

T.C.

MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

SİYASET BİLİMİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER BİLİM DALI

**SPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN EARLY REPUBLICAN
ANKARA AND THEIR ORIGINS**

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

SEFA ÖZTÜRK

İstanbul, 2014

T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
SİYASET BİLİMİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER BİLİM DALI

**SPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN EARLY REPUBLICAN
ANKARA AND THEIR ORIGINS**

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

SEFA ÖZTÜRK

Danışman: PROF. DR. AHMET DEMİREL

İstanbul, 2014



T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

TEZ ONAY BELGESİ

SİYASET BİLİMİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER Anabilim Dalı
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER (İNGİLİZCE) Bilim Dalı TEZLİ YÜKSEK LİSANS öğrencisi
SEFA ÖZTÜRK'nın SPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN EARLY REPUBLICAN
ANKARA AND THEIR ORIGINS adlı tez çalışması, Enstitümüz Yönetim Kurulunun
24.06.2014 tarih ve 2014-23/11 sayılı kararıyla oluşturulan jüri tarafından oy birliği / ~~oy çokluğu~~
ile Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Tez Savunma Tarihi4.....7.....2014.....

Öğretim Üyesi Adı Soyadı

İmzası

1.	Tez Danışmanı	Prof. Dr. AHMET DEMİREL	
2.	Jüri Üyesi	Doç. Dr. YÜKSEL TAŞKIN	
3.	Jüri Üyesi	Prof. Dr. FÜSUN ÜSTEL	

GENEL BİLGİLER

İsim ve Soyadı : Sefa Öztürk
Anabilim Dalı : Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler
Programı : Uluslararası İlişkiler
Tez Danışmanı : Prof. Dr. Ahmet Demirel
Tez Türü ve Tarihi : Yüksek Lisans – Temmuz 2014
Anahtar Kelimeler : Ankara, Geç Osmanlı Dönemi, Tanzimat, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi, Mekan Politik, Mekansal Dönüşümler, Disiplin, Grid, Belediyecilik, Jansen Planı

ÖZET

ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ ANKARASI'NDA MEKANSAL DÖNÜŞÜMLER VE KÖKENLERİ

Bu çalışmanın amacı Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi mekansal dönüşümlerini Ankara özelinde, tarihsel bağlamı çerçevesinde analiz etmek ve bu dönüşümleri politik olarak anlamlandırmaya çalışmaktır. Mekansal dönüşümler Türkiye modernleşmesinin bir parçasıdır. Bu dönüşümler, modern devletin ortaya çıkışının somut olarak izlenebileceği bir araştırma alanı olarak, yaklaşık yüzyıl boyunca Osmanlı-Türkiye coğrafyasında tecrübe edilmiştir. Mekan ve politikanın kesiştiği alan modern devletin kurulumu sürecidir. Modern devlet 19.yy'da modern belediyeciliği üretmiştir. 19. yy Osmanlı reform döneminde ortaya çıkan belediyecilik kurumu ve bununla ilgili mevzuat mekansal dönüşümleri yürüten rejimdir. Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde mekansal dönüşümler bu rejim eliyle yürütülmüştür. Bu bağlamda başkent seçilmesinin ardından Ankara'nın rasyonel hatlara göre planlanması aynı zamanda çözümlenebilecek bir siyasi projeyi sunmaktadır.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Name and Surname : Sefa Öztürk

Field : Political Science and International Relations

Programme : International Relations

Supervisor : Professor Ahmet Demirel

Degree Awarded and Date : Master – July 2014

Keywords : Ankara, Late Ottoman Period, Tanzimat, Early Republican Period, Space Politics, Spatial Transformations, Discipline, Grid, Municipalism, Jansen Plan

ABSTRACT

SPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN EARLY REPUBLICAN ANKARA AND THEIR ORIGINS

This study aims an analysis of Early Republican Period spatial transformations in the case of Ankara within the framework of its historical context and attempts to explain their political meanings. Spatial transformations are a part of Turkey's modernization. As a research area by focusing on spatial transformations that had been experienced throughout a century, the process of formation of modern state can be followed. The intersection point of space and politics is the formation of the modern state. The Modern state produced the modern municipalism in 19th century. The institution of municipalism that emerged in the 19th century Ottoman reform period, and the related statute is the governing regime of spatial transformations. In the Early Republican Period this regime governed the spatial transformations. In this context, after its selection as a capital, the planning of Ankara according to rational patterns also presents a political project that can be analyzed.

FOREWORD

Since the foundations of modern Turkey were laid during that era the early republican period has been a very important research area. The spatial transformations occurred throughout that period paved the way towards contemporary space. It was the deriving point of today's geometrical living space of human being. In this study I tried to explain spatial regulations in that period while questioning some dominant assumptions in the field on space and politics. In that respect I try to go back further to the beginning of Turkey's modernization and seek to focus on emergence process of legal texts that intervene and design traditional space.

While researching and writing, I sometimes spent days for a single reference, in addition I read the whole text countless times in order to be sure about the main argument and supporting context. I've learnt again the huge labor requirement, sacrifice and difficulty of writing a just academic text. Therefore I hereby pay my respects to seniors, the *doctors* and researchers of the past who opened a road to learn, challenge, explain and criticize with their efforts. And like the ones before me, I hope my work becomes a helpful text for my colleagues and next generations.

İstanbul, 2014

Sefa ÖZTÜRK

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	2
INTRODUCTION	3
 CHAPTER I	
GENESIS OF MUNICIPALISM AS A DISCIPLINARY TECHNIQUE DURING	
“NEW ORDER” IN OTTOMAN EMPIRE	12
Disciplinary Society and Governmentality as an Attempt of Explanation	12
Nizam-ı Cedid and New Army as a Model	19
Architecture of Barracks	34
From Military Discipline to Disciplinary Urban Space	39
Establishment of the Order of Roads and Buildings	45
Grid Planned Space Around Imperial Territory	59
 CHAPTER II	
SPACE POLITIC, PLANNING AND MUNICIPALISM IN THE EARLY	
REPUBLICAN PERIOD	70
Impetus for Ankara’s Becoming The Capital and Its Construction	72
Establishment of Municipality: Lörcher Plan and State Backed Planning	80
Ankara Directorate of Construction Affairs and Jansen Plan	86
Planning in Anatolian Cities and Villages	94
Bio Political Codification on Space in 1930s	104
Architects As Binding Figures	112
CONCLUSION	126
BIBLIOGRAPHY	132

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Figure 1: Nizam ı Cedid Soldier's orders in Raif Efendi's book in French.</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>Figure 2: The Movement array of Ottoman soldiers according to orders in Raif Efendi's book.</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>Figure 3: 18th century fortress drawing in Raif Efendi's book.</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>Figure 4: Military camp formation.....</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>Figure 5: First municipal map of İstanbul drawn by Moltke.....</i>	<i>43</i>
<i>Figure 6: Haussman's renovation of Paris.</i>	<i>53</i>
<i>Figure 7: Sections of İstanbul showing before and after Aksaray-Hocapaşa fires in the mid 19th century.</i>	<i>63</i>
<i>Figure 8: Thessaloniki 1880.</i>	<i>64</i>
<i>Figure 9: Thessaloniki, 1890.</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>Figure 10: İzmir, 1854.....</i>	<i>66</i>
<i>Figure 11: İzmir, 1885.....</i>	<i>66</i>
<i>Figure 12: Lörcher Plan.....</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>Figure 13: Burhan Arif's Ideal City.</i>	<i>87</i>
<i>Figure 14: Jansen Plan.</i>	<i>92</i>
<i>Figure 15: The village according to ordinance.</i>	<i>95</i>
<i>Figure 16: The ideal village according to Architect Burhan Arif.....</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Figure 17: Kazım Dirik's "Ideal Republic Village" fitting into the utilitarianist design by Bentham.</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Figure 18: Manisa in the mid 19th century.</i>	<i>99</i>
<i>Figure 19: Manisa after the execution of the plan.....</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Figure 20: Atça Plan (radial dashed lines on dead-end street dominated old pattern).....</i>	<i>102</i>
<i>Figure 21: Urban regulations in Kayseri, "Çaylak Plan".</i>	<i>103</i>
<i>Figure 22: A drawing that gives comparative measures of body and space.....</i>	<i>121</i>
<i>Figure 23: İsmail Hakkı Bey's house in Ankara as an example of widespread cubic architecture in the period.....</i>	<i>123</i>

INTRODUCTION

Studying space is a trending research topic in Turkey that can be considered as a parallel process to the global academic tendencies. The relation between space and power contains many research questions with respect to the analysis of power and space in history and their gradual transformations in the context of modernization.

The analysis of space and power presents questions worth problematizing and research topics in the context of Turkey's modernization. There were historical moments in Turkey's history when in those moments the relation between power and space became more visible. These historical moments presents examples that were to be analysed with respect to the space politics for a clear comprehension of spatial transformations. Ankara's spatial transformations during the Early Republican Period can be considered as the most important historical moment in this regard.

The issue of Ankara's selection, planning and construction as a capital during Early Republican Period hold many potential research topics within which can be examined with various approaches, focusing on various points. In terms of the enormous quantity of historical resources this rich research topic might shed light to Turkey's 20th century modernization process from a different dimension. Many actors that became monumental in later era, emerged in Early Republican Period that was mostly two decades.

Any issue that can be focused on in this rich research area, with its before, development process and after and with its explanations, which is related to this period would help to understand power and politics in modern Turkey. Until now many study that has focused on this period helped to achieve the task of building a credible historical perception that is based on historical facts against the challenge of contemporary political tensions that distort the accurate historical perspective.

The stage, or the space of the political activity in Early Republican period was Ankara, in other words Ankara was the theme behind the political developments, tensions, breaking points of the Early Republican period. Beginning with the selection

of Ankara as capital, the preparation and transformation of this political stage raises intellectual curiosity. Therefore, while reading the studies focused on Early Republican Period, Ankara has always been in the background and its own story was there to be examined.

In that context the reflection of the young republic on Ankara during the Early Republican Period emerges as a question that can be possibly asked, and systematically problematized. The republic asserted itself as a bringer of new order that can be followed through the official history texts published in the light of this idea. What the republic brought new to the space is a valid and challenging question in this regard.

The new questions that might come to mind after that would be if there was a new spatial vision and this study claims yes there was, by which tools this vision was reflected on space, and secondly whether those tools were unique to that period or not. In other words were the tools that made spatial transformations possible invented in this period or did they have a history in similar context. In order to open up and put together the questions; by how and which tools the young republic executed its spatial vision in Ankara and Anatolian geography? Secondly; did the tools used by the republic which asserted itself as the constructor of a new order and which rejects the past, for spatial transformations have a past?

The selection and construction of the capital can be analysed by focusing on the policies of the new state on space. The process of transformation from a small town to a national capital, and resolving its emerging problems might give clues about the ongoing political life. On the other hand, the analysis should not be confined to the politics around state. Another dimension of spatial transformations is about the civilian buildings and most commonly the houses. Therefore while examining the spatial transformations of Ankara a study must try to follow not merely state initiatives but also examine the transformations executed by non-state units. In other words a study should draw a frame that includes other actors as well as state initiatives.

Another aspect while making an attempt of analysing the spatial transformations which ought to be touched upon is the question of accurate

interpretation that can be formulated as in which context it becomes meaningful in terms of the topic. There could be different interpretations and each of them might explore a dimension of the issue. Again, in order to fully understand the issue it could be necessary to follow various interpretations. Hence this study does not claim that it explored the truth on space, rather there is no single truth in space rather it prudently claims there could be other explanations.

A review of resources on spatial issues belonging to the Early Republican Period reveals that some writings containing political arguments, published in newspapers, journals and also in official documents were not considered as valuable for political analysis as they were considered merely technical. This tendency took place in a setting which was partially depoliticized debates of the single party period. When dealt together with the discourse in the publications of high politics, considering some resources as technical texts as depolitical might lead to some problems in explaining spatial transformations.

A philosophy looking for the ways to create the ideal citizen fictionalizes and reflects its approach to the space where subject operates in accordance with its aims. A wave of rationalization in space during 1920s and 30s, appears in the discourse which rationalizes the spatial interventions. After beginning to read on Early Republican spatial transformation, one might think of doing a study discussing the issue limited only in this period. On the other hand, as the question of origin raise intellectual curiosity, a method of exploring this space politic transformations can be going past of the issue. The past can be traced back to the Ottoman Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries and the distribution of power network around the new state mechanism.

Today, as Foucault's argument on the interpretation of modern institutions suggests, they present themselves as neutral suprahistorical within a humanist framework. Hence, problem arises when issues in which these institutions are involved or within their context are analysed. This problem's cause might be the lack of an "archeological" examination, which can be explained as following the development process of the institution by revealing the themes in statutes that these institutions are legally based on. In that sense focusing on the 19th century Istanbul as the past operating

space of the Early Republican institutions might give some answers with respect to the Early Republican Ankara's spatial transformations.

An analysis on space must include references to Turkey's modernization, since it develops in the context of this huge issue in order to avoid being single dimensional. It can be said that there are two views on Turkey's modernization that first view points out the dramatic break from Ottoman to the modern Turkey while the second view points out the continuation from late Ottoman period to the modern Turkey. The position of this study is the second view. Therefore it interprets the issue and Turkey's modernization process in general with a continuation perspective.

Since it was an entire period, it would be inaccurate to reference specific historical events and resources of Turkey's modernization by taking these historical events apart from their context. That is to say, a historical moment is meaningful when it is related to the historical context, and this study suggests that analysing the spatial transformations inevitably makes analysing the context necessary. Consequently, as a beginning moment, considering spatial transformations together with 18th-19th century army reforms becomes crucial as this studies deeper look interprets spatial reforms as part of military reforms. Understanding the spatial regime's, that governs spatial transformations, links to the military would help one to understand the Early Republican space - politic.

The path – breaking transformations in 19th century Ottoman Empire might constitute a conceptual frame that can be used for evaluating Ankara's spatial transformations. For instance, with its before and formation process, the emergence of modern municipality system as a governmental institution in the 19th century will give clues about how and why Ankara's space were regulated and ordered. Later, a gradual transformation towards rationalization took place in cities, this would present data about in which direction the rationalization of Ankara's space continued.

The emergence of important regimes on space and military reforms in the same period with similar techniques was not a coincidence. As an attempt if one focused on the characteristics of these spatial regimes, the similar patterns to the military reforms in

terms of interventionism and disciplinary techniques would be seen. The picture might become clearer when a study follow and evaluate the development of both military and spatial discipline together by scanning and comparing the statute.

Following the establishment of peace and declaration of the Republic of Turkey after a series of long-lasting battles in the 1920s, the young state took action in terms of widespread public improvement, planning, and landscaping mainly in Ankara and Anatolia. Similar inclinations of the empire during the Tanzimat Era and the young republic during the Early Republican Period raise intellectual curiosity. In this context, interpenetrating process of the military reforms and the development of municipal regime suggests that in order to make a comprehensive analysis of space, the relation to military reforms should be referred. After long and destructive wars, the new state's disciplinary approach to the space and tendency to assess military issues combined with space during Early Republican Period are again similar to the 19th century processes.

For 19th century Ottoman Empire and Early Republican Ankara, as pointing out a continuity and similarity, some deeper questions arises on at which, with what purpose and discourse the sovereign regarded constructing sewerage systems, building wide roads “that one end of which can be seen from the other”, determining exact dates and hours for garbage collection as ordinary activities and started to perform these operations as part of making space rational. This historical development includes some issues worth problematizing. The issue that is problematized here is the power in space that has been normalized by municipalism: why did the risk and problem concerns of the sovereign lead to a systematic and detailed intervention in the 19th century and constructing in accordance with *reason and logic*? Where is the modern spatial patterns derived from? Can the intervention in cities by sovereign be explained by the argument that the sovereign makes itself distinct in a new shape? Was there a big break in the transformation from the Ottomans to the republic? Why did modern municipality emerge with the institution of municipality along with the supporting discourse of *responsibility and service*? What were the reasons behind Ankara's selection as a capital city, and how the urban planning after this selection can be defined with respect to

representation or *western image* ? Did these transformations focus on single point or did they aim a diffusion on whole territory?

While dealing with the questions, spatial transformations in Turkey will be discussed in genealogical methodology. The discussion will cover the transformation from the Ottoman Empire military reforms to the republican space planning by presenting *layihas*, ordinances - official resources such as orders (nizamname), edicts, and TBMM minutes - semi-official resources, space political discourses of Early Republican Period, journals and drawings. Trying to draw a historical picture that might be the context of Early Republican spatial transformations is the priority of this study.

Resources this study presents can be divided into two groups: resources on practice and resources on discourse. Resources supporting this work's main arguments in terms of practice were mentioned with references to authoritative and official texts such as edicts, orders, laws, ordinances, minutes and regulations. Besides, plans showing the transformation of the city space were also referenced.

A genealogical study, which some might find assertive, is a hard task in terms of finding qualified resources on the issue. An encountered problem is to find the resources, which should primarily give a picture on practice, another problem is to find an adequate conceptual toolset in order to evaluate the resources. If these problems could be solved, the next step would be asking more questions while proceeding does not always mean the solution. Ordering the questions and giving them possible answers continues with failures and wrong assumptions which directs the researcher to more resources and reading. In this jungle of resources and questions catching a reasonable interpretation and narrative becomes a hard task for a study.

On the other hand, the past archive research of the historians facilitated to reach the resources that this study requires. Finding official reports and legal texts of the 18th and 19th century in order would be hard without the past studies such as Osman N. Ergin's collections. Therefore this situation varied the resources used in this study and facilitated to reach the task.

Another important point that should be underlined here is the information technologies as a facilitator. In the last instance the required data and knowledge are in the libraries mostly, but they have their addresses and these addresses should be found through a detective work. The information technologies facilitated this detective work and reach those addresses. These technologies also eased the ordering of resources, writing notes in relation with them etc. Secondly, the past studies using same methodology facilitate to make a study like this and become a guideline in terms of their path to find resources, evaluation and narration.

This study grounds its argument on the contrast between pre-modern and modern, and the continuation from 19th century to the 20th century. The first important point here is the transformation from the pre-modern space to the modern space roughly occurred from 18th century to the 19th century which is related to power's transformation in parallel with the developments in western Europe. Dramatic transformations from pre-modern (or traditional) to the modern can be read as a process of reconfiguration of power. The regimes and institutions that were established within this process which are still operating in space support the continuation perspective of this work. Thus, since the regimes and institutions were still there in Early Republican Period, starting the narrative from 19th century becomes illustrating the same story.

This study criticizes the existing literature by pointing that the literature on spatial transformations repeatedly reads them as part of westernization, representation, a narration attempt of the state. According to this argument the spatial transformations reflect the state's will of presenting itself as a power in the space. This work criticizes this argument by referring Foucault's argument on power's transformation of techniques during 18th and 19th century, according to this, the power's techniques transformed from representational form to a modern, embedded, utilitarianist form.

It will be argued in this study that Ankara's planning and construction as well as whole Anatolian geography, executed by municipal interventions, did not merely aim to produce a westernized image, an ideological representation on space, but in fact primarily aimed to produce a sustainable space that governs the new life of the republic's citizens.

Therefore given the context above, first chapter's main focus is on, from *Nizam ı Cedid* reformations not only as a military issue, to extensive codification on space, finally the proclamation of Ebniye Law which was in force until 1933. In the second chapter, continuing the previous chapter's historical background and theoretical frame Ankara's and Anatolia's planning in the context of internal colonization that was referred during the period as a civilizing notion, further codification, new architectural view of architects, journals and publications in which architects published articles, space political elements summarizing new architectural approaches given alongside technical information, and how these transformed the space were referenced. Secondly, resources such as speeches in TBMM minutes and articles published in newspapers were used with regard to Early Republican political discourse on space. The use of these resources intends to touch upon the points on which practice and discourse converge and to identify disciplinary and bio-politic themes embedded in space rather. Hence, the first chapter tries to track the formation and diffusion of the *new order* in military and space in the Ottoman Empire, how the extensive laws on space developed during 19th century and the second chapter focuses on, in the context of the law that was presented in the previous chapter, how spatial transformations in Ankara and Anatolia emerged and continued.

The codification on space and municipalism continued as a primary resource for this work; *Mecelle i Umur u Belediyye* presented them in detail. In the second chapter again the descriptive data is limited that had already been studied in other works, it was rather attempted to focus on aforementioned perspective. In short the original thesis of this work is the critical approach to the narrative on spatial transformations in the existing literature and the attempt of establishing an alternative narrative.

In short, the narrative that this study constitute aims an analysis of power by following spatial transformations instead of making chronological, descriptive history of the space in Turkey. Therefore while focusing on spatial transformations the study prioritizes the practice on space, rather than political discourse. Both 19th century and Early Republican resources are selected for the support of the arguments on analysis of

power, which could be best made by the analysing the practice that is generally related to the legal texts. In other words the selected resources are the applications of the political discourse that their importance is secondary.

Once again, despite its assertiveness, this kind of genealogical study might open new perspectives in the literature. So far the studies on space in Turkey revealed many issues and drew a picture that chronologically described the spatial transformations, but reconsidering the data and attempting to make an alternative interpretation might develop new ideas that explain the issues in the realm of power politics while contemporary tensions on space continue and gain importance in Turkey. Just as understanding Early Republican political history is a pre requisite for understanding contemporary politics in Turkey, understanding space in relation with power in the origin is a pre requisite of contemporary discussions around space politic.

CHAPTER I

GENESIS OF MUNICIPALISM AS A DISCIPLINARY TECHNIQUE DURING “NEW ORDER” IN OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Disciplinary Society and Governmentality as an Attempt of Explanation

In his famous work “Sociological Imagination”, Wright Mills defines the promise of sociological imagination as “the sociological imagination enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals.”¹ In this regard the attempt here is to put a distance between the researcher and contemporary institutions, trying to look from outside, then make an historical archeology seeking to find the track of today’s normals.

The municipal discourse attributing the neutral responsibility of intervention to the space and the body arose in parallel with diffusion of disciplinary techniques derived from army disciplinary models. Municipalism² in that neutrally perceived discourse, gained ground in each and every corner of the city including houses. In this context, the central theme of this chapter focuses on where the power derives from in space (not from a singular source) and how it shapes the space like a water stream shaping the landscape, starting with the implementation of the *Nizam ı Cedid* and Tanzimat reforms. This period led to the foundation of Early Republican spatial

¹ C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 5.

² Municipalities can be described as “organizations which are formed to regulate and satisfy the common residential needs of the people who resides in its area” Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü, *Belediyeler El Kitabı*, Ankara: Kardeş Matbaası, 1963, p. 8. Therefore the word “municipalism” is used as to take action in order to fulfill the described task.

transformations. Due to the importance attached to continuity, the topic cannot be limited merely to the republican era. The politicization of space can be traced back to the 18th and 19th century Ottoman Empire. In other words, there is a continuity from the development of modern state during the late Ottoman Empire period to the foundation of the Republic of Turkey.³

This chapter focuses on the theoretical framework by introducing the key points of governmentality and disciplinary society concepts. It then presents the early *Nizam ı Cedid* and attempts of *talim* and *terbiye* of the soldier with a calculated intervention to his body, comparing to French army ordinances of the 18th century. Subsequently, it tries to demonstrate the similarities of disciplinary model with *turuk*, *ebniye*, and other municipal regulations introduced during the Post Tanzimat period which were expanded as a boost by legal texts in the late 19th century. During this transition period, “Though the old order could not be totally abolished, ‘old school’ administration was severely damaged.”⁴ With the implementation of the Tanzimat Edict, modern municipalism, and with modern municipality social control and the public surveillance were established. This, in turn, laid the foundations for the bio-politics⁵ of the Early Republican Turkey.

The subject of Tanzimat-Cumhuriyet space reforms was descriptively and technically discussed in great detail by schools of architecture within the scope of architectural history.⁶ However, arguments obtained from a space politics perspective are generally represented by words such as “westernization”, implications of imitation, emulation, and decorative concerns. Thus, classic arguments are repeated when the

³ One of the first and important studies emphasizing continuity. See Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Gelişmeler (1876-1938)*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2001.

⁴ Engelhardt, *Tanzimat ve Türkiye*, İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 1999, p. 112.

⁵ The concept of *bio-politics* coined by Foucault defines the modern power's detailed statistical-calculative concern on human birth, health, mortality, in general population. See. Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics Lectures at the College De France 1978-79*, edited by Michel Senellart, Translated by Graham Burchell, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

⁶ *Middle East Technical University Journal of The Faculty of Architecture* provides articles covering that area.

issue is tackled: “To put it in another way, planning activities of the Ottoman period are based on the search for legal and spatial solutions required by structural difficulties such as fires or settling migrants rather than reactional results within the scope of constitutional order as opposed to Western practices... On the other hand, the addition of a number of palaces designed in accordance with a Western style or palaces and public gardens such as Gülhane Park shaped by the French garden culture to the city can be regarded as the reflections of the efforts to make Ottoman settlement culture similar to or adapt to Western capitals or city cultures. This process took place mainly in Istanbul and under the influence of the sultans’ efforts to emulate Western architecture, which was represented by the ‘Tanzimat Style’.”⁷

This argument did not change in the Early Republican period. It covers themes such as images caused by the intervention of power with space, building a nation upon the language of these images, giving messages, the state’s making itself visible (the state of the middle ages and the modern state are anachronically discussed together): “Accordingly, with the proclamation of the republic in 1923, the production of space was addressed as an important issue in the organization of the new order. The city of Ankara, which was to be built upon the old settlement area near the Ankara Fortress, was regarded as the symbol of the nation state and the continuity in which the new order actualized itself...”⁸

This problematic approach tackles the issue as a part of westernization – the modernization project and as a physical language that the state uses to tell a narrative to its subjects. Furthermore, it does not explain the state’s new and detailed concern on cities, roads, and villages located within its boundaries by 18th and 19th centuries. It is here attempted to approach this transformation, the reasons for it, and the order it aims to create from the perspective of “discipline” and “governmentality”. This will be an attempt of a new explanation based on Foucauldian perspective.

⁷ Koray Özcan, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları:Türk İmar Sürecinin Kuruluş Sürecinde Erken Planlama Deneyimleri (1839-1908)." *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* VII, no. 2 (2006): 149-180, p. 177-9.

⁸ İnci Yalım, “Ulus Devletin Kamusal Alanda Meşruiyet Aracı: Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı Üzerinden Kurgulanma Çabası” in *Başkent Üzerine Mekan Politik Tezler Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri* , Güven Arif Sargın ed., pp. 157-214, İstanbul: İletişim, 2009, p. 158.

The spatial representation perspective sees the spatial transformations as taking the pre modern state's will of presenting itself as *a priori*, a power that "in the absence of continual supervision, sought a renewal of its effect in the spectacle of its individual manifestations", and "that was recharged in the ritual display of its reality as 'super power'".⁹ and a part of westernization project or a nation construction project that proceeds in a singular way categorizing subjects as transmitters and receivers of an architectural language. This approach assumes that spatial transformations are narrowly aimed to the task of representing the new order-state.¹⁰ The motivation behind this tendency most probably evaluates the state as a meta historic entity, which is beyond time and space and, most importantly, a constant and stable structure. According to this perspective, state's – or sovereign's – ability to exert control over its dominions and techniques it use have been imaginatively similar in throughout history. For instance, generally from the tribal leadership, kinship organizations, to medieval monarchies and the 19th century's newly emerging modern entities, state is used as a definitive term for all forms in all eras. Another problematic assumption posed by the view in question is that just like the techniques, the ends intended to be reached are the same, that is, a territorial state of the middle ages is similar to the modern administrative state. Accordingly, modern state's attempts to design every corner of the city or its whole territory are approached similarly as the medieval state's tendency to demonstrate its power practice. In short, a 14th century "state" and "government" was not same as the 16th century state and a 20th century state and government.¹¹

Lefebvre puts forth in his work titled "production of space" an argument with regard to production relations, their representation in space, and the representation of space in the context of these production relations "*(First) Spatial practice*, which

⁹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*, New York: Vintage Books, 1995, p. 57.

¹⁰ "First National Architecture Movement" perspective formulated by Metin Sözen, İnci Aslanoğlu and Yıldırım Yavuz which focuses on ideological representation and architectural language, that can be regarded as dominant approach in Turkey's architectural history is the main school of this narrative. See Şeniz Çıkış, "Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi İzmir Konutu: Yerellik ve Melezlik." *METU JFA* 28, no. 2 (2011): 45-61, p. 46.

¹¹ Gianfranco Poggi, *The Development of The Modern State A Sociological Introduction*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978, p. 74-75.

embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*. (Second) *Representations of space*, which are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations. (Third) *Representational spaces*, embodying complex symbolisms, some- times coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or under- ground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces).”¹² When the course of history is taken into consideration by using this argument to a certain extent (more emphasis on nation state construction rather than production relations, westernization ideal) spatial representation approach proposed by studies in the context of Turkey does not seem to be explanatory enough. The fact that power's municipal practices became gradually more sophisticated from the 18th century to the 20th century, if explained only in terms of production relations or the construction of an identity and its spatial representation in the context of Turkey, is inadequate. It is utility and discipline that serve to exert more control over population control than representation of the new order or merely a result of capitalist mode of production. In other words, space is a concern caused by the emergence of a new art of government.

In the context of new art of government, “To govern a state will therefore mean to apply economy, to set up an economy at the level of the entire state, which means exercising towards its inhabitants, and the wealth and behavior of each and all, a form of surveillance and control as attentive as that of the head of a family over his household and his goods.”¹³ Therefore, the issue was far beyond representing the new order that is monumental, a westernized state, or a decorated city. Rather, it was part of the new governmental rationale along with the new body politics of the modern state

¹² Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p. 33.

¹³ Michel Foucault, "Governmentality" in *The Foucault Effect Studies in Governmentality*, Colin Gordon, Peter Miller and Graham Burchell, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, p. 92.

which was similar to western European versions occurring in the same era, a shift towards governmentality. The sovereign's interest on body and population arose hand to hand with the interest on the physical environment.¹⁴

The following quotation briefly summarize the course of the state throughout history in terms of the reconfiguration process: "First of all, the state of justice, born in the feudal type of territorial regime which corresponds to a society of laws – involving a whole reciprocal play of obligation and litigation; second, the administrative state, born in the territoriality of national boundaries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and corresponding to a society of regulation and discipline; and finally a governmental state, essentially defined no longer in terms of its territoriality, of its surface area, but in terms of the mass of its population with its volume and density, and indeed also with the territory over which it is distributed, although this figures here only as one among its component elements."¹⁵ Thus, territorial size gradually lost its importance during the transition towards the administrative state. Instead, issues such as the quality and population regulation gained importance. As a different, but not totally distinct context, Ottoman state's history went through a process towards this governmental tendency, regarding the transformation of government apparatus into a mentality that centers the population in quantity and quality.¹⁶ In this respect, the enclosure process that commenced in the 18th century and gained immense speed in the 19th century, and the mindset of new governing should also be considered.

¹⁴ A study mentioning the practice of 'informing the state on people', power's control over public space in the 18th and 19th centuries, the transformation of its methods and sanctions and a study emphasizing the inclination towards governmentality in Europe, the study tackles these issues in the context of coffee houses and detectives (hafiyes) see Cengiz Kırılı, "Kahvehaneler ve Hafiyeler: 19. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Osmanlı'da Sosyal Kontrol" in *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, Halil İnalcık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu eds., pp. 601-625. İstanbul: Türkiye İşbankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012, p. 622-23.

¹⁵ Foucault, 1991, p. 104.

¹⁶ Thus, the first census which is understood to have been carried out in 1831 to establish tax order is worthy of attention. Some also say that the census was conducted to determine the number of potential soldiers (see Tarihi Lütü, v. 3, p. 146). In any case, this census indicates the state's interest in population in a modern sense. Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, Ankara: Turkish Statistical Institute, Printing Division, 1997, p. 11.

The Ottoman Empire possessed vast territories and it started to lose them in the 17th and 18th centuries. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Ottoman Empire continued to shrink in size. In the context of a linear narrative, the traditional historiography that focuses on epochs and writes a history of rise and fall as other empires existed in the history (e.g. Roman Empire) named that period as the “collapsing period”.¹⁷ Yet, the difference in Ottoman context was that the late Ottoman period was a time when modern power techniques along with modern state were diffusing. Therefore, the validity of this historical narrative is questionable. Particularly in the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire was getting smaller in territorial size, but the quality and comprehensiveness of the administrative state were on the increase compared to pre-modern era. This comprehensiveness included the population, “...the constitution of political economy depended upon the emergence from among all the various elements of wealth of a new subject: population. The new science called political economy arises out of the perception of new networks of continuous and multiple relations between population, territory and wealth; and this is accompanied by the formation of a type of intervention characteristic of government, namely intervention in the field of economy and population”¹⁸. The administrative expansion in quality within the imperial boundaries took place together with a rationalization and standardization. The quality of population as a human resource for political economy became an important aspect of the state, which was more than just a simple thing that the power was exercised on, but a kind of *wealth* that the power could be generated from, “it is the population itself on which government will act either directly through large scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make possible, without the full awareness of the people, the stimulation of birth rates, the directing of the flow of population into certain regions or activities, etc.”¹⁹

¹⁷ These are also seen in Enver Ziya Karal’s and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı’s book named “Osmanlı Tarihi”. A study discussing the transformation of classical writing to post modern challenge in history writing and the course of history writing in Turkey see Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1997.

¹⁸ Foucault, 1991, p. 101.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* , p. 100.

This method, used by the regulatory will for population, was, with orders, which started to affect everything in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, exercised upon municipalism that gradually spread to body and space, and justified itself with a municipal discourse. The tendency to issue orders can be traced back to Nizam-ı Cedid that started in the army in the 18th century.

Nizam-ı Cedid and New Army as a Model

Nizam-ı Cedid means “new order”. The new order tried to put what had been old and *disorderly* into order: “The Çorbacıs (chorbajis) of the 54th company are head trainers. Thus, the chorbaji of the specified company shall be appointed as the head trainer. The head clerk of the Corps (Ocak) and six soldier clerks shall be present on the days of drills. From these regulated Groups four Orta in each line shall be trained, and a training area shall be built in a place except Topkapı. Each year, from spring to fall, once a week in Sadabad and once in the will-be-built training area a drill session shall be held. Janissaries in the rural areas are...to comply with this style and law.”²⁰

First reformation attempts took place in military as a series of defeats in battlefield which not only damaged the territorial integrity, but also the traditional central power of the state. The defeats paved the way for reformist thoughts in the state to reorganize the army. Some officers and experts were brought from Western European powers, the first of which being France, and the second Prussia. This aimed to adopt a new and more effective warfare style based on rational principles. Meanwhile in Western Europe, new techniques along with the new perception on soldier, warfare, body and population, which were reorganizing masses of populations and territories into small and standardized units in order to generate power effectively and sustainably, were being applied. The principles and historical genesis of this shift can be found in Foucault genealogy of Prison. In his work, Foucault explores the emergence of

²⁰ Mahmud Raif on Janissaries’ new drills in Kemal Beydilli ve İlhan Şahin, *Mahmud Raif Efendi ve Nizam ı Cedid’e Dair Eseri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001, p.67.

disciplinary society, which can be followed by army regulations that draw the patterns of disciplinary techniques, gaining from infinite micro management while minimizing the wasted ones, the ancient disciplinary institutions expanded their frames into modern social institutions.²¹ This expansion aiming to benefit the maximum from the minimum was based on the following principles, which are organizing space, action, geneses and force: space is reorganized in a disciplinary structure, which is similar to the traditional army models. First, enclosure is necessary in discipline, that is, the specification of a place which is more homogenized compared to the others and closed to the outside. This space is protected from outside effects. Furthermore, it contains disciplinary singularity. Second, 'enclosure' as a principle is not constant and indispensable; it is also not sufficient in disciplinary structure. This structure operates space in a much more flexible and detailed way. The disciplinary structure makes partitioning. Each individual in this structure has his particular place, and every place which is partitioned in small units has its particular individual. In short, the space that is organized in discipline is generally divided into the number of different units within. Third, in order to create a useful space and break dangerous communications, a functional site uses architectural techniques. And finally, the distinct elements are interchangeable in discipline relevant to their position in a series, the gap that it filled. Therefore, the main unit is not the territory, or the place, but the relevant point that creates the value (i.e. its rank). The other set of principles concerns the controlling of activity comprising the shaping and organization of space. Control of activity also derives similarities from religious orders. There are three major methods providing control, which are to establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, and regulate the cycles of repetition. One is making timetables that refined these micro interventions which now on count hours, minutes and seconds. Second, the concentration of act in a specific time section which can be observed in the armies during 18th century onwards gained importance. If one examines the regulations defining the actions of individuals step by step and rhythm by rhythm, the anatomo – chronological schema of behavior can be observed. The entire act is separated into smaller pieces that are directed to the ends which serve for the aim of general machinery. Hence, the correlation of the body and the gesture is maintained,

²¹ Foucault, 1995, pp. 135-141.

which is the third factor. The fourth one is the body and object integration. The power is introduced to the contact of body and the object aiming to integrate them as a whole operating mechanism. The fifth and final one is the minimization of waste of time, in other words, the principle of non-idleness that can be observed in Prussian army regulations which spread to other European armies after its victories. These processes of categorization and identification were then organized in a way that would realize general aims, which can be the destruction of enemy units or manufacture of a commercial good with a series of actions and combinations.²²

By organizing space from a micro enclosed cell to the houses, streets, and squares, the discipline turns them into architectural spaces that are both functional and utilitarian. "It is spaces that provide fixed positions and permit circulation; they carve out individual segments and establish operational links; they mark places and indicate values; they guarantee the obedience of individuals, but also a better economy of time and gesture."²³ as one can see in the planning of the cities, as clearly seen, organizing the space is very crucial while establishing a disciplinary society.

In Ottoman context the first encounter with new army disciplinary techniques occurred in the army by the hands of the European officers and prisoners of war before and during the attempts of reformation. This interaction occurred as of the 18th century, the starting point of these new disciplinary techniques and reorganization can be traced back to the Ahmed III period.²⁴ In the III. Mustafa period, territorially small Prussia's victories in the seven years war among Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia caught the attention of the Ottoman Empire and other European states. European states began to imitate the military model of Prussia after its success.²⁵ When this model was being imitated, these new techniques also attracted the attention of the Ottoman Empire either. For instance, III. Mustafa asked for three predictions from Frederick II via his envoy

²² *Ibid.* , pp. 141-169.

²³ Foucault, 1991, p. 148.

²⁴ Faik Reşit Unat, "Ahmet III. Devrine Ait Bir Islahat Takriri" *Tarih Vesikaları*, (1941-1942): 113-114.

²⁵ Foucault, 1995, p. 154.

Ahmed Rasim Efendi. And Frederick II replied: “My only predictions are having a good army, training it during peace in a way that it will be prepared to readily enter a war, and keeping the treasury full. I have no other predictions. I request you to let our friend sultan know of my words.”²⁶. This request for information indicates that the Ottomans were not totally unaware of transformations taking place in Europe while states were imitating Frederick II’s Prussia’s methods.

The army gives the model in which one can find the most refined forms of discipline. In addition, in Ottoman context, the army and the shift in warfare doctrine were a starting point for the transition to that spatial disciplinary techniques. *Nizam ı Cedid* or “new order” indicates the reformation attempts in the army, yet the reformation of the army created a fission effect for the state that triggered the rapid spread of disciplinary techniques and disciplinary schemes used within barracks to soldiers and the architectural structure of barracks itself. The new army, new drills, procedures and training methods redefined the qualified army during the 18th century in Europe and then in the Ottoman Empire.²⁷ However, as the army got sophisticated and bureaucracy became more and more complex with the establishment of a new governmental rationale, along with the competition with the European powers, the new flourishing state was looking for new incomes, was transforming into a sustainable and ever expanding modern form, seeking precise calculations standards for income in any way that uses an army model to fulfill that quest and was drawn from western European armies’ model as prototype. On the other hand the new army model of the Empire also became the prototype of other reforms concerning population. Enclosing and controlling

²⁶ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1961, p. 59

²⁷ A quote from Ratib Efendi’s *Büyük Layiha*, which can be considered a compilation of orders in Europe: “A soldier must learn how to hold his rifle vertically. Once he has learned this, he must carry his rifle in this position for a few days. Then, he must learn how to stick out his belly and tighten his chest. After that, he must learn how to hold his rifle in his hand in this position and then turn to left and right with the rifle in his hand. Later, he must learn how to hold the rifle for shooting. Then, he must learn to load it quickly. However, masters training the soldier must not hurry. They must show them what to do slowly and step by step so that he will have a perfect grasp of the three phases. Then, he must learn to load the rifle slowly and then practise fast loading. He must also learn how to hold the cartridge belt when reloading and how to grab and take out cartridges easily.” See Ratib Efendi (Layihâ 62a-b) in Fatih Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında Bir Osmanlı Katibi Ebubekir Ratib Efendi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010, p. 276.

principles within the army barracks spread outside the barracks with the support of the traditional religious context as well as its opposition, which was not definitive, but supportive.²⁸ The most visible forms of this process can be found in barracks and space. In short, it was the diffusion of discipline outside barracks to the populations in architectural interventions.

Through the imitation (copying) of orders, the Ottoman Empire followed a course in parallel with the change in Europe from *Nizam ı Cedid* onwards to Tanzimat and afterwards. The triggering of the change in the Ottoman Empire within the context of Ottoman-Europe happened based on the change in Europe. Yet, the same processes called imitation were experienced in Eastern and Western European countries.²⁹ For example, a by-law enacted in France, or a method, developed under the influence of Prussia and affected the Ottoman Empire through France. The process of disciplining the population and space can be said to have begun with the adoption of by-laws and methods.³⁰

On the other hand, there was strong internal opposition to this process of order-establishment and efficiency enhancing. This opposition was mostly composed of the Janissary Corps and power mechanisms gathered around it. The fact that Janissaries engaged in commercial activities besides their job and constituted an armed force

²⁸ *Asakir i Mansure i Muhammediye Kanunnamesi*, in Veli Şirin, *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye Ordusu ve Seraskerlik*, İstanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2002, p. 98.

²⁹ For example, Frederick II's by-laws were imitated by France in the beginning of the 18th century. In the second half of the 19th century, a similar surge of "imitation" began after the war between France and Prussia. The process in which German influence was heavily felt in the Ottoman Empire started in the late 19th century. In addition, "Germanization was not only peculiar to the Ottoman army in the 19th century. It was the same case in Austria, and Russia was going through it since the 18th century. Even some small Balkan states entered this process. In İlber Ortaylı, *İkinci Abdülhamit Döneminde Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Alman Nüfuzu*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1981, p.59.

³⁰ The word "terbiye" in Ottoman sources was the equivalent for "discipline". Terbiye: terbiyet, training, teaching manners and methods, *Gülistan* Translation by Seyf-i Sarayi (1391), ed. in Toparlı et al. KTS. www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=terbiye (accessed: 03.12.2013).

increased their influence in the civilian life in the city and the empire.³¹ Their tremendous political influence and capability of causing violence were important components of the traditional status quo of the Empire. They can be regarded as a guarantee of traditional order that was in decline. Janissaries became less involved in their main job in the 18th century. According to ruling elite, they lacked order and were absent during times of war, consequently, alternatives were sought. Aside from the fact that they got integrated with the non-military life, they were ineffective against emerging modern line infantry armies acting as a single unit in geometric formations.³² The Janissaries' answer to the efforts to convince them to adopt new methods demonstrated how much they were integrated with the non-military life and that they wanted to refrain from *talim* and *terbiye*, keeping their old methods. This answer was: "If we are subjected to artillery and rifle training, we will have to give up our commercial activity. Moreover, we will not be given service pay (*ulufe*) once in three months without serving. Engaging in training is a tough piece of work. If they send us to war, we will drop our rifles, turn into 'Dalkılıç',³³ and wreak havoc on the Moscow army."³⁴ Contrary to what they said, however, some deserted the army during wartime even on the march to the battlefield.³⁵ While some of the Janissary soldiers might be courageous, these method were ineffective against trained and orderly new armies. Administrators trying to fix the situation attempted to establish order within the Janissary Corps itself. Complaining about the "disorder", Selim III said: "...At least discuss the current situation of these artillery, humbaracı, and lağımçı corps, find a solution, and let me know of that. If it is necessary, let armies know of the solution. I keep pondering over this issue day and night. This prevailing state of disorder and

³¹ Gülay Yılmaz Diko, "Blurred Boundaries Between Soldier and Civilians: Artisan Jannisaries in Seventeenth Century İstanbul", in *Bread From The Lion's Mouth Artisans Struggling for a Livelihood in Ottoman Cities*, Suraiya Faroqhi ed., New York: Berghahn Press, 2015.

³² Ulrich Bröckling, *Disiplin: Askeri İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi*, Translated by Veysel Atayman, İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 2001, p. 101.

³³ Attack with a sword against an enemy in the open, going close quarters combat.

³⁴ Enver Ziya Karal, *Selim III'ün Hat-tı Hümanyunları Nizam-ı Cedit*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1946, p. 53.

³⁵ For the "anarchic state" of the Jannisary Corps, see *Ibid.*, p. 38.

efforts are annoying me. Why don't my army officials ponder over this?³⁶ His words indicate that establishing an order in the army was a serious concern in that period.

The decline in the power of the traditional army led to a reform (i.e. a reorganization) in the Ottoman Empire. This reorganization appeared with the establishment of the *Nizam ı Cedid* army in the *Nizam ı Cedid* period. An “order-establishment” process in terms of military, social life, body, and space began along with *Nizam ı Cedid*. *Nizam-ı Cedid* means “new order” and was modeled on Europe, though the new order is relevant to military, it covers a broader spectrum.³⁷ Regulations in military spread to every realm of life.

The change in military mentality in Europe is distinct if one takes a look at the difference between what was and is expected from a soldier. The notion of new warfare which became common in Europe expected the soldier to keep the harmony between his body and weapon at the highest level and shoot most accurately and continually in the least amount of time by following the predetermined and taught procedures. This was carried through certain procedures: “Carry your arms; first movement; raise your arms through your body with the left hand, the little finger height of the eye, the barrel outside; lift down the right hand to seize the arm from its grip. Second movement: raise the arm with the right hand, then loosen the left hand and bring in the butt end; reinstate right foot beside left and on the same alignment, lean the weapon with the right hand against the shoulder left. In the position indicated for the carriage of arms, the right hand touches the handle...without holding. Third movement: Drop strongly right hand along the thigh”³⁸

The dominant model in the 17th and 18th century military orders which are about thousands of pages long can be seen in the aforementioned quote, this aims to

³⁶ *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* (later will be referred as BOA), p. 45, h. 168, narrated by Karal, 1946, p. 26.

³⁷ Karal, 1946, p. 30.

³⁸ Ordonnance Du roi, Pour Regler L'exercice De Ses Troupes D'Infanterie, June 1776, Chez Jean-Baptiste Collignon, Imprimeur Libraire, a la Bible d'or, M. DCC. LXXVI, p. 28. See also footnote 27 for similarity.

make an ordinary person become a functioning part of a large military machinery in a short time. This requires avoiding individual mastery which takes years. To that end, everything a soldier had to do was thoroughly described and coded. This method of organized warfare and *talim* and *terbiye* methods which became common in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries demonstrated that the Ottoman army which stuck to old methods was relatively weaker. In reply to a letter seeking France's support against Russia, XVI. Louis, the king of France, confirms that the Ottomans' entering a war without a new army and its power is not a reasonable course of action. He says: "Warfare is a difficult science. Declaring war without progressing and training as much as the enemy does is completely a mistake. Therefore, before you, magnificent emperor, ascend the throne with the blessing of Allah and state affairs are put into order, it is evident that you shall not engage in a battle. It is up to your high judgement to calculate the danger and begin a war without making progression in technology and particularly supplying properly trained soldiers and commanders. Though a nation may have heroic and brave traits, these precautions must be taken."³⁹

III. Before Selim's reign, methods requiring a soldier to hold the rifle, reload it, shoot, and reload it became common in Europe. These methods aimed to increase the number of times a soldier shoots his rifle in a minute. The Ottomans acquired these methods in a reform attempt via European officers and prisoners of war.⁴⁰ Primary sources where can see this are orders (*nizamname*) the scope of which were gradually expanded. Secondly, the discourse can be seen in *layihas*. Upon the sultan's ordering state officials to let him know of their views on the reforms in 1792⁴¹, it was stressed that the great number of untrained soldier would not make a difference. This was emphasized in *Zebire-i Kuşmani fi Ta'rif-i Nizam ı İlhami*, which was written to refute the arguments of the opposition against *Nizam ı Cedid*. "Yet, trained soldiers (the

³⁹ Karal, 1946, p. 16.

⁴⁰ "Grand Vizier Koca Yusuf Pasa, remembered as the person who laid the foundations of the *Nizam ı Cedid* army, enlisted "idle" youngster in the army as in the case of Austria and Prussia. He gave them to prisoners of war who knew modern training (*talim*) methods." in Yeşil, 2010, p. 271.

⁴¹ Dikanizade Ubeydullah Kuşmani, *Zebire-i Kuşmani Fi Ta'rif-i Nizam'ı İlhami*; *Nizam-ı Cedide Dair Bir Risale*, prepared by: Ömer İşbilir, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006, see XI.

soldier with *talim* and *terbiye*) that you do not reprobate do not lack outposts where ten privates are superintended by an officer and ten officers by an officer. It is impossible for them to riot. So why are you so stubborn that you are plotting against us and making things easier for Persian and German kings?⁴² The work touches on how the internal order and *terbiye* can be established with chain of command in decimal system. It also includes assessments praising performance per minute as in the case of Western Armies. “For instance, artillerists can shoot a cannon eighteen times a minute. Riflemen can shoot their rifles eight times a minute, and humbaracıs can shoot hats of the non-Muslims.”⁴³ As seen here, army units were divided into manageable and equal groups. The number of shots began to be expressed in minute. This is a general theme existing in other army orders in Europe, and it is emphasized as a commendable feature in the Ottoman army. The former way of training aimed at a long-lasting process of mastering. It was the kind of training that synchronized mechanical movements and created organized and efficient soldiers. After target practices, Janissaries that proved to be good shooters were rewarded by the sultan,⁴⁴ these rewards are the indicators of individual traits that a soldier was expected to have and that the heroism of soldiers was encouraged. In short, in the 18th century, the new army in Europe expected ordinary citizens to standardize the number of shots they would fire in a minute and protect the inner order by way of organization and *talim* and *terbiye*. On the other hand, the previous perception expected the soldier to shoot accurately by mastering in his profession, which would take a long time.⁴⁵ This situation began to change with the *Nizam ı Cedid* reforms implemented by Selim III.

⁴² *Ibid.* , p. 29.

⁴³ *Ibid.* , p. 31.

⁴⁴ “I ordered that two hundred coins shall be given to my Janissary subjects, who are trained in rifle use and the science of wars and battles, after a comprehensive consideration about them ...” the year 980 Zilhicce Mühimme, 21, p. 277, narrated by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatından Kapıkulu Ocakları*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943, p. 332.

⁴⁵ “*Talim* and *terbiye* for three hundred soldiers to load and shoot their rifles simultaneously and walking like a single unit like a wall and holding the line in moments of effort and fear.” an important article talking about the transformation in military methods, focusing on the history of the transformation, and including main arguments of this work’s interpretation, see Fatih Yeşil, “Nizam-ı Cedid Ordusunda Talim ve Terbiye” *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 2 (2010): 27-85, p. 30.

Mahmud Raif Efendi, who was the *Reis ül Küttap* (chief of clerks), had the opportunity to make observations on envoyship assignments in Western Europe, and brought military techniques from Western Europe to the Ottoman Empire, stood out as an important figure. Following Mahmud Raif Efendi's experience in Western Europe, he assumed responsibility of the defence of the Straits location in the war with Russia in 1806. This led to unrest among assistants. Unrest and resultant resistance created the violent reactivity of traditional forces against the transition period beginning with *Nizam ı Cedid*. The order of soldiers became even stricter with security precautions adopted by Mahmud Raif Efendi. Already existing redoubts were reinforced. New redoubts were constructed in Rumeli Kavağı in line with pragmatic purposes. For example, he expropriated a coffee house near a redoubt in Rumeli kavağı to create a road to a humbara redoubt, organised patrol gondolas, and increased watch duties. "All these precautions taken to secure the straits were part of Mahmud Raif Effendi's duties. This kind of activities must have disturbed assistants who were used to living in this secluded place and fortified areas. Mahmud Raif Efendi must have sowed first seeds of hostility against him with his seriousness and firmness in his duty. During the reform period of Janissaries, a rumour that Mahmud Raif Efendi would make assistants wear *Nizam ı Cedid* uniforms circulated. In the end, he was killed by assistants during an uprising. ⁴⁶ A high-level bureaucrat, Mahmud Raif Efendi can be seen as one of the architects of the *Nizam ı Cedid* army. His role can be observed in his work related to *Nizam ı Cedid* which is about the new military order template he created based on French "ordinance" texts.

⁴⁶ Beydilli and Şahin, 2001, p. 30.

NOTE des Grades et des Évolutions Militaires de la PLANCHE cy-contre.	
1 Colonel.	5 Lieutenant.
2 Lieutenant Colonel.	6 Sous Lieutenant.
3 Adjudant Major.	7 Porte Drapeau.
4 Capitaine.	8 Sergent Major.
9 Portez vos Armes.	25 Apprêtez vos Armes.
10 Par le Flanc droit.	26 Joue.
11 Par le Flanc gauche.	27 Feu.
12 Demi Tour.	28 l'Arme au Bras.
13 En avant Marche.	29 Présentez vos Armes.
14 Chargez vos Armes.	30 l'Arme sous le bras gauche.
15 Prenez la Cartouche.	31 A Genoux.
16 Dechirez la Cartouche.	32 Reposez-vous sur vos Armes.
17 Amorcez.	33 Vos Armes à Terre.
18 Fermez le Bassinet.	34 l'Arme à Droite.
19 l'Arme à Gauche.	35 Otez la Bayonnette.
20 Cartouche au Canon.	36 Remettez la Bayonnette.
21 Tirez la Baguette.	37 La Bayonnette vers l'ennemi Fantassin.
22 Bourrez.	38 Croisez la Bayonnette vers l'ennemi Cavalier.
23 Remettez la Baguette.	39 Signal.
24 Portez vos Armes.	40 Descendez vos Armes et marchez.

Figure 1: Nizam ı Cedid Soldier's orders in Raif Efendi's book in French.

Source: Mahmud Raif on Jannissaries' new drills in Kemal Beydilli ve İlhan Şahin, *Mahmud Raif Efendi ve Nizam ı Cedid'e Dair Eseri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001

Orders for new Ottoman soldier and their equivalents in French given in the work are given below:

1.Officers(Colonel), 2.Chamberlain (Lieutenant Colonel), 3.*Right and Left Kolağası* (Adjutant Major), 4.Captain (Capitaine), 5.*Mülazım Ağa* (Lieutenant), 6.Standard bearer (Sous Lieutenant), 7.Porte Drapeau, 8.Sergeant (Sergeant Major), 9.Shoulder arms (Portez vos Armes), 10.Left shoulder arms (Par le Flanc droit), 11.Right shoulder arms (Par le Flanc gauche), 12.About face (Demi Tour), 13.Forward march (En avant Marche), 14.Carry arms (Chargez vos Armes), 15.Handle cartridge (Prenez la Cartouche), 16.Bite the cartridge (Dechirez la Cartouche), 17.Prime

(Amoreez), 18.Shut pan (Fermez le Bassinet), 19.Rifle to the left, (load l'Arme a Gauche), 20.Feed a cartridge into the barrel (Cartouche au Canon), 21.Draw ramrod (Tirez la Baguette), 22.Ram down cartridge (Bourrez), 23.Return ramrod (Remettez la Baguette), 24.Shoulder arms (Portez vos Armes), 25.Ready arms (Apprétez vos Armes), 26.Aim (Joue), 27.Fire (Feu), 28.Support arms (l'Arme au Bras), 29.Present arms (Presentez vos Armes), 30.Secure arms (l'Arme sous le bras gauche), 31. Kneel (A Genoux), 32.Order Arms (Reposez-vous sur vos Armes), 33.Ground arms (Vos Armes a Terre), 34.Rifle to the right (l'Arme a Droite), 35.Remove bayonet (Otez la Bayonnette), 36.Fix bayonet (Remettez la Bayonnette), 37.Point rifle (La Bayonnette vers l'ennemi Fantassin), 38.Charge bayonet (Croisez la Bayonnette ver l'ennemi Cavalier), 39.Signal (Signal), 40.Rifle to the right hand (Descendez vos Armez et marches).Figures depicting how a soldier stands and loads his rifle and showing other positions are below:

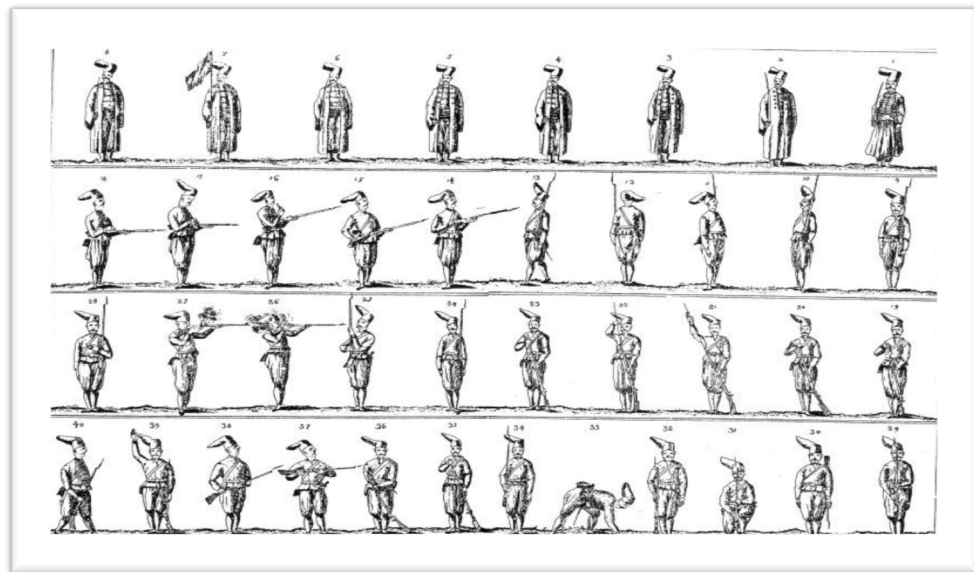


Figure 2: The Movement array of Ottoman soldiers according to orders in Raif Efendi's book.

Source: Beydilli and Şahin, 2001.

The orders and organization scheme above demonstrates that just as in West European armies, the big structure of the army was separated into small and controllable

groups. The steps that each soldier must follow before and after shooting were coded, thus combination between time and movement and synchronisation among components were established. The resultant more effective force was directed towards the target. French officers' training methods were practised in the new army. There is no doubt that these officers implemented methods they had learned from the training manuals of their armies.⁴⁷ Despite the opposition, these regulations led to the establishment of an army that was an alternative to the Janissaries. The benefits of the new army then revealed themselves (e.g. in Akka).⁴⁸

Due to the opposition of traditional forces, the *Nizam ı Cedid* army was disbanded with an uprising. Yet, this process of reform continued with Tanzimat during the first half of the 19th century. The process of putting the army into order was interrupted with the outbreak of the Kabakçı Mustafa rebellion. After that, Selim was dethroned, and the *Nizam ı Cedid* army was disbanded. Yet, the new order did not come to an end, after all, some said: "We don't want this kind of training. What we did before was to shoot potteries and strike our kilij (a type of sword) on leather." These people did not meet the expectations of the modern state from soldiers. Thus, this view was adopted: "The new training system fits better with the sharia, mind, and logic. It was accepted with concurrence and the consent of the *ulema*. The interests and honour of the empires dictate that this training be put into effect. Opposing this is no different than rebelling against the state. We are able and ready to crush rebels."⁴⁹ Accordingly, the old and "useless" army was declared 'rebel' and was *totally disbanded and destroyed*⁵⁰ in 1826. An army "trained in a scientific way" was established: "...The Janissary Corps was infested with malice in time. They proved useless in battles. They used to be useful

⁴⁷ In the very first years of the republic in France, officers were being sent to Istanbul due to firm relations between the two countries. Among those willing to set out on this mission was Napoleon Bonaparte: "General Bonaparte, who commanded artillery units of our armies in a number of circumstances and particularly Toulon siege and earned reputation, is willing to go to Turkey on behalf of the government." Karal, 1946, p.76.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58-59.

⁴⁹ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v.5, p. 147 narrated by Şirin, 2002, p. 34-35.

⁵⁰ *Asakir i Mansure i Muhemmediye Kanunnamesi*, BOA, K. Kepeci tasnifi, Askeri Defterler, No.1, in Şirin, *Ibid.*

and obedient; now they became useless and and disobedient. As there is no other choice, they shall be terminally destroyed, and their power shall be null and void. In their stead, it was decided to establish an army named *Asakir i Mansure i Muhammediye* (The Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad). This army shall be composed of soldiers trained as required by scientific methods...”⁵¹

Mahmud Raif Efendi’s work on *Nizam ı Cedid* summarizes the order which first took place in the army and then spread outside gradually. An analysis of the internal order of *Nizam ı Cedid* army reveals that the *Nizam ı Cedid* army was organized in line with the principles of the French army “ordinances”. Orders and engravings in the French version of Mahmud Raif Efendi’s work are identical to those in French training manuals.⁵² The French version of this work was printed along with the Ottoman version. The French version is significant in terms of the engravings and principles it contains.

The establishment of the *Asakir i Mansure i Muhammediye* army after the disbandment of the Janissary Corps made it possible for the results expected from the *Nizam ı Cedid* army to be obtained. In the absence of a traditional alternative power that would prove resistant, soldiers were “enclosed” in militarily important barracks in Istanbul for training and education. They were ordered to obey the orders and fully carry out their training tasks. “...They shall obey the orders and fully participate in training and education sessions in their barracks, forts, and outposts without idling...”⁵³ The finely designed disciplinary model in the French training manuals which organized

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² For the French military training manuals of the period: Ordonnance Du Roy, Sur L’Exercice De L’Infanterie, May 1755, Chez Jean – François Le Roux, Imprimeur du Roy, au Coin de la Rue des Orfèvres Et Chez Amand König, Libraire fous les Arcades, M.DCC.LV; Ordonnance Du Roi, Pour Régler L’exercice De L’Infanterie, January 1766, Chez Joseph Collignon, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roi, a la Bible d’Or, M.DCC.LXVI.; Instruction Que Le Roi De France A Fait Expedier Pour Regler Provisoirement L’Exercice Des Ses Troupes D’Infanterie, June 1774, A Francfort Sur Le Meyn. chez François Varrentrapp, MDCCLXXV; Ordonnance Du roi, Pour Regler L’exercice De Ses Troupes D’Infanterie, June 1776, Chez Jean-Baptiste Collignon, Imprimeur Libraire, a la Bible d’or, M. DCC. LXXVI,

⁵³ See *Asakir i Mansure i Muhammediye Kanunnamesi*.

every second of time and spread to space and body established itself as the prevailing principle in the army order as of the Tanzimat Era.

Within the scope of the principle of “not idling”, soldiers performed police duties in Istanbul aside from their religious duties and training sessions. (Policing, patrols, and municipal policing are included. The origin of municipal policing which enables the intervention of power with space through municipalism is based on this new structure). Ordinances organizing these duties began to contain themes composed of a series of organized movements which started with *Nizam ı Cedid*. For instance, soldiers who were to perform policing duties had to follow these steps: 800 privates will be allocated to various quarters. Captains will have dinner with these soldiers when it is time to perform watch duties. Each soldier will take the distributed piece of bread with him the next morning. Captains who are to perform watch duties will go out of the seraskier gate, will not play the drum along the way but will play a bit when they are close to police forces. Each captain will proceed to his allocated duty area stated in document book with his soldiers. There they will allocate officers and corporals to his soldiers and position them. Then he will order the drums to be played so that soldiers whose watch duties are over can gather. The drums will not be played along the way, and soldiers will not go beyond the training manuals and duty.⁵⁴ It is striking that while in these period when a productive army whose soldiers are in harmony with one another was desired, *laziness and idleness* were complained about.⁵⁵ All in all, it can be said that these regulations are the origins of the beginning of the spread of the disciplinary order in the army. The shifts had begun in military and were towards a general body-space politics. The spread was realized through modern municipalism and space regulations. An important foothold of this disciplinary spread in space is the army barracks structure, which has a hybrid architecture.

⁵⁴ *Asakir-i Mansure ordusunun İstanbul'daki kolluk vazifeleri hakkında yapılmış olan ilk talimname*, BOA, K. Kepeci tasnifi, Askeri Defterler, No.1, narrated by Şirin, 2002, see appendix.

⁵⁵ BOA, Hatt-ı Hümayun Tasnifi, no. 49319 narrated by Yeşil, 2010, p. 34.

Architecture of Barracks

In the late 19th century, it was intended to reestablish military order in a more sophisticated way; this gradually turned into a bio-politics which would later spread to the whole society and could be observed through an increase in laws and by-laws standardizing every realm of life and space. Before this result was obtained, *Nizam ı Cedid* attempted to reorganize space along with regulations which intervenes the soldier's body. And, the first step was the architectural restructuring of the barracks. The new architectural order in the barracks demonstrated a neatly calculated power technique which promoted the principles of disciplinary scheme.

A wooden structure built by Selim III during the *Nizam ı Cedid* period and demolished after the Kabakçı Mustafa rebellion, the Selimiye Barracks was rebuilt as a stone (*kagir*) structure during the Tanzimat Era. A feature of this barracks is that it was designed as a prototype of the city space which provided mass housing for officers, had a bath, shops, primary school, and a mosque, library, and printing house which was built later, carefully organized. And rational lines were preferred as the structure scheme; the barracks is composed of structure wings situated around a large rectangular inner garden, that design resembled those of European structures.⁵⁶

With the architectural restructuring of the barracks in Istanbul and rural areas with a new disciplinary scheme, these rational lines overlapped with the schools and hospitals as institutions created by the sovereign. Then, they spread even to the population, interior order of houses and streets through legal infrastructure created by orders, new local architects, qualified workmen, and foremen.⁵⁷ It is possible to assert that this ongoing process started in 18th century, had the power to affect everywhere

⁵⁶ Afife Batur, "Batılılaşma Döneminde Osmanlı Mimarlığı" in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Murat Belge ed., pp.1038-1090, İstanbul: İletişim, 1985, p. 1045-1046.

⁵⁷ The result of this is seen in discourses in the Early Republican Period architecture and architecture magazines and practices, see Chapter II.

since it was a *dispositif*⁵⁸ schema existing in a refined condition in the techniques of the army. In terms of schools, this overlapping can be most clearly observed in *Harbiye* (1863) and *Kuleli* (1861) military school buildings. These buildings had a hybrid structure functioning as both barracks and educational institutes, however, the most striking hybrid structures where the barracks style prevails are hospitals. The architectural similarities between the barracks and hospital are worth attention: “*Bezm i Alem Guraba i Müslimin* hospital situated in Yenibahçe and built in 1843, with a ‘60m width and 84m length, skirted by trees, a rectangle shaped inner garden encircled by closed corridors sided with patient cells’ resembles the schemes of the 19th century barracks.”⁵⁹

The cavalry barracks in Selimiye was turned into a hospital during the Crimean War. The structure which “had a mescit (prayer room) in the middle, a rectangular inner garden with plenty of trees composed of large rooms along closed corridors surrounding both floors” is still used as a military hospital. It resembles the schema of *Guraba i Müslümin* Hospital.⁶⁰ The plans to build a hospital with a stone structure in Kütahya was abandoned after the regiment in the region left the barracks, unoccupied and available to use as hospital, to move to Istanbul. This indicates the resemblance of the functioning and architecture of hospitals and barracks in the minds of Ottoman bureaucrats.⁶¹ Traditional Ottoman *sifahanes* (i.e. places where various diseases are

⁵⁸ The term *dispositif*, in this context, means that discourses as heterogeneous networks, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific expressions, and philosophical, moral, and philanthropic positions are components of a power apparatus. The apparatus itself is a system of relations that can be established among these components. *Dispositif* also defines the nature of the correlations present within this apparatus. Thus, it means the reinterpretation and the beginning of a new rationality of the ongoing practice of a functioning institution, which utilizes a certain discourse and follows a program, by remaining silent or justification. In short, the term *dispositif* describes a schema that seems independent within a heterogeneous structure, is among humanistic institutions in terms of discourse, and can be traced in by-laws. Michel Foucault, “The Confession of the Flesh (1977) interview” in *Power/Knowledge Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, Michel Foucault and Colin Gordon ed., pp.194-228, New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.

⁵⁹ Batur, 1985, p. 1058-59.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1059.

⁶¹ Fatih Tetik, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Tanzimat Dönemi Kamu Sağlığı Politikası (1839-1876)*, İstanbul: Unpublished MA Thesis, 2007, p. 16.

treated) were prone to epidemics due to rooms that were not isolated and the presence of open porticos. The introduction of closed corridors and isolated rooms that resembles army barracks architecture solved this problem. Furthermore, some already existing barracks were turned into hospitals.⁶² Hence, the architectural style of barracks became widespread with modern re establishment of modern institutions such as schools and hospitals during the *Nizam-ı Cedid* and Tanzimat periods. Aside from the conversion of old barracks into hospitals, new hospitals were built. And those responsible for the task were expected to “*build them large enough so that they can be converted into barracks in case of need.*”⁶³ The new barracks of the new army became the prototype of space. Functional tones frequently used in urban planning and circular drawings which were observed with the spread of urban planning are originally within the scope of the *dispositif* architecture of modern institutions such as surveillance barracks, prisons, schools, and hospitals. In other words, *dispositif* is a technique frequently used by the modern power, and the reason why the new structures built for modern institutions are hybrid is the new mutuality in the apparatus.⁶⁴

Instead of using “imitation of West”, “eagerness for westernization”, and “decoration of the Ottoman cities in a Western style” arguments during the period which started following the *Nizam ı Cedid*, it is more accurate to say that it was attempted to spread the schema within a new rationality and under the municipalism discourse-practice, hence increasing the efficiency of space. The traditional architecture of palaces, buildings, and forts which mainly aimed to be ostentatious to outsiders and to keep outdoors under surveillance tended to ensure internal control (i.e. kept indoors under surveillance). The architectural style provided internal control to keep soldiers in line as well as external surveillance against outsider threats. Systematic formations providing regular processes inside the fort, facilitating surveillance, and creating cells

⁶² Yıldırım Yavuz, “Batılılaşma Döneminde Osmanlı Sağlık Kuruluşları” *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 1988 (8:3): 123-142, p. 126-127.

⁶³ BOA, İ.DH.43266, 6 Feb. 1287 (30.10.1870), narrated by Tetik, 2007, p. 70.

⁶⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics Lectures at the College De France*, Michel Senellart ed., Translated by Graham Burchell, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 19.

began to be seen in the architecture of military space.⁶⁵ Fort and camp engravings in Mahmud Raif Efendi's *Nizam ı Cedid* risale show kinds of an internal-external surveillance plan.

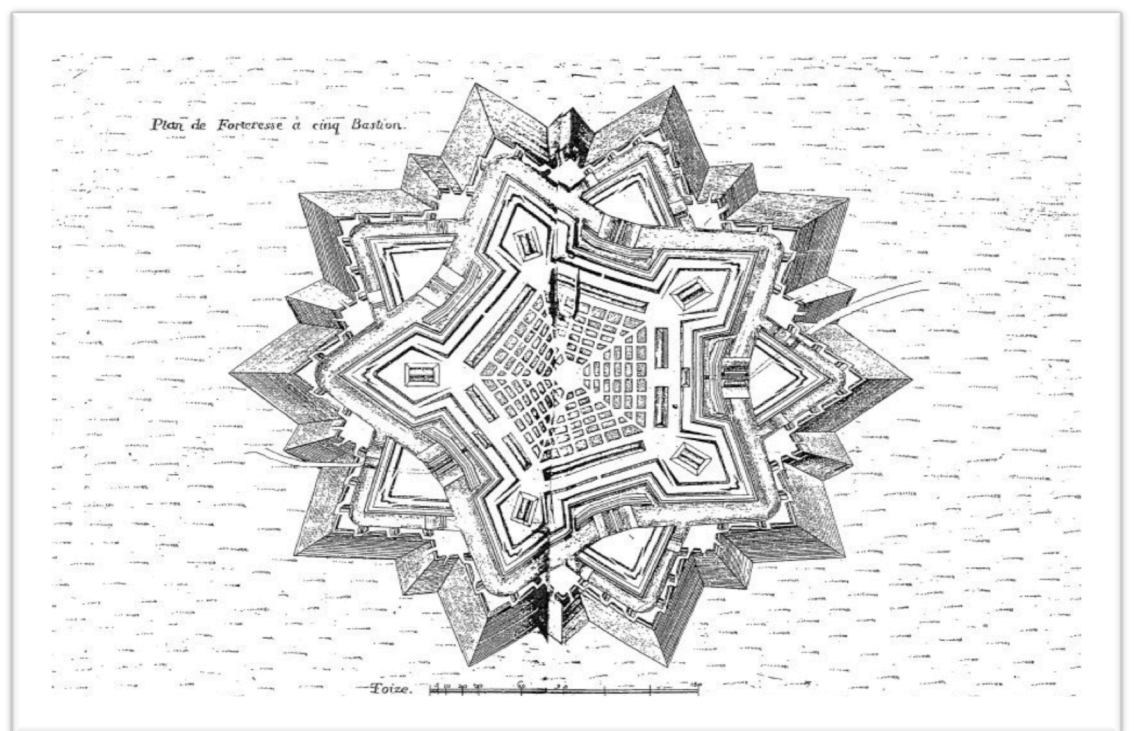


Figure 3: 18th century fortress drawing in Raif Efendi's book.

⁶⁵ Foucault, 1995, p. 172

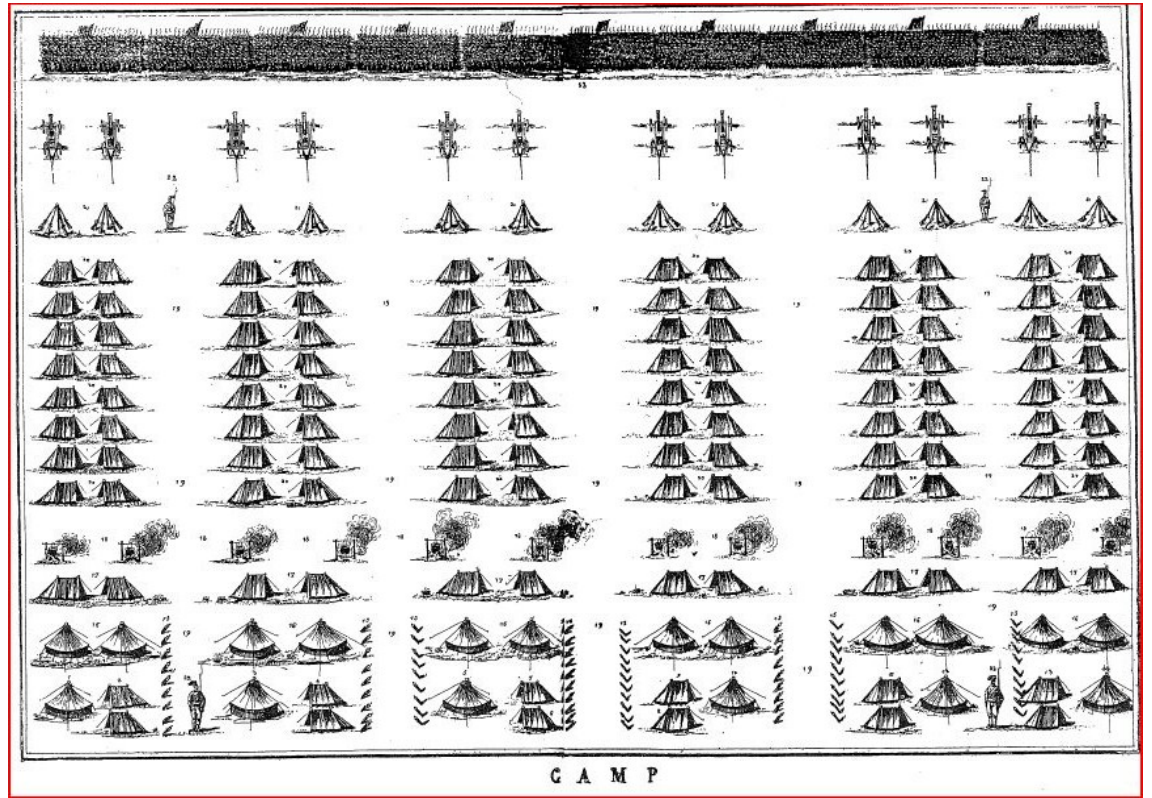


Figure 4: Military camp formation.

Sources: Beydilli and Şahin, 2001.

The exterior of the fort has a geometrical structure which makes it easier to defend it in the event of an attack; the interior is composed of linear roads leading to a pentagon square and organized byways connecting them to each other. Regular geometric lines in fort engravings in Mahmud Raif Efendi's work are in parallel with rational geometric lines of macro plans drawn by officers or engineers trained by them and principles in orders. As cornered and circular geometric lines resembled modern city plans, the order in the military camp was a model for city planning.⁶⁶ In that sense, the *dispositif* structure enables effective surveillance and control: "The camp is the diagram of a power that acts by means of general visibility. For a considerable amount of time, this model or, at least, its underlying principle prevailed in urban development,

⁶⁶ In addition to grid desing of camp, it is organized in accordance with every specific function group's ideal place. Similar theme is the basis of modern city planining, see footnote 191.

the construction of working class housing estates, hospitals, asylums, prisons, schools, and the spatial ‘nesting’ of hierarchized surveillance.”⁶⁷ Put another way, space that is reorganized by the power has a mutual schema, and transitivity and similarities among various modern institute structures are the results of it. Tents are put up in a way to ensure internal and external control in the camp model in Mahmud Raif Efendi’s risale. The positions of the infantry, artillerymen, and officers, and non combatant elements such as cook tents, are based on these well designed surveillance techniques, and the position of each element is defined in this camp for efficient inner control. These models which were associated with Europe (Prussia-originated) were mainly military models which would later set the basic principles of city planning in modern Turkey as in Europe. These plans are based on a surveillance style which can be called *panopticon*. This is also based on invisibility of the surveillant; it aims to establish invisible surveillance and gives the subject a constant feeling of being monitored.⁶⁸

From Military Discipline to Disciplinary Urban Space

When describing the pre-modern Istanbul’s “municipal” administration, Karal said “there was not a satisfactory kind of administration in Istanbul though it houses the sultan, grand vizier, ulama and Janissaries.”⁶⁹ This indicates that there were posts (people) that would seek solutions following complaints and dictate orders to prevent these from happening again. However, it also suggests that there was not even a single post that would function as a regulatory unit and would provide *orders* by publishing detailed legal texts ahead of complaints. During Selim III’s reign, with the coming into

⁶⁷ Foucault, 1995, p. 172.

⁶⁸ Panopticon is an architectural mechanism adopted by utilitarianistic modern structures, that practices invisible surveillance. It was used in modern institutions such as a prison designed by Jeremy Bentham. Jeremy Bentham, *The Panopticon Writings*. Ed. Miraz Bozovic. London: Verso, 1995. P.29-95

⁶⁹ Karal, 1946, p. 106.

effect of the *Nizam ı Cedid*, a transition from *Kadı* to *Şehremaneti* appeared.⁷⁰ In other words, a tendency to make comprehensive regulations to preclude problems before they arise began to prevail over the sovereign's tendency to tackle problems after they occur. The consequence of this tendency to put things into order was a comprehensive codification, planning, and standardization.⁷¹ Cities began to be put into order during Mahmud II's reign. This period saw the spread of military principles from barracks to outside, and, as a result of municipalism and municipal policing, urban space was intended to be put in a form that was rational and standardized.

This condition of diffusion which is based on *Nizam ı Cedid* reforms picked up pace with Helmuth Von Moltke's arrival in Istanbul. He had an important role in the German unification process in the second half of the century and would be the commander of the victorious Prussian armies in the Franco-Prussian war in 1870. When he came to Istanbul, however, he was a young Prussian officer. In 1837, Moltke created principles for city space in particular for Istanbul, reports, and the Istanbul plan on which *İlmühaber*, the root of municipal intervention to space, was based. He was a hybrid figure (worked as a soldier and a municipal employee before the institutionalization of the modern municipalism) as he put military techniques which had become widespread in the 18 century into effect in Ottoman cities through the

⁷⁰ *Kadı* is a part of *state of justice* who judges under sharia law, who is also responsible for "municipal duties" closely linked to locals for execution of orders, *Şehremini* is the modern form, who holds no judging authority, only responsible for the city space as modern municipal head. For *Kadı* as "municipal" figure see Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat Döneminde Modern Belediyeciliğin Doğuşu Yerel Yönetim Metinleri*, İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010, p. 1-2.

⁷¹ Ottoman Tanzimat bureaucracy included sub branching in laws and by-laws and standardization of paperwork. In addition, it contained the issues such as the arrangement of line spaces and dates in documents. This is another aspect of the institutionalization in this period. Regulatory texts not only standardized body and space, but also were standardized. For instance, Meclis-i Vala made some regulations, issuing a mandate prepared on 9 January 1847. It stated: "Wordiness and vague expressions shall be avoided. Rhymed and adorned writings (writings that are products of capable clerks) shall contain as many clear expressions and Turkish words as possible. Line spaces shall be arranged to facilitate reading, and each subject will be handled by the relevant post so as to avoid confusion." see Ali Akyıldız, "Tanzimat Döneminde Belgelerin Şekil ve Muhteva Yönünden Geçirdiği Bazı Değişiklikler" in *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* içinde, in Halil İnalçık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu eds. , pp. 407-418, İstanbul: Türkiye İşbankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012, p. 411.

cartography, which was still the junction point where military and municipality meet.⁷² In that sense, understanding Moltke's rationality and discussing his discourses is important as this shows the principles which became official later through *İlmühaber* and orders.

Moltke mentioned about fires and the construction style of houses in Istanbul in a letter he wrote after he had come to Istanbul reveals the pre modern risky space : "23 November 1836 Fires, Construction Style of Houses...Houses in Istanbul are all made of wood. Even the big palaces of the sultan are nothing but large wooden shacks. They create a weak and mostly very high frame with thin timbers on a stone base. They cover it with wood, plaster the inside, and put tiles over the roof. As a result, they build a huge house in a short time. One can think of the severity of fires in a one mile square area where there are houses looking as if they are made of 'matches' and arranged in a dense and irregular fashion."⁷³ Moltke says he appeared before the sultan and embarked upon an "important" mission on 21 January 1837. He was probably tasked with making a plan of Istanbul. This is evident as he says "I completed the plan of Istanbul" in a letter dated 22 February 1837.⁷⁴ Hence, the first municipal plan of Istanbul was designed by a soldier, Moltke.

On 17 May 1839, the first document that was mentioned which ordered the destruction of narrow and dead-end streets and construction of wide roads and docks was prepared six months before the Tanzimat Rescript known as *İlmühaber* came into effect. *İlmühaber* document officially announced the main principles for construction housing forbidding the construction of dead-end streets and dictated the use of solid stone construction materials instead of wood. *İlmühaber* is known as the first text that arranges the urban space of Istanbul.⁷⁵ Moltke, who was brought to Istanbul to put the

⁷² See footnote 143.

⁷³ Helmuth Von Moltke, *Moltke'nin Türkiye Mektupları/ Feldmareşal Helmuth von Moltke; translated by: Hayrullah Örs.* İstanbul: Remzi Yayınları, 1969, p. 77.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* , p. 87.

⁷⁵ İlhan Tekeli, "19. Yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşümü" in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, Paul Dumont and François Georgeon eds. , translated by Ali Berkay, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, p. 19-30.

Ottoman army into order for the ongoing war with Mehmet Ali Pasa observed around the city, draw a plan, and presented a report to the sultan and eventually triggered the declaration of *İlmühaber*. Accordingly, Moltke's assessments and propositions for problem solving became official with *İlmühaber*. Besides, this makes his views on the order and city important.

According to the plan, the roads should have a width of 4 levels based on the locations and the vitality of the connections which were 20, 15, 10, and 5 *zira* ⁷⁶. Construction of dead-end streets was forbidden, and building squares in certain locations was required. In main arteries, the buildings were not to be higher than 20 *ziras* or 3 floors. The plan tried to prevent the spread of destructive fires and improve health conditions in the urban area. ⁷⁷

“Around...(within walls) roads shall be 20 *zira* and decorated with trees on each side. Sidewalks with a width of 4 *zira* shall be built, and an area of 12 *zira* should be left empty to allow horses and carts to pass. Besides, all roads shall be 15, 12, and 10 *zira*, and under no circumstances shall they have dead-end streets...(outside the walls)”⁷⁸ In other words, as in Moltke's plan, this *İlmühaber* states that the buildings should be built with a durable construction material; the main roads and streets should be designed with geometrical principles, and the new neighborhoods should be geometrically located. Furthermore, the use of wooden materials and any irregular unit should be avoided.

⁷⁶ *Zira* was a traditional unit of measure, which had transformed into a modern unit of measure while the *ebniye* order had been established. From ambiguous certainty about its unit size, later it became certain to the mm level, see footnote 127.

⁷⁷ İlhan Tekeli, “Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kentsel Dönüşüm” in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Murat Belge ed., pp. 878-890, İstanbul: İletişim, 1985, p. 885.

⁷⁸ *İlmühaber* in Osman Nuri Ergin, *İstanbul'da İmar ve İskan Hareketleri*, İstanbul: Eminönü Halkevi, 1938, p. 30.



Figure 5: First municipal map of İstanbul drawn by Moltke.

Source: İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Archives, narrated by Koray Özcan, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları:Türk İmar Sürecinin Kuruluş Sürecinde Erken Planlama Deneyimleri (1839-1908)." *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* VII, no. 2 (2006): 149-180, p. 157.

Moltke's plan shows the irregular pattern existing in the old city, narrow roads the directions of which are uncertain, the presence of dead-end streets, and the difficulty of providing fluidity within this labyrinthine appearance of the 19th century İstanbul. The reason for the prohibition of building dead-end streets was not only to provide fluidity in the macro plan, but also to enable state authority to enter spaces that became

autonomous units and made it possible for residents to close the streets to other residents of the city.⁷⁹

Another issue that poses a constant risk for Istanbul and is not seen in the plan is the presence of wooden buildings. The vulnerability of wooden buildings to fires caused fires to become more destructive and increased casualties. This is a problem, but at the same a solution for the regulations to be put into effect as during the second half of the 19th century, it was rather difficult to put newly adapted planning regulations into practice because of the immense costs of expropriation. Without the fires there had to be massive compulsory purchases, razing activities to widen the streets to connect the dead-end streets in main roads so that a geometrically efficient network could be created.⁸⁰

Changes in İstanbul followed a parallel historical course to those in cities such as Paris. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Paris had suffered two dreadful epidemics of cholera. In 1831, the first wave of the epidemic attacked 39,000 persons in the city and killed 18,000 of them including the prime minister. It struck again in 1849, this time claiming 19.000 Parisians.⁸¹ The plague epidemic in Istanbul in 1837 also caused thousands of lives to be lost. This period also encompasses the time when Moltke was in Istanbul. Moltke opposed the quarantine application of the state. This application was based on the observation that the disease was contagious, and the features of the disease were not exactly known. He asserted that “quarantining is not sufficient, is harmful and impossible to put into practice.” He emphasized the importance of sanitation. He believed that this problem could be tackled by establishing

⁷⁹ Stefanos Yerasimos, “Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Üzerine” in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, Paul Dumont and François Georgeon eds. , pp. 1-19, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, p. 10-11.

⁸⁰ Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1986, p. 53-82.

⁸¹ Paris, Commission on Cholera-morbus, Report on the cholera in Paris; printed by recommendation of the Board of Health and the Academy of Medicine of the City of New York (New York, 1849), pp. 668, 673, 677; MERRUAU, p. 198, narrated by David H. Pinkney, "Napoleon III's Transformation of Paris: The Origins and Development of the Idea" *The Journal of Modern History* 27, no. 2 (1955): 125-134, p. 129.

a “section of the municipal police dealing with health issues which is well-organized and kept under strict discipline.”⁸² This section would implement measures. He also believed that patients should be locked up in vacated Davutpaşa and Rami farm barracks. In addition, “it is important to show the public the good things done by new institutions...Any family reporting the plague to the government must be accepted directly, treated, and fed. Their houses and clothes must be cleaned, and they should not be charged for any of these. These things will alert at least a part of the public before long. Then, each family leader can be obliged to report plague cases within the family or neighbour houses to the government. This can be mandated, and punishments can be put into effect. And, force can be used upon those who do not abide by the rule.”⁸³ At this point, first of all, the parallel processes going on between Paris and Istanbul with regard to the sovereign’s efforts to put the city into order can be emphasized in order to argue that the city transformation cases during 18th and 19th century were not distinct, but historically simultaneous. In this context, Moltke’s approach towards circumstances that can be considered expansive dangers in urban space is similar: tackle the root of the problem by using disciplinary methods in order to eliminate disorder. The ‘building order’ established after Moltke organizes urban space and population in a way to protect them. This order followed similar processes to those of Hausmann regulations in Paris.

Establishment of the Order of Roads and Buildings

There were five group of problems that arose during the second half of the 19th century in Istanbul: These were reorganization of the trade center, reorganization of housing spaces, finding new housing spaces, construction of infrastructure required for city growth and taking necessary precautions to prevent fires in large neighbourhoods of

⁸² Moltke, 1969, p. 92.

⁸³ *Ibid.* , p, 93.

Istanbul. The population of Istanbul was 359.000 in 1828, it nearly tripled, reaching 1.077.000 in 1897.⁸⁴

The building order⁸⁵, which became comprehensive mainly in the second half of the 19th century, dates back to 1796.⁸⁶ The issue of fire tackling methods in *Kadı* system which was previously responsible for these tasks can provide the clues as to how the perception and solution methods of the power underwent a transformation. For instance, an edict was written to *kayyum e makam* of Istanbul, head gardener, and head sekban after a fire broke out at Yorgancılar Bazaar in 1695. This warned the public “not to light many fires after night prayer”, dictated that necessary rigour be shown to prevent fires and losses be recorded in the registry.⁸⁷ In 1725, an edict to the head architects was issued. It dictated roughly how eaves and heights should be, which led to the formation of some standards along with the efforts to prevent fires.⁸⁸ In 1765, an edict to the *kadı* of Istanbul was issued. It dictated that rigour be shown by the help of chamberlains and neighbourhood imams in the fight against fires.⁸⁹

All these texts dating to the 17th and 18th centuries had one thing in common, when compared to comprehensive orders issued after the *Nizam ı Cedid* and Tanzimat (i.e. detailed orders in the 19th century), previous orders were less detailed. They contained decrees such as “the need to tackle the issue of fire with rigour” or introduced sketchy regulations for building structures. Citizens and administrators were requested

⁸⁴ Kemal Karpat, *The Social and Economic Transformation of İstanbul in the Nineteenth Century*, AIESEE Bulletin, V. XII, no:2, 1974, pp.223-230 narrated by Tekeli, 1999, p. 20.

⁸⁵ *Ebniye Nizami*

⁸⁶ Osman Nuri Ergin’s *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, a work composed of 5 volumes. It presents full texts of all statutes about municipalism put into effect particularly in the 19th century. First printed in Ottoman by Istanbul Arşak Garoyan Printing House in 1922, the book was reprinted in 1995 by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 8 volumes and with the new alphabet. Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995, p. 1031.

⁸⁷ *Divan ı Hümayün Mühimme Defteri*, no. 105 narrated by Ergin, 1995, p. 1082.

⁸⁸ *Divan ı Hümayün Mühimme Defteri*, no. 341 narrated by *Ibid.* , p. 1082.

⁸⁹ *İstanbul Kadılığı Sicili*, no. 25, narrated by *Ibid.* , p. 1083.

to show rigour. However, the term “rigour” was not standardized and defined in detail unlike the case in the legal texts of the 19th century. The second issue that underwent a change during the establishment process of the building order is related to the sovereign’s approach to infrastructure in living spaces. In the *kadı* system in the Ottoman Empire, maintenance, repair, and cleaning of roads are the responsibility of property owners.⁹⁰ Dead-end streets can be said to be autonomous in that property owners living in these areas had the right to close the street or install doors.⁹¹ Property owners (i.e. neighbourhood residents) are essentially responsible, maintenance, and repair of these areas. Hence, ‘rigour’ and ‘care’ in edicts emphasize this responsibility. Due to the transformation into modern power, the previously prevailing notion of keeping residents responsible turned upside down. Instead, residents were prohibited even “to touch” infrastructure units. Any kind of intervention required a license and permission: “Sixteenth clause: Whoever touches gas pipes and reservoir shall be given a fine even if no harm and loss occur. The fine shall be between fifteen and twenty five liras, and it shall be based on the severity of the misdeed as dictated in *Ceza Kanunname i Hümayunu* (Law of Penalties). Should any harm occur, an additional sum of money shall be collected from the person in question.”⁹² Put another way, space had become untouchable without a license or permission that was registered and taxed during this transformation.

These transformations in the sovereign’s perception of population and space led to the issuance of legal texts mentioning standards and details so as to prevent fires, provide fluidity of the city, and protect the order and public health. With the disbandment of the Janissary Corps, the transformation picked up speed as there was no longer an armed force that could defend the old order. After the abolition of the

⁹⁰ “Sidewalks of monumentary roads in Istanbul shall be repaired by the state. Let people, imams, chamberlains, and elderly of aforementioned neighbourhoods be warned firmly: Under the requirements of the edict issued today, each and every person shall avoid any delay and negligence when it comes to repairing their own places (e.g. in front of their shops and houses).” 1676/1677 (1087), *İstanbul Kadı Sicili*, no. 18, narrated by Ergin, 1995, p. 1073-74.

⁹¹ Yerasimos, 1999, p. 10.

⁹² “Sokaklara Dair Nizamname”, *Eski Düstur*, volume: 2, p. 478 narrated by Ergin, 1995, p. 1787.

Janissary Corps, İhtisab Nezareti was established in 1826. Then, due to its inefficiency, Mahmud the second established the Directorate of Ebniye i hassa in 1831 which oversaw and controlled building and construction activities. İlmühaber, Ebniye Nizamnamesi (building order), and Şehremaneti were established in 1839, 1848, and 1854, respectively. Order regarding streets was issued in 1859, and Turuk and Ebniye Nizamnamesi were adopted in 1863.⁹³ That process of institutionalization started a legal transformation process as an explosion. In 1882, with the proclamation of *Ebniye Kanunu*, the Code of Buildings was the peak point of regulations that began in a narrow district. *İlmühaber*'s scope of action moved beyond the maintenance issues, and Directorate of Ebniye i Hassa then assumed the authority of the maintenance affairs and was tasked with planning to prevent the occurring of a problem, namely *menn - i vuku*⁹⁴. In other words, this set of directorates indicates the signs of an intention to administer the territory. At this point, order principles from the barracks were first turned into legal texts for the organization of Dersaadet and Beyoglu. They then became valid at the level of empire.

It is possible to track this interventionist expansion in legal texts. The first of the orders created after *İlmühaber* is the order (1848) regulating *Dersaadet and Bilad ı Selase* (Districts of İstanbul). Though this order encompasses İstanbul, it does not impose a rule over the whole empire. It was, however, the precursor of the orders and laws that would later be created for the whole empire. A precursor of the orders which aim to organize the capital of the state and the administration of the territorial area, this order is a compilation of principles in *İlmühaber*, and it aims at the implementation of these principles in a narrow area. However, its principles are the same, and following texts would go into further detail. This one primarily focuses on eaves, heights, direction of the streets, and the most important of all, the principles aiming to prevent fires and diseases. When these principles were determined, a comprehensive intervention with the urban space was put into effect just as the body and the barracks of

⁹³ Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, "Yerel Yönetim Metinleri XIII." *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler* V, no. 3 (1996): 67-81.

⁹⁴ *Menn -i Vuku* means preventing the emergence of a case in Ottoman Turkish.

Nizam ı Cedid soldiers had been put into order: “First clause: The width of big roads (main streets) shall be no smaller than ten ziras. On average, roads shall be no smaller than eight ziras, and streets six ziras. These shall be lined as new buildings are constructed. Second clause: Streets with appropriate width or wider streets shall not undergo any change. Any building on these streets shall not be allowed to encroach upon even the distance of the length of a finger in front of it.”⁹⁵“Seventeenth clause: All inns, houses, and shops which are made of wood or are loadbearing structures shall have main eaves with a height of eighteen fingers. Parapets that are to be built above doors and sides of shops facing streets shall be made of sheet iron and no wider than eighteen fingers.”⁹⁶

It was being attempted to put urban space into order with an intervention which would prevent “leaving all tasks to holy power”⁹⁷ (i.e. More clearly defines measures were set, and everything did not hinge on showing “rigour”).⁹⁸ A legal framework for regulating space in city, was prepared to fight against fires and epidemics; buildings prone to fire and streets which would make fires easier to spread and emergency response harder were regulated under some standards in this period: “Eleventh clause: stone walls shall be built between houses.”⁹⁹ Twenty fifth clause: All mills and bakeries shall have stone walls on three sides.¹⁰⁰ If legal texts, which had fire-preventive characteristics, were restricted solely to this field, this would not shed light on the entire issue. Other subjects were included in these texts aside from fire and health issues. For example, the twenty ninth clause states that “new single rooms shall not be built both in the bazaar and between neighbourhoods in Istanbul and bilad I selase.”¹⁰¹ Articles like

⁹⁵ “Dersaadet ve Bilad-ı Selaseyi Düzenleyen Nizamname”, *Divan-ı Hümayun Buyuruldu Defteri*, p. 83 in Ergin, 1995, p. 1032.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* , p. 1035.

⁹⁷ *bi kazaillahi teala.*

⁹⁸ *Divan ı Hümayun Mühimme Defteri*, no. 105, narrated by Ergin, 1995, p. 1081.

⁹⁹ *Divan-ı Hümayun Buyuruldu Defteri*, p. 83 narrated by Ergin, 1995, p. 1034.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* , p. 1036.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* , p. 1036.

this one demonstrate that the regulation of space and that of the society went hand in hand.

A more detailed version of these rules is found in a Beyoğlu municipal police ordinance, *Sokaklara Dair Nizamname (Order Regarding Streets)* dated 1859, which regulates implementation. This order improves hygiene conditions, regulates behaviour, performs classifications, combines a given behaviour pattern with a certain time period, and encodes this operation. By doing these, it presents examples from the organization of the ‘new soldier’ creation process during which *talim* and *terbiye* methods were used. It encompasses everything on streets, including households. It has instructions for the sweeping of streets. “The sixth clause: “The person who settles for the least amount of money shall sweep streets, and the conditions mentioned later here shall be in effect. Streets in class one shall be swept once a day in winter and twice a day in summer. Those in class two shall be swept once a day and those in class three once a week. These processes shall take place five-six hours before the noon and seven-eight hours after the noon from early April to early October. From early October to early April, however, they will be carried out six-seven hours after the noon. Seventh clause: House and shop owners and tenants shall have to wait for carts, horses, and mules which shall collect sweepings to arrive. Eight clause: Servants bringing these carts, horses, and mules shall knock doors of each house in neighbours. House owners or tenants shall be required to dispose of sweepings which amount to a barrel, tin canister, or a similar can. Carried in these materials, these sweepings shall then be damped into carts or baskets allocated.”¹⁰²

Military reforms constituted the roots of modern municipalism, when it emerged, it clearly reflected standardized movements and behavior of a musket soldier. Particularly when tasks of the “civilian” subject were ordered by ordinances, the service-responsibility discourse had not dominated completely. Therefore, in the very

¹⁰² “Sokaklara Dair Nizamname”, *Eski Düstur*, volume: 2, p. 478, in Ergin, 1995, p. 1786.

beginning of the institutionalization process, it was more visible, compared to the later 20th century municipalism, that is more embedded in space and normalized.¹⁰³

Another issue worth paying attention to is the emphasis on license and permission in these orders. A license imperativeness brought two things: first, the immunity of the space is declared by sovereign; second, sovereign's authority here was accommodated in exchange for money. Hence, space had become a means of protecting the health of population and also continued to be an income source, as well as a disciplinary frame that had become monopolized. The Order of Tax (*Harc and Rüsumat*) to be Taken from Each Building (1863)¹⁰⁴ is an order regulating this income source. As stated before, sovereign had imposed the responsibility of maintenance, and repair of infrastructure upon residents of neighbourhoods. With the introduction of modern municipalism, this changed vice versa. Interventions in roads and hygiene infrastructure now required the presence of a license: "House owners and tenants who intend to build chimneys, remove cobbles to repair the sewer line, water lines, and gas pipes shall get a license and turn the neighbourhood into its old form after the operation."¹⁰⁵

It was also intended that the roads would be open and luminous (visible): "Thirty first clause: It is prohibited to leave objects that block the light and roads. It is also forbidden to put shutters above the street level and shop logos, showcases, and shop windows in front. Likewise, sunshades, propped against or nailed to walls, are forbidden as of now."¹⁰⁶ Thus, the sovereign turned towards a perception which was, "ubiquitously", trying to see and control everything. It assumed a form which was embedded in space with discipline techniques rather than representation. "Households must be perfectly clean all the time"¹⁰⁷ Threats against public health were tackled.

¹⁰³ See Chapter II, "bio political codification", footnote 234.

¹⁰⁴ "Her Nevi Ebniye'den Alınacak Harç ve Rüsumat Nizamnamesi", *Eski Düstur*, volume: 2, p. 515 narrated by Ergin, 1995, p. 1685.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1789.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.1789.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.1790.

Slaughtering animals in areas other than clearly designated locations was forbidden. Cleaning animal barns became compulsory.¹⁰⁸ Houses that were deemed ‘not clean enough’ would be proclaimed with a sign on these houses. “Fiftieth clause: Until the owners of the houses lacking air and reception of sunlight take care of these problems, they shall bear signs declaring that they are in unhealthy conditions.”¹⁰⁹ The surveillance and the sovereign’s bio politic concern in population are all products of a new governmental mind striving to eliminate threats against population rather than a mere presentation of itself as in the middle ages.

The following 1863 *Turuk and Ebniye Nizamnamesi* (The Order of Roads and Buildings), different from its narrow-scoped antecedents, tried to impose an empire-wide regulation. In the order, there were rules under the title of “fire precautions”, which were the reflections of the great fires breaking out in Istanbul. These rules included precautions to prevent fires, but most of all the standardized units of measure are started to be described in detail: “First clause: Houses, miscellaneous buildings, and walls shall be built by the use of zira calculation, as explained later, so as not to cause any tribulation in traffic. And, the mentioned ‘zira’ shall be equal to three fourth of a French meter. First, the width of public roads shall be measured from outer surfaces of ground floors of both sides of buildings. Roads in class one and two shall have a width of twelve ells; those in class three shall have a width of ten ells. Those in class four shall have a width of eight ells. Finally, dead-end streets with houses with multiple owners shall have a width of six ells. The appropriate width of each street, as required by the order, shall be declared on a sign which shall be put near the entrance of the street...”¹¹⁰

As stated earlier, in the same period, there were ongoing interventions in urban space in Paris (1853-1869). The structure of Paris streets, which made control difficult and obstructed fluency, was being changed through a process called ‘Hausmannization.’ In 1739, Voltaire told Prussian Prince Frederick about the fact that money was

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* , p. 1791.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* , p.1791.

¹¹⁰ “Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi”, *Eski Düstur*, volume: 2, p. 499 narrated by Ergin, 1995, p. 1673.

squandered with firework shows while Paris was in great need of parks, fountains, and markets, and he stated his astonishment. He wrote an article on “des embellissements de paris” ten years after that. In this article, Voltaire complains about the lack of open spaces : "the center of the city dark, confined, frightful ... the public markets established in narrow streets, parading squalor, spreading infection, and causing continual disorder." According to him, Paris should have big markets, wide squares, and running waters. Narrow streets should be widened.¹¹¹ With the Hausmann transformations in Paris, echoing Voltaire’s complaints, Napoleon III proposed a system of entirely new streets that would facilitate the increasing flow of traffic for decades, bring light and air to crowded slums, and, at the same time, embellish the city.¹¹²

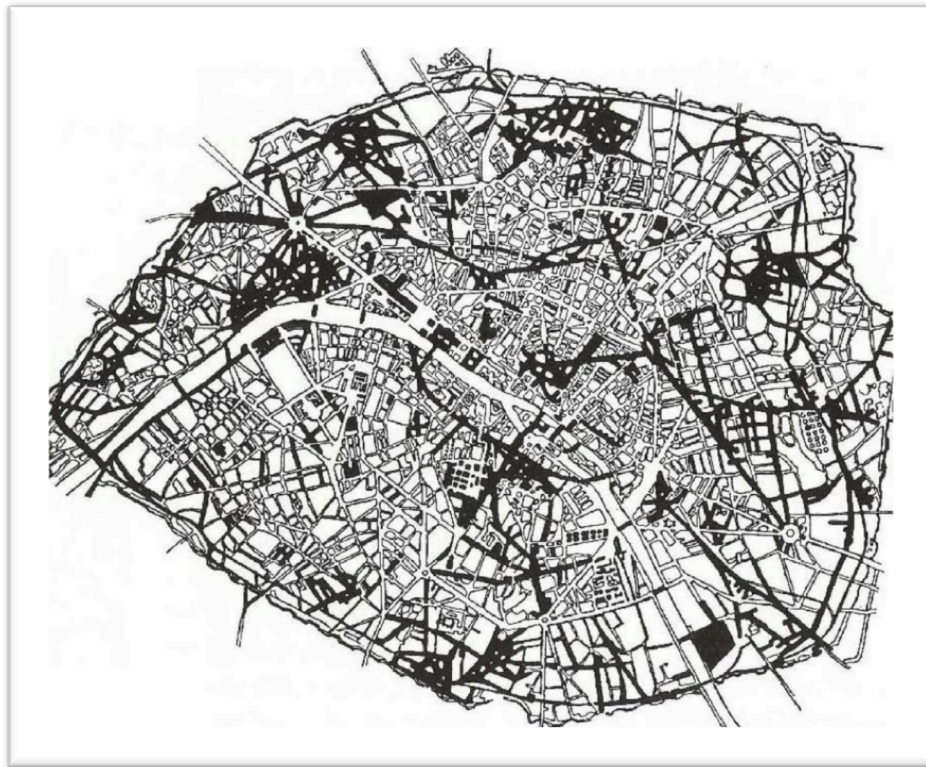


Figure 6: Haussman’s renovation of Paris.

Source: Rasmussen, 1997; narrated by Özcan, 2006, p. 154.

¹¹¹ Voltaire, *Euvres completes Paris*, 1876-78, V, p. 390-95 narrated by Pinkney, 1955, p. 126-7.

¹¹² *Ibid.* , p. 130.

The moment when this transformation process overlapped with that of the Ottoman Empire was when the efforts to put urban space into order through macro plans and orders picked up speed with the outbreak of 1866 Hocapaşa fire. Even though these efforts began in Istanbul, they spread towards all corners of the empire, particularly the Balkans. The expansion of Volos between 1833 and 1846 and Kavala in 1864, construction of Yanya after the fire in 1869, establishment of the city of Dedeğaç in 1870, and modernization of Thessaloniki with the demolition of walls between 1870 and 1890 corroborate this fact.¹¹³ What is missing here in the analyses of decorative westernization is this historical parallelism with regulations in Paris in the mid-19th century. The tendency of the central state to fix irregularities in the city led to the emergence of discourses and applications similar to those in Paris. After the Hocapaşa fire broke out in 1866, Islahat ı Turuk Commission was established. The reason for this shows the will behind the former legal regulations and, in a sense, expresses the philosophy behind the new power economy. Following the Hocapaşa fire, the commission was authorized in a restricted field. The establishment text, giving the reasons for the presence of the commission, reflects the utilitarianist perspective of the sovereign when assessing the issue of fires: “The existing streets in Istanbul even deserve no naming, they are home to some narrow steep areas with twisted upslopes and downslopes. Should-Allah forbid-a fire break out, it is nigh impossible to save lives and properly, let alone bring in fire brigade. Cleanliness and hygiene are of tremendous importance for health, making use of the current municipal police system in Istanbul is no different than protecting a complex forest. Should roads the one end of which can be seen from the other exist, it may take perhaps even the half of the current police forces to exercise protection service...”¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Alexandra Yerolympos, “Tanzimat Döneminde Kuzey Yunanistan'da Şehircilik ve Modernleşme”, in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, , Paul Dumont and François Georgeon eds., translated by Ali Berktaş, pp. 31-60, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, p. 39.

¹¹⁴ *Takvim-i Vekayi*, 29 March/24 Zilhicce 1282/1866, No. 840, narrated by Ergin, 1995, p.940.

“Some narrow steep areas with twisted upslopes and downslopes” both prevent firefighting and cause loss of life and property. Long been a problem, this issue, began to be tackled with modern municipalism and applications based on disciplinary techniques rather than the old fashioned “rigour”, the perspective of obtaining maximum utility with minimum loss prevailed. The solution of problems with detailed orders and an interventionist will was now considered necessary to fight big, destructive fires and improve public health conditions. To use fewer police forces yet do more work by the use of roads ‘the one end of which can be seen from the other’, in other words, the construction of visible and ‘fluid’ roads can be said to reflect the intent of the modern power to perform effective surveillance and control with little cost. It is possible to say that surveillance paves the way for a new configuration in population that the resultant sense of being watched makes the optimization in use of resources.

In addition to precautions against traffic flow, visibility, health, fires, there are also newly determined regulations at home and bread making “the bread shall be made of white flour. There shall be nothing but salt, yeast, and enough water. No spoilt, musty, stale bread shall be sold. Underbaked and overwatered bread shall be seized, and shop owners selling it shall be given fines” are in this order.¹¹⁵ Sovereign made legal laws and binding sanctions more sophisticated in time, it began to embed itself in social relations through a series of orders and laws, which continually increased and became detailed towards the 20th century.¹¹⁶ Within this period of the establishment of municipalism, the order on bread making dated 1870 standardized space and conditions in and under which bread is made. With the enactment of this order, it became obligatory to get a license to produce the staple food, bread. Bread makers were now subjected to control under some standards and measures: “Second article: bread makers and simit (a kind of bagel) and börek (a variety of sugar-free pastry products) sellers who make bread shall get a license from *Şehremaneti* within a month following the date at which this order becomes effective. They shall, depending on their ability to pay, pay one

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1792.

¹¹⁶ See Chapter II, subtopic “Architects as Binding Figures”.

hundred or fifty kuruş to *Şehremaneti* fund as the registration fee.”¹¹⁷ The third and fourth articles of the order stipulate that those who quit bread making and those who do not start practicing the job after getting a license be subjected to punishment.¹¹⁸ Here, the aim is to sustain bread production. Bread to be produced was subjected to certain a standardization. Within its scope, it was attempted to make the size of bread standardized. Bread was classified based on weight, it became compulsory to have a pair of scales in any bakery: “seventh article: there shall be three groups of bread, namely bread weighing one *kıyye*, half a *kıyye*, and one hundred *dirhem*. Ninth article: Bakeries, bread shops, and those selling bread in baskets shall have a price list indicating the prices of the bread kinds. The prices shall be determined by the bread maker society upon the consent of *Şehremaneti* and committee bakery. A sign indicating the baker of bread shall be posted on baskets on shops, and each bakery shall have an allocated number. Tenth article: Each bakery and bread shop and people selling bread on streets and in neighbourhoods shall be obliged to have a pair of scales (as required by new standards) free of harmful substances; bread shall be sold after being weighed upon the request of customers.”¹¹⁹ The control of bread production, the obligation of production continuity, and standardization of bread based on hygiene requirements are for provision of optimum health conditions. The ordering of bread makers to be healthy and not to transmit any diseases to bread is the complementary component of this: “Twenty sixth article: Men engaging in pastry are prohibited to practise this profession should they be afflicted with any illness or skin diseases.”¹²⁰

The first aspect of controlling the bread production as a municipal service is the sustainability of this widely consumed staple food, that is, the opportunity to feed people, (of course the contrary situation has risks) and the sanitation level of bread (i.e. bread should be produced according to general hygiene standards and not pose any

¹¹⁷ *Eski Düstur*, volume: 2, p. 528 narrated by Ergin, 1995, p. 1831.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1831.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1831-32.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1833. The condition requiring bakers being healthy is similar to the duty in the 8th clause of the 15th article of the 1930 municipal law, which aimed to protect and ensure to servicemen’s health.

danger to public health.) The second aspect is the control of the risks caused by bread production. These risks are fires that are uncontrollable due to irregular urbanization and common use of wood: “thirtieth article: “During the construction of a bakery, there shall be no joint wall between the building and the stove, and there shall be at least or more than thirty eight centimeters between them. Thirty third article: Kneading troughs shall be made of oak, walnut, hornbeam, or any other hardwood. Furthermore, it is required that these be put at least two meters away from the stove.”¹²¹

These steps to be followed after the bread making process were determined to prevent risks, In this context, every process from the distribution of bread from bakeries to places where it can be held until sold was stated: “Thirty fifth article: No bread shall ever be placed on the ground. There shall be stalls with windows on streets and outside the bakery area to sell bread. Bread shall be taken out of stove and arrayed neatly on clean woods and shelves made specifically for this purpose.”¹²² A committee specializing in bread making shall be created to make these standards more common. A sample bakery shall be created so that it shall be an example for others: “forty fourth article: a sample bread shop shall be constructed and run by the committee. The aforementioned shop has two stoves and each and every tool needed for bread making and cooking, as shown in the picture. There shall be a ‘dakik’ room and an administration room, and this shop shall be opened and run with shares taken from bread makers.”¹²³

The process of creating a legal framework, in other words, laying the basis for modern buildings and roads, which would later continue in a number of different fields, was completed with the *Ebniye Kanunu* (Law of Building) enacted in 1882. Laws which would later be enacted within the scope of “municipal services” went beyond this endeavour in terms of their effective areas and content. The Law of Building was a compiled, detailed, and extended version of previous orders. For instance, “fire

¹²¹ *Ibid.* , p.1834.

¹²² *Ibid.* , p. 1834.

¹²³ *Ibid.* , p. 1835.

precautions” mentioned in previous orders were explained in further detail with the title “precautions to prevent fires from breaking out.”¹²⁴ When the positions and boundaries of buildings, the smallest unit making up the city, were set, it was stated how stove pipes should be arranged inside the building so as to reduce fire risks: “Fortieth article: from the diameter of the pipes which go through the wood to the diameter of the hole where the pipes go through shall be two fingers wide, and the open part of the hole shall be covered with sheet wood and bricks. Forty first article: metallic pipes going through wood flooring shall go through clay pipes; there shall be a two-finger space, and kitchen construction shall not be carried out on the floors of a wooden building.”¹²⁵

As modern municipalism was completing its formation, in the last phase, short process of jumping from the *rigour* expectations of the 18th century to *preventive measures* of the 19th century was clearly present.¹²⁶ As evident from the formation of laws, focusing on details, separation of units of measurement into more and more varieties, and their becoming more detailed continued. For instance, now millimeters determined measures; the practice of classification and indicating these classifications on signs continued: “second article: zira is equal to three fourths of a meter plus eight millimeters. As the optimal size (i.e. ziras) of each street is determined, it shall be written on a sign, and this will be posted near the entrance of the street.”¹²⁷

This law also includes regulations as to the zoning of uninhabited gardens and orchards for construction. According to these, the state imposes responsibilities upon

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* , p. 1723.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* , p. 1723.

¹²⁶ *İhtimam (Rigour): Being overly careful, spending a lot of effort and paying much attention.* Here, as stated in Islahat ı Turuk Comission, rigour with “the half of the current police forces” is a constant effort and thus not economic. *Menn i vuku tedbiri* : preventive measures. For example, showing rigour requires the whole population to be always careful against the danger of fire. Preventive measures, however, mean taking precautions to prevent the spread of fires. This is the notion that changed in terms of approach towards risks from the 18th to the 19th century.

¹²⁷ *Eski Düstur*, Addendum 3, p. 2, in Ergin, 1995, p. 1716. As can be seen in footnote 110, which describes the unit of measurement in the Order of Roads and Buildings, the phrase “three forths of a meter” is used when a zira is explained. Here, however, the expression “three forths of a meter plus eight millimeters” is used.

property owners for them to zone these areas for construction. The law now required that an area must be cut that would be zoned for construction have enough space for a school and a police station: “Sixteenth clause: Those who want to open lands, vineyards, and orchards for zoning for construction are required to leave enough space for a police station and a school and construct sewer lines until the borders and pay *şehremaneti* four liras per each ell for the construction of sidewalks.”¹²⁸ Adjusting buildings’ details, door sills, window frames, and measures of other elements, the law describes its interaction with the city in detail: “twenty ninth article: door sills on the roads shall be one finger; round and flat pillars and dados shall be two fingers; window frame and iron wing shall be four fingers; rainwater pipes and boxes and glass frames placed in front of shops and iron bars in front of windows of shops and ground floors and hangers hung on to the front of shops shall be six fingers and four ells above the ground. Eaves together with shop shutters and gutter shall be one ell, and tarpaulins in front of shops and stores shall be four ells above the ground; keys of poles and sticks propped against walls shall be at an angle of forty five degrees and be two ells. Oil lamps propped against walls shall have a height of four ells; they shall protrude two ells and two fingers towards streets.”¹²⁹ With the enactment of this law which remained effective until the 1930s, emphasis on disciplinary space was completed.

Grid Planned Space Around Imperial Territory

Around 50 years before the emergence of modern municipalism, the problem of the state was that the efficiency of soldiers in wars was not satisfactory. In order to overcome this problem, training manuals and methods used extensively in Europe were adopted as other European countries did. As mentioned before, these new methods were based on a discipline model which broke time into small pieces, created cells in space and allocated resultant pieces based on functions, in short, covered each moment, and

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1718.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1721.

made it possible to avoid any waste. The main argument of the thesis is the spread of this model to urban space through an architectural style and with a “municipalism” discourse. Orders concerning space that is presented up to now have the same disciplinary framework as military orders. With the intervention of military officers in urban space, as hybrid employees, these principles passed on to “civilian” life. The sovereign regulated urban space through by-laws and orders in which attempted to line armies properly, minimize extremities, maximize the number of shots in a minute, determine how a rifle should be readied, aimed, and shot, show the positions of fingers, chest, and head in a rhythm. When organizing urban space, the modern power put the same principles with same details into the discourse of “municipal services” at the end of the century. With the regulations mentioned above, space and ordinary activity started to be under surveillance and put it into order which attempted to make risks to population minimized, furthermore, this organization changed urban space into proper lines. By doing this, buildings and roads were reshaped. With this depoliticized tendency on which it imposed neutral responsibility, disciplinary intervention even penetrated into houses.

Grid planned urban space started to become dominant from mid 19th century in imperial territory. A fire breaking out in 1856 destroyed 758 buildings in Aksaray, İstanbul.¹³⁰ A sample region to demonstrate the regulation of the urban fabric in İstanbul, Aksaray was the place where the physical appearance of the new structure was distinctive. The new structure plan was mainly put into practice by regulations and was a prologue of the transformation in urban fabric that would take place also in other districts of İstanbul and Bursa¹³¹ during the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. As mentioned with reference to official texts, fires which posed

¹³⁰ Çelik, 1986, p. 25.

¹³¹ “In the reestablishment of the city, urban planning methods taught by European engineers to Ottoman students in military schools were made use of. Suphi Bey, a student who later became an engineer, drew the first cadastral plan of the city in 1858, publishing it in 1861. Ahmed Vefik Paşa used this plan for the reconstruction of Bursa.” See for the source on the same fundamentals of these regulations. Béatrice Saint-Laurent, “Bir Tiyatro Amatörü: Ahmed Vefik Paşa ve 19. Yüzyılın Son Çeyreğinde Bursa'nın Yeniden Biçimlenmesi” in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, Paul Dumont and François Georgeon eds. , pp. 79-99, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, p. 86

serious risks to the traditional urban area played a crucial role in transformation of the scheme of the city, 1856 Aksaray and 1865 Hocapaşa fires paved the way for the sovereign's desire to reorganize the urban fabric to realize.¹³² After these massive destructions, dead-end and irregular streets disappeared along with labyrinth shaped general structure.

The neat order created by the transformations in Balkan cities happened at the same time with those in Istanbul. This bears significance as it indicates that the *orders* reached and executed across the empire. The representation of the ongoing legal transformation in space is seen in changes in city macro plans. Consider Dedeagaç which was established in the 1870s, for example. The city has the physical view of the aforementioned orders. The articles of Baron Hirsh's contract in 1869, who obtained the right to operate Selanik-Istanbul railroad, required that a commercial harbour be constructed in Enez. After land studies, a conclusion that the area is not suitable for a harbour was reached. Then, it was decided that a harbour could be constructed in Dedeagaç district, which was a little further from Enez. Merchants of Enez showed interest in this city with the construction of the harbour and core buildings in the vicinity. Hence, the first city on European standards was built.¹³³

In the same period, in Palestine, Middle East, municipalities emerged in the 1860s. The Jerusalem Municipality and Jaffa Municipality were established in 1863 and 1872, respectively.¹³⁴ For instance, certain transformations occurred in Jerusalem as a

¹³² Çelik, 1986, p. 53.

¹³³ Yerolympos, 1999, p. 45 . The mentioned book section reveals urban transformations from the disorder of old times to the systematic structures in Northern Greece after the Tanzimat Era. See for the writer's other work showing the transformations in the Balkans. Alexandra Yerolympos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans (1820-1920) Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Remaking of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1996.

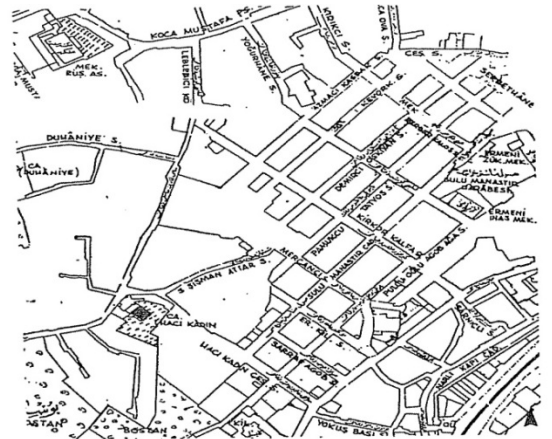
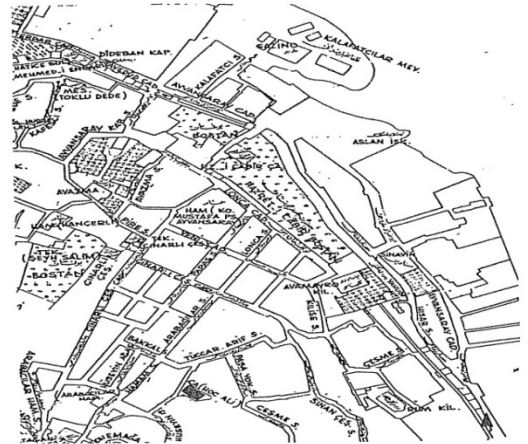
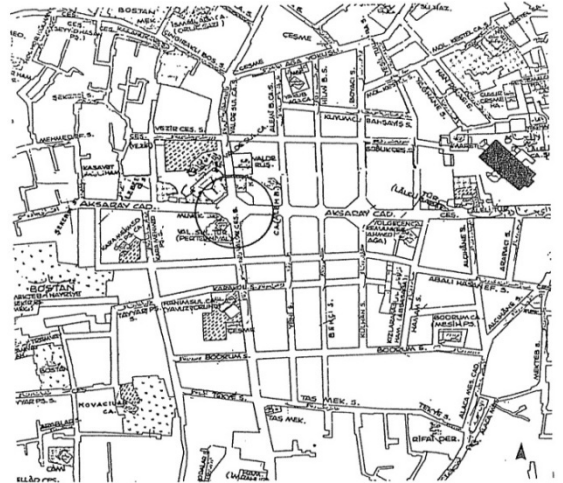
¹³⁴ Ha-Havatzet, v. 2, p. 18 narrated by Haim Gerber, "Tanzimat'a Yeni Bir Bakış Kudüs Vilayeti" in *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, Halil İnalcık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu eds. , pp. 245-263, İstanbul: Türkiye İşbankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012, p. 258.

result of the effects of the Tanzimat reforms; these reforms finally achieved the goals set before.¹³⁵

All in all, the whole process is a foundation process of “a state ready and observer in everywhere” as Abdurrahman Muhib pointed with admiration in embassy reports on French state: “In every law, they use a ‘it has benefits for all the people’ discourse, but they don’t lose the opportunity to make a profit”.¹³⁶ This interventionism was realized along with municipal discourse and through municipalism. The expansion of the state in terms of territorial administration, its turn towards population, and development of a service discourse were presented as neutral. However, this diffusion is completely political. It aims to reshape space and body with aforementioned methods and for reasons rather than change the appearance. In short, the state view of micro issues underwent a transformation towards a biopolitic approach in 100 years (i.e. from Nizam ı Cedid to the Tanzimat and the last quarter of the 19th century.) This is a constant transformation; it did not fail. It laid the basis on which new structures would be built in the 20th century. ‘Re-established’ in the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire shrunk in size. Yet, it expanded in terms of administration. The case was the same in the 1920s and 1930s, the Early Republican Period. The village-city planning interest shown in Anatolia during and after the foundation of republic and the architecture of Ankara as a big project must be studied within this context.

¹³⁵ “The Ottoman reforms achieved the goals at the end of the period though the process was slow and bureaucratic methods that can perhaps be called ‘incubation’ were used. These methods were not clear yet and were increasing gradually”, *Ibid.* , p. 262.

¹³⁶ M. Cavid Baysun, "Mustafa Reşit Paşa'nın Siyasi Yazıları", *Tarih Dergisi* XI, no. 15 (1960): 124-7.



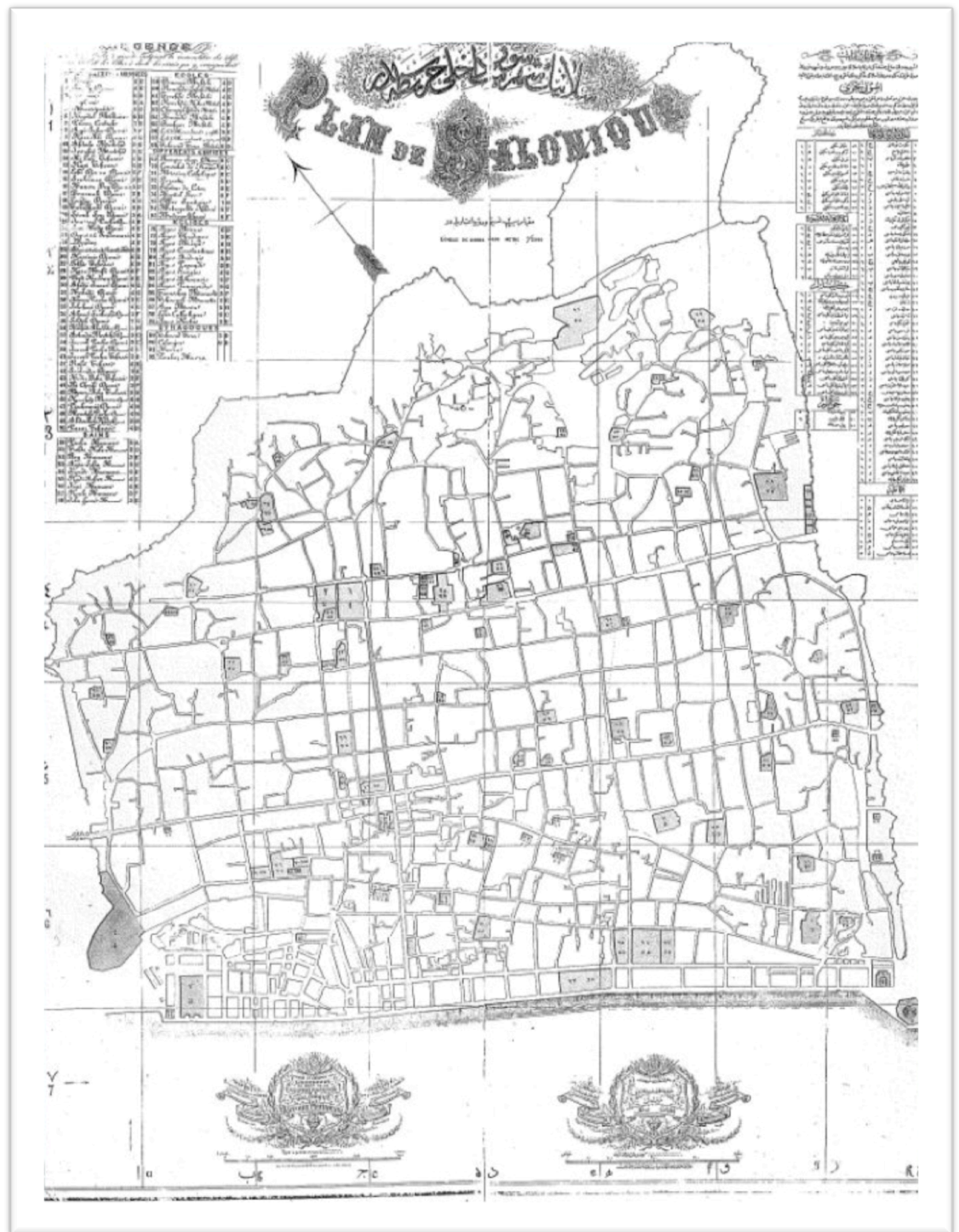


Figure 8: Thessaloniki 1880.

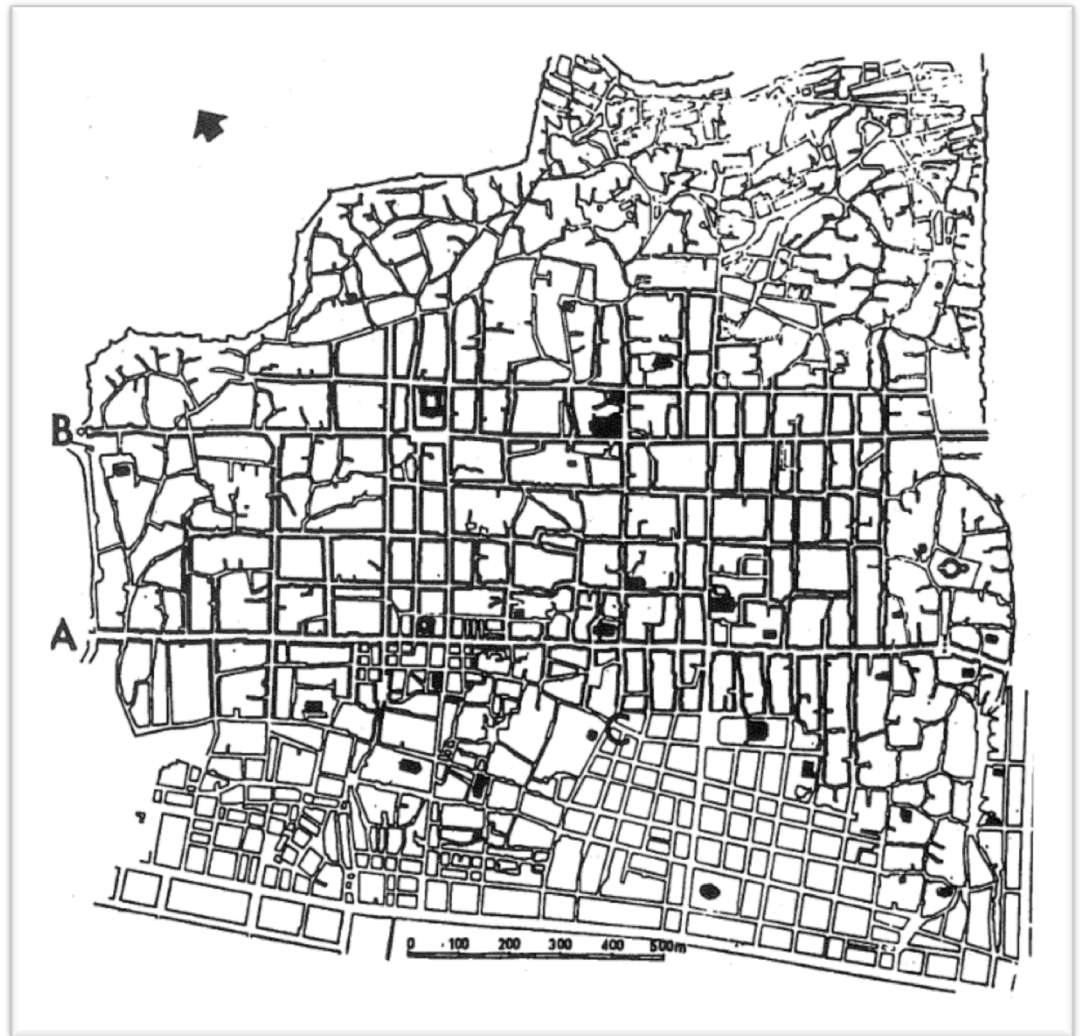


Figure 9: Thessaloniki, 1890.

Sources: Alexandra Yerolympos, *Urban Transformations in the Balkans (1820-1920) Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Remaking of Thessaloniki*, Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1996, p. 89 and 97.



Figure 10: İzmir, 1854.

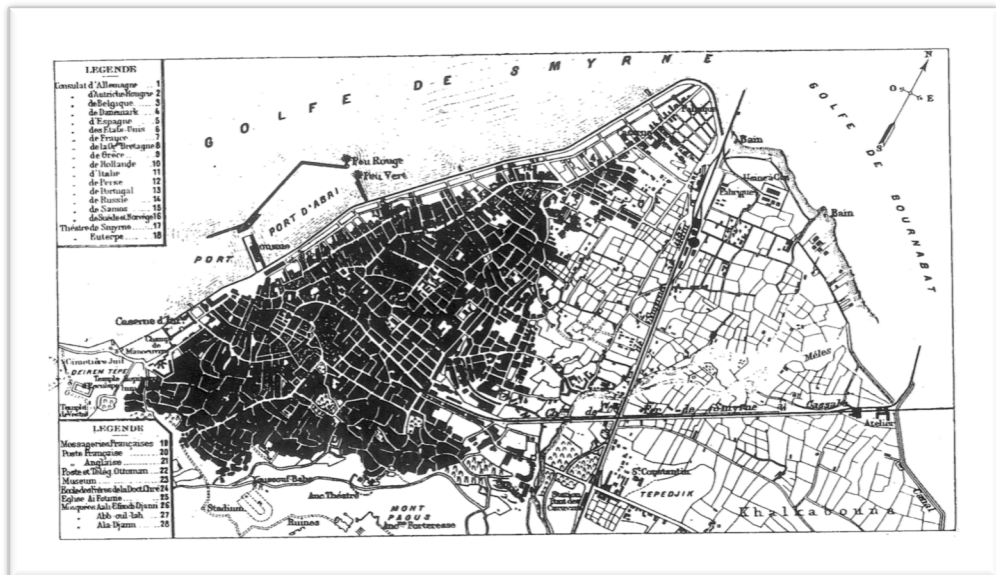


Figure 11: İzmir, 1885.

Sources: Yerolympos, 1996, p. 62 and 63.

So far beginning from Nizam ı Cedid reforms , the codification process on space which was a part of Ottoman modernization, has been stated. Since spatial transformation were developed as part of military reforms, the topic's starting point was determined as the beginning of military reforms. At this point, the study focused on discipline and its diffusion.

Military structures demonstrate the civilian space's patterns as prototypes. Similarly the geometry of spatial regulations inspired by military space confirm this process. However it would not be sufficient to demonstrate the similarities, therefore it was focused on the codification process on space by following the development of "Turuk and Ebniye" regulations, and Ebniye Law at the end.

On the one hand the development process of these spatial laws was attempted to be analysed, on the other the reflections of these laws on space was attempted to be demonstrated by presenting 19th century urban plans. The grid patterns were common together with the traditional web of streets in 19th century urban plans of Ottoman Empire, as if it was a photo of the moment of transformation. This photo endorses that the statute's main principles reflected on space and transformed it.

These legal texts attempted to solve the traditional power relations and establish the modern state's absolute sovereignty in space. While a destruction and reconstruction is required, it was also an aim to achieve that task economically. Nonetheless fires as destructive forces facilitated that task and path the way to the rational reconstruction of the space. However, regulations and precautions were still needed in space for putting things in order. These regulations and precautions were not executed in a vulgar sense, rather they sought consent, they were operated under a modern municipality discourse which was based on public service. In other words municipal regime was a product of the process of putting things in order in space. This regime completed its formation at the end of 19th century in Turkey and during Early Republican Period, it was an operating regime in space that governs the spatial transformation according to its founding principles.

Ebniye Kanunu which means “law of the buildings” in Ottoman Turkish, was descended to Republican Turkey. From regulations that govern the narrow districts in Istanbul, at the end this extended law was in effect in whole imperial territory. This law was an improvement of its predecessor, *Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi*, which means “the regulation of roads and buildings” in Ottoman Turkish, and extended it by determining exact measurement units, and standards of buildings and roads. Ebniye Law had been in effect until 1933. Therefore it was the law in effect when Ankara selected, planned and constructed. In 1933 *Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu* which means “the law of structures and roads” in modern Turkish, became in effect. The new law is an extended update of its predecessor. To sum, Ankara’s space political analysis would be quite narrow without the development process of Ebniye Law.

Chronologically there is a 50 – year gap between late 19th century and second quarter of 20th century. Since a municipal administration was institutionalized, more and more legal text emerged later, which went in detail and extended the scope of regime. Similarly during republican era, from 1940s onwards there were enormous size of texts that could be presented. But presenting the entire corpus on the issue is not an aim of this study, since it was made by other studies in the related literature. It would also be a countless repeat of the main arguments of this study by presenting the texts in this 50 – year gap. This study focuses on the formation process and formation context municipalism, in order to problematize and conceptualize it for the explanation of Early Republican spatial transformations. Otherwise, writing the entire history of modern municipalism, with presenting the entire corpus would be a repeat of the works done before.

In brief, the modern municipalism and Ebniye Law was the common point in both 19th century and Early Republican spatial transformations which links these two eras that seems chronologically distant. This chapter’s interpretation of the development of modern municipalism and the related statute provides a historical conceptual toolset for the analysis of Ankara’s spatial transformations in a political sense. Ankara’s construction was not a momentarily emerged modernization, but was a part of a historical tendency, and should be evaluated within that context. In this respect, the

historical tendency that has been presented provides the context in which Ankara's planning and construction is located. The regimes and related concepts that this context produces path the way to an accurate analysis of Ankara's spatial transformations.

This chapter ends by providing the the emergence process of regime that governs space in Turkey, the related statute and the reflections of them around imperial territory. Within this context, next chapter's focus will be Early Republican spatial transformations with the case of Ankara, in the context of the descended regime from late 19th century Ottoman Empire.

CHAPTER II:

SPACE POLITIC, PLANNING AND MUNICIPALISM IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

This chapter focuses on space-politics practices in the Early Republican Period mostly within the context of Anatolian geography, particularly Ankara by referring macro-micro planning of the state and the intellectual transformation of the architects as practitioners of modern disciplinary patterns. The chapter will follow the same path and methodology as the first chapter. As Timothy Mitchell's words concerning The role of spatial discipline is as follows "Politics was a field of practice, formed out of the supervision of people's health, the policing of urban neighbourhoods, the reorganization of streets, and, above all, the schooling of the people, all of which was taken up - on the whole from the 1860s onward - as the responsibility and nature of government"¹³⁷ demonstrates the relations between governmentality and its disciplinary practice in space. Framework of Foucault that is also used in Egypt's 19th century transformations can also shed light on a case outside Europe, in an issue of colonization of a region with disciplinary techniques as seen in Mitchell's work. Planning of Ankara and a whole territory is taken into consideration within this non European, but similar context.

Having been shut down following the occupation of Istanbul, the assembly was reopened in Ankara in 1920. This city was located in a central position in Anatolia and had access to railway lines since late 19th century.¹³⁸ Consequently, it became the capital

¹³⁷ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, p. 103.

¹³⁸ For economical results of railway lines to Ankara's *hinterland* , see İlber Ortaylı, "19. Yüzyıl Ankara'sına Demiryolu'nun Gelişi Hinterlandının ve Hinterlanddaki Üretim Eylemlerinin Değişimi" in *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, Ümit Nevzat Uğurel and Erdal Yavuz eds. , pp. 209-223, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1984.

of the republic after serving as the center of the war against the Greek army of occupation.¹³⁹

The move of the capital of the new state from Istanbul to Ankara was a significant shift. The new nation state struggled to spread state power over all territories that remained after wars and destructions. This is seen both in the discourse of people running the country in the 1920s and 1930s and in laws and institutions, which are thought to have had a direct impact on daily life in that period. The space political diffusion in the Turkey of the 1930s and space political reflections of the change in architects' perspective on Anatolia, which is believed to have provided a passage from high politics discourses to daily lives, constitute the focus of this chapter. Although the state tried to exert broad control on the territory through massive urban plans, urban transformations were made possible by architects' and engineers' knowledge of power and the disciplinary architecture's coming into normalized contact with space.¹⁴⁰

The late Ottoman proclivity for spatial diffusion continued along with the new state, in addition, the diffusion did not just focus on specific points. It is more comprehensive, and the replanning of cities, villages, and houses went on increasingly from the Late Ottoman Period to the Early Republican Period. The description of modern power in *Imagined Communities* by Benedict Anderson delineates this situation: "Kingship organizes everything around a high center. Its legitimacy derives from divinity, not from populations, who, after all, are subjects, not citizens. In the modern conception, state sovereignty is fully, flatly, and evenly operative over each square centimeter of a legally demarcated territory. But in the older imagining, where

¹³⁹ For calculations of centroid of Anatolian geography determining Ankara as ideal place see Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı*, İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993, p. 48.

¹⁴⁰ Here, it is better to perform an analysis based on changing subjects' relation types in a disciplinary way with a new habitus through space rather than an analysis based on the transmitter-receiver relation between state apparatus and subjects, attributed to ideology, see Louis Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, London: Verso, 2014.

states were defined by centres, borders were porous and indistinct, and sovereignties faded imperceptibly into one another.”¹⁴¹

The shifts in the 19th century Ottoman Empire can be said to be the grounds on which the statute governing programs of the 20th century state in cities, villages, and houses is based on.¹⁴² The point at which military and “civilian space” intersects in this disciplinary spread was at first the use of cartography in urban space. The second point emerged when urban space was put into order based on military maps.¹⁴³ Military-municipalism and the first intersection group, cartography, played a key role in the application of military techniques to urban space and the rise of modern municipalism.

Impetus for Ankara’s Becoming The Capital and Its Construction

Moltke, an important figure in the foundation of modern municipalism in the Tanzimat Era, stated the need for the move of the capital to Ankara for military reasons. This might be the earliest time the reasons can be based on.¹⁴⁴ Falih Rıfkı said: “Moving the capital city from Istanbul to Ankara was not a novel idea. General Von der Goltz gave the same advice.”¹⁴⁵ This indicates that Germans provided such advice during the WWI. The occupation of Istanbul after the war led Ottoman officers, who were raised in

¹⁴¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London and New York: Verso, 2006, p. 19.

¹⁴² For instance, the Ottoman statute was, in effect until the enactment of municipality, hygiene, structure, and road laws between 1930 and 1933, see Ergin, 1995.

¹⁴³ This continued following the proclamation of the republic: “After the proclamation of the republic, Mapping Commission, in line with the defense and development requirements of the country, was reorganized under the name of General Directorate of Mapping on May 2nd, 1925 (1341) under the Law No. 657. Lieutenant General Mehmet Şevki Pasa, who contributed greatly to this commission, served as the first Director General of Mapping.” Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, *Harita Genel Komutanlığı*, www.hgk.msb.gov.tr/ustbanner/tarihce.asp (accessed: 12.1.2014). As mentioning “the defense and development requirements” together, defense refers military cartography and development refers to municipal cartography.

¹⁴⁴ Moltke, 1969, p. 7-14.

¹⁴⁵ Falih Rıfkı Atay, “Ankara”, *Hakimiyet i Milliye*, October 29, 1933, p. 88.

close cooperation with Germany, to direct their attention to Anatolia. The fact that they eventually chose it as the base can be regarded as the inheritance of this military view. This military view was also present in the speeches M. Kemal delivered before Ankara became the capital. He said: “Where should the government center be located? We thought about it. I am of the opinion that this issue should be looked at from two points of view. The first one is that it should be a place the force and tranquility of which can be defended, without moving it an inch, against all kinds of attacks and encroachment. To that end, the center of the country should be examined. The government center cannot be situated in a place that is likely to be in danger at the sight of a ship cannon. The second one is that the government center should in such a place that shall enable the government to exert power on all corners of the country on an equal degree. When we focus on a specific part of the country, we forget about the far and non-prosperous regions.”¹⁴⁶

Aside from the view for a safe zone, another emphasis that is worth attention is the view that the “government needs to have the capacity to exert power on all corners of the country on an equal degree.” In other words, the desired location of the capital is one that is difficult to be reached by enemy and can reach all corners of the territory during peace.¹⁴⁷ The view to protect the government from attacks and exert its authority on the vicinity represents a point of view in which military and urban spaces get intertwined. Similar cases were observed throughout the single-party period such as the construction of Ironworks in Karabuk far from coal mines in Zonguldak because of military-strategic reasons. During this period, these cases were seen in the inhibitions and regulations of military views which Fevzi Çakmak implemented and were based on

¹⁴⁶ İsmail Arar, *Atatürk'ün İzmit Basın Toplantısı*, İstanbul: Burçak Yayınevi, 1969, p. 31-33. This view shaped the main arguments of the group believing that the capital should stay in Ankara. “Gentlemen! The Republic of Turkey is in evident need of a center. Located on the other side of the country, Istanbul could not be the center. A center which was located in the heart of the country, could see all of it, and would give light and strength to everywhere was needed. And this could only be Ankara. Construction work is undoubtedly necessary in Ankara after it became a center. It is not right to preserve all the dirt and primitivity of old times. Ankara shall undergo construction.” Besim Atalay, *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:65, c:1, 3.3.1926, p. 27.

¹⁴⁷ See footnote 139 on centeroid of Anatolian geography.

the total war concept. Consequently, military and civilian spaces intertwined with one another.¹⁴⁸

Another implication of the move of the capital from Istanbul was the difficulty of exerting state authority on a city which has access to sea, intense trade, and a large population. Ankara, however, was a small city. It was relatively easier to defend due to its geographical location. In this aspect, an authority that would be established there would have more influence on the city. Thus, the control of the base city to keep the country under control would be easier. Accordingly, Ankara can be said to have many advantages in terms of military.¹⁴⁹

Furthermore, it is not sufficient to base the Ankara being the capital on military-strategic reasons, or in other words, it would not be accurate if the issue was confined as a distinct military area, which misses the hybridity. Other goals such as a new order based on governmentality and the control of the nature of lives and death of Anatolian population as political matters were also influential in that sense.¹⁵⁰ The destruction Anatolia went through made it possible for the old to be *expelled* as did destructive fires during 19th century in Istanbul and as a result, it catalyzed the construction of Ankara. Hence, it enabled the creation of this new spatial order along with destroyed Anatolian cities. The first significant issue in the construction of the city arose in the formation of a physical space which would enable this order to last and function without a new intervention rather than establishing a new order through representation.¹⁵¹

The elites who founded the new state thought that the ideal of modernization did not just boil down to appearance. They believed a scientific administration was

¹⁴⁸ Ali Bayramoğlu, "Asker ve Siyaset" in *Bir Zümre, Bir Parti Türkiye'de Ordu*, Ali Bayramoğlu and Ahmet İnsel eds. , pp. 59-119, İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 2009, p. 61.

¹⁴⁹ Nurettin Türsan, *Ankara'nın Başkent Oluşu*, İstanbul: Harp Akademileri Basımevi, 1981, p. 101-16.

¹⁵⁰ Michel Foucault, *Security Territory Population Lectures at the College de France 1977-78*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 257.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* , p. 260.

required. For instance, this is understood through a Foucauldian discourse analysis of the themes in the speeches Mustafa Kemal delivered at various times when starting the assembly meeting year: “Our goal in terms of health and social services is as follows: To protect and consolidate our nation’s health, reduce deaths, increase the population, render illness and communicable diseases into ineffective, raise individuals who have a flawless body and are vigorous and capable of working.”¹⁵²

Turning this interest in the population into an action would certainly be accomplished by constructing material and abstract structures that exert order upon orderless space. The structure and construction order to be established would carry out functions of representation per se. It was hidden behind the modern power’s regulatory characteristics and municipal discourse. In M. Kemal’s assembly speeches, a desire for rapid construction in Ankara catches attention. They also include a desire for a modern capital, Ankara, in a modern state. It is accompanied by an emphasis on the need for modernity for the state to function properly: “Ankara, the administrative center of the republic, needs to undergo rapid construction. Order and results in the functioning of a new and modern state can only be achieved with a modern architecture. Just as the existence of the country required that Ankara be the administrative center now and in the future, it also necessitated that the capital of the republic rapidly developed and undergo construction...”¹⁵³ Put another way, the architectural narrative-representation argument used widely regarding the subject was not sufficient in explaining the sovereign’s focus on space and the reasons for the transformations it contributed to.¹⁵⁴

However, when official publications where the sovereign’s discourses can be tracked are discussed along with the statute in which its applications can be followed, it

¹⁵² Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:1,c:1, 1.3.1338 , p. 4.

¹⁵³ Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:1, c:1, 1.3.1340, p. 5.

¹⁵⁴ As studies focusing on the decorative aspects of a modern city image: “With these laws, it was intended to create a Western style healthy and modern city image as perceived by the republican regime.” “The first national architectural style was applied in all cities, mainly Ankara. The national architectural narrative, which spread thanks to the support of the government, was not only used in public administration and service structures, but occasionally in some houses” İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2010, p. 30-1.

is understood that the publications compare the old and the new, defend what is new which the power exalts and takes pride in, and point to a biopolitical structure emphasized under a service discourse: “The condition of houses: Prior to becoming the center of the republic, the construction style of Ankara featured mostly narrow and irregular streets that were designed without taking sun rays and air currents into account contained adobe buildings, built without following principles to construct hygienic structures in accordance with latest architectural trends. After the proclamation of the republic, Yenışehir was underwent complete construction, and some scientific and hygienic reinforced concrete public and private buildings were constructed in Eskişehir. Particularly various private houses with gardens in Yenışehir are in congruence with hygiene regulations.”¹⁵⁵

By emphasizing the contrast between rational and irrational situations, the old-new comparison demonstrates that the rational one is for the good of everyone. The prevalence of the use of words such as “a ruined, devastated, and poor geography” directs one’s attention to the emphasis that the Empire neglected Anatolia. The presented perception was that the geographical area in question was not prosperous, taken care of; an area that was nearly uncivilized and “empty”. Besides, it was frequently stressed that civilization would be brought to this geographical area. For example, in a speech of his, M. Kemal states that Ankara will be a center of civilization and a mainstay for the state. He goes on to say that it has suffered from the perception of a poor Anatolia and that it is an ‘empty’ area that will be civilized: “It is urgent that Ankara undergo construction with up-to-date and sufficient coordination and equipment and that required houses be built. There is no doubt that an up-to-date and prosperous Ankara that shall rapidly be constructed in the midst of Ankara shall be a center of civilization for the Turkish country, which has been bedraggled for centuries, and a crucial mainstay for the Turkish state.”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ 1931 yılı Ankara vilayet salnamesi, *Ankara Vilayeti Hakkında İdari, İktisadi, İctimai, Tabii, Zirai ve Tarihi Malumat*, Ankara, 1933, p. 34.

¹⁵⁶ Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:1,c:1, 1.11.1340, p. 4.

At this point, Ahıska's remarks that "The conception of the town as 'empty' was in many ways similar to colonial ideology, which notoriously refused to acknowledge already-existing ways of life in the colonised territory as civilised"¹⁵⁷ confirms parallelism with the civilization-bringer and colonial discourse. With the destruction caused by the war, the discourse of construction revealed hints of the young republic's view on its own geography. This ideal of "starting construction from scratch" brings to mind a recurring process of internal recolonization.¹⁵⁸

This ideal of colonization was a process pioneered by the state and that would be realized by an army of experts and masters as told by Yakup Kadri in the novels *Yaban* and *Ankara* within the context of the tension between the traditional and modern. This situation was even more evident in discourses when, in the late 1920s, the single-party administration consolidated itself and the economic crisis did still not hit the country. The challenge undertaken was not only against already existing life styles, but also against a poor nature. An army of municipal employees that would bring the nature to its knees and civilize the non-civilized level would be trained in the Ankara school: "The whole country shall be the school of municipalism, public works, and constructiveness...We agreed on a city plan for the first time. We are building a city on certain standards for the first time... Our youth, trained in the Ankara school under these conditions, shall be the masters and regulators of the nature and public works of the whole country. We shall train public workers and municipal employees for a city, but an army of them for the whole country."¹⁵⁹

It is important to state that Falih Rıfkı's works on this issue, who was the director of the Construction Administrative Committee, reveal that these to-the-point discourses were products of the ideals of *new life*, *rebirth* and of sides that got sharper in Istanbul-Ankara debates. The financial burden of the great transformation goal,

¹⁵⁷ Meltem Ahıska, *Occidentalism in Turkey*, London and New York: I.B Tauris Publishers, 2010, p. 30.

¹⁵⁸ The aforementioned work of Timothy Mitchell also talks about a similar process of colonization, emphasizing disciplinary techniques. See also "kırın kolonizasyonu" in Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Mimari Kültür*, Translated by Tuncay Birkan, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012, p. 114.

¹⁵⁹ Falih Rıfkı Atay, "Plandan Sonra Ankara", *Hakimiyet i Milliye*, June 3, 1929.

which was initiated with great remarks, became a matter of debate after the *şehirmaneti* was established. The executive's view of municipal works revealed itself in debates for transferring funds from the central budget to *şehirmaneti*, which were made until the establishment of the single-party administration.¹⁶⁰

Another issue to mention when it comes to Ankara's becoming the capital and its construction is that the capital accumulation that is the result of construction would make economic activities of the newly constructed city sustainable. In Mitchell's words "With such urgent medical and political reasons in favor of open towns, there happened to coincide economic and financial arguments. Open, well-lit streets were a benefit not only to health but to commerce, for they embodied the principles of visibility and inspection whose commercial usefulness was demonstrated at world exhibitions. The dark 'interior' of the city, cleared of its human agglomerations, would become easier to police, and artificial lighting would enable the new shops and places of entertainment to do business into the night. Financially, the need for cleanliness in the streets reflected the newly envisaged relationship between the city as a place of consumption and the countryside as a place of production. By organizing a system of sewage disposal, it was said, the government would realise the value per capita of human excrement."¹⁶¹ Accordingly, a second dimension in defining the construction activities is that as well as creating the new body economy these activities forms a new economic field, maintain the operation of this field, and enable capital accumulation. The capital accumulation created by the state-backed construction movement of the 1920s and 1930s can be regarded as an example for this. Besides having a space political meaning, the construction policy adopted then led to the rise of first local capitalists. Local entrepreneurs in Turkey started to grow their capitals and form bonds with the state: "The fact that Atatürk made Ankara the capital breathed new life into the city. Public works and construction began. I quit grocery, leather work, and ironmongery to embark on construction materials business. Then, the municipality decided to construct houses

¹⁶⁰ What is meant by the establishment of the Single-Party administration is the period preceding *Takrir i Sükun*. See Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetimi'nin Kurulması*, Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1981.

¹⁶¹ Mitchell, 1988, p. 67.

in Yenisehir. They were contracting them out to building contractors. The biggest building contractor in Ankara back then was Nafiz Kotan Bey. I accomplished great things with this gentleman and earned money.”¹⁶²

While the state was performing grand projects in the 1930s as the continuation of the budgets transferred annually in the second half of the 1920s and plans made, local capitalists benefitted from interests obtained: “As I climbed up the ladder in construction business and eventually became building contractor, I wanted to engage in bigger projects. While deceased Refik Saydam was the Minister of Health, only the concrete part of Ankara Numune Hospital was contracted out to a German company named Retliech Berger. This company duly fulfilled all its commitments. All the work had to be done aside from providing concrete so that the hospital would be completed. All the work was contracted out. It was 1932. The work had to be completed by the tenth anniversary of the Republic Day in 1933. We completed the work by the Republic Day. It was the greatest work I had taken on up to then and the hospital building was the biggest and most beautiful one in Ankara.”¹⁶³ Hence, it is seen that the rise of local bourgeoisie, which would later play an important role in Turkey’s industrialization process, is based on this process of construction. After Ankara became the capital, economic activities revived with construction. Infrastructure established by construction became the space where economic activities would be maintained. In other words, planning space and construction lead to a multidirectional change. Their economic returns, the fact that they set up the space processed by the economy, make it possible for the economic field to be created and sustained, put the population in space into circulation in a way that these people will be productive, their surveillance and control are realized by the mechanisms embedded in the architecture of these construction activities. These embedded mechanisms in the architecture enabled calculative and controllable space. They became functional in the spread of a controllable modern social structure.

¹⁶² Vehbi Koç, *Hayat Hikayem*, İstanbul: Çeltüt Matbaacılık, 1983, p. 42.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 45-6.

Establishment of Municipality: Lörcher Plan and State Backed Planning

Chronologically, the state first seriously engaged in municipal work with the establishment of Ankara *Şehremaneti* to build the capital, under the Law No. 417. It was established on February 16th, 1924. Haydar Bey was appointed after Mehmet Ali Bey, who was deemed unsuccessful as a *şehremini*.¹⁶⁴ Haydar Bey made *şehremaneti* similar to Istanbul *Şehremaneti* in terms of its organization and structure so that he could create the hygienic space and houses, which was an action expected from him. Later, he started necessary infrastructure projects for Ankara.¹⁶⁵

The statute in effect regarding construction work was the Ebniye Law (Building Law) dated 1882.¹⁶⁶ This law was amended with the Law No. 486 in April 1924 and with Law No. 642 in 1925, and continued its effectiveness. The Ebniye Law was the determining factor until the Law of Structures and Roads¹⁶⁷ that would be passed in 1933 (i.e. it was effective in a significant amount of time including the beginning of construction of post-war Turkey). Lörcher plan was the first construction plan of Ankara. It was made within the scope of the activities carried out within the framework of this past legal statute. The plan Lörcher made in 1925 began to be applied, the direction of Ankara's development was determined; later expropriation was imposed based on this plan.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Here is what Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver) Bey said about Haydar Bey in the assembly: "The past of Haydar Bey guarantees us that he can take on this responsibility. This person, like he discovered it, suddenly put out the fire which ceaselessly lasted for centuries and devastated thousands of Turkish families. This fire was raging in Istanbul which has all the value to become the biggest museum of the world. This fire lasted although Istanbul hosted our national arts and had treasures. Since the day he became the *şehremini* of Istanbul, Istanbulis had the chance to sleep well in their houses." *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:64, c:3, 25.2.1341, p. 338.

¹⁶⁵ Mehmet Sarıoğlu, *Ankara Bir Modernleşme Öyküsü*, Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001, p. 43-4.

¹⁶⁶ See first chapter for further explanation and enactment process of these laws.

¹⁶⁷ *Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*

¹⁶⁸ Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2004, p. 35.

Lörcher's plan was based on grid and this plan became a reference point for following planning activities. As it was made in the very first years when the city became vibrant, it accurately determined the direction of the city's development. The plan became the document on which structuring, which set its course between 1924 and 1929, was based on.¹⁶⁹



Figure 12: Lörcher Plan.

Source: Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*, Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2004, p. 41.

This plan determined the course of *şehremaneti*, the core structure of Ankara after it became the capital, and its growing tendency. Within its scope, problems such as the lack of houses, hygiene issues, constructing the city in accordance with scientific

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 107-124.

standards, and functionally establishing the new administration in space were tackled.¹⁷⁰ Central administration did not allow only municipal budget to be used for these issues. Instead, the executive organ's direct intervention with municipal work is seen in the legislative proposal for the law that would be passed to allow funds to be transferred from the central budget to Ankara şehremaneti: "One and a half million liras shall be loaned to Ankara şehremaneti for drainage and afforestation of swamps that pose danger to public health in Ankara, for improvement of hygiene conditions, for elimination of housing problem, and for the construction of the city..."¹⁷¹ Put another way, the assembly "exceptionally" and directly engages in municipal work.

It can be said that the problems Ankara faced bore resemblance to those faced by other post-war Anatolian cities. However, what was different was that Ankara was the new capital and its existing infrastructure was not suitable for sustaining such a position. The city was growing exponentially. Consequently, building houses was becoming harder due to land speculations. Since existing houses were not sufficient in number, rents were on the increase. In such a setting, efforts to solve these problems began in 1924. Budget transfers and expropriation debates accompanied them in 1925. In the very beginning, debates focused on the money transfers from the central budget and the enactment process of expropriation laws.¹⁷²

With the 1925 dated and No. 583 expropriation law, which determined the construction and direction of development of Ankara and led to various debates, regulations were made in terms of planning and housing problems. The law, designed according to Lörcher plan, enabled large portions of land to be nationalized. During law debates, it was voiced that the law was against the constitution and demanded it be

¹⁷⁰ Tansı Şenyapılı, "*Baraka*"dan *Gecekonduya* Ankara'da Kentsel Mekanın Dönüşümü 1923-1960, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004, p. 36.

¹⁷¹ *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:64, c:3, 25.2.1341, p. 328-9.

¹⁷² Because it was prior to *Takrir-i Sükun*, opponents voiced their views, and still some block opponents assumed a certain stance. For instance, Kazım Karabekir Paşa, Ali Fuat Paşa, Nurettin Paşa, and Hüseyin Rauf Bey voted no to the expropriation law, which was important in terms of setting the future of Yenışehir. *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:78, c:2, 15.3.1341, p. 500.

examined by a commission. Yet, this demand was rejected.¹⁷³ An area of 4 million square meters, which would make it easier to make plans in the future, was expropriated with this law which passed despite objections.¹⁷⁴ The state's swing can be said to have expanded for further planning owing to expropriation allowed by the law. What is needed to be emphasized here is that the task of designing the future of the city was not given to the municipality, and the executive got directly involved in the issue. In short, with this practice, the executive tried to facilitate transformations, which would have been impossible with the limited budget of the municipality, by transferring funds from the central budget, establishing institutions with broad authority, and expropriations.

The tendency to standardize practices that would be realized in the new structure established by the solutions as a municipal service while tackling the lack of housing problem and building houses according to political vision displays itself both in practice and discourse. New houses were considered 'the founders of a new order' in the city.¹⁷⁵ The earliest period when the state acted to solve this problem was 1926. In this year, 405 houses were built in Ankara.¹⁷⁶ Besides, 1.5 million and 2 million liras were transferred from the central budget to Ankara şehremaneti in 1925 and 1926, respectively.

Presented during the meetings in which budget transfer laws were discussed, arguments and counter arguments was provided with hints about the idea of building new houses, order, and life. During the debates in which the loaning of two million liras to Ankara şehremaneti to build houses was discussed, Trabzon's member of the parliament Muhtar (Cilli) Bey said: "Spending money from the state budget for house construction is a new practice. At least, if the money to be loaned is used for common good, it can be possible. However, why loan money to construct twenty big and ten

¹⁷³ *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i: 78, c:1, 15.3.1341, p. 472-3.

¹⁷⁴ Sarioğlu, 2001, p. 56.

¹⁷⁵ John Ploger, "Foucault's Dispositif and the City", *Planning Theory*, no. 7 (2008): 51-70, p. 62.

¹⁷⁶ *Hakimiyet i Milliye*, 23.06.1929, narrated by Gönül Tankut, 1993, p. 44.

small houses?”¹⁷⁷ As he emphasized in his remarks, it is unusual for the state to loan money for house construction. It was attempted to solve the housing problem of this rapidly growing city and to create modernity not only in appearance but also as a new *habitus*, a new way of life. This new *habitus* would be present in establishing houses in urban space, affect the life style of the subject, and shape it along with the space.¹⁷⁸ Falih Rıfki Atay’s remarks clarify this situation: “...Houses in Turkey is not only a defence means against high costs of living in Turkey and hostility towards order, but also a means for discipline (*terbiye*). A house with modern devices is a neighbourhood. An example of this can be seen in Ankara. New houses in Ankara led to a new taste in life and culture.”¹⁷⁹

When replying to Muhtar (Cilli) Bey’s objection, Minister of the interior, Cemil (Uybadın) Bey, emphasized that the work did not just boil down to building a few houses to solve the housing problem. “The work done does not just boil down to ‘fifteen houses or eighty houses’. A plan of the city was made to properly shape it. It was determined where the city would expand towards, and roads were built towards that point. Water was brought there.”¹⁸⁰ In the end, this is a comprehensive process. “The idea of city planning arrived in Turkey with Ankara. We have already seen the effects of the Ankara construction system all around the country. The Ankara school changes the vicinity of Istanbul based on our new concepts of life and comfort.”¹⁸¹ Falih Rıfki

¹⁷⁷ Ahmet Muhtar (Cilli), *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:65, c:1, 3.3.1926, p. 24-5.

¹⁷⁸ Habitus as a defining concept could be explained as, “systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992, p. 53.

¹⁷⁹ Falih Rıfki Atay, "Mesken Politikası", *Hakimiyet i Milliye*, July 29, 1931.

¹⁸⁰ Mehmet Cemil (Uybadın), *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:65, c:1, 3.3.1926, p. 27. For information on new houses and apartment buildings of the Early Republican Period, see Bozdoğan, 2012, p. 212-60 and Aslanoğlu, 2010, p. 302-405.

¹⁸¹ Falih Rıfki Atay, *Hakimiyet - i Milliye*, 29 October, 1933, p. 88.

stated that everything did not just boil down to Ankara, saying that there was a bond among housing, city planning, and a new life.

These speeches must be assessed within the context of the debates regarding the move of capital from Istanbul to Ankara. The fact that Ankara remained as the capital and debates made after the beginning of the aforementioned activities indicate that the issue was not approached solely from the architectural representation point.¹⁸² It must be stated that the controlling idea that came out of these debates which were in the shadow of the discussions about Ankara's becoming the capital was to put order into being through a new life and that this contained a strategy of establishing a total power which was embedded in space and wanted to be present in space for a long term. The controlling idea also revealed that construction work was considered a part of the general transformation process, that desired transformations were attempted by following certain standards, and that technology proving beneficial to the power was made common by the experts.¹⁸³

In short, after the establishment of Ankara Şehremaneti, the assembly engaged in municipal work and made budget transfers and nationalization. At the turn of the 1920s, the support of the central budget was being institutionalized with Ankara Master Planning Bureau. The city planning through Jansen Plan was now on a long time basis program.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² "If we build on houses over there, we begin the new city with the Turkish kind of architecture as imagined by Hamdullah Suphi Bey. However, what we first have to do is to bring water and buy construction materials at a cheap price. Haydar Bey has already embarked upon this mission. The necessary work is to bring water, construct a sewer system, open a few roads, and put electricity to use. Then, the city will expand by itself. Emin Bey, *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:64, c:3, 25.2.1341, p. 339.

¹⁸³ See subtopic "Architects as Binding Figures".

¹⁸⁴ With the "law on ministry and department buildings and officials' government buildings to be built in Ankara", the fact that money transfer from the budget which would not exceed one and a half million liras became constant made this exceptional case consistent. On the other hand, it made planning and execution possible. *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:82, c:1, 24.05.1928, p. 377.

Ankara Directorate of Construction Affairs and Jansen Plan

In the period when Ankara Directorate of Construction Affairs was established and Jansen Plan was accepted, the exceptional conditions due to Sheikh Said Rebellion and the following *Takrir i Sükun* and Izmir assassination attempt cases marked the end of establishment of the single-party rule.¹⁸⁵ The process which began with nationalization acts and budget aids in 1925 and 1926 led to the establishment of the directorate of plans and construction affairs. After Asaf Bey became the şehremini, committee went to Germany to meet the need for an applicable and sufficient plan which would affect the direction of growth of the city and its appearance. The committee contacted Jansen and Brix here. French architect Jausseley joined these architects, and a planning competition among them was held for limited guests. The competition required that these three competitors prepare the city plan based on the requirements they were given. The plan which would come in first would be applied with state support. City planners received a list containing 19 directives, and they were required to follow them when preparing their plans.¹⁸⁶ As bases for their studies, the invited architects were given the 1925 map of Ankara and Lörcher's plans for the old and new city in 1924 and 1925. Based on the population estimated to be 300.000 50 years later, it was demanded that the old city remain where it was but be open to development. In the end, Hermann Jansen won the competition and his plan started to be applied known as "Jansen Plan". Jansen Plan was prepared, to a great extent, by following Lörcher's decisions. First, the direction of the expansion of the city was largely determined in accordance with Lörcher plan. Modern city planning elements such as zoning were included in the plan. In other words, the plan was expected to be prepared in such a way that it would design Ankara not as a *tabula rasa* but in accordance with the existing patterns and needs of the city, allow expansion towards Yenışehir, and give importance to green zones and squares. It was planned that Bentderesi would be a recreation zone, the side of the road between Istasyon (station)

¹⁸⁵ Tunçay, 1981.

¹⁸⁶ Sarıoğlu, 2001, p. 54.

and the assembly would be a stadium, ministry buildings would be near Kızılay, the cemetery would be in Cebeci, and high apartment buildings would be built on the road among Ulus, Sıhhiye, and Yenışehir.¹⁸⁷ It can be inferred that what is expected from the architects is that their plan be based on Lörcher plan. Therefore, the expansion direction of Ankara can be said to be based on the principles set by Lörcher Plan regardless of the outcome of the competition.¹⁸⁸ Consequently, the resultant situation saw the application of discipline-based basic principles of modern city planning such as zoning, cellin and connection making through grids.¹⁸⁹

Zoning in cities was largely used in modern city planning and was adopted also by Turkish architectures. In *Mimar - Arkitekt* magazine,¹⁹⁰ “Urbanist Architect” Burhan Arif’s column both describes and recreates this order. Arif describes the zoning technique which was seen also in Jansen Plan as such:

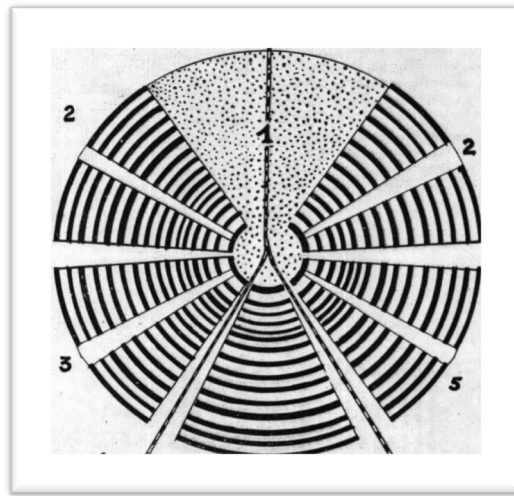


Figure 13: Burhan Arif’s Ideal City.

Source: Burhan Arif, “Modern Bir Şehrin Uzviyeti”, *Mimar*, no. 9 (1932): 250-252, p. 250.

¹⁸⁷ Şenyapılı, 2004, p. 62-3; Cengizkan, 2004, p. 42, 108. Such kind of zoning was demanded on the list given to the planners prior to the plan. See *Yarışma Raporu*, 1929, p. 4-6, narrated by Tankut, 1993, p. 64.

¹⁸⁸ Cengizkan, 2004, p. 108.

¹⁸⁹ Foucault, 2007, p. 11-8.

¹⁹⁰ The journal began its run in the name of *Mimar*. Its name was changed to *Arkitekt* in 1935 during the language reform process.

“The diagram above represents an imaginary city on a plain land, in circular form. This circle was separated into some second degree sections. Each one of these sections was assigned to an organic and comparative duty. As the model is artificial, it is quite perfect. Each section constituted a duty area. The circle was broken into six. The residential area represented by number 2 is repeated twice on the right and left sides. Thus, there are actually 5 areas. Since the residential area constituted one of the most important organisms of a city, it covered two fields. Another positive aspect of the fact that this area covers two fields is: One part was allocated to those working in the art field, the other one to those working in the trade field. As the most suitable place, a free field was given for resting between these two areas. Residential field: (Number 2) One can easily pass from one side to the recreation field, and from the other side to the industry field where there are big stores and shops.”¹⁹¹ Even though Burhan Arif’s city plan had a futuristic appearance with its circular features, zoning and positioning based on the functions of the city and relations between them were practiced also in Jansen Plan, which was applied to Ankara. The second thing about this plan is that its circular structure is in accordance with the panoptic schema. The city is not only a “properly functioning” one, but also one that is easier to control.¹⁹²

The institution responsible for the execution of the plan and control of the construction of the city was established in a single and calm session in the assembly in 1928 under the Law No. 1351. It was named as Ankara Directorate of Construction Affairs.¹⁹³ The document explaining why, in terms of the sovereign, the establishment of the Directorate of Construction Affairs was necessary was the mandate of the budget committee of the directorate’s establishment law. This mandate stressed that putting the city into order was a “major” and national issue. Therefore, it stated, this task could not be given only to the city municipality and became a general state affair. In that sense, it was said that the city needed financial sacrifices and that the construction activities should be maintained following a proper program. It was indicated that a municipality's

¹⁹¹ Burhan Arif, “Modern Bir Şehrin Uzviyeti”, *Mimar*, no. 9 (1932): 250-252.

¹⁹² See footnote 114.

¹⁹³ *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:82, c:1, 4.5.1928, p. 352.

financial power is not sufficient to overcome this. Besides, a century-long and scientific programme was necessary for the construction of the capital of Republic of Turkey, and this required help from government budget.¹⁹⁴

The second article of the law establishing Ankara ordered a plan of the city to be built and formalized it. In this context, the construction of the city would be governed by an institution with a budget independent from the municipality in the preparation and execution of the plan by local or foreign experts. The directorate was directly affiliated with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and was funded directly by the state. In other words, it has its own budget.¹⁹⁵ This institution is an example of the executive's direct handling of municipal work with the implementation of Jansen plan. That is to say, politically neutral municipality and municipalism can, in exceptional cases, be governed directly by the executive.¹⁹⁶

The city the plan was based on would not be built from scratch. It had an economic and social past left from the Ottoman Period. The old city was located around the fort.¹⁹⁷ However, the population of the city began to grow rapidly after Ankara became the capital. The population, which reached 75.000 in the late 1920s, was estimated to be 300.000 within 50 years.¹⁹⁸ Accordingly, the city had two options: Either the city would be handled with the old city or a new city which would cost much

¹⁹⁴ When the law was being read and was put to the vote, only Süleyman Sırrı Bey took the floor: "I shall ask Mr. parliament member a question. Is the duty of the Directorate of Construction Affairs specific to the city? Or, does it include the borders set by *Şehremaneti* Law?" As an answer, Minister of the interior said: "Sir, there is a border set by *şehremaneti*. Yet, this committee is what shall set the border of the city. This committee shall determine how wide the city should be. Some say the current border is wide enough. However, we do not have the authority to accept this. The science committee shall investigate and determine it." *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, III. Period, year :1, 1928 mandate number 253 attached to c.IV, narrated by Sarioğlu, 2001.

¹⁹⁵ *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, i:82, c:1, 24.05.1928, p. 350.

¹⁹⁶ As referring exceptional times "The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the 'state of emergency' in which we live is not the exception but the rule." Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1969, p. 257.

¹⁹⁷ See, Ortaylı, 1984.

¹⁹⁸ 1929 *Yarışma Raporu*, p. 4-6 narrated by Tankut, 1993, p. 64.

money would be built accompanied by massive expropriations. The way Jansen proposed is cheaper and more realistic. In addition, Jaussaley plan preferred a more idealistic way.¹⁹⁹ Accordingly, administrators chose the financially feasible way in terms of improvements and construction when making a decision to go for which plan. After all, the country budget was not sufficient enough to cover all the expenses for new planning all around the country. Planning activities that would be executed only in existing cities had to take current conditions into account. The main principles of Jansen Plan took these principles into consideration and presented a disciplinary design to organize the city:

“The new settlement was attached to the old city in order to be perceived clearly as an addition, and the buildings and the urban form should be reorganized; road traffic within the city should be paid attention; a scattered development would be more appropriate rather than a very large city; it is compulsory to integrate green areas with the city for a healthy and modern urban environment; urban aesthetics was the primary concern and the Citadel was considered as “the city crown”, roads were designed short, straight, narrow and suitable for the topographical conditions in order to achieve a feasible design, a healthy urban environment was secured through green areas, sports grounds, playgrounds for children, parks and recreational areas, residential areas were divided into 18 sections (siedlungs) and different development patterns were introduced for each, houses were designed as either detached or attached and each house had front and rear gardens, the location of industrial areas was determined according to transport availability (mainly railway transport) and the dominant wind, a commercial area was not included in the plan, rather the existing city centre was considered as the traditional commercial centre, which would continue to function as before, Green belts were introduced connecting the old and the new city, which created traffic free routes for pedestrians.”²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Tankut, 1993, p. 78-82.

²⁰⁰ Tankut, 1993, p. 79-80 , narrated and translated by Duygu Saban Ökesli, "Hermann Jansen's Planning Principles and His Urban Legacy in Adana", *METU JFA*, 2009: 45-67, p. 52.

These principles of Jansen put some distance between French idealism and itself, and its realism and aesthetic concerns were different from those of idealism. As a modern city planner, however, he shared similar concerns with idealists, and came up with similar solutions to some of these concerns.²⁰¹ The most common point was the separation of urban space into standardized zones and establishment of connections by locating these zones based on their interrelations.²⁰² In the plan, higher education institutions were in the southeast area. Industry was located in the east of the north-south main road. This area was symmetrically the opposite of schools and in the south of railways. The government area was in the south. It was located between industrial and educational areas. Neighbourhood resident spread to various parts of the city based on their different occupational and cultural backgrounds. Thus, government officials would live in places close to the government area. Furthermore, blue-collar workers would be situated in the northwest.²⁰³

The prohibition of dead-end streets and the design of grid planned cities and streets based on division of labor were the outcomes of this modern disciplinary view on cities and structures. From Lörcher plan to Jansen plan, this view underwent some changes in terms of technical details. Yet, it was one and only in terms of the problems it recognized and solutions it created.

²⁰¹ Zeynep Kezer, "Contesting Urban Space in Early Republican Ankara", *Journal of Architectural Education*, 1998: 11-19, p. 13.

²⁰² See footnote 22.

²⁰³ Zeynep Kezer, *The Making of a National Capital: Ideology and Socio-Spatial Practices in Early Republican Ankara*. Berkeley: University of California, 1999, p. 54.

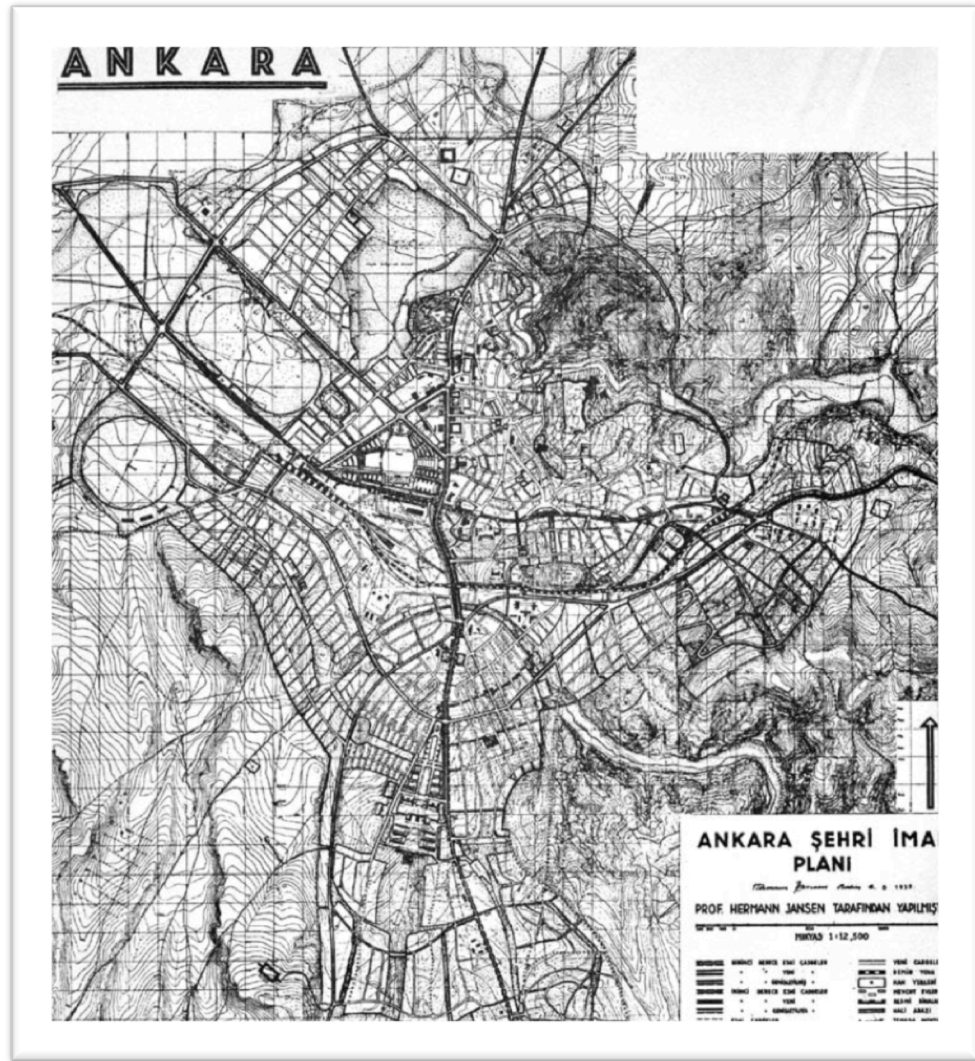


Figure 14: Jansen Plan.

Source: Mamboury, 1933; Önge, Sinem Türkoğlu. "Spatial Representation of Power: Making The Urban Space of Ankara in the Early Republican Period" in *Power and Culture. Identity, Ideology, Representation*, J. Osmond A. Cimdina, pp. 71-94. Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2007, p. 78.

Under the title 'Ankara' and in the special issue for the 10th anniversary of the republic, the newspaper *Hakimiyet i Milliye* discussed the outcomes of the plan and the institution responsible for implementing it. These pages repeated the official view; they emphasized that Ankara did not have access to water and was even more backwards than other Anatolian cities. They heralded the struggle between science and nature and the victory of the first. Ankara became the construction center of Turkey. It turned into

a symbol of scientific construction that reached the farthest corners of the country: “The Ankara case became one of the main cases of revolution. ‘Constructing Ankara’ does not only mean establishing a comfortable city with apartment buildings. Ankara, most importantly, is the symbol of struggle with nature in the midst of an arid and barren steppe. Revolutionists took hold of science and knowledge to generate life out of this aridity. They put a lot of effort into these lands.”²⁰⁴

These positivist themes bring Şükrü Kaya’s views on location of cemeteries in cities to completion: “In the past, for some reason, respect for the dead was shown at the expense of the well being of the living. The most beautiful portions of urban real estate were ... use(d) as cemeteries. And graveyards constituted the exclusive view of many a nice home. Wouldn’t you agree with me that things are much better today?”²⁰⁵ This approach of Şükrü Kaya implies that not only the visibility of cemeteries, but also its implications in mind should be removed.²⁰⁶ Furthermore, new spiritual views emerged about the city which was designed in an earthly fashion: “One cannot help feeling terrified and being proud upon seeing Ankara, the young center of the Young Turkish Republic, where there are ever-rising new neighbourhoods, buildings, and monuments that are filled with livelihood and grow perennially. I wonder the miraculous touch of which prophet’s staff brought such a beautiful and lively world into being in the midst of a desert?”²⁰⁷ The value of the monumental structures in space appears right at this point. It can be said that spiritual elements of the old times were either replaced or abolished with these structures. Urban space became earthly and rational. This

²⁰⁴ *Hakimiyet i Milliye*, October 29, 1933, p. 89.

²⁰⁵ Ekrem Ergüven, *Şükrü Kaya Sözleri ve Yazıları 1927-1937*, İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1937, p. 193-4.

²⁰⁶ Kezer, 1998, p. 14. The power was not indifferent to the matter of death when it was trying to put the cemetery out of sight. It was a realm that the power could not affect, but mortality could be regulated. The cemetery’s being in the middle of city made no sense for the power if the deceased was not buried by the municipality without posing any health danger to the alive. “Death is outside the power relationship. Death is beyond the reach of power, and power has a grip on it only in general overall or statistical terms. Power has no control over death, but it can control mortality”. Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended: Lectures At the College de France (1975-1976)*, Translated by David Macey, London: Penguin Books, p. 248.

²⁰⁷ Hasan Cemil Çamlıbel, *Hakimiyet- i Milliye*, November 5, 1929.

transformation is a disciplinary one, it took place within the context of the spatial techniques of bio politics focusing on body.²⁰⁸ Interventions with space became an essential part of the regulatory intervention with the population in Anatolia.

Planning in Anatolian Cities and Villages

From the Ottoman Period to the Republican Period, continuity attracts attention in terms of the massive migration problems and solutions experienced in the late period when it comes to the issue of settling emigrants particularly after the population exchange. This situation, combined with the fact that villages were recognized to be unhygienic and disorderly, made regulations for villages possible. In this sense, *Muhacirin Suret i İskanı Hakkında Tahrirat ı Umumiyye ve Talimatnamesi*, *İskan ı Muhacirin Nizamnamesi*, *Elli Haneden Aşağı Karye Teşkil Olunmamasına Dair Tahrirat ı Umumiye*, *Vilayat İdare i Sıhhiye Nizamnamesi* were enacted to solve the problem of huge migration in 1913, right after the Balkan Wars, and to put the settlements in Anatolia in order. In 1916, these ordinances were updated with a circular and additional ordinance on health conditions to be fulfilled in villages.²⁰⁹

According to *Muhacirin Suret-i İskanı Hakkına Tahrirat-ı Umumiye ve Talimatnamesi*, there are some criteria that should be taken into consideration and applied such as: the cleanliness of the village's air, not being near to a swamp, being near to a clean water body, being far from contrary winds and humidity, not being in a low area and being near to main roads. Also, the amount of the houses that should be in the village is indicated as minimum and maximum values. According to the 4th article of the ordinance in the village's plan "two 15 meters long streets that divide the village

²⁰⁸ Matthew Gandy, "Zones of Indistinction: Bio Political Contestations in the Urban Arena" *Cultural Geographies*, no.13 (2006): 497-516, p. 498-9.

²⁰⁹ *Dahiliyye Nezareti Muharrerat ı Umumiyye Mecmuası*, 1329, v.1, İstanbul: Hilal Matbaası, p. 6-7 narrated by Ahmet Gündüz Ökçün, "İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Yeni Köylerin Kurulmasına ve Köylerde Çevre Sağlığına İlişkin Tüzel Düzenlemeler" in *Prof. Fehmi Yavuz'a Armağan*, pp. 171-200, Ankara: AÜ Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayını, 1983, p. 171.

into four from the center shall be constructed from the east to the west and from the north to the south”, and the school and the mosque shall be constructed in a way that they would face this square. Around these structures, there shall be streets suitable for recess. Other streets which shall be vertical and parallel shall have a width of at least 12 meters.²¹⁰ This ordinance was updated in 1916 and turned into the following one as a result of the ideal village plan.

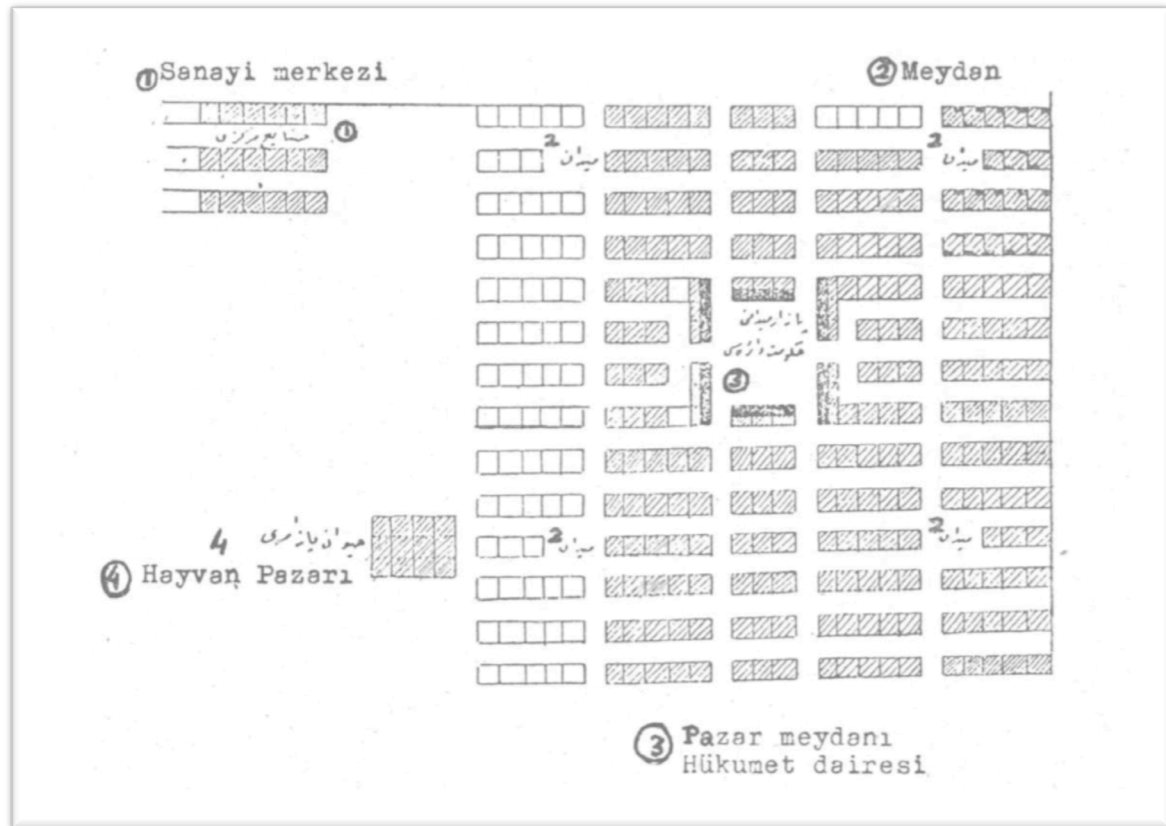


Figure 15: The village according to ordinance.

Source: Ahmet Gündüz Ökçün, "İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Yeni Köylerin Kurulmasına ve Köylerde Çevre Sağlığına İlişkin Tüzel Düzenlemeler" in *Prof. Fehmi Yavuz'a Armağan*, pp. 171-200, Ankara: AÜ Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayını, 1983, p. 177.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 176-9.

The landscape constituted by parallel and connected roads in the plan was the structure created by the ordinance. The Ottoman urbanization level is not surprising if the proportion of the population living in villages is taken into account. The fact that it intervened with villages aside from its efforts in cities is not surprising if the sovereign's tendency since the 19th century is considered. It was clear in those statements that it was necessary for the sovereign to control the peasants because for the interferences into the villages to be successful; raising awareness, preaching, broadcasting and treating them like a father were not sufficient.

“Villagers are the most important elements of the state. Only by taking care of villagers, training them well can a government maximize its might and spirit. Villagers' health and lives are, at all times, are open to various dangers. Villagers are not capable of defending themselves against that. Defence and protection by other parties are not possible, either. They are unaware of information necessary for living a quite primitive life. Pamphlets, notices, conferences, sermons, and advice shall not instill things into these people. It is not possible to make them accept even the most primitive hygiene methods with laws, orders, and advice. For now, the government shall prepare and regulate the case that has been profitable and necessary for the peasants for years and the government shall help the peasants construct houses, dig a well and construct an *abdesthane*. A gracious, wise and determined government officer shall make the peasants take precautions for their health and shall punish those who oppose in a merciful way like a father. Government officials should watch and control villagers' health as in any other case. This must be done in a similar way a sensible, merciful, and mature father takes care of his son's health and manners (*terbiye*) and forces him and punishes him if necessary.”²¹¹ The second and third articles of the 1916 ordinance exemplify the execution of this discourse: “2-Abdesthanes shall flow into holes with one and a half amik and two meter terbi. These holes shall be covered with tree branches and wood, and soil shall be put atop. These holes shall be dug at least ten meters away from wells, and their bottom shall be plastered with lime and moire. 3- The area between the abdesthane and hole shall be built with four woods or carved trees or

²¹¹ *Dahiliyye Nezareti Muharrerat-ı Umumiyye Mecmuası*, peculiar to 1332 v. 4, İstanbul, 1917, p. 56-61, narrated by Ökçün, 1983, p. 179-80.

clay pipe and stone, and shall be bound with a pipe. In this way, abdesthane water shall never leak any dirt.”²¹² The drawing of the hygienic toilet described by these articles is in this pamphlet. The toilet drawing here is calculated based on centimeters and had certain proportions.²¹³ Within this context, two points need to be emphasized: The first one is the continuity of the new spatial design from the Ottoman Period to the Republican Period. This design includes standardized, hygienic, and villages in order and planned cities. In the Republican Period, sample village projects were implemented all across Anatolia, the most prominent area being the vicinity of Ankara.²¹⁴ The second point is the political nature of this issue. These, in reference to the main argument of this study, are the interventions of the discipline with the population under discourses of general municipal services. Interventions are made through space.²¹⁵ In his article “İç Kolonizasyon”, Architect Zeki Sayar emphasized houses: “When establishing new villages, it is necessary for us to take into account the life styles and customs of those who shall settle there. Customs that are not in harmony with current hygiene and social statutes should be removed and not practiced in villagers’ new lands.” Villagers that shall live in villages to be established shall be taught the styles to live in and use them, and given the means to live in a civilized way.”²¹⁶ These remarks demonstrate the interest that went on in later periods and show the architects’ tendency.

²¹² See the 2nd and 3rd articles of the same ordinance.

²¹³ Ökçün, 1983, p. 181.

²¹⁴ For village photos around Anatolia, see *Yabancı Gözüyle Cumhuriyet Türkiye’si*, Ankara: Dahiliye Vekaleti Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü, 1938.

²¹⁵ “The Ankara case is not just about building a single city. Ankara constructiveness shall reach even the farthest villages of the country. Modern Etimesgut is a beginning.” *Hakimiyet i Milliye* October 29, 1933, p. 90.

²¹⁶ Zeki Sayar, “İç Kolonizasyon”, *Arkitekt*, no. 62 (1936): 46-52, p. 47.

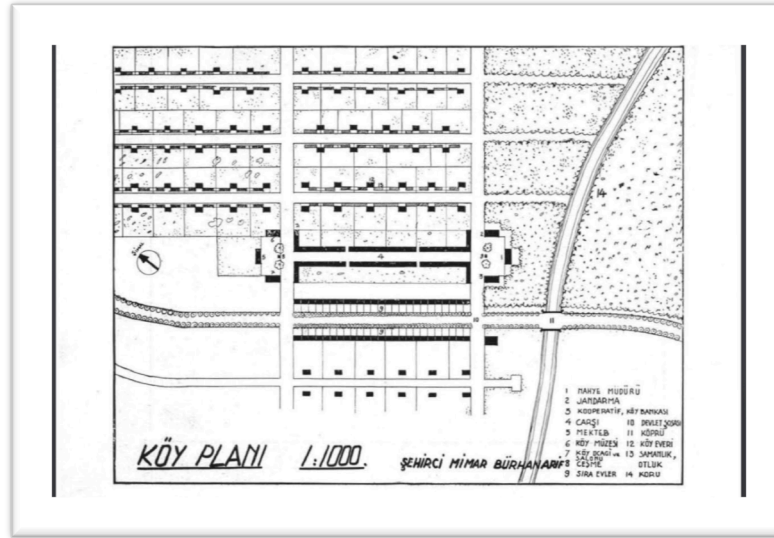


Figure 16: The ideal village according to Architect Burhan Arif.

Source: Burhan Arif, *Köy Projesi*, *Arkitekt*, no. 61 (1935): 59-60, p. 59.

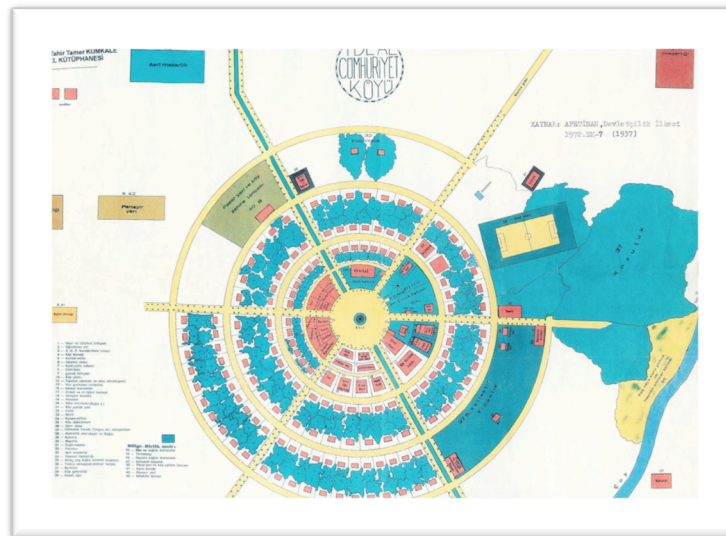


Figure 17: Kazım Dirik's "Ideal Republic Village" fitting into the utilitarianist design by Bentham.

Source: Afet İnan, *Devletçilik İlkesi ve Birinci Sanayi Planı*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972.

In the 1920s and 1930s, city planning activities were concentrated in Western Anatolia which was devastated in the war. Besides, planning activities were also carried out in some cities of Anatolia such as Adana, Kayseri, and Erzurum. Points taken into consideration when these regions were restructured included the repair of damaged

areas, settlement of people who came with the population exchange, and the putting urban space into order.²¹⁷ City planners' rational designs were again in the forefront when the post-war cities of Anatolia were replanned. Modern city planning, wide streets, roads opened for a rationality minimizing waste of time and energy, and the grouping of city structures based on their functions were all seen in Ankara. Similar patterns were adopted in other cities. Zoning was common, government buildings, community centers²¹⁸, and CHP building constituted the "official" core in these new cities (e.g. Manisa and Afyon).²¹⁹



Figure 18: Manisa in the mid 19th century.

Source: Sıdika Çetin, "Geç Osmanlıdan Erken Cumhuriyete İç Batı Anadolu'da Kentsel Yapının Değişimi: Manisa, Afyon, Burdur ve Isparta Kentleri Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir İnceleme" *METU JFA* 29, no. 2 (2012): 89-126, p. 96.

²¹⁷ Olgu Çalışkan "Anadolu'da Bir "Yarı Çevre Modernite Deneyimi: Kemalizm'in Şehirciliği", *Planlama*, no.3 (2003): 14-23, p. 20.

²¹⁸ *Halkevleri*, see an Althusser-based analysis on the ideological functions of the community center architecture. Neşe Gürallar Yeşilkaya, *Halkevleri İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003.

²¹⁹ Kezer, 1999, p. 143.

It is seen that Manisa, a West Anatolian city devastated in the war, housed wide and interconnected roads and streets particularly in the vicinity of government buildings. These roads and streets started to be built as of the mid 19th century. Following the end of the war, the city started to be structured with a plan in 1923. Completed in a short time, nine months, under the leadership of Mutasarrıf Aziz Bey, the plan became the first construction plan of Turkey.²²⁰ The plan was implemented first according to Ebniye laws dated 1882, then to Municipality tax and duties law no 423 and dated 1924, to law no 486, and to law no 642 dated 1925.²²¹ The plan was stuck to. With the construction ways, the landscape of the city changed by 1936.



Figure 19: Manisa after the execution of the plan.

Source: Çetin, 2012, p. 99.

²²⁰ Sıdıka Çetin, "Geç Osmanlıdan Erken Cumhuriyete İç Batı Anadolu'da Kentsel Yapının Değişimi: Manisa, Afyon, Burdur ve Isparta Kentleri Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir İnceleme" *METU JFA* 29, no. 2 (2012): 89-126, p. 98.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

Another important example in Western Anatolia was the radically implemented Atça plan. It was prepared in 1924 based on Paris urban plan. Among West Anatolian cities that underwent destruction in the Independence War is Atça, a bucak of Aydın. In 1924, Enginner Abdi Hıfzı and Halil Bey's construction plan required that devastated houses be demolished despite the dwellers' objections. In the end, this plan was radically implemented. The plan given below was implemented in Atça despite opposition. Regarding objections, the following remarks were made: "I, perhaps, am destroying home of my townsmen by implementing this. But there is a fact. Isn't it going to be more difficult to demolish new buildings later if this plan is not set in motion now? I am not thinking about today, but tomorrow. Gentlemen! We are not destroying an established order. We are trying to establish a new one."²²²

This plan radically applied the radial pattern with a center that rationally connects the main streets and roads in the town. This center operates as a point where every passanger should go through. This kind of a design makes traffic and public control in town in a more economic way. As commision report referenced in the previous chapter stated, the streets and roads in this plan were designed in accordance with sight and making intervention quickly in times of urgency.

Another point that should be underlined with this plan is as it resembles Parisian urban patterns, it also resembles the panopticon model. The radial pattern, a governing, radial town center with geometrically calculated roads, this plan represents the radical application of modern models on traditional town as the demonstrating both the web of dead end streets and the radial urban plan in the same paper.

²²² Implemented in a small bucak, this plan in fact indicates how common rational and planned reconstruction was among architects in that period. Taken from Kenan Kivrak, an independent researcher studying this topic. Information is available on the website: <http://www.aydinatca.com/imar-plni.html> (accessed: 7.5.2014).

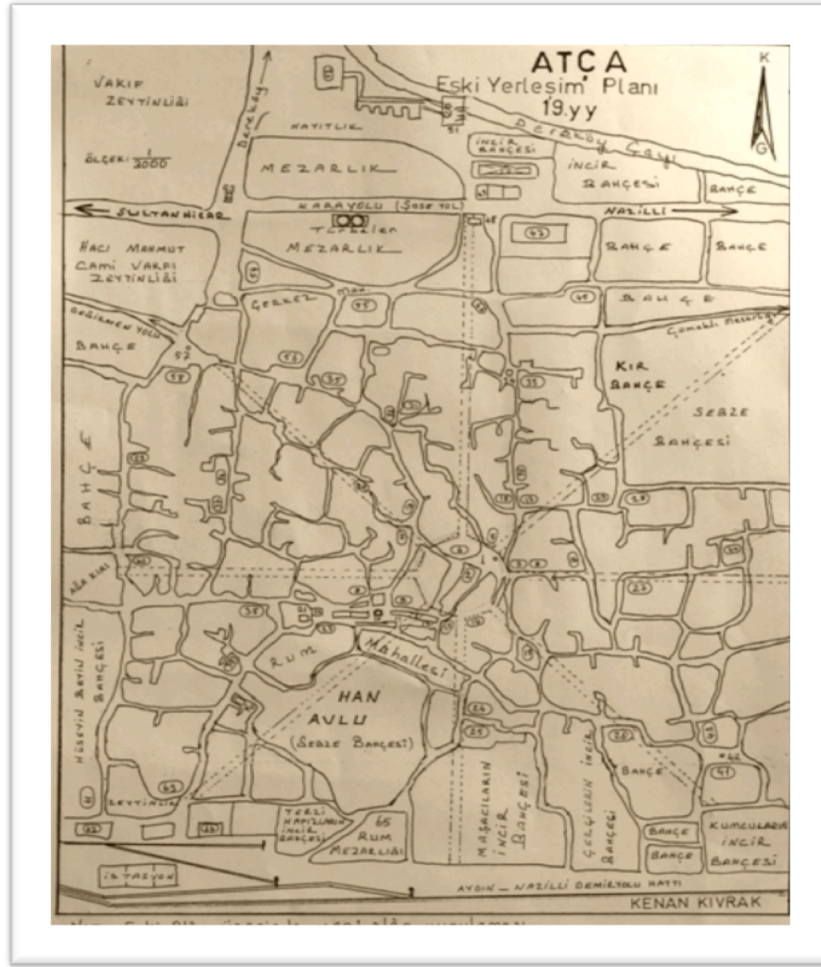


Figure 20: Atça Plan (radial dashed lines on dead-end street dominated old pattern).

Source: Kenan Kıvrak, <http://www.aydinatca.com/eski-planlar.html> (accessed: 7.5.2014).

In the south, in Adana, Jansen principles were adopted in planning activities. The idea that there should be areas based on job groups qualitatively isolated from each other was also adopted. According to it, recreation areas, industrial areas, residential areas, commercial areas, and social and cultural areas were distributed in certain parts of the city based on the availability of transportation.²²³

In Erzurum, a relatively rougher topography between mountains, the first construction plan was prepared by French urbanist Lambert in 1938. This plan also

²²³ Duygu Saban Ökesli, "Hermann Jansen's Planning Principles and His Urban Legacy in Adana" *METU JFA* 26, no. 2 (2009): 45-67, p. 58.

followed the similar rational principles though Lambert adopted French architecture school and there were differences regarding his view of city aesthetics and location of monumental buildings. Based on the plan, roads in front of the train station were expanded. Official buildings were gathered in the same zone as in other cities.²²⁴

Construction work in Kayseri began in 1933 with the preparation of the city plan by Burhanettin Çaylak. The city landscape prior to the plan was again one that belonged to a typical pre-modern city. Dead-end streets and independent roads with no regular connections had prevailed. This plan changed the traditional texture of the Ottoman city, and the city was reorganized with a geometric texture.²²⁵



Figure 21: Urban regulations in Kayseri, “Çaylak Plan”.

Source: Suat Çabuk, “Kayseri'nin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki İlk Kent Düzenlemesi: 1933 Çaylak Planı”, *METU JFA* 29, no. 2 (2012): 63-87, p. 72.

²²⁴ Kezer, 1999, p. 148

²²⁵ Suat Çabuk, “Kayseri'nin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki İlk Kent Düzenlemesi: 1933 Çaylak Planı”, *METU JFA* 29, no. 2 (2012): 63-87, p. 63.

Anatolia has a wide geographical location. There are public inspectors' writings to the center regarding the preparation of city plans in the 1930s.²²⁶ Common plannings and architectures' practices which contained common patterns revealed that it was attempted to construct villages and cities in a planned manner and that modern architecture power knowledge was reflected on space and transformed it though plans could not be realized thoroughly and exactly.

Bio Political Codification on Space in 1930s

The following targets of the 1927 program declaration of CHP notify the statute and institutions formed throughout the 1930s at a relatively early period: "to try to improve hygiene conditions of our country within the boundaries of the science of hygiene, constantly fight against social diseases, ceaselessly enlighten the public for compliance with hygiene regulations, make laws regarding hygiene and diseases to facilitate reaching these goals, establish scientific institutions, and, by working on a permanent basis, enable the protection of those who shall be deprived of them."²²⁷ Up to now, it has been tried to explain the legal statute regulating space in reference to the late Ottoman period. A number of ordinances and laws included in this statute remained effective after the foundation of the republic. Particularly in 1930 Public Hygiene Law²²⁸ and Municipality Law²²⁹, in 1933 Construction and Road Law²³⁰ updated the statute coming from the Ottoman Period and made it more comprehensive. Besides, some

²²⁶ "For 3 years, I 've been wishing to form the plans of cities and towns in my inspectorate district, but I couldn't achieve it in any of the nine cities" writes as inspectorate, Inonu replies "I told they that (couldn't read) bring and make a compulsory purchase between the citadel and train station area for new city plan" Cemil Koçak, *Umumi Müfettişlikler*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010, p. 116.

²²⁷ 1927 *Teşrinievvel Cümhuriyet Hallk Fırkası Kongresinde İttifakla Kabul edilen Umumi Reis Gazi Mustafa Kemal Hazretlerinin Program Beyannameleri*, Ankara: Hakimiyet i Milliye Matbaası, 1931, p. 35- 42.

²²⁸ *Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu*

²²⁹ *Belediye Kanunu*

²³⁰ *Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*

ordinances still remained effective on lower levels (For instance, the municipal police ordinance enacted in 1913 was extended in 1925 and remained effective until the municipal police by-law was enacted in 1969). Another order that was enacted in 1933 and included in the municipal work statute with the abovementioned laws was “The Order Regarding the Fight against Prostitution and Sexual Diseases Transmitted Due to Prostitution.”²³¹

The bodies of municipal structure established by the statute and the comprehensiveness of the duties and authority of them are explanatory in that the institution has a bio political function. The municipality law broke the municipality into 15 branches based on their duties. These branches are: directorate of editorial office taking care of writings from or to the chair and performing administrative duties; directorate of account works responsible for preserving and increasing revenues, controlling outgoings, and providing sources for the current structure, directorate of technical works composed of offices responsible for roads, construction, mapping, and water; directorate of health separating the city into health districts, appointing 1 doctor, 1 health officer, and 1 municipal police officer to each, aiming to protect public health and establishing a special health network; directorate of legal affairs taking care of legal issues between natural persons and legal identities; directorate of cleaning works separating the city into cleaning districts and appointing cleaning staff to each; directorate of parks and gardens; directorate of fire brigade fighting against fires and fire risks.²³²

The law establishing the municipality organization defines the duties of municipalities as such:

1- Cleaning, order.

²³¹ Halit Bayrı, ed. *Belediye İşleri Kılavuzu*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1936, p. 434. The order regarding prostitution is, along with other laws, within this book. With Municipality Law, Construction and Road Law, and Public Hygiene Law, this text constitutes a whole as it tries to bring sex-caused threats under control, control sexuality, and is implemented by municipalities. All these were taken into account in this guide as “municipal work”.

²³² 1931 *Salnamesi*, p. 24-5. The word district (mıntıka) is also used for military zones in Turkish.

- 2- Compability of food with public health.
- 3- Opening and closing hours and fees of public service institutions.
- 4- Prevention of epidemics and contagious diseases.
- 5- Burial of the dead in suitable locations by following appropriate procedures and holding ceremonies under scientific standards.
- 6- Animal slaughter in hygienic municipal slaughterhouses.
- 7- Prevention of storing explosives in places other than municipality warehouses.
- 8- The control of “workers’ health who come in contact with the public”.

These duties are followed by the provision of open roads and traffic flow, determining construction standards, making plans, prevention of fires, protection of forlorn people and the mentally sick, provision of cheap and health houses for the public, hygiene control of worker houses and factories, promotion of cultural activities, and so on.²³³

The text setting the standards for space and complete Municipality Law is the Construction and Road Law dated 1933. This law was based on Ebniye Law and determined how the structure would be positioned in relation to other structures in terms of interior and exterior. It also set the standards for the structure. Replacing Ebniye Law, this law was the last one in the previously mentioned chain and the most comprehensive one:

“Article 39—A stair width is at least twenty five cm, and its width is at most 18 cm. Height in public buildings is fifteen cm at most, and its width is at least thirty cm. The width on stairs in basements and attics are to have a width of 23 cm and a height of 20 cm. Stairs for only a single family should have a stair length of one meter. As the number of floors increase, it should have a width of one and a half meters

²³³ *TC Resmi Gazete*, “Belediye Kanunu”, issue 1471, the duty of municipalities.

increasing by ten centimeters. In public buildings, one and a half meters for stair length is enough. In basements and attics, 75 cm is enough. Spiral stairs should have a stair width of at least ten cm at 15 cm from the axis.”²³⁴

The items of this law are composed of points made up with this kind of language. They set far-reaching regulations over space and structure. These items are: The current map of the municipalities, future city plans of towns, principles to be followed in arrangement of the future city map, unification and distribution of lands, expropriation of neighbourhoods where constructing buildings is prevented, abandonment of places belonging to official organizations for the greater good, buildings to be constructed on roads and squares, application for construction, (license work), structure under hot and cold conditions, space to be left between buildings, regulation of lands based on road levels, shape of sidewalks, color of buildings, garden walls, building eaves and entrances with stairs, banisters for balconies, terraces, and windows, ground floor and road level, fire walls, stove pipes, size and height of chimneys, distance between flooring level and ceiling, locations of kitchen, abdesthane, and bathroom and scientific measures to be taken for these places, length and width of rainwater pipes, stairs, size of stairs, windows and doors, coal gas installation, parapets for places where explosives are stored and parapets on roofs, trees in cities, signs on roads and building numbers, boundaries of lands, wells, sewer lines, house orders, structure interpretation extent, buildings and walls that start to be demolished.²³⁵

The third law comprising the whole in terms of municipalism is the Public Hygiene Law. In the prelude of the law, it was stated in a few articles to what end the ministry of public health and welfare would use its allocated budget, and the life scope of the law was indicated.

1- Precautions to increase births and reduce child mortality.

2- Protection of mothers' health before and after childbirth.

²³⁴ *TC Resmi Gazete*, “Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu”, issue: 2433.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

3- Prevention of contagious diseases and epidemics.

4- Fight against factors leading to a high number of deaths or causing infectious, contagious, and epidemic diseases.

5- Surveillance of medical practice.

6- Serums and vaccines

7- Protection of children's and youth's health.

8- Making schools sanitary.

9- Surveillance of mineral waters and similar healing waters.

10- Establishing facilities for protection of general health and laboratories.

11- Establishing and supervising facilities for vocational education.

12- Work and art hygiene works.

13- Establishing facilities specific to the insane and mentally sick.

14- Health work of immigrants.

15- Surveillance of general health in prisons.

16- Keeping medical statistics.

17- Publications and propaganda about health.

18- Surveillance of sanitation of transportation means.²³⁶

Implementation of Public Hygiene Law that aimed to control health risks was the responsibility of the municipal organization mentioned above. The 4th article stated

²³⁶ *TC Resmi Gazete*, "Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu", issue:1489, article 3.

that these responsibilities of ministries would be fulfilled by municipalities in cities, towns, and villages.²³⁷ The law assigned municipalities to protect a person's health from birth to death, instill hygiene awareness in citizens, and either properly bury or cremate them after death. Necessary measures to eliminate factors leading to diseases or prevent the spread of a disease if it already broke out, hence protection of life from birth to death, and burial or cremation in a proper and sanitary way were all designed as parts of a well-functioning mechanism.²³⁸ The ministry is the head of this mechanism, the executive being municipalities.²³⁹

In addition to the Order Regarding the Fight Against Prostitution and Sexual Diseases Transmitted Due to Prostitution, which is discussed as a whole in reference to *Belediye İşleri Kılavuzu*, another legal text that is not found in this book, but is deemed important in terms of the de facto execution of the statute is the municipal police ordinance dated 1913 and the extended version of it dated 1925.²⁴⁰ This ordinance is important both in terms of its scope and of the fact that it showed the role of the municipal police aside from its duties to establish public order as a state police force and that it demonstrated the branching that later took place in the organization as a result of specialization. The municipal police began to form within *Asakiri Mansure i*

²³⁷ *Ibid.* , article 4.

²³⁸ See Article 20. Also, Article 211 and the following rest are about the burial of the dead and city and town hygiene. Later, the item "hygiene statistics and geography and propaganda is mentioned. Article 276: "Ministry of Public Health and Welfare statistics services are below: Birth, marriage, death, and causes of death. Hygiene measures for land, sea, and air ways. Patients, the weak, and those in recovery in hospitals, dispensaries, sanatoriums, and other treatment organizations. Contagious and epidemic diseases. Occupational diseases. 6 - Information on hygiene geography of the country. Other issues to be addressed by High Council of Health concerning hygiene and social services." See also footnote 206 on death.

²³⁹ "Article 4 — The task of carrying out necessary work for cities, towns, and villages in terms of hygiene, medical, and social help is entrusted to municipalities, special provincial administrations, and other local administrations. The ministry duly engenders sample organizations in some places as examples for these administrations." *TC Resmi Gazete*, "Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu", issue:1489, article 4.

²⁴⁰ This ordinance was in effect in the Early Republican Period and was another text symbolizing continuity from the Ottoman Period to the Republican Period. Osman Nuri Ergin stated in the assembly that it was in effect. Yet, after the publication of his *Mecelle i Umur u Belediye*, this ordinance was extended and renewed in 1925.

Muhammediye army which was established after the disbandment of the Janissary system (1826) that had partially established order in the city. The police department emerged out of this formation in 1845. Maintaining its mixed structure, municipal police services, in 1913, functioned as a unit controlling traffic flow and some standards set by the state.²⁴¹ The 1913 municipal police ordinance which was effective at that time had these items:

About construction and repair, license, chopping woods and putting items on sidewalks, gas pipes, waterways, sewer lines, installing showcases in shops, butchers and poulterers, passages, carriages, carts, beasts of burden, motorbikes, bicycles and pushcarts, cars and carrier vehicles, public materials about cruise, mobile tradesmen, prevention of dangers to life and danger, street lamps, ancient buildings and squares and monuments and preservation of public gardens, gondols and ferries, fires, bakeries and fixed price of bread, harmful food and beverage, measures and scales, beggars, porters (hamals), contagious diseases and public health²⁴²

The items given below were further extended in 1925 with a new municipal police ordinance consisting of 278 articles. According to the items in this ordinance, “there is no issue that is in the city but does not concern the municipality”:

The ordinance for roads and streets, street lamps, gas pipes and water sewer lines, squares, notices, general items about traffic, speed, transportation vehicles (trams, cars and carrier vehicles, carts, passenger cars and carrier cars, motorbikes, bicycles, cart licenses), sea vehicles (gondols and ferries, ferries), porters (hamals), construction and repair, elimination of danger, contagious diseases and general health, baths, sea baths, hotels and inns, hostels, bedsitters, cellars and underground rooms, chimneys, cinemas and theatres, hygiene and safety of cinemas and theatres; the ordinance for neighbourhoods of music, dance, bars, and variety shows, ancient monuments and public gardens, prohibition of waste in shops, burial of the dead, Friday holidays,

²⁴¹ This is from the history narrative of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Zabıta Daire Başkanlığı, 2008 <http://www.ibb.gov.tr/sites/zabita/Site/teskilat/Pages/Tarihce.aspx> (accessed: 08.04.2014)

²⁴² Ergin, 1995, p. 1817-30.

itinerants and interpreters, tariffs, measures and scales, animal slaughter, contracts, precautions to prevent fires, barbers, bakeries and bakers, and constant inspection of bakers and bread bakeries; the ordinance for butchers and poulterers, fishmongers and greengrocers, berry sellers, grocers, oils, vinegars, milkmen, yogurt sellers, pudding shops, people selling beverage like water etc., raki and cognac, restaurants, kebab shops, cooks and tripe soup restaurants; candy shops, pastry shops, cookie shops, halva shops; roasted and ground coffee shops, pickle shops; coffeehouses and teahouses, offal shops, mobile tradesmen, sample, beggars”²⁴³

Duties such as establishing inner city public order and control were transferred from the Janissaries to *Asakir i Mansure i Muhammediye* and were performed by a mixed police force like the municipal police. The division of the municipal police duties was put into effect in 1930 and 1953.²⁴⁴ The municipal police, which functioned as a branch of the municipality that performed control duties, remained in a neutral and depoliticized area. However, this discourse became the means of the municipalism technique that got involved in life. It also maintained its functionality after that period.

In Ankara, 9000 houses were built in this described context from 1924 to 1931.²⁴⁵ “The houses in construction are being built as a result of the application of Yenisehir plans which were handed over from the Directorate of Construction Affairs to the municipality. Particularly the official part of the foundation that was built initially has a Turkish architectural style. Recently, cubism, a style of modern architecture, has been adopted. The municipal police supervises constructions performed under

²⁴³ *İstanbul Şehremaneti Zabıta i Belediye Talimatı* narrated by Şefik Memiş, *Zabıta i Belediye İlk Talimatnameler*, İstanbul: Belediye Zabıtası Dayanışma Vakfı, 2008.

²⁴⁴ The law that can be considered a step in division in 1930 was the Municipality Law. Article 15 Subclause 9 assigns to the municipality duties such as classification of vehicles, allocation of numbers to them, and control. In 1953, the Highway Traffic Law relieved the municipality of the traffic control duty and assigned this duty to the traffic municipality force, functioning under the Turkish National Police.

²⁴⁵ *1931 Salnamesi*, p. 26.

licenses.”²⁴⁶ And it went on as an internalized process by state, architects, building foremen, construction workers.

Architects As Binding Figures

“A generation being raised in beautiful cities with clean air, in beautiful houses with fresh air, and in clean and beautiful parks and stadiums constitutes the base of an industrious and civilized nation with a strong will and clean character.”²⁴⁷

Here, the focus will be on the architectural philosophy that enabled the general transformation of space and architects who transferred this philosophy to physical space. The prevailing idea in certain studies describing the architecture and planning history was that planning failed in Ankara and the rest of Turkey despite great efforts in the 1920s and 1930s.²⁴⁸ However, the fact that the state failed in planning and intervention does not mean that a modern disciplinary space did not emerge. Architects achieved this through the transformation in their view of space, discourse, and practice. Houses and buildings turned into life and study “machines” that do not have unnecessary details and were built with the lowest cost. Points that should not touch each other, transfer points, entrances, exits, position of the sunlight, direction of the wind, size and angle of stairs, and width and length ratio of doors were all determined, and the structure transformed into a design that is in harmony with those parameters. All of these happened thanks to architects’ intellectual transformation.²⁴⁹

“Most European governments treated the housing issue as a government issue. The ability of a nation to raise both hygiene and moral levels was understood to be in

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁴⁷ Faruk Galip, “Şehrin İmarı ve Belediye”, *Mimar*, no. 9 (1931): 285-286.

²⁴⁸ Examples of these studies: Tankut, 1993, pp. 202-58; Bozdoğan, 2012, p. 318; Aslanoğlu, 2010, p. 409.

²⁴⁹ *La Turquie Kemaliste* and *Mimar - Arkitekt* journal catalogues document the transformation of public buildings and physical space, respectively.

strong relation with the housing issue.”²⁵⁰ This opinion was discussed under previous titles. Meanings of politicians’ discourses are derived from the fact that they indicate the presence of will. “Making everyone believe that *halkevleri* are a means to teach citizens home and house gymnastics, which are the fundamentals of modern health concept, and that this is necessary for daily life is the most important duty of the branch.”²⁵¹ Architects designed space based on this when these remarks were put into action, which points to a direct influence on daily life.

The role of architects is valuable in terms of the reflection of legal texts produced by the sovereign to daily life. As subjects outside the state, architects have the potential to use their technical knowledge in space as different from being the state’s requirement power under law. In other words, an architect is a figure who, with his or her technical knowledge, spreads the main principles of this new spatial order in the society and daily life within the control order established by the sovereign. Accordingly, an architect is a binding figure who forms a new *habitus* that is possible through the transformation of space. This *habitus* makes producing productive people possible.²⁵² The way architects perceive the world and their views of structures and space underwent transformation along with the transformation of the power network they were in. Their ostentation-based monumental view shifted to a rational-functional one, in other words, the architecture profession was redefined largely in the 19th and 20th centuries.²⁵³

Adapted from Andre Lurçat’s book by a rising Early Republican Period architect named Celal Esat, the work *Yeni Mimari* makes mention of new constructions in Ankara by referencing these new principles:

²⁵⁰ Celal Esat, *Yeni Mimari*, İstanbul: Agah Sabri Kitaphanesi, 1931, p. 33.

²⁵¹ *Halkevleri 1932-1935 Halkevi Geçen Yıllarda Nasıl Çalıştı*, CHP, 1935, p. 103, narrated by Yeşilkaya, 2003, p. 99-100.

²⁵² This will only be achieved through physical training, see Yiğit Akın, “*Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar*” *Erken Cumhuriyet’te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004, p. 187.

²⁵³ Fiske Kimball and George Harold Edgell, *A History of Architecture*, New York and London: Harper Brothers Publishers, 1918, p. 499.

“It is a good thing that the new architecture which spread to all corners of the world arrived in our country. Some new constructions in Ankara are indicators of this. Among the architectural styles of all the other nations, Turkish architectural style catches attention in that it is the most rational one and fits best with this century’s style. Therefore, we shall not find this new style strange.”²⁵⁴

It was a common attitude of architects to justify rational architecture in the 1930s with Turkish reference.²⁵⁵ Architectures’ being autonomous from the state was to come in close contact with the state that generally worked with foreign architectures and legitimize their architectural approach in the eyes of the state. What is important in the new architectural style is the rational life style presented with a Turkish reference and the social burden on the architect who will apply it to space. An architect is now a “sociologist” and “economist” who produces spaces in line with the new life style. “An architect, above all, should design durable, cheap, comfortable, functional and healthy buildings quickly. Divisions in these buildings should meet all needs.”²⁵⁶

Ensuring the comfort and protecting the health of productive people (i.e. maintaining their productivity) was an important issue, “the development and growth of industry and a new worker class’ domination of it led to the problem of finding housing for them. Worker houses were in terrible conditions. Living in dark houses without fresh air, workers suffered health problems.”²⁵⁷ Protecting the health of productive individuals and the comfort of dwellers, which is the primary function of houses, are only possible in a setting organized rationally rather than ordinarily. “Those living in an orderly house get a better rest”²⁵⁸ and resting better means being ready for the new task and the body’s being ready again for all kinds of production. In that sense, furniture should be in order and suited for human size. It should not make a crowd and lead to

²⁵⁴ Esat, 1931, p. 9.

²⁵⁵ See Mimar Şehabettin, “Asya’da Türk Şehir Planları”, *Mimar*, no. 23-24 (1932): 325-332.

²⁵⁶ Esat, 1931, p. 14.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

“spiritual and material” tiredness for house dwellers.²⁵⁹ “putting the inside of the room into order is also another issue. Each room has a specific purpose. For example, in a sitting or living room, furniture should be compiled in such a way that there shall be a center around which people can gather.”²⁶⁰

Turkish architects who started to reflect these ideas in their interior and exterior designs adopted the modern view that developed and became widespread in the West. Other intellectuals of that period who produced texts on this subject seem to have adopted the same idea. Favoring modern functionality in space dominated intellectuals’ views along with those of architectures. *Sanat*, a work published in 1934, belongs to İsmail Hakkı who was one of these intellectuals. It contains his writings from 1920 to 1934 and has traces of aesthetic form of the new idea and hybrid form of functionality in municipalism, structures, and city planning.

“In short, there is no doubt that a minaret is a perfectly engineered and designed feature for a muezzin to recite the adhan. A minaret is a beautiful body as well as a useful structure.”²⁶¹

In 1928, Hakkı wrote an article on roads and structures: “Not long ago, the route from a plain to a mountain was set by goats. Today, opening roads is a specialty of city planning. Villagers who used to build adobe houses now need scientists. Construction work did not use to be supervised. Today, state supervision is required. For some people, city planning is just about the service of keeping streets clean and an effort to make transportation cheaper. However, roads, houses, and bridges are not dead elements scattered around. These are the items of the social life called the ‘urban life’”²⁶².

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30-1.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁶¹ İsmail Hakkı, *Sanat*, İstanbul: Semih Lütfi Sühulek Kütüphanesi, 1934, p. 189.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

According to Hakkı, groundless incompetencies are not scientific, what are scientific are the efforts to explain an issue with cause and effect relation and accordingly to attribute the society's lack of order to the lack of policies to establish it. What is important is the creation of municipal consciousness: "It is not scientific at all to name incompetency as the reason for all our negligence and indifference. The only reason for it is that the idea and sensitivity of towns did not completely take shape as a result of social reasons. Now, the duty of this discipline is to clarify and mold this consciousness and make it expressible and established. In that sense, schools ponder on their serious duties and responsibilities."²⁶³ A general state of pertness, which was often complained about, was that disorder emerged due to this. Issues that are complained about were stated as: "The biggest hindrance to the construction of towns is the pertness of our society composed both of officials and non-officials. This lack that is apparent in the duties of municipalities can be seen and pointed out in all parts of our lives and duties. How many people in the Turkish population that is composed of millions have the habits of eating, drinking, dressing, sleeping, and cleaning their houses, rooms, and furniture in a scientific and hygienic way?"²⁶⁴ In other words there are scientific and hygienic ways that must be found and adopted, of eating, sitting, dressing, sleeping, and getting cleaned, which can be branded under *terbiye*.

This work provides hints of the intellectuals' opinion of public order and its relation with space and sense of municipalism that organizes space. Within this intellectual context, architects combined social life and architecture in a framework of a world view focusing on society. They focused on the issues that the writer complained about in the aforementioned quotes that reflect mainstream intellectuals. They eliminated artificiality in transformations that state tried to realize and reflected transformations to relations of all the subjects in the society. This way, they made the emergence of modern structure and city landscape through spatial designs. After 100 years after the new order became established in the military barracks, it penetrated into

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

subjects' behaviour and their relations with space and each other through scientific arguments and service discourse of experts.²⁶⁵

Affecting Turkish architects, this intellectual transformation can be based on the spread of disciplinary space in Europe and Turkey as mentioned in the first chapter and on two functionalist thinkers of the 20th century. One of them is Frederik Winslow Taylor who constituted the framework of the new architectural approach with his industrial production ideas which favored the science of obtaining maximum yield by saving time and space through methods to increase efficiency in factories. The base of these view are in the main argument in the prelude of Taylor's book: "First, to point out, through a series of simple illustrations, the great loss which the whole country is suffering through inefficiency in almost all of our daily acts. Second, to try to convince the reader that the remedy for this inefficiency lies in systematic management, rather than in searching for some unusual or extraordinary man. Third, to prove that the best management is a true science, resting upon clearly defined laws, rules, and principles, as a foundation. And further to show that the fundamental principles of scientific management are applicable to all kinds of human activities, from our simplest individual acts to the work of our great corporations, which call for the most elaborate cooperation."²⁶⁶ The implementation of this view is, again from the same book, is given below:

"First. Find, say, 10 or 15 different men (preferably in as many separate establishments and different parts of the country) who are especially skillful in doing the particular work to be analyzed. Second. Study the exact series of elementary operations or motions which each of these men uses in doing the work which is being

²⁶⁵ The transformation in question was not limited to architects. It was seen also in training of foremen and construction workers. Ankara Laborer School, established in 1932, is important in that sense. Students were admitted to this school right after the primary school. They were trained in masonry, carpentry, plastering, and stone cutting, and they also took theory, drawing, and modelling courses. The school had basically everything. It attached great importance to military discipline and cleanliness. Graduates of this school became construction foremen. Bozdoğan, 2012, p. 209.

²⁶⁶ Frederick Winslow Taylor, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, 1911, p. 5. He refers the idea of a scientific management rather than finding an extraordinary man, which interestingly resembles the idea of optimizing the army rather than finding individual heroes that we mentioned in the first chapter.

investigated, as well as the implements each man uses. Third. Study with a stop-watch the time required to make each of these elementary movements and then select the quickest way of doing each element of the work. Fourth. Eliminate all false movements, slow movements, and useless movements. Fifth. After doing away with all unnecessary movements, collect into one series the quickest and best movements as well as the best implements.”²⁶⁷ These principles included the main ideas of mass industrial production, what is important here is the diffusion of these principles to outside of factories, namely cities and houses. In line with the benefits of scientific execution of Taylorism, reduction of waste, enhancement of efficiency, and more productivity became the principles of the new architecture. Taylorism not only entered factories and offices, but also houses.²⁶⁸

The second thinker who affected architectural ideas was Le Corbusier. He intellectually had solved the issues that Early Republican Period intellectuals complained about and created the backbone of the new architectural approach in line with the aforementioned principles. Corbusier played a significant role in the spread of French functionalist architectural approach with his views quite common among architects, circular cities, and cubic-functional structures.²⁶⁹ When looked at from a Taylorist perspective, his work named “Towards a New Architecture” contributed to the 20th century transformation of cities and structures. According to him, “The Engineer, inspired by the law of economy and governed by mathematical calculation, puts us in accord with universal law. He achieves harmony”. And, he emphasized architectural planning: “plan is the generator. Without a plan, you have lack of order, and willfulness...The great problems of tomorrow, dictated by collective necessities, put the question of “plan” in a form. Modern life demands, and is waiting for, a kind of plan, both for house and for the city”. He asserted that a house resembled a machine through his approach spreading from the city to the house and from a macro plan to a micro one:

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 171-2.

²⁶⁸ Yael Navaro Yaşın, "Evde Taylorizm": Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin İlk Yıllarında Ev İşinin Rasyonelleşmesi 1928-40" *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 84 (2000): 51-75, p. 57. Here we refer again the optimization process of the soldier's body-action during 18th century.

²⁶⁹ Radial designs are present in previously mentioned village projects.

“the problem of the house has not yet been stated. Nevertheless there do exist standards for the dwelling house. Machinery contains in itself the factor of economy, which makes for selection. The house is a machine for living in.”²⁷⁰

Regarding houses as machines that reproduce life led to a focus on their features that can facilitate this function rather than on their aesthetic values. Architect Samih Saim’s article published in *Muhit* in 1929 supports this view: “Today, building a house does not mean putting up four walls and covering them. Rather, it means creating a functioning machine such as a plane, automobile, and a ferry. A dysfunctional house is no different than a plane without an engine. This plane, if looked from outside, is actually a plane. However, it cannot fly. A dysfunctional house is, in fact, a house. Yet, one can not feel comfortable inside. What takes skill when building a house is arranging the parts between four walls, namely rooms, living rooms, kitchen, and bath as one assembles an engine. Then, once again, skills are needed to do what is necessary inside the building in question: properly install components and items so that the building can fulfil its function easily.”²⁷¹

Published in *Muhit*, this article, with a number of its counterparts, summarizes common arguments by architects under the title “cheap and healthy houses”. The articles on architecture and house administration in *Muhit* are not just valuable because they were the products of efforts to get the society to adopt these ideas. They are valuable because they enabled architects who would and will build Turkey to observe with what kind of power-knowledge they would and will use. As of 1931, with the official publication of chamber of architects, the magazine named *Mimar - Arkitekt*, the presence and implementation of this power knowledge became apparent. Architect Aptullah Ziya’s description of the new house appropriate for the new social life through his own model is a clear example of the approach discussed here. “Architects who only adorned buildings by using their (hand and eye) skills are now unemployed. An architect is supposed to find or devise a new character for each building based on the

²⁷⁰ Le Corbusier, *Towards A New Architecture*. Translated by Frederick Etchells, New York: Dover Publications, 1986.

²⁷¹ Samih Saim, *Muhit* 2, no. 7 (1929): 498-500, p. 499.

economic, hygiene, and constructional needs.”²⁷² Emphasizing new needs, this article is like a manifest in the first issue of the magazine. It discusses house designs under various titles. Under the title “Where should a guest be hosted?”, he defines the guest and his or her position in the house by redefining today’s needs: “In today’s social life, a guest is a person who shall see us for a couple minutes and then go. There is no need for a special room for a guest who comes to stay for hours. For holidays and visiting days, we can buy special equipment. Guest room is unnecessary and is a luxury for today’s needs. We welcome the guest in the hallway right after he or she comes in. It is not correct to let the guest wander inside the house and see our untidy rooms and corridors.”²⁷³ Following the designs of study room and living room, the views he presents while describing the dinner table under the title ‘dinner room’ reflects the general architecture approach mentioned earlier: “The rear side of the chairs in the dinner room is not leaning. This is because it is not common to lean back while eating. Rather, the front legs of the chairs do not protrude outside as the sitter shall always lean towards the table. For establishing balance, rear legs are inclined towards back.”²⁷⁴

In support of the argument that space is a mold of social life, behind the discourse of making life easier shaping human behaviour over space, inside house, and in accordance with its general function is an extension of the process described earlier. The same style continued in bedroom designs as “you see a wardrobe to the left of the bedstead. Allocated as surfaces for putting bottles of cologne, books, water etc., these places are designed to make it possible for a man on a bed to easily reach and take these items. It is obsolete and not correct to put a small cupboard, or a nightstand, besides the bed because this makes one get out of the bed to open its doors to take something. However, when people are tired or do not want to change their positions, they want water, medicine, and various items to be close enough so that they can reach them with their hands.”²⁷⁵ The assessment the writer made following the house design summarizes

²⁷² Aptullah Ziya, “Binanın İçinde Mimar”, *Mimar*, no. 1 (1931): 14-20, p. 14.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

the new architectural approach: “It is obvious that the architect is not only busy with adorning houses in this age. He is now a thinker who is concerned with your life and tries to make you live comfortably and in a clean and hygienic way. The architect is not a man busy with adornment and ornament written in the books that were published not long ago.”²⁷⁶ The rationalization of the body, and the things that are used in houses was suggested by the drawings that demonstrate the optimum values of the objects and human body. In these drawings the comparable sizes and positions the things that are used in a house are strictly calculated.²⁷⁷

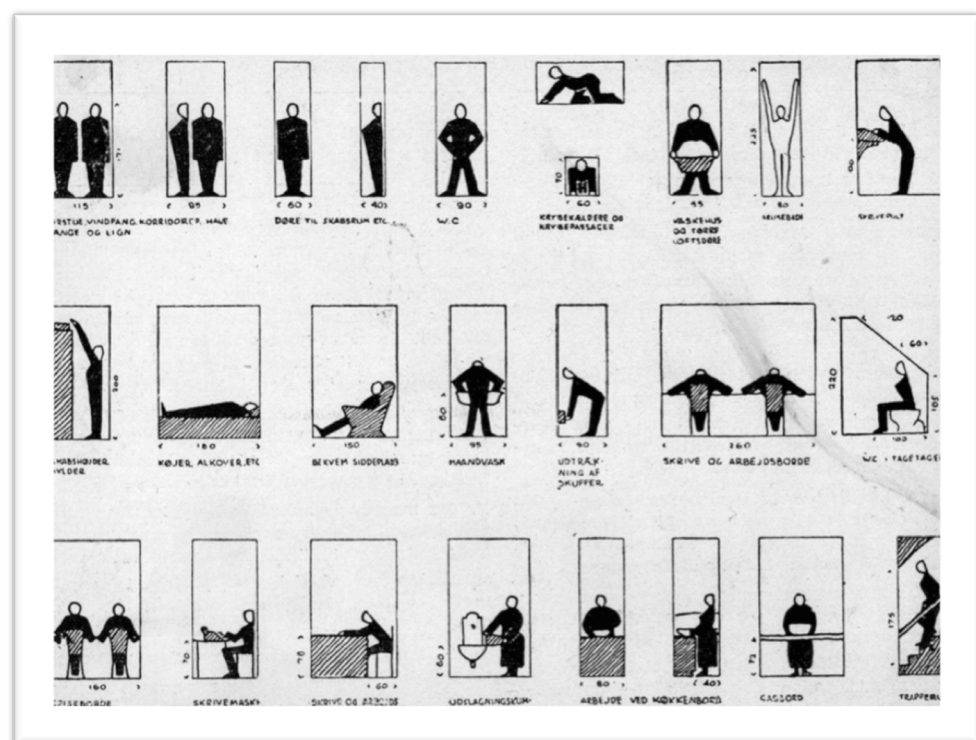


Figure 22: A drawing that gives comparative measures of body and space.

Source: “Yapıda Mikyas”, *Mimar*, no. 6 (1931): 202-204.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁷⁷ See *Mimar*, no. 6 (1931): 202-5.

In Ankara, Istanbul, and various cities of Turkey, there are many exemplary in journal of the architecture that is mentioned.²⁷⁸ A building in Istanbul designed by an architect with a quite common method of the period demonstrates this widespread pattern: "There is no extravagant expenses as embellishments besides the use of fresh air and sun light. For this reason, particularly southern windows, and partially western windows are wider in order to maintain the absolute coverage of fresh air and sunlight. What could be a better answer to those who are still loyal to the İstanbul's architecture that is with narrow streets, lacking sun light and humidity? just like the outside of the building, the inside of it is hygienic and plain..."²⁷⁹

Ismail Hakkı Bey's house in Ankara which was built following similar styles presents an example of cubic architecture. The house benefits from air, sun, and space on a maximum level.²⁸⁰ Certainly, as the municipality architecture Samih Saim stated: "... for this house the desired program is, instead of a luxury residence, to be a hygienic and functional, a residence that is comfortable place for work."²⁸¹ In short the architectural methods of healthy air circulation in houses were discussed, basic suggestions to solve hygienic issues were introduced in these articles demonstrating newly built houses. The viral threat was considered as big health issue and to confront this threat a rational organization within the house were suggested.²⁸² In that sense, planning activities in Ankara, Istanbul, or any other city in Turkey from the 19th to 20th century were the transformation of architects' approach to space rather than an

²⁷⁸ See Zeki Selah, "Baytar Kami Bey Evi", *Mimar*, no. 11-12 (1931): 367-369 ; Mimar Abidin, "H. Ziya B. Evi." *Mimar*, no. 8 (1931): 255-260 ; Sırrı Arif, "Bekir Beyin Evi", *Mimar*, no. 1 (1931): 5-10 ; Abdullah Ziya, "Kimyager A. Rıza B. Evi" *Mimar*, no. 9 (1931): 287-295; Abdullah Ziya, "Belediye Reisi Evi" *Mimar*, no. 15 (1932): 75-76; Semih Rüstem, "Sait B. Evi", *Mimar*, no. 21 (1932): 264-266; H. Hüsnü, "Münip B. Evi", *Mimar*, no. 19-20 (1932): 225-226; Mimar Saim, "İzzet Bey Evi", *Mimar*, no. 16 (1932): 99-101.

²⁷⁹ Mimar Zühtü, "Işık Apartmanı – Koska", *Mimar*, no. 14 (1932): 37-38, p. 37.

²⁸⁰ Mimar Sadi, "İsmail Hakkı B. Evi", *Mimar*, no. 18 (1932): 171-173, p. 171.

²⁸¹ Samih Saim, "Ev Projesi", *Mimar*, no. 6 (1931): 193-195, p. 193. He was also a "municipal architect".

²⁸² It is Dr. Zeki Faik who wrote the article about this. He was "Gülhane Military Hospital hygiene professor and an expert on hygiene working at Istanbul municipality" Zeki Faik, "Meskenlerimizde Tecdidî Hava Lüzumu ve Usulleri", *Mimar*, no. 11-12 (1931): 370-372.

assessment of the success or failure of state interventions and these were what changed the look of the structure and the city, that is seen not just in some particular examples, but quite common.²⁸³

Technological developments in the construction industry made this rationalizing change possible, they enabled architects to put their views into practice in space with minimum loss. Thanks to these developments, the free use of concrete and iron became better and architects had more intellectual freedom space when constructing buildings. For instance, as it was no longer required to construct bearing walls, cubic architecture had the chance to be practiced at last. In other words, this freedom gave architects the chance to execute their intellectual approaches in space however they wished.²⁸⁴



Figure 23: İsmail Hakkı Bey's house in Ankara as an example of widespread cubic architecture in the period.

Source: Mimar Sadi, "İsmail Hakkı B. Evi", *Mimar*, no. 18 (1932): 171-173, p. 171.

Finally, a circumstance to be mentioned along with architecture is that the house life began to change as a result of the fact that women started to do housework in a scientific way by means of children receiving formal education. The house was

²⁸³ As seen in the drawing "Scale in Structures", resembled techniques that penetrated into the relation types of subjects remind one of the infantry moves given in the first chapter. Architects played a crucial role in reflecting this disciplinary design to the social life.

²⁸⁴ Esat, 1931, p. 54.

designed as a functioning mechanism. It was seen that there were attempts to spread the scientific curriculum for women who did housework and that taylorist principles that were in use in factories were taught to women as series of movements.²⁸⁵

Timelines in Girl Institute yearbooks where this training can be seen are worth paying attention to. *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Lisesi Yıllığı* (1935-6) proposed three timelines. It suggested daily, weekly, and monthly work plans for graduates. 6:00 was the best time to get up. The housewife should let fresh air into bedrooms, do some exercises, and get dressed. Children should be woken up at 6:40, and breakfast should be prepared. Children would be sent to school at 7:20. The baby would be washed at 7:40, dressed, and breastfed. From eight to nine in the morning, rooms should be cleaned and clothes should be brushed. The period between nine and ten was allocated to do the washing. Then, the woman would go shopping. Other daily chores were also programmed minute by minute. Times of downtime to overcome tiredness were also stated, a similar time and responsibility chart was prepared for weekly and monthly tasks. For example, the washing would take place between 9:30 and 16:00 on Tuesday fortnightly. Clothes would be ironed on Wednesday fortnightly between 14:30 and 18:30.²⁸⁶

The model kitchens that were proposed to women aimed to prevent disorder and waste. Women working in “the kitchen in wrong order” spend more effort when performing complex tasks. In kitchens in order, unnecessary efforts were prevented with a simpler “series of processes”.²⁸⁷ The “Health, Success, and Happiness” section of *Muhit* features articles that make mention of housework and advice for the protection of individuals on a micro basis.²⁸⁸ Timelines and efficiency-increasing series of work complete the in-house object standards given above. The enhancement of the efficiency

²⁸⁵ Series of movements in the timetables resemble the 18th century line infantry basic training patterns.

²⁸⁶ See timetables in *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı* (1935-36) narrated by Yael Navaro Yaşın, “Evde Taylorizm”: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin İlk Yıllarında Ev İşinin Rasyonelleşmesi (1928-40)”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 84 (2000): 51-75, p. 64.

²⁸⁷ Yaşın, 2000, p. 62.

²⁸⁸ *Muhit*, no.38 (1931), p. 46.

of women in housework thanks to planning should be taken into account together with facilitating designs and standardization in space.

The rationalization of housework as another research focus should be considered together with the architectural techniques that made them possible. That was an important indicator of the changing perception on life and work in 20th century. Architecture as “space engineering” materialized the discourse that can be followed in speeches, legal texts or education books, but the importance and political validity of that discourse, occurs in the daily practice of individuals. Throughout this work it was sought to present the penetration to this daily practice of individuals through space.

CONCLUSION

In the first chapter this study argued that the spatial transformations derives from military discipline. Military reforms established a frame, that is based on standardization and optimization, which can be used in any dimension of the social life. From the organization of military structures to the civilian structures, from the organization of a military zone such as camp or fortress to the organization of living space, this disciplinary frame which was coined as concept of *dispositif* diffused and became a depoliticized neutral norm. Under this norm that turn the population into a state suitable for the new power economy and transform the space of the subject by the experts' implementation of their power knowledge as embedded in their technical knowledge and by the internal colonization practices of the sovereign.

Sovereign reconfigured itself in a new shape during late 18th century and 19th century, the most important points are the solution to the autonomous structures of dead-end streets, swift to functioning cities with grid plans, the elimination of risk factors such as fires and epidemics of the interior and exterior elements of the structure, and the standardization and normalization of this new and less risky space. It was tried to take this concern into scope when structure elements described in detail in the statute were presented. The new space made up by the transformed power techniques was in continuity from the Ottoman Period to the Republican Period. The Ottoman State, refounded after the *Nizam ı Cedid* reforms, and the Republic of Turkey, founded after the war, similarly focused on space.

Another outcome is that these regulations were not vulgar, but rather happened under a burgeoning modern municipalism and service discourse. In that sense, the emergence of modern municipalism is understood to be a product that is an intervention means of the power over space. This inference was made in light of historical documents and the statute. The fact that space gained immunity from individuals with permissions and licenses from the 18th century to the 19th century supports this. The approach of military area and municipal area to space and hybrid elements in the organization are worth paying attention to.

The spatial transformation process in Turkey during the 19th century was not a late attempt of westernization, but in fact it emerged simultaneously with the developments in western Europe. This process of *Hausmannization* brought similar rational lines just as in many other European cities. This process emerged in modernizing Ottoman Empire should not be considered in the dichotomy of the East and the West. The urban reforms diffused around Europe as other reforms and the process in the Ottoman Empire was a part of that. The discourse in the reports presented in this study indicates that parallel process in Ottoman Empire and around Europe.

Municipalism problematized the space and consequently intervened the space. The risks as defined in modern terms had always been potentially in space, however their definition as risks and interventions to them in modern terms developed during 18th and 19th century reforms. As the risks were defined in space, the preventive practices emerged which was different than the traditional approach to the risks and space. With the rise of the idea of preventive cautions against risks, therefore preventing possible losses, the issues that was left to to the divine will started to be handled by a secular approach. Thereby municipalism emerged as an extension of military reforms within the context of the process of problematization of space and the definition of risks.

Another issue that this study pointed was the hybrid figures and structures. Hybrid figures are the military originated “experts”, who are municipal planners and advisors in the army at the same time. This situation which demonstrates a period before sub branchization give clues on the origin of municipalism that is very important for spatial transformations. Those figures are in key positions for the diffusion of disciplinary techniques from military to the social life. The regimes that was established within this context are “civilian”, but in the origin they come from military.

Cartography as a military profession also presents this hybrid picture. The mapping of cities and the surrounding geography is used for both military strategic and development reasons. This situation still continues as cartography is a military branch. On the other hand the military’s involvement in municipal issues remains as a cooperation area in contemporary Turkey. Cartography’s contribution to municipal

plans and the urban development traces back to the emergence of modern municipalism in the hands of professional soldiers which is not considered as a coincidence in this study.

The modern institutions have one common model in terms of structural plans as Foucault argues. During military reforms in Ottoman Empire, the barracks became a model that was used also in the plans of hospitals and schools. This resemblance is also confirmed by architectural historians. The interpenetrating pattern of structures and regimes during 19th century supports the argument that contend the importance of military in the emergence process.

There were autonomous zones of neighbourhoods in Ottoman Empire. Dead end streets were important in that sense. The dead end streets can be gated and closed by the community. During those spatial transformation and codification process the dead end streets were forbidden in 19th century, later as nodes in city space they were raveled out and integrated into grid plans. Nevertheless as the space transformed, the power relations transformed; with the dissolution of these nodes the sovereign was able to spread all corners in the city. The most important aspect of spatial transformations was the break of these autonomous nodes and establishing state power there economically.

The study followed this transformation in the legal texts that emerged in the process of codification. The process started after the abolition of Janissary that holds traditional justice mechanism, and in the second half of the 19th century the first statute of modern municipalism was completed. The municipal police was the authority in the city and control the standarts that were defined in municipal statute. These standarts were executed in very imperious ways as it can be seen in the garbage collection regime's sequential orders. Hygiene standarts were defined in bread making and butchery. On the other side, the lineage of statute which was gradually becoming more detailed and interventionist on space constituted the Ebniye Law in the end that had been in effect until 1933. Another important point in this law was the definition of *zira* in milimetric terms with reference to French meter.

As an answer to the question of how the statute reflected on space, the study presented the urban plans of Ottoman cities. Especially in the Balkans, at the end of the 19th century the grid patterns in Ottoman geography became dominant. Both the traditional pattern that can be understood through the number of dead end streets and grid pattern were present in these transforming cities which clearly demonstrates the break and the transformation into a modern form.

Municipalism is the central concept in this study, the emergence and development of municipalism is important since the spatial transformations in Early Republican Ankara is executed by municipal regime. This study aimed to problematize the regime that put spatial transformations into practice and explaining it by reaching its origins. This concept links the 19th century transformations in Ottoman Empire and Early Republican Ankara. Municipal regime in Ankara was an Ottoman legacy, therefore the link between the first chapter and the second chapter is the municipal statute's, that developed during 19th century context, being still in effect during Early Republican period until its update during 1930s. In this context the whole text presented in two chapters does not approach to the issue as different two states and two periods, rather it attempts to present an entire process of sovereign's intervention to the space in Turkey.

Although the idea of moving the capital can be traced back to the Moltke's suggestions in 19th century, selecting Ankara as the capital was shaped in the sphere of war against the invading army of Greece, and it could be said that it was a product of this war. Ankara is in a central location within Anatolian geography. There were strategic points that could be defended in the western front of Ankara where the war was continuing. The city had railway connections and these connections made possible providing logistics and manpower needed in war. It was also far from east, a region of ongoing conflict with minorities. In short, Ankara's location was hard to reach in times of war and central to exert state power on all regions in times of peace. This point was also underlined in M. Kemal's parliament speeches.

After its selection as capital, Ankara's planning and construction was a part of building a nation and a new life project of the young republic as the city was planned and constructed according to those ideals. The space was designed according to the new

ideal citizen's modern way of life. Şükrü Kaya's statements on the location of cemetery in the city, which is quite important in traditional space, points the modern life's secular patterns and exclusion of religion and expresses this spatial design. Dealing with the housing problem did not mean only building houses, but building hygienic houses that promote the exclusion of extended families and traditional host-guest culture.

The parliament directly involved in municipal issues during 1920s. The housing problem was tackled with the state budget transfers. The state constructed modern houses with public funds and as the resources such as official annual publications and journals in the period endorsed these houses were cubic. The architectural tendency in the period as demonstrated in the professional journal *Arkitekt* was the construction of functional houses which was like a supporting "machine" for working individuals. This kind architecture designed according to modern practices excludes traditional practices.

As the housing problem in particular demonstrates, the spatial transformations, in other words modernization can't be explained merely by state. The architectural views evolved into functionalist ideas during the first decades of 20th century. The cubic architecture was a production of that transition, the other reason was the advancements in construction technology. These technological advancements made reflecting architects views directly on space possible. Taylorist principles and Corbussier's perception of city was commonly accepted among Turkey's architects. The prevalence of these ideas, their reflections on space can be followed in architects' professional journal, *Arkitekt*.

The fact that Ankara became the capital in the Republican Period and its construction maintained this process and helped it become common in Anatolia. The steps taken both in discourse and practice were even further detailed in the bio political context taken over from the Ottoman Empire. The sovereign's control over the territory seems to be focusing on providing health and security services in space. The actual situation is not only about the construction of a national identity, but also about the construction of a new power economy by establishing a regulatory system in space which will make later intervention unnecessary, a self sustained self productive space.

The term 'internal colonization' was used without negative connotations before that time in particular Early Republican Turkey by intellectuals. In fact, the term can be said to be to the point as it describes the Ottoman - Turkey modernization process that sees the spread of the transformed state power to its own population. Furthermore, the military discipline process started by the state through interaction with rival states led to the organization and protection of the population as a whole. It was a complex process, and the population, interacting with the new power techniques, transformed them and made them more common.

The argument that contend the building of national identity through architectural narrative is shortfall. This argument oversimplify the architecture by considering it as a mere symbolism. On the one hand what people see also shape them, on the other hand this may contribute to the complicated process of nation building, but not the essence of the issue. National identity is built through shaping the life practices of citizens, just as the reconfiguration of the language, the space was reconfigured in that process in order to reach the life practices of citizens. A study should also see that dimension of the issue rather than repeating an argument that is in some points inconsistent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Documental Resources

Ergin, Osman Nuri. *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediyye*. İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1995.

Hakimiyet i Milliye

La Turquie Kemaliste

Middle East Technical University Journal of The Faculty of Architecture

Mimar - Arkitekt

Muhit

TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Ankara: TBMM Matbaası, 1941.

TC Resmi Gazete

Books and Book Sections

«Ankara Vilayeti Hakkında İdari, İktisadi, İctimai, Tabii, Zirai ve Tarihi Malumat.» Ankara, 1933.

Ahıska, Meltem. *Occidentalism in Turkey*. London-New York: I.B Tauris Publishers, 2010.

Akgün, Seçil. «Kurtuluş Savaşının Mekansal Stratejisi ve Ankara'nın Başkent Seçilmesi Kararının İçeriği.» in *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*,

Ümit Nevzat Uğurel and Erdal Yavuz (eds.), 223-235. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1984.

Akın, Yiğit. *"Gülbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar" Erken Cumhuriyet'te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Aktüre, Sevgi. *19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümlemesi*. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1978.

Akyıldız, Ali. «Tanzimat Döneminde Belgelerin Şekil ve Muhteva Yönünden Geçirdiği Bazı Değişiklikler.» in *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, yazan Halil İnalçık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (eds.), 407-418. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012.

Althusser, Louis. *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. London: Verso, 2014.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London and New York: Verso, 2006.

Ankara Belediyesi. *"Türkiye Devletinin Makarri İdaresi" Ankara Şehri'nin Sınırları - Belgeleri ve Mahalle, Bölge Teşkilleri*. Ankara: Alaeddin Kırıl Matbaası, 1945.

Ankara İmar Planı. İstanbul: Alaeddin Kırıl Basımevi, 1937.

Arar, İsmail. *Atatürk'ün İzmit Basın Toplantısı*. İstanbul: Burçak Yayınevi, 1969.

Arık, Sabire. «Polonyalı (Leh) Ziyaretçilerin Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara'sına Ait Gözlemleri.» in *Tarihte Ankara Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildiriler*, Ertan Ünlü and Yılmaz Kurt (eds.), 871-917. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih - Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü, 2012.

Aslanoğlu, İnci. «1928-1946 Döneminde Ankara'da Yapılan Resmi Yapıların Mimarisinin Değerlendirilmesi.» in *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*,

Ümit Nevzat Uğurel and Erdal Yavuz (eds.), 281-289. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1984.

Aslanoğlu, İnci. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*. İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2010.

Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal. *Geometri*. İstanbul: Örgün Yayınları, 2006.

Atay, Falih Rıfkı. *Çankaya*. İstanbul: Pozitif Yayınları, 2009.

Batur, Afife. «Batılılaşma Döneminde Osmanlı Mimarlığı.» in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Murat Belge (ed.), 1038-1090. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985.

Bayramoğlu, Ali. «Asker ve Siyaset.» *Bir Zümre, Bir Parti Türkiye'de Ordu içinde*, Ali Bayramoğlu and Ahmet İnel (eds.), 59-119. İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 2009.

Bayrı, Halit. *Belediye İşleri Kılavuzu*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1936.

Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1969.

Bentham, Jeremy. *The Panopticon Writings*. Ed. Miraz Bozovic. London: Verso, 1995.

Bertram, Carel. *Imagining the Turkish House*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.

Beydilli, Kemal, and İlhan Şahin. *Mahmud Raif Efendi ve Nizam ı Cedid'e Dair Eseri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Mimari Kültür*. Çeviren Tuncay Birkan. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012.

Bröckling, Ulrich. *Disiplin: Askeri İtaat Üretiminin Sosyolojisi*. Translated by Veysel Atayman. İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 2001.

Cengizkan, Ali. *Fabrika'da Barınmak Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Türkiye'de İşçi Konutları*. Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2009.

—. *Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı*. Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2004.

—. *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri*. Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2004.

Corbusier, Le. *Towards A New Architecture*. Çeviren Frederick Etchells. New York: Dover Publications, 1986.

Çadırcı, Musa. *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991.

Çelik, Zeynep. *The Remaking of Istanbul*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1986.

Çolak, Melek. «Macarların Gözü İle Yeni Başkent Ankara (1923 -1938).» in *Tarihte Ankara Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildiriler*, Ertan Ünlü and Yılmaz Kurt (eds.), 847-871. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih - Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü, 2012.

Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998.

Denel, Serim. «19. Yüzyılda Ankara'nın Kentsel Formu ve Konut Dokusunda Farklılaşmalar.» in *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, Ümit Nevzat Uğurel and Erdal Yavuz (eds.), 131-155. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1984.

Diko, Gülay Yılmaz. «Blurred Boundaries Between Soldier and Civilians: Artisan Jannisaries in Seventeenth Century İstanbul. » in *Bread From The Lion's Mouth Artisans Struggling for a Livelihood in Ottoman Cities* , Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), New York: Berghahn Press, 2015.

- Engelhardt. *Tanzimat ve Türkiye*. İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 1999.
- Ergin, Osman Nuri. *İstanbul'da İmar ve İskan Hareketleri*. İstanbul: Eminönü Halkevi, 1938.
- Esat, Celal. *Şehircilik (Urbanizm)*. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1936.
- Esat, Celal. *Yeni Mimari*. İstanbul: Agah Sabri Kitaphanesi, 1931.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
- . *Security Territory Population Lectures at the College de France 1977-78*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- . *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures At the College de France (1975-1976)*. Çeviren David Macey. London: Penguin Books, 2003.
- . *The Birth of Biopolitics Lectures at the College De France 1978-79*. Çeviren Graham Burchell. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Foucault, Michel. «The Confession of the Flesh (1977) interview.» in *Power/Knowledge Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, Michel Foucault and Colin Gordon (eds.), 194-228. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.
- Foucault, Michel. «Governmentality.» *The Foucault Effect Studies in Governmentality*, Colin Gordon, Peter Miller and Graham Burchell (eds.), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Gerber, Haim. «Tanzimat'a Yeni Bir Bakış Kudüs Vilayeti.» in *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içinde*, Halil İnalcık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (eds.), 245-263. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012.
- Gökalp, Ziya. *Terbiyenin Sosyal ve Kültürel Temelleri*. İstanbul: Devlet MEB Kitapları, 1973.

Gregory, Derek. *Geographical Imaginations*. Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.

Hakkı, İsmail. *Sanat*. İstanbul: Semih Lütfi Sühuleti Kütüphanesi, 1934.

Harvey, David. *Paris Capital of Modernity*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Iggers, Georg G. *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1997.

İnan, Afet. *Devletçilik İlkesi ve Birinci Sanayi Planı*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972.

İskan Tarihçesi. İstanbul: Hamit Matbaası, 1932

İşbilir, Ömer. *Dikanizade Ubeydullah Kuşmani: Zebire-i Kuşmani Fi Ta'rif-i Nizam'ı İlhami Nizam-ı Cedide Dair Bir Risale*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006.

Kandemir, Seyyah. *Türkiye Seyahatnamesi Ankara Vilayeti*. Ankara: Başvekalet Müdevvenat Matbaası, 1932.

Karal, Enver Ziya. *Osmanlı Tarihi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1961.

—. *Selim III'ün Hat-tı Hümanyunları Nizam-ı Cedit*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1946.

—. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*. Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Matbaası, 1997.

Karaosmanoğlu, Yakup Kadri. *Ankara*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007.

—. *Yaban*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008.

Karaömeroğlu, Asım. *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycü Söylem*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2006.

Kezer, Zeynep. *The Making of a National Capital: Ideology and Socio-Spatial Practices in Early Republican Ankara*. Berkeley: University of California, 1999.

Kırlı, Cengiz. «Kahvehaneler ve Hafiyeler:19. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Osmanlı'da Sosyal Kontrol.» in *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* içinde, Halil İnalçık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (eds.), 601-625. İstanbul: Türkiye İş bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012.

Kimball, Fiske, ve George Harold Edgell. *A History of Architecture*. New York and London: Harper Brothers Publishers, 1918.

Koç, Vehbi. *Hayat Hikayem*. İstanbul: Çeltüt Matbaacılık, 1983.

Koçak, Cemil. *Umumi Müfettişlikler*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010.

Koşay, Hamit. *Ankara Budun Bilgisi*. Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1935.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

Memiş, Şefik. *Zabıta i Belediye İlk Talimatnameler*. İstanbul: Belediye Zabıtası Dayanışma Vakfı, 2008.

Mills, C. Wright. *The Sociological Imagination*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Moltke, Helmuth Von. *Moltke'nin Türkiye Mektupları*. Translated by Hayrullah Örs. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1969.

Mumford, Lewis. *Tarih Boyunca Kent*. Translated by Tamer Tosun, Gürol Koca. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2007.

Nalbantoğlu, Gülsüm. «1928-1946 Döneminde Ankara'da Yapılan Konutların Mimari Değerlendirmesi.» in *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*

içinde, Ümit Nevzat Uğurel and Erdal Yavuz (eds.), 257-281. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1984.

Orhonlu, Cengiz. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehircilik ve Ulaşım Üzerine Araştırmalar*. İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1984.

Ortaylı, İlber. «19. Yüzyıl Ankara'sına Demiryolu'nun Gelişi Hinterlandının ve Hinterlanddaki Üretim Eylemlerinin Değişimi.» in *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, Ümit Nevzat Uğurel and Erdal Yavuz (eds.), 209-223. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1984.

Ortaylı, İlber. *İkinci Abdülhamit Döneminde Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Alman Nüfuzu*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1981.

Ökçün, Ahmet Gündüz. «İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Yeni Köylerin Kurulmasına ve Köylerde Çevre Sağlığına İlişkin Tüzel Düzenlemeler.» in *Prof. Fehmi Yavuz'a Armağan*, 171-200. Ankara: AÜ Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayını, 1983.

Önge, Sinem Türkoğlu. «Spatial Representation of Power: Making The Urban Space of Ankara in the Early Republican Period.» in *Power and Culture. Identity, Ideology, Representation*, J. Osmond A. Cimdina (eds.), 71-94. Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2007.

Özüçetin, Yaşar. «Meclis Celse Zabıtlarında Ankara'nın Başkent Oluşu.» in *Tarihte Ankara Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildiriler*, Ertan Ünlü and Yılmaz Kurt (eds.), 761-781. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih - Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü, 2012.

Poggi, Gianfranco. *The Development of The Modern State A Sociological Introduction*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978.

Saint-Laurent, Béatrice. «Bir Tiyatro Amatörü: Ahmed Vefik Paşa ve 19. Yüzyılın Son Çeyreğinde Bursa'nın Yeniden Biçimlenmesi.» in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, Paul Dumont and François Georgeon (eds.), Translated by Ali Berktaş. 79-99. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999.

Sarioğlu, Mehmet. *Ankara Bir Modernleşme Öyküsü*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001.

Seyitdanlıoğlu, Mehmet. *Tanzimat Döneminde Modern Belediyeciliğin Doğuşu Yerel Yönetim Metinleri*. İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010.

Şenyapılı, Tansı. *"Baraka"dan Gecekonduya Ankara'da Kentsel Mekanın Dönüşümü 1923-1960*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Şirin, Veli. *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye Ordusu ve Seraskerlik*. İstanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2002.

Tankut, Gönül. «Jansen Planı Uygulama Sorunları ve Cumhuriyet Demokrasisinin Kent Planına Yaklaşımı.» in *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri* içinde, Ümit Nevzat Uğurel and Erdal Yavuz (eds.), 303-321. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1984.

Tankut, Gönül. *Bir Başkent'in İmarı*. İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993.

Taylor, Frederick Winslow. *The Principles of Scientific Management*. 1911.

Tekeli, İlhan. «19. Yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşümü.» in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri* içinde, Paul Dumont and François Georgeon (eds.), Translated by Ali Berktaş. 19-30. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999.

Tekeli, İlhan. «Ankara'nın Başkentlik Kararının Ülkesel Mekan Organizasyonu ve Toplumsal Yapıya Etkileri Bakımından Genel Bir Değerlendirilmesi.» in *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri* içinde, Ümit Nevzat and Uğurel Erdal Yavuz (eds.), 321-335. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1984.

Tekeli, İlhan. «Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kentsel Dönüşüm.» in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* içinde, Murat Belge (ed.), 878-890. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985.

Tekeli, İlhan. *Modernizm Modernite ve Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama Tarihi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009.

Tetik, Fatih. *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Tanzimat Dönemi Kamu Sağlığı Politikası (1839-1876)*. İstanbul: Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2007.

Tunaya, Tarık Zafer. *Türkiye'de Siyasal Gelişmeler (1876-1938)*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2001.

Tunçay, Mete. *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetimi'nin Kurulması*. Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1981.

Tümertekin, Erol. *Türkiye'de Şehirleşme ve Şehirsel Fonksiyonlar*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1973.

Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü. *Belediyeler El Kitabı*. Ankara: Kardeş Matbaası, 1963.

Türsan, Nurettin. *Ankara'nın Başkent Oluşu*. İstanbul: Harp Akademileri Basımevi, 1981.

Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatından Kapıkulu Ocakları*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943.

Yabancı Gözüyle Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si. Ankara: Dahiliye Vekaleti Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü, 1938.

Yalın, İnci. «Ulus Devletin Kamusal Alanda Meşruiyet Aracı: Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı Üzerinden Kurgulanma Çabası.» in *Başkent Üzerine Mekan Politik Tezler Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri*, Güven Arif Sargın (ed.), 158-159. İstanbul: İletişim, 2009.

Yavuz, Yıldırım. «1923-1928 Ankara'sında Konut Sorunu ve Konut Gelişmesi.» in *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri* içinde, Ümit Nevzat Uğurel and Erdal Yavuz (eds.), 235-257. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1984.

Yerolympos, Alexandra. «Tanzimat Döneminde Kuzey Yunanistan'da Şehircilik ve Modernleşme.» in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*. Paul

Dumont and François Georgeon (eds.), Translated by Ali Berktaş, 31-60. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999.

Yerolympos, Alexandra. *Urban Transformations in the Balkans (1820-1920) Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Remaking of Thessaloniki*. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1996.

Yerosimos, Stefanos. «Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine.» in *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri* içinde, Paul Dumont and François Georgeon (eds.), Translated by Ali Berktaş, 1-19. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999.

Yeşil, Fatih. *Aydınlanma Çağında Bir Osmanlı Katibi Ebubekir Ratib Efendi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010.

Yeşilkaya, Neşe Gürallar. *Halkevleri İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003.

Periodicals

Abidin, Mimar. «H. Ziya B. Evi.» *Mimar*, no. 8 (1931): 255-260.

Arif, Burhan. «Köy Projesi.» *Arkitekt*, 1935: 320.

Arif, Burhan. «Modern Bir Şehrin Uzviyeti.» *Mimar*, no. 9 (1932): 250-252.

Arif, Sırrı. «Bekir Beyin Evi.» *Mimar*, no. 1 (1931): 5-10.

Batuman, Bülent. «"Early Republican Ankara": Struggle over Historical Representation and the Politics of Urban Historiography.» *Journal of Urban History*, 2011: 661-679.

Baysun, M. Cavid. «Mustafa Reşit Paşa'nın Siyasi Yazıları.» *Tarih Dergisi* XI, no. 15 (1960): 124-127.

Çabuk, Suat. «Kayseri'nin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki İlk Kent Düzenlemesi: 1933 Çaylak Planı.» *METU JFA* 29, no. 2 (2012): 63-87.

Çalışkan, Olgü. «Anadolu'da Bir "Yarı Çevre Modernite Deneyimi": Kemalizm'in Şehirciliği.» *Planlama*, 3 2003: 14-23.

Çetin, Sıdıka. «Geç Osmanlıdan Erken Cumhuriyete İç Batı Anadolu'da Kentsel Yapının Değişimi: Manisa, Afyon, Burdur ve Isparta Kentleri Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir İnceleme.» *METU JFA* 29, no. 2 (2012): 89-126.

Çıkış, Şeniz. «Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Dönemi İzmir Konutu: Yerellik ve Melezlik.» *METU JFA* 28, no. 2 (2011): 45-61.

Esat, Celal. «Binanın İçinde Mimar.» *Mimar*, no. 1 (1931): 14-19.

Faik, Zeki. «Evlerde Tecdidi Hava.» *Mimar*, no. 13 (1932): 24-26.

Faik, Zeki. «Meskenlerimizde Tecdidi Hava Lüzumu ve Usulleri.» *Mimar*, no. 11-12 (1931): 370-372.

Galip, Faruk. «Şehrin İmarı ve Belediye.» *Mimar*, no. 9 (1931): 285-286.

Gandy, Matthew. «Zones of Indistinction: Bio Political Contestations in the Urban Arena.» *Cultural Geographies*, no. 13 (2006): 497-516.

Hüsnü, H. «Münip B. Evi.» *Mimar*, no. 19-20 (1932): 225-226.

İhsan, Ahmet. «İnşa Etmek Sanatı.» *Mimar*, no. 2 (1931): 49-50.

Kezer, Zeynep. «Contesting Urban Space in Early Republican Ankara.» *Journal of Architectural Education*, 1998: 11-19.

Mimar, Abidin. «Memleketimizde Mimari Varlık.» *Mimar*, no. 3 (1931): 73-74.

Mimar, Şehabettin. «Asya'da Türk Şehir Planları.» *Mimar*, no. 23-24 (1932): 325-332.

Mimar, Zühtü. «Işık Apartmanı - Koska.» *Mimar*, no. 14 (1932): 37-38.

Ökesli, Duygu Saban. «Hermann Jansen's Planning Principles and His Urban Legacy in Adana.» *METU JFA* 26, no. 2 (2009): 45-67.

Özcan, Koray. «Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları:Türk İmar Sürecinin Kuruluş Sürecinde Erken Planlama Deneyimleri (1839-1908). » *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* VII, no. 2 (2006): 149-180.

Pinkney, David H. «Napoleon III's Transformation of Paris: The Origins and Development of the Idea.» *The Journal of Modern History* 27, no. 2 (1955): 125-134.

Ploger, John. «Foucault's Dispositif and the City.» *Planning Theory*, no. 7 (2008): 51-70.

Rüstem, Semih. «Sait B. Evi.» *Mimar*, no. 21 (1932): 264-266.

Sadi, Mimar. «İsmail Hakkı B. Evi.» *Mimar*, no. 18 (1932): 171-173.

Saim, Mimar. «İzzet Bey Evi.» *Mimar*, no. 16 (1932): 99-101.

Saim, Samih. «Ev Projesi.» *Mimar*, no. 6 (1931): 193-195.

Saim, Samih. «Lö Korbüziye'nin Muasır Şehri.» no. 2 (1931): 44-48.

Saim, Samih. *Muhit* 2, no. 7 (1929): 498-500.

Sayar, Zeki. «İç Kolonizasyon.» *Arkitekt*, no. 62 (1936): 46-52.

Selah, Zeki. «Baytar Kami Bey Evi.» *Mimar*, no. 11-12 (1931): 367-369.

Seyitdanlıoğlu, Mehmet. «Yerel Yönetim Metinleri XIII.» *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler* V, no. 3 (1996): 67-81.

Stieber, Nancy. «Microhistory of the Modern City: Urban Space, Its Use and Representation.» *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (September 1999): 382-391.

Tilly, Charles. «What Good Is Urban History.» *Journal of Urban History*, 1996: 702-719.

Unat, Faik Reşit. «Ahmet III. Devrine Ait Bir Islahat Takriri. » *Tarih Vesikaları*, 1941-1942: 113-114.

«Yapıda Mikyas. » *Mimar*, no. 6 (1931): 202-204.

Yaşın, Yael Navaro. «"Evde Taylorizm": Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin İlk Yıllarında Ev İşinin Rasyonelleşmesi (1928-40).» *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 84 (2000): 51-75.

Yavuz, Yıldırım. «Batılılaşma Döneminde Osmanlı Sağlık Kuruluşları.» *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Fakültesi Dergisi*, 1988 (8:3): 123-142.

Yeşil, Fatih. «Nizam-ı Cedid Ordusunda Talim ve Terbiye.» *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 2 (2010): 27-85.

Ziya, Abdullah. «Belediye Reisi Evi.» *Mimar*, no. 15 (1932): 75-76.

Ziya, Abdullah. «Kimyager A. Rıza B. Evi.» *Mimar*, no. 9 (1931): 287-295.

Ziya, Aptullah. «Binanın İçinde Mimar.» *Mimar*, no. 1 (1931): 14-20.

Internet References

Genelkurmay Başkanlığı. *Harita Genel Komutanlığı*.
www.hgk.msb.gov.tr/ustbanner/tarihce.asp .(accessed: 12.01.2014).

Graham, Stephen. "Foucault's boomerang: the new military urbanism". *Open Democracy* .14.2.2014 <http://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/stephen-graham/foucault's-boomerang-new-military-urbanism> .(accessed:07.05.2014).

Kıvrak, Kenan. <http://www.aydinatca.com/eski-planlar.html> .(accessed: 7.5.2014).

Zabita Daire Başkanlığı. 2008.
<http://www.ibb.gov.tr/sites/zabita/Site/teskilat/Pages/Tarihce.aspx> .(accessed: 08.04.2014).