such as building tax exemption, income tax exemption substituting the costs of the restoration works for the income tax, additional income tax exemptions when the owner made profit through the new use of the structure, grants to cover partial or total cost of the restoration works. For the grants, HC recommended that additional resources be provided for the Ministry of Education who would distribute these loans. For buildings in the second group, the privileges were building tax exemption, partial income tax exemption where the building

⁶⁵¹ Besim Çeçener, "Kültür Değeri Olan Yapılarda Koruma ve Mimar", *Mimarlık*, 104, 1972, 40-44.

⁶⁵² HC Archives, Meeting no.202, Decision no. 5595, Date: 10.10.1970.

⁶⁵³ -, "Boğaziçi'deki Sivil Mimarlık Örnekleri: Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler Ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu Tarafından Alınan Ve 6442 Sayılı Karara Göre Düzeltilmiş 5595 Sayılı Kararda Bulunan Boğaziçi Sahil Şeridindeki Sivil Mimarlık Örnekleri Listesi Ve Koruma Şartları", *Mimarlık*, 104, 1972, 29-30. In this article, a list of *yalı*s and their categories was published. Thus, this list also represents an inventory for the *yalı* structures.

⁶⁵⁴ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 43-44.

owner made profit through the new use of the structure, partial or total loans with very little or no interest to cover the restoration works⁶⁵⁵. These recommendations were not put into practice.

HC decisions were not effective in saving *yahıs*, because, as the cases waited in the folders on the HC shelves, the condition of the structures was getting worse. For instance, in 1967, Kemali Söylemezoğlu was criticized for taking the folders to investigate the cases on site but never presenting the results to the committee. In the meanwhile, as the structures became more dilapidated, the council could not discuss the cases since Söylemezoğlu held the folders. Moreover, he was absent from the meeting despite the intense agendas and constant warnings⁶⁵⁶. As this case demonstrates, in addition to the structure of HC, the personal attitudes of HC members and the relationship between the members also had a significant role in the decision-making mechanism and consequential outcomes that caused the loss of architectural heritage.

In addition, the owners demolished their own structures to avoid the limitations that could possibly emerge with their property getting enlisted. These situations caused HC to be conceived as a council which encouraged destruction of historic structures rather than preservation of them. In the 1970s, to avoid the demolition of old timber structures, HC member Sedad Hakkı Eldem proposed that HC decisions should be obligatory for any timber structure with a footprint larger than 100m², however his idea was not well-received by other members⁶⁵⁷.

Similar to HC, the municipalities were also ineffective in preservation. The municipalities, who were in charge in obtaining the consent of HC prior to the start of any construction work on or around a historic structure, did not always have the capacity to assess which structures were historic and which ones were not. Even when they had the capacity, they were reluctant to inform HC, in order to avoid conflict between themselves and their potential future voters. Moreover, owners who foresaw that their house could be registered as a 'historic monument' tore down their own buildings before the officials arrived to fill their inventory forms. In this way, new construction could be made possible and the owner could

⁶⁵⁵ HC Archives, Meeting no. 201, Decision no. 5550, Date: 11.09.1970.

⁶⁵⁶ HC Archives, Meeting no. na, Decision no. na, Date: 107.02.1967. This letter in the archives was not assigned a decision number. However, this is a significant document that presents how HC had reservations in asking other directorates to undertake tasks due to personal relations.

⁶⁵⁷ HC Archives, Dec. No. 5309, Dec. Date: 09.05.1970.

overcome potential limitations on their ownership rights⁶⁵⁸. The lack of a legal and administrative scheme to manage urban conservation forced HC to register each structure individually. However, this approach was not applicable and practical even for only İstanbul with the limited staff of HC. In addition, the rapid destruction of the timber houses especially on and around the Bosphorus shores was making the situation more urgent. İstanbul was steadily losing significant examples of civil architecture. Moreover, even when other directorates presented their inventories for registration, HC rejected the lists since the inventories were not prepared following the process that HC defined.

Throughout the 1960s, these developments showed that preservation-focused urban policies were obligatory for effective historic preservation. For Kuban⁶⁵⁹, preservation of historic İstanbul was a cultural problem, and in an atmosphere in which Turkey was experiencing demographic, economic, and political difficulties, cultural problems could be considered secondary. The problems of *gecekondü* or traffic appeared more urgent than the historic city. One of the main reasons of this, for Kuban, was that even though there was a consensus that İstanbul was historic, none of the officials who had duties regarding construction facilities in İstanbul, especially architects and politicians who had the biggest role in such activities, were able to define what made İstanbul historic. In a way, Kuban, who himself also completed his post-doctoral studies in Italy, was echoing Sitte and Giovannoni suggesting that İstanbul's urban morphology should be considered as an input in all planning activities. In the mid-1960s, for a period that can be considered early for the Turkish practice, he was arguing that preservation of singular edifices would not satisfactorily preserve İstanbul's history. He was also critical of the common practice of liberating and cleaning monuments from old adjacent houses which were demolished for economic purposes to provide new sites for new constructions. Such practices could not preserve monuments but only convert them to museum objects. Indeed, the lower income resident groups in the old timber houses could not be asked to restore their houses. To do this job, a new organization was needed which could produce preservation policies

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Doğan Kuban, "Türkiye'de ve Özellikle İstanbul'da Ahşap Konut Mimarisi Ve Korunması İle İlgili Sorunlar", *Mimarlık*, 176, 1973, 15-16.

⁶⁵⁹ Cf. Doğan Kuban, "İstanbul'da tarihi çevrenin önemli bir kısmı ortadan kalkıyor", *Mimarlık*, 24, 1965, 20-21.

responding both to economic and pragmatic government programs and to the public needs. Even though municipalities could potentially undertake this job, they could be easily exploited politically. HC could theoretically function as this new institute; however, the council was not concerned with the preservation of the city as an integral unit. Instead of a member-dependent council, a new system was needed. Kuban, similar to Öz, also suggested that the Western world could be a model for Turkey to generate this system.

Towards the end of the 1960s, it was evident that an enlisting scheme to register buildings individually did not suffice to ensure their preservation. The main need was a change of perception to conceive of land as an object of preservation policies. However, the expertise of the municipalities was not sufficient even for preparing master plans, let alone urban preservation plans. In fact, in the late 1950s, a group of expert planners had returned to Turkey after completing their education in the US. They had served at the planning departments of several ministries and played a significant role in the development of the Department of the Urban and Regional Planning in the Middle East Technical University. However, their efforts were interrupted by the coup d'état⁶⁶⁰. In the 1960s, the staff of the municipalities did not have enough expertise on preparation of master plans. Also, the necessary materials were lacking. For instance, there were not base-maps. Site surveys were carried out over the Ottoman-era maps that showed only the roads in a 1/2000 scale⁶⁶¹. The problems experienced in the 1960s showed that a new perception, a new management scheme, and a new law was needed for the protection of Turkey's built heritage. This change was introduced into practice with a new law in 1973 which enabled registration of historic areas together with over ground monuments. The 1973 law will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁶⁶⁰ İlhan Tekeli, "Bir Kurucu Kişilik Olarak Esat Turak", *ODTU Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, 22 (1), 2005, v-xii. Also see the response paper to Tekeli's article; Aydın Germen, "Derleyen'e Mektup: "Bir Kurucu Kişilik Olarak Esat Turak" Başlıklı Yazı Üzerinde Düzeltmeler", *ODTU Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, 22 (2), 2005, xiii-xviii.

⁶⁶¹ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 31.

4.3.2. The conflict between the expert committee and other authorities

In the 1960s, HC developed a theoretical framework for historic preservation. However, the actual cases it was faced with did not fit with this framework. As a result of this mismatch, it became clear that it was necessary to initiate a transformation from a building-based preservation approach to area-based conservation. However, throughout the entire life-span of HC, even after 1973 when the new law on old artifacts was promulgated to designate conservation areas, HC did not have an urban planner member. Çeçener explains this as being due to the committee's view that historic preservation remained an architectural issue rather than an urban problem⁶⁶². However, in many archival documents it was highlighted that 'sit's (imported from the French *site*) rather than individual buildings should be registered as 'historic assets'. In many cases the committee had already acknowledged this problem by registering all the buildings over a large area one by one. Moreover, the committee was active in the formulation of the new 1973 law. Thus, it can be suggested the reason for not including urban experts was not due to misconception, but due to the possibility that urban experts could threaten the authority of the members.

The committee had already experienced problems with other departments on several occasions. For instance, the General Directorate of Old artifacts and Museums (EEMGM - *Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü*)⁶⁶³ was the department responsible for surveying primarily movable but also immovable old artifacts in Turkey. The main duty of EEMGM was to manage archaeological activities and museums in Turkey. In addition, before the establishment of HC, EEMGM was the main authority for the old non-*vakıf* structures (for the *vakıf* structures, VGM was the authority). After HC, EEMGM was still responsible for detecting and reporting old buildings to HC for registration. Moreover, the director of EEMGM would directly be appointed as a HC member. In a way, staff

⁶⁶² Cf. Besim Çeçener, "Taşınmaz Eski Eser Koruma Olayı, Kararları, Organları, Koruma Politikası ve Ülkemiz", *Türkiye 1. Sehircilik Kongresi Bildirileri* (Ankara, Middle East Technical University Faculty of Architecture, 1982), 251-270.

⁶⁶³ This directorate was first established in 1922 to manage the museums inherited from the Ottoman Empire. It became the Directorate of Museums and Antiquities (*Antikiteler ve Müzeler Direktörlüğü*) in 1933; and then the General Directorate of Old Assets and Museums (*Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü*) in 1946 to operate under the Ministry of Education.

of museums in Turkey were expected to function as the local boards that HC required in several cities for creating inventories of old structures. As one can trace, neither the competencies of the staff nor the resources could satisfy this expectation, even for İstanbul.

The conflict between EEMGM and HC arose when HC did not register a large number of buildings in Edirne that were surveyed by EEMGM's chief architect Zarif Orgun (1908-1994). Before HC, Orgun's surveys were considered unofficial registration deeds by EEMGM. However, in 1964, HC did not register Orgun's list for Edirne, where he surveyed old structures on maps via detailed inventory forms for each stone building (he did not survey timber structures). Following this conflict, HC could hardly ask EEMGM to survey İstanbul⁶⁶⁴. In the meeting in which Söylemezoğlu was criticized for being absent and keeping the folders in his possession for years⁶⁶⁵, EEMGM director Hikmet Gürçay was acknowledged for agreeing to ask Orgun to survey, investigate, and prepare expert reports for some cases on the meeting agenda⁶⁶⁶.

As mentioned above, the Old Monuments Bureau (EEB – *Eski Eserler Bürosu*) under the İstanbul Municipality was another department that was responsible for obtaining HC approval. The main duties of EEB were on-site surveys for the detection of potential historic structures, to mark these structures on the maps, and to collect relevant historic information. In addition, since HC was the authority who defined the level of any construction work in proximity to any old structure, EEB operated as a mediator between HC and the municipality.

In early 1970, the municipality wrote to HC regarding the difficulties they experienced in complying with HC decisions. The municipality complained that due to lack of communication between HC and the municipality, the main problems were remaining unanswered. For the municipality, the solution was the representation of EEB on HC meetings to explain cases, and express reservations when necessary. The municipality did not require any role in the decision mechanism such as a right to vote, or official membership of the council. In fact,

⁶⁶⁴ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 35.

⁶⁶⁵ In his article "Düşlenmiş", Tanyeli (2004)'s ideas are mainly based-on Hayati Kemal Söylemezoğlu's archival documents which he accidentally found and purchased from a dealer. It is ironic that in HC archives, Söylemezoğlu is criticized for not returning folders back to HC and obstructing the committee's work.

⁶⁶⁶ HC Archives, Meeting no. na, Decision no. na, Date: 07.02.1967.

one of the former heads of EBB, Behçet Ünsal, was given a seat in 1967 to meet such a need to create a link between HC and the municipality, however, Ünsal resigned from his position with EBB in 1958 and the link was broken⁶⁶⁷.

HC's response to the municipality was a positive one. HC accepted the presence of the head of EBB, Besim Çeçener (1934-2017), in the meetings without a right to vote as long as he kept his title as the head of the bureau⁶⁶⁸. Çeçener had become the head in 1967. He made constant efforts to photograph old monuments and to ask HC for their expert opinion. In 1971, he left his position at the municipality, and became the general secretary of HC until its dissolution in 1983⁶⁶⁹.

The primary problem with the request was that even though HC was responsible for monuments all over Turkey, only the İstanbul municipality would be represented in the meetings. Only the problems of İstanbul would be heard, discussed, and resolved. However, the municipality had already foreseen this problem and defended it, pointing out that İstanbul was the only municipality that housed a department for old structures.

İstanbul's dominance in the HC meetings was obvious. Even the meetings were now being held in İstanbul whereas the meetings of the 1950s were in Ankara. With Çeçener's presence to represent EBB, the meetings became even more İstanbul-focused. In 1975, HC invited the Assistant Director of the Development and Planning Directorate of the İstanbul Municipality (Kutlu Güzelsu, architect) to regular meetings.

Even though EBB and HC could mutually agree the representation of the former in the meetings, conflicts with other departments were not always easily resolved. Among all, EEKE was the most vocal critic of HC. As early as 1957, a period when the fate of Simkeşhane was intensely debated, EEKE presented a letter to the Ministry of Education asking that HC not take any decision before obtaining EEKE's opinion. The letter was directed to HC, and the committee's response was that HC did not have such a responsibility according to law, however, if need be, EEKE would still be consulted⁶⁷⁰. In fact, with the

⁶⁶⁷ HC Archives, letter from Sedat Erkoğlu, the mayor's assistance, to the HC directorate, HC Document no. 176, Date: 12.02.1970.

⁶⁶⁸ HC Archives, Meeting no. 196, Decision no. 5271, Date: 14.03.1970.

⁶⁶⁹ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 34-35.

⁶⁷⁰ HC Archives, Meeting no. 49, Decision no. 5634, Date: 16.02.1957.

establishment of HC, the authority of EEKE had already diminished. When HC was established, EEKE had meetings every other week. It was planned that controversial and unsolved issues would be transferred to HC which would meet twice a year, since HC decisions were final. In the 1970s, EEKE received almost no documents. Feridun Dirimtekin, the last director of EEKE, terminated EEKE completely and transferred all the files to HC⁶⁷¹. This problem was discussed among HC and it was highlighted that the objectives of a department like EEKE had already been problematic since 1951, the year that HC was established. Thus, these objectives needed to be redefined before new members would be appointed. The new EEKE should function as a department supporting HC. Also in other cities, new local boards needed to be established under EEMGM to follow and implement HC's principle decisions. EEKE needed to be structured in a similar fashion to a local conservation board⁶⁷². Moreover, in a meeting from which the director of EEMGM was absent, the EEMGM was also criticized for not doing its duty in inventorying and preserving old monuments and not responding other departments that made efforts in historic preservation. The committee put the director Orhan Alsaç fully in charge in informing the ministry and the Prime Ministry on EEMGM's situation⁶⁷³.

HC also felt the need to guide the Archaeology Museum in the process of demolitions and excavations beneath building foundations. The main steps to be followed were described and when not obeyed, prosecution was recommended⁶⁷⁴.

The activities of non-profit organizations were also regulated by HC decisions. Particularly the associations founded for the maintenance and repair of mosques and masjids were criticized for not obtaining HC approval for the works that they carried out. VGM and the Ministry of Education were requested not to allow even the smallest construction work, including painting, without HC

⁶⁷¹ Cf. Semavi Eyice, S., 1994. "İstanbul Eski Eserleri Koruma Encümeni", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 4, (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1993), 222. Today, all the archive of EEKE is also held together with the archive of HC at the archives of the Preservation Board No. 4 in Eminönü, İstanbul. A study of EEKE archive would no doubt shed light on the republican era institutionalization of historic preservation.

⁶⁷² HC Archives, Meeting no. 196, Decision no. 5278, Date: 15.03.1970. In this new law, it is stated that all the members resigned from their duties with the more recent law. However, it is not possible to understand the recent law that the decision referred.

⁶⁷³ HC Archives, Meeting no. 226, Decision no. 6664, Date: 13.10.1972.

⁶⁷⁴ HC Archives, Meeting no. 227, Decision no. 6765, Date: 16.11.1972.

approval and to initiate legal proceedings when the approval was missing⁶⁷⁵. In the following years, in parallel to the recommendations of VGM and EEMGM, HC took decision to report the illegal cases directly to the Office of the Governor to expedite the process and to reduce the bureaucracy⁶⁷⁶.

HC decisions started to disturb not only other departments, but also individuals. In 1963, for the first time, the Court of State (*Danıştay*) cancelled a HC decision after an individual appealed to the court to oppose the decision⁶⁷⁷. Even though HC was legally defined as the highest authority in decisions on historic structures, there were instances in which its decisions were cancelled. In 1967, another appeal to the Court of State resulted in cancellation after examination of an expert's report. The expert concluded that even though HC requested the preservation of the structure, it had no historic or architectural significance⁶⁷⁸. Similarly, when HC detected that a shop in İstanbul was actually a part of an Ottoman bath, in the process of registration, the property owner both demolished the building and appealed to the Court of State, who concluded that there was not an old artifact on the site anymore, thus there was no need to register the land deed as a 'historic artifact'. In these cases, it was common practice for the Court of State to appoint an expert⁶⁷⁹.

As ironic as it may seem, the most powerful expert committee's decision could be cancelled by the report of another expert appointed by the Court of State. In fact, HC itself was also formulated as an autonomous independent council just like the Court of State. This situation was also criticized by legal experts⁶⁸⁰. However, the main debates about the council decisions would emerge mainly in the 1970s. Towards the end of the 1960s, despite the institutional and theoretical developments in historic preservation, the actual cases were far behind. HC had taken decisions in monthly meetings in closed rooms for all of Turkey but this centralized management scheme did not respond to the country's needs. It was evident that a new law had to be designed specifically for historic preservation. This law was finally put into practice in 1973, however, the preparation process

⁶⁷⁵ HC Archives, Meeting no. 142, Decision no. 2864, Date: 10.07.1965.

⁶⁷⁶ HC Archives, Meeting no. 194, Decision no. 5235, Date: 11.01.1970.

⁶⁷⁷ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 19-20.

⁶⁷⁸ Ahmet Mumcu, "Eski", 57-58.

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. Bilge Umar, *Eski Eserler Hukuku* (İzmir, Ege Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1981): 158-9.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.* Also see, Ahmet Mumcu, "Eski".

had started as early as 1961. After it was promulgated, the new law increased the conflicts between HC and local authorities. The *sit* declarations were the main reason for this conflict.

Even municipalities, such as the Kütahya Municipality, appealed to the Court of State for the cancellation of the designation. Appealing to the Court of State, as the only authority able to overrule a HC decision, was the only solution for those who were affected by HC decisions. Even though the 1973 law outlined a funding scheme for historic home owners, implementations were limited. As no financial aid was provided by the state, registration decisions functioned as a limitation on property rights. Also for the local authorities, as mentioned above, no financial aid was spared from the 5-Year Plans of DPT⁶⁸¹.

In the 1970s, there was a significant increase in the number of cases requesting cancellation of HC decisions. This was mainly due to implementations of *sit* designations which became possible with the new law. The promulgation of this law was a milestone for preservation practice in Turkey, however, at the same time, it was one of the main reasons for conflict between HC and other local authorities. As mentioned before, the *sit* designations that became possible under the new law were the main source of these conflicts. In the main text of this law, three *sit* categories were defined; historic *sit*, archaeological *sit*, and natural *sit*. However, in HC decisions, some urban historic areas were being designated as urban *sit*. Thus, the Ministry of Development and Housing appealed to the Court of State requesting cancellation of these decisions due to the fact that urban *sit* was not defined in the law. In 1976, HC took a decision⁶⁸² that urban *sits* should be considered within the general *sit* definition in the law, which was defined before three categories. In this decision, HC underlined that the general definition of *sit* included historic urban areas and outlined the risks threatening these areas. The same argument was also used in the court case which ended with the withdrawal of the case by the ministry⁶⁸³.

⁶⁸¹ Okan Üstünkök, "Ten Years with Seventeen-Ten: A Decade In The Conservation Of Traditional Vernacular Houses 1973-1983", *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, 9(2), 1989, 117-124: 120.

⁶⁸² HC Archives, Meeting no. 265, Decision no. 8891, Date: 13.02.1976.

⁶⁸³ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 64. In this interview book, Çeçener argued that it was wrong that HC's decision could be changed by the Council of State. From a very modernist point of view, Çeçener stresses that view of scientific committees should be final since these councils

The new law was a milestone for Turkish preservation practice. It introduced a new perspective to cultural heritage. However, at the same time, this law not only increase the power of HC, but also started a process which would be concluded with termination of HC.

4.4. A milestone: Modern Turkey's first law on old artifacts

The first Turkish law on cultural heritage was promulgated on April 25, 1973. The new law, Law No. 1710, introduced important regulations and innovations as an outcome of HC-led preservation developments throughout the 1960s. The parliament which voted for the plan was not directed by an elected government yet. Taking a lesson from the mistakes of the Greek junta, the Turkish junta did not directly appoint army members to the cabinet. Rather, they looked for actors who would be acceptable to all political poles and collaborate with the army to manage army-proposed reforms. Turkey needed to wait six more months before the first general elections after the 1971 intervention.

Until the new law, HC decisions were considered the law. As previously discussed, HC was even expected to define the standards of architectural conservation. With the new law, the guiding principles of historic preservation were finally defined. This law overruled all the preceding laws including the *asar-ı atika* laws.

In fact, the first steps to prepare the law were taken long before the 1971 army intervention, just after the 1960 military coup. As a part of MBK's plan to restructure the educational system, a new council was formed to manage the restructuring process. This new council, the Council of National Education Planning (*Milli Eğitim Planlama Kurulu*) formulated a three-phase process. In the first phase, many sub-committees were formed to write reports on how to change the system. In the second phase, three commissions evaluated the reports. In the third and last phase, a final commission combined the reports to be presented to the Ministry of Education. As a part of the first phase studies, EEMGM was also

provide the most objective attitude. Particularly for historic preservation, this was a situation that was more vital. Each decision-making mechanism functions on a pyramid of hierarchy, Çeçener suggested, and HC should have been conceived as the highest level. Ibid, 60-61.

asked to form a sub-committee to provide its report. This report reiterated on many pages that the law on old monuments, which was already prepared, needed to be enacted and promulgated in the Official Gazette. For this, parliament needed to approve the law. However, as mentioned above, a functioning parliament was needed for this. The report outlined issues on (i) museums, (ii) museum objects, (iii) staff of museums, (iv) display and organization of objects, (v) pedagogical values of museums, (vi) monuments and archaeological sites, (vii) excavations, (viii) publication and promotion, (ix) folkloric and ethnographic studies. And lastly the council prepared (x) a set of legal documents, laws, and regulations to manage the outlined recommendations with a draft 10-year budget to apply to the program⁶⁸⁴.

A similar situation emerged in the aftermath of the 1971 memorandum as well. A temporary commission was formed within the parliament to finalize the law. The main sections of the law were (i) general provisions, (ii) immovable old artifacts, historic and natural monuments, (iii) movable old artifacts, (iv) the old artifact trade, (v) excavations, (vi) treasure hunt excavations, (vii) rewards and penalties, (viii) various statutes, (ix) temporary statutes, (x) execution and executive statutes⁶⁸⁵. Similar to EEMGM's report, HC also prepared a report to present their remarks. In this report, HC highlighted that the new law should be very-well prepared since Turkey, as a country rich in cultural heritage, lacked a law for decades and now, the new law should fill the gap. Before stating their remarks for each article, HC underlined:

These remarks and recommendations are based on laws and statutes of civilized countries such as France, England, Netherlands, Denmark, or Norway, and also on a unesco document about 'preservation of historic and architectural monuments, *külliye* (complex), and *sits*'⁶⁸⁶

What is noteworthy in this phrase, and also in the corrections and recommendations for each article, is the emphasis on the changing perception of scale, to base historic preservation not on architectural objects but on a larger context, extended to cover historic sites. In addition, the authority of HC was also

⁶⁸⁴ -, *Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Raporu* (Ankara, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1961).

⁶⁸⁵ HC Archives, Document No.: 732-8272, Document Date: 08.02.1972.

⁶⁸⁶ This UNESCO document should be the Venice Charter which bears the title: *International Charter For The Conservation And Restoration Of Monuments And Sites*

reinforced. For instance, in the draft, a council was proposed, comprising members of different ministries, for registering and classifying all the assets defined in the first article as ‘old artifacts’⁶⁸⁷. HC rejected this proposal on the basis that such a committee would be politically dependent, that the members would change following each election, and the officials from ministries would most likely be incompetent since such a job requires experience and education. Moreover, HC was already performing this duty as an independent committee of experts. Also, in some other articles, HC asked for its name to be written as the final authority. With the final revisions, the law could finally be presented to the parliament which was being directed by the army behind the curtain.

In fact, even in the early 1960s, the Ministry of Education had already made efforts to prepare a new preservation law. After the 1960 coup, HC had a meeting with the then-minister of education, in which HC presented the draft along with the new HC regulations outlined above. This draft was prepared throughout the second half of the 1950s. In several meetings, members discussed each article and rewrote them (Figure 80). The law was ready, but a functioning parliament was needed to accept it. However, only after the 1971 intervention could the parliament function to form a committee, review the law, and present it for voting in the parliament.

⁶⁸⁷ In his interview book, Çeçener defines this attempt to form a new committee as the first ‘attack’ against HC. This attack had failed when the head of HC, Orhan Alsaç and the director of VGM Feramuz Berkol noted the change. The second attack came with the 1980 coup d’etat and became successful to terminate HC. Cf. Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 74.

no frame since ‘prehistoric and historic ages’ included all periods. Scope-wise, science, culture, religion, and fine arts did not create a boundary. Umar⁶⁸⁸ argues that the main motivation behind the law was the ‘public interest’. This public interest is in the process of preserving old artifacts for future generations. Such a concept of public benefit was highlighted in the first article of the draft version of the law as well. And lastly, value-wise, the financial value (*aynî deđer*) was the formative principle that would make an object ‘cultural heritage’.

As mentioned earlier, for an old structure to be legally recognized as an ‘old artifact’, the land deed of the structure had to have the annotation ‘old artifact’ and HC was the only body with the authority to register this annotation on the deed. From the perspective of the law, unless it was annotated, a 200-year old house could be torn down by its owner, and legally no one could do anything. Such an ambiguity triggered a reaction; some suggested that the law was poorly written. Orhan Alsaç, the head of HC, responded to this criticism, arguing that the definition of an old artifact was rigorously made in the first article and legal decisions should be made considering the whole text of the law as an integral policy⁶⁸⁹.

In addition to two separate long paragraphs that listed movable and immovable heritage, new concepts were also introduced. Following the definitions of monument (*anıt*) and complex (*külliye*), *sit* (the French word, which means a landscape with a view, was directly adopted to Turkish⁶⁹⁰), which would correspond to conservation areas, was defined. *Sit* was the biggest breakthrough in terms of both its conceptualization and the implementations which followed. Three different *sit* categories were defined; historic *sit*, archaeologic *sit*, and natural *sit*.

In fact, to conceive of historic preservation as a planning problem rather than an architectural problem was a tendency that was simultaneously emerging in Europe as well. The European Architectural Heritage Year (EAHY) 1975, which was celebrated with a motto ‘A Future for Our Past’, had been effective in

⁶⁸⁸ Bilge Umar, *Eski*.

⁶⁸⁹ Orhan Alsaç, “Taşınmaz Eski Eserler ve Bir Yanılgı”, *Cumhuriyet Newspaper*, August 29, 1976, p.2.

⁶⁹⁰ Umar (Bilge Umar, *Eski*) criticizes the language of the law for being too Francophone. He suggests that the use of words like ‘*etnografik, topografik, sosyolojik, estetik...*’ was a result of the elitism of the law-makers.

generating a new force among the European network. As the Venice Charter had provided an international set of rules for the restoration works, this new tendency acknowledged that international standards and national contexts needed to be intertwined. However, much like the Venice Charter, this movement also included an elite international network within the Council of Europe and Europa Nostra. Turkey was invited as a founding member of the Council of Europe in 1949 in the aftermath of the World War II. Europa Nostra Turkey, on the other hand, could be established only in 2010⁶⁹¹.

The primary ideas to designate a EAHY first took shape in 1969, and in 1971, it was formally proposed by a sub-committee on monuments and sites established by the Council of Europe. Also, a new document (Amsterdam Declaration) was to be prepared to answer the challenges of preservation in Europe. To produce this document, 50 pilot projects would be implemented to explore ‘new ideas on the rehabilitation of the cultural heritage as part of regional and urban planning’⁶⁹². The lessons of these pilot projects would be presented and evaluated at the Amsterdam Congress to form the principles of the Amsterdam Declaration⁶⁹³. Turkey was one of seventeen countries which participated in the EAHY campaign. A national committee under the Ministry of Culture was formed to raise awareness of architectural heritage. EAHY was promoted in architectural media. The committee also selected pilot projects to be exhibited during the congress in Amsterdam. These projects were not implemented (except the Antalya project, which will be mentioned below), but rather, they were selected as significant examples of Turkish heritage Turkey that presented various preservation discussions.

As Özgönül suggests⁶⁹⁴, 1975 EAHY had an impact on Turkey’s expansion throughout the 1980s. Özgönül groups these impacts in five headings; legislation

⁶⁹¹ HC was well-aware of Europa Nostra. In 1978, HC sent a notification to the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Tourism to distribute ‘call for entries’ for the renown Europa Nostra Awards for best conservation projects in Europe. HC Archives, Document No.: -, Document Date: 13.03.1978.

⁶⁹² Miles Glendinning, *The Conservation*, 405.

⁶⁹³ These lessons would also form an additional more Europe-specific text: European Charter of the Architectural Heritage.

⁶⁹⁴ Cf. Nimet Özgönül, “Turkish Involvement in the 1975 European Heritage Year Campaign and Its Impact on Heritage Conservation in Turkey”, Michael Falser, Wilfried Lipp (eds.), *A Future*

(the formation of the new 1983 law on historic preservation), organizational restructuring (the establishment of ‘Documentation and Designation’ and ‘Conservation Planning’ departments within EEMGM, and the formation of local preservation boards in the 1980s), new financial sources (tax exemptions in the 1980s), ‘integrated’ urban planning approach (considering areas as the basis of preservation), and increased awareness in public (new NGOs established in the late 1970s, as mentioned above).

Indeed, the Amsterdam Declaration had a profound impact on Turkish preservation culture. However, in terms of the management of architectural and urban heritage, there were also sharp differences between the ideals promoted in the declaration and Turkish practice. The Amsterdam Declaration underlined the need for ‘integrated conservation’ which mainly addressed a conservation process rather than conservation of buildings. In this process, local authorities were given a significant role in generating a conservation-minded urban policy. In Turkey, on the other hand, this process was mainly controlled by a single authority, HC. As will be discussed further below, HC imposed its own understanding of historic preservation on local authorities who mostly reacted against this attitude.

Interestingly, also in Greece, after years of repressive junta regime, experts were able to initiate improvements in historic preservation. Their efforts helped to include notions on preservation and planning in the new 1975 Constitution⁶⁹⁵. Even though the 1961 Turkish Constitution referred to preservation only with a single sentence (“the state ensures the protection of all the monuments with historic or cultural value”, Article 50), European developments were influential in the preparation of the first law on old artifacts.

With the new law, HC’s authority also gained a new direction. Its duties and authorities were defined in several articles. These duties included deed annotations⁶⁹⁶ for old buildings, approving the sale of state properties, approving

for Our Past: The 40 th anniversary of European Architectural Heritage Year (1975–2015), (ICOMOS Österreich, 2015), 332-345.

⁶⁹⁵ Cf. Sofia Avgerinou-Kolonia, “Greece And the Year of European Architectural Heritage 1975”, Michael Falser, Wilfried Lipp (eds.), *A Future for Our Past: The 40 th anniversary of European Architectural Heritage Year (1975–2015)*, (ICOMOS Österreich, 2015), 322-331.

⁶⁹⁶ As mentioned earlier, for a building to be legally considered as an ‘old artifact’, the land deed needed to include this annotation. HC was the only authority who could approve the registration of this annotation in the land deeds.

conversion of state properties for new uses, registration processes of state properties, revisions of masterplans for areas with old structures, conditions of division of building lots (*ifraz*), responsibilities of old structure owners and users, repair and maintenance of old structures excluding those owned by VGM and EEMGM, transfer of old structures, responsibility of owners to help officials, and financial and legal regulations to distribute state funds for conservation related works⁶⁹⁷. Among these duties, the one that is particular interest to this research is the authority of HC in defining the boundaries of conservation areas, *sits*, and deciding if any construction would be allowed within these boundaries⁶⁹⁸. In the law, HC's priority over the municipality was highlighted, and each restoration project was required to have HC approval before implementation. Similarly, any future masterplan changes were subjected to HC approval.

The introduction of the concept of *sit* was a change in perception of historic preservation, under which not only buildings, monuments, and their surroundings would be considered as valued objects of conservation, but also towns and villages. In this regard, this development was two years ahead of the 1975 Declaration of Amsterdam⁶⁹⁹..

After the law was promulgated in the Official Gazette, HC began an immense and enthusiastic program of *sit* designations. From 1973 until its dissolution in 1982, HC designated 417 *sits*, and registered 6815 monumental and 3442 residential structures as 'old artifacts'⁷⁰⁰. These designations would be done in regular HC meetings. The council would draw boundaries on maps, designate the area as *sit*, and local authorities were obligated to take necessary steps. As the designation of buildings had already caused conflict between HC and local authorities, these designations on a larger scale increased the conflicts.

⁶⁹⁷ Official Gazette. (1973, May 6). *Eski Eserler Kanunu*, T.C. Resmi Gazete No. 14527. Article 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19.

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid, Article 9.

⁶⁹⁹ Cf. Neriman Şahin Güçhan and Esra Kurul, "A History Of The Development Of Conservation Measures In Turkey: From The Mid 19th Century Until 2004", *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, 26(2), 2009, 19-44.

⁷⁰⁰ Zeynep Ahunbay, *Tarihi Çevre*, 136.

4.4.1. Scale matters: conservation of historic areas (*sit*)

As mentioned in the chapter 4.3., the problems experienced throughout the 1960s required a change in the management of architectural heritage, specifically residential architecture. Thus, one of the main motivations for the design of Law No. 1710 was to register historic residential structures collectively at one single step under *sit* designations; however, in the following years, the results of implementations were far from being satisfactory.

Even though the scale of the historic preservation shifted from building to *sit*, generating a mind-shift to consider conservation as an urban problem, HC still lacked planner experts. The number of HC members had reached 21 with the representatives of departments responsible for town planning. However, none of these members was from the planning department of a university. According to Çeçener⁷⁰¹, the only criticism that HC deserved was related to the quantity and quality of *sit* designations which was a result of the absence of planning experts in HC.

According to law, following the *sit* designations, the masterplan for the designated area would be overruled and ‘Conservation-Aimed Master Plan’ (KAİP – *Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı*) had to be prepared within two years of designation. Meanwhile, HC would define the temporary conditions for each area (however, these conditions were standardized in a way under which each construction activity would be possible only with HC approval). In a way, *sit* designations forced planners to recognize the problems of conservation.⁷⁰² In fact, new regulations presented a confused attitude towards their compatibility

⁷⁰¹ Cf. Besim Çeçener, “Taşınmaz Eski Eser Koruma Olayı, Kararları, Organları, Koruma Politikası ve Ülkemiz”, *Türkiye Birinci Şehircilik Kongresi, ODTÜ Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü, Ankara, 1992, İkinci Kitap* (Ankara, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1982): 251-270: 263-4. It is noteworthy that in the year that this Planning Conference was held, there were already rumors that the authority of HC would be taken away. Thus, in his paper, Çeçener who was also the general secretary of HC, defends the actions of HC. For Çeçener, criticizing HC would not be fair since it was the only authority to stop those who had billions of benefits through new masterplan decisions and land speculations caused by these master plans.

⁷⁰² Cf. Neriman Şahin Güçhan and Esra Kurul, “A History”, 29-30. In addition, new departments were formed within EEMGM such as ‘Documentation and Designation’ and ‘Conservation Planning’ departments. The Declaration of Amsterdam had also been effective in this institutional change. In a way, like the 1960s, international development had directly affected the Turkish practice in the 1970s, as well.

with existing urban planning regulations. For instance, the 1957 Development Law had authorized local authorities to undertake survey and inventory studies to a certain extent. Under the new law, HC had become the sole authority. For the ratification of town plans, on the other hand, the regulations outlined in the Development Law remained active for KAİPs the same. This meant that local authorities, who were legally bound to complete the *sit* process, had to obtain not only HC consent, but also the consent of the municipal council and the Ministry of Development and Housing. Nevertheless, this was a challenging obligation for local authorities. First of all, neither the municipality nor the said ministry was equipped enough to guide local authorities. Moreover, for municipalities, the restrictions of *sit* were obstacles for the development of their towns. In addition, the legacies of masterplan implementations were based on a standardized process regulating road alignments in parallel to building/floor heights, dimensions of new constructions, etc. KAİPs, on the other hand, required a planning process designed particularly for the designated *sit*. Thus, it was not possible for local authorities to use their knowledge and experience to follow HC designations⁷⁰³.

As mentioned earlier, *sit* designations would overrule masterplans. HC was responsible for defining ‘temporary development conditions’ for *sits* until the KAİPs were prepared. These conditions were mainly the prohibition of construction works within the *sit* boundaries. Until 1975, no temporary conditions would be defined. With their masterplans overruled, local authorities could not take any action. This situation started to change when local authorities started to appeal to the Court of State for cancellation of *sit* designations. The initial goal of HC in cancelling the masterplans and not defining any guides was to force them to prepare KAİP. However, as will be discussed below, no authorities knew how to prepare a KAİP. Moreover, HC did not provide any guide either. This situation triggered a reaction against HC among local authorities and among the public. For HC, on the other hand, this was a reasonable method to stop the damages masterplans were wreaking on historic environments. Until a KAİP was prepared, at least no new construction, no false restoration, or no demolition could damage historic towns. Even for İstanbul, this process seemed applicable and Bosphorus shores were designated as a *sit* in 1974. In a way, this was the immediate practice

⁷⁰³ Cf. Okan Üstünkök, “Ten Years”, 118-9.

of power that was granted with the new law. However, this decision was met with reaction.

The first *sit* designation was for the inner castle of Antalya, a touristic city in Mediterranean Turkey, designated in 1973. Following the designation, a state-led initiative was undertaken for the touristic revitalization of the old marina which was in a poor condition due to the new marina. A protocol was signed between the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Municipality of Antalya, the Ministry of Development and Housing, and HC. Under this protocol, *sit* boundaries were also defined. Following the initial studies, the project for the area was approved by HC in 1978. The Ministry of Culture would be the owner of the area after expropriations, and the Bank of Tourism would be the manager. Properties and lands over an area as large as 5.5 hectares were expropriated. However, as the users left buildings after expropriations, buildings steadily deteriorated and in a very short period, most of them reached a ruined condition. Moreover, infrastructural urban installments were to be laid underground, which could be completed only in the 1980s. Even though the old harbor was revitalized with new facilities and touristic services, in general, this first conservation project of Turkey was designed solely for touristic purposes⁷⁰⁴. This project was one of the projects that was promoted in Amsterdam in 1975 as a part of the EAHY campaign.

In 1974, the Bosphorus shores were also designated as a *sit*⁷⁰⁵. In the decision, it was highlighted that a Bosphorus-specific masterplan should urgently be prepared. Until then, HC ruled that the masterplan for the Bosphorus Coastal Strip, which was prepared by İstanbul Grand Master Planning Bureau in coordination with HC in 1970, would be valid. In fact, this plan should have been cancelled according to the law. This was the process in other cities. However, in the decision, HC stated that this site was one of the most significant settlements in Turkey, thus it needed to be distinguished. In addition, HC defined the temporary conditions. These conditions basically presented a set of limitations and aimed at consolidation of the condition of the Bosphorus shores. Some of these limitations were outlined in the decision; no new construction would be allowed on non-registered lots (construction activities on registered lots, on the other hand, were directly subjected to HC approval); no social facilities, educational buildings, or

⁷⁰⁴ -, "tek yapıdan çevre korumasına", *Mimarlık*, 201, 1984, 3-4.

⁷⁰⁵ HC Archives, Meeting no. 250, Decision no. 8172, Date: 14.12.1974.

public buildings would be constructed in this area, new touristic uses would only be possible after HC consented to the conceptual projects, no new construction could have more than three floors, no mezzanines could be constructed, etc.

This approach by HC, to freeze the site until authorities decided what to do, was applicable neither for İstanbul nor for any other city. HC believed that the above-mentioned destruction of the historic structures on Bosphorus shores could be stopped by designating the Bosphorus shores as a *sit*. In 1972, HC had already registered and categorized buildings on the Bosphorus; in 1975, all the shoreline and its hinterland was declared as a natural and historic *sit*, however, even before any implementations began, the criticism was raised that the conservation of such complex sites could not be managed with such methodology under a single authority. Moreover, in an era when urbanization was harshly affecting the built environment, it was not realistic that construction could be banned in a city like İstanbul⁷⁰⁶.

In the 1970s, HC meetings were being held in İstanbul. Members were from İstanbul and Ankara. In these two cities, two separate secretarial offices were formed following HC requests from ministries in the early 1970s. The İstanbul office was responsible for eight cities⁷⁰⁷, and the Ankara office was responsible for the rest. As one can imagine, with these two offices it was not possible for HC to control many Anatolian cities. In fact, Eastern Turkey was completely excluded from this management scheme, unless an individual took the initiative to report a situation to HC. To overcome this problem, following Sedat Hakkı Eldem's proposal, HC decided to offer 'reporter memberships' in other cities. Individuals selected by HC were asked to report back to them⁷⁰⁸.

The lack of an inventory of historic structures was still a problem in the 1970s as well. Moreover, no authorities were willing to undertake the duty of creating an inventory. In a letter sent to HC by the mayor of İstanbul, the mayor expressed the difficulties which they experienced attempting to comply with HC decisions. In a previous decision, HC had decided that in İstanbul *sit* areas, no masonry or timber structure in gardens could be demolished without HC consent, and had required interior and exterior photographs to be sent to HC in order to obtain consent. Then

⁷⁰⁶ Cf. Gönül Tankut, "Boğaziçi Koruma Kararı Üzerine", *Mimarlık*, 13 (5), 1975, 30-32.

⁷⁰⁷ İstanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Tekirdağ, Çanakkale, İzmit, Balıkesir, Kırklareli.

⁷⁰⁸ HC Archives, Meeting no. 245, Decision no. 7841, Date: 14.06.1974.

in a later decision, HC had reproached the municipality for sending photographs of all structures in gardens without making a distinction. Consequentially, without knowing how to distinguish them, the municipality had tried to select cases to be sent to HC. Moreover, the municipality underlined that there was already a decision to obtain HC approval prior to demolition for all timber and stone structures. However, despite all these decisions, property owners were demolishing these structures since the land deeds were not registered. Asking property owners to wait until an HC decision was passed was not realistic for the municipality, because such a process would only increase the rate of demolitions. Thus, the municipality asked HC to provide an inventory of those structures that HC requested not to be demolished, and register them in the land deeds⁷⁰⁹. The head of HC, Orhan Alsaç, responded to this message firstly by acknowledging the efforts of the municipality to safeguard historic structures. Then he explained the benefits of preservation through scientific methods and underlined the danger posed by standardization. He argued that each historic *sit* needs a distinguished approach. Then he asked the municipality to coordinate with the relevant directorate of the Ministry of Culture to generate an inventory for the İstanbul *sit* area and present this inventory to HC⁷¹⁰. Thus, both departments asked each other to prepare and present the inventory. Nevertheless, this inventory was never prepared. In 1978, HC sent another letter to several directorates⁷¹¹ stating that neglect towards scientific planning principles was the main cause of the loss of historic structures and that to prevent this loss, inventory studies needed to be completed, approved by the related ministry, and sent to the council⁷¹²

In this period, *mail-i inhidam* reports (reports from the municipality to classify a structure dangerous for the environment) were still being used to demolish old structures. HC acknowledged that buildings could pose danger to the environment as time passes, but decided that demolition should be the last option and only the dangerous sections of the buildings should be demolished under the

⁷⁰⁹ HC archives, letter from the İstanbul Municipality, Document No. 22.66, Date: 23.12.1976.

⁷¹⁰ HC archives, letter from Orhan Alsaç to the İstanbul Municipality, Document No. 732-(34)-164, Date: 14.01.1977.

⁷¹¹ This decision was sent to EEMGM, to the General Directorate of Planning and Development under the Ministry of Development, and to the survey bureaus under the Ministry of Culture in various cities.

⁷¹² HC Archives, Letter from Orhan Alsaç, Document No. 732.(34), Date: 28.03.1978.

control of officials from EEMGM⁷¹³. Moreover, the building category mechanism was also improved. In 1970, as a part of the Bosphorus Coastal Strip Master Plan, building categories were already generated for *yalı* structures. In 1978, this scheme was improved based on an interior-exterior separation for historic structures. There were again three main categories, but a total of twelve sub-categories were defined according to level of intervention⁷¹⁴. TAÇ Foundation⁷¹⁵ also had a role in this formulation. The main need for categorization was to expedite the decision-making mechanism. HC's experience in the early 1970s had shown that a fast decision-making process was needed to classify the buildings and conclude the cases. At the beginning of the 1970s, there were more than 600 cases waiting on the shelves and it was a burden for both individuals and public and private institutions to wait for HC to make their decision⁷¹⁶.

As stated, under Law No. 1710, the power of HC increased to establish authority even over masterplans. In an HC decision in September ,1974⁷¹⁷; it was underlined that this development was the outcome of 25 years of HC efforts to raise awareness of historic preservation. Even though these efforts did not have the desired impact on the public, they had a certain impact on the bureaucracy. However, even though the law required the preparation of conservation masterplans, HC noted that no municipalities could prepare them in on the year and and a half after the law. This situation, according to HC, would damage the state's reputation. European countries had presented successful examples after paying particular attention to this issue for many years. Thus, also in Turkey, studies should immediately begin. As the experience showed, the planning authorities did not yet have enough staff to undertake the necessary studies to prepare a KAİP. In fact, according to this archival document, even HC had some confusion regarding conservation masterplans. HC suggested that even if authorities had the staff, the problem would not be solved via personal expertise since conservation required research, evaluation, planning, and implementation within a structured methodology. HC decided that a meeting would be conducted

⁷¹³ HC Archives, Meeting no. 251, Decision no. 8237, Date: 11.01.1975.

⁷¹⁴ HC Archives, Meeting no. 288, Decision no. 10200, Date: 14.01.1978.

⁷¹⁵ Orhan Alsaç, the head of HC, was also the director of TAÇ Foundation.

⁷¹⁶ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 47.

⁷¹⁷ HC Archives, Meeting no. 247, Decision no. 8050, Date: 14.09.1974.

with various state departments and representatives from universities to generate this methodology.

The main problem regarding *sit* designations was that no one knew exactly what a *sit* was. For many municipalities, masterplans were already causing enough problems. Implementations of masterplan decisions required expertise, budget, and specialized personnel that most municipalities lacked. Even when more resourceful municipalities wanted to implement masterplans, these masterplans would not correspond to contemporary local conditions, because in the preparation and approval process, plans would already become outdated with new developments. When HC designated an area a *sit*, the situation would only become more complicated and local authorities would find themselves in a hopeless situation. The problems of municipalities were outlined via a doctoral thesis⁷¹⁸ supported by HC. In this thesis, questionnaires were sent to local authorities via the two secretarial offices of HC in Ankara and İstanbul. The author Nuran Zeren evaluated the questionnaires. In addition to above mentioned problems, the process to prepare KAİPs was underlined as a major problem.

For HC, designating a *sit* simply meant to draw lines over a map in a regular meeting. For the lives of people who lived within those boundaries, and for local authorities, on the other hand, a *sit* designation would have an immense impact. The authorities were legally responsible for preparation of KAİPs, however the process was not clear. Moreover, there were many stakeholders who shared authority over historic areas. It was also confusing to work out which authority would be responsible for preparing a KAİP, which authority would implement it, and which authority would control the implementation process. Was it the municipality, the ministry, or another governmental body? Even if the stakeholders were clearly defined and even if they had the resources to prepare a KAİP, they would nevertheless hit the bureaucracy wall. In some cases, the approval of a KAİP would take years and meanwhile, the historic area would become even more dilapidated. Moreover, when a site was declared as a *sit*, residents in that area would deliberately tear down their own property or expedite

⁷¹⁸ Cf. Nuran Zeren, *Kentsel Alanlarda Alınan Koruma Kararlarının Uygulanabilirliği: Türkiye’de Tarihsel Değerlerin Korunmasında Uygulanmakta Olan Yöntem Çerçevesinde Uygulayıcı Kuruluşlarına Görüşlerine Dayanan Bir Araştırma*, (unpublished doctoral dissertation, İstanbul Technical University, 1981).

the deterioration mechanisms to overcome their obligations over the building lot. The building would become irreversibly damaged and there would be nothing left from to restore. The infrastructural condition of the site would also subsequently become worse. Thus, when HC decided that an area should be conserved, ironically it just worsened the condition of that area. The boundaries of *sits* were another problem for the authorities. These boundaries were determined by HC without any research, not even a site visit for visual observation. HC would draw the boundaries as large as possible and as a result, local authorities could not take any action within the designated area⁷¹⁹. Even after the designation, until HC defined temporary conditions prior to preparation of KAİP, no construction would be possible in a *sit*.

As a result, there were instances in which some local authorities tried to find legal and bureaucratic loopholes in order to continue constructions, however, HC intervened to stop these constructions. For instance, Ayvalık Municipality, in western Turkey, was able to approve a masterplan from the municipal council and the Ministry of Development and Housing in 1972 since the site was not yet designated as a *sit* by HC. HC was informed of the implementation of the masterplan only when high-rise structures began to be seen in Ayvalık. A letter sent from the head of HC to the EEMGM, the afore-mentioned ministry, the Balıkesir Governor's Office (which was responsible for Ayvalık), the Ayvalık District Governorship (*Kaymakamlık*), the Bank of Cities, and to the Ayvalık Municipality demanded immediate cancellation of the Ayvalık Master Plan and preparation of Ayvalık KAİP⁷²⁰.

With increased power, a central decision-making mechanism, and a top-down approach in historic preservation, HC imposed its decisions on local authorities. *Sit* designations functioned as tools to stop urbanization with the aim of freezing the condition of historic areas. Despite these negative aspects, for the preservation

⁷¹⁹ Ibid. Also cf., Nuran Zeren. "Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu Tarafından Koruma Kararı Verilen Yerleşmelerde Kararların Uygulanabilirliği". *Türkiye Birinci Şehircilik Kongresi, 2. Kitap* (Ankara, ODTÜ Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü, 1982), 225-250. Cevat Erder, who served as an HC member in the last years before its dissolution and whose course I was able to follow during my master education, also used to narrate how the council wanted to designate as many sites as possible in the late 1970s. For HC, these lines on the maps were the main tools to safeguard historic texture in Anatolian towns.

⁷²⁰ HC archives, letter from Orhan Alsaç, Document No. -, Date: 03.03.1976.

community of the 1970s, criticizing HC was a complex issue. Criticism against HC would help those who would had tremendous financial benefits (contractors, municipalities, regular citizens, etc) through implementation of masterplans as well as land speculations caused by masterplans. Therefore, HC appealed as an office that had to be defended⁷²¹.

4.4.2. Increased authority at a time of increased social conflicts

As discussed above, one of the motivations behind *sit* designations was to stop masterplan implementations that damaged the historic fabric. This goal caused increased conflicts not only with local authorities but also with the public. In fact, not only HC, but also other expert architects acknowledged the problems of masterplans. After all, in the previous decades, they had all witnessed how masterplans proposed large boulevards demolishing monuments with a goal of modernizing the country. Turgut Cansever, with an angry tone, argued that masterplans waiting in the cases of municipalities should be burnt. In the political atmosphere of the mid-1970s where left wing – right wing conflict was accelerating and growing intense, he argued that until it could be consciously assessed, the existing urban fabric should be preserved and all new constructions should take place on empty land. “It is our duty to inform (warn) the public”, he also noted⁷²².

One can find the traces of HC’s preservation approach in Cansever’s words. As discussed above, similarly to Cansever, HC’s understanding of preservation was also limited to preventing new developments in historic areas. *Sit* designations that became possible with the new law were the main tools to freeze historic towns in their current condition until a new conservation-minded urban strategy could be prepared by local authorities (a goal that only a few municipalities achieved) and approved by HC. However, pausing urban activities for historic preservation was not possible. Thus, throughout the 1970s, HC and local authorities confronted each other over *sit* designations. HC thought these conflicts were due to a lack of consciousness, awareness, and education among both local authorities and the public. Similarly to Cansever, as will be discussed

⁷²¹ Besim Çeçener, “Taşınmaz Eski Eser”.

⁷²² Turgut Cansever, “Belediyelerin Kasalarındaki İmar Planları Yakılmalıdır”, *Mimarlık*, 139, 1975, 26-27.

below, HC also felt responsibility to raise public awareness about historic preservation. However, HC had greater power in their hands compared to other departments and regular citizens, and due to this power imbalance, I suggest that the actions and decisions of HC imposed a doctrine on public and local authorities more than they raised awareness. HC's authority over *sit*, in terms of both defining what *sit* meant and controlling its application, made it possible for HC to exercise this power.

As discussed in the introduction, Laurajane Smith⁷²³ showed that with the internationalization of conservation, an 'authorized heritage discourse' has emerged. This discourse has helped experts of historic preservation to sustain their power. International charters, such as the Venice Charter, the Amsterdam Declaration, the Burra Charter, etc. are tools by which the power of experts becomes both recognized and reproduced. In addition, through these charters, expert knowledge becomes 'common sense' or 'good sense'. An expert understanding of cultural heritage is imposed on the reader of these texts through the competitive use of notions such as 'duty', 'respect for monuments', 'safeguarding', or 'future generations'. These notions constitute the authorized heritage discourse. Smith's analysis applies to documents in the HC archives, as well. In each decision or letter that was sent to various state directorates, HC aimed to educate public officials and make them fellow good practitioners. However, at the same time, HC wanted to sustain its own power through reiterating an authorized discourse. The decisions passed reinforced the power of HC and HC reproduced its power through decisions. In this process, power dynamics between HC and other agencies, including regular citizens, became defined.

One example of this situation is the response of HC to the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion's recommendations⁷²⁴ ministry's request to define precautions for structures getting lost due to rapid urbanization.

⁷²³ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York, Routledge, 2006). In this work, Smith shows that the 'authorized heritage discourse', mainly in the Anglo-Saxon world, generated a heritage management mechanism by which some communities were excluded from the decision-making process.

⁷²⁴ These recommendations were orally presented during the meeting by the General Director of Tourism Aydın Kezer.

It is decided that in almost all the old settlements in Anatolia, which has a magnificent past, there exist very significant buildings for both art and architecture history documenting social, economic and cultural levels of their period; that it is a duty before everything else to transfer to future generations these diverse buildings which provided the most accurate information on old civilization for the present day; that rapid urbanization cannot be an excuse to destroy these cultural values; ... that preservation of buildings with cultural value is an issue in the 1961 constitution as much as it is a personal responsibility for future generations; that this responsibility towards future generations cannot be taken only by the state or by individuals; that it is the most natural act for historic property owners to preserve their properties with a consciousness towards history; that the state supports these individuals for this duty which has certain burdens; that the state support is a requirement of the 50th article of our constitution and the Old Artifact Law with no. 1710...

Throughout the 1970s HC decisions included such strong statements. However, it is noteworthy that it was not clearly defined what action was requested from the directorates that these decisions were sent to. Such an uncertainty supports the argument that HC decisions did not only enforce regulative actions but also sustained HC's power among diverse bodies of the state.

For HC, the state had a prominent role in the safeguarding of old structures. The state should hold ownership, which was the model for the Antalya project, and take care of these structures for future generations. Towards the late 1970s, HC also acknowledged that total expropriation of old structures was not possible. Indeed, expropriations could help to save cultural heritage, however, according to HC, this was only a small part of the problem. The main problem, HC argued, was the level of public acknowledgement of the values of cultural heritage. HC suggested that society needed to be educated. Moreover, preservation needed to be conceived as a constitutional matter. For this, the Ministry of Culture needed to take actions. HC took a decision that the Ministry of Culture had to organize more activities such as seminars, conferences, publications of children's books, publications for primary and secondary education students, festivals, etc.⁷²⁵. On the same day, HC also took the decision to encourage people to spend their holidays in historic areas. However, historic areas needed to be well-preserved and attractive to do this. HC decided that the Ministry of Tourism should provide

⁷²⁵ HC Archives, Meeting no. 294, Decision no. 10373, Date: 09.06.1978.

loans like it did for the Antalya Port Project, and promote the touristic qualities of historic towns⁷²⁶.

In 1976, Orhan Alsaç wrote a letter to the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Justice to give priority to the cases of illegal activities that HC reported to the prosecution office. Alsaç complained that these cases were being considered equal to other cases, whereas in fact these crimes were committed against the whole nation by destroying buildings that were “tangible testimonies of the social – economic – cultural level of their period and now should be transferred to future generations in their best conditions”⁷²⁷. In 1978, when the Ministry of Justice announced new regulations which would be applied to penal codes, HC asked the ministry to regulate penalties relating to old structures. HC asked for penalties for graffiti, signboards, etc.⁷²⁸

As seen in these decisions, throughout the 1970s, until the 1980 military coup, HC did not function as an expert committee which would guide other public departments in historic preservation and provide expertise to resolve conflicts. On the contrary, with its increased and centralized power, in this period, HC functioned like a state council directing the public bodies of the state in favor of historic preservation. These bodies were diverse, covering a range from the Ministry of Justice to municipalities. In addition, HC acted as an office who often wanted to train other departments. The main necessity for historic preservation, according to HC, was ‘consciousness’. HC suggested that their efforts indeed raised consciousness to a certain extent, which led to the new law which authorized HC to overrule master plans; however, even HC’s efforts were not enough to raise public consciousness⁷²⁹.

For HC, raising consciousness was a one-way process whereby the public and local authorities needed to be educated to reach a level at which they could understand and appreciate HC. In many HC decisions in the archives, this need to educate people was strongly highlighted. The most common element of HC decisions is almost identical didactic paragraphs highlighting the importance of

⁷²⁶ HC Archives, Meeting no. 294, Decision no. 10375, Date: 09.06.1978.

⁷²⁷ HC archives, letter from Orhan Alsaç to the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Justice, Document No. 732-(34), Date: 28.06.1977.

⁷²⁸ HC Archives, Meeting no. 298, Decision no. 10740, Date: 1817.11.1978.

⁷²⁹ HC Archives, Meeting no. 247, Decision no. 8050, Date: 14.09.1974.

old structures, their significance for ‘our’ nation, their importance in documenting the social – economic – cultural level of past civilizations, our and the state’s responsibilities to take care of this heritage we inherited from our ancestors to be inherited by future generations, etc.

Especially in the late 1970s, HC’s role as the director office for other public departments accelerated. HC even made decisions to regulate state finances through tax arrangements.

In 1978, regarding privately-owned old structures, HC criticized municipalities for not taking any responsibility for the preservation of these structures, moreover having a contra-preservation attitude. HC concluded that this was due to budget limitations. Indeed, expropriations could not be a tool to solve this problem. This tool belonged to the old ages when preservation was limited to architectural monuments. In current conditions, town planning was the main tool and it was the responsibility of local authorities. The state could help through infrastructural improvements in *sit* areas, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Tourism and Promotions could spare a budget, and empty buildings could be given new functions. However, in addition to these solutions, the main issue was how to generate an income for municipalities. Thus, HC recommended a tax rise to provide loans to property owners with little or no interest to push them to repair their buildings. The taxes for this purpose could be collected in a fund. HC also listed items to apply tax rises to; electricity, water, and gas (“in very small amounts like two pennies [*kuruş*]”), municipal costs, leisure activities (“cinema, theatre, bars”), housing permits. Moreover, this fund could also collect donations⁷³⁰. Similarly, when the new 5-Years Development Plan was being planned, HC reminded DPT to take necessary measures for historic structures⁷³¹.

These attempts by HC continued even as a new coup d’etat was approaching. HC decided that redemption for house-tax for historic house owners should

⁷³⁰ HC Archives, Meeting no. 294, Decision no. 10376, Date: 09.06.1978. Also in the UK, funds for historic preservation are managed through such central state-controlled funds such as the National Lottery Fund. Even though it is not clear if HC studied foreign regulations to make these recommendations, it is possible to suggest they did since HC members, as discussed above, followed international developments closely.

⁷³¹ HC Archives, Meeting no. 297, Decision no. 10664, Date: 13.10.1978.

continue in the new tax law⁷³². Consequentially, in 1980, HC sent a letter to the parliament to guide them on the new tax law. In this letter, HC stated:

Even though it's a constitutional requirement for the state to protect our old artifacts which are properties of our state and invaluable documents of our culture, so far, the state did not provide any support for the owners; who protected, on the contrary, those who demolished and caused the loss of old artifacts, became rich with the new buildings they constructed and presented a bad model for good citizens.

With our appeal to the parliament during the discussions on house-tax law, for the first time a step was taken in this regards and 90% tax reduction was accepted for old buildings.

...we request ... also in this new law... 90% tax reduction should be provided.⁷³³

Indeed, these HC letters that were directly sent to ministries, even to the parliament, received a critical reaction since HC was an office established under the Ministry of Culture despite its autonomous structure. The political and social problems of Turkey and problems in the government structure had generated a chaotic bureaucratic scheme which HC exploited to preserve cultural heritage, however, this increasing power signaled the first steps of reaction within the state itself.

Throughout the 1970s, as the single authority, HC sent letters, took decisions, warned other authorities, requested actions in order to answer all the challenges that historic preservation posed. HC was the highest authority in historic preservation, and these efforts helped the committee members keep this power in their hands. HC, as explained above, also tried to change the bureaucratic structure by forming local bureaus, local survey offices, sub committees, etc. HC also invited guests from other departments to meetings to ask their opinion (Figure 81, Figure 82). However, in all these efforts, HC was still the highest authority, and all decisions were subjected to their approval. Such centralism naturally disturbed local authorities who wanted to be given a role in the decisions affecting their own environment. However, for HC, this would de-centralize power; and power was concentrated (in the sense that Bourdieu defined the state as 'concentration of capitals', as discussed above) in HC. As a natural result of

⁷³² HC Archives, Meeting no. 301, Decision no. 10966, Date: 09.02.1979.

⁷³³ HC archives, letter from Orhan Alsaç, Doc. No. 732.(06).A550 Date: 15.03.1980.

this, HC was conceived as a council who made decisions inside a secret closed box to obstruct local development, ban municipal activities, and impose sanctions.



Figure 81: A HC meeting in 1978 with some of the members and invited guests. In Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*.



Figure 82: A HC meeting in the 1970s. Orhan Alsaç, the head of HC, sits in the middle. In Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*.

The aim of HC to maintain its power in decision-making is evident in the personal narratives of HC officers as well. Çeçener narrates that when HC was

writing Law No. 1710⁷³⁴, the members knew that no municipality could prepare a KAİP in two years and since the masterplans would be overruled, HC deliberately did not define any ‘temporary conditions’, leaving municipalities without a guide, to force them expedite the preparation process of KAİP. This enforcement (or institutional mobbing) continued from 1973 to 1975. In 1975, due to an increasing number of cases against HC in the Court of State, HC started to define temporary conditions.

In fact, HC members acknowledged that public participation was the most vital aspect in historic preservation. In the personal notes of Orhan Alsaç, he wrote:

If preservation will become a constant force, it needs to include the society as well. Before, old building concerned only the intellectuals. Today, in our country and in other countries, associations, foundations, organizations are interested in this matter, thus, society has a part in the job. Public interest and when necessary, public protest, that is more efficient in other countries, may happen also for us even though it is rare⁷³⁵.

Alsaç also personally wrote a letter to a local newspaper columnist. This columnist, Orhan Naim Hazinedar, had sent photos attached to his article entitled ‘Is there no one to do something about this historic building?’ (*Bu tarihi esere sahip çıkan yok mu?*) in which he dragged attention to a ruined old building in Balaman, Fatsa, in the eastern Black Sea region. Alsaç responded:

... This valuable monument is registered by the High Council for the Immovable Old Assets and Monuments, thus, it is enlisted as a building to be preserved. I am glad as we did our duty as a council.

But for preservation of a building, it is not enough to take a decision. All the relevant bodies, from property owner to the state, everybody and every institution should do whatever they can to achieve preservation⁷³⁶.

⁷³⁴ In fact, Çeçener’s narration suggests that the whole text was written by Çeçener himself, and he gives the impression that, as the general secretary of HC, he had a significant influence on HC and he had personally enacted some HC decisions, especially *sit* decisions. See Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*.

⁷³⁵ Üstün Alsaç, *Bir Türk Mimarının Anıları, Etkinlikleri, Yaşamı:Orhan Alsaç* (İstanbul, YEM, 2003):161. This book was published by Orhan Alsaç’s son Dr. Üstün Alsaç with a selection of his personal notes and limited information on HC.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid*, 163.

Despite what Alsaç wrote to the columnist, even if everybody and every institution did whatever they could, in fact, all their efforts had to be approved by HC. And in fact, if they did not appeal to HC, they could even find themselves in court. The link between HC and the public was not established as one would assume following Alsaç's words. Çeçener, in his interview book, stated that no application from individuals would be accepted by HC. When individuals wanted to explain the situation to HC from their own perspective, they would immediately be refused and directed to municipalities:

I would be rude and tactless to those disrespectful ones who came to council to follow their records. I kicked out many people like this. I was also very intolerant to those architects who were trying to get their work done by being close to the council⁷³⁷.

Smith⁷³⁸ argues that authorized heritage discourse generates a symbolic exclusion mechanism by which unwanted voices can be eliminated. In the case of HC, authority was so entrenched that no symbolic exclusion was needed. Even though it was written in an HC decision that:

...actual preservation is possible only with public mass support... The public must react against anti-preservationist acts before the state. This is a very normal situation in all civilized countries and in our country, as well, it should be the duty of the state, thus that of the government, to reach this level and educate the public⁷³⁹.

in real life, it was the council itself who pushed the public away. Such an exclusion through expert knowledge operated among HC members too. Doğan Kuban stated in his interview-book:

... When the problem was an architectural or urban project, all members would listen to a few architects... Architects would immediately grab the pen and draw sketches to propose changes for the conservation projects on the meeting agenda. In the next meeting, these projects would be approved along

⁷³⁷ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*, 57.

⁷³⁸ Laurajane Smith, *Uses*.

⁷³⁹ HC Archives, Meeting no. 294, Decision no. 10373, Date: 09.06.1978. This is the same meeting that HC required the Ministry of Culture to organize additional activities to raise awareness.

with the changes we proposed. Therefore, all the members have some implemented projects all over Turkey⁷⁴⁰.

As HC made decisions and designated *sit* areas behind closed doors, the Turkish political atmosphere was getting more intense. It is ironic that as these social and political conflicts produced necessary conditions for HC to reinforce, reproduce, and sustain its power, while at the same time, they gradually enabled the possibility of a coup d'etat.

4.5. After the 1980 political changes

As mentioned above, in the 1970s politically militant activities and the terror these activities created were common aspects of daily life. Naturally, this chaotic situation echoed among the architectural community of Turkey as well. In 1975, when 1975 EAHY events were in full force, even renowned architects of Turkey were being lost to left-right armed conflicts. Somer Ural, a socialist architect, was one of these architects whose death (allegedly due to his accidentally falling off a wall) was announced in one of the most popular architectural magazines, *Mimarlık*, stating “our people (our *halk*⁷⁴¹) and our struggle for revolution has lost a son”⁷⁴².

The May 1975 issue of *Mimarlık* was dedicated to historic preservation with the influence of AEHY. In this issue, several academics and professionals evaluated the situation of historic preservation of Turkey with a political tone.

Afife Batur, a professor of restoration at İTÜ who completed her post-doctoral studies and also taught at Politecnico di Torino with the help of Prof. Paolo Verzzone, questioned how *halk* perceived historic preservation⁷⁴³. She suggested that historic preservation should be based on Marxist philosophy with a dialectic methodology and a true reception of revolutionary thought. Thus, she

⁷⁴⁰ Doğan Kuban, Müjgan Yıldırım, Bir Rönesans Adamı: Doğan Kuban Kitabı (interview) (İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2007):

⁷⁴¹ This word, *halk*, may mean nation, folk, public, or people. Within the political context of the 1960s and 70s, it gained a meaning rather denoting working class. Thus, in the next few pages, instead of its English, I will use it as *halk*. Interestingly, in the republican period, one of the six principles of RPP was *halk*-ism which meant populism.

⁷⁴² -, “Somer Ural'ın Ardından”, *Mimarlık*, 135, 1975, 6.

⁷⁴³ Cf. Afiffe Batur, “Tarihi Çevre Korumasında Siyasi ve İdeolojik Boyutlar”, *Mimarlık*, 139, 1975, 14-17.

argued there could be only one single truth produced by science of preservation which required rejecting masterplans that damaged historic towns for financial interests. However, she did not see any irony, conflict, or whatsoever in criticizing the *halk* for not being able to assess that those who had huge benefits in masterplans and those who made the *halk* poor, unemployed, and needy were the same power structures. In a way, Batur reinforced the authority of the regime of experts in historic preservation from a positivist perspective. Similarly, as stressed above, Turgut Cansever⁷⁴⁴ also argued that the best thing for historic environments would be burning master plans. Yücel Gürsel also argued that preservation needed to be problematized as a ‘social problem’ which could not reach the level that experts required unless the economic policies of the state were completely abandoned and then reshaped⁷⁴⁵.

Two eminent preservation experts, Doğan Kuban and Okan Üstüncök⁷⁴⁶, also suggested that experts needed to be in charge of decisions regarding historic environments. They argued that Turkey, as an unindustrialized country with limited awareness of its cultural heritage, still needed much more time to generate a deep-rooted comprehensive understanding of cultural heritage with public consciousness.

Either from a revolutionary Marxist perspective or from a scientific point of view, there was a consensus that experts needed to be in charge. In fact, this attitude was the main principle in the formulation of the 1961 constitution. As mentioned earlier, this constitution was a guarantor of a power balance between experts, or intelligentsia as Mümtaz Soysal noted, and the ruling class. In this equation, the *halk* needed to be guided and educated to reach the standards imposed by this power dynamic. However, the 1980 military coup redefined these relations from the scratch giving no space either for the ruling class or for experts.

Even in the late 1970s, HC was a source of inconvenience for local authorities. As HC was formulating new modes of tax regulation to encourage historic property owners to repair and take care of their structures, there were already rumors that authority of HC would be partially dismantled and distributed

⁷⁴⁴ Turgut Cansever, “Belediyelerin”.

⁷⁴⁵ Yücel Gürsel, “Tarihi Çevre Korumanın Ekonomi Politikası”, 18-20.

⁷⁴⁶ Doğan Kuban, Okan Üstüncök, “Sanayileşmemiş Bir Ülke Olarak Türkiye’de Tarihi Çevre Korunması ve Restorasyon”, *Mimarlık*, 118, 5-7.

among other departments⁷⁴⁷. Meanwhile, HC continued sending letters to various state departments to guide them, warn them, or request them to take action for the preservation issues for which they were held responsible. In a way, HC was trying to detect and fill the gaps to generate a comprehensive preservation system. After the coup, HC was alerted when restructuring of the Ministry of Culture, under which HC operated, came up on the state agenda. Shortly after the coup, as he did before, Alsaç wrote a personal letter to the Minister of Culture, Cihat Baban. In this informal letter, Alsaç asked Baban about the rumors, and required inside information about the new role of HC within the restructured ministry. Alsaç's letter was a resentful one since HC, after 30 years of service, was not consulted or asked for an opinion in this process. Later on, Alsaç wrote a second letter, this time to the manager of the coup, Marshal Kenan Evren. Alsaç expressed how sorrowful he was that a confidential draft of a new old assets law was sent to ministries, but was kept secret from HC. Alsaç requested an appointment to explain how HC functioned and to express his concerns. However, Alsaç received a response neither from Baban nor from the marshal⁷⁴⁸.

In 1981, the Ministry of Development and Housing sent a confidential document to HC. Most parts of this document were removed and only the sentences that concerned HC were readable. HC's response to the ministry's letter was that the country urgently needed an inventory of old structures and an enlisting mechanism to register all old structures⁷⁴⁹. Ironically, this was an issue that HC suffered since its establishment by Ali Saim Ülgen.

In 1983, a new 'old artifacts law', Law. No. 2863, was accepted by the parliament. This time, HC made no contribution to the preparation process. Under this law, HC was replaced with regional boards, Regional Councils for Conservation of Cultural and Natural Entities (*Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulları*) along with an Ankara-based High Council. In this structure, the High Council made principle decisions and regional boards made decisions based on these principle decisions. Moreover, the objections to the regional council decisions would be evaluated by the High Council. Since 1983,

⁷⁴⁷ Hüseyin Besim Çeçener, *Anıtlar*,

⁷⁴⁸ Üstün Alsaç, *Bir Türk Mimarının*.

⁷⁴⁹ HC Archives, Meeting no. 324, Decision no. 12688, Date: 13.03.1981.

this law has been active through continuous changes. As 2018, there are 34 regional councils.

The three decade-long life of HC was terminated with the most dramatic political event to take place in modern Turkey. The 1980 military coup transformed Turkey into a neoliberal state. However, it was clear even before the coup that HC's top-down approach could no longer possibly meet the needs of 1980s Turkey. For its entire lifespan, HC functioned as the primary response that Turkish society and the state produced for the problems related to historic preservation. However, this problem has never truly been solved.

Conclusion

As stated in introduction, the main research question of the thesis was: ‘How does historic preservation serve the political needs of the ruling class? What happens to the concept of cultural heritage in times of strong social and political changes that social dynamics generate a new ruling class?’. My research also prompted more questions than answers on this relationship between ruling class (power holders) and cultural heritage (as well as efforts to preserve this heritage). However, it revealed the complexities in the research questions.

My research aimed at outlining the role of cultural heritage in Turkey from the nineteenth century until the 1980s in times of strong political and societal changes. These changes also defined the chapters. Each chapter investigated historic preservation in a period that power dynamics changed creating a breaking point.

First breaking point coming as an output that reshaped the power dynamics was the *Tanzimat* period. The main conclusion for this period is that the Ottoman state developed several strategies in historic preservation in accordance with the political context. This was a period that efforts in modernization accelerated. In this context, archaeology, museums, heritage legislation, academies, and language became tools which gradually constructed an Ottoman authority over pagan and Christian past of the Ottoman Empire. These developments also triggered a social conflict between advocators of modernization and the reactive community who were preoccupied that their ‘authentic’ identity, the Turkish and Islamic identity, would be lost with modernization. With transition from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy in 1908 by the *Young Turk Revolution*, a new direction was headed. This time, Islamic past gained more importance in defining the cultural heritage of the late Ottoman society. Instead of archaeological movable artifacts, immovable Ottoman monuments dominated the heritage discourse and stood at the core of preservation activities. This was a period of political instability. With the Balkan Wars in 1912; a decade of continuous wars started which eventually led to the collapse of the empire. In 1923 a new republic was founded from the ashes of the war-torn empire.

Until the 1908 revolution, archaeological artifacts played a significant role to design and promote a national identity. This identity was shaped by the impact of European colonialism. It was a reaction to ‘the’ West who saw Ottomans as an undeveloped society. The late Ottoman society reacted to this perception by both claiming an authority over archaeological artifacts and simultaneously reproducing the very same attitude against the communities on the peripheries of the empire. After the revolution, cultural heritage addressed a different past based on a different identity. Actors of this change defined cultural heritage as remains from the Islamic past. The Ottoman and Seljuk monuments gained importance. In addition, also in new buildings, a revivalist design language based on these monuments emerged.

The second breaking point came with the foundation of the Turkish Republic. The republican rulers enacted delicately designed state programs to generate a new modern society from a society that was ruled with Islamic dynasty for centuries. These programs mainly aimed at gaining a distance with the Ottoman past and delineating the Islamic activities for the favor of a secular modern state. In this process, cultural heritage was a vital force. Series of major heritage-based projects were simultaneously enacted. On the one hand, a new historic reference was created through archaeology and history-writing, on the other hand, in an ambivalent way, the Ottoman monuments were both ignored to gain a distance with the Ottoman past and conserved to generate a discourse regarding the Ottoman past. In a way, the Ottoman memories were not completely rejected but rather disciplined in the minds of individuals. In addition, urban planning and architecture became major tools for the nascent state in reshaping and/or creating new cities, and even old capital, İstanbul gained a modern ‘beautified’ look. The republican rulers practiced power, however, within the global context of the post-war period, the Turkish society demanded a newer power which could increase economic activities and be more tolerant to religious practices.

Another breaking point came with the new government coming to power. Simultaneously, a new expert preservation committee was also formed; HC. The new government gradually increased its power and initiated immense urban projects in İstanbul. Most of these projects were controversial in terms of the damage they caused in historic quarters of the city. In this period, HC operated for a decade under a strong centralized authority and it responded to this authority by

complying with its needs. Thus, HC functioned as an official state bureau that served for the government.

When a coup d'état detained all government members in 1960, a new breaking point was also defined in terms of historic preservation. In this period, HC finally could find a power gap to impose its own standards in historic preservation. European developments were contemporarily adopted into the Turkish preservation system. The next two decades saw increased political and social chaos. In this period, militant political terror became a part of daily life. In this chaos, HC was at the peak of its power. The lack of a central governing structure generated a liberated bureaucratic space where HC could practice its own power improving the standards of preservation in Turkey. However, the main conclusion is that these standards were limited to bureaucratic policies that did not answer the local needs.

In 1980, HC's power was surpassed by another coup d'état in 1980.

Sevgi Soysal (1936-1976)⁷⁵⁰, an eminent Turkish writer who had a short and inspiring life, was the daughter of Mithat Yenen, a HC member and the director of the İstanbul Grand Master Planning Bureau of the Ministry of Development and Housing. In a letter to her then-prisoned husband, without knowing that she would also be prisoned soon, she wrote about his father:

My father is a book. He never stops...With an unbelievable care, he is observing everyone's wrongs and mistakes and correcting them tirelessly... All the little objects concern him every day absolutely, but absolutely more than all these legal cases of 'violation of constitution'. He could not talk on Prof. Muammer's imprisonment more than five minutes, but he can give detailed information for half an hour on how advanced! and useful his new oil lamp is...

I make fun of him all day long; and he gets angry with me, explains me all of his rules with their logical reasons. However, in reality, there are many logical reasons behind all the details, but when they come together, these

⁷⁵⁰ Sevgi Soysal (1936-1976), had written on women's role in a society, class conflicts in Turkey, and political violence she personally experienced. Sevgi Soysal was married to Mümtaz Soysal, the then-dean of the Political Sciences Faculty in the Ankara University who also had contributions to the 1961 constitution. Mümtaz Soysal was prisoned after the 1971 military memorandum with accusations to make communism propoganda. Shortly after his release, this time Sevgi Soysal was prisoned with the accusations to insult the army. Her time in women's prison had a devastating impact in her life. For her memories in the prison, see Sevgi Soysal, *Yıldırım Bölge Kadınlar Koğuşu* (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1979).

details construct just a stupidity; indeed, we are not able to talk these ‘delicate!’ issues with my father. Rather, we are having ‘dialectic’ discussions on lake water’s temperature, when to push the well-pump, and to throw toilet papers not to the closet but to the basket next to it⁷⁵¹.

Indeed, Soysal’s humorous pen pictures a caricature of his father which could not be a departure to understand HC, but it reminds that HC was a council of bureaucrats who dealt with practices of everyday daily life through the filters of bureaucracy.

The last two chapters of the thesis discussed how HC responded to two opposite political contexts. In the light of the discussions, the conclusion is that HC made decisions that satisfied the needs of the central powerful authority during the 1950s. When this strong authority was overthrown, HC exercised power to impose its own standards. The main developments in historic preservation emerged within these two decades where political and social conflicts escalated. Nevertheless, HC decisions were just a burden for those who were obligated to apply them. Even though HC defined and imposed high standards in historic preservation for three-decades, these standards mostly remained as unimplemented policies.

⁷⁵¹ Filiz Soysal, “Ölümünün 40. yıl dönümünde Sevgi Soysal'dan mektuplar”, *t24*. Retrieved on February 21, 2018 from <http://t24.com.tr/k24/yazi/soysal-mektuplar.949>. For the 40th year anniversary of Soysal’s cancer-related death, her daughter Filiz Soysal published a selection of her letters on this website.

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Ankara

HC Archives in the archives of İstanbul Preservation Board No. 4

Appendix A

Timetable

<u>Year</u>	<u>Political Developments in Turkey</u>	<u>Institutionalization of heritage</u>	<u>Events with impact on preservation</u>
1800	Algeria colonized by France from Ottomans (1830s)		Conquest of Egypt by Napoleon Bonapart (1798) Removal of Parthenon friezes by Lord Elgin (1801) Siege of Athens by Ottomans (1826) Imperial Ministry of Pious Foundations (1836)
1850	The 1856 Paris Treaty	Establishment of the Hagia Irene as the first museum (1846)	Removal of Ephesus artifacts by Briton John Turtle Wood (1860s) Universal Exposition in Paris (1867)
1870	Russo-Turkish Wars (1877-1878)	Foundation of the <i>Müze-i Hümayun</i> (Imperial Museum) (1869) Museum commission is formed (1877) Tiled Kiosk is opened as <i>Müze-i Hümayun</i> (1876)	Sultan Abdülaziz's visit to Europe (1867) Schlieamann's Troy excavations (1870) International Vienna Exhibition (1873)
1880	Tunisia colonized by France from Ottomans (1881)	Mound Nemrud campaign by Osman Hamdi (1883) 1884 Decree on Antiquities Sidon campaign by Osman Hamdi (1887) Opening of new Archaeology Museum (1891)	Osman Hamdi Bey becomes the director of <i>Müze-i Hümayun</i> (1881) Earthquake in İstanbul (1894)

1900	The Young Turk Revolution (1908)	New wings were added to the Archaeology Museum (1907)	
		Sardis excavation (1909)	Scientific Committee for Construction and Repairs (İTHF) (1909)
1910	Balkan Wars (1912-13) Start of the WW I (1914)		Society of the Admirers of the City of İstanbul is founded (1911)
	End of the WWI, start of the Turkish Independence War (1918)	Permanent Committee of Old Monuments (AAED) (1917)	
	Sultanete is abolished (1922)		
1923	Foundation of the Turkish Republic	Topkapı Palace becomes a museum (1924)	Ankara becomes the capital (1923)
	Caliphate is abolished (1925)	AAED is ratified as EEKE (1924)	Turkish History Thesis (1930-31)
			Atatürk's telegram (1931)
		Kuşunlu Han is selected for the Hittite Museum (1930s)	Hermann Jansen to plan Ankara (1932)
	The CHP increased power (1930s)		First History Congress (1932)
		AKK is established (1933)	Congress in Athens (1931) <i>Carta del restauro</i>
			CIAM in Athens (1933)
	Great Depression (1930s)	Hagia Sophia Mosque becomes a museum (1934)	Second History Congress (1937)
			Prost submitted first phase of İstanbul plan (1937)
	Start of the WWII (1939)		Demolition of İbrahim Paşa Palace (1939)
1940			Debates on the Palace of Justice project (1940s)
	Truman Doctrine (late 1940s)		Ali Saim Ülgen published <i>Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması- I</i>
	Turkey becomes a member of the Council of Europe (1949)	Hittite Museum is opened (1945)	
1950	DP starts governing		KGM is established (1950)

		HC is established (1951)	Prost's contract is terminated (1951)
			<i>Müşavirler</i> to evaluate Prost (1952)
			Law on floor ownership (1954) Kapalıçarşı Fire (1954)
			Chamber of Architects is established (1954)
	September 6-7 events (1955)		10 th Byzantine Studies Congress in İstanbul (1955)
			Hilton project starts (1955)
			Expropriation Law (1956)
	DP promises to make Turkey the small America (campaigns for 1956 election)	More authority to HC with the Development Law (1956)	Development Law (1956)
			<i>Development</i> Project is announced by DP (1956)
		Approval to demolish <i>Simkeşhane</i> (1957)	
		HC regulations are finalized (1959)	EBB is established (1958)
1960	Coup d'etat (1960)		DPT is established (1960)
	The new Constitution (1961)	HC meets the minister of education (1961)	
	TIP is established (1961)	State Court cancels HC decision (1963)	
		Increase in cases against HC in State Court (1960s)	
			A preservation institute is established in METU (1966)
			İstanbul Frand Master Planning Bureau is established (1966)
		The Venice Charter is excepted (1967)	
		Turkey becomes ICCROM member (1969)	The Venice Charter is translated (1969)
		Building categories (1970)	The master plan for the Bosphorus Coastal Strip (1970)
1973	Military memorandum (1971)	Old Artifacts Law (1973)	EAHY (1975)
	May 1 massacre (1977)	<i>Sit</i> designations (1970s)	
1983	Military Coup (1980)	New loaw on old artifacts (1983)	
		HC is terminated (1983)	

Appendix B

Road Constructions in the Historic Peninsula of İstanbul during *the Development of İstanbul*



The 1946 aerial photo of the historic peninsula of İstanbul. Before the *İmar*.
Source: İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality: <https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/>



The 1966 aerial photo of the historic peninsula of İstanbul. After the *İmar*.
Source: İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality: <https://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/>

Millet
Avenue



The restored bastions over the Topkapı section of the walls, which are both the entrance door to İstanbul from the Edirne – İstanbul state road and the start of the 50-meters wide Millet Caddesi, have the characteristic to present the most effective impressions of our magnificent historic city to all the visitors who come to İstanbul from Europe. p.17.

Vatan
Avenue



Vatan Caddesi, which extends along the Bayrampaşa valley between Topkapı and Edirnekapı, connects the city to a stadium of 100.000 people capacity and is the widest boulevard of Turkey with its 60-meters width. p.23.

Aksaray
Square



The Aksaray Square, which will be the junction of Vatan, Millet, Ordu, Cerrahpaşa, Yenikapı Avenues and Atatürk Boulevard, will have a significant function for the traffic load of the Aksaray District. p.27.

Ordu
Avenue



Ordu Avenue, which starts from the Aksaray Square passes through Laleli and reaches the Beyazıt Square, is a 30-meters wide concrete-asphalt road. It was necessary to infill at some sections...

...This view which seems to belong to the medieval periods is completely removed today, the civilized image that the imar brought to İstanbul is dominant here as well. p.33.

Beyazıt
Square



The main objective here is to present a sanctuary to the Beyazıt Mosque and the Beyazıt Külliye, and to restore peace to this sacred district.

With the rearrangement of the Beyazıt, another large square will be gained that public can benefit.

The surrounding of the mosque now has the character it deserved fitting with its sacredness, its glory, and its magnificence. p. 37-8



Divanyolu-
Sirkeci
Road



Divanyolu street, coming down the Sultanahmet Square from the Türbe (tomb), will be widened only to 20 meters due to the old structures and that it cannot bear a heavy traffic load. p. 41.

The
Municipality
Palace



A perfect city like İstanbul does not have a compact municipality building. All the municipal services were distributed to dispersed buildings. Considering this, on the intersection of the Atatürk Boulevard and the Edirnekapı Avenue and next to the Hüseyinpaşa Madrasa, a new Municipal Palace is started to be constructed on the corner of the block. p. 45.

A competition was launched in 1953 for this project, and the architect Nevzat Erol won the competition.

Restoration
of the Grand
Bazaar



...the fire could not burn all the structure to ashes, but an important part was burnt. 1500 shops were burnt!

The government immediately acted to reconstruct the Grand Bazaar to make it even more beautiful than its former version. It both distributed new shelters to the owners who lost their shops, and started the reconstruction of the bazaar. p.47.

Edirnekapı
Beyazıt



As the Topkapı road, also the Edirnekapı Avenue will connect to the state road straightly with the Mihrimahsultan Mosque on the right. The city walls on the exit road will be repaired and restored. The Edirnekapı exit which is still standing is being restored. The surroundings of the mosque will be more touristic by clearing the structures and connection to the Kariye Mosque will be provided. p.50.



Eyüp
Unkapanı
Coastal Road



The road between Eyüp and Unkapanı is planned to be 50-meters wide. This avenue, which will be called the Golden Horn Coastal Road, will run along the shore as a strip as much as possible. When there is a distance with the shore, the lands between the road and the sea will be filled with leisure spaces, music-halls, coffee-bars, and parks. The land side of the road, on the other hand, will be spared for big shops and apartments. p.58.



Unkapanı -
Eminönü
Coastal



The old and ruined khans, squatted shops between Eminönü and Unkapanı are expropriated and immediately demolished. As deconstructions have progressed, the construction of the road connecting Eminönü to Unkapanı has started before the winter. The new road passes 200 meters away from the sea and its width reaches to 50 meters. Levelling works have progressed for the road which will be concrete-asphalt. p.59.



The Yeni
Mosque
and Square



The liberation of the front of the New Mosque, a Turkish-Islamic monument and an elegant and beautiful work of the seventeenth century, and the enlargement of the Eminönü Square and the development of this square has recently started. Now, Eminönü Square will have its final form with medians and new traffic structures to be constructed on the Square, and the modern buildings which will give the square its essential appearance. p. 66.



Sirkeci –
Florya
Coastal



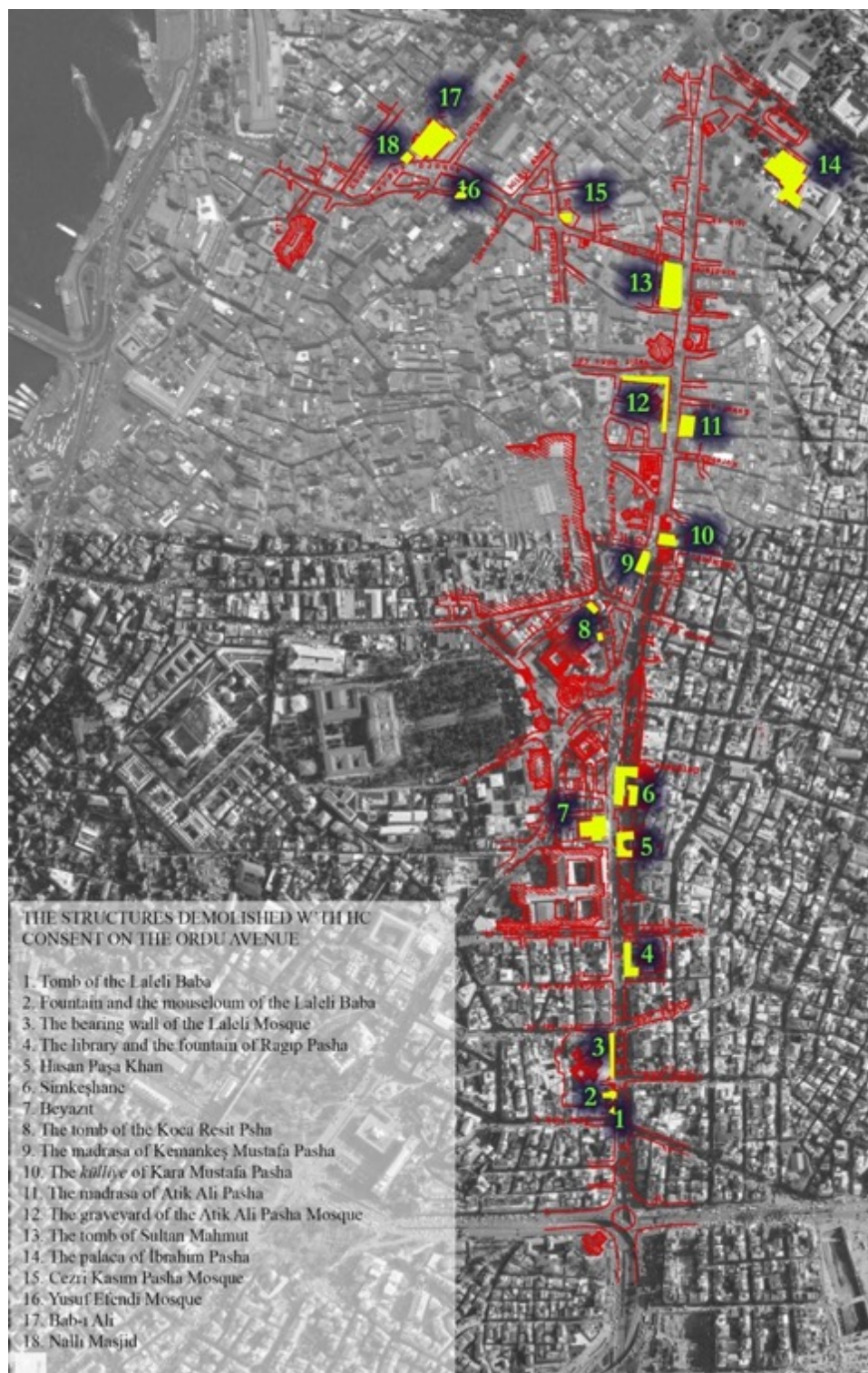
The Sirkeci – Florya Coastal Road, saves a magnificent shore of İstanbul that is unique with its view and nature from being a zone that looks like a ugly barn or that criminals may use, gives it back to the people of İstanbul so that all of them may use.

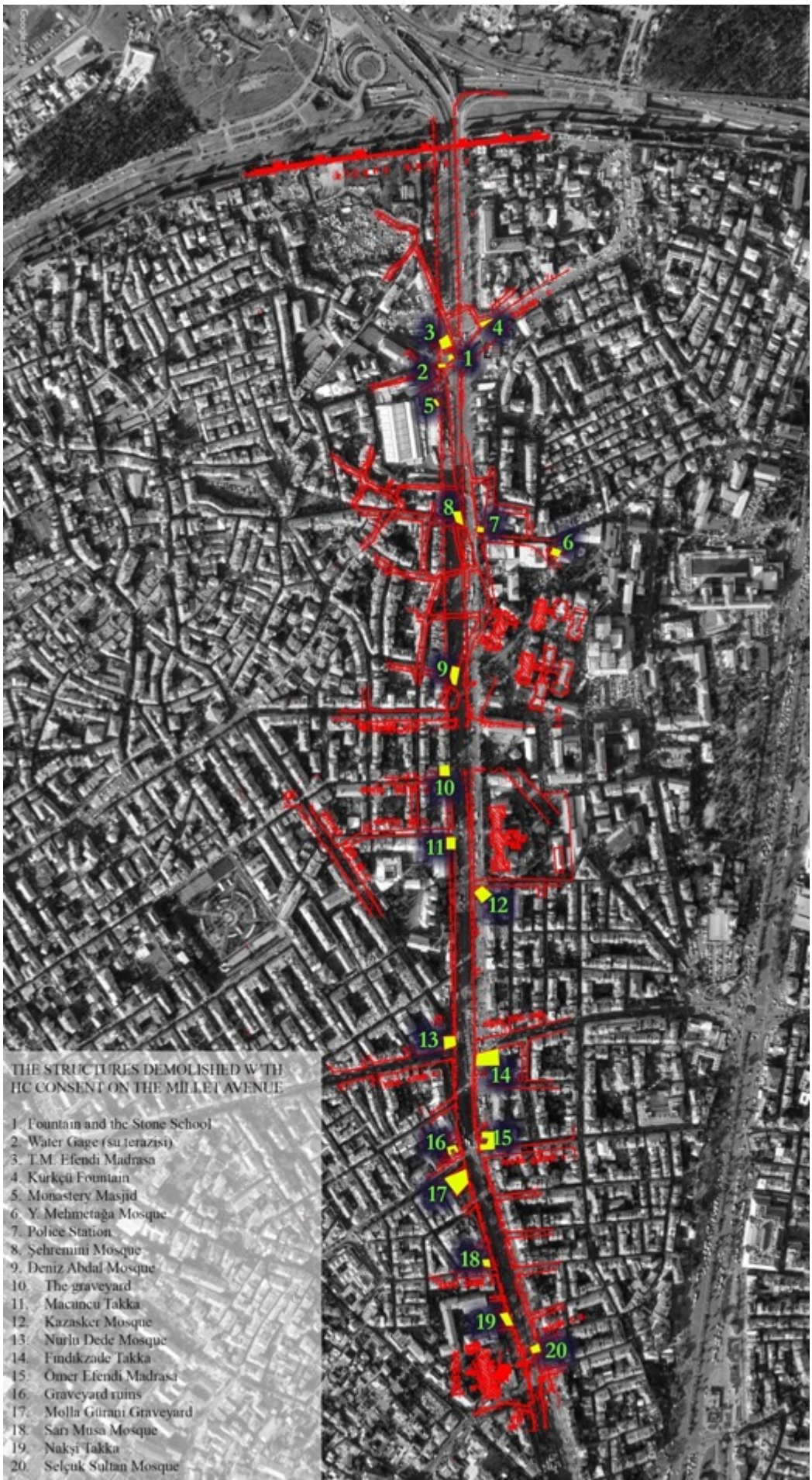
On the Sirkeci – Florya Coastal Road, which is 22-meters long, there are infills at some sections and when necessary, docks are constructed concrete blocks to prevent landslide. p. 69.



Appendix C

Buildings Demolished with HC Consent





THE STRUCTURES DEMOLISHED WITH
HC CONSENT ON THE MILLET AVENUE

- 1. Fountain and the Stone School
- 2. Water Gage (su terazisi)
- 3. T.M. Efendi Madrasa
- 4. Kurucu Fountain
- 5. Monastery Masjid
- 6. Y. Mehmetaga Mosque
- 7. Police Station
- 8. Sehremi Mosque
- 9. Demiz Abdal Mosque
- 10. The graveyard
- 11. Macancu Takka
- 12. Kazasker Mosque
- 13. Nurlu Dede Mosque
- 14. Fındıkzade Takka
- 15. Ömer Efendi Madrasa
- 16. Graveyard ruins
- 17. Molla Gülrani Graveyard
- 18. Sari Musa Mosque
- 19. Nakşi Takka
- 20. Selçuk Sultan Mosque

