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**MODERNISM IN ITALIAN AND TURKISH ARCHITECTURES
DURING INTERWAR PERIOD**

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MODERNİZM**

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For the memory of Deniz Şengel, who encouraged.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CIAM	: Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne
MIAR	: Movimento Italiano per l'Architettura Razionale
EUR	: Esposizione Universale Roma

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MODERNISM IN ITALIAN AND TURKISH ARCHITECTURES DURING INTERWAR PERIOD

SUMMARY

This thesis, studies the evolving conception of modernism in architecture of Italy and Turkey during interwar period. Architectural transformations of the two countries in the period, extensively depended on the confrontations of the ideas of modernity and certain conditions, which resisted or catalyzed the process of modernization. Therefore, the main dichotomy between modernity and tradition brought two basic and isolated poles together; however subtexts, conditions, ideas and themes underlying modernity and tradition, generated a very complex environment in almost every parts of the cultural worlds of the two countries.

Bipolar variants of these two concepts pictured very different interactions regarding politics, art, and culture. As a result of the contradictory environment, culture of architecture in both countries, were faced by the necessity of balancing the ideas of modernity with demands of tradition. This study will open the subtexts for modernity and tradition, and try to understand how two opposing terms mutually transformed themselves.

Parallely, this study includes two main chapters separated according to two distinct approaches elaborate the notion of tradition. These two approaches also picture a chronological order; however, the emphasis is given to mechanics of how the architectural practice responded to modernization with the tools of tradition.

One of the ways architects followed was depending on the acceptance of the tradition as an *a priori* conception or proposition. In this approach, tradition was seen as a collection of stable and noble forms; and an enthusiasm for the spirit of the classical order bringing those forms together was significant. This movement, which can also be categorized as *revivalism*, existed in Italian and Turkish architectures during early 1920s, Sloganized itself with “return to order”, it regarded the bygone spirit of classical architecture, and an attributed metaphysical quality of the past.

The other battleground between the forces of modernity and tradition was dominated by the *contextualization* of the European *modern architecture* of early 1920s. The confrontation of the modern architecture with tradition in Italy and Turkey, gently shifted to late 1920s and entire 1930s, having a recognizable asynchronism between two countries.

The two-directional approach of this study, aims throwing light on the architectural methodologies preferred by the architects in order to balance modernity with tradition, in two countries. At the end, this study aims to answer; how variable conditions, economic, institutional and cultural differences between two countries influenced the evolution of architectural practice, examining the routes that architecture of Italy and Turkey travelled, through the trajectories of modernity and tradition.

İKİ SAVAŞ ARASINDA İTALYAN VE TÜRK MİMARLIKLARINDA MODERNİZM

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, iki savaş arası dönemde İtalyan ve Türk mimarlıklarında modernizmin (*modernism in architecture*) geçirdiği dönüşümü incelemektedir. Mimarlık alanındaki bu dönüşümü anlamak için farklı koşullar altında modernlik (modernity) ve gelenek (tradition) düşüncelerinin karşılaşma durumları ve etkileşimleri incelenmek durumundadır. Bu karşılaşma ve etkileşim durumları genel anlamıyla modernizasyon süreci için kimi zaman bir direnç durumu oluşturmuş, kimi zaman ise bir katalizör etkisi yaratmıştır. Bu bağlamda modernlik ve gelenek arasındaki çatışmayı, basitçe iki zıt kutbun etkileşimi olarak görmek yanlış olacaktır. Bu iki kavram, kendi alt metinleri, barındırdıkları durumsal veriler ve fikirler açıldığında, kültürel dünyanın hemen her alanında son derece karmaşık bir etkileşim ortamını beraberlerinde getirmektedirler. Bu çalışma modernlik ve gelenek kavramlarının alt metinlerini açarak bu kavramların birbirlerini mimari kültürde nasıl dönüştürdüklerini; ve iki savaş arası dönemde İtalya ve Türkiye’de mimarlıkta modernizmin nasıl bir dönüşüm geçirdiğini anlamaya çalışmaktadır.

Milliyetçilik kavramının doğuşu ve yeni kültürel çeşitliliğe dayalı bir sosyal atmosferin kabul görmesiyle birlikte, ulus devletler için yeni ve güç bir misyon ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu misyon, gelişme ve ilerleme gibi çağdaş düşüncelerle, ulus devletin en önemli bileşenlerinden biri olan milliyetçilik ve ulusal kimlik kavramının dengelenmesi olarak karşımıza çıkar. Birinci dünya savaşı sonunda ulus devlet formasyonunu uygulamaya koyan iki devlet olarak İtalya ve Türkiye’nin, bu formasyonun bir gereği olarak ilerleme misyonunu da meşrulaştırmış olduklarını söyleyebiliriz. Diğer yandan milliyetçilik ve ulusal kimlik kavramlarının da canlı tutulmak istenmesi modernist ilerlemeci düşünceyle gelenek arasında bir çatışmayı beraberinde getirmiştir. İki ülkede de ortak olan noktaların belki de en önemlisi, bu dengeleme misyonunun mimarlık eliyle yapılması ve rejimlerin mimarlığı ve mimarlığın aktörleri olarak mimarları bu iki vizyon için de kullanmış olmalarıdır.

Modernliğin gelenek ile dengelenmesi söz konusu olduğunda, böyle bir rol karşısında iki ülkede de mimarların işinin kolay olmadığını söylemek mümkündür. Diğer yandan, rejimlerin mimarlığı ve mimarları kullandığını düşünmek ilk hamlede basit bir açıklama gibi görünse de, bu karmaşık misyon mimarlık pratiğinin modernleşme süreci içerisinde farklı ve doğurgan ilerleme yolları bulmasına da imkan sağlamıştır. Modern ve aynı zamanda milli bir mimarlık yaratma çabası söz konusu olduğunda, İtalyan ve Türk mimarların ulusal mimariyi problemin hemen hemen her aşamasında gelenek kavramı üzerinden tanımlamaya çalıştıklarını söylemek doğru olacaktır. Ancak burada esas olan geleneğin nasıl tanımlandığıdır. Aynı şekilde modernliğin içinde yatan ana kavramlar da mimari ve felsefi açıdan farklılaşmakta ve gelenekle çatışan şeyin ne olduğu konusunda bir netleştirmeye ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

Bu perspektiften bakarak, bu çalışma ikinci bölümden itibaren modernlik ve gelenek kavramlarını ve onların altında yatan farklı yapıları açmaya çalışmaktadır. *Modernlik (modernity)*, *modernizasyon (modernization)*, *modernizm (modernism)*, *modern mimarlık (modern architecture)* ve *mimarlıkta modernizm (modernism in architecture)* kavramları ve bu kavramların farklılıklarının ortaya konması bu noktada önem kazanmaktadır. Aynı şekilde gelenek kavramının karmaşık yapısı da modernlik-gelenek çatışmasının kavramsal ve pratik açıdan karmaşıklaşmasına yol açmaktadır. Öyle ki, çoğu zaman *geleneksel (traditional)*, *klasik (classical)*, *yöresel (vernacular)*, *bölgesel (regional)* ve *milli (national)* gibi farklı kavramların gelenek kavramını işaret etmek için kullanıldığını görmekteyiz. Bu çalışmanın ikinci bölümü, bu kavramlar arasındaki ayrımı ve farklılıkları ortaya koyarak, modernlik-gelenek çatışmasını daha iyi kavramayı amaçlamaktadır.

Modernlik ve gelenek kavramlarını açmaya çalışan ikinci bölümün ardından, çalışma, tezin temel kurgusunu oluşturan iki ana bölüm içermektedir. Bu bölümler kabaca 1920'ler ve 1930'lar şeklinde ayrılabilir kronolojik bir dizgiye de oturmaktadırlar, ancak bu ayrımın asıl vurgu, mimarlıkta modernizmin dönüşüm sürecindeki mekânın karakterine, ve farklı dönemlerde mimarların mimarlıkta modernizme geleneğin araçlarıyla nasıl yanıt verdiklerine yapılmaktadır. Bu perspektiften bakıldığında, mimarlıkta modernlik-gelenek çatışmasının 1920'lerde ve 1930'larda iki farklı karaktere büründüğünü söyleyebiliriz. Bunlardan ilki geleneksel mimari araçlardan ve form dilinden yola çıkarak mimarlıkta modernizme ulaşmayı amaçlayan; ikincisi ise erken dönem 20. Yüzyılında Avrupa'da ortaya çıkan ve *modern mimarlık (modern architecture)* olarak adlandırılan geleneksel mimarlığın farklı kültürel ve yerel koşullarda dönüştürülmesiyle kendini gösteren yoldur. Bu çerçevede, çalışmayı oluşturan iki ana bölüm (3 ve 4. Bölümler) modernlik ve gelenek çatışmasında Gelenekten Modernliğe (From Tradition to Modernity) ve Modernlikten Geleneğe (From Modernity to Tradition) şeklinde iki ana yörüngeyi tariflemektedir.

Bu iki ana yörüngeden birincisi olan Gelenekten Modernliğe (From Tradition to Modernity), geleneği ve onun mirasını önsel (*a priori*) bir girdi olarak kabul eder. Bu yaklaşımda gelenek, stabil ve asal formların bir koleksiyonu olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır ve klasik mimari düzenlerin ruhunu geri çağırma ve ona duyulan özlem de belirgindir. *Canlandırıcılık (revivalism)* olarak da adlandırabileceğimiz bu yaklaşım 1920'lerin İtalya ve Türkiye'sinde kendisini "düzene geri dönüş" mottosuyla ifade etmiş ve klasik mimarinin yitik ruhunu ve ona atfedilen metafizik karakteri de bir anlamda vurgulamıştır. Bu çalışmada yitik ruhun geri çağırılıp mimari açıdan nesnelleşmesi *kristalizasyon (crystallization)* kavramıyla açıklanmaktadır. 19. Yüzyıl Fransız yazarı Stendhal'dan devralınan bu kavram, metafizik değerlerin nesnelleşmesi ve somutlaşması anlamında açıklayıcıdır. Öyle ki, İtalya'da Novecento mimarlığı ve Türkiye'de Osmanlı canlandırıcılığı adı verilen iki akım da bu amaçlarla klasik mimarilerinin biçimsel dilini başlangıçta bina dış cephelerinde bir yüzey düzenlemesi olarak etkin biçimde kullanmaktaydılar. Bu stilistik yaklaşım klasik mimarlığın form haznesinde bulunan temel öğeleri birer kompozisyon elemanı olarak iki boyutlu bir yüzeyde bir araya getirmektedir ancak diğer yandan binaların çoğunluğu strüktürel ve plan düzenlemesi açısından modern ve rasyonel bir kimlik taşımaktaydı. Devam eden süreçte yitik ruha duyulan hayranlığın (admiration) yerini tanışıklığın (acknowledgement) almasıyla birlikte mimari ve tektonik açıdan strüktür, plan ve stilistik cephe düzenlemeleri arasındaki bu tutarsızlık 1920'lerin sonuna doğru zamanla yerini daha geometriye ve tektonik

bir mimarlığa bırakmıştır. Bu pattern Stendhal'ın *kristalizasyon (crystallization)* teorisinde belirttiği aşamalı dönüşümle paralellik içermektedir. İtalya ve Türkiye'de canlandırmacı yaklaşımın farklı gelenek kaynakları olmasına karşın bu geometrizasyona birlikte evrilmeleri ise mimarlıkta modernizmin gelenekten modernliğe doğru aldığı yolda ilgi çekici bir benzerliktir. Çalışmanın 3. Bölümü bu yörüngede iki ülke arasındaki benzerlik ve farklılıkları bir nedensellik ilişkisi içinde ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır.

Çalışmanın 4. Bölümü modernlik ve gelenek çatışmasında ikinci yol olarak tariflenen Modernlikten Geleneğe (From Modernity to Tradition) yörüngesini incelemektedir. İki ülke mimarlıklarının ve mimarlarının izlediği bu ikinci ve görece daha karmaşık rota, erken dönem 20. Yüzylında Avrupa'da ortaya çıkan ve *modern mimarlık (modern architecture)* olarak adlandırılabilen mimarlığın farklı kültürel ve yerel koşullarda dönüştürülmesi ve geliştirilmesi olarak açıklanabilir. Bu dönüşümü ve içerdiği diyalektik mekaniği anlamak adına *bağlamlılaştırma (contextualization)* kavramı kullanılmıştır. Genel bir bakışla, yüzyıl başında Avrupa'da üretilen modern mimarlığın İtalya ve Türkiye'ye dışardan ithal edilen bir mimarlık olduğunu ilk bakışta söylemek mümkün görünse de, iki ülkede modern mimarlığın evrensel ve uluslararası değerlerinin, yerel değerleri ve özellikle de ulus devlet formasyonunun önemli bir bileşeni olan ulusal kimlik idealini karşılamakta yetersiz kaldığını söylemek yerindedir. Paralel şekilde İtalyan ve Türk rejimlerinin uluslararası ilerleme misyonunu da bir ideal olarak kabul etmelerine karşın, bu karşıt kavramlar arasında bir denge ve çözüm oluşturma görevi büyük ölçüde mimarlık mesleğine ve onun aktörleri olan mimarlara yüklenmiştir. Pratik açıdan bu karmaşık ve zor süreç, hem kısıtlar hem de imkanlarla dolu geçmiştir. Zira ekonomik, politik, sosyal, kültürel, tarihi ve benzerleri gibi oldukça farklı bağlamların modern mimarlığın ele alınışına yaptığı renkli katkılar iki ülke mimarlıklarında modernizmin özgün noktalara gelmesine yardımcı olmuştur. Bu doğrultuda, *bağlamlılaştırma (contextualization)* kavramı ve onun yapısal özellikleri öne çıkmaktadır. Organizma ve bağlam arasındaki klasik hiyerarşi kavramını reddederek ve Hofstadter'in *karmaşık hiyerarşi (tangled hierarchy)* kavramını ön plana çıkararak, bağlamın kısıt ve girdilerini, antitezler olarak görmek mümkündür. Bu antitezler modern mimarlığı dönüşüme sokan ve bir anlamda geliştirerek ileriye taşıyan unsurlardır. Bu çerçevede bağlam, iki ülke mimarlıkları açısından da dönüştürücü ve geliştirici gücüyle önem kazanmaktadır. Çalışmanın 4. Bölümü İtalya ve Türkiye için farklı bağlamları ortaya koyarak, bunların iki ülkeye ithal edilen modern mimarlığın serüvenini ne ölçüde ve nasıl dönüştürdüğüne ilişkin tespitler yapmayı amaçlamaktadır.

İki yönlü bir yaklaşım olarak değerlendirebileceğimiz bu çalışma, genel anlamıyla iki savaş arası dönemde İtalya ve Türkiye mimarlıklarında modernizmin geçirdiği dönüşümü incelemekte ve iki ülke mimarlarının modernlik düşüncesini gelenek ve onun araçlarıyla nasıl dengelemeye çalıştıklarını anlamaya çalışmaktadır. İki savaş arası dönemde benzer politik doğrultuları paylaşan iki ülke olan İtalya ve Türkiye'nin çerçeve açısından benzer mimari sorunlarla karşılaşmalarının yanında, iki ülkeyi mimarlık pratiği açısından farklılaştıran noktalar da bu çalışmanın kapsamı içindedir. Bu perspektifte görünür olan iki farklı rotanın Gelenekten Modernliğe (From Tradition to Modernity) ve Modernlikten Geleneğe (From Modernity to Tradition) şeklinde tanımlanması mümkündür. Diğer yandan mimari açıdan ortaya çıkan bu yönetsel ve kronolojik farklılıklar kadar, iki ülkeyi birbirinden ayıran ekonomik, kurumsal ve kültürel farklılıkların mimarlık pratiğinin evrimine ne yönde etki ettikleri de bu çalışmanın cevap aradığı sorular içinde yer almaktadır.

1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis, studies the evolving conception of modernism in architecture of Italy and Turkey during interwar period. In order to understand the architectural transformations of the two countries in the period, one must examine the confrontations of the ideas of modernity with certain conditions, which resisted or catalyzed the process of modernization. The main dichotomy between modernity and tradition was not a simple problem which brought two basic and isolated poles together; but subtexts, conditions, ideas and themes underlying modernity and tradition, generated a very complex environment in almost every parts of the cultural worlds of the two countries. Bipolar variants of these two concepts pictured very different interactions regarding politics, art, and culture. As a result of the historical conflict between modernity and tradition, culture of architecture in both countries, were faced by the necessity of balancing the ideas of modernity with demands of tradition. This study will open the subtexts for modernity and tradition, and try to understand how two opposing terms mutually transformed themselves.

Nationalism, starting with the after effects of the French Revolution and the new appreciation of cultural diversity, itself became a notion for nation-states, which owned a bipolar mission for progression and constructing a national identity. Italy, which had fought on the winning side, and Turkey had on the other; both countries had a revisionist view after suffering in the resultant consequences of the First World War. Under parallel conceptions of modernism, two regimes had the vision of progression, while promoting nationalism in order to construct the unity of the nations. In such a contradictory environment, both regimes used architecture in order to balance the conflict of modernity and tradition.

In such a role, while controversial meanings attached to position of architects, the mission of balancing the international ideals of modernity and demands of nationalism had been a seminal exercise for the practice of architecture. Regarding the problem of creating a modern and nationalist architecture, architects of Italy and Turkey tried to elaborate the concept of tradition, at almost every stage of the

problem. Modernism, in a broad perspective, was an imported notion to Italian and Turkish architects; however, the wealthy world of traditions was serving a useful set of tools to architects in order to transform ideals of the modern architecture in different ways.

In the second chapter of this study, in order to understand those different ways, we will examine the different sub-categories of modernity, and tradition. Regarding modernity, we will concentrate on a critical distinction, which plays a critical role. Assuming the significant importance of the architectural turn in the early twentieth century, we will make the distinction between what we call *modern architecture* of twentieth century, and a broader architectural journey of the modernization process: *modernism in architecture*. We will also see the mostly confusing juxtaposition of this distinction in the philosophical area, considering the terms: *modernity*, *modernism*, and *modernization*. For the tradition, we will also open the sub-categories, examining principally the architectural grounds of tradition in which different architectural tendencies interact with modernity. In order to understand the architectural traditions, we will examine the categories including: *national*, *regional*, *vernacular* and *classical* in the culture of architecture.

This study includes two following chapters separated according to two main approaches elaborate the notion of tradition. These two approaches also picture a chronological order; however, the emphasis is given to mechanics of how the architectural practice responded to modernization with the tools of tradition.

One of the ways architects followed was depending on the acceptance of the tradition as an *a priori* conception or proposition. In this approach, tradition was seen as a collection of stable and noble forms; and an enthusiasm for the spirit of the classical order bringing those forms together was significant. This movement, which can also be categorized as *revivalism*, existed in Italian and Turkish architectures during early 1920s, sloganized itself with “return to order”, regarding bygone spirit of classical architecture, and an attributed metaphysical quality. Italian Novecento movement and Ottoman revivalism both used the formal vocabulary of classical orders, and throughout the decade, transformed their architectural practice from simple surface treatment to a more geometrical and tectonic form. The route they followed was a process of *crystallization*, which started from the metaphysical world of tradition to modernity.

The other battleground between the forces of modernity and tradition was dominated by the *contextualization* of the European avant-garde *modern architecture* of early 1920s. The confrontation of the modern architecture with tradition in Italy and Turkey, gently shifted to late 1920s and entire 1930s, having a recognizable asynchronism between two countries. The *modern architecture* of 1920's, which reduced most of the formal vocabulary of architecture to abstract forms of universal simple geometries, was not satisfactory by means of national identity for the freshly founded regimes. The route architects followed in order to contextualize the modern architecture, was inevitably more complicated; having economic, social, political, historical, cultural parameters; which required a contextualization of architectural practice rather than a formal approach. This route is considered as a rough journey from modernity to tradition.

Two-directional approach of study, aims throwing light on the architectural methodologies preferred by the architects in order to balance modernity with tradition, in two countries.

This study aims to answer; how variable conditions, economic, institutional and cultural differences between two countries influenced the evolution of architectural practice, examining the routes that architecture of Italy and Turkey travelled through the trajectories of modernity and tradition.

2. MODERNITY AND TRADITION

2.1 The Idea of *Modernity* and *Modernism in Architecture*

According to architectural historian Harry Francis Mallgrave, the first usage of the word *modern*, as its Latin form *modernus*, first appeared in the late fifth century A.D., and became a prevalent term in by the eighth or ninth century, in such forms as *modernitas* (of the present day) *moderni* (modern people). In the late seventeenth century, the term *modern* became a popularized art term in order to express the artistic controversy between “ancients” and “moderns” (Mallgrave, 2005, p.16). The word and its usage, which go very back in history, imply that the modern art and its opposite have existed for a long time. However, when has *modern architecture* started? English architectural historian William J. R. Curtis, in his prominent work *Modern Architecture Since 1900*, makes a distinction between the biological format of the life; and the modern movement in architecture:

There is a tidy and misleading analogy between history and human life which proposes that architectural movements are born, have youth, mature, and eventually die. The historical process which led to the creation of the modern movement in architecture had none of this biological inevitability, and had no clear beginning which can be pinpointed with precision. There were a number of predisposing causes and strands of ideas, each with its own pedigree. Although the critical synthesis began around the turn of this century, the idea of a modern architecture, in contrast to a revived style from some earlier period, had been in existence for more than half a century. (Curtis, 1982, p.21)

The words of Curtis indicate a continuum of movement, however implying a clear separation of the early twentieth century architecture. Depending on the distinction, we assume that, basically the concept of *modern architecture* refers to the twentieth century architecture; and *modernism in architecture* refers to the continuous act of modern movement.

Generally, it is quite confusing when juxtaposing the terms, *modernism* and *modernism in architecture*. In his 1983 book *All That is Solid Melts into Air*, Marshall Berman categorizes *modernism* as a sub-category including “the efforts of

will call this body of experience "modernity." To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world—and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are. Modern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology: in this sense, modernity can be said to unite all mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, "all that is solid melts into air. (p.15)

With other words; *modernity* or modern society, refers to a social-historical formation or a "type of society". In this conception, *modernity* acts like the guarantor of the trilateral structure of *modernization*, which includes industrialization, rationalization, and nation-state. Similarly, an ideal of abstract citizen, homogenization of space and time, and ethics of labor in a nation-state formation, are the themes of *modernization*. The historical asymmetry between *modernity* and *modernism*, throws light on the specific position of *modernism* in historical timeline, representing a "stroke" in *modernity*. With such usage, the term *modern(ity)* also becomes non-historical, and purifies itself from the historical confusedness (Savran, 1999, p.169).

The emphasis, which Berman makes on the paradoxical collectivity of unity and disunity, is critical. Later studies about modernity also confirm mutual relationship between modernity and its conflicting forces. For instance, Anthony Giddens in his 1990 book *The Consequences of Modernity* says: "Obviously there are continuities between the traditional and the modern, and neither is cut of whole cloth; it is well known how misleading it can be to contrast these two in too gross a fashion." (Giddens, 1990, pp. 4-5).

Undoubtedly, the model of *modernity* and its cooperative mechanics with tradition is highly useful to understand the mechanics in the field of architectural history. This study will use this theoretical framework, in order to plot the journey of *modernism in architecture* in Italy and Turkey. In the next part, we will examine sub-categories under architectural tradition, in order to understand its pluralistic notion.

2.2 Pluralistic Notion of Tradition: National, Vernacular and Classical

Even though it seems easy to place traditional architecture against *modernism* and twentieth century *modern architecture*, if we try to define tradition in architecture as a “resistance” to processes of *modernization* or *modernism in architecture*, with this opposition, tradition shows itself in a complex and variable structure. The complexity of understanding the tradition in architecture depends on the idea that it includes features, which can be classified sometimes as *national*, sometimes as *classical*, and even sometimes as *regional* or *vernacular*. In order to defrost this complexity, we are going to examine those features, and consider the different forms of traditional architecture in order to convey it to a comprehension, in which it interacts with the general concept of *modernity*.

Through the scope of dictionary definition; for the word tradition, “cultural continuity” is emphasized by Merriam-Webster, in “social attitudes, customs, and institutions” (“Tradition,” 2000). At the same time, another shifted definition from sociologist Anthony Giddens, confirms the significance of cultural continuity: “Tradition is a means of handling time and space which inserts any particular activity or experience within the continuity of past, present and future” (Giddens, 1990, p.37).

As we get the clues from Giddens, architecture as a social attitude has different grounds of discussions regarding the cultural continuity. For instance, a probable continuity will seem to be established by the elements transformed or brought from the past. However, from an architectural perspective, architectural continuity is also thought to contain values related to “place” and “form”. For these reasons, traditional architecture, as a complex subject, establishes itself in several forms of practices regarding to time, place, forms and identity.

One of the discussions that carry the role of tradition has been *nationalism* in architecture. Following the spirit of French Revolution, with the new cultural diversity arose within the context of heightened national identity, a common belief on the need to balance the contemporary culture and the national identity, grew up (Etlin, 1991, p.18). Regarding the question of what “national architecture” is, one should consider that the term “national architecture” depends on the basic assumption of “a relationship between architecture and specific nation” (Altan Ergut,

1999, p.31). In other words, this assumption accepts the idea that every nation has its own architecture or builds its identity through architecture. For the relationship between identity and architecture, in his 1988 essay in *Architectural Review*, Juhani Pallasmaa states confirmative words: “And the task of architecture is to make us experience our existence with deeper significance and purpose. Architecture is to make us know and remember who we are” (Pallasmaa, 1988). “An architecture capable of supporting our identity has to be situationally, culturally, and symbolically articulated” (Pallasmaa, 1988).

Undoubtedly, in the words of Pallasmaa, the word “remember” sounds more than the others do. It is possible to replace the word “remember” with its variant “reuse”, which imply the selective collection of previous forms or practices. In a formal approach, we can suggest two resource fields serve as the storage of previous forms. One of these fields is vernacular architecture with its emphasis on “place” or “region”, and the other is classical architecture with regard to “time” or “eternity”.

The word *vernacular* is defined as “using a language or dialect native to a region or country rather than a literary, cultured or foreign language” (“Vernacular,” 2000). As we see the emphasis on the word “region”, for *vernacular architecture*, we can shift the definition to “a style of architectural expression employing the commonest forms, materials and decorations of a place, developed in response to climatic conditions.” However, vernacular architecture and its values attributed to “region” is not to be confused with the modern theory of architectural regionalism. For this disambiguation, Vincent Canizaro (2007) states that:

The vernacular is often characterized dubiously as ‘unconscious’ which is meant to suggest that it is not purposely regional, but only accidental; in fact, settlers and other pioneer very scrupulously and consciously adapted the architecture they knew to the places they chose to settle. Regionalism is voluntary; alongside being self-conscious, it is a choice made by a practitioner (planner, architect, or politician) among alternatives including competing theories of regionalism. (p.20)

On the other hand, not surprisingly, Alan Colquhoun states that it is possible to make another indirect connection between nationalism and architectural regionalism: “In a sense, the nation state is the modern region, a region in which culture is coextensive with political power” (Colquhoun, 2007a).

One of the phenomena, which might act in favor of tradition, is classical architecture. In several texts regarding history of western architecture, the term tradition refers to classical tradition, which is defined by architectural orders consisting of several parts such as pediment, entablature with architrave and frieze, column with its capital, shaft and base parts. Regarding *order*, John Summerson, in his renowned book *The Classical Language of Architecture* says, in classical architecture, “An order is the column and superstructure unit of a temple colonnade. Five orders of classical architecture are grammatical expressions imposing a formidable discipline. Every part of an order has a meaning related with the logic of construction” (Summerson, 1964, p.9). Regarding constructional relationship between the elements of classical order, Porphyrios (1982), confirms Summerson:

The relationship with the earth is indicated by the base and pedestal; the experience of load bearing is made perceptible through the entasis in the shaft of the column; the chief beam, binding the columns together and imposing on them a common load, becomes the architrave; finally, and the most significantly, the whole tectonic assemblage of the parts, like base column, architrave frieze and cornice, become the ultimate object of classical contemplation in the idea of Order (pp.50-58)

Architectural orders in Western architecture were defined in various fashions beginning with the Roman architect Marcus Vitruvius Pollio’s treatise *De architectura libri decem* (Ten Books on Architecture) written in 20 B.C.. In general, terms, they exposed human body –especially masculine body- therefore admiration for orders, corresponded to proportions of body, which provided a natural ground for architectural praxis would depend on. These orders also served as identifiers of temple typology that would reflect the characteristics on behalf of their devoted Gods. While depictions of orders developed from religious and aesthetical bases to mathematical sets of rules, later they regarded to constitute linguistic forms with Sebastiano Serlio’s work *I sette libri dell’architettura* (Seven Books On Architecture) in 1537. Afterwards orders consolidated with Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola’s prescriptive work *Cinque ordini di erchitettura* (Five Orders on Architecture) in 1562.

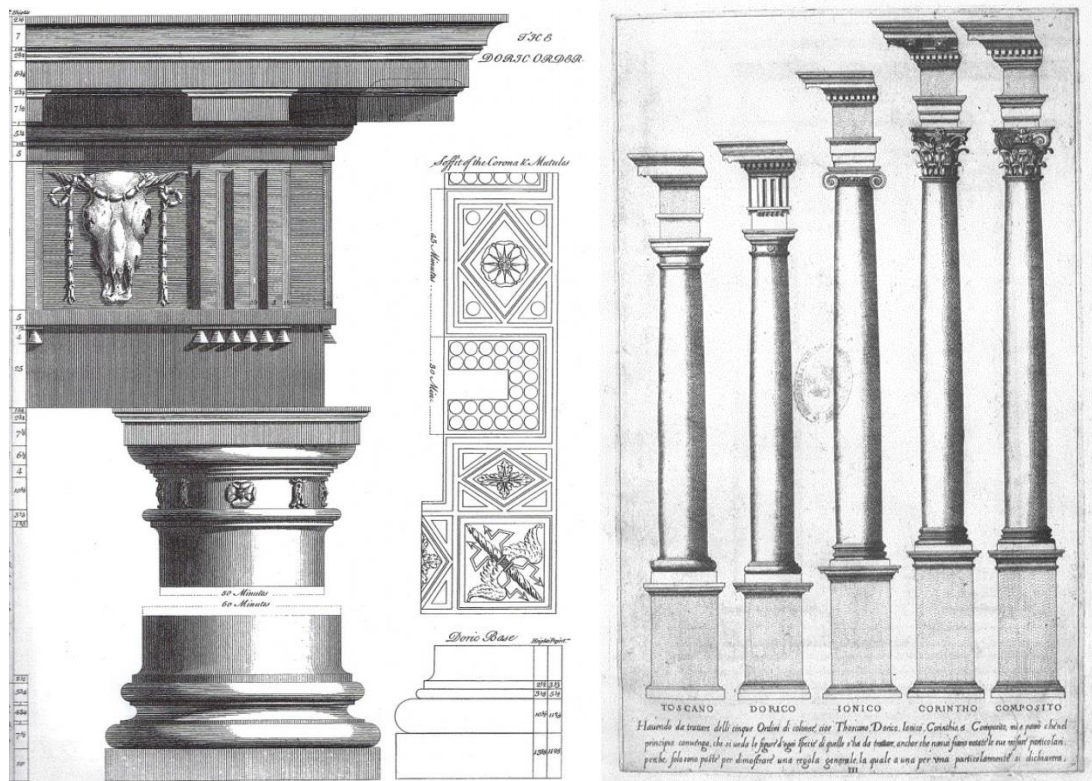


Figure 2.2 : Orders of Western Classical Architecture. Left: The Doric Order, Detail (Chambers, Sir W. (1825). A Treatise on the Decorative Parts of Civil Architecture. London: Priestly and Wale.) Right: Five Orders (Engraving from: da Vignola, G. B. Regole delle cinque ordini d'architettura)

On the other hand; in Turkey, Ottoman classical architecture had a different agenda than Western classical architecture aforementioned. Ottoman architecture had three major architectural periods that at the same time correspond to the historical developments: Early Ottoman Architecture, Classical Ottoman Architecture and European influenced Ottoman Architecture. The second period roughly corresponds from the conquest of Constantinople (Istanbul) to the mid-sixteenth century, which was also Ottoman Empire's golden age in terms of conquered lands and improvements in arts and technology. According to Goodwin, as well as a considerable number of historians, the classical period in Ottoman architecture is "strongly associated with the works of Mimar Sinan" (Goodwin, 1993).

Therefore, it is not surprising to come across with Mimar Sinan in the unique book *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmânî* (Principles of Ottoman Architecture) that was prepared by royal command for Vienna International Expo, held in 1873. As one goes through the introduction pages, Mimar Sinan's importance attributed for the Ottoman classical

architecture would become obvious with the emphasis on him. “Corrupted buildings with the use of various architectural styles by foreign architects who has lack of knowledge on unique, however faded, Ottoman architecture’s principles and techniques that was founded by Mimar Sinan and his fellows” (Soydemir, 2010, p.7). Furthermore, *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmânî* had an appendix listing Mimar Sinan’s works that was published for the first time.

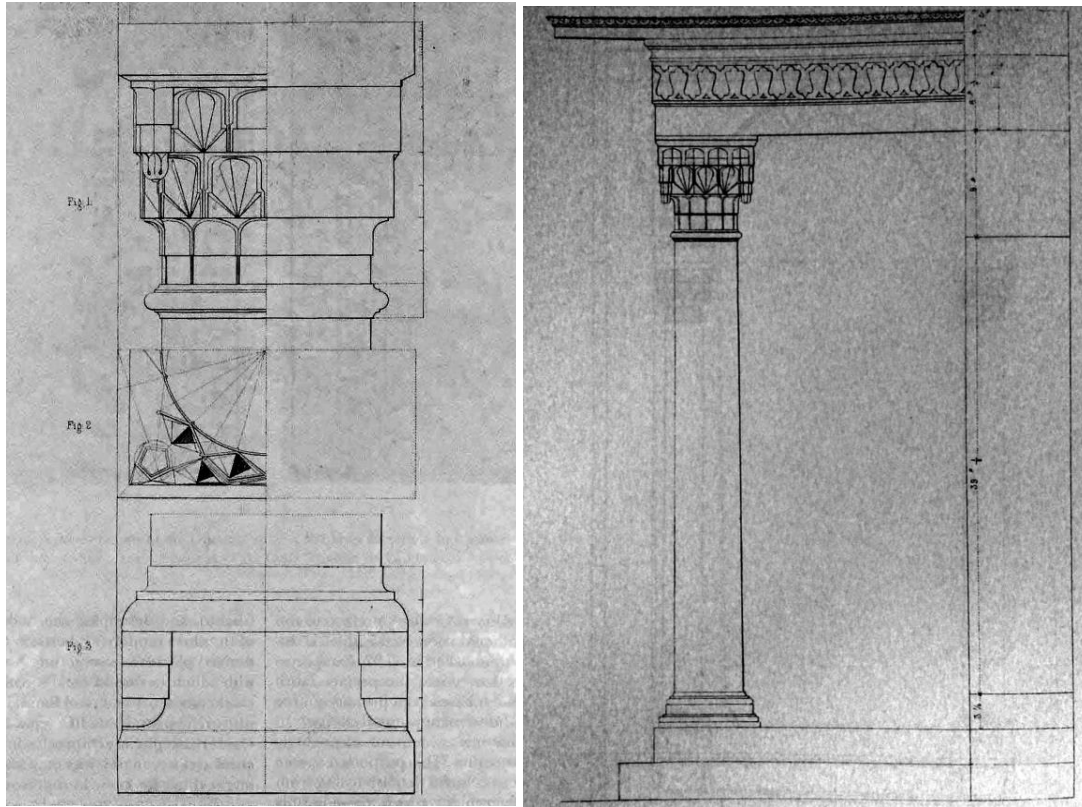


Figure 2.3 : Pietro Montani: Representations of the Ottoman Orders. Right: Capital of the crystallized order (Mücevheri mimari usul) by Mimar Sinan. Left: Column in crystallized order (Mücevheri Mimari Stiline uyularak yapılmış bir sütunun teknesi).

For the book was written to introduce Ottoman classical architecture to the western world in three languages (Ottoman, French, and German), it had the title as the first architectural book in Ottoman Empire (Batur, 2001). It was written with the drawings of Italian Levantine (Pier) Montani Effendi, Armenian Boghos Effendi Chachian, and French artist M. Maillard and with the technical texts written by Montani Effendi, both under the supervision of Ibrahim Ethem Pasha. Almost ironically, it was the first nationalist manifest on the superiority and originality of

Ottoman classical architecture on the international arena, conforming the western criterion in its information systematization (Bozdoğan, 2001, pp.23-24).

In the process of time, *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmânî* became a popular source to manipulate the “Turkishness” of architectural forms by re-theorization of Celal Esad Arseven as well as self-justifications of Sedad Hakkı Eldem. As Bozdoğan (2007, p.121) points out, Celal Esad Arseven published his work titled *Dictionary of Art* (Ottoman-French, *Sanat Kamusu*) in 1924, re-identifying the Ottoman orders of *Usul* as “Turkish” under the entry for “column capitals.” He also complained about the lack of literature on Ottoman architecture, pointing *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmânî* was the only source to lead young architects. Another attempt concerning *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmânî* was the justification of Sedad Hakkı Eldem, by referring the book as the initial movement with strong emphasis on nationalism and Turkification issues that he also addressed.

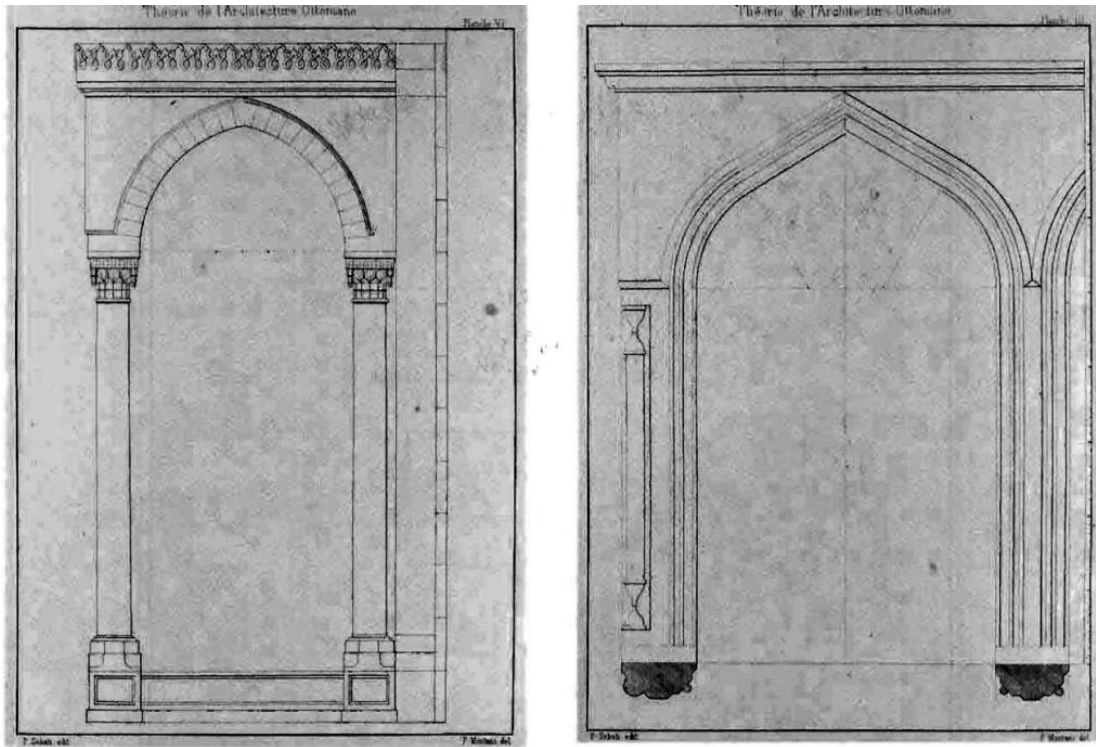


Figure 2.4 : Pietro Montani:Representations of the Ottoman Orders. Right: Arch columns in crystallized order (Mücevheri mimari usulde kemer sütunları). Left: Sample drawing for lighting plan of the building (Yapının aydınlatma düzenine örnek çizim).

Consequently, *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmânî* was considered to be containing the first significant symptoms that initiated Ottoman revivalism in architecture, influencing many architects including Kemaleddin Bey, Vedad Tek and Giulio Mongeri. Referring to the “corruption” in Ottoman architecture in the original text, this book can be evaluated as a serious attempt to regulate the sheered Ottoman classical architecture into its correct, true basis. However, it became the grounding source in order to comprise an architectural formal vocabulary that was truly and completely “Turkish.”

2.3 Trajectories: Crystallization versus Contextualization

For one who examines the sub-texts of modernity and tradition, another crucial but complex question appears. In what ways will the two opposing terms interact? Will one put more on the other or erode it? Alternatively, will the two develop each other in a dialectic chain of sequences?

[...] people are not shown the classical canon and all its schemata. They simply come into contact with buildings, with even related to buildings, with representations of buildings and discussions about buildings. Only slowly is the canon and its schemata crystallize. One can design and see classical buildings felicitously; in other words one can interact socially with them, conceive them, look at them, and talk about them, despite the fact that these canonic levels and schemata have never really been spelled out. (Lefaivre, L. & Tzonis, A. 1987, p.172)

Apparently, the words in 1987 book by Lefaivre and Tzonis, *Classical Architecture: The Poetics of Order* give essential clues about handling the tradition. According to the distinction between schemata and social interaction that buildings serve, two different approaches seem to be possible with regard to usage of the architectural tradition. In the schematic approach, canon of tradition is handled according to formal features; and in the social interaction, specific contexts appear according to contact with buildings. Similarly, throughout the interwar period, we see two mainstream approaches differentiate according to interaction between modernity and tradition.

During 1920s, In Italy and Turkey first of the methods was a formal approach in which architects chose to assemble the most identical forms of the classical vocabulary. Their tendency for the classical tradition depended on a poetic discourse colored by the metaphysical aspects of the bygone practice of the classical tradition.

Hence, in this study, their attempt to create a modern architecture was seen as a journey starting from traditional tendencies to the creation of a modern architecture under the title of “From Tradition to Modernity”. From a metaphysical world to a formal assembly and then to a more geometrized and tectonic form, in order to depict the transformation of architecture; the concept of *crystallization* is used. According to this orientation, journey to modernity gives a perspective in which we gain more information on the transformation of abstract background into tangible architectural productions.

The other approach, which evolved through 1930s, hit the road in reverse direction. Regardless of stylistic orientation, their tendency depended on the contextualization of international aesthetics of machine age and early twentieth-century modern architecture of Europe. Accordingly, towards a desired equilibrium state, architects followed route “From Modernity to Tradition”. In this direction, architects found themselves in many different occasions, which could be defined as different *contexts* of political, social and traditional circumstances. Here, *contextualization* of the modernity becomes an important conception in order to understand the reception of *modern architecture* in two countries. It redefines the hierarchical structure between modernity and tradition, converting it into an organism in which two terms interact mutually.

Above mentioned two-directional approach aims to throw light on the journey of modernism in architectures of two countries, by analyzing the forces transforming architectural practices. In the progressive notion or modernism in architecture, this approach will try to illustrate the two main motives, which carry the conception of modernism, further.

3. FROM TRADITION TO MODERNITY

This chapter concerns the transformations in architecture of Italy and Turkey during 1920s, just before the European avant-garde. These transformations, with Novecento architecture in Italy and Ottoman Revivalism in Turkey, had significant similarities depending on the mechanics and routes they experienced. Both movements started by using their past Classical vocabularies on surface treatment, eventually evolved into a geometrized and more tectonic architecture, which may represent a specific route of modernism in architecture, a path which is traveling “From Tradition to Modernity”. In order to analyze the specific mechanics of modernism in Italian and Turkish architecture during 1920s, we will use the concept of *crystallization*, which will also be helpful to understand the intersecting parameters in architectural culture.

3.1 Crystallization from Tradition to Modernity

For the word *crystallize*, the dictionary meaning is given as “to cause to take a fixed and definite form” (“Crystallize,” 2000). However, in order to understand the term better, one should consider the original invention of the concept. The literary conception of crystallization is first developed by the 19th century French writer Stendhal. The conception describes the transformation process of a mental condition, in which unattractive features of a new love are transformed into perceptual crystals of admiration (Stendhal, 1975).

Stendhal formulated his concept of mental crystallization in the summer of 1818, while he and his associate Madame Gherardi took a trip to the salt mines near Salzburg. According to story told by himself in his 1822 non-fiction book *De l'amour*, at the salt mines, observing a Bavarian officer's moment by moment growing passionate attitude for Madame Gherardi, he tried to reason the officer's behavior and used the phenomenon of salt crystallization as a metaphor for describing the process of the birth of love. In the same book, Stendhal (1975) describes the phenomenon of salt crystallization as follows:

In the salt mines, nearing the end of the winter season, the miners throw a leafless wintry bough into one of the abandoned workings. Two or three months later, through the effects of the waters saturated with salt which soak the bough and then let it dry as they recede, the miners find it covered with a shining deposit of crystals. The tiniest twigs no bigger than a tom-tit's claw are encrusted with an infinity of little crystals scintillating and dazzling. The original little bough is no longer recognizable; it has become a child's plaything very pretty to see. When the sun is shining and the air is perfectly dry the miners of Hallein seize the opportunity of offering these diamond-studded boughs to travelers preparing to go down to the mine. I call crystallization that

According to him, the phenomenon of salt crystallization was explanatory in order to understand the officer's infatuation to Madame Gherardi. Stendhal (1975) explains the allegory to her:

The effect produced on this young man by the nobility of your Italian features and those eyes of which he has never seen the like is precisely similar to the effect of crystallization upon that little branch of hornbeam you hold in your hand and which you think so pretty. Stripped of its leaves by the winter it was certainly anything but dazzling until the crystallization of the salt covered its black twigs with such a multitude of shining diamonds that only here and there can one still see the twigs as they really are.

In this perspective, Stendhal finalizes the allegory to Madame Gherardi, as "This branch is a faithful representation of la Ghita (Madame Gherardi) as viewed by the imagination of this young officer (Stendhal, 1975).

According to Stendhal (1975), the crystallization was "a process of the mind which discovers fresh perfections in its beloved at every turn of events". It was also analogous to "a trip from Bologna to Rome". During their trip, he drew a diagram illustrating the four points between two cities and points represented the four phases of crystallization process: admiration, acknowledgement, hope and delight. According to this diagram, at the start, the city of Bologna was representing the "indifference", and at the end, the city of Rome was representing the "perfect love".

What was triggering the first step of process? According to Stendhal(1975), the departure from Bologna was an instinctive moment which unattached from the will of traveler. With this explanation, the first action of the journey remains quite mystical and incomprehensible. The fundamental nature of the being becomes blurred. Here, what Stendhal managed to clarify is the conceptual concatenation of the pieces from a metaphysical world to the real world which presents. This model of

understanding, can also lead us to conceive the meaning of *crystallization* as the concretization of a spiritual background, or an artistic paradigm.

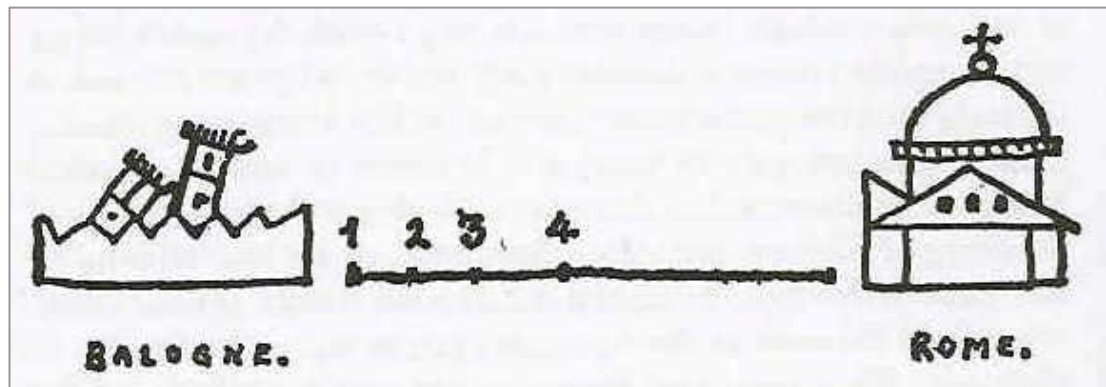


Figure 3.1 : Stendhal: A Trip from Bologna to Rome. The diagram showing crystallization process, where numbers identifying its phases: admiration, acknowledgement, hope and delight. 1818.

In 1980, Mirko Dražen Grmek, Croatian born French scientific historian who worked on historical research of scientific knowledge, elaborated Stendhal's theory. Grmek, in his essay *A Plea For Freeing The History of Scientific Discoveries From Myth*, points out the similarity between Stendhal's metaphor and "historical reconstruction of a scientific discovery" (Grmek, 1980, p.9). He notes that:

Our beloved, for us, historians of science, is the whole of *res gestae et scriptae* (the deeds and the written) of past scholars. We embellish these in our fashion and we contrive to give them a lustre which is in harmony with our general ideas on the nature of knowledge and on the way it is acquired. So, the dry branch of 'historical facts' is, by a process of progressive theorization, enveloped little by little in a thick layer of seductive 'myths'. [...] Let us take for granted that historical reconstruction carries out selections, establishes links and proposes 'explanations' which necessitate a philosophical stand, indeed an involvement of an ideological nature. But this recognition of a certain lack of objectivity in historical research should urge us not to relativism and attitude of resignation, but to a careful and systematic analysis of the factors which intervene in 'crystallization', to the exposure of the processes which condition our search for truth.(p.9)

In this perspective, if we try to transform Grmek's term "historical reconstruction" into "architectural reconstruction", our source of selections would also depend on historical research and systematic analysis of formal vocabulary of the past. Throughout the nineteenth century, architectural significance of the classical order was abandoned, and at the threshold of the twentieth century, groups of architects, which were holding their tendency to tradition, were having nostalgia for the

classical orders. Having their reaction to century Baroque and Futurism, in 1920s, Novecento architecture in Italy, and Ottoman Revivalism in Turkey, both recalled their fertile and spiritual backgrounds, which establish a wealthy source for the reconstruction of the past. Their admiration to the classical heritage converted itself into a more tangible form, which was in parallelism with the Stendhal's metaphor of crystallization.

In the following parts of this chapter, we will examine those spiritual backgrounds and artistic paradigms, which provided a seminal direction to the transformations in the architectures of two countries after World War I. First part will be examining architectural transformation of Novecento architecture, which admired the classical order in the mood of Italian metaphysical painters starting from the accumulation of classical forms to a more geometrized and tectonic understanding of architecture. Second part will examine revival of Ottoman architecture in 1920s. This part will also try to depict the similarity of the architectural evolution, having a completely unique and different spiritual background.

3.2 Italian Metaphysical Painting and Novecento Architecture

3.2.1 Italian metaphysical painting

After the First World War, while Futurism rejected the heritage of the past, other modern movements preferred to develop nostalgia for the classical grandeur of Italian art. Mainly between 1911 and 1920, works of metaphysical painters—Giorgio de Chirico, Carlo Carrà, and Giorgio Morandi, colored the tendency to recall the previous visual vocabulary and values of Italian art.

The works of Italian metaphysical painters were depicting mostly placeless and sedate environments, which were surrounded by enigmatic and strange spaces based upon the architectural phenomena of the classical tradition. They were colonnades, temple-like façades, remarkably settled around Italian *piazza*, picturing the environmental sense of dislocation, between past and present. Most of the works were including also modern icons, for instance sometimes a “clock” indicating the time conception of modernism, and sometimes a machinery or “train” implying the “speed” of modern times (3.2).

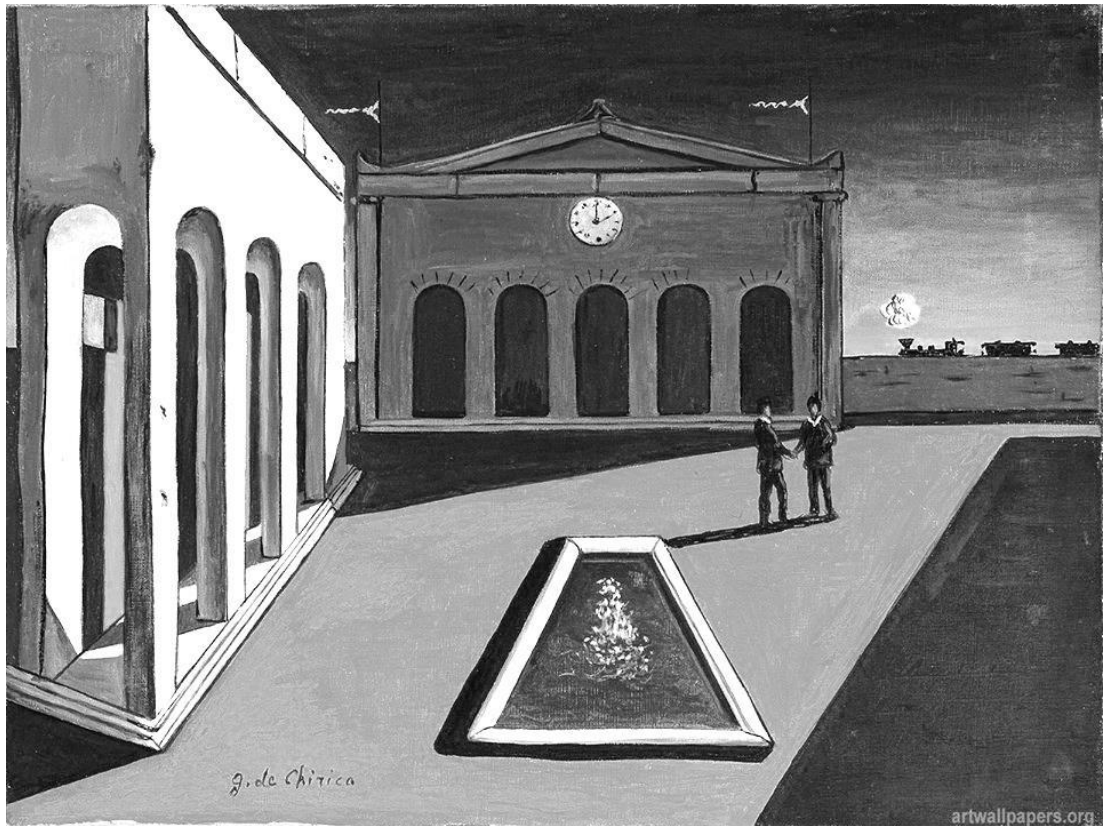


Figure 3.2 : Giorgio de Chirico: Piazza d'Italia. 1913.

For Italian metaphysical painters, Etlin(1991) writes:

Italian metaphysical painting, like French Purism, was associated with a “return to order” after World War I. It combined the unsettling features of twentieth-century avant-garde pictorial subject matter with a stylization of forms that emphasized simple geometric units, flat surfaces, and linear outlines. (p.176)

These dreamlike works with sharp contrasts and brilliant hues were providing a threatening and mysterious atmosphere, in the claim of painting, which cannot be seen. Anthropomorphic suggestions, absent presence and an unseen reality of “metaphysical quality and timeless value” were essential in the composition of metaphysical painters. For convergence to metaphysical world, Giorgio de Chirico says: "To become truly immortal, a work of art must escape all human limits: logic and common sense will only interfere. But once these barriers are broken, it will enter the realms of childhood visions and dreams." (Friedenthal, 1963, p.231)

Giorgio de Chirico’s younger brother and writer Alberto Savinio, in his 1918 article *Arte=Idee Moderne* in *Valori Plastici*, the Italian magazine focusing on metaphysical artwork, says:

As the final step, we should point out the painter Giorgio de Chirico, who has penetrated the *mystery* of modern drama. His paintings do not reproduce the mute visibility of the object, selected for the drama of its aspect, its form, its nature, its subject, its utility. He reaches *beyond* the object itself. He renders naked the metaphysical anatomy of the drama. He is the modern painter, or more precisely, the *modern magician*. Not all painters find themselves equal to the exigencies of the current age. (Etlin, 1991, p.177)

Here, the dissociation and the association of the matter and the art is critical by means of artistic attitude. Stendhal's diagram detaches from Bologna to Rome is quite explanatory for comprehending the connection between the metaphysical background, and the artistic production of Italian metaphysical painters. Moreover, *crystallization* becomes an illustrative metaphor for architectural transformations influenced by previous values and regarding metaphysical painters, "their neoclassical concern for order, balance, chiaroscuro, and chromatic colors" (Mallgrave, 2005).

In addition, Kenneth Frampton mentioned the artistic significance and influence of Italian metaphysical painting in his words placing the renowned work of Giorgio de Chirico. "*The Enigma of the Hour* (1912), which depicted an arcuated peristyle in failing light—a haunting metaphysical image which immediately seemed to prefigure the form and the mood of the Italian New Tradition." (Frampton, 2007a, p.215) (3.3).

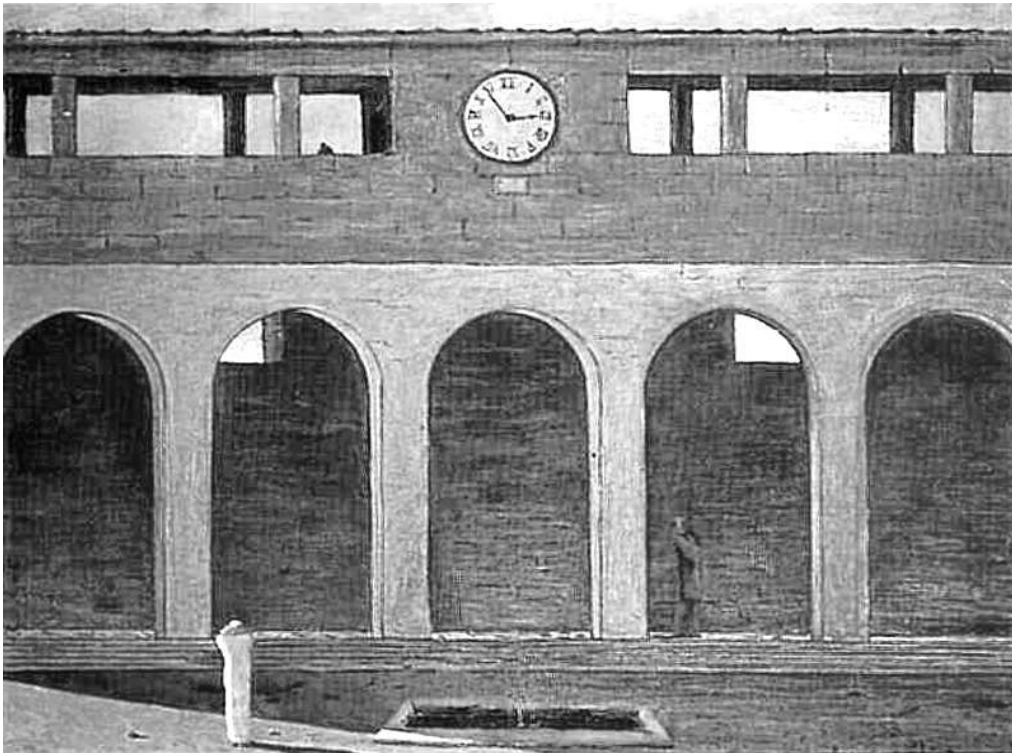


Figure 3.3 : Giorgio de Chirico: *The Enigma of the Hour*. 1912.

3.2.2 Novecento architecture

On the following days of World War I, a group of Italian architects including Giovanni Muzio, Gio Ponti, Emilio Lancia and Mino Fiocchi gathered in Milan while claiming that the contemporary Baroque and Futurism were not satisfactory with the needs of Italian identity in modern architecture. Accordingly, their primitive aim was creating a modern Italian architecture. This problem, with no doubt, having the complicated aspects of the conflict between modernity and tradition, was under the shadow of the question concerning how they would consider the “problem” of tradition.

According to Etlin, their orientation was toward a return to the rhythms and equilibrium of the classics and their tendency was depending on neoclassical heritage of Milanese architecture, which colored the architectural culture of the last thirty years of the eighteenth century in Milan (Etlin, 1991, p.165). As we may consider, regarding Italian identity, Novecento architects were carrying nostalgia for the classical grandeur of Italian art and chose to link their tendency for Italian identity with the classical tradition.

In the field of practice, the spirit of the age was also giving enthusiasm to Novecento architects. For their artistic source field, Mallgrave says: “Attitude of Novecento architects was related to the movement of *rappel a l'ordre* (return to order) in France but their artistic source was “metaphysical school” of Carlo Carrà and Giorgio de Chirico, combining the avant-garde subject matter with a neoclassical concern for order, balance, chiaroscuro and chromatic colors.” (Mallgrave, 2005, p.262)

On the following period, Novecento architects purposefully aimed reestablishing of principles of classical order and a powerful loyalty to Italian identity. At this point, we should consider that attitude of Novecento architects were not a kind of nationalism. In a 1980 interview, Muzio indicated the distinction between his loyalty to Italian identity and nationalism: “From this contact with Europe, I felt not a ‘nationalism’, but rather a deep sense of autonomy of artistic values that derive from our Italian origins, values that should not disappear.”¹ (Etlin, 1991, p.166).

¹ Etlin cites the 1980 interview made with Muzio. For the interview see B. Minardi and G. Gambirasio. (1980). Professore nel ‘900 lei era....intervista a G. Muzio. *Modo*, 4, 33. pp.13-42.

Muzio's emphasis on the values, which were to be "disappeared", coincides with the bygone architectural spirit of the classical order. This emotional connection with the past was also giving momentum to other artistic movements such as metaphysical art. Spiritual connection with a metaphysical background was not more difficult than any other parameter for a new working field in architectural practice. Principles of the classical architecture were strictly depending on the constructional logic of the vernacular building methods, but this time there were no conjuncture depending on those architectural parameters. Therefore, there was a disconnection between the architectural needs of the modernity and the constructional logic of the past. Rather than resolving the tectonic consideration between construction and structure, Novecento architects began their practices by just installing the abstraction of formal vocabulary of the classical architecture on exterior surfaces. Regarding the early method they preferred, Mallgrave (2005) writes:

In architecture, and especially the efforts of Giovanni Muzio and Gio Ponti, these principles were translated into decorative surface treatment, but one reduced or abstracted to simulate in a subtle way the rhythms and simplified contours of the neoclassical vocabulary. (p.262)

In 1923, Giovanni Muzio, the leading architect of Novecento architecture, completed the inaugural work of the movement, *Ca' Brutta*. It was an apartment block, which was built on the corner of where major thoroughfare *Via Principe Umberto* (today *Via Turati*) meets *Via Moscova* of Milan. With its opening, it created a public scandal, suddenly being on the target of the critics claiming that it was covering the real influences of "foreign" architecture. The populace of Milan named it *Ca' Brutta*, which means the "ugly house" (Etlin, 1991, p.166). The populace saw it quite strange, because for the time, it had no similarity to any other existing building. It was neither similar to early-twentieth-century modern architecture, nor was applying order of the classical.

Ca' Brutta was ordered and horizontally divided into three zones including a travertine-clad base, a middle zone of grey stucco, and an upper zone of white stucco. The two upper zones, especially the upper one in colors, included the classical vocabulary of architecture, which were covering the surface of the building as if they were a separate layer. According to Etlin (1991), the classical vocabulary comprised "niches, pediments, raised panels, partial spheres, diagonal latticework, stucco treated like rusticated stone, hollow columnar shafts, ovals, circles, and false

perspectives” and “Muzio’s use of richly textured surface inspired by the classical tradition was in accordance with the visual vocabulary and values of the “metaphysical” painters—Giorgio de Chirico, Carlo Carrà, and Giorgio Morandi (p.176).

“Milanese has expected at that central location a palazzo but were given a house”. According to Etlin (1991), these were the own words of Giovanni Muzio in his 1931 book *Alcuni architetti d'oggi in Lombardia*. Actually, *Ca' Brutta* was an eight-story building but it had no principal façade, and unaccustomed height of the building had Muzio somehow give the expression that building had three stories, by zoning regulations and vertical alignment of the windows. On the other hand, as the reason of horizontally divided zones. Muzio attempted to solve the problem of monotony, which worried designers of apartment buildings throughout the century. He addressed this problem also articulating the similar and adjacent blocks in different massing and decorations..

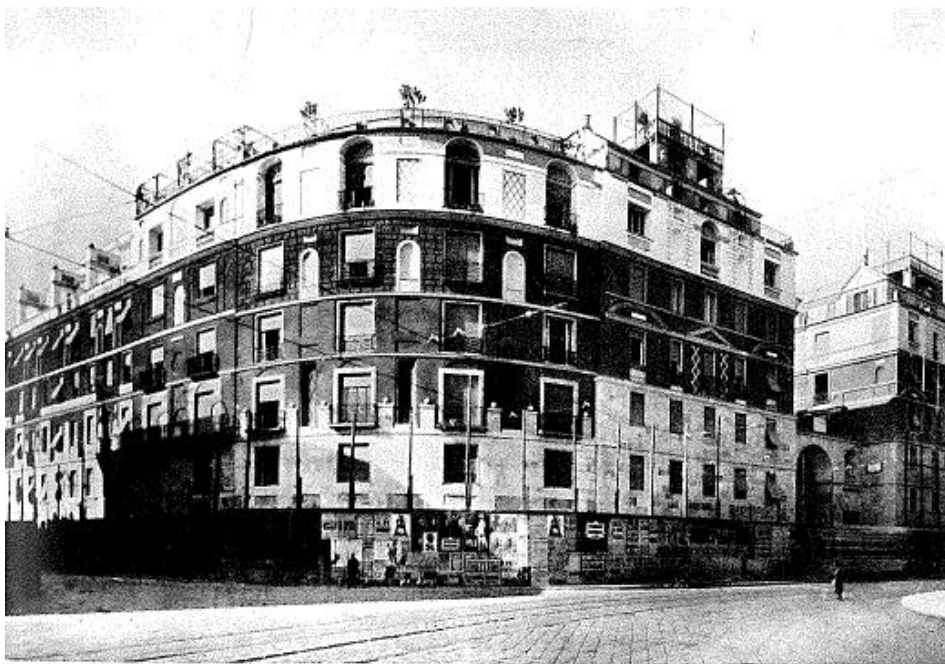


Figure 3.4 : Giovanni Muzio: Ca' Brutta. Milan, 1922.

Muzio’s sympathy to metaphysical background and classical vocabulary was quite understandable; however, his use of such elements was neither the result of a constructional process nor the need of a structural design. It was hard for one to claim any correspondence of plan organization and surface treatment of the façade. (3.5, 3.6)



Figure 3.5 : Giovanni Muzio: Ca' Brutta. Milan, 1922.

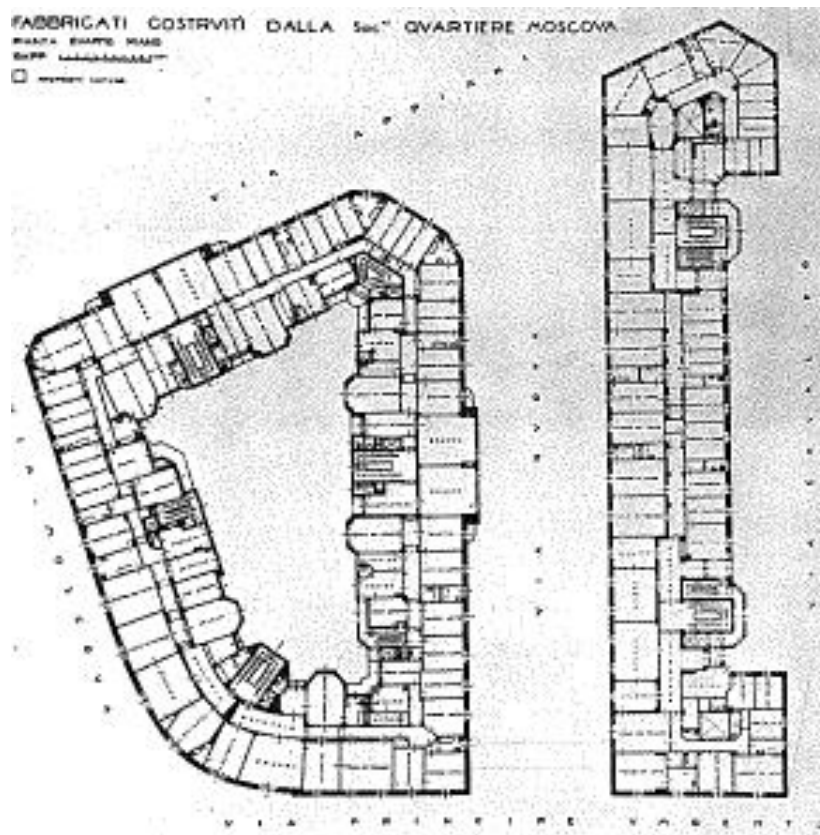


Figure 3.6 : Giovanni Muzio: Typical floor plan of Ca' Brutta. Milan, 1922.

In 1930s, Novecento architecture evolved into a more tectonic and geometrized form. This transformation occurred in response to Italian Rationalism, which will be examined in next chapter of this study. Through the early 1930s, Novecento architects gave up ornamenting their buildings with the formal collections of the classical heritage. Integrity of the plan and façade had significant development, while abstract geometric regulation gained priority on the façades. Actually, geometric Novecento, a new formation of Novecento architecture became an alternative to the technological aesthetic of Italian Rationalism. In this formation, one can easily observe that correspondence of the façade regulation with the building program was more developed, however the general design of the building still included traditional features in the composition (3.7).



Figure 3.7 : Via Longhi, Milan. Left to right: Giovanni Muzio: no11 (1933), Alessandro Minali: no9 (1933-34), Giovanni Muzio: no7 (1933-34).

In order to make a comparison between Novecento and Italian Rationalist understanding of façade layering, a typical crosscheck can be made over the iconographic building *Casa Rustici* by Pietro Lingeri and Giuseppe Terragni. In *Casa Rustici*, surface of the façade decomposes into several layers and spatial flow of the building emphasizes the compatibility of the volumetric ordering. This type of approach which travels from modernity to tradition will be examined in the next chapter; however the directional difference between Novecento and Italian Rationalism gives a significant picture in which principles of European avant-garde, “free plan” and “free façade” play critical roles from the start point (3.8).

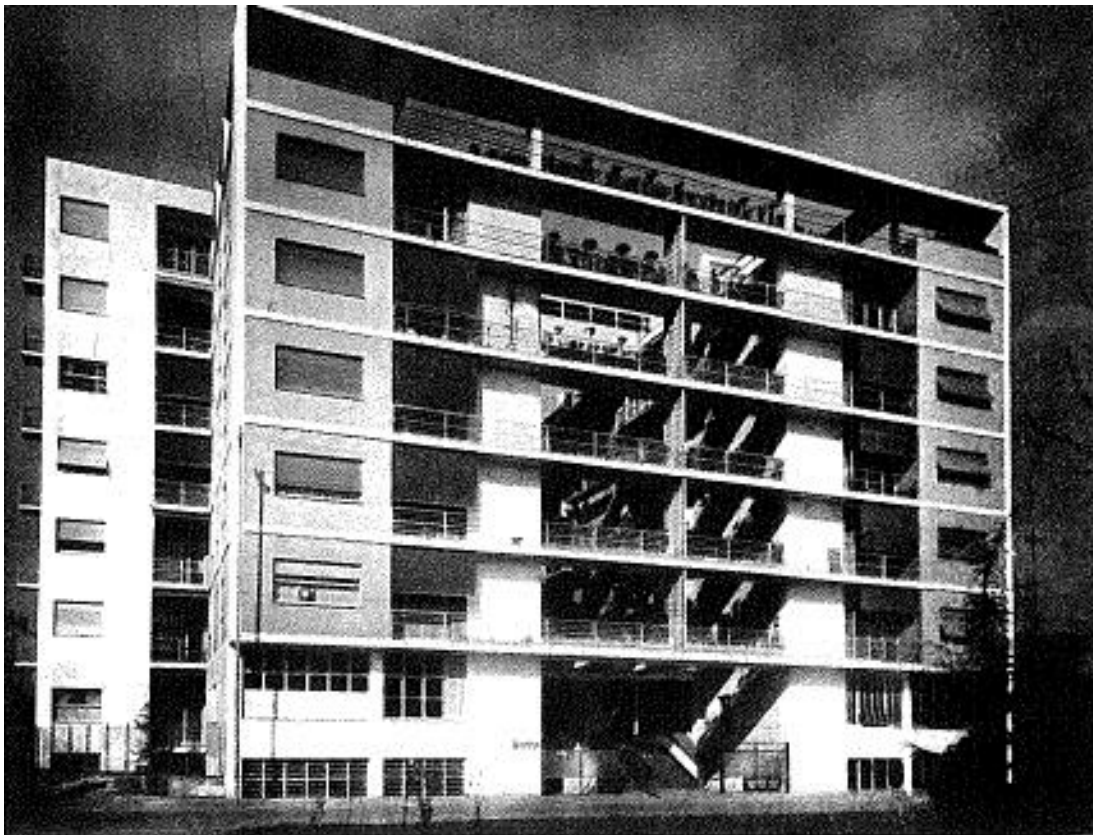


Figure 3.8 : Pietro Lingeri and G. Terragni: Casa Rustici. Milan.

The outgrowth of Novecento architecture reached to an environment in which the diversity of the Fascist politics gave chance to the maturation of several architectural movements. In this environment, Novecento architecture and attitude of Giovanni Muzio approximated to Italian Rationalists in order to respond to the needs of International Style (3.9, 3.10).



Figure 3.9 : Piero Portaluppi: Exhibition Pavilion for the Riunione Adriatica di Sicurtà. Milan, 1934.

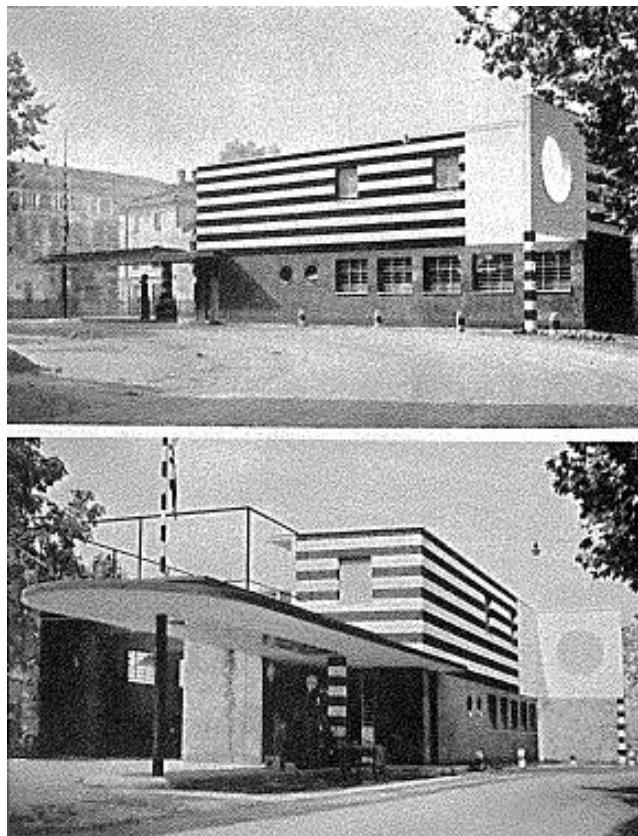


Figure 3.10 : Giovanni Muzio: Garage Barnabone, Lodi. 1933.

3.3 Journey of Ottoman Revivalism

3.3.1 Identity crisis: westernization versus modernization

Beginning from the reign of the Sultan Selim III, whose rise to the throne was just before the French Revolution, a variety of reforms were made by the state in Ottoman Empire. Before that time, education was not under the responsibility of the state; but with the new domestic reforms, new schools on different areas such as naval engineering, medical and military science, were opened. These reforms were dominated by the military reforms regarding improvement in officer training system in order to create a European-style army (*Nizam-ı Cedid*), that would use modern weapons and tactics. Although military reforms were the main perspective, according to historian Ayda Arel, educational reforms led an evident paradigm shift also in architectural practice, including not only changes in the area of design principles, but also a resultant change in the formal expression of the architectural culture. (Arel, 1975, p.105).

Afterwards, reformist approaches continued in an intermittent manner and reached a peak point with The Edict of Gülhane (*Tanzimat Fermanı*) which was declared in 1839. It was considered as the first step for democracy by many historians, and included reforms that guarantee the rights of Ottoman citizens regardless of religion or of ethnicity. According to architectural historian Afife Batur, the long range from The Edict of Gülhane to the Young Turks era, including the First and Second Constitutional Eras (*I. Meşrutiyet and II. Meşrutiyet*) passed with a constant oscillation between the two concepts: Westernization (or Europeanization) and Modernization (Batur, 2001).

Undoubtedly; regarding the military reforms imported from Europe, the formal changes, which Arel mentions, could be pictured in a perspective of Westernization. However, the pendulum began to gain higher momentum with the participation of Vienna International Expo, in 1873. European trip of Sultan Abdul-Aziz, as the first sultan to visit Europe in Ottoman rule, gave birth to the further international expo participations of Ottoman Empire.

For Vienna International Expo, along with a real-built model of Fountain of Sultan Ahmed III of 1728, three substantial manuscripts were produced comprising *Le Costumes Populaires de la Turquie en 1873* (Popular Costumes of Turkey in 1873),

Le Bosphore et Constantinople (Bosphorus and Constantinople) and *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmânî* (Principles of Ottoman Architecture) (Akçura, 2009, p.37). *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmânî* was a precise manual of Ottoman classical architecture's general geometrical rules which were endorsed with general and detail drawings by Montani Effendi, Boghos Effendi Chachian, and M. Maillard. It was the abstract core of the Ottoman architecture written in three languages (Ottoman, French, and German), yet it was also the first -as we still know- architectural history book written in the rule of Ottoman Empire (Batur, 2001). The spirit of the *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmânî* affected further expositions, and can be evaluated as a resistance to formal Westernization. Zeynep Çelik (1992) confirms this idea:

The evolution of a neo-Islamic style in Istanbul went hand in hand with architectural experimentation in the Ottoman exposition pavilions. [...] Neo-Islamic style after the 1850s differed from earlier architecture that referred to the Ottoman Empire's classical period, its acknowledged highpoint, as an enduring model. Until then building functions and programs had provided continuity between the monumental architecture of past and present: the building types—mosques; madrasas, or religious schools; hospitals; mausoleums; etc.—had remained the same. In contrast, the neo-Islamic style of the second half of the nineteenth century was applied to new secular building types, adopted from Western precedents: an Islamic architectural vocabulary was used in otherwise Beaux- Arts buildings. (p.159)

Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmânî had been the “key source” for thinking Ottoman architecture, and therefore for Ottoman revivalism in architecture. Furthermore, it became the first source and reference to the nationalist architecture movement with its incentive emphasis of “bygone high era and its noble and serious expression” through the instrumentality of information data and norms on architectural design. Duality of the Ottoman revivalist architecture allowed the long-awaited theoretical background on the Ottoman identity problems by introducing a new representation possibility: “both European in the structural quality and Ottoman in the Orientalist geometrical elements” (Batur, 2001, p.43).

Acceptance of *Usûl-i Mi'mârî-i Osmânî* as a foundation for the future development of Turkish architecture was pointing to a different perspective, and it was the Modernization. As we made the theoretical distinction between *modernization* and *modernism in architecture*, further examination about the First National Movement will be in the scope of *modernism in architecture*.

3.3.2 Ottoman crystals on surface

With the intermittent constitutional eras *I. Meşrutiyet* (1876-1878) and *II. Meşrutiyet* (1908-1918), dominant rule of Young Turks that had gathered around the political platform Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). Sultanate became a secondary figure as parliament system applied in the leadership of CUP. As the nationalistic emphasis came into prominence. the system transformed into almost a constitutional monarchy with the urban and social modernization initiatives run by parliament. Within this period an architectural style emerged in Turkey, called “First National Style”² that reflects the complex inspirational grounds and ideologies of the time. Regarding the , Bozdoğan (2001) says:

The basic idea was to combine decorative elements derived from classical Ottoman architecture (especially semispherical Ottoman domes, wide roof overhangs with supporting brackets, pointed arches, and ornate tile decoration) with beaux-arts design principles (symmetry and axuality, in particular) and new construction techniques (reinforced concrete, iron, and steel).(p.18)

For Ottoman revivalist architecture stood out with notions of Islamic and Turkish elements, yet in a combination effort, it occurred as a necessity for the time’s architects to revitalize and modernize architecture according to the nationalist perspectives (Batur, 2001, p.43). Kemaleddin Bey and Vedad Bey were the two important figures that lead the movement. They succeeded to create their own styles within an overarching nationalist architectural concept. Thus, Ottoman revivalism was transformed into the service of nationalist necessities of its time.

Regarding the longing and recall for the Ottoman classical, architects of the movement extensively used the collection of architectural forms transferred from the formal vocabulary of the Ottoman classical architecture. At the beginning the architectural usage of the classical items were remained in the scope of surface treatment. Most of the structural and constructional tendencies were commissioning the modern principles in the plan regulation and the stylistic surface treatment was creating a stress between the tectonic properties of the buildings and the exterior surfaces.

² “The term “First National Style” was given by architectural historians in order to make the distinction between the Second National Movement of 1940s which contemplated the Turkish House as a source for the national style.” (Bozdoğan, 2001)

As a significant example for those applications, *Dördüncü Vakıf Han* was one of the seven *hans* that was commissioned to Kemaleddin Bey by Turkish Ministry of Endowments Foundations, Building and Restoration Department in 1912. Its construction prolonged until 1926 due to the First World War. *Dördüncü Vakıf Han* had a front façade styled with Ottoman revivalist elements and ornaments that decently reflected Kemaleddin Bey’s approach to the First National architectural movement. Rear façades included less glamour while embellished front façade had itself divided with basket-arched windows and pointed arches at second and third floors. Furthermore, top two floors have triple arched windows as if they would represent a rustic architectural order in order to lighten the façade. The building was a collection of the formal vocabulary of Ottoman classical architecture. Corner columns between the shop openings, arch ends and arch-stoned ornaments, *muqarnases* at the stone bays of the *cumbas*, medallion and rumi patterns, Turkish triangles on the first-floor windows, cornices with *muqarnases*, turquoise ceramics at the corners of arch ends, and domes with *muqarnased* joinings at the four ends of the building in the form of tower.

Structurally, *Dördüncü Vakıf Han* was constructed with steel skeleton with a height of seven floors including the basement. The building possessed modern construction techniques and a symmetrical plan layout likewise the contemporary examples of office buildings in Western world. However, front façade was telling a different story as if they were an elegant ornamental dressing over a contemporary steel structure. This contradiction between the construction, structure and the surface was the main problem regarding the architectural correspondence of these factors.

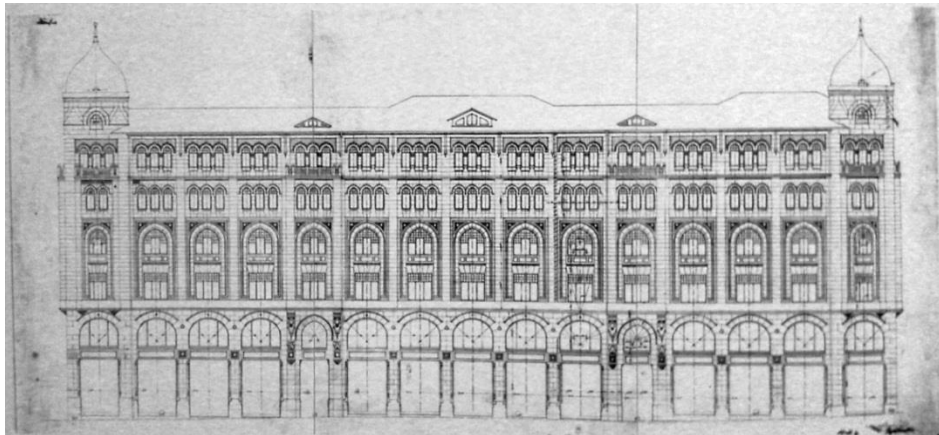


Figure 3.11 : Kemaleddin Bey: Elev. of Dördüncü Vakıf Han.



Figure 3.12 : Kemaleddin Bey: Dördüncü Vakıf Han.

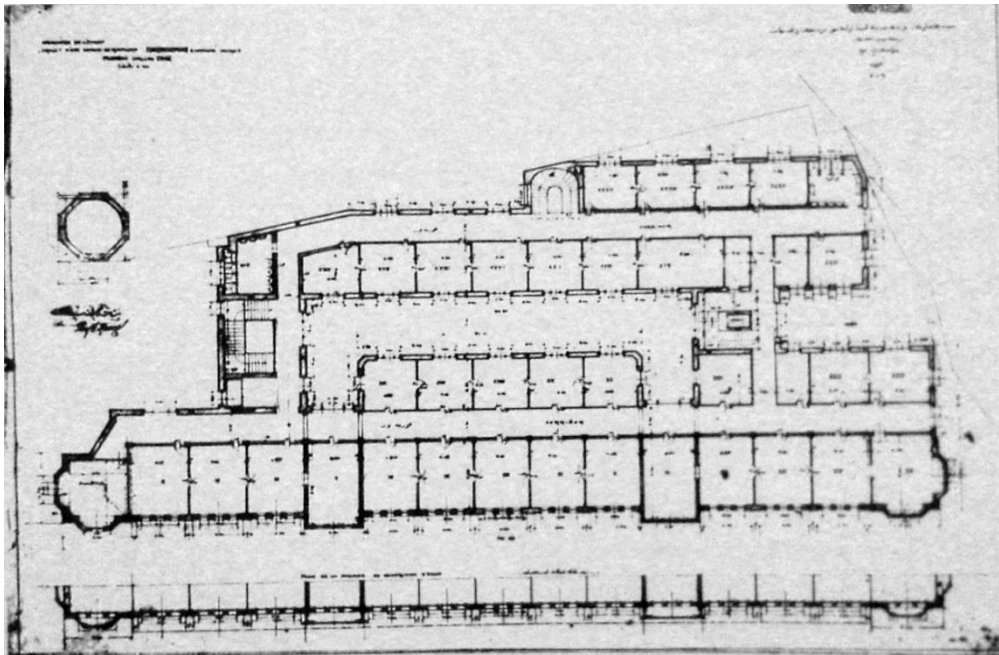


Figure 3.13 : Kemaleddin Bey: Plan of Dördüncü Vakıf Han.

Throughout the 1920s, Kemaleddin Bey shifted his architectural understanding to a new level with TCDD Headquarters building, completed in 1927. Façade design was simplified with pure geometrical connotations of classical Ottoman architecture elements: three-storey *cumbas* divided the façade surface into four vertical planes with the emphasis made by volumetric extensions of *cumba* masses. These tower-like masses remind the domed towers of *Dördüncü Vakıf Han*, but they were in an organizational sense or order with to the volumetric mass of the building. Arched first floor windows, demarcation of the top floor with cornices and the supported roof projection are the qualities both buildings have in common, rather in an altered way. Essential alteration was to the embellishments and ornaments over the façade by reducing these elements to a two dimensional formal language. Simplification process of one of the major figures of First National architectural movement seems to have similarities with the Novecento movement and its simplification towards Geometrical Novecento architecture.



Figure 3.14 : Kemaleddin Bey: TCDD Headquarters. 1927.

3.4 Through the Scope of Crystallization

Regarding the fact that, revivalist movements in Italian and Turkish architectures elaborated the cultural heritage of classical traditions, at a glance, one can assume that their orientation was towards the past. However, this assumption might not be correct, when their architectural transformation was examined according to evolving notion of modernism in architecture.

Starting with an emotional admiration to the equilibrium of the classical orders, even though, Novecento architecture and Ottoman revivalism both tried to revitalize the bygone spirits of the “golden ages”, they briefly avoided an academic replication of the architectural orders. Their sincere effort to keep the contact with modern structures and construction processes, illustrates a mindful tendency in the colorful picture of the conflict of modernity and tradition. Astonishingly, this tendency transformed architectural preferences of the movements into a more geometrized and tectonic form throughout their evolutions. The pattern of the architectural transformation was in parallelism with Stendhal’s theory of *crystallization* and gradual metamorphosis. The “admiration” to the bygone spirit and metaphysical content, was slightly transformed into a form of “acknowledgement” and “delight”.

Through the scope of *crystallization* theory, we may assume that the efforts of Italian Novecento architecture and Ottoman revivalism were strong motives in the journey of *modernism in architecture* in two countries. However, Italian crystallization found itself in a more fertile environment in the pluralistic atmosphere of Fascist regime, while Ottoman revivalism was rapidly abandoned by the academy reform and arrival of early twentieth century *modern architecture* to Turkey. Loaning the Stendhal’s scope again, we can claim that, the aftermath of the discontinuous “love story” of the “Turkish crystallization” was the main disparity between Italy and Turkey.

4. FROM MODERNITY TO TRADITION

This chapter focuses on the mutual relationship of modernity and tradition in architectures of Italy and Turkey during 1930s, after the reception of European avant-garde. In both countries, new agenda of early twentieth century modern architecture was received positively. However, the cultural or political concern to tradition which was seen as a balancing value against the international perspective of modernity, pictured a complex mutual relationship. In this chapter we will examine features of this interaction following a route which assumed to travel “From Modernity to Tradition”.

4.1 Contextualization from Modernity to Tradition

In this study, the concept of contextualization is used for examining “mutual” relation of modernity with local conditions of Italy and Turkey. For the local conditions, which modernity interacts, we can use the word *context*, which is defined as “the interrelated conditions in which something exists or occurs” (“Context,” 2000). On the other side, Merriam-Webster’s Unabridged Dictionary gives the definition for *contextualize* as “to place (as a word or activity) in a context” (“Contextualize,” 2000). Here, if we consider the meaning of the verb, as a process or action of placing, the relation between *context* and a placed object of a higher-level system seems to illustrate a form of *hierarchy*. In order to understand the mechanism of contextualization, one should look at the mechanism of the hierarchy between modernity and local contexts. For the model of *modernity* as a universal theory encompasses the local contexts, this hierarchical explanation seems simply understandable; but if we think the mutual relation of modernity with local conditions, the concept of flat hierarchy, which brings low-level and high-level elements together, is not explanatory.

Discussing first in his 1997 book *Gödel, Escher, Bach: An Eternal Golden Braid*, and then elaborating the discussion in 2007 book *I Am A Strange Loop*, Douglas Hofstadter, introduces the concept of “strange loop” which is also called as “tangled

hierarchy”. Tangled hierarchy might be helpful to comprehend above mentioned mutual relationship of modernity and tradition. According to Hofstadter (2007), a tangled hierarchy is a “paradoxical level-crossing feedback loop” which eventually concludes with an upward development (p.102). In this conception, hierarchy does not imply a dependency, but refers to a mutual relation between organism and environment. The conception of “tangled hierarchy” of Hofstadter gives a useful perspective to contextualization (4.1).

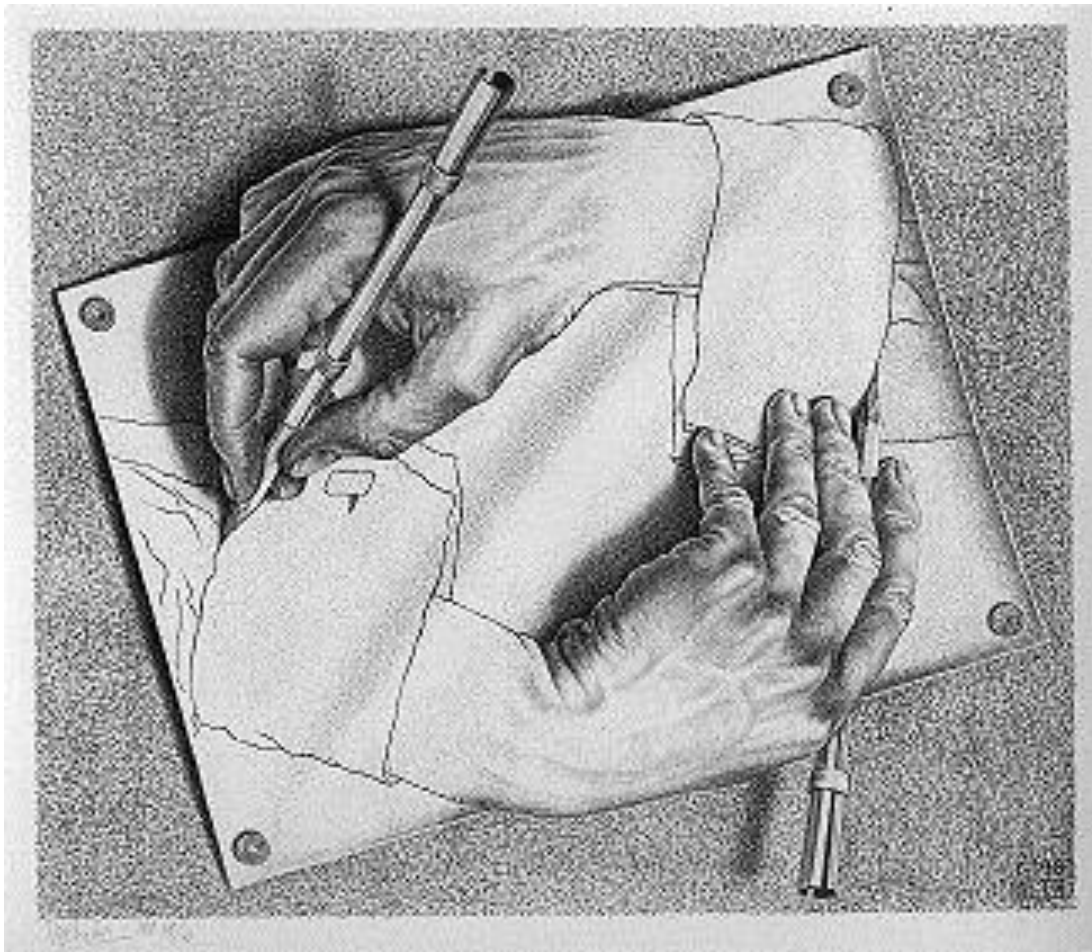


Figure 4.1 : Maurits Cornelis Escher: Drawing Hands. 1948.
The paradoxical depiction of hands was referenced in Hofstadter, 1997; regarding the concept of “tangled hierarchy”.

In his 1996 essay *Critique of Regionalism*, related to hierarchical relationship between industrialization and traditional cultures, Alan Colquhoun confirms this mutual relationship:

The relationship between industrialization and traditional cultures and techniques is not one in which they became originally fused with one another as Le Corbusier implied, but one of

hybridization, where different cultural paradigms, detached from their original contexts, co-exist in an impure and unstable form.(Colquhoun, 1996)

Although the relationship of modernity and tradition actually starts with the clear distinction of concepts, in a tangled hierarchy, one concept does not reject or denial of the previous phase or background. This conception aims standing upon derivative expansions of modernity as a solution for the conflict between modernity and tradition. Constraints and inputs of context are seen as a catalyzer for the flow of tangled hierarchy. As Güzer writes, “contextual localities, rises upon compound structure of concrete circumstances and other dynamics which are effective on architecture” (Güzer, 2012). In architectural words, for this type of togetherness, Vincent Canizaro writes: “The dialectics of tradition and modernity is inextricably linked to the struggle between necessary cultural continuity and the desire for progress and innovation” (Canizaro, 2007, pp. 22). Accordingly, what holds the importance in Vincent Canizaro’s words is his emphasis on the mutual and dialectic relationship between modernity and tradition. Also, relationship between tangled hierarchy and cultural continuity is emphasized by Pallasmaa:.

Culture is not composed of elements which can be disassembled and re-composed: culture has to be lived. Cultures mature and sediment slowly as they become fused into the context and continuity of tradition. Culture is an entity of facts and beliefs history and present material realities and mental conditions. (Pallasmaa, 1988)

By means of contextualization; differentiating from traditional or classical formal vocabulary, architects used intrinsic architectural tools. These tools varied with a spectrum including elaboration of spatial context, considerations concerning scale and proportion, and sometimes iconography of materials. Regarding these intrinsic architectural tools, Kenneth Frampton’s words in his 2007 essay *Ten Points On An Architecture of Regionalism: A Provisional Polemic*, are illustrative:

Architecture possesses a marked capacity for being experienced by the entire sensorium; that is to say, senses other than the optic nerve are involved in experiencing architecture. Under most circumstances, materials and surfaces can be as much a part of an overall perception of architecture as the presence of visual form. Air movement, acoustics, ambient temperature and smell—all these factors affect our experience of space. (Frampton, 2007b)

4.2 Backgrounds for Contextualization

4.2.1 Legacy of Futurism

If we look at the general picture of interwar Modernism in Italian architecture, Italian Rationalism, differentiates itself with the features in which it achieved “a synthesis between nationalistic values of Italian Classicism and structural logic of the machine age” (Frampton, 2007a, p.203). The background for Italian Rationalism undoubtedly was “avant-garde European architecture now known as the Modern Movement or the International Style” (Etlin, 1991, p.14). On the other side, this critical point which Frampton and Etlin connects Italian Rationalism to the logic of the machine age, needs to be analyzed in a more detailed sense, because of the fact that Italy had a unique experience what is called Futurism, before the First World War. In order to understand the conditions, which percussed the future development of Italian Rationalism, heritage of Futurism needs to be understood.

In the year 1909, Italian poet Filippo Tommaso Marinetti issued the first futurist manifesto and it is published entitled *Fondation et Manifeste du Futurisme (The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism)* in French newspaper *Le Figaro* on 20 February 1909 (4.2) (ItalianFuturism.org, 2013). In the futurist manifesto, Marinetti strongly promoted the violence, implying its indispensability for life that contains art, and declared that "Art [...] can be nothing but violence, cruelty, and injustice" (Marinetti, 1909).

Following the theoretical manifestation of Futurism in 1909, on the day 27 April 1910, futurists made a shocking protest in Venice, one of the centers symbolize the tradition in Italian art and culture. They publicly spread over thousands of leaflets entitled “Against Past-Loving Venice” from the tower of Piazza San Marco, while Iloggia Marinetti was haranguing the crowd below (Etlin, 1991, p.14). After that, with an ongoing discourse, futurists kept challenging “past-loving” traditions, and prompted a general uproar with various degrees of physical violence.

The artistic manner of Futurism also found its reflection in architectural design with movements including *Associazione degli Architetti Lombardi*, and *Nuove Tendenze*. A pioneer architect from Como, Antonio Sant’Elia participated in the exhibits of both movements in order to promote an avant-garde architecture for the city of a new

mechanical world. These designs include a project for the new Milan train station (4.3) a hydroelectric power station (4.4) and a skyscraper project (4.5).

In 1914, in the pages of Florence-based Futurist journal *Lacerba* the “Manifesto of Futurist Architecture” by Antonio Sant’Elia was published with drawings for a new machine-world city, the *Città Nuova* (4.6). With this publication, architects officially joined the futurist art (Etlin, 1991, p.15).



Figure 4.2 : Filippo Tommaso Marinetti: Fondation et Manifeste du Futurisme (The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism) in French newspaper Le Figaro on 20 February 1909.

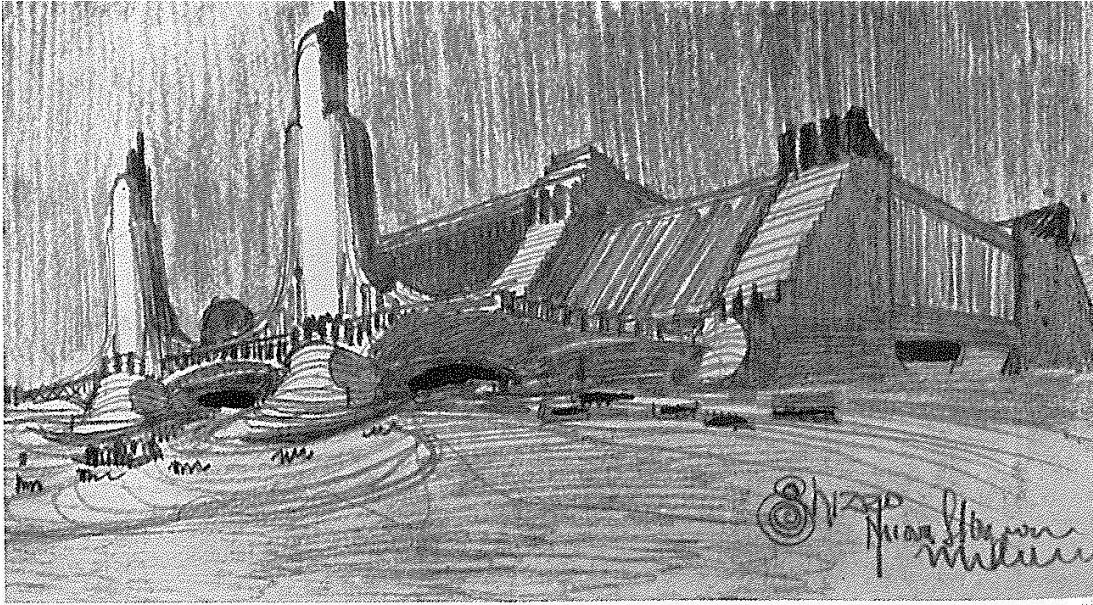


Figure 4.3 : Antonio Sant'Elia: Project for the new Milan train station. 1914.



Figure 4.4 : Antonio Sant'Elia: Hydroelectric power station project. 1914.

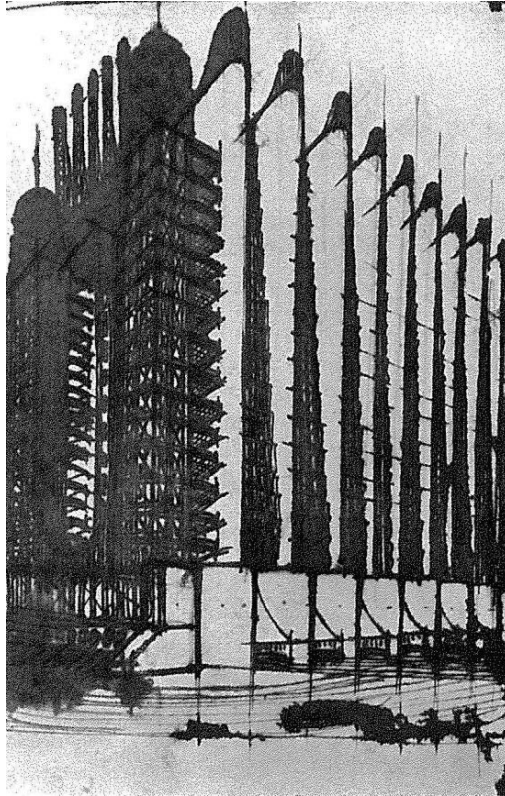


Figure 4.5 : Antonio Sant'Elia: Skyscraper project. 1914.

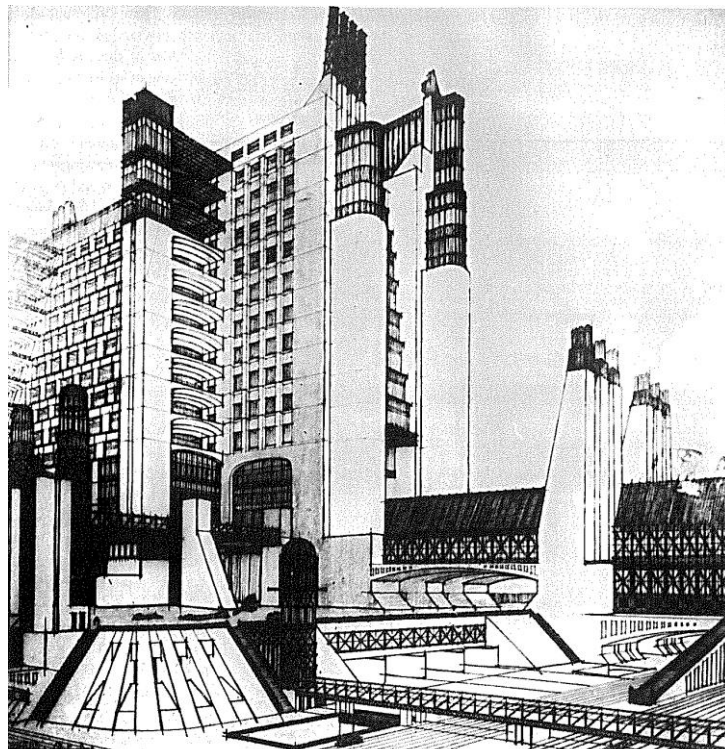


Figure 4.6 : Antonio Sant'Elia: La Città Nuova. 1914.

4.2.2 Early twentieth-century European architecture

Nearly a decade after Manifesto of Futurist Architecture of Sant'Elia, in 1923, Swiss architect Le Corbusier, published his seminal treatise *Vers une Architecture*, which has been one of the most influential works of the architectural theory of twentieth century. It was a collection of seven essays including a provocative chapter entitled "Three Reminders to Architects" in which Le Corbusier was making recommendations about the significance of three architectural concepts: mass, surface, and plan. Related with the mass, Le Corbusier (1986) promoted simple forms of machine aesthetics:

Our eyes are constructed to enable us to see forms in light.

Primary forms are beautiful forms because they can be clearly appreciated.

Architects to-day no longer achieve these simple forms.

Working by calculation, engineers employ geometrical forms, satisfying our eyes by their geometry and our understanding by their mathematics; their work is on the direct line of good art. (p.23)

Here, from an architectural perspective, if we contemplate his words, we may think these words are simple recommendations about the developments of the time. On the other hand, if we continue reading further chapter which was entitled "Architecture or the Revolution", the practical recommendations which Le Corbusier (1986) gave for architects, do not stay in simple context of constructional needs of a new age:

In every field of industry, new problems have presented themselves and new tools have been created capable of resolving them. If this new fact be set against the past, then you have revolution. In building and construction, mass-production had already been begun; in face of new economic needs, mass-production units have been created both in mass and detail, and definite results have been achieved both in detail and in mass. If this fact be set against the past, then you have revolution, both in the method employed and in the large scale on which it has been carried out.

The history of Architecture unfolds itself slowly across the century as a modification of structure and ornament, but in the last fifty years steel and concrete have brought new conquests, which are the index of a greater capacity for construction, and of an architecture in which the old codes have been overturned. If we challenge the past, we shall learn that "styles" no longer exist for us, that a style belonging to our own period has come about; and there has been a revolution. (p.269)

Le Corbusier's words, which were promoting the revolution, were showing undoubtedly that, he had more in his mind than making practical recommendations for architects in order to build. Throughout the century, what seduced further theoreticians and historians probably had been connected to the "meta-narrative discourse of architectural principles" in which Le Corbusier passionately promoted mass production, and its consequence: a new paradigm of aesthetics depending on functionality, simplicity, and purification regardless of any kind of style. The generalized "big picture" plotted by him changed visions of many architects into a different perspective, in which they saw the new aesthetics of new building typologies, depending on engineered productions (4.7).

According to Etlin (1991) "Modern civilization was widely seen as issuing from the industrial revolution, which along with the French Revolution, the sense of a new age. The advent of the railroad, the perfection of the ocean liner and the creation of automobiles and airplanes, the invention and diffusion of mechanical devices of all types, and the application of new materials for construction—iron and glass, steel and concrete—led many to feel that contemporary culture had a distinct identity from that of previous ages."

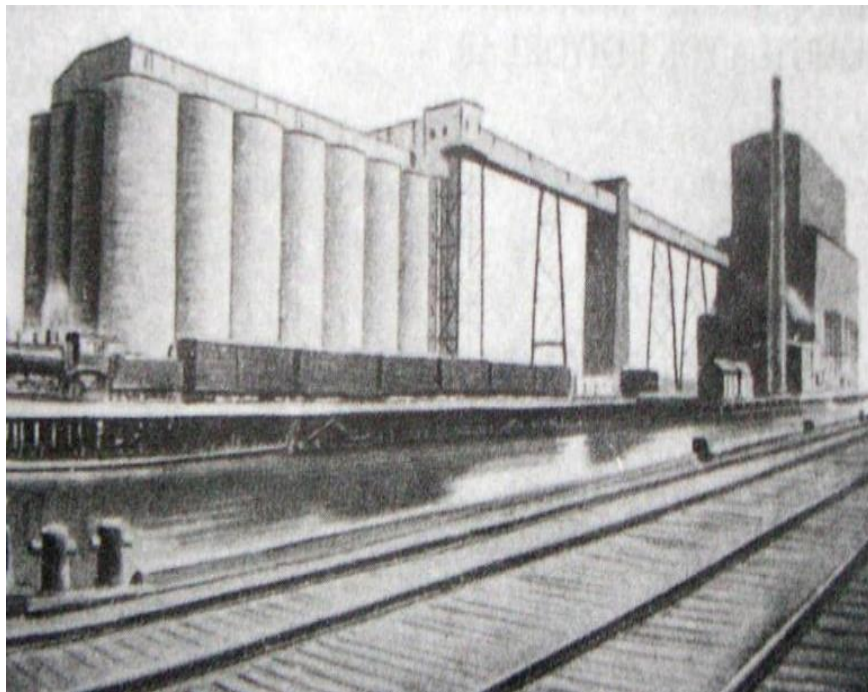


Figure 4.7 : Grain silos from US. (Le Corbusier, 1923)

By his revolutionary work, Le Corbusier acted as a protagonist in early twentieth-century *modern architecture*. His very influential principles, “free plan” and “free façade” were opening new gates to architects. According to these fundamental principles, Le Corbusier introduces the possibility that allows infinite modulation on plan levels:

The plan bears within itself a primary and pre-determined rhythm: the work is developed in extent and in height following the prescriptions of the plan, with results which can range from the simplest to the most complex, all coming within the same law. Unity of law is the law of a good plan: a simple law capable of infinite modulation (Le Corbusier, 1986, pp. 49-50).

The iconic example of this infinite modulation was Dom-ino House design of Le Corbusier. This design, defined with only horizontal plaques and vertical columns with a staircase on the periphery to solve the circulation problem, created an open space to make possible infinite plan variations. According to Frampton, “the Dom-ino prototype was inevidently open to different levels of interpretation. While on the one hand it was simply a technical device for production, on the other it was the play of word ‘Dom-ino’”(Frampton, 2007a, p.152). In this perspective, although it was the ultimate expression of flexibility, Dom-ino house had its untouched tension emerged with variability of the volumetric space (4.8).

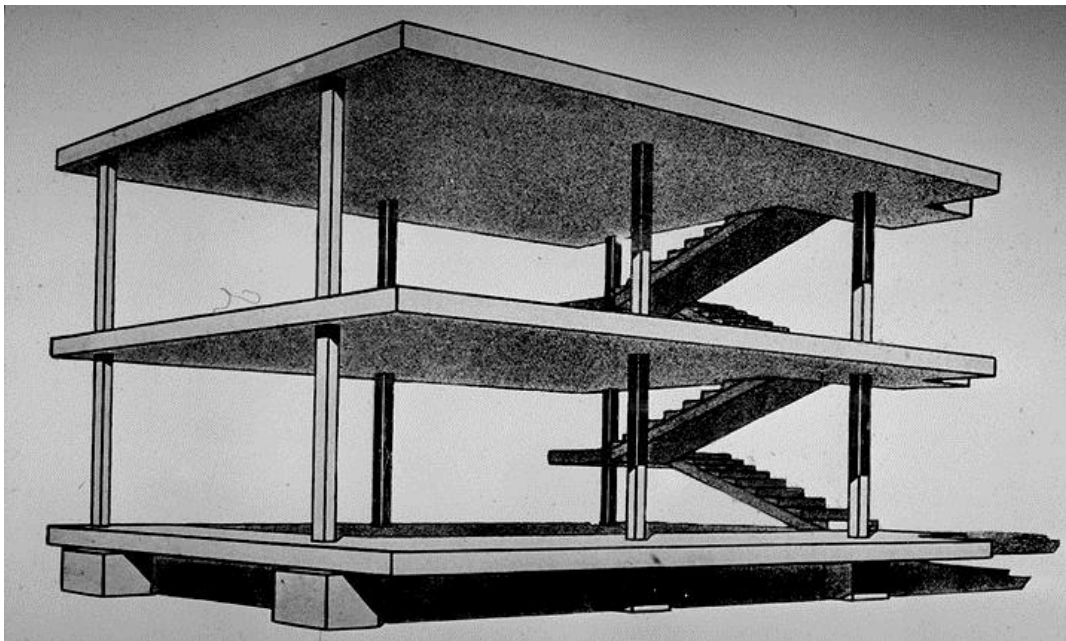


Figure 4.8 : Le Corbusier: Dom-ino House. 1915.

4.3 Italian Context of Modern Architecture

In the second chapter of this study, we already mentioned the pluralistic conception of the term tradition, depending on the fact that it could be understood under different categories. When we elaborate the contextualization of *modern architecture* in Italy, problem gains more complexity because of the interwar political atmosphere dominated by Fascism. In many cases, Fascism preferred commissioning different architectural groups for the needs of the regime and architects extensively worked on balancing the general conflict of modernity and tradition. On this occasion, a new question regarding the terminology named “Fascist architecture” or “architecture of Fascism” appears. The journey of modern architecture evolved under the forces of tradition, can be seen both as the product of the political regime, and the result of the efforts of architects contemplated the architectural problem for handling the traditional contexts. In this perspective, we can assume that there are two main paradigms compose Italian context of *modern architecture*. In this study, first of these routes is evaluated as the architectural route, and the other as the political route. Although these paradigms interlace in several conditions under the strong shade of Fascism, by means of contextualization they become clearer as two distinct paths. These routes differentiate their characters according to their contribution to architectural culture, and this situation makes the structure of Italian context even more complicated under different coincidences. However, even though it is possible to see this consequence as a constraint, it is also quite possible to see it as a facility.

4.3.1 Architectural route: Italian Rationalism as a contextual avant-garde

During interwar period, “architectural” contextualization of *modern architecture* was strongly dominated by the intellectually sophisticated practice of Italian Rationalism. In other words, by means of contextualization, the attitude of Italian Rationalism depended on quite architectural demands from the beginning to the maturation of its journey. The birth of Italian Rationalism was colored by the international aesthetics of early twentieth-century European architecture, however, in the following period under the pressure of the political atmosphere, ideal of architectural development slightly shifted according to the needs of the regime commissions, and their work was categorized under the terminology of “Fascist architecture” in many cases. Regarding this transposition, it is now also quite hard to draw a border between the

vision of architectural practice and political act which interlaced with Italian Rationalism's architectural ideal in many occasions.

In the year 1926 and 1927, seven young architects, graduated from Milan Polytechnic, in the Italian periodical *Rassegna Italiana*, declared a "Rationalist" manifesto. The group was consisting of architects Sebastiano Larco, Guido Frette, Carlo Enrico Rava, Adalberto Libera, Luigi Figini, Gino Pollini, and Giuseppe Terragni. Their main concern in the manifesto's discussion was on "balancing the national identity and the international machine aesthetics", while making an emphasis on the national identity and exalting the traditional heritage. Regarding their inclination to traditional features, Frampton (2007) notes that, their words in *Rassegna Italiana*, prompted a certain inclination to the values of the past: "Our past and present are not incompatible. We do not wish to ignore our traditional heritage. It is the tradition which transforms itself and assumes new aspects recognizable only to a few" (Frampton, 2007a, p.203).

Although their declarations on the faith of tradition, the first phase of the Rationalist activity took place in European context and industrial themes were dominant in the early works of Rationalists. This tendency was under the effect of Corbusian themes which were promoting the structural logic of the machine aesthetics. A 1926 building, Pietro Lingeri's boat house (4.9) was a very early example of this tendency in allusion to marine engineering, paying somewhat simplistic homage to the work of Le Corbusier (Frampton, 2007a). Another important early presentation of the tendency of Italian Rationalists were at the 3rd International Exposition of Decorative Arts at Monza in 1927. Giuseppe Terragni and members of Gruppo 7 exhibited projects strongly attached with the engineer's aesthetic. According to Frampton, Giuseppe Terragni's projects for a gasworks and a steel tube factory in the 3rd International Exposition of Decorative Arts at Monza seemed to have more to do with the engineer's aesthetic than with architecture, and were using the polarities of Le Corbusier's *Vers une architecture*, which exercised considerable influence on the Rationalists after its publication in 1923. (4.10). Etlin also confirms the idea noting that "this first phase of Rationalist activity took place within a European arena in which avant-garde architects felt a solidarity through their independent efforts to create a new architecture" (Etlin, 1991).



Figure 4.9 : Pietro Lingeri: AMILA Club Boat House. Tremezzo, Como, 1926

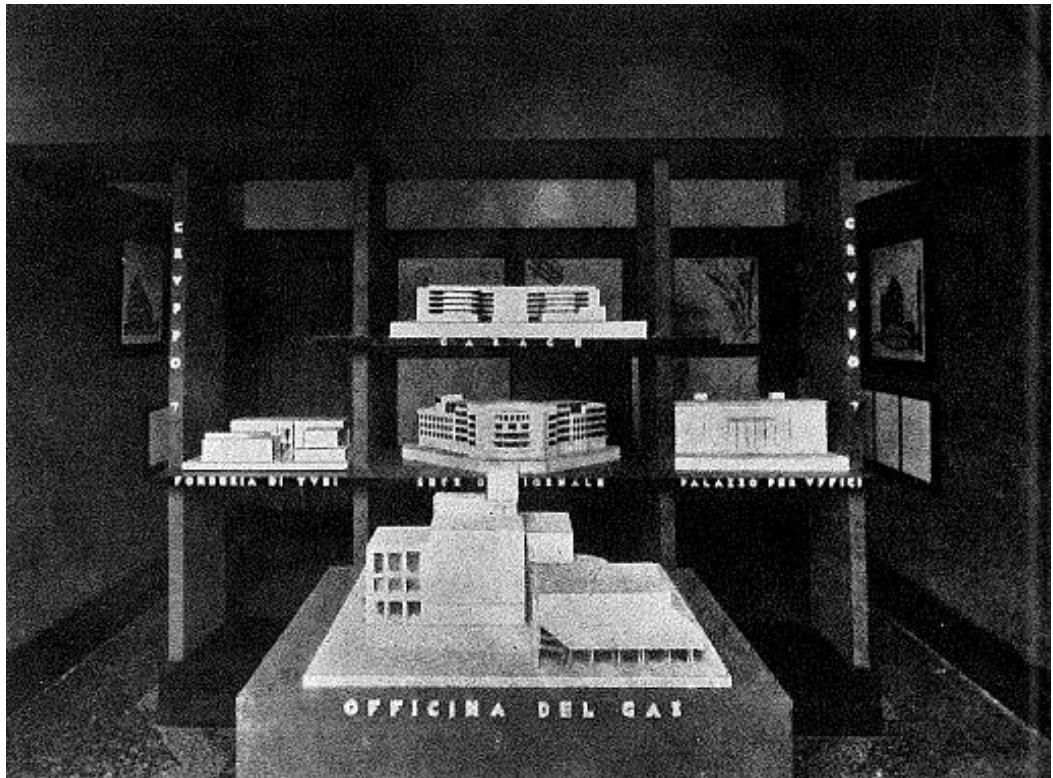


Figure 4.10 : Il Gruppo 7: Models exhibited at the 3rd International Exposition of Decorative Arts. Villa Reale, Monza. 1927.

Except the Dopolavoro project of Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini (4.11), the projects exhibited in the 3rd International Exposition of Decorative Arts at Monza were also presenting programmatically industrial building functions. This preference of Gruppo 7 was not a coincidence, but it was pointing to a tendency regarding the calling for a rational analysis of building programme. According to rational understanding which gave priority to structure and the new building types of industrial age, Italian rationalists claimed that they had no preference to ‘create a style’, however they expected that a style might appear through their rationalist analysis.

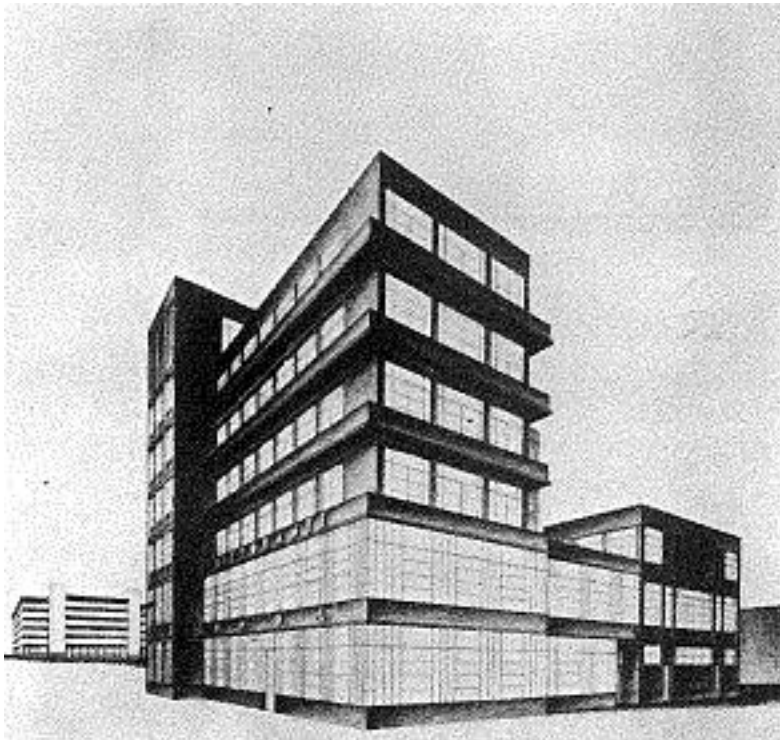


Figure 4.11 : Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini: Dopolavoro Project for 3rd International Exposition of Decorative Arts. Villa Reale, Monza. 1927.

On the following years, Rationalist architects also participated in the activities concerning these themes. This confirms their attachment with European architecture environments where Mies van der Rohe chose the project for a hotel by Larco and Rava of Gruppo 7 for the Werkbund exhibition at the Weissenhof Siedlung in 1927. By this occasion the group became the Italian branch of CIAM (*Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne*), which they participated in the following years. The group participated in the second CIAM in Frankfurt (1929), the third in Brussels (1930) and as well as the fourth in Athens (1933).

A well-known icon for Italian Rationalism is the Novocomum Apartment building in which Giuseppe Terragni tried to establish his Corbusian ideals. It was the “first distinctly modern building in Italy” (Mallgrave, 2005, p.312), manifesting the Rationalist approach of mass organization. The building included a five-storey composition where the corners intentionally filleted in order to expose glass cylinders that were in contrast with the mass of the top floor and in accordance with the filleted corners of the third-floor balcony and the mass of the second floor. According to classical canon, corners of the building should have been reinforced and emphasized, however Terragni chose to arrange the mass composition in this way. The solution seemed familiar with Corbusian building typology, but on the other hand Terragni missed some critical issues which extensively exposed by Le Corbusier. For instance, Terragni designed extremely high stories, which were not in accordance with Le Corbusier’s concepts of functionality, simplicity and purification. According to this vacillation, one can assume that Terragni at his early phases was more elaborating the formal properties of modern architecture rather than contextualizing the spatial features (4.12).



Figure 4.12 : Giuseppe Terragni: Novocomum Apartments. Como. 1928-29.

Giuseppe Terragni was commissioned in 1932 to design the headquarters of the Fascist party in Como. In the following years, the building not only became the masterpiece of Terragni, but also became “one of the best-known twentieth-century buildings” (Rykwert, 2008) and “has been acclaimed as Italy’s first modern masterpiece” (Mallgrave, 2005, p.312). The importance of Casa del Fascio is also mentioned by Richard Etlin. “In the annals of what is now popularly called the Modern Movement in twentieth-century architecture, Giuseppe Terragni’s Casa del Fascio in Como stands out as a major achievement” (Etlin, 1991)

What makes Casa del Fascio an important building, depends on Terragni’s sophisticated understanding of architecture through the scope which was concerning the multi-dimensional interrelations between structural, spatial, material properties of the building. Formally, Casa del Fascio was a simple and rational geometry set on a perfect square plan, having a half edge height. The elevation of the building was therefore a double square rectangle made up of seven frame units horizontally and four vertically, making the whole mass a half-cube. The rational ordering of the structure in such geometry seems to be a result of the rational geometry; however Terragni’s use of structure depends on his highly intellectual understanding of Le Corbusier’s principles. Le Corbusier, in his 1929 enumeration of four villa types, presented four fundamental approaches to architectural compositions where types 1-3 stand out as asymmetrical “picturesque” compositions and types 2-4 as cubical compositions. In types 2-4 Le Corbusier employed a reinforced concrete skeleton permits the installation of various volumes (4.13). In Casa del Fascio, Terragni applied the structural logic of fourth organization type successfully in order to express the presence of the volumetric elements and spaces of the building, through the conception of *una casa di vetro* (a house of glass). This conception was a political principle of Mussolini regarding the pluralistic notion of Fascism, however Terragni successfully managed to transform this context, into a very architectural and tectonic understanding, without commissioning any elements “associated with Fascist architecture—no classical details, no speaker’s tribune or tower, no propagandist sculptures” (Rykwert, 2008, p.353). The original political purpose of the building was in accordance with iconography of materials, for instance, with transparent glasses that allowed the flow of populace from street to interior space (4.15).

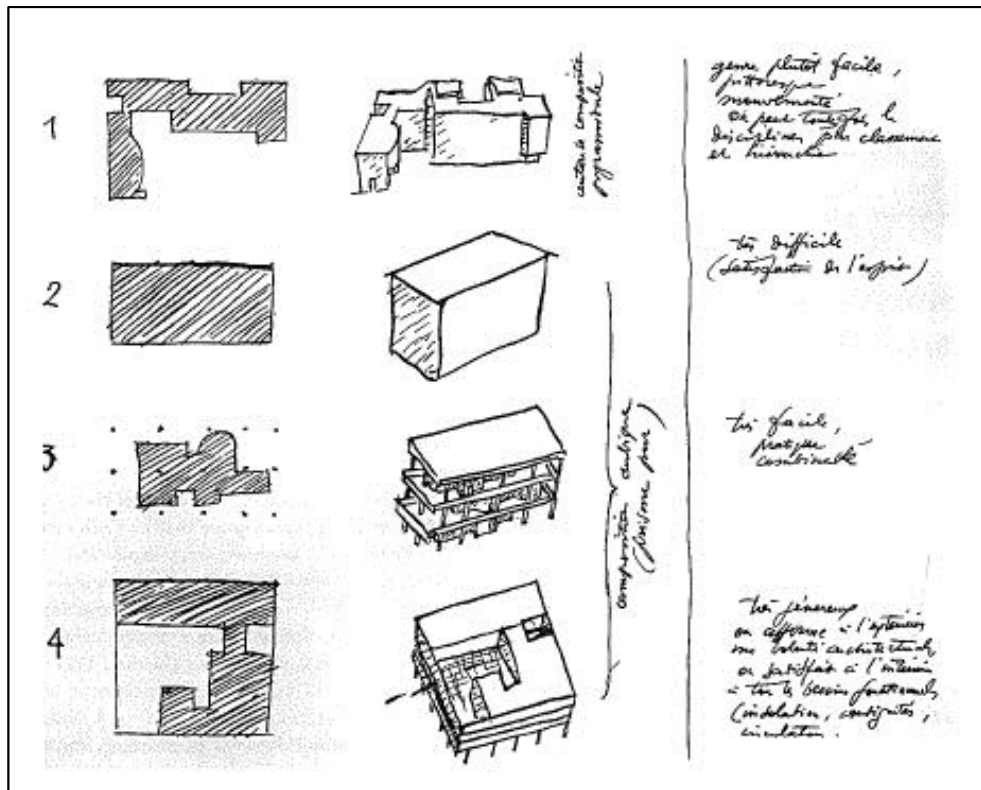


Figure 4.13 : Le Corbusier: Four Villa Types. 1929.

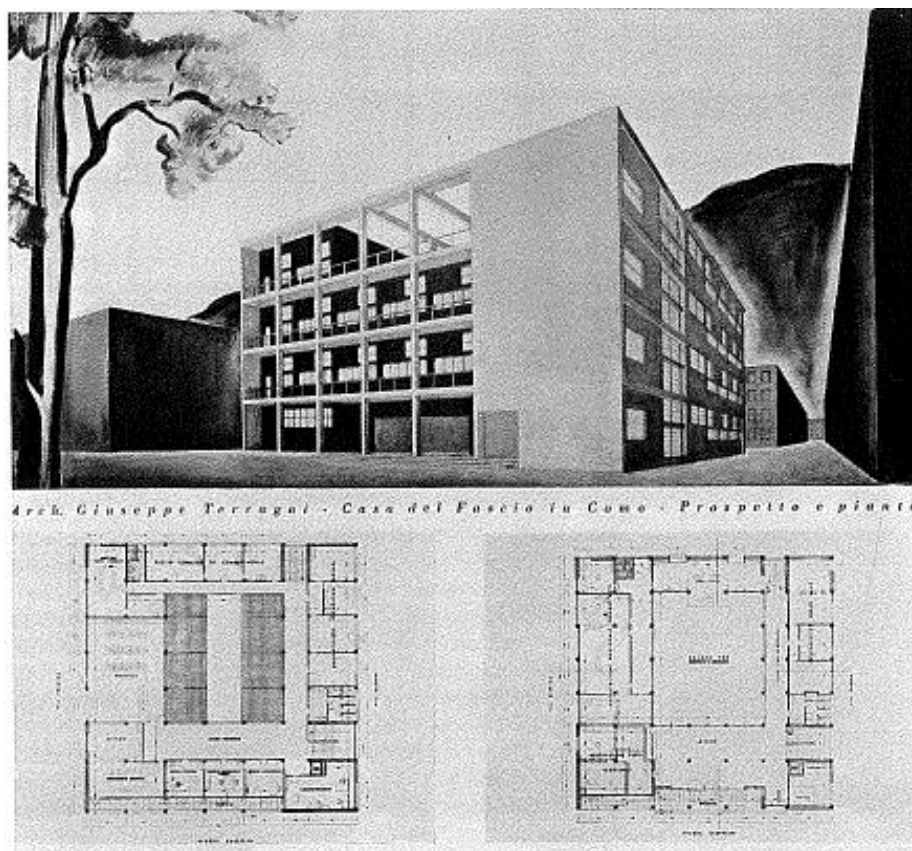


Figure 4.14 : Giuseppe Terragni: Casa del Fascio. Como.



Figure 4.15 : An assembly of the people of Como in front of the Casa del Fascio. May 5 1936.

Through his contextual approach, Giuseppe Terragni managed to combine two different aspects of Italian architectural tradition. These two aspects were the grandeur of Renaissance architecture and the vernacular tradition of the rural dwelling. Even though Casa del Fascio was not in accordance of the symmetrical organization of a Renaissance palazzo, it presented the image of the regular classical heritage and at the same time it transparently referenced the traditional farmhouses with front loggias (Etlin, 1991) (4.16).



Figure 4.16 : Farmhouse with loggia, near Gandino, Val Seriana. (G. Pagano and G. Daniel, *Architettura rurale italiana* 936)

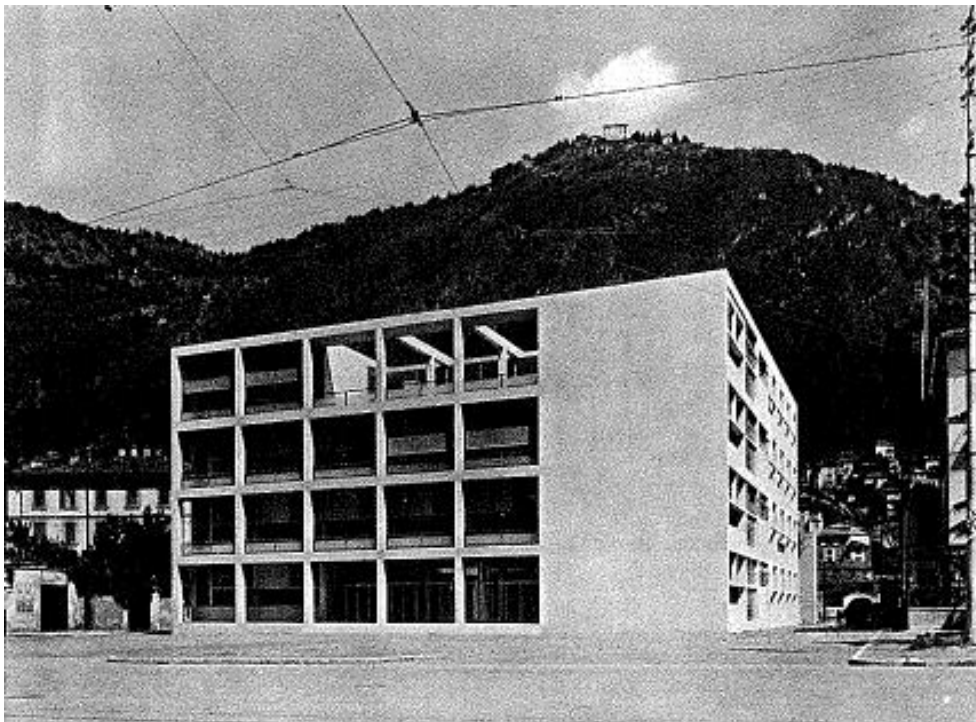


Figure 4.17 : Giuseppe Terragni: Casa del Fascio. Como. 1936.

4.3.2 Political route: architecture of Fascism

Another environment in which Italian architecture transformed itself into more developed form was the political context of Fascism. Many of the examples of modern Italian architecture can also be categorized under the title of “Fascist architecture” or “architecture of Fascism”. However, in the very complex structure of the political and cultural environment, it seems to be quite hard to make the definition of these titles in the scope of the culture of architecture. Therefore, we need to elaborate those developments of architecture in the political context.

Politically, regarding the idea that the concept of Fascism itself contains a pejorative meaning, it is also quite hard to make the ideological definition of Fascism. On the other hand, still, for a general definition, Fascism can be thought as an ideology, which formulates itself as eliminating the “fear” derived from the fragmental structure of *modernity* (Örs, 2007). For the fragmental structure of *modernity*, as we have already mentioned by Marshall Berman’s terminology, “new experience” of modern society including trilateral structure of industrialization, rationalization, and nation-state, should be understood (Berman, 1983). Similarly, as being the common themes of the *modernity* and modern society, an ideal of abstract citizen, homogenization of space and time, and ethics of labor in a nation-state formation composes the fragmental structure of *modernity*.

Accordingly, here, for Fascism, the concept of “unity” becomes important, in order to establish the “formal integrity of the nation”. On the other hand, for the faith and propaganda of the regime, Fascism acts as an uncompanionable ideology to internal consistency of attitudes and actions. Fascism, with this attitude, stands as an eclectic and irrational ideology, which comprises certain features of different philosophical streams, and of conflicting and sometimes utopic theories. It uses slogans, myths, and utopias as mass propaganda tools addressing to emotions of the populace. Rather than developing the philosophical basis ideology, Fascism’s character depends on a brief set of emotions, faith and actions. For instance, these components found themselves in a central sloganized feature of the Italian Fascist regime: “*Credere, Obbedire, Combattere*” (“Believe, Obey, Fight”) (Örs, 2007).

Although the relationship of Fascism with modernity is complicated, vital themes of modernity stands as crucial ideological inputs for Fascism’s equation. Ball & Dagger

write in 1995 book *Political Ideologies and Democratic Ideal*: “Even though Fascism was a reactionary ideology, a product of the fear derived from the rapid transformation, it was not against progression” (Ball & Dagger, 1995).

Similarly, according to Diane Ghirardo, the parallelism between the language of political Fascism and Rationalism is striking. In her famous article *Italian Architects and Fascist Politics: An Evaluation of the Rationalist's Role in Regime Building* she writes “both are strewn with battle imagery, ‘this militia of modern architecture,’ of heroism and courage, of being ‘armed with an Artistic Faith,’ of conquering, continual struggle, virility, masculinity, and youth” (Ghirardo, 1980a). For instance, *Tavolo degli Orrori* (Table of Horrors) at the Second MIAR in 1931 was visually demonstrating the ideas written in the *Manifesto per L'architettura Razionale* presented to Mussolini at the opening. The panel of Table of Horrors included architecture by powerful figures in the world of Italian architecture, such as Cesare Bazzani, Armando Brasini, Gustavo Giovannoni, Vittorio Morpugo, and Marcello Piacentini (Etlin, 1991, p.385). The manifesto was, on the other hand, claiming the strong and essential relationship between Fascism and rationalism: “The architecture of Mussolini’s time must respond to the character of masculinity, force, pride in the Revolution. The old architects are emblems of an impotence that we reject.” (Ghirardo, 1980a, pp.125-126).

On the other hand, astonishingly, in his 1930 *Tempi della Rivoluzione Fascista*, Mussolini described tradition as one of the greatest spiritual forces of a people because it was a successive and constant creation of their soul; Fascism was not clinging desperately to the past, but neither was it dashing headlong into the “seductive mists of the future” (Ghirardo, 1980a). Moreover, British writer Adrian Lyttelton (2004) also confirms the Mussolini’s connection to the past because of the wish to validate the rhetoric of the regime:

Italian Fascists praised a building or a program for its modernity and in the next breath lauded it for its solid roots in Italian tradition. More often than not, the Italian past was used to validate a program or action, from war to the Concordat. (pp. 370-378)

Fascism claiming to sink its roots deep in Italian history, the frame of the history was especially the Roman history. For the Roman heritage, in their work *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy*, Falasca-Zamponi (1997) states that: “Within this rhetorical context, Fascism developed a selective

interpretation of the Roman tradition, excluding what was believed to be decadent and highlighting the great accomplishments of the Roman civilization—i.e., its superior power.” Moreover, according to Falasca-Zamponi (1997), this perspective of historicism glorified the image of Rome:

In the name of an ideal past, the regime commissioned archeological digs search of the ruins of “its” Rome. During the excavations, buildings belonging to the middle ages were found and immediately destroyed in order to led ancient Rome predominate as the original witness of the Fascism’s glorious destiny. Nothing was supposed to undermine the image of Rome that the regime had construed and that it wanted to convey, since the image of Fascism lived in symbiosis with the myth of Rome. (p.93)

According to Ghirardo (1980a), “the entire 20-year history of Fascism was marked by vacillation between an apparently adventurous modernism and recalcitrant traditionalism”. Fascism was advertised as something thoroughly new, the next and better step after the liberal democratic state.

Mussolini’s synchronized connection with the past and future strongly established the rhetoric of the Fascism: the diversity. In his 1976 study *Mussolini’s Roman Empire*, Denis Mack Smith writes about the term *Scotch Douche*, a special technique Mussolini used in order to deal with domestic and international politics. He writes for *Scotch Douche*, as follows: “Blowing hot and cold, being friendly and provocative by turns, and continually changing his ground so that he could appear both democrat and authoritarian, radical and reactionary, socialist and anti-socialist” (Smith, 1976).

Beyond this unique rhetorical technique, for the eclectic structure of Fascism, several other writers confirm the idea. For instance, in her renowned article, Diane Ghirardo points out that: “Italian Fascism was not based on coherent, homogeneous and monolithic system of ideas. Fraught with inconsistencies, its short run political success, derived from efforts to appeal simultaneously to diverse aspirations and social groups” (Ghirardo, 1980a). For the diversity consistent in the ideological formation of Fascism, Lyttelton also observes that “Fascist ideology was composite, an unstable functional synthesis of the needs of various social groups. It is impossible to arrange the ideas current in Fascist movement into ‘one relatively coherent system of generalizations about nature, society and man’” (Lyttelton, 2004).

Similarly, in architectural field, political and social premises of Fascism appeared as an unstable synthesis of a variety of elements. According to eclectic politics of Fascism, many architects working in different movements and groups were commissioned by the regime. Although Marcello Piacentini was one of the most important regime commissioners, the collective approach of Novecento architecture was also compatible with the needs of Fascist regime, and also architecture of Italian Rationalism acted for “a wide array of interpretations which may have been philosophically incompatible but existed then in practical harmony” (Ghirardo, 1980a). Regarding the pluralistic backing of Novecento and Rationalist architects Joseph Rykwert (2008) writes:

Although ‘totalitarian’ was a slogan adopted by the Fascists, it did not seem to affect the patronage of the arts. Inside the Fascist directorate, the Novecento and the Rationalists had (until he was dismissed in 1933) the backing (against most of his colleagues) of a minister, Enrico Bottai, and they soon found other powerful advocates: Giuseppe Pagano, an active Fascist, and Eduardo Persico, who steered clear of power. (p.353)

In some cases, Piacentini played a balancing role between metaphysical traditionalism of Novecento and avant-gardism of Italian Rationalists, as well as he mediated between Moderates, which purified the academic classicism and *Accademici* which defended a uninspired and unaltered replication of the neo-classical architecture. Mediating the disputes between several groups, Piacentini achieved a central role as a regime architect and he developed his highly eclectic *Stile Littorio* as the official party manner (Frampton, 2007a). Even in some cases, different architects from different movements were commissioned in cooperative projects and worked in collaboration. Fascism, according to its political discourse depending on diversity and eclecticism, commissioned many of the actors and movements of architectural culture according to needs of the regime. The rhetoric of diversity, gave a very pluralistic and complex character to interwar Italian architecture, or in other words, to the “architecture of Fascism”.

One of the most important examples of the cooperative work of architects under Fascist regime was the campus of University of Rome. In 1932-35, Marcello Piacentini was directing the team working for the University of Rome with the guidelines of the *Stile Littorio*, but three of the buildings displayed a certain affinity for Italian Rationalism: Giovanni Michelucci’s Mineralogy Building, Gio Ponti’s School of Mathematics, and Giuseppe Pagano’s Institute of Physics (4.17-4.20).

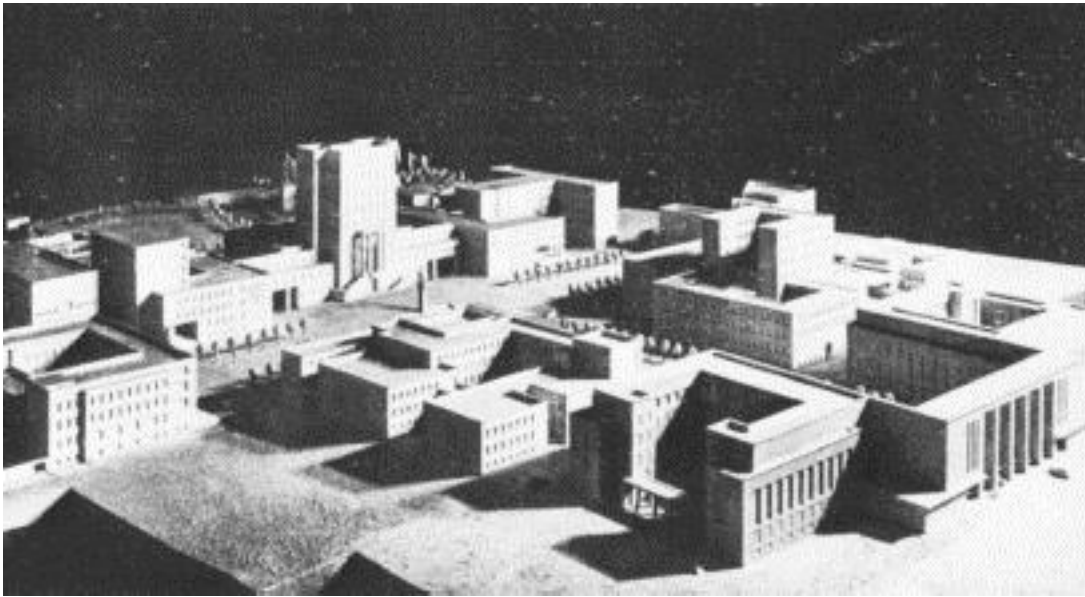


Figure 4.18 : Marcello Piacentini with Pietro Aschieri, Giuseppe Capponi, Arnaldo Foschini, Giovanni Michelucci, Gaetano Minnucci, Eugenio Montuori, Gio Ponti, and Gaetano Rapisardi: University of Rome. 1932-1935.



Figure 4.19 : Marcello Piacentini: Rectorate of University of Rome.



Figure 4.20 : Gio Ponti: School of Mathematics in University of Rome. 1934.



Figure 4.21 : Giovanni Michelucci: Mineralogy Building of University of Rome.

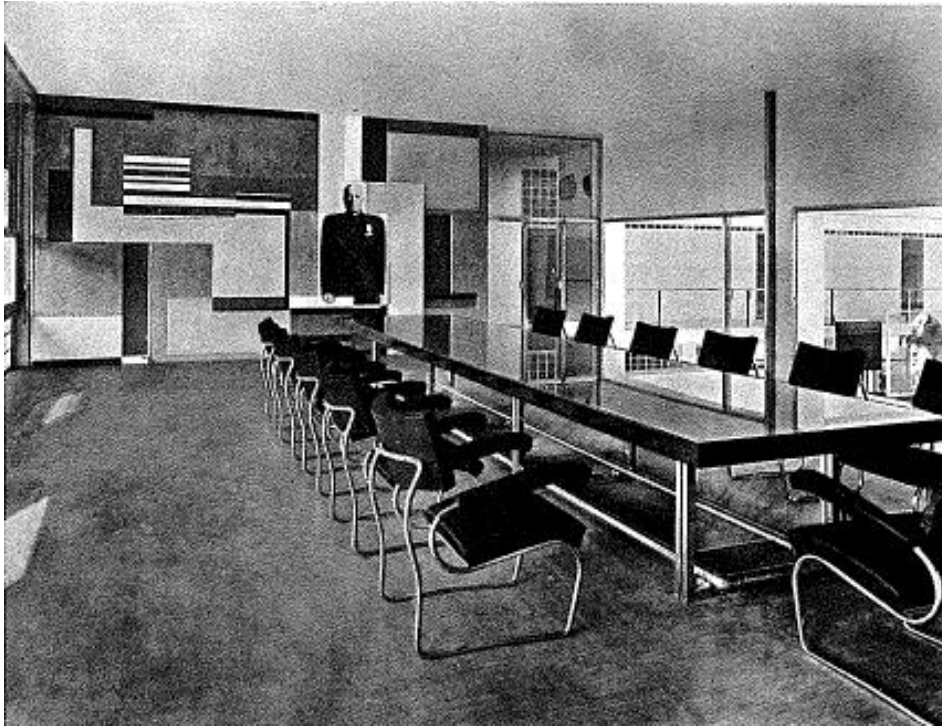


Figure 4.22 : Giuseppe Terragni: Salone Riunioni del Direttorio Federale in Casa del Fascio. Como. 1936.

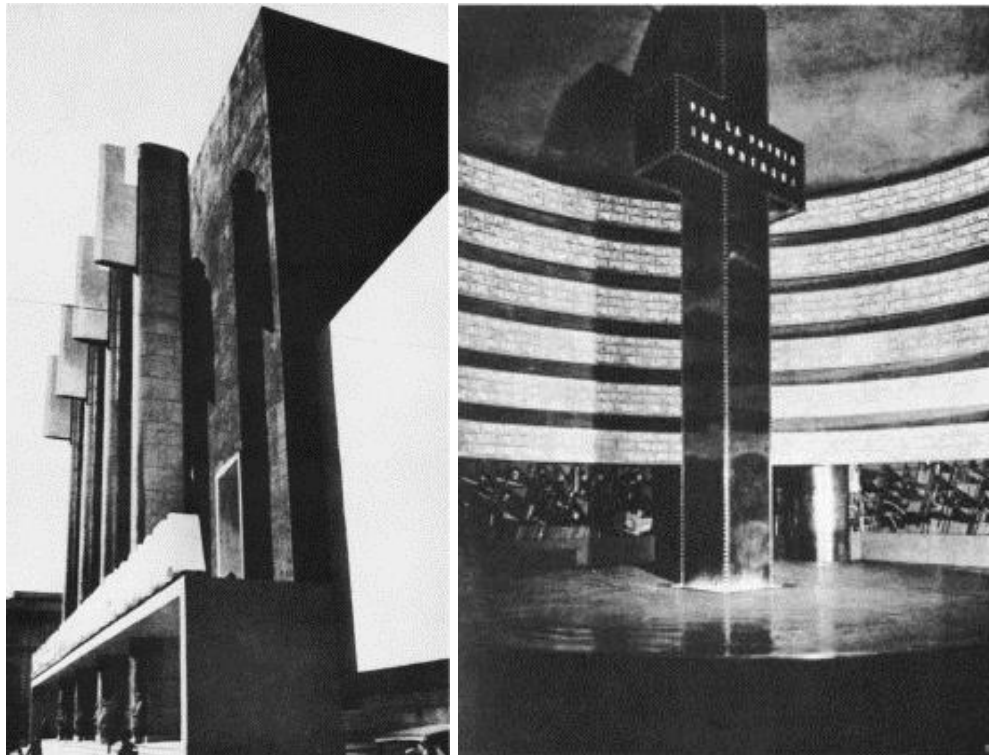


Figure 4.23 : Adalberto Libera and Mario de Renzi: Palazzo degli Esposizioni Rome. Left: Façade for the 10th Anniversary of the Fascist Revolution. 1932-33. Right: Sacrario. 1932-33

In several cases, architects of the Fascist regime, used architectural or political tools in order to contextualize modern architecture according to the political needs of the regime. One of these tools was the celebration of the regime. Most of the projects designed under the power of Fascist regime, rhetorically celebrated the regime and accordingly deviated from the central concerns of the architectural practice. For instance, the concept of monumentality and monumental architecture was used in many projects in order to establish the rhetorical celebration of the regime (4.22, 4.23).

Another context used by the Fascist architecture was the concept of *Mediterraneità*. Diane Ghirardo gives the definition for *Mediterraneità* as follows:

In general this identified minor architecture such as was found on the Mediterranean coast as the true origin of the Modern Movement. In formal terms, it was distinguished by white walls, rectangular or squared, an architecture of space in which the rhythms derived from the use of numbers, the golden mean, and Pythagorean rhythms. (Ghirardo, 1980a)

For the ideal of Mediterranean in Italian modern architecture, Lejeune & Sabatino notes that, “in the complex political context, from the late 1920s into the early 1970s, the notion of a ‘Mediterranean ideal’ functioned as a creative catalyst for modernist architects in Italy” (Lejeune & Sabatino, 2009). Accordingly, Ghirardo notes that, in order to install modernism within Italian tradition tool was the emphasis of *Mediterraneità* and Italian Rationalism asserted the presence of *Mediterraneità* in their buildings. Furthermore, regarding the justification of *Mediterraneità*, Piacentini, exalted the concept of *Mediterraneità* as “a reasoned, well thought out architecture based on technical and spiritual necessities, solemn and enduring forms, forms that expressed a renewed spirit gifted with close links with the Italian past”.

This brief justification of *Mediterraneità* was also confirmed by Pagano in his 1931 essay *L’architettura moderna di venti secoli fa* in *La Casa Bella*,³, stating the idea that: Le Corbusier, Gropius, and Mies van der Rohe had merely unearthed and adopted what was an indigenous Mediterranean architecture (Ghirardo, 1980a).

Probably the most iconic example of *Mediterraneità* in Italian architecture was the *Casa Malaparte* of Rationalist architect Adalberto Libera .Building completed by the owner Curzio Malaparte who was in exile, and ironically implied remoteness and seclusion of the geographical site of Capri island (4.24).



Figure 4.24 : Adalberto Libera: Casa Malaparte.1938-40.

As we have already mentioned in the second chapter of this study, an ideal of abstract citizen, and ethics of labor in a nation-state formation, are the themes of *modernization*, and therefore were the themes of Fascist ideology. Accordingly, another Fascism's ideological principle was that of *gerarchia* which refers to "social hierarchy". This principle was depending on Fascism's social pattern in which any person's place in society was regulated by its function and authority in the state formation. This place was approximated according to capacities and duty performance of the citizen. According to Ghirardo, this principle was already existent in the elitism of the basic principles written by Le Corbusier. She notes that, "the elitism which pervaded Mussolini's concept of *gerarchia* and the role of the individual was not all incompatible with the writings of Le Corbusier, particularly with *Vers Une Architecture*" (Ghirardo, 1980a). The ideas expressed by Le Corbusier about hierarchy under the shadow of the revolutionary spirit promoting the benefit of all society. Therefore, it does not seem surprising to see the idea of hierarchy in the social projects of the Fascist architecture, having the parallelism between "social order" and "architectural order".

The principle of *gerarchia* and its implications mostly can be seen in the urban plans of the Fascist architecture. The concept of *piani regolatori*, which confirms class

divisions with the logic of zoning, is extensively used in many of these urban plans. The main purpose of these urban plans was to achieve a social order in accordance with the hierarchical and elitist model of Fascist society. Many of the designs were geometrically administratively closed communities “within borders of a *circonvallazione*, typologically related to medieval city walls” (Ghirardo, 1980a) (4.26, 4.27).

One of the examples of these urban plans, 1940 Master Plan for Portoscuso, Sardegna by Giuseppe Pagano, was a good illustration of the Fascist principle of *gerarchia*. Pagano planned the city with certain separations between the zones for *operai*, *impiegati*, and *dirigenti* (blue-collar workers, white-collar workers, and directors). Each zone strictly had their certain boundaries without any overlapping areas. For instance, the city center was organized in order to separate the white-collar and directors sections from the blue-collar section, and highest social level was placed nearest to the sea. Density of the building was also decreased to the highest social levels (4.25).



Figure 4.25 : G. Pagano: Master Plan for Portoscuso. Sardegna. 1940.

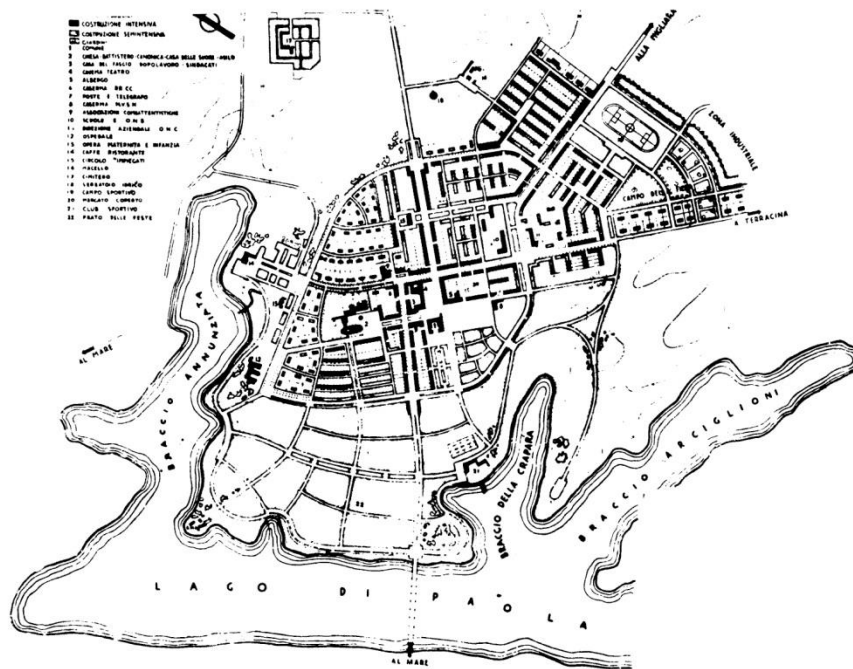


Figure 4.26 : Gino Cancellotti, Eugenio Montuori, Luigi Piccinato, Alfredo Scalpelli: Master Plan for Sabaudia. 1933-34.

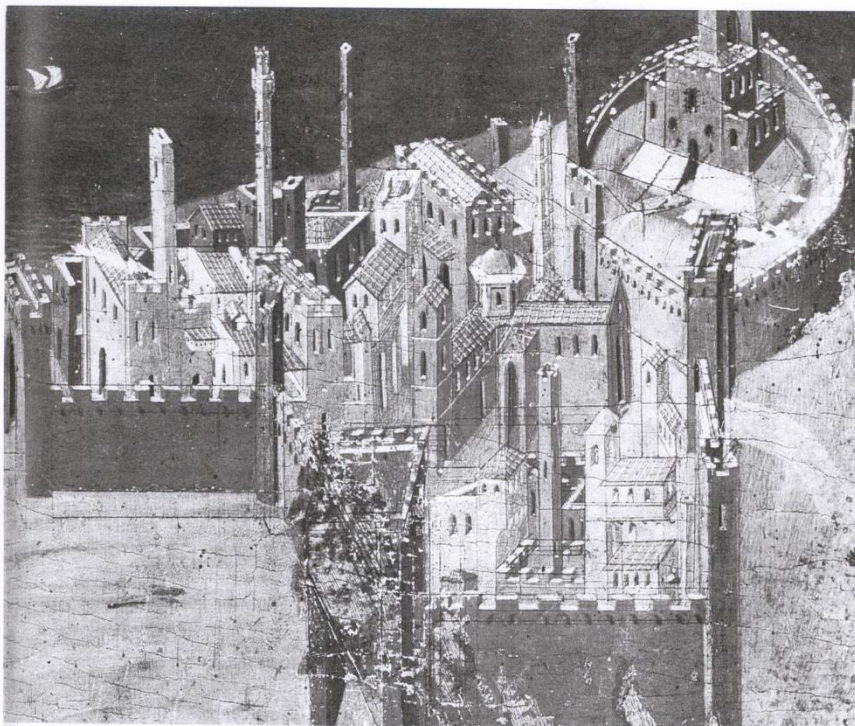


Figure 4.27 : Ambrogio Lorenzetti: View of a Coastal City. 14th century.

4.4 Turkish Context of Modern Architecture

In general, it can be said that early twentieth century *modern architecture* is positively received in Turkey. Political regime of Turkey welcomed *modernism* and rationalism in accordance with their shared progressive ambitions on society. These movements for their reactionary attitude towards the classical tradition based common approach in architecture, which offered a brand new epistemological ground with their symbols of plausible freshness. Regarding the legitimating quality of *modernism* for the new regimes, Bozdoğan (2001) states that:

It was a characteristic feature of interwar modernism in many countries, where the scientific and progressive discourse of Modern Movement legitimated new regimes and in turn, identifying with these new regimes, legitimated and benefited the architectural profession in that great era of state patronage. (p.61)

Undoubtedly, the legitimation of *modernism* was evident with the professional productions such as books and writings as well as with the projects and buildings in the case of Turkey. For instance, Celal Esad Arseven's book *Yeni Mimari* (the New Architecture), published in 1931, was originally an adaptation of French architect André Lurçat's 1929 book *L'Architecture*, which was on contemporary architecture and its changing techniques. The necessity of *modern architecture* manifested itself via contemporary architectural periodical *Arkitekt* with translations of articles by Le Corbusier, Lurçat, and Adolf Behne to give examples. Alongside with the articles published on *Arkitekt*, Arseven's *Yeni Mimari* also functioned as a "familiarizing" interface of *modern architecture* by introducing its formal elements as well as its theoretical essence (Altan Ergut, 2007, p.3).

Arseven was well aware of the fact that architecture was changing around the *modern architecture* in Europe by forming a new vocabulary, thus he responded the change with an adaptation effort, proposing a new architecture for Turkey. He went further to redefine the borders of architecture with the words "The switch from the realm of forms and aesthetic to that of needs and logic."³ (Arseven, 1931, p. 4)

Another attempt to introduce *modern architecture* in Turkey was Samih Saim's article titled *Yeni Unsurlar* (New Elements) that embodied both translations of Le Corbusier's five principles and Arseven's *Yeni Mimari* (Bozdoğan, 2001, p.172).

³ "Mimarlık şekil ve bediiyat sahasından ihtiyaç ve mantık sahasına girdi." (Arseven, 1931, p. 4)

Saim promoted new elements of architecture, which were pilotis, horizontal windows, roof terraces, color, and electricity. It is interesting to observe that article was written in a style connoting a mini-dictionary, which gives the background of each element with their use benefits. Altan Ergut draws attention to the fact that Arseven's *Yeni Mimari* was "instrumental in the approval of the 'modern' in Turkey." (Altan Ergut, 2007). Therefore, one can assert that Arseven's book and Saim's text were *modern architecture* manuals, specifically arranged for Turkey.

Modern architecture's elements were obviously displayed via the language that was being used on *Mimar* and *Arkitekt* by the time. Regarding the technical vocabulary used on these periodicals, Bozdoğan assigns an evident resemblance with the vocabulary of CIAM in 1930, based on a related survey (Bozdoğan, 2001, p.172). Behçet Ünsal, in his article *Küçük Yapı ve Konfor* that was published on *Arkitekt* in 1939, affirmed that linguistic change as an indicator of positive transformations on society:

These terms [functionalism, rationalism] that have just entered our *language* and these new modes of living that are beginning to affect us are the reflections in our country of a larger, universal, and social transformations (Ünsal, 1939, p. 60).

Therefore, it is possible to assert that architectural milieu of 1930s largely influenced by *modern architecture*, to the level of changing the technical terminology used.

Approval of *modernism* as well as of *modern architecture* extended the role of architects towards being social agents in order to render new regime's ideals with the newly introduced instruments of *modern architecture*. However, many architects rejected these instruments, general consent tended to attribute supporting mission to the state in terms of empowering the architecture in 1930s (Bozdoğan, 2001, p.156). In this sense, architects were credited as problem solving authorities to the people's needs in an elitist manner. Emphasizing the elitism of that social agent role of architects, James C. Scott in his renown book *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* uses the term "High Modernism" as follows,

[...] high modernism ought to appeal greatly to the classes and strata who have most to gain-in status, power, and wealth-from its worldview. And indeed it is the ideology par excellence of the bureaucratic intelligentsia, technicians, planners, and engineers. The position accorded to them is not just one of rule and privilege but also one of responsibility for the great works

of nation building and social transformation. Where this intelligentsia conceives of its mission as the dragging of a technically backward, unschooled, subsistence-oriented population into the twentieth century, its self-assigned cultural role as educator of its people becomes doubly grandiose (Scott, 1998, p. 96).

For instance, Kazım Dirlik's *İdeal Cumhuriyet Köyü Planı*, in 1933 and Burhan Arif's *Köy Projesi* in 1935, which both published on *Arkitekt*, set an example to the aforementioned "high modernist," and civilizing approach of the architect on the population (4.28, 4.29). Over-rationalization is the common denominator of these two projects with their dictated simple geometrical forms on the urban settlements. Considering Dirlik's plan, radial transportation organization with the three social belts created around, is reminiscent with the Ebenezer Howard's initial Garden City concept drawing dated 1902 in terms of the social and geometric arrangement. It was not a coincidence that Howard was forming tomorrow cities in a distinct social class organization. The high modernist approach was also indicated in the name of the project, "an ideal republican village" as well as its reformist plan. Arif's plan was much closer to the ideal city projects (Radiant City for example) of Le Corbusier, in terms of its over-rationalized rectangular blocks linearly arranged with almost no difference in their sizes. However, these two are different examples in terms of their acclaimed organizational role for the rural parts of the Anatolia, due to the plans, which were designed for villages specifically. Dirlik and Arif both were in search for a scientific architecture of villages in Anatolia in order to sanitize the population's living standards. Nonetheless, these plans ignored the traditional rural settlements and living conditions of Anatolia by exaggerated rationalism (Bozdoğan, 2001, p.100).

"High Modernism" of intelligentsia had also its austere impact on the education system of Fine Arts Academy, within a short time range. Footsteps of the reform in Academy was began to heard through renaming The Academy of fine Arts (Sanay-i Nefise Mektebi Alisi) as *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi* in modern Turkish in 1926, as well as relocating in a shore palace at Fındıklı (Bozdoğan, 2001, p.157). Afterwards, by the sequential resignations of Giulio Mongeri and Vedat Bey, in 1928 and in 1930, Swiss architect Ernst Egli was given the new section head position. Egli took charge of this position until 1936, when Bruno Taut was appointed this time. Beaux-arts educational model of Academy replaced with a rationalist and functionalist curriculum that was compatible with European modernist model (Bozdoğan, 2001,

p.157). Reform in Academy was a stark example of the “old versus new” distinction as the executive group of architects (Vedat Bey, Kemalettin Bey, and Giulio Mongeri) who reminded of Ottoman revivalism with a superficial and inadequate understanding of their architectural legacies.

On the other hand, Egli’s and Taut’s architectures were not an undiluted European Modernism, for they both had a regionalist tendency. Regarding their regionalist approach, Bozdoğan established the grounds on their deep reverence for the vernacular traditions and Ottoman monuments of Turkey (Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 166). They followed a traditionally supported line of rationalism, which allowed contextualization in turn. One would claim that contextualization efforts of rationalism stood side by side with nationalist movement in academy, leading its flourish environment.

Nationalist movement in academy had its roots in curriculum change as well as in the mobility of the new system’s graduates who went to Europe after graduation. They were mostly 1928 graduates who lived the transformation process’ first shock effects and developed the most antagonistic reactions to the classical education they had been through previously. They were prominent figures in architecture of the 1930s, shaping a modernist discourse with all media. To name a few 1928 graduates and their significances, it would be proper to begin with Zeki Sayar and Abidin Mortaş who founded the first professional journal *Mimar*, later named *Arkitekt* that began its publications in 1931. Another one was urbanist architect Burhan Arif who kept track of modern urbanism examples and writings. He attended to the fairs and exhibitions abroad in order to convey his impressions. By reason of Emin Onat and Arif Hikmet Holtay received their education abroad in Technische Hochschule model, they were not affected by the reform in academy, thus they formed another lateral practice which is not in this thesis concern. Aptullah Ziya (1932-1933), Burhan Arif, Sedad Hakkı Eldem (1929-1930), and Seyfi Arkan had been in Europe in order to observe the architectural milieu of the time. They wrote on *Mimar* about their personal impressions and suggestions for Turkey’s architecture to be internationally compatible to the Europe (Bozdoğan, 2001, p.158).

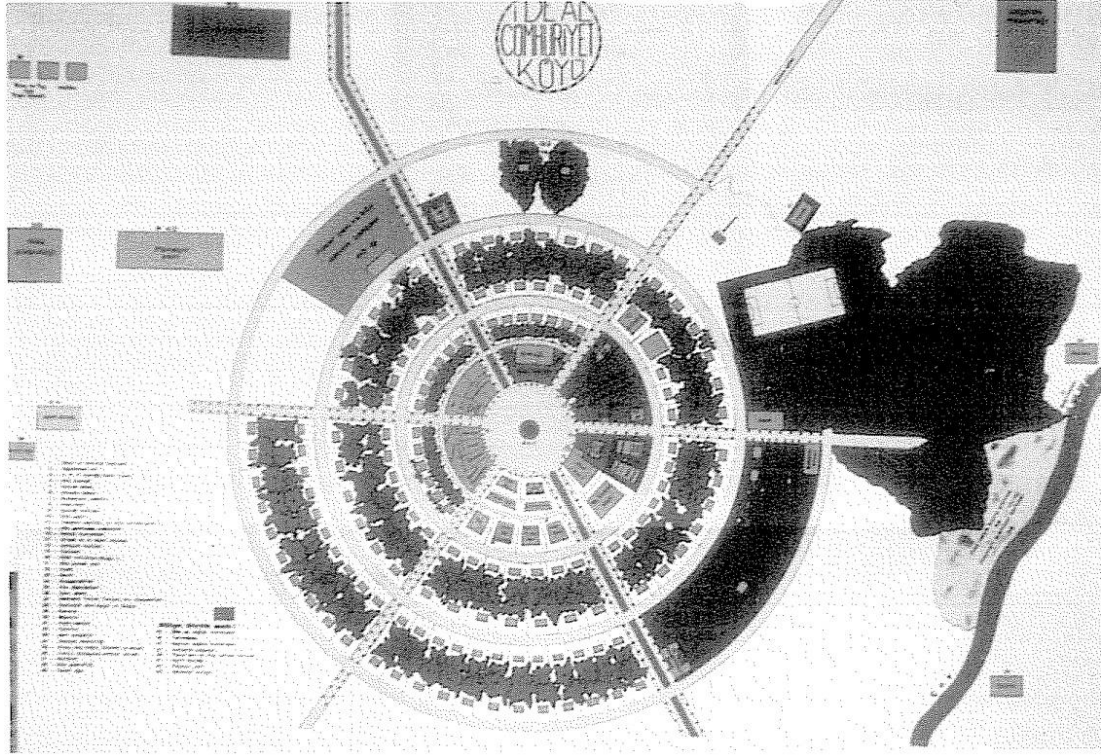


Figure 4.28 : Kazım Dirlik: Ideal Republican village plan. 1933.

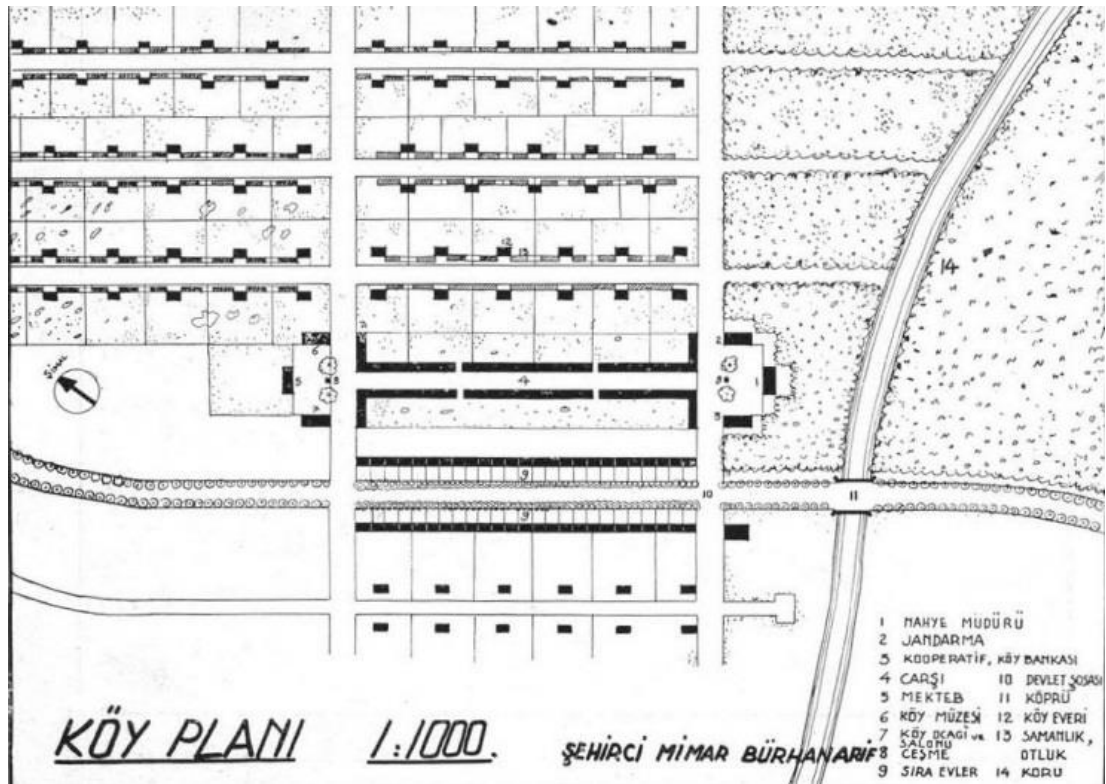


Figure 4.29 : Burhan Arif: Köy Projesi. 1935. (Arkitekt no.5, 11-12)

Another approach was German nationalism of Clemens Holzmeister and Paul Bonatz, which were also the protagonists of the period. They were using “the rational and functionalist principles of modern architecture for classical and monumental formations” (Batur, 2005, p.39). However, Holzmeister and Bonatz are out of this thesis discussion due to the fact that they were the defenders of German nationalism by their each work, however this thesis concerned with the contextualization efforts in Turkish modernist architectural discourse of interwar period.

Specifically, Seyfi Arkan and Sedad Hakkı Eldem were in the position of two pioneering poles within the modernist discourse of 1930s. Although they both tried to contextualize Modern Movement, their instruments and approaches could not be in more contrast to each other. Arkan was in search of an interpretation of the Modern formal vocabulary with no concern of stylistic connotations. Nonetheless, traditional building conventions were observed in a molded modernist interpretation that was not a marginalized plug in to a mimicked European formal vocabulary. Arkan used and transformed the European formal vocabulary into a contextual, multi-dimensional interpretation which was belonged to Turkey, rather to be Turkified. He regarded architecture as a problem solving activity at social level, thus positioning him as the first modernist architect in Turkey (Tanyeli, 1990a, p.91).

Concerning Arkan’s *Zonguldak Kozlu (Kömür-İş) Social Housing Complex* project, in 1934 and 1936, which was the first large scale social housing solution in Turkey, Bilge İmamoğlu asserts that in his article titled *Seyfi Arkan ve İşçi İçin Tasarlamak: Zonguldak; Üzülmez ve Kozlu*, Arkan proved his architectural approach could direct the social transformation by its forethought features, instead of reflecting the change superficially (İmamoğlu, 2012, p.145). Although the layouts of the housing scheme resembles to its German precedents, Arkan was not given up his sensitive approach to the context, showing a concern for the appropriateness to the hot climate of Zonguldak (Bozdoğan, 2001, p.220).

On the other hand, Eldem looked for the roots of “Turkishness” in civil architecture examples by starting a seminar called National Architecture Seminar at Academy of Fine Arts as a compulsory course. He studied domestic architectural heritage for thirteen years and categorized the characteristics of “Turkish House” with the data collected in years. He reached conclusions on his collection of “corrected” survey drawings that were drawn by his students mostly. However he gave all his life and

career to the activity of surveying an studying “Turkish House,” he could not go further from the point of his historiographically constructed categorization systematic of “Turkish House” which formed its own individual context, instead of contextualize its architectural language.

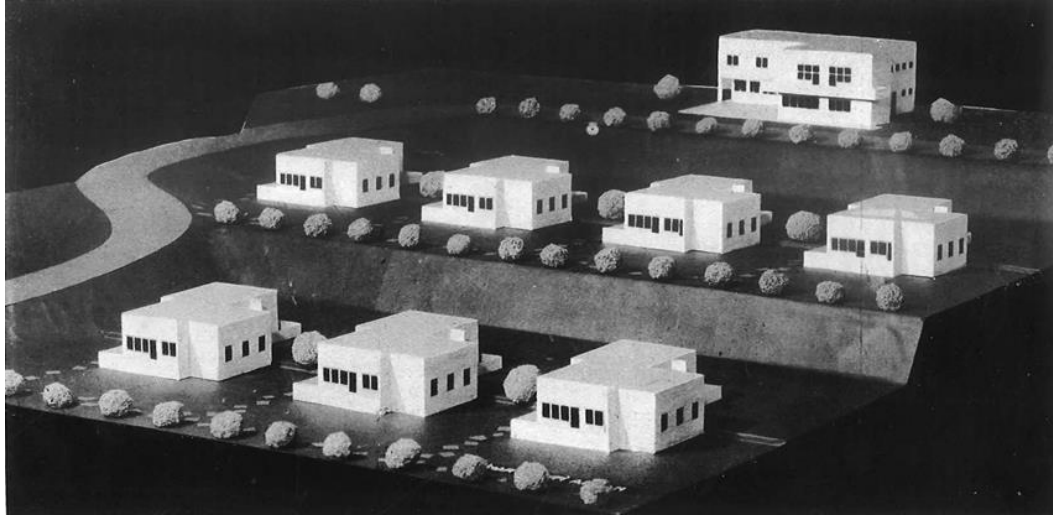


Figure 4.30 : Seyfi Arkan: Model view of Zonguldak Kozlu (Kömür-İş) Social Housing Complex. 1936.

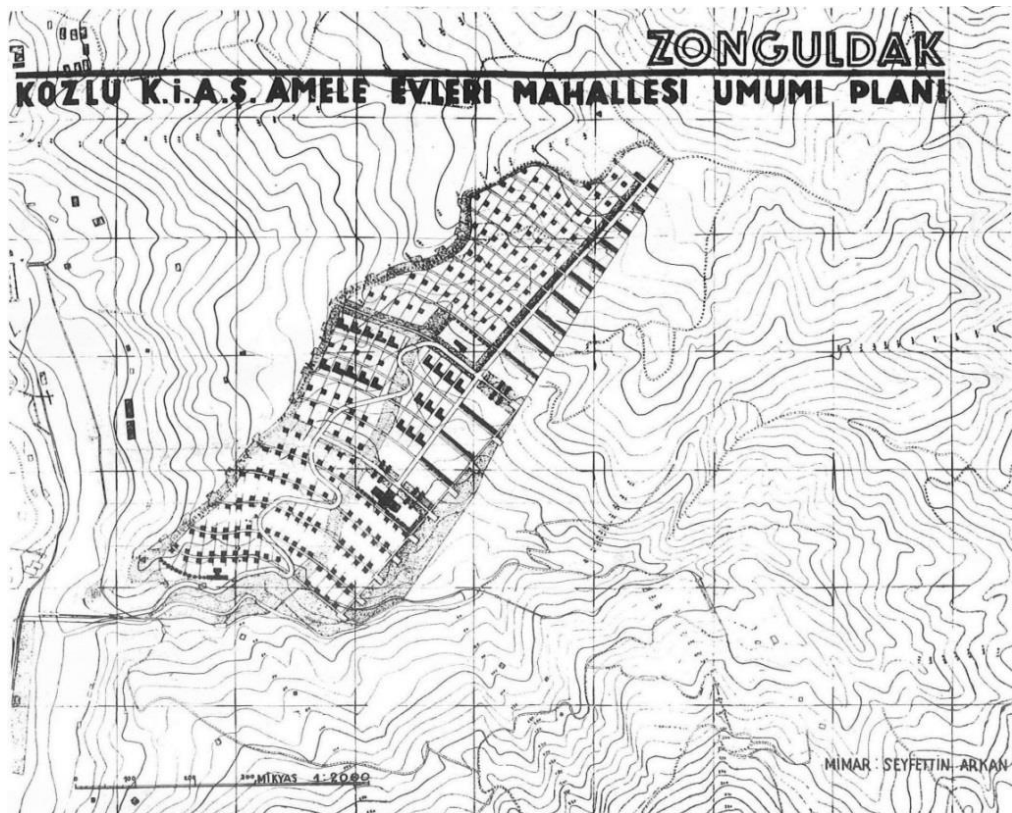


Figure 4.31 : Seyfi Arkan: Plan of Zonguldak Kozlu (Kömür-İş) Social Housing Complex. 1936.

4.4.1 Contextualization of modern space and Seyfi Arkan

Following the positively reception of early twentieth-century European *modern architecture* , in Turkish practice, Seyfi Arkan and his architecture stands as a unique stream that advanced to a subtle form. Although he often charged with “mimicing” Western architecture, his architecture can be classified as an attempt to fit the concept of modern space into the context of the Turkish cultural and architectural environment. In this sense, it can be suggested that Arkan was in search for a *modernism in architecture* that falls outside the dominant architectural style of the European avant-garde *modern architecture*.

Instead of “search for a style”, Bilgen Boyacıođlu Dündar notes in her article *Seyfi Arkan’ın Mimarlığında Türk Evi* that Arkan’s buildings pointed out to a re-interpretation concerning “spatial organization” that reflected both modern and local characteristics. (Boyacıođlu Dündar, 2012, s. 181). As also Abdi Güzer says in his writing titled *Modernizmle Yerellik Arasında Bir Uzlaşma Süreci Olarak Seyfi Arkan Mimarlığı*, Arkan’s architecture, “even in today's environment, remaining open to debate, represents a unique research base in order to overcome the tension between modernism and regionalism.” (Güzer, 2012, s. 167). Remembering the concept of “tangled hierarchy” of Hofstadter between modernity and tradition, undoubtedly this base of research involves a conciliatory and transformative architectural attitude, rather than setting dominance over a conceptual conflict.

Keeping in mind that, Arkan was an architect of the early twentieth century, it is crucial to mention the influence of Le Corbusier on Arkan’s architecture. General aesthetic tendency regarding the machinery, naval architecture and industrialization can easily be seen in the theoretical basis of Seyfi Arkan’s architecture. For instance, his renowned work *Florya Atatürk Marine Mansion* (1935) general design language of the building pictures a Corbusian transatlantic aesthetics with the contours and material preferences. White metal guardrails and circular side windows, tower-like mass organization and its contrast with the horizontal massing presents the allegory of a naval architecture (Bozdođan, 2002, s. 143).



Figure 4.32 : Seyfi Arkan: Florya Atatürk Marine Mansion.
1935.



Figure 4.33 : Seyfi Arkan: Florya Atatürk Marine Mansion.
1935.

On the other hand, it is hard to say that Arkan was a true follower of international style except his Florya Atatürk Marine Mansion and Zonguldak Kozlu (Kömür-İş) Social Housing projects. Although Arkan's architectural style was modern and European, he was not engaged with a foreign model. Consequently, it would be proper to mention Arkan's architecture as a synthesis of influences (Tanyeli, 1992a, p.91).

Among these influences, Le Corbusier was a major source in Arkan's architecture who showed commitment to the principles of "free plan" and "free façade" by Le Corbusier. Arkan's open space and façade designs follow Le Corbusier's related principle for plan layouts. Le Corbusier, who deals with elements of light, shade, mass and space as fundamentals of architecture, writes about the organization of these elements according to purposes and intentions:

The Plan proceeds from within to without; the exterior is the result of an interior. The elements of architecture are light and shade, walls and space. Arrangement is the gradation of aims, the classification of intentions (Le Corbusier, 1986, p. 178).

Regarding the free plan principle of Le Corbusier, in his 1992 article on Seyfi Arkan, Uğur Tanyeli writes that, probably Arkan is the only Turkish architect comprehending the complex structure of the *modernism in architecture* that would merge interior and exterior into one (Tanyeli, 1992a, p.91). In this perspective, Arkan should be considered as the first Turkish modernist architect who understood architecture as a problem solving issue rather than a stylistic activity. He succeeded to comprehend modernist n-dimensional spatial concept, not to be settled with a plain modernist vocabulary. Furthermore, in accord with *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art) principles manifestation, he acted within the range of modernist ethics of architecture, which was conceived to be obligated to design the space and things in its entirety, rather than to be limited with designing only the prestigious buildings (Tanyeli, 1992a, p.91).

Arkan's architecture had that kind of liability, to the level of designing both indoor and outdoor furniture meticulously. Indisputably, besides his avant-garde attitude, he intended to pursue an alternative to the national architecture movement which was emerged as crucial requirement in 1930s.

If one studies Arkan's residential buildings thoroughly, his spatial organizations stood out with the keyword "contextualization". Quoting his project report of *A House in Ankara*, phrase of "One of my research studies for Turkish Houses when I was in Berlin" indicated that Arkan was interested in "Turkish House" issue since his school years. Tracing back to Arkan's "Turkish House" studies, Boyacıoğlu Dündar (2012) in her stimulating article *Seyfi Arkan'ın Mimarlığında Türk Evi* discussed four residential projects (A House in Ankara, 1934, *Mimar*, sayı: 1; A Villa on the Seacoast, 1933, *Mimar*, sayı: 12; A Mansion on the Seacoast, 1933, *Mimar*, sayı:4;

Residence for Makbule Atadan, 1935, *Arkitekt*, sayı: 4.) that grouped around the central theme of organizational experiments with open space, traditionally called *taşlık*.

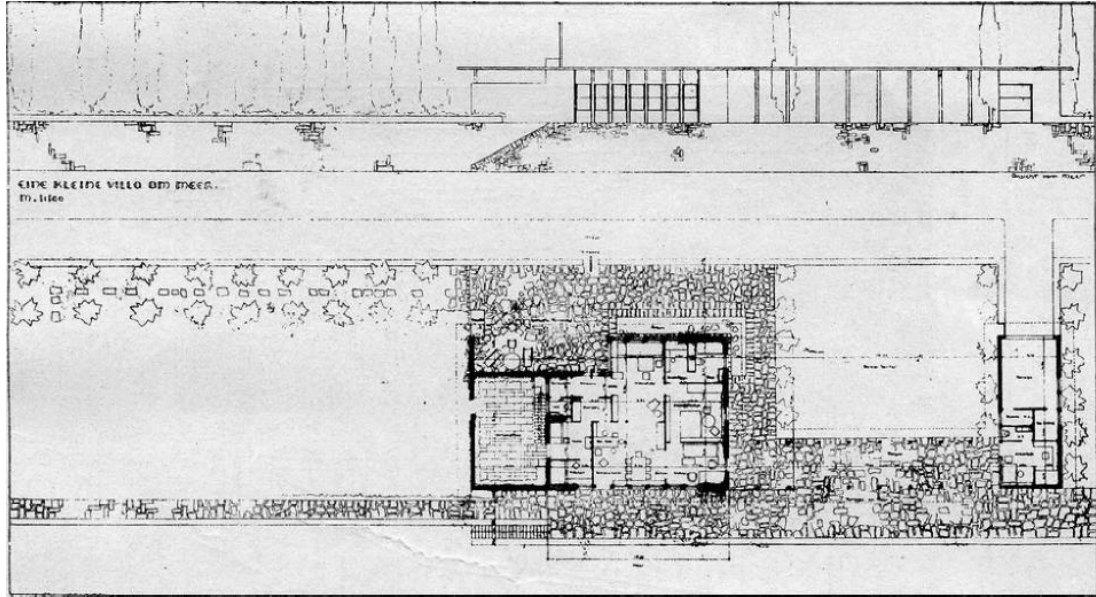


Figure 4.34 : Seyfi Arkan: A Villa on the Seacoast. 1933.

The original feature among these interpretations was Arkan's contextual space making practice as Boyacıoğlu Dündar (2012) puts into the words: "Arkan, differently from Sedad Hakkı Eldem, transfers some spatial traces from 'Turkish House' to his own rational organization and his new approach to architecture, rather than rationalize 'Turkish House'" (Boyacıoğlu Dündar, 2012, s.183). In Arkan's architecture, *taşlık* space, which was located between service spaces, both served to Eldem's traditional distinction pertaining "Turkish House" and also re-positioned it.

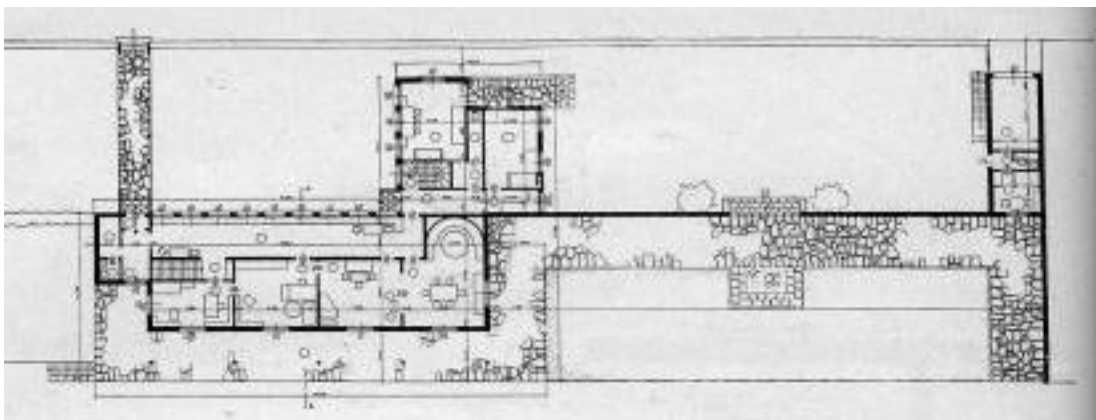


Figure 4.35 : Seyfi Arkan: A Mansion on the Seacoast. 1933.

According to traditional “Turkish House” characteristics, service spaces were on ground floor, living spaces were above floors, and *taşlık* space is surrounded by walls in order to serve well to service spaces. Arkan broke with this distinction by designing *taşlık* space on same level, or located on the center of living spaces. Occasionally, as seen on the project titled *A Mansion on the Seacoast*, *taşlık* was designed as a detached outdoor space while another outdoor space re-defined it with a wall between the road. Changes in the organization of outdoor spaces within all four projects had their reflections to the mass organization of the building (Boyacıoğlu Dündar, 2012, s. 184). The change in the mass organization also reminded of Le Corbusier’s plan organization principle which was defined by “interior space that shapes the exterior space.”

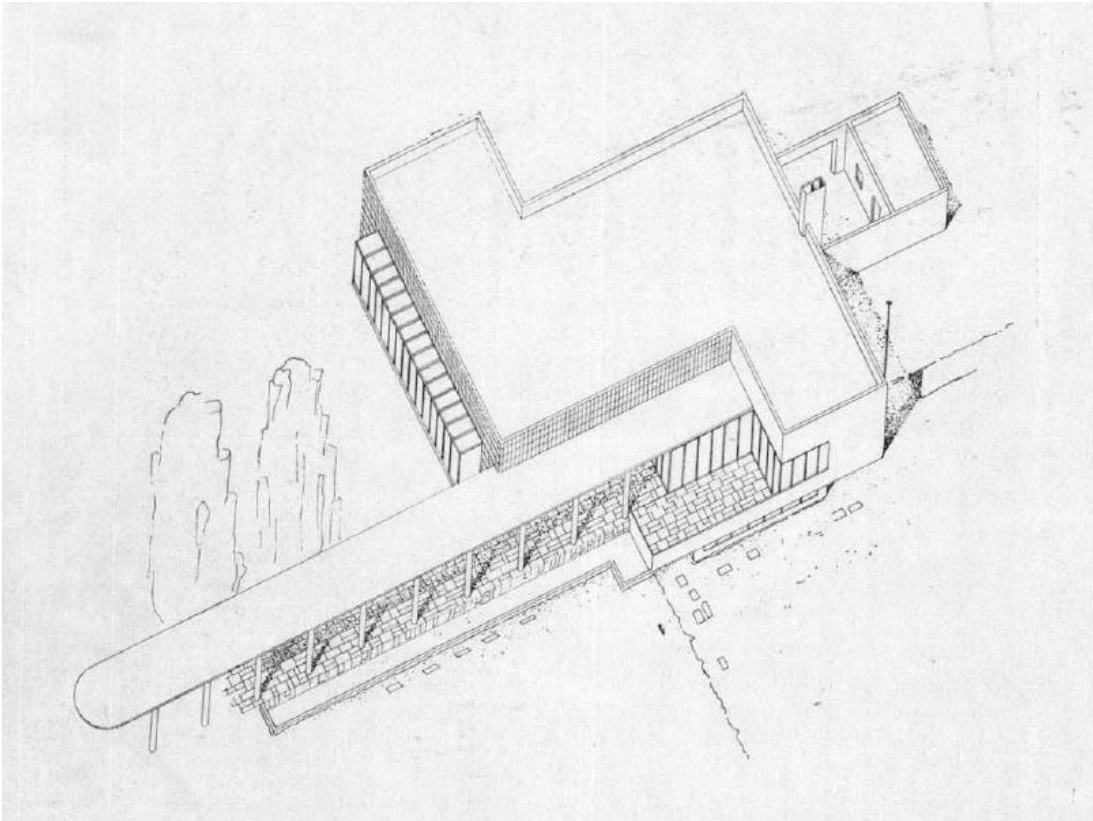


Figure 4.36 : Seyfi Arkan: Residence for Makbule Atadan.
Ankara. 1935-36.

Residence for Makbule Atadan (1935) features another interpretation of Arkan’s “Turkish House”, as well as multi-dimensional space organization created with transition spaces which one encounters frequently in Arkan’s architecture. Different from other projects, outdoor space between main mass and secondary mass organized as private service space. Transparency is dominant quality of spatial

organization, thanks to winter gardens. However that transparency is in stark contrast with the façade which does not allow for almost any openings, that connotes privacy concept. Intersection spaces created with winter gardens and semi-closed spaces pose a hierarchical impact (Tanyeli, 1992, s.90). Also, the hierarchy and free plan principle work together in order to compose fluidly integrated spaces.

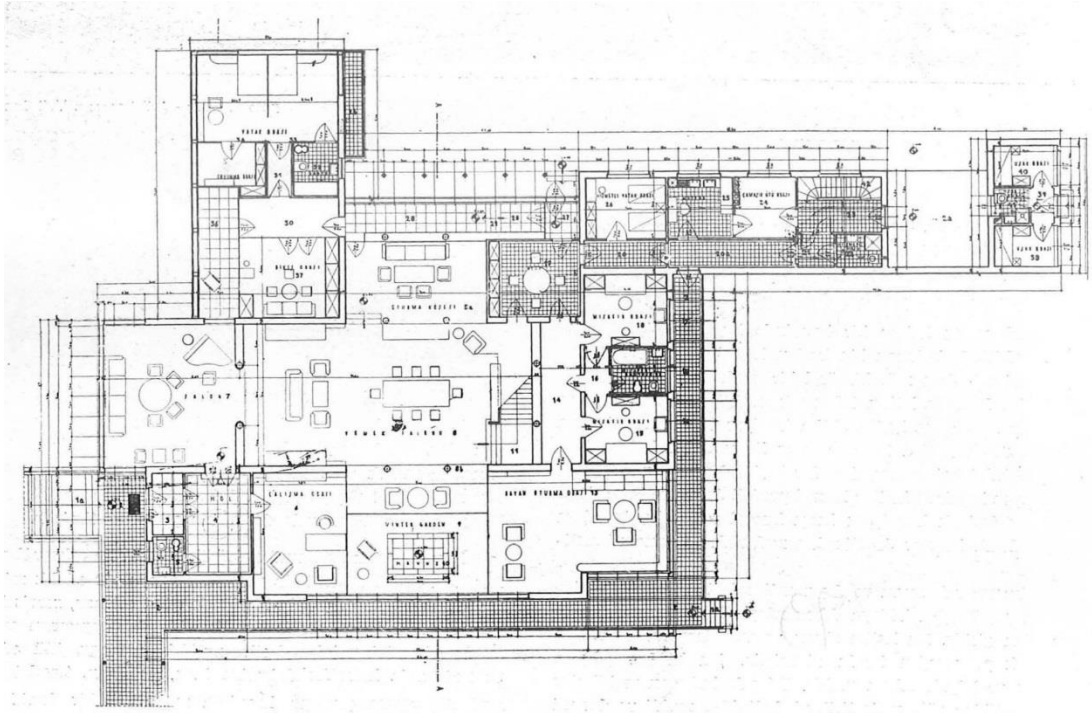


Figure 4.37 : Seyfi Arkan: Plan of Residence for Makbule Atadan. Ankara. 1935-36.

Esra Akcan noted that building resembled to Mies van der Rohe's, one of the prominent modern architects, Tugendhat House in terms of its long and narrow plan schema and involving winter garden space to the design (Akcan, 2005, s.38). Akcan's contextual analysis drew attention to the winter gardens' function as an ironic showcase for displaying appropriate lifestyle of republic's ideals. Regarding women's public visibility, besides their buffer zone function Akcan stated that:

The houses were to be un-private as if this would live up to the utopia of a transparent society. And yet, they were transparent only in their idealized , mediated images. (Akcan, 2005, s.39).

Glass, whose use on the exterior signified the unveiled Islamic women, served to veil the women again with its elaboration in the interior While the transparent exterior stood as a legible symbol of the Ottoman women's 'liberation from her dim house where plae ghosts resided,' the treatment of translucent interior surfaces discretely maintained the same traditional hierarchies between genders (Akcan, 2005, s.41).

Arkan preferred to create an ambiguity within spatial organization which reconstructs the invisibility of the women in society by allegedly transparent spaces in a subtly refined hierarchical environment. As Akcan implied, these transparent spaces were not as transparent as to break the internal hierarchies in the society, even for Arkan as a modernist architect.

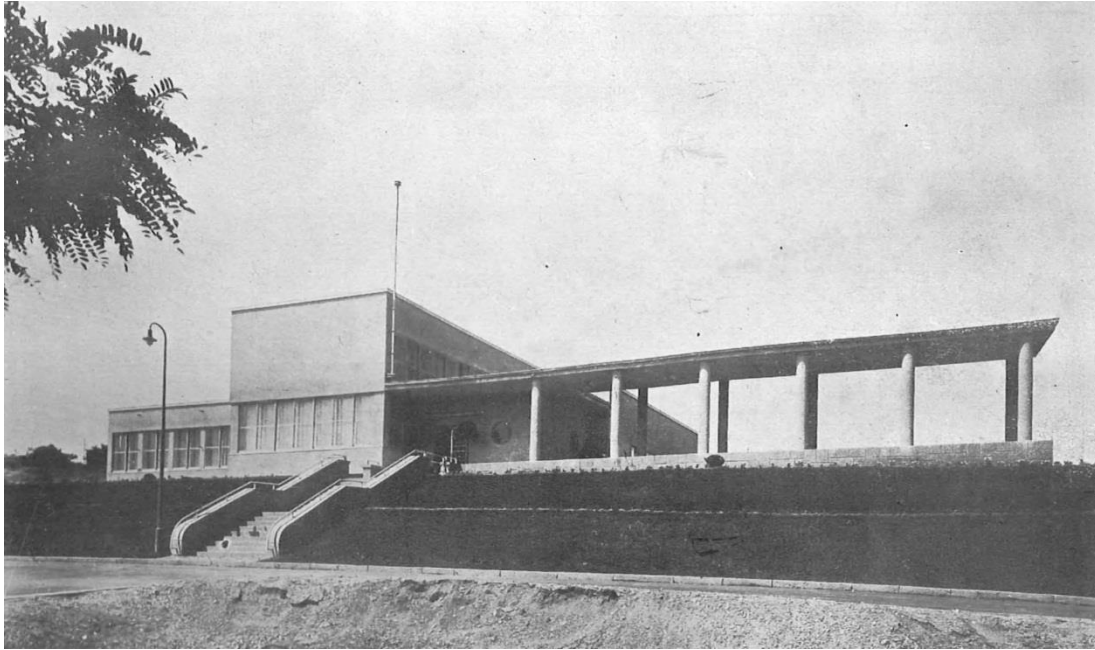


Figure 4.38 : Seyfi Arkan: Residence for Makbule Atadan.
Ankara. 1935-36

In this sense, it could be asserted that Arkan took up a position in order to blend modernity of Early Republican period with the traditional spatial and spiritual concerns, rather than formal concerns. Furthermore, he was in the role of a synthesis seeker for an obvious problematic of conceptual confrontation with nationalist tendencies in modern architecture, instead of the role of a mechanical practitioner. His synthesis pursuit became evident with his efforts to re-interpret “Turkish House” characteristics and with his local material preferences, as well as with his concern to maintain women’s traditional hierarchical position, but in a more refined and elegant way.

His attitude towards the use of local materials, stood out as Boyacıoğlu Dündar (2012) refers to Arkan’s own emphasis to the his decisions in order to use Ankara’s local cut-stone in Sümerbank competition project, brick in Tahran Embassy building, stucco and brass for interiors, which were also his instruments for different spatial experiments.

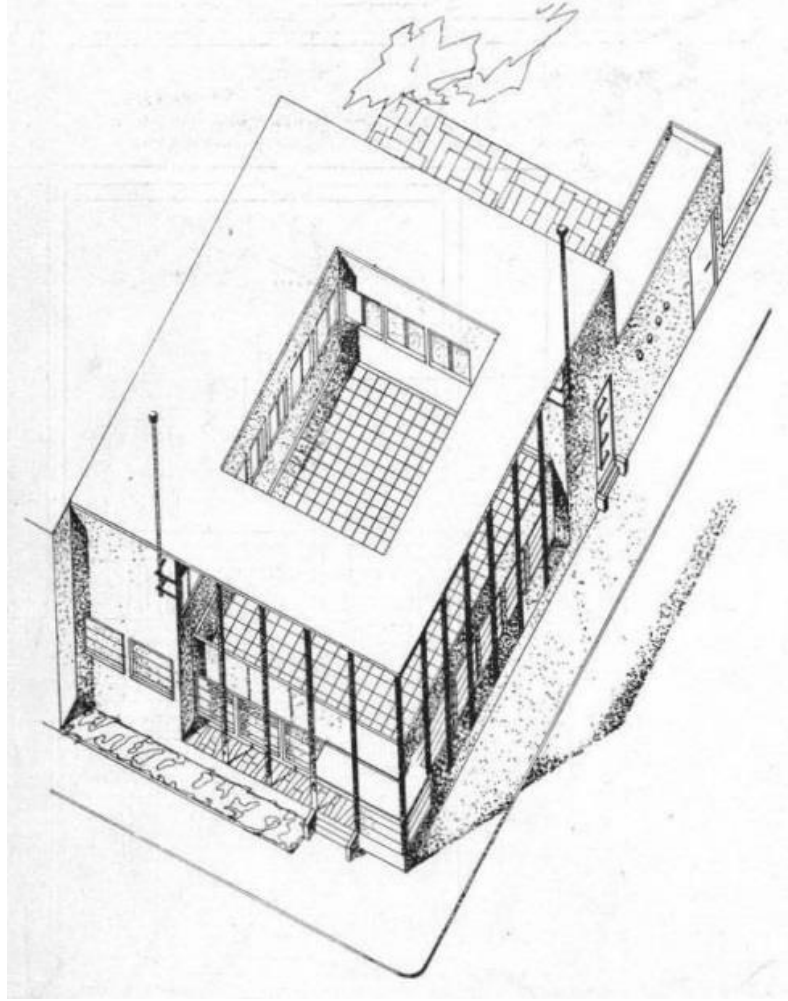


Figure 4.39 : Seyfi Arkan: Akhisar Tütüncüler Bankası. 1935.

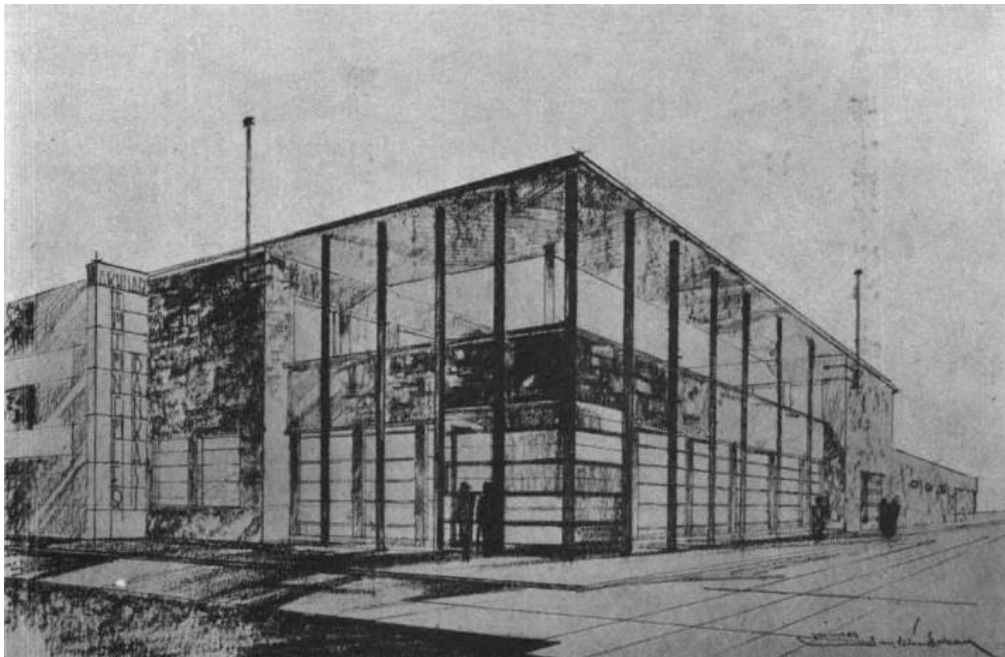


Figure 4.40 : Seyfi Arkan: Akhisar Tütüncüler Bankası. 1935.

Arkan's authentic organization of indoor-outdoor relationship also became prominent in his Akhisar Tütüncüler Bank (1935) building. Two storey height columns on consecutive façades of the building constituted a definitive semi-closed space with their load bearing support to the roof. It was an important work in terms of its partly juxtaposed semi-closed spaces with interior spaces (Tanyeli, 1992a, p.90) This building had formal connotations with Terragni's Casa del Fascio (in Como) design in terms of their shared purist formal vocabulary, consisting of transparent façade with elegant columns that support a roof (Figure X.X). That was an attitude often shared on early modern architecture examples, especially on Italian rationalist architectural works.

Following sketch by Peter Eisenman indicates Casa del Fascio's simple frame based design with an axonometric analysis. It had an elevation made up of seven frame units horizontally, four vertically which succeeded to convey transparency concept out of a cubical mass. Casa del Fascio in Como was referring to the simple geometry with its square plan with no reminiscent of 'classical' look such as detailing, sculptures or proportional mass organization of the various parts. Arkan's Akhisar Tütüncüler Bank shared these formal qualities with Casa del Fascio in terms of the use of basic geometry with no classical items used. Undoubtedly, there was an interesting resemblance of these two façades, reminding transparency and elegance with vertical contours created.

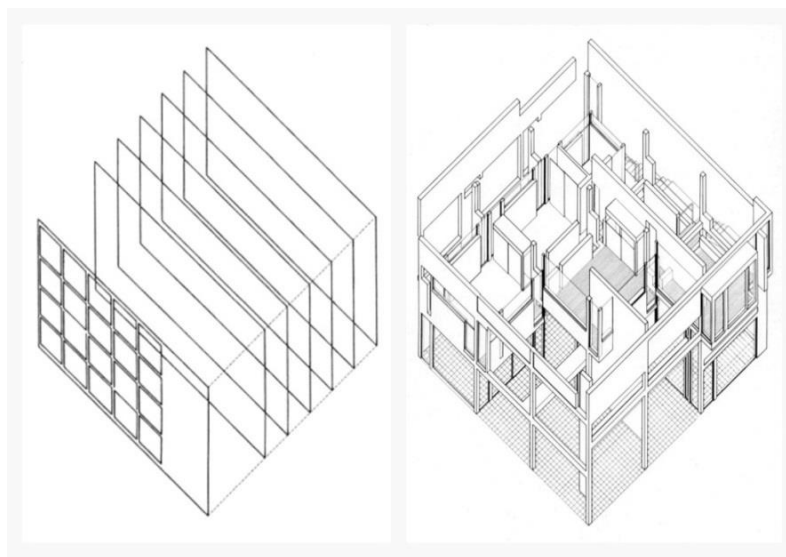


Figure 4.41 : Peter Eisenman: Axonometric analysis diagram of Terragni's Casa del Fascio: layering of frontal planes.

4.4.2 Variations of contextualization and Sedad Hakkı Eldem

Sedad Hakkı Eldem is among the prominent figures in Turkish architectural panorama. His architectural career might be defined with these keywords: national, traditional, vernacular and coherence. As Tanyeli described, his initial purpose was to modernize the national tradition in a self-assured fictive universality, instead of bringing together the traditional in its compulsory context with modernity (Tanyeli, 2001, p.17, 23). Here, it can be said that tradition is the starting point and also a career foundation of Eldem's architecture. For his early sketches indicated a profound Mediterranean vernacular prone dreams of Eldem, it can be inferred that these sketches were first signals of his famous justification of the idea that "Turkish traditional architecture was already modern" in its roots. (Eldem, S.H., 1983, 19).



Figure 4.42 : Sketch by Sedad Hakkı Eldem. (Eldem, Tanju &Tanyeli, 2009)

Above seen sketch is one of these sketches of Eldem. Vivid colours, light and shade plays on clean, white presumably adobe walls/surfaces creating shade within the patterned roof of portico as well as columns and a water element reflecting the azure blue sky in a profound longing feeling comprised the sketch in a manner of

daydreaming lightness. Yet another sketch displayed a woman sculpture, looking to infinite sea horizon that lays before our eyes, from a -presumably- porch and of course within a light bath, but this time from inside the portico. Both had woman sculptures, stemming simply with Mediterranean water, light and colors. This might be read with reference to Eldem's "desired woman" in his "dream home" environment from his own masculine discourse as Bozdoğan does:

If one looks these sketches from the perspectives of feminist critical theories (as recently Le Corbusier and Mies have been studied within these), it would be possible to read Eldem's modernism in its constructed masculinity contrast to the traditional bourgeois house and domesticity, as indicators of control, order and authority passions of him. Woman takes part in a passive way, as an embellishment to the decorum of the space which is shaped by a modernist architect, as a "male" figure (Bozdoğan, 2009, p.14-15).

In this context, Arkan's interpreted conventional preference concerning woman's public visibility by creating an elegant ambiguity and distinct divisions between public and private spaces, in the case of Residence of Makbule Atadan (Figure X.X), seem to resolve upon a clear social distinction in Eldem, reducing the role of women to "a beauty to be preserved" in these sketches.



Figure 4.43 : Sketch by Sedad Hakkı Eldem (Eldem, Tanju & Tanyeli, 2009)

We should focus on Eldem's influences regarding these sketches' displayed modernism in terms of their connotations by Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe, two prominent architects of modern movement. Bozdoğan (2009, p.14) draws attention to the resemblance of Mies' Barcelona Pavillion which constructed in the same years (1929) with Eldem's sketches relating to their "woman statues before the water" images shared in common. Also, with reference to Bozdoğan (2009, p.14), it is important enough to find the correlation between the words of Le Corbusier (1986, p.218) defining architecture as "the skilful, accurate and magnificent play of masses seen in light; and contours are also and exclusively the skilful, accurate and magnificent play of volumes seen in light." and the sunlit surfaces on the sketches of Eldem.

Another appeal to Mediterranean vernacular architecture rose from the Fascist Italy (as well as from Spain), named as *Mediterraneita* movement, seeking for a coherent fusion of south's traditional forms with north's modern construction techniques in order to nationalize the modernist movement after Exposition of Rationalist Architecture (1928), held in Rome (Bozdoğan, 2009, p.19). However, it gave way to a nationalist discourse by the time being, and turned into *Italianita* movement. Discussion and research studies began earlier with a widespread impact in Italy than Turkey. In Turkey example, it was only a weak voice of these two sketches of Eldem in terms of searching Mediterranean roots. This time shift represented gap between the dominance of Ottoman revivalism and the modern movement in Turkey, for nationalism winds were delayed to reach Turkey.

Due to its supranational geography, Mediterranean vernacular architecture attracted architects to find an influence in order to nationalize modernist movement with convincing traditional roots, buried deep into the ground. That situated modernism was not a completely romantic longing with reference to nationalism movement in rise in 1930s, it turned out to be the only concrete ground to hold onto when faced with a fast changing lucid grounds of machine age. Thus, the common resultant of that pursuit of fixed "ground" was the same for all: "Traditional is already modern, so modernism is not imported to us, it already belongs us." (Bozdoğan, 2009, p.19).

Thus, pursuit of national architecture justified itself with an emphasis on the Anatolian vernacular architecture as the source of national architecture.

As we mentioned beforehand, Eldem's perception of nationalism depended on vernacular. He also shifted this perspective depending on the idea that the basic principles of the *modern architecture* were existent in traditional architecture. Therefore, by its definition traditional "Turkish house" was also *modern* in turn:

The traditional Turkish house is remarkably similar to today's conception of the modern house. Ample windows and light, free plan, the emphasis on comfort over ostentatious display, conformity to the nature of materials, generous supply of terraces, garden and courtyard intimately linking the house with nature. Aren't these the same characteristics that we look for in modern houses? We find them all in the traditional Turkish house. [...] The leading figure of modern architecture, Le Corbusier, is profoundly inspired by the Turkish house. He lifts his houses upon stilts, reserving the ground for services, garage, etc., just like our storages, *arabalık* and *taşlıks*. [...] He uses wide terraces above the ground, just like our hayats, directly connected to the garden or the courtyard. His windows are oriented toward the line of the view and the horizon, just like our rows of windows (Eldem, S.H., 1983, 19).

Eldem, influenced by Le Corbusier, had grounded "Turkish House" concept to the five principles of modern movement in order to assure its modernity by one-to-one match-up, corresponding all spatial elements of "Turkish House." Moreover, Eldem "devoted his life and career career to studying, documenting, and adapting to modern design the old wooden houses with pitched tile roofs-archetypal "Turkish house" spanning the vast territories of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans to Istanbul and northern Anatolia." (Bozdoğan, 2001, p.260). He initiated the "Seminar on National Architecture" as a compulsory course in Academy between the years of 1936-1948. The seminar course had surveying and documenting parts which weren't objective and scientific in terms of their representative qualities pertaining to the real building itself, for Eldem personally "corrected" the drawings. It could be asserted that Eldem was rationalizing the traditional heritage according to positivist, cartesian system in order to "document" then, non-existing buildings (Boyacıoğlu Dündar, 2012, p.182).

Eldem did not follow the writing path, originating from Anatolian tents (otağ) of nomad culture or any Anatolian centered story for "Turkish House." He preferred to construct his story in a regionalist approach (Tanyeli, 2009, p.128). Although he intended a five volume book series called "Türk Evi" involving all regional examples, he could include a tiny bit of building stock that is limited to Turkey's boundaries and examples mostly from Marmara, West Black Sea and Mid Anatolia regions with a three volume. Therefore, speaking in terms of Tanyeli, Eldem defined

an architectural result, reached in late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as fundamental qualities of “Turkish House” (Tanyeli, 2001, p. 21).

Later on this text, two well-known projects of Sedad Hakkı Eldem, both trying to reach a merged nationalism with the traditional would be examined in order to make the distinction relating to their different goals. Yalova Thermal Hotel was the first building with Ottoman residential architecture connotations in Eldem’s own history that makes the building a starting of point for “Turkish House” journey as well as his nationalistic architectural solutions. He also designed all furniture and textile following the principles of *Gesamtkunstwerk*. As its mass design and façade reflected the characteristics of *Konak* (mansion) architecture in Ottoman traditions, also its windows were interpreted as large hung sash (giyotin pencere) with a traditional wooden sunscreen on its fixed upper parts, reminding Ottoman vernacular traditions.

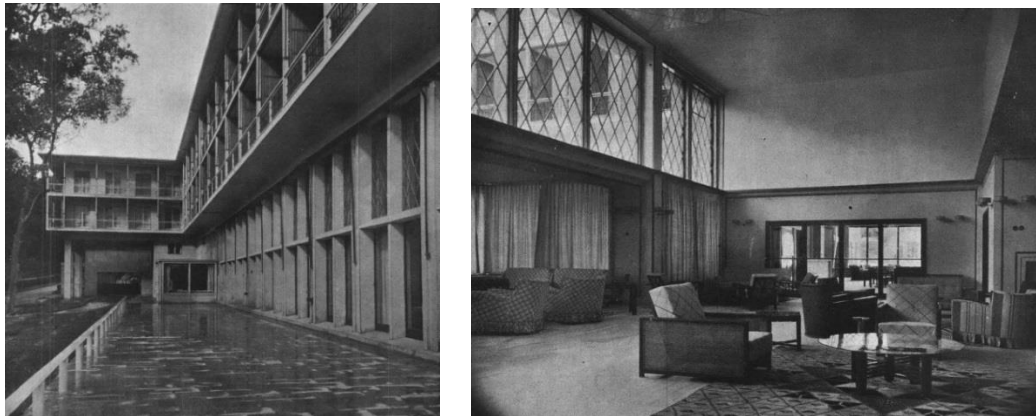


Figure 4.44 : Sedad Hakkı Eldem: Yalova Thermal Hotel. Left: exterior, Right: interior. 1934-37.

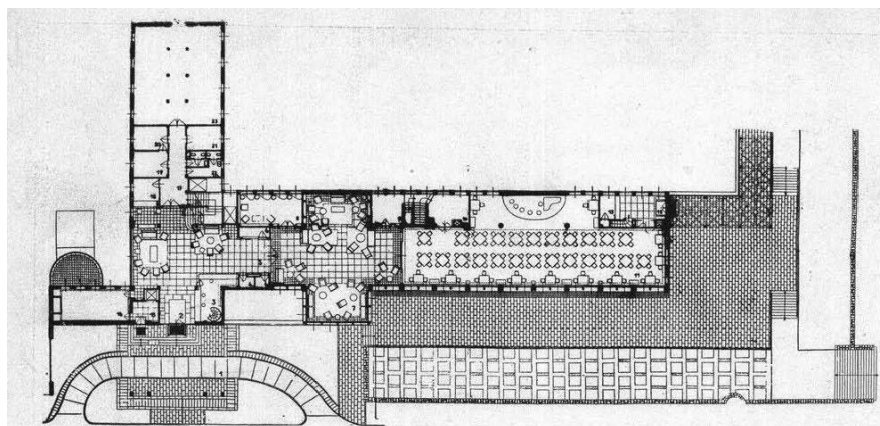


Figure 4.45 : Sedad Hakkı Eldem: Plan of Yalova Thermal Hotel. 1934-37.



Figure 4.46 : Sedad Hakkı Eldem: Istanbul University, Faculty of Science and Letters Building. 1942-47.

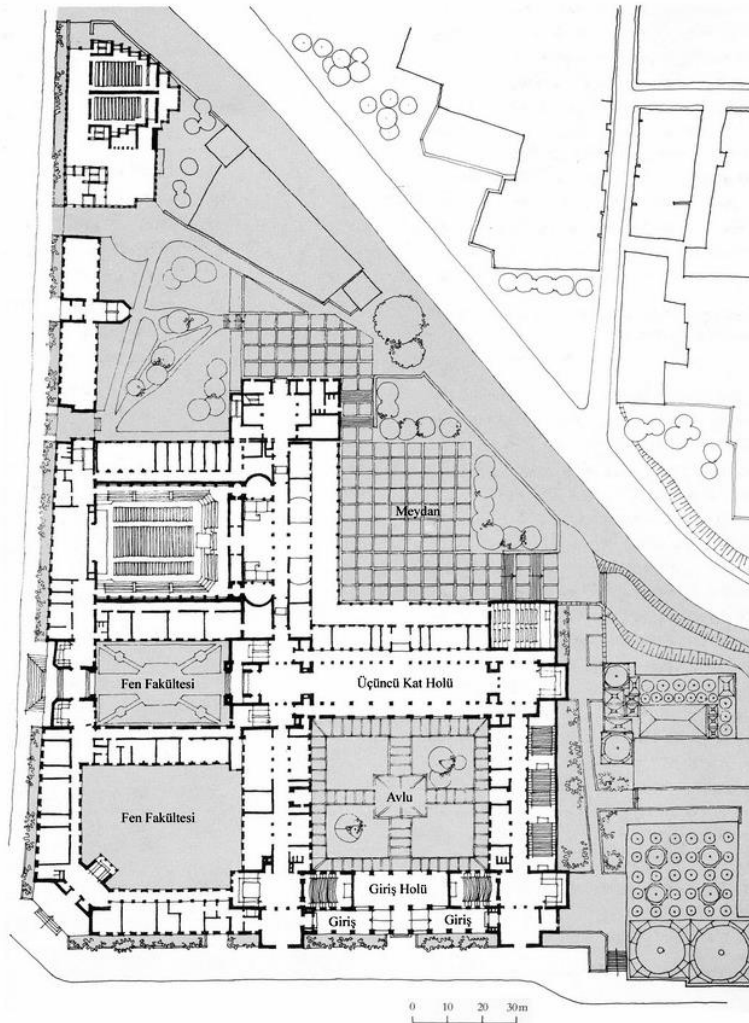


Figure 4.47 : Sedad Hakkı Eldem: Plan of Istanbul University, Faculty of Science and Letters Building. 1942-47.

Second project to be examined is Istanbul University, Faculty of Science and Letters (1942-47) building that had a stark nationalistic rational design, in resemblance with Nazi German architecture with massive volumes structured with cut-stones with a classicist monumental manner. The “Turkishness” was hidden merely in details (Tanyeli, 2001, p. 29).

IU Faculty of Science and Letters was a complex building consisting of four rectangular masses, linking one to another by surrounding the big courtyard. Its monumental scale resulted from the two-three storey height halls, openings, porticos and arches, imposing the feeling of “greatness” to its visitors like in Nazi architecture. Reminding the slogan that Nazis used, reflecting how they saw and used architecture to spread their word among society, “The Word In Stone,” IU Faculty of Science and Letters conveys a powerful nationalist word by the use of cut-stone, all over the building. Granite and marble were gifted materials of fascism in order to symbolize the new order ,conveying it through architectural order by instruments and concepts such as hierarchy, axial symmetry, monumental durable materials. Built in accord to these principles, Eldem’s faculty building had a distinct hierarchy with its mass organization, and also built from durable material that is cut stone, a very convenient material to create awe.

The problem was that building conveyed the message of greatness, but not “Turkishness” in terms of its lack of contextual interpretation in order to merge and transform a certain nationalism, namely “Turkishness”.

In fact, Eldem admitted to having “discovered” the Turkish house in Europe during the two years he spent in Paris and Berlin after his graduation from the academy in Istanbul. Bozdoğan stated that “discovery” of Eldem with Eldem’s own words, “Le Corbusier’s ideas about the lightness of the house lifted above ground level matched the form and organization of Turkish houses.” In respect to Eldem’s wish to “translate the constructional logic of the traditional timber frame into reinforced concrete”, “August Perret’s use of reinforced concrete was inspirational for Eldem” (Bozdoğan, 2009, p. 261).

4.5 Through the Scope of Contextualization

Undoubtedly, *modern architecture*, which emerged in early twentieth century in Europe, was an “imported” package of knowledge and vision to architectures of Italy and Turkey in the interwar period. However, the ideals of *modern architecture* were not compatible with the conception of “national identity” which was a prominent component of the nation-state formation of the two countries. Italy and Turkey, newly founded regimes, were accepting the mission of progression as an ideal, and the need for balancing the international ideals and traditional concerns was crucial for them.

At a glance, regarding the conflict of modernity and tradition, one can assume that *modern architecture* was in a process of “erosion” under different forces and constraints of tradition. However, different economic, social, cultural, and historical contexts in two countries acted as catalyzers in the trajectory of *modern architecture*, regarding Hofstadter’s conception of *tangled hierarchy*, which eventually concludes with an upward development.

Through the scope of *contextualization*, in Italy and Turkey, the transformation of *modern architecture* found powerful contexts due to the fact that both countries were sharing a common demand for connecting their architectural practice to traditional roots. However, Italian contextualization was in an extremely pluralistic and collectivist political atmosphere, while in Turkey starting of the argument of tradition was chronologically shifted through the mid-1930s, and polarized between intellectually excelled individuals. Compared to the complex environment of Fascism in Italy, we can claim that, even though certain Turkish architects elaborated the problem with unique methodologies, the discontinuity in Turkish architectural history, regarding the notion of tradition as an “acting force”, effected the journey of *modern architecture*.

5. CONCLUSION

In the timeline of architectural history, interwar period stands with its unique scope, which welcomed the birth of *modern architecture* of early twentieth century. Because of the fact that it included this historically significant jump, it is a very specific interval, which includes both the previous and the after circumstances of the revolutionary stroke. Among numerous ways to interpret this period, this study concentrated on the evolutionary character of *modernism in architecture*, focusing on its journey that plotted a fertile trajectory between the previous and the after eras.

In parallelism, structure of the thesis is divided into two main chapters concerning two sub-periods. Even though chronologically separated sub-periods of interwar period nearly coincide with the decades of 1920s and 1930s, different conceptual frames were used in order to analyze the architectural practices. Beyond that, these conceptual frameworks strictly depended on how two cultural terms, modernity and tradition, interacted with each other.

The study chose to examine architectures of Italy and Turkey, the two countries that shared similarities according to their strong tendency to put the aspects of tradition into the equation. Established nearly at the same time, Fascist Italy and Kemalist Turkey both had the similar vision for architecture so as to empower the state and progression mission. On the other hand, architectural tradition in two countries played a prominent role in order to balance the needs of the international and national visions.

One of the chapters focused on the architecture of 1920s in Italy and Turkey. During this sub-period, in both countries, there were an existent tendency to *modernization* and in the architectural field, they performed a significant progression with the revival of the classics. In this perspective, our definition for *modernism in architecture* confirmed itself with its continuous character and possibility to be applied in any periods of the architectural history. In the period of 1920s, first, two country's architectural worlds, which were already separated with their classical backgrounds, *crystallized* their past love, into surface treatment architectures, which

included most of the formal vocabulary of the classical canons on building surfaces. These approaches shared the common idea of “calling back” the bygone or forgotten principals of the “golden ages”. In terms of architectural tectonics, they were not serving a correspondence between structural needs and constructional processes of the architectural practice, however, their attempt to recall those formal accumulation, played a critical role for their transformation into a more geometrized and tectonic forms of architecture. In the movements of this period, Novecento architecture found its way to carry itself in further horizons where its inclination to metaphysical world had a concrete form, such as *Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana* in E42, however Ottoman revivalism had its own destiny and became rapidly abandoned with the arrival of early twentieth century *modern architecture* to Turkey.

Even though Ottoman revivalism also could be categorized as a form of *modernism in architecture*, regarding the diversity of Italian Fascism, it found a playground for itself only up to the end of 1920s, in the relatively monotone politics of aesthetics of Turkish revolution. Its quick denial in the academic reform, eventually cut its connection with the modernization process of Turkey. Additionally, it can be considered that, rather than a classical orientation in architectural practice, the notion of tradition stayed as a controversial phenomenon in so-called “nationalism”. Architects were not trying to transfer the international forces into national ones, however they put effort on revitalizing the forgotten aesthetic canons of the past. One remarkable parallelism on this subject was Giovanni Muzio’s openly emphasis on their uncompanionable attitude to nationalism.

Another crucial chapter of this study concentrated on the aftermath of revolutionary dawn of *modern architecture*. Even though new architecture was positively welcomed by Italian and Turkish architectural worlds, with the nationalistic tendencies of the political regimes, a strong problem of the search for a modern but traditional architecture aroused. Compared to Italian debate, in the early 1930s, Turkish revolution had a less inclined tendency to traditional features, while promoting the progression mission of the architecture. The main arguments surrounding the national architecture, remained low-voiced by Egli’s and Sedat Hakkı Eldem’s seminars in Academy, and by critical essays of the individuals in *Arkitekt* magazine, before the death of Ataturk. Most of the criticisms were depending on the professional reasons related to the job opportunities. Even though

debates on tradition and nationalism in architecture started by 1934 seminars in Academy, this condition resulted with a chronological shift of the problem slightly to the end of 1930s.

Accordingly, in Turkey, contextualization of *modern architecture* remained under the action of few specialized architects. Two most important figures of these were Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Seyfi Arkan. Actually placed on different poles, these two main actors provided the unique architectural history of Turkish contextualization of *modern architecture*. Although *modern architecture* was supported by the regime and was applied by few idealists like Seyfi Arkan, polemical plurality of architectural media also remained poor compared to scholar alignments and corporations of architectural media of Italy, including groups of magazines such as *Domus*, *Casabella*, etc... On the other hand, cooperative working practice in Italian Fascism regarding its diversity principle, successfully mediated between the architectural movements and most of the debate concerning modernity and tradition and architectural culture remained in a vivid atmosphere of practice.

After the Turkish Academy revolution which separated the ways of regime and Ottoman revivalists, the specialists invited to Turkey, including Clemens Holzmeister, Ernst Egli and Bruno Taut, who had in their minds anti-dogmatic and regionalist tendencies for the *modern architecture* and were not counted among the pioneers of *modern architecture* in CIAM and Bauhaus environments. However, Mies van der Rohe invited Larco and Rava, two of the Italian Rationalists to Werkbund exhibition of 1927 and this resulted with the establishment of Italian branch of CIAM. The birth of highly intellectual Italian Rationalism, which aroused in the following years of the *Vers une Architecture*, famous treatise of Le Corbusier; provided a unique solution for Italy by means of the confrontation of modernity and tradition. By Italian Rationalism, *modern architecture* of 1920's which powerfully promoted industrialization and machine aesthetics, found a fertile environment in Italy depending on the fact that Italy was an industrialized country, opposing to technologically depressed aftermath of the First World War in 1930's of Turkey. One can easily say that, any asymmetry between Italy and Turkey, in the application field of *modern architecture*, strongly depends on the differences regarding the development of industrialization.

An important phenomenon derived from the pluralistic notion of Fascism was the diversity and variety of architectural tools used in the contextualization of modern architecture. For instance, the concept of *mediterraneita*, the distinguished architectural metaphor of modern space by white walls and the geometrizations of rectangular or square forms, extensively used and developed by Italian Rationalists in order to encounter the *mare nostrum* policy of Fascism. While on the other hand it found its place in historiography of Turkish architecture very long after the early naïve works of Sedad Hakkı Eldem by Sibel Bozdoğan's 2009 article in Eldem retrospective. Another common share, which Turkish and Italian architects dealt with, was elitism and social order and in Italy it was fed by Fascism and found its structural reflection in urban projects of New Towns (*piani regolatori*). Same tendency was existent in Turkey, and several projects including Sabaudia master plan were published in leading Turkish magazine *Arkitekt*, however compared to structural anatomy of Fascist New Towns regarding the organization of social order, Turkish practice to such urbanism remained as an attempt for the republican ideal.

This study searched for the answers for the mechanism of interacting forces on the journey of *modern architecture* in two countries. Regarding the pluralistic notion of tradition acts as an empowering phenomenon for the continuous trajectory of *modernism in architecture*, political, historical, regional contexts were examined. As a result of different readings through different directions, most of the factors seen as parameters depending on the historical, political, and economical asymmetries between Italy and Turkey, are thought to be acting forces in the progressive journey of *modernism in architecture*.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Timeline for Modernism in Italian and Turkish Architectures During Interwar Period.

APPENDIX A

DECORATIVE NOVECENTO ARCHITECTURE					
		Ca' Brutta by G. Muzio	Le Corbusier's Vers une architecture	INTERNATIONAL STYLE	
		ITALIAN FASCISM			
		Mussolini's "March on Rome"			
Italy	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Turkey			Establishment of Republic of Turkey		
	STYLISTIC SURFACE TREATMENT OF OTTOMAN REVIVALISM		Ankara Türk Ocagi by A. H. Holtay	Hotel Ankara Palas by Kemaleddin and V. Tek	
		Vakıf Hans by Kemaleddin Bey	Turkish National Assembly by V. Tek	Osmanlı Bankası by G. Mongeri	
			Gazi & Latife Schools by V. Tek		

<u>BIRTH OF ITALIAN RATIONALISM</u>						
Italy	Gruppo 7 declares manifesto of Italian Rationalism in Rassegna Italiana	Gruppo 7 and G. Terragni published industrial projects in 3rd Monza Biennale	First Italian Exposition of Rational Architecture	Formation of MIAR	Novocomum by G. Terragni	CHARACTERISTIC STYLIZATION OF ITALIAN RATIONALISM
	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	
Turkey	<u>GERMAN CLASSICISM</u>					
			H. Jansen wins for Ankara plan	Turkish General Staff by C. Holzmeister	Cumhurbaskanlığı Kosku by C. Holzmeister Ismet Pasa Kız Enst. by E. Egli	
<u>ACADEMY REVOLUTION</u>						
GEOMETRIZATION OF OTTOMAN REVIVALISM	Death of Mimar Kemaleddin Bey	Resignation of G. Mongeri	Resignation of V. Tek	TCDD Headquarters by Kemaleddin Bey		

<u>GEOMETRIZATION OF NOVECENTO ARCHITECTURE</u>				
Via Longhi Apartments Garage Barnabone				
<u>FASCIST DISCOVERY OF ITALIAN RATIONALISM</u>				
<u>ITALIAN RATIONALISM</u>	Tenth Anniversary of Fascist Revolution	Master Plan for Sabaudia		
Italy	1931	1932	1933	1935
		University of Rome by M. Piacentini et al		
Turkey	Merkez Bankası by C. Holzmeister	C. Holzmeister wins TBMM competition	<u>SEARCH FOR THE NATIONALIST ARCHITECTURE</u>	
		National Architecture Seminars at Academy by S. H. Eldem and E. Egli		
<u>RECEPTION OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE</u>				
"Yeni Mimari" by C. E. Arseven		A. Ziya writes for Fascist Architecture in Mimar		Exhibition of Fascist Architecture in Ankara
Z. Sayar writes for Le Corbusier in Mimar				Florya Atatürk Marine Mansion in Istanbul Residence for Makbule Atadan in Ankara
		<u>SEYFI ARKAN</u>		Akhisar Tütüncüler Bank

ARCHITECTURE OF FASCISM

Italy	Casa del Fascio by G. Terragni 1936	Italian Pavillion at Expositione Universalle Paris by M. Piacentini 1937	Construction of Palace of Italian Civilization starts 1938	Final design of EUR WWII starts 1939	Plan of Portoscuso by G. Pagano Casa Malaparte by A. Libera 1940
Turkey	Izmir Hal Santrali by Z. Sayar TC Embassy of Tehran by S. Balmumcu	Turkish National Assembly by C. Holzmeister	Death of M.K. Ataturk	Taslik Kahvesi by S. H. Eldem Capa Yalısı by K. Soylemezoglu	ANATOLIAN VERNACULARISM S. H. Eldem and E. Onat
MONUMENTAL GERMAN CLASSICISM			Anıtkabir Competition		
ACADEMIC MONUMENTALISM AND NAZI IMPRESSION					

ARCHITECTURE OF FASCISM

SECOND WORLD WAR

Italy

1941

1942

Fall of
B. Mussolini

1943

1944

Death of
B. Mussolini

1945

Turkey

E. Onat wins
Anitkabir Competition

ACADEMIC MONUMENTALISM AND NAZI IMPRESSION

Exhibition of New
German Architecture
by P. Bonatz

ANATOLIAN VERNACULARISM S. H. Eldem and E. Onat

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name Surname: Ozan SOYA

Place and Date of Birth: İzmir 1980

E-Mail: ozansoya@gmail.com

Education

2000-2006: Bachelor of Architecture, Izmir Institute of Technology

1994-1998: High School Diploma, Izmir Maltepe Military High School

Professional Experience

2010-2011: Architect, 2PO Design Istanbul

2009-2010: Architect, DBArchitects Istanbul

2007-2009: Architect, Selim Veliođlu SE Mimarlık, Istanbul

2004: Intern, Tabanlıođlu Architects Istanbul

Rewards

2010: 3rd Prize, Izmir Opera House Architectural Competition

2009: Honorable Mention, Sarıkamış War Memorial Architectural Competition

2008: Honorable Mention, Turkish State Council Architectural Competition

2007: Honorable Mention, Eskişehir Chamber of Commerce Architectural Comp.