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di Torino**

ScuDo

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Doctoral Dissertation
Doctoral Program in Energy Engineering (34th Cycle)

**Reconsidering the Western town
planning approach for Historic Cities
and Memories in Mediterranean
Region: The *Agence Prost* from Paris
to İstanbul (1910s-1950s)**

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Declaration

I hereby declare that, the contents and organization 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.

Pelin Bolca

2022

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List of Abbreviations

AP: Archives de Paris

APSA: Ahmet Pirıştina City Archive

AN: Archives Nationles de France

AL: Atatürk Library

BCA: Turkish Republic – Republican Archive

BHVP: Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris

BNF: Bibliothèque Nationale de France

BOA: Turkish Republic - Ottoman Archives

IFA: Centre d'archives d'architecture du XXe siècle

IFEA: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes

SFU: Société française des urbanistes

TBMM: Grand National Assembly of Turkey

TTK: Association of Turkish History

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Introduction

Knowledge transmission between diverse societies has always been subsisted. Travels to explore new cultures, professional and business relationships for economic benefits, or collaborations for scientific purposes have been the major agents of this transition. This transition has been seen more actively between Western and non-Western lands, resulting in multi-layered lands and multicultural communities. In many cases, this created controversial memories reflecting the local heritage values.¹ Accordingly, the fundamental objective of this thesis is to contribute to the understanding of the consequences of knowledge transmission by concentrating on different actors / political structures / cultural, economic and social dynamics in a specific chronology and geography.

As a result of the changing economic and political conditions after the Industrial Revolution, in the late 19th century the urbanism² theory and practices were

¹ Marco Folin and Heleni Porfyriou, *Multi-Ethnic Cities in the Mediterranean World: Controversial Heritage and Divided Memories from the Nineteenth Through the Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Routledge, 2020). See also

² The first usage of “urbanism” as a scientific word dates back to 19th century when the Barcelona Plan designed by Ildefons Cerdà in Ildefons Cerdà, *La Théorie Générale de l’urbanisation* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1979). Later, in the late 19th century and early 20th century, it was called diversely by pioneering actors in the field with different languages: *Der Städtebau* for Camillo Sitte, Town Planning for Charles Buls and Raymond Unwin. In French, it became ‘urbanisme’ in Marcel Poëte, *Introduction à l’Urbanisme: : L’évolution Des Villes, La Leçon de l’Antiquité* (Paris: Boivin, 1929). In Italia, the discipline was defined as a combination of ‘*tecnica e dell’arte urbanistica*’ by Gustavo Giovannoni in Gustavo Giovannoni, “Vecchie Città Ed Edilizia Nuova,” *VALERIE MAGAR* 48, no. 995 (1931). See also, Donatella Calabi, *Storia Dell’urbanistica Europea* (Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2008).

The language transition of terms is related to the political, social and economic relations between countries. French influence has been highly present in İstanbul and Anatolia since the 19th century. After the foundation of Republic, in 1928, Alphabet Reform adopted Turkish as the language of the country, and it enabled the transition from the Arabic alphabet to Latin characters. After that, like many other words in Turkish language, the ‘urbanism’ word transferred from France to Turkey as the scientific knowledge on the matter. It called ‘*ürbanizm*’ and the actors who deal with this discipline called as ‘*ürbanist*’ with the exact pronunciation of French language. After 1950s, the political structure in Turkey was changed and the strategy was shifted from Europeanism to Americanism. The reflection of this change in the architectural environment seen in the definitions. The ‘*ürbanizm*’ became into ‘*şehir planlama*’ which is direct translation of ‘town planning’.

Considering the thesis tackles with the transmission of knowledge from Western to non-Western countries focusing on in particular French protagonist in Turkey, ‘urbanism’ and ‘urbanist’ terms are used to underline the influence during the early 20th century which frames the chronology of this research.

developed as a field that required to identify and develop specific approach under the intellectual atmosphere of pioneering protagonists in Western countries. The main reason of this development was trying to cope with the reflection of the changing economic and political policies on cities and urban life to respond the industrial needs. In the meantime, the concept of ‘heritage’ emerged³. However, dealing with heritage values in historic cities became challenging. After the first attempts to integrate heritage and urbanism, the 20th century brought along the institutionalization of developed theory.

Simultaneously, industrialized countries had turned their attention to non – Western territories which provided a rich supply for their market. As a consequence, the Western based theory began to reflect its effect on non-Western countries. In other words, Western based approaches have started to culturally dominate also non - Western historic cities with a range of consequences.

According to Edward Said’s seminal book, colonial policies formed the roots of orientalism.⁴ Besides, the orientalist point of view sought to spread “Western modernity” to non-European, non-modern, or more traditional societies.⁵ However, Delanty points out the perspective brought by globalism under the post-colonial theory, and suggests that it creates hybrid and intertwined modernity, and therefore, argues that modernity goes beyond the Eurocentric conception.⁶ Authenticity was

³ The doctoral research achieved by Rosa Tamborrino investigates how this concept was firstly emerged in Paris, and how it was diffused from French context, in Rosa Tamborrino, “Parigi Come Modello: 1852 - 1902. Idee e Progetti Di Trasformazione Della Città e Conservazioni Dei Beni Architettonici (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation)” (Politecnico di Torino, 1993). See also her book, Rosa Tamborrino, *Parigi Nell’Ottocento : Cultura Architettonica e Città* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2005). See also,

⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978). Before Edward Said, the intellectuals as Franz Fanon, Albert Memmi set the basis of his argument by criticizing the impact of colonial policies on the colonized society and by framing the mutual distinction between colonizers and colonized, in other words, the confrontation of West and others. In particular, Fanon described the results of this distinction as the “North African syndrome” which is defined as a psychological disorder resulting from the imposition of western values on local cultural values of others in, Frantz Fanon, *Les Damnés de La Terre* (Paris: F. Maspéro, 1961). See also, Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon, 1957). Aimé Césaire, *Discours Sur Le Colonialisme* (Paris: Textuel, 2009).

These were the pioneering arguments that drew attention on ‘otherness’. The debates were shifted on the conservation of cultural heritage discourses through the end of 20th century. The Cultural Charter for Africa in 1976, The Burra Charter in 1979, and Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994 framed the international recognitions and criteria on the matter. However, these were not perceived as sufficient to respond the contemporary knowledge, or to create an equal balance with East and West, see Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?,” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). Tim Winter, “Beyond Eurocentrism? Heritage Conservation and the Politics of Difference,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20, no. 2 (2014). Rajani Kanth, *Against Eurocentrism: A Transcendent Critique of Modernist Science, Society, and Morals* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

⁵ William Outhwaite, “What Is European Culture?,” in *New Democracies and Old Societies in Europe* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001). In his book, Outhwaite questions the characteristics of European culture as a matter of economic and power relationships between colonies and mother country. In addition, he argues that these relationships resulted to converting the European culture by learning from colonies, and at the end of these interactions, European culture formed its current peculiarity by developing its modernity.

⁶ Gerard Delanty, “Modernity and the Escape from Eurocentrism,” in *Handbook of Contemporary European Social Theory* (London: Routledge, 2006).

the central node of this hybridization between East and West. However, during the last decade, new perspectives arisen and, the common authenticity problems are being discussed against the Eurocentric vision.⁷

The start of post colonialism period may refer diverse historical breaking points, however, the common understanding frames the post-WW2 period when the colonies announced their independency. This was followed by nation building process for many countries.⁸ The answer to this process in terms of architecture was realized through the transformation of built environment, which was reshaped according to the changing social and political atmosphere. Moreover, the approach to ‘‘reshape’’ the built environment, in particular on historic cities, was examined and developed during the interwar period mainly by industrialized countries. In other words, between the two wars, Western protagonists sought to formulate a ‘‘pattern’’ applicable to everywhere, responding the modern needs of societies. Moreover, according to ‘‘creators of this pattern’’, the results were irreversible.⁹ As described by Mercedes Volait and John Nasr, this process was followed by importing the formulated urbanism idea from Western to others. However, it also created a mutual interaction. Importers encountered with receivers and as a consequence, the idea – or the pattern – was modified and exported back to the mother country.¹⁰

As the first colonised maritime region¹¹, Mediterranean countries provides an extensive and rich history to identify importers/receivers and to critically analyse the changes with consequences. Moreover, considering its geopolitical situation which became a bridge between Western and non-Western countries, it provides multi-layered and multi-cultured history to examine the tangible and intangible cultural values.

In France, colonialism provided a free space for decision makers to examine their formula.¹² The reflection of these developments dates back to the emergence of ‘‘modern urbanism’’ during the late 19th century, in particular with Parisian experience¹³. However, in 1911, a group of *Musée Social* members formed the

⁷ Qian Gao and Sian Jones, ‘‘Authenticity and Heritage Conservation: Seeking Common Complexities beyond the ‘Eastern’ and ‘Western’ Dichotomy,’’ *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 1, no. 27 (2021).

⁸ John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020).

⁹ Jean Louis Cohen, *Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War* (Montreal: Canadian Center for Architecture, 2011). See also, Esra Akcan, ‘‘Postcolonial Theories in Architecture,’’ in *A Critical History of Contemporary Architecture: 1960–2010* (England: Ashgate, 2014), 119–42.

¹⁰ Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait, *Urbanism: Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans* (Great Britain: Wiley Academy, 2003).

¹¹ Karen Wigen, ‘‘AHR Forum Oceans of History: Introduction,’’ *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 717–21.

¹² Raoul Girardet, ‘‘L’apothéose De La ‘Plus Grande France : L’idée Coloniale Devant l’opinion Française (1930-1935),’’ *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 1968.

¹³ It should be underlined that the term of ‘‘French urbanism’’ firstly emerged with the *Musée Social* initiatives during the early 20th century, in ‘‘La Société Du Musée Social,’’ *Journal Officiel de La République Française*, September 4, 1894. Since its establishment in 1894 as a public service, *Musée Social* was leading the research studies focused on social problems such as economic and labor needs, in Emile Cheysson, *Le Musée Social* (Paris: Imprime National, 1894). See also, Musée

Société française des architectes urbanistes (SFU) where they developed intellectual ideas to control urban development by integrating hygienist and aesthetic concerns.¹⁴ However, as Gwendolyn Wright outlined, these protagonists had not found enough space to execute their theories in France, and therefore, they had been addressed to overseas countries.¹⁵ In the early 20th century, oversea territories initially referred the colonies under the Great France statement.¹⁶ However, Ambe Njoh's research outlines that the presence of French architects went beyond from colonies during the interwar period, and transmitted their impact on the historic cities under the nation-building process, in particular, on Eastern countries.¹⁷

In 1920s, many SFU members travelled non-Western countries and presented urban plans for historic cities with diverse cultural values and traditions such as Jean-Claude Nicolas Forestier and Alfred Agache in Latin America¹⁸, Ernest Hébrard in Greece¹⁹, Leon Jaussely both in Latin America and Uruguay²⁰. Among others, French urbanist-architect Henri Prost was one of the most influential protagonists both active in colonies and in the countries which were in modernization process under the nation-building atmosphere. His career mainly concentrated on Mediterranean historic cities, starting from Paris, travelling to İstanbul and passing through North Africa and concluding in Turkey.

Henri Prost was one of the founding members of SFU. However, his stay in İstanbul to undertake a research on Byzantine roots in Eastern countries in 1905,

social, "Travaux Des Sections: Section d'hygiène Urbaine et Rurale," *Le Musée Social. Annales : Revue Mensuelle*, no. 11 (1908).

¹⁴ Architects (Donat Alfred Agache, Marcel Auburtin, André Bérard, Eugène Hénard, Léon Jaussely, Albert Parenty, Henri Prost) and landscape architects (Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier, Edouard Redont).

¹⁵ Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

This was actually a common reflection among the young French intellectuals of the period against to put their theories into practice. Robert Wohl explains this notions as "unbridgeable chasm between dreams and possible actions". Moreover, he claims that these youth discovered the reality only outside France, preferably in colonies in Robert Wohl, *The Generation of 1914* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979).

Moreover, the contribution on of *Musee Social* to colonial research was substantial. The colonial militaristic figures frequented the *Musee* meetings and participated the intellectual atmosphere of the debates. On the other hand, in order to keep informed about to on-going developments in abroad, *Musee* established a delegate system. These system was created not only to gather first-hand information on economic development and social reforms in European countries, but it included also research projects on Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, in Janet R. Horne, *A Social Laboratory for Modern France: The Musée Social and the Rise of the Welfare State* (US: Duke University Press, 2002).

¹⁶ Institut français d'architecture, *Architectures Françaises Outre-Mer* (Liège: Mardaga, 1992). The Great France was a statement that pointed out by French politics to frame the mother country and its colonies as a unique nation. It emerged as a response to the anti-colonialist perspectives in, Joseph Chailley-Bert, "La France et La Plus Grande France," *Revue Politique et Parlementaire : Questions Politiques, Sociales et Législatives*, 1902, 230–62.

¹⁷ J. Ambe Njoh, *French Urbanism in Foreign Lands* (Cham: Springer, 2016).

¹⁸ Arturo Almandoz, *Planning Latin America's Capital Cities 1850-1950* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁹ Kalliopi Amygdalou, "Building the Nation at the Crossroads of 'East' and 'West': Ernest Hébrard and Henri Prost in the near East," *Opticon1826* 16 (2014): 1–14.

²⁰ Laurent Delacourt, *Léon Jaussely : Un Pionnier Solitaire* (Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, Centre des monuments nationaux, 2017).

set the basis of his experiences in Mediterranean region. After the official colonization of Morocco by France, Prost was assigned as a chef-urbanist of North Africa by Marechal Lyautey. As the president of Musée Social, George Risler stated “this was an opportunity to examine the developed modern urbanism theory”.²¹ Moreover, as a consequence of changing colonial policies of the period, Lyautey’s sought to “associate” with local community.²² Under the political perspective, this meant the pacification of colonized community against the political alterations influenced by war period. Its reflection on the urban environment was to provide a more respectful and conservationist attitude for local cultural values. This was achieved by the urban plans prepared by French protagonists under the leadership of Henri Prost. In addition, this process set the basis of the *Agence Prost*.

Numerous research of Jean Louis Cohen highlighted this modern urbanism by focusing the cities transformation and by analysing the prepared urban plans of the plans of Prost and other French urbanists in Morocco.²³ Moreover, as Gwendolyn Wright’s seminal book outlined “modern French urbanism for the colonial territories and the efforts to exercise control over the larger dependent populations, provided a model for metropolitan cities firstly in France but then in whole world”.²⁴ Helene Vacher highlighted the impact of the planning theory in Morocco led by Prost with a broader perspective focusing on many other protagonists.²⁵

The colonial urbanism program as a model highly introduced by the occasion of universal expositions. These actors found an international and meaningful occasion to meet and exchange of ideas with the International Colonial Exposition organized in Paris in 1931. Even though colonial expositions have been already organized in France since late 19th century, introducing an urbanism

²¹ Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca: Mythes et Figures d’une Aventure Urbaine* (Paris: Hazan, 2004).

²² Marechal Hubert Lyautey was the Resident-General, the responsible militaristic figure of the Moroccan French Protectorate. He played a significant role during the interwar period to provide the “pacification of colonies”. Apart from Morocco, he served in Algeria, Madagascar and Indochina. See one of the detailed biographies of Lyautey in Pierre Lyautey, *Lyautey l’Africain* (Paris: Plon, 1956). During his service in North Africa, he collaborated actively with Prost, so much so that, he later called as “urbanist” by many Beaux-Art architects in Albert Laprade, *Lyautey Urbaniste. Souvenirs d’un Témoin* (Paris: Horizons de France, 1934).

Postcolonial perspectives brought the critical discourses on Lyautey’s tendency in colonies. One of the very recent critics emerged in 2020. Reminding the consequences of Lyautey’s actions, and as a reflection of the raising anti-racist and anti-colonialist manifestations after the global Black Lives Matter protests, Lyautey’s statue at Les Invalides in Paris vandalized with red paint in Unknown, “Paris Statues of Voltaire and a Colonial-Era General Splashed with Red Paint,” *France24*, June 22, 2020, <https://www.france24.com/en/20200622-protesters-daub-paris-statues-of-voltaire-french-colonial-era-general-in-red-paint>.

²³ See chronologically his selected publications on the subject: Jean-Louis Cohen, “Henri Prost,” in *Dictionnaire de l’architecture Du XXe Siècle* (Paris: Institut français d’architecture, 1996). Cohen and Eleb, *Casablanca: Mythes et Figures d’une Aventure Urbaine*. Jean-Louis Cohen, Nabila Oulebsir, and Youcef Kanoun, *Alger. Paysage Urbain et Architectures, 1800-2000* (Besançon: Les Éd. de l’Imprimeur, 2003). Jean-Louis Cohen, *France: Modern Architectures in History / Jean-Louis Cohen*, *Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion books, 2015).

²⁴ Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*.

²⁵ Hélène Vacher, *Projection Coloniale et Ville Rationalisée : Le Rôle de l’espace Colonial Dans La Constitution de l’urbanisme En France, 1900-1931* (Aalborg University Press: Denmark, 1997).

approach of the colonial cities properly started in 1930s²⁶. In 1931, for the *Exposition Coloniale Internationale* in Paris feted the achievements of colonial policy in terms of modern urbanism approach of the period. Unlike former expositions, this one deeply focused urbanism theory in historic cities by organizing an international conference dedicated on this subject. Furthermore, the conference was organized by mainly protagonists of the *Agence Prost*, and was also a unique event of the period that brought all French protagonists together in a single place. Besides, the desire to disseminate their theory into an international atmosphere was another value.

Several authors focusing on this period have underlined the role of International Exhibitions as important sources for properly understanding ideas and debate and actors. Sylviane Leprun's seminal book outlines the position of the exposition of 1931 among other colonial expositions organized by France. In her book, she frames the sociological aspects of the exposition both for colonizer and colonized perspective.²⁷ Patricia Morton's research shows how contrastly Western and non-Western culture encountered in the exposition in terms of architectural representations through the architectural aspects of the pavilions.²⁸

Françoise Choay argues "after their colonial experiences, these actors turned their attention to non-colonial and non-Western countries". She also suggests that "their learnt theory from diverse cultures in colonies have helped to undertake planning processes in non-Western world".²⁹ At that point, the careers of *Agence Prost* met many times with the historic cities in Republican Turkey. After the WW1, the country struggled with the Independence War (1919-1923), and finally in 1923 it announced its independency and proclamation of Republic of Turkey under the leadership Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. It meant the collapse of Ottoman Empire and followed by many reforms against the sharia-based political order. In other words, the country has undergone a modernization process in every segment of the country by building a nation.³⁰

²⁶ The first colonial exposition was held at Lyon in 1894. Then in 1889 a colonial pavilion was settled in Universal Exposition in Paris. A year later International Congress of Colonial Sociology where it was discussed the changes on colonial policies. Afterhat, in 1906 another exposition was held in Marseille. This year the decision to organize the colonial expositions every 10 year in Marseille was made. However, due to the WW1 conditions, the second one was realized in 1922. Comite Français des Expositions Coloniales, *Cinquanteenaire du Comité français des expositions et du Comité national des expositions coloniales (1885-1935), décret du June 10, 1925*, Fond Auguste Bostsarron, Archive National, col. 20000012-1. Moreover, even so, in 1922, *L'exposition nationale coloniale de Marseille* consisted of a section represented Moroccan developments. However, the contents were mainly related with the individual buildings architectural designs, and quantitative analyzes of commercial financial statements, in Guide Officiel, Exposition Nationale Coloniale Marseille 1922, Imprimerie de la Societe du Petit Marseillais: Marseille, 1922.

²⁷ Sylviane Leprun, *Le Théâtre Des Colonies: Scénographie, Acteurs et Discours de l'imaginaire Dans Les Expositions, 1855-1937* (L'Hermattan, 1986).

²⁸ Patricia Morton, *Hybrid modernities: architecture and representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition*, Paris. Mit Press, 2000.

²⁹ Françoise Choay and Lauren M. O'Connell, *The Invention of the Historic Monument* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001). See also, Françoise Choay, *L'urbanisme Utopies et Réalités* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1965).

³⁰ Sibel Bozdogan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (University of Washington Press, 2001).

However, as Charles Taylor argues “non-Western countries in the nation-building process wanted to do what has already been done in the West. But they were aware that they could not directly imitate the practices of the West. This could not be a solution.”³¹ Therefore, it was inevitable for the Republicans to emphasize that this was not an imitation while explaining the aim of “reaching contemporary civilizations”. This was explained as a process of transmission of knowledge from Western countries and adopted according to newly founded Turkish Republican ideology. As many other revolutionary countries, architecture and urbanism were perceived as a tool to make visible the reforms. Besides, this was also a post-war recovery period. Therefore, the rebuilding and urban planning processes of many cities in Anatolia were not initiated sequentially, but in parallel.

However, due to the lack of knowledge on how to formulate a modern urbanism program, Republicans started to invite Western protagonists, mainly from German and French background. Sibel Bozdoğan frames a general perspective on the involvement of foreign architects to shaping Turkish architecture and historic cities.³² Esra Akcan’s book shows the presence of German-speaking architects in the first years of Turkey in terms of architectural aspects in their urban contexts.³³ However only a few studies were conducted on French presence in Turkey during these years. Cana Bilsel’s thesis shows Danger-Prost Plan of İzmir between 1922-1924³⁴. Bilsel and İpek Akpınar also worked on Prost’s İstanbul Plan in 1937 by examining general aspects of the urbanism program.³⁵ Ümit Fırat Açıkgöz’s study examines Danger Plan on Antioch and Alexandretta in 1936 while these cities were still under French protectorate.³⁶ In addition, a very recent study outlines the arrival of Leon Jaussely to participate the urban competition of Ankara in 1927.³⁷ The dense French

³¹ Charles Taylor, “Nationalism and Modernity,” in *Theorizing Nationalism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

³² Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*.

³³ Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (US: Duke University Press, 2012).

³⁴ Cana Bilsel, “Cultures et Fonctionnalité: Involution de La Morphologie Urbaine de La Ville de Izmir Aux XIX et XX Siècles, (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation)” (Univesity of Paris X-Nanterre, 1996).

³⁵ Cana Bilsel and Pierre Pinon, *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost’s Planning of İstanbul (1936 - 1951)* (İstanbul: Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation İstanbul Research Institute, 2010). İpek Akpınar, “The Rebuilding of İstanbul After the Plan of Henri Prost, 1937/1960: From Secularisation to Turkish Modernisation (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation)” (University College London, 2003).

³⁶ Ümit Fırat Açıkgöz, *A Case in French Colonial Politics of Architecture and Urbanism: Antioch and Alexandretta During the Mandate (Unpublished Master Thesis)* (Halle: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 2008). After the Independence War of Turkey, Lausanne Treaty was signed by Turkish Republic and diverse western countries. However, the question on political situation of Antioch and Alexandretta remained unresolved between French and Turkish government. Due to this reason, French ministry officer and responsible of Moroccan protectorate, Albert Sarraut, was assigned as the first French ambassador in Turkey. His main duty was to collaborate with Turkish government to sustain French presence in these cities. Antioch and Alexandretta gained their independence in 1939.

³⁷ The exhibition titled “The Conception of a Capital City: Jaussely’s Ankara” held between March 12, 2020 to September 27, 2020 highlights the general aspects of Jaussely’s proposal for urban competition of Ankara in 1927. The exhibition is a part of on-going research project conducted by Bilkent University, Ankara Municipality and Institut Français.

mobility during the first years of Republic was highly influenced the historic cities in Turkey. In other words, as presented in the timeline at the end of Introduction part of this thesis, the arrival of the *Agence Prost* in Turkey is not limited to metropolises, but extended to other cities. Moreover, these protagonists were invited by the municipalities for historic cities, in some cases only for consultancy, but in other cases they were appointed as chef urbanists and asked to prepare an urbanism program. While some of these programs and consultations have been implemented, some have remained non-realized.

The urban competition organized to plan İstanbul in 1933 after having lost its status as capital city presents a significant case study to understand the initial research question of the thesis. Henri Prost and Alfred Agache with German urbanist Hermann Elgötz were the receivers of the invitation to participate in the competition. However, pointing out his intense working schedule, Prost recommended his collaborator, Jacques Lambert to prepare a report on his behalf. The competition was not resulted and in 1936 Prost became the consultant of İstanbul Plan until 1950s.

Aim and scope

The purpose of the thesis is to contribute the studies on transmission of knowledge from Western based approach - or Eurocentric perspective - to non-Western territories with a postcolonial perspective. It mainly focuses on the consequences of this transmission in historic cities by concentrating the tangible and intangible values. Considering that this terminology and conceptualisation of cultural heritage emerged half a century after the chronology framed by the thesis (1910s-1950s), this research seeks to consider events and developments at that time but also discussing these developments under the perspective of current updated notion of cultural heritage and its theorisation. In 1972, *Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* adopted by UNESCO³⁸ contained main references to the description of tangible assets.³⁹ Almost two decades later, the mention of “tangible and intangible heritage” terminology in the *Nara Document on Authenticity* in 1994 is appeared with these words “All cultures and societies are rooted in the particular forms and means of tangibles and intangible expression which constitute their heritage, and these should be respected”.⁴⁰ From then the consideration of intangible values together with tangible values have increased and new layers have been specified. The presentation of these two concepts under the presentation of “cultural diversity” and “authenticity” is significant for this thesis main concern. More recently, *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* adopted by UNESCO in 2001 expressed that “the harmonious interaction of diverse societies living together creates cultural pluralism and this is conducive to cultural exchange and to the flourishing of creative capacities that sustain public life”.⁴¹ Two years later

³⁸ UNESCO, “Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” 1972.

³⁹ Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (England: Routledge, 2017).

⁴⁰ Article 7 in UNESCO, “Nara Document on Authenticity,” 1994.

⁴¹ Article 2 entitled “From cultural diversity to cultural pluralism” in UNESCO, “Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity,” 2001.

Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was adopted by UNESCO, and the terminology and contents of ‘‘Intangible Heritage’’ were described.⁴²

Within the scope of the thesis, the interpenetration of ‘‘tangible and intangible heritage’’ and ‘‘cultural diversity’’ is especially significant in two folds: On the one hand, considering that these definitions emerged in the postcolonial framework after the period in which the thesis focused, they provide the basis for establishing a critical perspective in international standards. On the other hand, such definitions ensure a broader perspective for this research that examines the impact of heritage in lands where Western and non-Western encounter in the urban areas with characterization of cultural diversity. We also need to take into account that the standards with their identifications and definitions represent the achievements of long lasting processes.

In addition, French philosopher Bruno Latour describes the actor-network-theory trilogy as ‘‘nothing can be understood without knowing the relationship of actors. Because, everything is linked to each other, and relationships form the fundamental logic of natural or man-made developments’’.⁴³ Moreover, in a recent publication Giorgio Piccinato underlines how the involved actors may set the boundaries of urban history or in which way they may affect the characterization of historic cities as a part of urban heritage.⁴⁴ As Rosa Tamborrino’s book ‘‘*Scritti: Le Corbusier*’’ demonstrates, pioneer architects have always developed their theories under the influence of different actors and they have worked in interaction with a working team. The interactions with their clients need also to be better included in considering the design/planning process for achievements that are not only just the work of a creator. This working atmosphere creates an ‘‘*Agence*’’ that gathers different areas of expertise, point of views and approaches at one point. In many cases, the role of actors overlaps and create a plural history. This affects the implementation ways, results, action criteria, process and perspectives in local and international lenses. In other words, the decisions made by ‘‘*Agence*’’ impact on heritage characteristics of historic cities and urban environments as well as tangible and intangible values.⁴⁵ In addition, the interactions and impact between the *Agence*’s actors and various local stakeholders are also present a wide and

⁴² Article 2 in UNESCO, ‘‘Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage,’’ 2003.

⁴³ Bruno Latour, ‘‘On Actor-Network Theory. A Few Clarifications, plus More than a Few Complications,’’ *Philosophical Literary Journal Logos* 1, no. 27 (2017): 173–97. See also, Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁴⁴ Giorgio Piccinato, ‘‘How Many Histories. Notes on the Tradition of Urban History and the Reasons That Force Us to Change – Changing Windows upon the City,’’ in *Windows Upon Planning History* (Routledge, 2018).

⁴⁵ Rosa Tamborrino, *Scritti: Le Corbusier* (Torino: Einaudi, 2003). In her book, she highlights the collaborators, working method and influencers of Le Corbusier based on writings, letters, correspondences and professional activities gathered from the personal archive of Le Corbusier.

See also her article that reveals the place of women in the division of gender roles under the architectural projects, companies and working teams’ concept in Rosa Tamborrino, ‘‘Collecting & Linking Creative Culture of Women: Women Designers and Women Clients for Another History,’’ in *Women “as Subjects”. Documentation, Methodology, Interpretation and Enhancement* (MoMoWo: Women’s creativity since the Modern Movement, Ljubljana: France Setele Institute of Art History, 2018).

significant research area. In this research, the actors – architects, urbanists but also politics and locals - who transmit the ideas play significant roles. This thesis aims to take into account and survey more specifically the relationships between the general approach with its modernization notion and the local cultures where it was experienced. In particular, the thesis focuses on the policies and actions on the matter of historic urban regions and their impact on heritage perceiving in local areas. It argues that there is a need to better identifying and understanding on the impact of local reactions during the decision making process. Therefore, the research asks two essential questions: 1) While the decisions conveyed through a single person affect the cultural heritage, how did the relationship between the actors affect the final decision in the decision-making process? 2) How did the reaction of local actors affect the urban planning process carried out by foreign actors and affecting the historic city?

In this aim this research especially analyses Western approach in Mediterranean region concentrating on the French protagonists by tracing Henri Prost's path. The reasons of interventions on non-Western countries were varied. However, this thesis focus on two essential points: colonialism and post-war modernization process. In other words, the thesis uses a range of test sites, both colonies and non-colonies under a strong Western influence at the beginnings of 20th century. In particular, it considers that Henri Prost wasn't working as an isolated architect. This fact reveals a need of discussing the plural perspectives on development of projects, plans and approach to cultural heritage. Moreover, his career in Mediterranean cities - starting from Paris, passing through North Africa and arriving to Turkey - provides the opportunity to tackle various case studies in different political structures in non-Western territories. Beyond monographic approaches of a single protagonist, this thesis considers the need to take into account these plural perspectives by focusing also on multiple historic cities. By doing so, the vital objective is to understand history of cities through conducting a scientific research on history of architects. Moreover, such a purpose is considered to contribute to the field of urban history.

Methodology

Writing a doctoral thesis, undertaking a research, reaching to the original archival documents for a proper historic and scientific research have been challenging under the COVID-19 circumstances. However, despite the limited access in archives, libraries, and vis a vis discussion with scholars, the methodology was outlined based on diverse archival researches conducted both in Turkey and France. In addition, the spatialization of these data, cities and actors, allows to understand the quantitative dimension and its articulation.

Digital Humanities offers novel and innovative ways to reach a scientific historical research by providing technological ways to integrate, interrogate and interpret the historical data.⁴⁶ This offer strongly helps to develop my postcolonial research by its opening an innovative way for organization and understanding the historical data. Under this framework, in this thesis, besides historical photographs and iconography, many visualizations produced by the author for this research with digital tools were also used. Among other ways, the Geographic Information System (GIS) provides a versatile solution to respond the needs of a researcher who deals multi-layered historic areas by combining the various kind of data, especially focusing on physical space and related intangible features. By its database system that easier the classification and organization data in different attributes, it also ensures the scientific continuation of conducted research for future analysis⁴⁷.

Under this framework, within this research this methodology was selected to deal with the multiple historic cities, diverse actors, historical breaking points and changes that affects the cultural heritage of studied areas. Q-GIS was used as the main digital cross-platform considering its user-friendly interface, and working system. In this way, spatialization of georeferenced data was achieved by overlapping the different historical cartographies belonging a defined chronology of this research. Moreover, the organization of attributes made by determined interrogations in order to seek for a scientific answer of the main research questions of the thesis presented in previous section.

These research questions open many relevant sub-curiosities to seek for a scientific response. This opening structures the outline of the research. The outline

⁴⁶ Rosa Tamborrino, *Digital Urban History: Telling the History of the City in the Age of the ICT Revolution* (Roma: Croma, 2014). In her book, Rosa Tamborrino outlines the utility of this offer for historical research in complex, small/large-scale urban areas and multi-layered historical cities. She also underlines the positive effect of the historical narrative / storytelling produced by this method on the public awareness of cultural heritage. For instance, see her research that adopts these technologies to understand the history and to reveal the lost character of Nubian Villages in Egypt in Rosa Tamborrino and Willike Wendrich, "Cultural Heritage in Context: The Temples of Nubia, Digital Technologies and the Future of Conservation," *Journal of the Institute of Conservation* 40, no. 2 (2017): 168–82.

⁴⁷ To have a broader reading how this technologies might be adopted by using different kind of historical cartography see Maurizio Gribaudo, Julien Perret, and Marc Barthelemy, "Roads and Cities of 18th Century France," *Nature, Scientific Data*, no. 2 (2015). and Bertrand Dumenieu, Nathalie Abadie, and Julien Perret, "Assessing the Planimetric Accuracy of Paris Atlases from the Late 18th and 19th Centuries," in *Proceedings of the 33rd Annual ACM Symposium on Applied Computing*, 2018.

is made up of four parts, and each chapter begins with a brief introduction to set out the content and purpose of the argument that follows it.

The thesis frames a specific area of the French urbanism by focusing on Mediterranean countries. Considering the perspective that colonies are ‘‘laboratories’’,⁴⁸ the first especially focuses on the introductory themes to argue the achievements of French protagonists in colonies. It analyzes colonial urban planning experience as a testing area where the French protagonists examined their formula and where they encountered with cultural diversity for a first time. This provides a fundamental understanding to further develop of the outline of thesis. Moreover, it concentrates on North Africa, as the first steps in the formation of *Agence Prost* were taken in and ask how the network of Prost were involved in the urban planning process. In addition, it questions whether their decisions have changed depending on the reaction of the local community, and if yes, it analyzes how this is reflected in heritage-related decisions under the urbanism criteria.

The second chapter presents the International Colonial Exposition of Paris organized in 1931. It was a unique event of the period that brought all French protagonists together in a single place. Therefore, it allows a specific research opportunity to survey actors, perspectives and exchange of knowledge. The contents of the exposition have been studied extensively.⁴⁹ However, diversely from others, this thesis aims to examine the way of the historic city representation. Therefore, the second chapter especially asks how ‘‘urbanism’’ was classified by using the exposition catalog as an interpretation key. The answers of these questions are researched on the basis of documents mainly from *Archive Nationale de France*, *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, and *Bibliothèque Administrative de la Ville de Paris*. In addition, this chapter frames the role of the *Agence Prost* in this representational arena, and it questions how they shaped their approach for future destinations.

The future destination of many French protagonists was Turkey. As seen in the chronology at the end of Introduction part of the thesis, five actors are outstanding. Moreover, in many cases their plural contribution on the urban history of Turkey are overlapped. This creates a challenging aspect to investigate the actors, their network and the implemented approach on historic cities. Therefore, third chapter targets to highlight these relationship and destinations by analysing the impact of actors on the modernization process of country. By doing so, it analyses the formation of legal framework, the reaction of local authorities. Moreover, considering that in such a political change, the perception of cultural heritage may change and history may be rewritten, it questions the decisions of these actors on

⁴⁸ Vacher, *Projection Coloniale et Ville Rationalisée : Le Rôle de l'espace Colonial Dans La Constitution de l'urbanisme En France, 1900-1931*. Cohen and Eleb, *Casablanca: Mythes et Figures d'une Aventure Urbaine*.

⁴⁹ Patricia Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris* (MIT Press, 2000). See also, Laure Blévis et al., *Les Étrangers Au Temps de l'Exposition Coloniale* (Paris: Gallimard: Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration, 2008). Rebecca Peabody, Steven Nelson, and Dominic Thomas, *Visualizing Empire: Africa, Europe, and the Politics of Representation* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2021).

this issue. Furthermore, it examines how the conducted approach was diverse from their former colonial experiences. The archival research conducted in Turkish Republic State Archive (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti - Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi*), Association of Turkish History (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*), and French Institute of Anatolian Studies (*Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes*) provided a range of documents to investigate this challenging part of the thesis.

As seen in the chronology, Lambert's mobility touched more cities than other French protagonists. However, İstanbul planning process enables the combination of three diverse perspectives of French protagonist in the same urban environment. The multi-layered and multi-cultural character of the city with its long-term urban history provides another challenging aspect for this thesis. Therefore, the forth chapter tackles İstanbul planning process led by Henri Prost as a case study. There are already studies that analyses Prost's İstanbul Plan, as only his plan has been realized among others.⁵⁰ However, a research focuses on non-realized urbanism programs of Agache and Lambert is missing. In particular, recalling the initial question of this thesis, which examines the joint impact of different actors on historic cities, the preliminary report prepared by Lambert as Prost's assistant offers a meaningful study topic. Positioning these circumstances, this chapter highlights the relationships of Prost with diverse actors consists of French and Turkish architects. In addition, it examines the submitted programs of Agache, Lambert and Prost after drawing the background of their relationships to arrive in İstanbul. Considering the motivation of Lambert's arrival on behalf of Prost, this chapter deeply concentrates his proposal and compares the proposed approach to implemented plan based on the documents gathered from the archives presented in the previous chapter and the Archive of Istanbul Municipality (*İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Arşivi*). In addition, the propaganda of the new political structure and the reforms made in the modernization process was made through the newspapers established by the state. Therefore, the used materials of this part frames a series of newspaper articles, in particular, to reveal the relationship of actors and the reaction of local authorities.

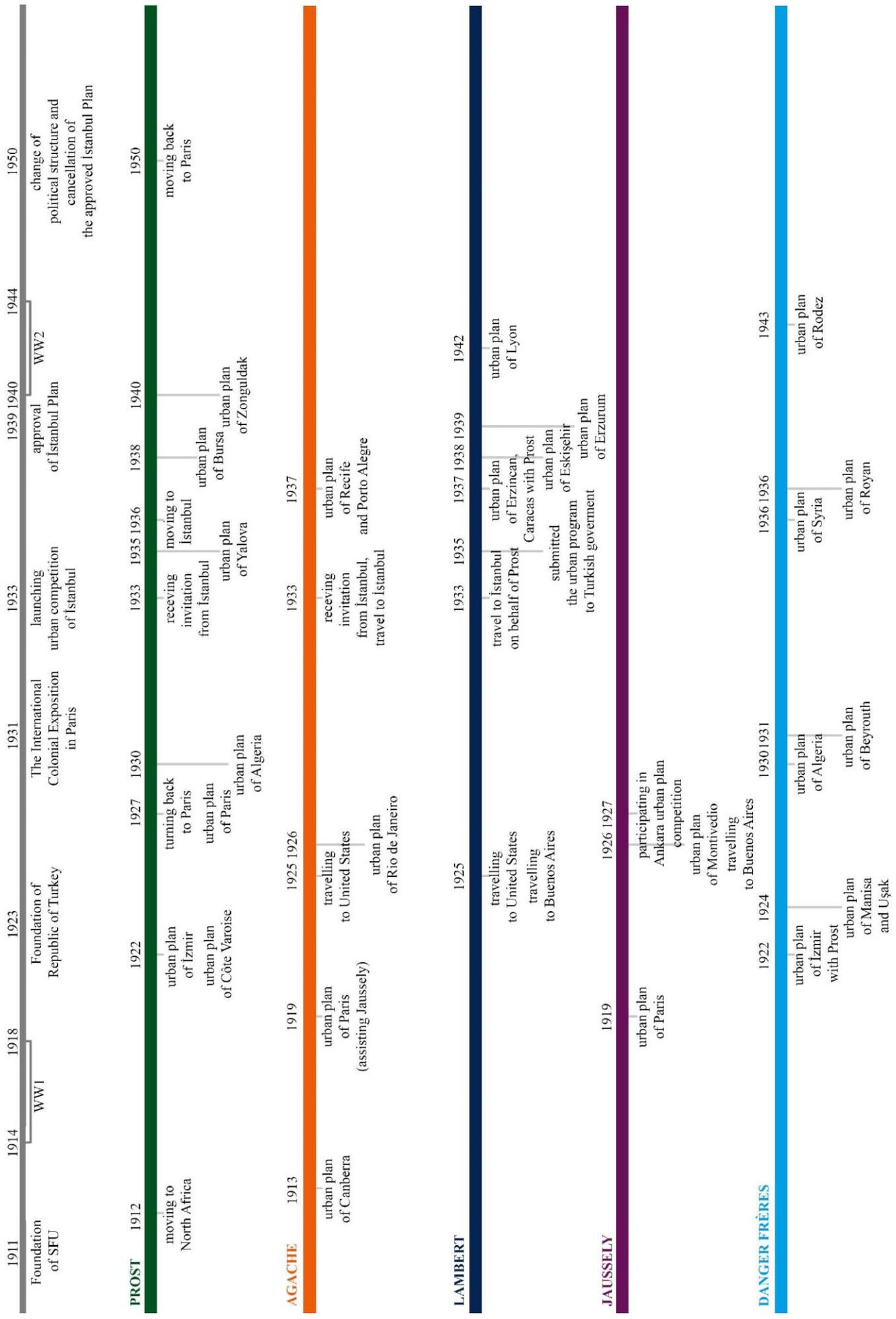
Lastly, the thesis concludes by arguing the legacy of presented actors on non-Western countries in Mediterranean region. It bears to understand how the historic cities have physically and culturally changed under the policies led by *Agence Prost*, and how these policies impacted on the legal framework from North Africa to Turkey. Moreover, pointing out the diverse political structures of two regions, it discusses how the encounter of imported ideas and local reactions affects heritage-related decisions.

⁵⁰ Bilsel and Pinon, *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul (1936 - 1951)*. İpek Akpınar, "The Rebuilding of İstanbul Revisited: Foreign Planners in the Early Republican Years," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 50 (2014).

Chronology

The thesis frames a chronology at the beginning of 20th century, in particular from 1910s to 1950s. The selection of this range was made based on several reasons. Firstly, underlining one of the main keywords of the research, the start of the chronology was considered the period when the SFU was founded. However, although it was established in 1911, the chronology was not strictly limited to frame a broader perspective. Secondly, considering the *Agence Prost's* mission in non-Western Mediterranean territories was concluded in 1950s, the chronology was terminated in this period. Thirdly, the 40 years cover between the start and end of the chronology covers several historical breaking points such as WW1 and WW2, and the results of this interwar period such as the foundation of Republic of Turkey.

In the chronology represented at the next page, the breaking points of the thesis and the mobility, urban plans and events belonging to the main five actors of the research was depicted. The creation of the confrontation of this parallel chronology was challenging. The existing literature remained limited to define the precise ‘space and times’ of the actors. However, the archival researched revealed during this thesis have helped to reach a complete chronology.



Sources

The thesis collected various primary historical sources and archival documents in particular Turkish and French contexts. These collections were integrated to the seminal researches developed by scholars, recent debates raised under postcolonial theory and taking place in Francophone, Anglo-Saxon and Italian-speaking, Turkish-speaking literature. All the materials were studied to contribute to the urban history studies combining the history of cities and history of architects.

To respond the aim of the thesis, the bibliography presents the primary sources of writings, articles, books, correspondences and letters written by *Agence Prost*'s and local authorities where they worked. According to thesis outline, these sources studied in a chronological order. This not only served to focus on the parallel stories, but also provided a sequential reading that helped to critically compare the developments. Considering the geographical framework and the fundamental aim of the research, the sources describing the actors' approaches in non-European regions were selected.

This research touches on the period when the Western perspective and approach to the non-Western started to be shifted. In the first place, the particular attention paid the formation of *Agence Prost*. In Chapter 1, the primary sources such as *Services de La Santé et de l'hygiène Publiques* published in 1902, but also many journals and articles published in 1910s helped to understand the role of *Agence Prost* in the *Conseil Supérieur d'Hygiène du Protectorat* during the Moroccan mission. In this part, another fundamental source was Henri Prost's first and last published book *L'urbanisme au Point de vue Technique et au Point de vue Administratif*. The fact that it was published in 1927 – when Prost finalized his North African mission and turned back to France – offered a way of comparison to his developed urbanism approach. Without doubt, the two volume of *L'Urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays tropicaux. Communications et rapports du congrès international de l'urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays de latitude intertropicale réunis et présentés* set the basis to understand non-Western perception and actions of the actors based on their writings. In this sense each volume of *Urbanism* journal organized and published by SFU members had also essential role. All the sources mentioned above helped to understand the impact of urbanism decision on local heritage in the following part of the thesis.

In Chapter 2, other than literature review and consultation of above mentioned fundamental primary sources, the *Rapport general: Exposition coloniale internationale de 1931* prepared by organization committee of the exposition in 7 volumes were mainly analyzed. In accordance with the objective of this chapter, the particular attention was concentrated on the representation of colonial historic cities and the integration of urbanism in the exposition catalog as 'art coloniale'. To achieve these aims the archival documents *Règlements general pour l'exposition colonial internationale de 1931 à Paris* and *Organisation, 3 juillet 1923-10 mars 1931* set the basis of this parts' research. Moreover, many historical photos gathered from *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* and *Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris* provided the complementary research part of this chapter.

The Chapter 3 combined the primary sources written by *Agence Prost* members regarding the Anatolian cities and the archival documents gathered from local contexts. The meeting report presented in *Les Cahiers du Musée social* and *Musée Social revue mensuelle* and several articles published by French protagonists' in various journals helped to understand French urbanists' perception in many historic cities in Anatolia. Furthermore, the research focused on Turkish articles written by local architects in newly-founded journal and newspapers, and parliamentary speeches given by local political figures have helped to understand the local reaction and perspective on Western protagonists' approaches. It should be underlined that the consulted journals and newspapers in Turkish context were started to be published aiming the raise public awareness on the on-going urban developments, social and political changes. Moreover, considering that urban developments were a frequently mentioned subject under political agenda made the parliamentary speeches significant for the objectives of this thesis.

The last chapter of the thesis focusing on İstanbul case and three main French protagonist were mainly based on the archival research conducted in local context. However, as in the previous chapter, the investigation of how the local reactions to the decisions of the French actors were reflected in the mentioned above newspapers and how they were perceived by the local authorities covered an important place in this chapter. Moreover, the comparison of these local reactions with the urban programs gathered from *Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes* have helped to critically analyzed the impact of the decisions on local heritage values. Henri Prost's nine-volume report *Les Transformation d'Istanbul* was the fundamental part of the research. Although the first two volumes of the report were extensively analyzed by Pierre Pinon and Cana Bilsel, this research also concentrated on other volumes in particular, *Tome V: Corne d'Or* and *Tome VII: Vieil İstanbul*. In addition, the letters in *Notes et Correspondance de Henri Prost* were revealed during this research. Without doubt, another crucial exploration of this research was the first study in the literature on *Rapport de Mission d'Urbanisme İstanbul Juin-Juillet 1933, Paris Octobre-Novembre-Décembre 1933* prepared by Jacques Lambert and sent to Turkish Government. During this research period, firstly a part of the report was founded in the archive of IFEA. After that, as a result of the archival research conducted in Turkish Republic State Archive, other pieces of the report were collected, and the complete report was revealed with letters of Lambert. These documents set the basis on the comparison of actors' heritage perspectives. However, the results of this comparison was not limited with reaching an understanding on *Agence Prost's* approach. This helped to seek an answer of the main research questions of the thesis. In other words, the integration of these documents to the research on local authorities' perception and reaction have helped to understand the impact on heritage under different cultural, political and social atmospheres.