DISPLAYING CULTURAL HERITAGE, DEFINING COLLECTIVE IDENTITY: MUSEUMS FROM THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE TO THE EARLY TURKISH REPUBLIC

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ABSTRACT

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TO THE EARLY TURKISH REPUBLIC

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As the powerful visual instruments of modernity, museums have been formulated in multiple narratives under the impact of political ideologies in the modern world. The study aims to analyze the museums of different socio-political contexts of the late Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic comparatively by examining to what extent their buildings, collections, and displaying methods were utilized in the formation of collective identities as part of contemporary imperialist, nationalist, and modernist ideologies. The overall aim of the study is to analyze how history and cultural heritage were perceived and processed for the definition of a common cultural identity in the two different historical contexts by focusing on their display in museums. This study examines pioneering archaeological and ethnographic museums in Turkey, focusing on the Ottoman Imperial Museum [*Müze-i Hümayun* (1887-1891)], the Museum of Pious Foundations [*Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi* (1914)], Ankara Ethnographical Museum (1925-1927; opened in 1930), the non-implemented project including a National Museum (also called as Hittite Museum)

(1933), and the Hittite Museum (also known as *Eti Müzesi*; and later called as Anatolian Civilizations Museum) (restoration began in 1938)]. In order to provide a critical evaluation, the study utilizes the knowledge produced not only in architecture but also in history, archaeology, ethnography, and museology while analyzing the formation of those museums within their contexts.

Keywords: Museums, Cultural Heritage, Late Ottoman period, Early Republican period

ÖZ

KÜLTÜREL MİRASI SERGİLEMEK, KOLLEKTİF KİMLİK TANIMLAMAK:
GEÇ OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞUNDAN
ERKEN CUMHURİYET TÜRKİYESİ'NE MÜZELER

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Modernitenin güçlü görsel araçları olan müzeler, modern dünyada politik ideolojilerin etkisi altında çeşitli anlatılarla kurgulanmışlardır. Bu araştırma, binalarının, koleksiyonlarının ve eserleri sergileme yöntemlerinin emperyalist, milliyetçi ve modernist ideolojilerin parçası olarak kolektif kimliklerin oluşturulmasında ne ölçüde kullanılmış olduğunu araştırarak, farklı sosyo-politik bağlamları olan Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet dönemlerinin müzelerini kıyaslamalı olarak incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın genel amacı, bu iki farklı tarihsel bağlamda müzelerdeki sergileme üzerine odaklanarak, ortak bir kimlik tanımı oluşturulabilmesinde tarihin ve kültürel mirasın nasıl algılandığını ve nasıl işlendiğini incemektir. Bu araştırma Türkiye'de arkeoloji ve etnoğrafya müzelerinin öncülleri olan Müze-i Hümayun (1887-1891), Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi (1914), Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesi (1925-1927, açılış:1930), Milli Müze ya da Hitit Müzesi olarak adlandırılan müzeyi içeren gerçekleştirilmemiş proje (1933) ve Hitit ya da Eti Müzesi olarak bilinen (ve daha sonra Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi olarak adlandırılan) (restorasyon başlangıcı:1938) müzeleri incelemektedir. Bu

çalışma, eleştirel bir değerlendirme sunabilmek için, müzelerin oluşumunu kendi bağlamlarında incelerken, sadece mimarlık alanında değil, tarih, arkeoloji, etnoğrafya ve müzecilik alanlarında da üretilen bilgiyi kullanarak oluşturulan disiplinlerarası bir çerçeveden yararlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Müzeler, Kültürel Miras, Geç Osmanlı dönemi, Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi

To my Mother who has unconditionally and wholeheartedly dedicated all her life to her children

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> Memory and identity are fluid, intangible and inherently social concepts…. The way societies or other collectives choose to remember and reminisce, and what they choose to remember and forget, are thus cultural and social processes of meaning-making.[1]

Based on such a relation between material culture, memory, and identity as Connerton has asserted, the narratives of museums are formalized in multiple ways, and often subjected to various re-configurations. In this process, museums' self-determination has no longer remained neutral, objective, and authentic; perhaps it has been idealistically planned. Museums, in that sense, have become the influential apparatuses of modernity. In other words, "museums preserve history and nature by taming them both, subjecting them to the technical control of the designers and fabricators and the conceptual control of the curators."[2] Such flexibility and variability of narratives under the control of powerful mechanisms constitute the main axes of this study, which prompted to analyze museums with reference to such notions of nationalism and imperialism; evaluate the ways in which cultural heritage has been formed and accordingly represented under the impact of those ideologies, as well as the contribution of architectural production to this process of identity building.

In order to understand such a correlation one should take into consideration that the museum -in modern sense- "traces its intellectual roots to the Enlightenment, and its institutional form to the European public museums that emerged during the

[1] Quoted in Smith, Laurajene and Emma Waterton. 2009. *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology*. London:Duckworth, 45.

[2] Ames, Michael M. 1986. *Museums, the Public, and Anthropology: A Study in the Anthropology of Anthropology.* Ranchi Anthropology Series 9. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press; New Delhi: Concept Pub. Co., 9.

nineteenth century."[3] In other words, the modern museum can be called as "a product of Renaissance humanism, eighteenth-century enlightenment and nineteenth-century democracy."[4] As those descriptions verify, the 19th century is the golden ages of the museums, when such movements of rationalism, positivism, and universalism were effective in world history, turning over a new page in the search of a "new truth". The new disciplines emerged to seek for the truth of the past such as history, art history, archaeology, anthropology, and ethnography that were influential in the birth and the proliferation of museums.

The initial stage of museums, under the impetus of the revival of fine arts and the emergence of Humanism during the Renaissance, was to collect and display the finest products of ancient ages of wealthy and royal families. This was based on the principle of "rarity" that was replaced with the principle of "representativeness" in the late-18th and 19th centuries that required the introduction of scientific classification and interpretation of artifacts.[5] By the influence of the French Revolution (1789-1799) and the Industrial Revolution (1750-1850), museums acquired a new meaning as they came to be utilized for the increase of knowledge in parallel to Enlightenment thinking by being opened to public access, which also required specialization and professionalization on museology and related fields. Tony Bennett emphasized the cultural and social role of museums in this context as formulated by the states for "lifting the cultural level of the population", and underlined the use of museums by the states "as a vehicle for the exercise of new forms of power."[6]

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[3] Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. 2000. *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*. Museums Meanings Series, 4, London and New York: Routledge, 17.

[4] Quoted in Alexander, Edward P. 1979. *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 8.

[5] Bennett, Tony. 1995. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory and Politics*. London and New York: Routledge, 39.

[6] Bennett, Tony. 1995, 6-7,19.

From the second half of the 19th century to the early-20th century, visual and textual representation of the past came to be shaped, reconstructed, and even politicized in certain ways through the agency of museums in parallel to the existing socio-cultural contexts, political systems, and effective ideologies such as nationalism, imperialism, colonialism, and orientalism. The "nation" has a specific place in this frame: As a modern construct, the nation built its identity upon a rooted past which was internalized, historicized, and nationalized as part of a strategy of "invented traditions"[7] in the development of a national consciousness among "imagined communities."[8] In that sense, museums were important instruments for articulating a specific national identity, displaying the material culture and hence making them neutralized, localized, and a part of the desired identity. By the end of the 19th century, the modern nation-states of Europe and the countries that were about to have their national independence by the 20th century, appropriated the instrumental power of museums, consequently "every Western nation would boast a national museum."[9]

As well as nationalism, imperialism similarly set the frame by creating 'canonical' master narratives in the 19th century museums of Western Europe. The narrative formulated was based upon the evolution of civilization from the "East" to the "West", which was accepted to begin with the Mesopotamia and Egypt; pass from the Anatolia to Europe, to reach excellence during the Greek and later Roman periods, and then expand toward north-western Europe to create the ideal level of the Enlightenment by "western" powers. Contemporary imperialism, and developed scientific knowledge supported this narrative, by which imperialist powers

[7] Hobsbawm, E. 1995. *1780'den Günümüze Milletler ve Milliyetçilik*. Translated by Osman Akınhay. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları. Originally published as *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[8] Anderson, Benedict. 2009. *Hayali Cemaatler: Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri ve Yayılması*. Translated by İskender Savaşır. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları. Originally published as *Imagines Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

[9] Duncan, Carol. 1991. "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 88.

predicated a particular chronological, as well as a geographical timeline based on Euro-centric historiography. Collections of museums that contained various materials expanding from archaeological to ethnographical especially brought from the colonies of those powers, nourished such a colonialist ideology of the empires during the 19th century.

Those developments also led to the instrumentalization and customization of archaeology in relation with nationalism whereby "the development of archaeology as a scientific discipline in the 19th century can only be understood in the creation of a national history; that is, a history directed at legitimizing the existence of a nation and, therefore, its right to constitute an independent state."[10] As well as the pivotal role of archaeology, ethnography was also effectively internalized by the prospective or newly founded nation-states of the late-19th and early-20th centuries. In their process of nation-building, ethnographical collections were believed to represent their local customs, and hence they were willingly embraced. "Ethnography and its parent discipline ethnology, play[ed] a dominant role in practice because of the means they offer[ed] for studying what differentiate[d] one group from another and how each group maintain[ed] its separate existence."[11]

Thus, archaeology and ethnography played important roles in forming the basis of cultural heritage of a community. The heritage, defined as "the material culture of the past, or all those artefacts and structures produced by humans"[12], was enthusiastically adopted through prevalent strategies to be displayed in museums. As those institutions were the "repositories of culture, machines for re-

[10] Diaz-Andreu, Margarita. 1995. "Archaeology and Nationalism in Spain." In *Nationalism, Politics and the Practise of Archaeology,* edited by Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett, 54.

[11] Diiclos, Jean-Claude and Jean-Yves Veillard. 1992. "Ethnographic and Open-Air Museums." *Museum* 44(3): 131.
http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000929/092980eo.pdf

[12] Smith, Laurajene and Emma Waterton. 2009, 42.

contextualization, and platforms for the creation and promotion of cultural heritage"[13], they came to constitute a desired platform where cultural heritage was reinvented and represented by the agency of formulated narratives and histories. In this scheme, selected objects and peoples were put on display by becoming visible and being a part of the defined cultural heritage while some others were excluded from that reconstructed framework.

The collective memories that are "based on common experience, learning, heritage, tradition and more"[14] were utilized by several states in binding the "communities and other social and cultural groups through the creation of shared experiences, values and memories, all of which work to help cement or recreate social networks and ties"[15] by overarching those under the same umbrella. Thus, under the unifying mission of states, with contribution of the museologists, all those collective memories were embodied in the material culture, and became visible through the representation in museums. As Crane underlines, "museums [here] were more than cultural institutions and showplaces of accumulated objects: they [we]re the sites of interaction between personal and collective identities, between memory and history, between information and knowledge production."[16]

In this outline, architectural production also plays a crucial role in such: The historicization of a specific past, the representation of those histories (tangible and intangible heritage) for the development of communities (of the empire, and the nation-state) in the formation of collective identities, the presentation of all those implicitly and explicitly by means of the display of material culture through museums, are deeply correlated and even intertwined with the architectural production of museums.

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[13] Ames, Michael M. 1986, 35.

[14] Crane, Susan A. 2000. *Museums and Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2.

[15] Smith, Laurajene and Emma Waterton. 2009, 44.

[16] Crane, Susan A. 2000, 12.

As the visual apparatuses, museums have come to be the great contributors of master narratives of societies. Such a relationship explicitly manifests itself in a large spectrum, extending from formal and stylistic features of museum buildings to their location in the urban context. Relatedly, the aim of this dissertation is to analyze how history and cultural heritage were perceived and processed for the definition of a common cultural identity in the two different historical contexts of the late Ottoman Empire and the early Republican Turkey, by focusing on their display in museums. The earlier museums of these contexts were established variously by affirming or rejecting specific pasts as part of contemporary political agendas from the late-19th century to the early-20th century. The study hence aims to analyze the museums of these socio-political contexts comparatively by examining to what extent their museums with specific collections, displaying methods, and architectural characteristics, were utilized in the formation of collective identities as part of contemporary imperialist, nationalist, and modernist ideologies.

Within such a contextual framework, this study attempts to understand those archaeological and ethnographical museums that were opened in the capital cities of those two different contexts, İstanbul and Ankara. In that, the cases to be analyzed include the Ottoman Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümâyûn)* (1887-1891), the Museum of Pious Foundations (*Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi)* (1914), Ankara Ethnographical Museum (1925-27; opened in 1930), the non-implemented building complex project including a National Museum (also called as the Hittite Museum) (1933), and the Hittite Museum (also known as *Eti Müzesi* and later called as Anatolian Civilizations Museum) (restoration began in 1938) – exemplifying both those structures built specifically as museums and those that were transformed from other functions.

The aim of the study is to critically analyze the formation of those museums within their contexts in an architectural and historical framework that necessitates an

interdisciplinary evaluation by utilizing the knowledge that is produced not only in architecture but also in history, archaeology, ethnography, and museology.

Depending on primary and secondary sources in the process of data searching and collecting, such as original correspondences, unpublished records (report, letter, drawing, and sketch), newspapers, magazines, photographs, descriptive essays and scholarly articles, the research enabled the evaluation of this dissertation. Within a chronological sequence and contextual scheme, this study initially provides historical information with the relevant definitions and discussions that is followed by architectural information and evaluation of the given era. Such an architectural analysis becomes only possible once the topic is evaluated in respect to its context. This method repeats itself in each chapter. The late Ottoman and early Republican periods are examined in two different chapters considering the prevalent contextual backgrounds. And the main argument is clarified and elaborated with the analysis of these initial models of each given period. Those selected paradigms are chronologically classified into two parts; depending on the type of their collections and relatedly the cultural heritage that is presented in them.

The first chapter begins with the informational and theoretical background of the topic that briefly presents the intimate relationship of heritage and identity with museums; how such a relationship is shaped and re-shaped under the influence of imperialism and nationalism; and to what extent the knowledge produced by archaeological and ethnographical disciplines contribute to the historicization of a specific past for a nation-state or an empire via museums.

The second chapter examines the general approach towards history, historiography, and accordingly the birth and development of museums in western Europe and America, which were seen as a tool for displaying cultural heritage in parallel to the contexts of the 19th and 20th centuries. To what extent archaeological and ethnographical museums and the collections devoted to those disciplinary fields, were utilized to serve such a missionary narration formulated by empires and

nation-states are to be discussed and elaborated. In addition, how museums evolved in parallel to the change in their meanings in different chronological settings, and how ideal and typical museum architecture came out as a new architectural typology in the 19th century once the museums were opened to the public, are analyzed in detail. An architectural analysis of museums is presented in relation to the architectural developments of the century by exemplifying the pioneering models of museums in European societies for establishing a ground for such an evaluation and comparison with the Ottoman/Turkish cases.

The third chapter begins with an overview of the initial attempts that were taken in the fields of archaeological studies and museology during the 19th century when the Ottoman Empire underwent a serious transformation. After analyzing the temporary museums in the first part, the chapter analyzes the foundation of the first museum in the late Ottoman Empire by focusing on the Ottoman Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümâyûn*) as the first and purpose-built museum created for displaying an archaeological collection of mainly Greek and Roman periods. The neo-classical museum building in relation to the contemporary architecture of the late Ottoman period, the ancient heritage that was displayed in the museum, and the overall evaluation of that museum within the multi-cultural structure of the Ottoman Empire in reference to the formation of a collective identity, are examined in detail. In the third part, the first museum that stored wakf (*vakıf)* collections is analyzed in reference to the development of a consciousness towards ethnographical materials of the Ottoman Empire and former Islamic states like Seljuks, and the rise of Islamic ideologies worldwide as materialized in the inauguration of Islamic departments in the museums of western Europe and America, the display of Orientalist images through world fairs, as well as the prevalence of Pan-Islamism, and also Pan-Turkism –especially mobilized in early-20th century in the late Ottoman Empire. The Museum of the Pious Foundations (*Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi*) was established in this context in a restored building to embrace mainly Islamic arts as part of the cultural heritage of the empire. Following the same methodological approach, the building is examined architecturally in reference to the transformation of a classical Ottoman building into a contemporary

museum form, exemplifying the favoring of the Islamic heritage in building of a collective identity.

The fourth chapter attempts to search for the institutionalization of museology and the proliferation of museums in parallel to the revolutionary program of the new Turkish Republic. The second part evaluates the initiation of ethnographical studies as a scientific approach utilized in the search of defining the past of the new nation, and examines the representation of the material culture that was peculiar to the national wealth on Anatolian territories. The study analyzes the Ankara Ethnographical Museum as the first and purpose-built museum building of the early Republican period in relation to the architectural production of that era. This part concludes with discussions on the contribution of the first museum of the Republican state to the formation of national identity. The third part evaluates the perception of archaeological heritage in the early Republican era as based on the idea of a powerful link of the Hittite culture with the Turkish nation. The non-implemented building complex project including a National Museum (also called as the Hittite Museum) as the initial stage of the later archaeological museum in relation to archaeological studies during the new Republican regime is analyzed in the framework of the first archaeological museum project of the Republican period. German archaeologist Eckhard Unger's proposal and Swiss-Austrian architect Ernst Egli's design for that project is critically analyzed in relation to the preliminary projects as well as final plans of this monumental museum building. The thesis finally studies the Hittite Museum (also known as *Eti Müzesi*) as the restored museum building of the early Republican period within a framework of the changing conceptions of preservation towards cultural heritage and historical monuments from the late Ottoman period to the early Republican era. After an analysis of the classical Ottoman period building that was now given the museum function, and an overview of the collections devoted to the Hittite culture –in the first phase of its foundation, the chapter continues with the evaluation of the overall meaning of this museum building by discussing the meanings attributed to cultural

heritage in this context as well as the point of re-functioning of historical buildings or building new museums.

The last chapter concludes the discussions in order to provide an evaluation that is based on the historical and theoretical background presented in detail in the previous chapters. Within a critical framework, the material culture of the first archaeological and ethnographical museums in the late Ottoman and early Republican Turkey was an important part of architectural history of these lands, which should be analyzed comparatively in various ways of the ideological contexts of those periods. Even though these museums were formulated in multiple ways by different ideological strategies, the study concludes by emphasizing their common point in their powerful role in defining collective identities.

CHAPTER 2

THE BIRTH OF THE MUSEUM

Studying the birth of the museum as a modern institution initially requires an analysis of its earliest models as emerged in Western Europe at the turn of the 19th century, as well as the rise of scientific disciplines such as anthropology, history, art history, ethnography, and archaeology, with which the formation of museums was closely associated. The museum came to be the place where scientific improvements on above mentioned fields were pursued, and, at the same time, introduced in museum display to the people to teach them the knowledge produced by such studies. Accelerated by the Industrial Revolution from the late- 18th century onwards, technical improvements from the development of necessary precautions against theft to the creation of available physical conditions like control of lighting, humidity, etc. were inevitably pondered by museologists for popular attraction to the museums; and played an immense role in the establishment of magnificent public museum buildings. In such a context, the type of collections peculiar to certain communities in the late medieval and the Renaissance periods, evolved into the practice of a public institution, supported by the emergent scientific field of museology, and housed in specific structures that evolved from such forms of *studiolo* and cabinet of curiosities of the Renaissance into the purpose-built museums during the 19th century.

It will be truly elucidating to open up the discussion with a museum definition before dealing with the history of museums; however, as pointed out by Edward Alexander in his book titled *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums*, there have been multiple descriptions of museums.[17] Besides the difficulties stemming from different evaluations on the museum that has

[17]Alexander, Edward P. 1979, 5-6.

come to be the concern of several disciplines, putting a definite and consistent description of museum is also a fairly difficult task to accomplish as the meaning of the museum has been subjected to change in the context of different epistemological frameworks. In early 1900s, the museum was used to be described, as suggested by David Murray (1904), as follows:

> A museum, as now understood, is a collection of the monuments of antiquity or of other objects interesting to the scholar and the man of science, arranged and displayed in accordance with scientific knowledge.[18]

Such a definition may not be regarded as truly objective but rather excessively restricted as it inherently exposes material culture of antiquity in the forehand and tends to handle all 'interesting' objects to be studied in such a single group. In that sense, it is remarkable that this description still shows the epistemological approach of the 16th and 17th centuries that created collections in the form of cabinet of curiosities, which is understood as initial steps within the history of museums. The contemporary challenge to such a definition criticizes the perception of the museum in western societies during the 19th century which interpreted objects as representations of a universal truth, and instead asks what is displayed and how it is displayed.

The link between the museum and the public as "formal didacticism" of the 19th century practice is also severely questioned.[19] The early museums were defined as "represent[ing] an organizational principle for the content of cultural identity and scientific knowledge."[20] This definition also carries a problematic aspect, and requires asking whose identity is represented. How to represent the "other", such as

[18] Murray, David. 1996. *Museums: Their History and Their Use: with a bibliography and list of museums in the United Kingdom*. First publication in 1904. Volume I. Routledge: Thoemmes Press, 1.

[19] "After almost a century of rather remote relationships between museums and the public, museums today are seeking ways to embrace their visitors more closely". Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. 2000, 1.

[20] Crane, Susan A. 2000, 2.

the cultures of the "eastern" societies and non-western art in the so-called encyclopedic museums, or cultures of particular minority groups in a society, has become one of the critical concerns for those who study the museums.[21]

Even though the idea of the modern museum started to take its form during the Enlightenment era, one should go back to the ancient history when "the museum was the Mouseion, the shrine of the Muses"[22], "the patron goddesses of arts and science," to trace the origins of this institution. It is recorded that "the Greek philosopher Aristotle collected specimens from the natural world" to use them for teaching at his *lyceum*. The subsequent museum model was the Alexandria's museum in the ancient Egypt where precious objects and texts were preserved for the purpose of having a secure place.[23] However, the term acquired a new meaning with the late medieval period and especially from the Renaissance onwards. The Catholic church of the medieval era had become the major collector of precious collections, which acted like an early type of museum. This example clearly indicates the relationship between power and collecting in the middle ages, and continued in the Renaissance as well where collecting had been an occupation of some collectors like "prince, nobleman, high clergyman, rich merchant, or banker."[24]

During the Renaissance, private collections, the so-called cabinet of curiosities, were housed by those renowned families like Medicis, Gonzagas, and Farneses in northern Italy, Valois and Bourbons in France, Fuggers and Hapsburgs in Germany,

[21] Duncan, Carol. 1991, 89.

[22] Camin, Giulia. 2007. *Museums: Masterpieces of Architecture in the World*. Italy: White Star, 13.

[23] Sternau, Susan. 1999. *Museums: Masterpieces of Architecture*. New York: Todtri, 4.

[24] Alexander, Edward P. 1979, 19.

and Tudors and Stuarts in England.[25] The extensive collections were composed of ethnographical, as well as archaeological objects that were mainly the finest products of Greek and Roman past; however these objects were disorderly displayed in those places.[26] Alexander evaluates the collectors' role as an important contribution to the formation of the art museums in the following centuries once they "purchased and commissioned paintings, sculptures, and other beautiful and useful objects."[27]

Tony Bennett, in his seminal book entitled *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics,* underlines the framework on this phase of museology:

> While such collections (whether works of art, curiosities or objects of scientific interest) had gone under a variety of names (museums, *studioli, cabinets des curieux*, *Wunderkammern, Kunstkammern*) and fulfilled a variety of functions (demonstrations of royal power, symbols of aristocratic or mercantile status, instruments of learning), they all constituted socially enclosed spaces to which access was remarkably restricted.[28]

Thus, an elite group of people were admitted to visit such collections, and the necessary understanding of the collection could only be possible with pre-gained knowledge. The museum could be regarded in this era as the indicator of distinguished people who acquired this exclusiveness merely by education.[29]

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[25] Spiess, Katherine and Philip Spiess. 1990. "Museum Collections". In *The Museum: A Reference Guide.* Edited by Michael Steven Shapiro, with the assistance of Louis Ward Kemp, New York: Greenwood Press, 142-143.

[26] Greenhill, Eilean Hooper. 1992. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London and New York: Routledge, 79. Quoted in Renfrew, Colin. 2000. *Loot, Legitimacy and Ownership: The Ethical Crisis in Archaeology*. London: Duckworth, 17.

[27] Alexander, Edward P. 1979, 19.

[28] Bennett, Tony. 1995, 92-93.

[29] Shaw, Wendy. 2004. *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi = Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Translated by Esin Soğancılar. İstanbul: Iletişim Yayınları, 10.

The roots of modern museology that emerged with the Renaissance could be identified with humanist ideology. "While humanism was spreading in every land and literature was becoming a profession, the objects of animated nature and the phenomena of the material world were beginning to be regarded with scientific interest."[30] As well as the rise of interest in natural sciences, the field of archaeology came to be flourished, that was, indeed, very much related with museology and humanism. "Humanist curiosity about the past also provoked artistic and architectural interest in the ruins of classical civilization."[31] Such a growing interest in the ancient world promoted by western scholars' studies and travelers' notes and sketches discovering and describing the ancient regions of the Aegean, Mediterranean, Italy, Asia Minor, and Egypt brought about a revival of interest in classical and Near Eastern antiquities.[32] Thus the very first stages of archaeological studies were often simply identified with collectors and dealers in antiquities; however, it would turn out to be a branch of study with the Enlightenment in parallel to the development of new scholarly disciplines of history and art history. In 1764 German intellectual Johann Joachim Winckelmann published the history of the art of antiquity, presenting a highly influential model for writing history of art that was based upon the style. "Winckelmann chronologically classified Greek and Roman Art into a sequence of periods in which there was an origin, a development, and a decline: the Greek archaic style, the early classical style, the late classical style, and Roman imitation and decay."[33] His contribution in that sense "is a landmark in early modern history in that the past is organized in terms of growth and decline."[34] In that sense, late 18th century marked the beginning of an era when private collections turned into museums by acquiring a new identity in the western

[30] Murray, David. 1996, 19.

[31] Moser, Stephanie and Sam Smiles. 2005. "Introduction: The Image in Question". In *Envisioning the Past: Archaeology and the Image*, edited by Sam Smiles and Stephanie Moser. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 4.

[32] Daniel, Glyn. 1981. *A Short History of Archaeology*. London: Thames and Hudson, 15.

[33] Staniszewski, Mary Anne. 1995. *Believing is Seeing: Creating the Culture of Art*. New York: Penguin Books, 181.

[34] Ibid., 182.

world. Stephen Bann says "the changing sensibilities of Enlightenment and Romantic thinkers who added historical value to economic, scientific, and aesthetic values in their consideration of objects prompted the construction of museums for preservation of the past."[35]

Hence, museums became the agents of increasing knowledge in parallel to Enlightenment culture and thus their number increased shortly in western societies. The first of those museums is commonly accepted to be a university museum established in 1683 at Oxford University called the Ashmolean Museum,[36] whose collection was devoted to art and archaeology. The origin of the British Museum was, on the other hand, initially founded by the House of Commons in London in 1753 as a combination of a library and a museum. Its collection was based upon Sir Hans Sloane's great collection that included antiquities, natural history, and ethnography. An art collection was placed in the Belvedere Palace in Vienna in 1781 that became a public museum where people visited within certain times of a week. By 1795 the Uffizi Gallery in Florence was turned into a true art gallery, where paintings were arranged by the schools.[37] As the product of the late 18th and 19th centuries those and several others were opened and displayed natural specimens depended upon discoveries on universe and humanity; and artistic and scientific products lined from "steady progress toward perfection".[38]

However, the inauguration of the Louvre Palace in Paris as a public museum in 1793 revealed a very crucial tendency in comparison with the earlier museums. Beyond its transformation from a royal collection into a public art museum, and its service to all citizens free of charge, this museum was also "the most politically

[35] Quoted in Crane, Susan A. 2000, 4.

[36] Among the various arguments about the first museum in Europe, the most commonly cited among which is the Ashmolean Museum. Elias Ashmole's private collections formed the core of this museum at the Oxford University.

[37] Alexander, Edward P. 1979, 22, 44.

[38] Ibid., .8.

significant and influential" example. Foundation of a national museum was the project of the French revolutionary government. For the purpose of creating a new republican state, the government nationalized the royal art collection and opened it to public service. "It thus became a powerful symbol of the fall of the *ancien regime* and the creation of a new order."[39]

The transformation of the Louvre into an instrument of the state indeed demonstrated the state's power through the knowledge that it possessed, and helped consequently to strengthen the potential link with the new republican state and its national community. Due to the agency role of museums in providing such a sense of national unity, museums were first introduced in the colonial powers such as England and France. This historical narrative of ancient civilizations was based on the idea that Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures formed the roots of civilization. For that purpose, collected and displayed objects brought from all over the world - particularly from the colonized countries - were also utilized to justify the colonial presence and the legitimacy of the civilizing mission of colonial empires, which hence claimed the ownership of the glorious past of the countries that they ruled seeing themselves as protectors and heirs of antique values.[40]

From the 19th century onwards, for the newly established nation-states that aspired to prove their identities by searching their own cultural heritage, the scientific knowledge that archaeology produced was of critical importance. Sian Jones reveals the relationship between archaeology and nationalism in his book entitled *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*:

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[39] Duncan, Carol. 1991, 88-93. In 1803 the Louvre was named as the *Musee Napoleon* which retained this name until the Emperor's downfall. Alexander, Edward P. 1979, 25.

[40] This strategy was a part of the Orientalist discourse which was scientifically revealed by the inspiring work of Edward Said in 1978. Westerners' self-construction of their power upon Eastern societies by doing researches on, describing and producing comments on the East was criticized by Said who stated that "the relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony." Said, Edward. 2003. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books, 25.

> … the role of archaeology in the construction and legitimation of collective cultural identities is coming to be perceived as one of the most important issues in architectural theory and practice. Throughout the history of archaeology the material record has been attributed to particular past peoples, and the desire to trace the genealogy of present peoples back to their imagined primordial origins has played a significant role in the development of the discipline. This situation is not surprising given the emergence of archaeology as a discipline in the context of European nationalisms, and the very materiality of the evidence which seemingly gives body and substance to collective origin myths.[41]

In this process, it was not only the field of archaeology that functioned as an agent for strengthening the link between new nation-states and their past, but also "ethnography and its parent discipline, ethnology,"[42] the so-called "social and cultural branch of anthropology"[43], that acquired a new role during the 19th century. In comparison to art, archaeology and natural history, the formation of ethnographical, anthropological, and ethnological collections in museums has been relatively much newer. A very important source giving information on 19th century's museology, David Murray's book (1904) titled *Museums: Their History and Their Use* stated "in every considerable museum therefore, the archaeological section is followed by an historical and is supplemented by an ethnographical and in some cases by an anthropological, section."[44] Regardless of the priority of archaeological collections in this explanation, the importance of ethnographical collections came to acquire currency especially by late-19th and early-20th centuries.[45] The scope of ethnographic objects is stated as follows:

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[41] Jones, Sian. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London: Routledge, 1.

[42] Diiclos, Jean-Claude and Jean-Yves Veillard. 1992, 131. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000929/092980eo.pdf

[43] Ames, Michael M. 1986, 12.

[44] Murray, David. 1996, 235.

[45] To clarify such notions of anthropology, ethnology, and ethnography, and hence to demarcate those fields is highly difficult in reference to the variety of descriptions of those terms. "The ethnologist or cultural anthropologist often makes a clear distinction between the words "ethnographic" and "ethnologist" (or ethnological). Germain Bazin, a French museologist, explains clearly the differences as follows: In French it has become a custom to refer to European popular

> Ethnographic objects can be broadly defined as any substances, used or fashioned by an individual or cultural group, which make up their material versus non-tangible culture. In this respect, ethnographic specimens can range from raw materials used by an individual to large structures created by a culture. Under this definition, products representing all aspects of human activity could be included.[46]

The cabinet of curiosities, which contained ethnographical objects that were "collected as trophies, souvenirs, or amusing curiosities during one's travels to far and distant lands" to stimulate admiration and wonder, were presented in an 'unsystematic' and 'idiosyncratic' composition',[47] and evolved in the second half of the 19th century into anthropological museums as the outgrowths of contemporary expansion of western imperialism and rationalism.[48] In parallel to the latest approach, the imperial museums – the so-called Encyclopedic museums – like the Louvre (1793), the British Museum (1823-1848) (Figure 1,2), the Metropolitan Museum in New York (1872), or the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (1870-1876) began to acquire such collections on ethnography and ethnology, which were followed by the opening of specialized museums on those branches in Europe and USA, such as the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (1830), the Musee de L'Homme in Paris (1878), the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia (1887), etc.

In that context, folk museums, which aim "to document earlier forms of life, ways of living, and cultural habits, and folk customs,"[49] were also accelerated in the late-19th and early-20th centuries. The first folk museums were opened after the 1890s in

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cultures as *ethnologie*, and foreign popular culture as *ethnographie*. In English, *ethnography* refers to the purely descriptive treatment of peoples and races while *ethnology* denotes their comparative study and analytical classification." Morita, Tsuneyuki. 1988. "Introduction". In *The Museum of conservation of Ethnographic Objects*, edited by Tsuneyuki Morita and Colin Pearson. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1.

[46] Ibid., 5.

[47] Ames, Michael M. 1986, 38-39.

[48] Quoted in Ames, Michael M. 1986, 39. Murray, David. 1996, 241.

[49] http://cipa.icomos.org/fileadmin/template/doc/PRAGUE/020.pdf

Scandinavia, such as in Sweden (1891), Norway (1895), Denmark (1897), Finland (1909), and later on, in the Netherlands (1918), to be followed by several European museums in the 1920s and 1930s. It has been stated "the principal motive for this interest was the preservation of a cultural identity which had become subject to increasing threat from various quarters….The notion that we are rooted in the rural community led not only to regionalism but also to the identification of rural traditions with national identity."[50]

Atkinson and Hammersley's statement is quite illuminating at this point, comparing the notions of ethnography and ethnology within a framework of historical development, and relating the scope of those with non-Western societies:

> The origins of the term lie in the nineteenth-century Western anthropology, where ethnography was a descriptive account of a community or culture, usually one located outside the West. At that time 'ethnography' was contrasted with, and was usually seen as complementary to, 'ethnology', which referred to the historical and comparative analysis of non-Western societies and cultures. Ethnology was treated as the core of anthropological work, and drew on individual ethnographic accounts which were initially produced by travellers and missionaries. Over time, the term 'ethnology', fell out of favour because anthropologists began to do their own fieldwork, with 'ethnography' coming to refer to an integration of both first-hand empirical investigation and the theoretical and comparative interpretation of social organization and culture. As a result of this change, since the early twentieth century, ethnographic fieldwork has been central to anthropology.[51]

This claim indicates a reference to the ethnology and ethnography for non-western communities, cultures, and societies. In that context, it might also be possible to state that anthropological museums, which contained everything about humanity, were established in the imperial states, while ethnological and ethnographical

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[50] Jofzg, Adriaan de and Mette Skougaard. 1992, 153-155. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000929/092980eo.pdf

[51] Hammersley, Martyn and Paul Atkinson. 2007. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice,* 1. http://www.google.com.tr/books?hl=tr&lr=&id=3WRQ0Pl0mPAC&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=paul+atkinson+ethnography&ots=7kRfx5qjta&sig=LqkDnCAnet-D8hTtJBBsH_UbEPw&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=paul%20atkinson%20ethnography&f=false

museums played a significant role in the construction of the new modern nation-states.[52] Following this point onwards it would be useful to convey some notes on the historical interaction of above-mentioned terminology with the notions of nationalism and imperialism, which had their heyday in the second half of the 19th century. As Bennett explains:

> ... in the context of late-nineteenth-century imperialism, it was arguably the employment of anthropology within the exhibitionary complex which proved most central to its ideological functioning. For it played the crucial role of connecting the histories of Western nations and civilizations to those of other peoples, but only by separating the two in providing for an interrupted continuity in the order of peoples and races – one in which 'primitive peoples' dropped out of history altogether in order to occupy a twilight zone between nature and culture.[53]

Similar relationships were built through exoticism:

> Museums of anthropology occupy a special place among the museums of the world. Having their origins in the early fascination of the west with the exotic cultures of other societies, they have become, for the general public, centres of information on those cultures, some of which, of course, no longer exist, while almost all have changed dramatically as a result of western industrial influences.[54]

There is an inspiring source that deals with the intimate relationship between ethnography and those notions by presenting it within an historical perspective. Diiclos and Veillard state that the exhibitions of 1867 and 1878 especially presented the initiation of such a new interest "in regional ethnography and continued thereafter to inspire the displays of ethnographic museums."[55] This understanding

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[52] This fact has been claimed "it is impossible to dissociate the mushrooming of museums of ethnology in the nineteenth century and the developments in ethnology-related sciences from the interest shown at the time by the imperial powers in their colonial possessions." Diiclos, Jean-Claude and Jean-Yves Veillard. 1992, 129. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000929/092980eo.pdf

[53] Bennett, Tony. 1995, 77.

[54] Reynolds, Barrie. 1989. "*Museums of Anthropology as Centres of Information*." In *Museum Studies in Material Culture*, edited by Susan Pearce, 111.

[55] Diiclos, Jean-Claude and Jean-Yves Veillard. 1992, 129. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000929/092980eo.pdf

was transformed into a patriotism as can be understood from a French intellectual's words at the opening of the Museon Arlaten in France (one of the first museums of regional ethnography) in 1899 who claimed "they [the museums] are the very best way of teaching everyone history, patriotism, love of the soil and respect for one's ancestors'."[56]

Morita correlates ethnographic museums with European colonial expansion in such a way:

> As many museologists claim, it might be difficult to deny that most ethnographic museums before the first half of this century [the 20th century] were a by-product of European colonial expansion, and that those collections were established to satisfy an intellectual curiosity of non-european cultures and exoticism. That is, visitors to such museums at the time were mainly intellectual elites and often disposed to appreciate highly selected objects such as artistic decorations, skillfully made artifacts, elaborate religious masks and statues, and so on, which do not exist in European cultures. [57]

In relation to reflections of nationalism on museums, Sharon Macdonald states "like anthropology and sociology, museums are also technologies of classification, and, as such, they have historically played significant roles in the modernist and nationalist quest for order and mapped boundaries."[58] In that sense, Greenhill refers to museum's critical role in identity-formation by saying that "museums are major apparatuses in the creation of national identities. ... Visual representations are a key element in symbolizing and sustaining national communal bonds."[59] Those

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[56] Ibid., 129.

[57] Morita, Tsuneyuki. 1988, 1,

[58] Macdonald, Sharon. 1996. "Introduction." In *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*, edited by Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 7.

[59] Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. 2000, 25.

'communal bonds', holding the community together via museums, have often been shaped by the dominant group "who constitutes the community and who shall exercise the power to define its identity."[60] Thus, this relationship between power and the represented heritage is a construction of cultural politics.

Carol Duncan also reveals the same point by stating the "…museums can be powerful identity-defining machines. To control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community, and some of its highest, most authoritative truths."[61] This shows the powerful instrumentality of museums in imposing a certain identity over the communities, mostly concealing some other identities.

A similar example can be given through a stimulating case study on Scandinavia which has been suggested by Anna Torgrímsdóttir that engages the Museum of Nordic Antiquities in Copenhagen, Denmark and the Museum of Antiquities in Reykjavik, Iceland.[62] She emphasized the role of collections in those two museums which were dramatically changed depending on prevailing political and accordingly, cultural contexts. The Museum of Nordic antiquities in Copenhagen was turned into (1807-1892) the National museum of Denmark in 1892. This shift was quite associated with the change of political ideologies in Denmark converted from a monarchy into Danish nation in 1863. The reflections of this ideological shift on the museum could be traced from its collection through diminished importance given to old Nordic heritage [that was common in Scandinavia] and through the fact that "…archaeological excavations became the main source for illuminating the oldest history of the Danish national state."[63] On the other hand, Iceland which started to

[60] Duncan, Carol. 1991, 102.

[61] Ibid., 101-102.

[62] Torgrímsdóttir, Anna. 2008. *The Museum of Nordic Antiquities in Copenhagen Political and Scientific Changes 1807-1863*. Unpublished paper fo the NaMu IV: Comparing National Museums, Territories, Nation-Building and Changes. Sweden, 18-20 February.

[63] Torgrímsdóttir, Anna. 2008, 6.

fight for gaining independence from the Danish monarchy in 1849 acquired more official history of Iceland with the foundation of the Museum of Antiquities in Reykjavik in 1863. The interesting point in this history is Icelanders' turning towards the old manuscripts of Iceland which were accepted as the best sources of Icelandic national identity in the absence of prehistory and therefore, archaeological evidence. Diminishing importance of old Nordic sagas as the core of the grand narrative of Danish national state obviously shaped Icelanders' adoption of this excluded heritage to be displayed in the museum of Iceland. Anna Torgrímsdóttir summarizes all those stated above as follows:

> In the national state Denmark, the oldest source to history were antiquities, while in Iceland the oldest sources were manuscripts describing Icelandic history in Iceland. The Danish became archaeologists, while the Icelanders became philologists or historians. The national museum in Denmark became an archaeological museum and the national museum in Iceland became a museum of saga-archaeology. With these scientific approaches in combination with nationalism new national narratives were created, both in Denmark and in Iceland.[64]

In this process of national unity, scientific tools like archaeology and ethnography were utilized to build collective identities, whereby museum collections were excessively influential: "Museum objects, so real and so convincing, constitute an important part of the human heritage and give their beholders a feeling of continuity and cultural pride."[65] Thus, by the end of the 19th century, every western nation would establish important public museums, and consequently, the century has been often so-called as the golden age of museums.

The proliferation of museums in the 19th century was also closely associated with "the violent and democratizing changes in European life brought about by both

[64] Ibid., 5.

[65] Alexander, Edward P. 1979, 15.

political and industrial revolution."[66] The opening of museums to the public appeared as a response to the necessities of the new society. Particularly the states utilized the museum's reforming potential on the working class by educating and teaching them. The "didactic burden" of the museums placed these cultural institutions as a vehicle for the "exercise of new forms of power" instead of implementing laws. With its purpose of civilizing the population and creating pleasure and instruction for the masses, by opening the museums to all, the governments attempted to change "forms of life and behavior".[67]

In addition to the social and political roles ascribed to the museums, it is noteworthy to describe their methods of displaying and to reveal the relationship between the visitor and the museum. In the museum of the 19th century, "the aesthetics of display became ever more highly developed, and 'period rooms', intended to give visitors a total experience of a moment in history, became very popular."[68] The approach was based on the principle that the objects available in the galleries would represent the universal truth. Greenhill states "objects were seen as sources of knowledge, as parts of the real world that had fixed and finite meanings."[69] Hence, the 19th century museum was formulized on learning. Merely looking at the materials would provide information:

> …their pedagogic approach was based both on a formal didacticism and on the conviction that placing objects on view was sufficient to ensure learning. Thus museum displays were used to transmit the universal laws of object-based disciplines (with natural history as the paradigm), which were presented in formal and authoritative ways to undifferentiated mass audiences. Today this approach is no longer appropriate.[70]

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[66] Ibid., 27.

[67] Bennett, Tony. 1995, 1,19,20.

[68] Sternau, Susan. 1999, 7.

[69] Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. 2000, 5.

[70] Ibid., 2-3.

Tony Bennett states that it was not only the museums, but also international exhibitions in the 19th century that "involved in the practice of 'showing and telling'."[71] Those "expositions with many types of objects displayed together in large pavillions also stimulated new ideas about display,"[72]and came out as products of the political, economic, social, and technological developments of the period. The idea behind the international exhibitions to be held in many cities throughout the world was "to bring together in one place the products of all nations, to facilitate their study, improvement and sale in a world of increasing free trade."[73] Indeed, the exhibitions were born almost simultaneously with modern industry which was formulated on mass production of goods and consumption. The exhibitions were not merely trade fairs, but also displaying a variety of items spanning from invention to the production with new technologies. Hence, "the fairs were, in effect, celebrations of industrial civilization itself, not only its material reality but its highest ideals."[74]

However, these exhibitions were used to signify much more. Indeed, the European conceptions of nation and empire were intertwined with displays of museums and exhibitions accordingly. The exhibitions were not only the places to show the progress by the level of industrialization of one nation to others, moreover the aim was to display its colonies, or its rivals to the world as a colonial power. Benedict Burton pointed out that "almost without exception the major international exhibitions were sponsored by nations with colonial dependencies."[75] Linda Evans

[71] Bennett, Tony. 1995, 6. Indeed, this relationship formulated on a principle of looking and learning has come to be questioned in the 20th century. And instead of that, an experimental practice has been proposed in the museums. Macdonald, Sharon and Paul Basu. 2007. "Introduction: Experiments in Exhibition Ethnography, Art, and Science." In *Exhibition Experiments*, edited by Sharon Macdonald and Paul Basu, 2.

[72] Sternau, Susan. 1999, 7.

[73] Trachtenberg, Marvin and Isabelle Hyman. 2002. *Architecture, from Prehistory to Postmodernity*, Upper Saddle River, N.J: Prentice-Hall, 460.

[74] Ibid., 460.

[75] Benedict, Burton. 1991. "International Exhibitons and National Identity." *Anthropology Today* 7 (3): 5.

similarly draws attention to this point by saying "particular ideas of the nation are created and embedded in the exhibitionary forms of range of cultural practices and institutions, such as tourism, museums, expositions and heritage displays."[76] In those nations, for the purpose of housing these exhibitions of art and industry, very special buildings were erected. All such buildings functioned as technologies of progress in the 19th century, planned with the use of prefabricated elements and built with fast technical methods. As if the "iron cathedrals" of the era, they displayed the advanced industry of the nations.[77]

England was leading in technological advancements that enabled it to have the first major international fair in a special structure, that is the Crystal Palace, designed by Joseph Paxton in 1851. (Figure 3) The architecture of the building marks the beginning of a new style. An imposing building with fabricated glass and iron framework was so radical. The use of steel made it possible to enable wider spanning, and a taller building. Flexible planning and glass-iron combination enabled architects and engineers to combine whole roofs and transparent walls.

The exposition Universalle in 1889 in Paris was also challenging not only in terms of its huge scale of structure and with its advanced solution, but also with its break with the belief of "gathering every product of civilization under one roof."[78] Galerie des Machines (1889), which is important with its spacious enclosure, and the Eiffel Tower (1889) that is located at the entrance to the fair, had a monumental scale. The steel framework of the structure that is supported on masonry piers "forms the arch of the triumph of science and industry."[79] Thus, in general, one can say that world fairs were the products of the industrialized world, proving the aesthetic change in

[76] Evans, Jessica. 1999. "Introduction: Nation and Representation." In *Representing the Nation: A Reader Histories, Heritage and Museums,* edited by David Boswell and Jessica Evans, 2.

[77] Trachtenberg, Marvin and Isabelle Hyman. 2002, 460.

[78] Trachtenberg, Marvin and Isabelle Hyman. 2002, 462.

[79] Ibid., 463.

architectural production of the new century. However, as an exception, the tendency on conventional style also became evident in the second Paris Exposition Internationale in 1867,[80] which was influenced by the traditions of French neo-classicism (Figure 4). The exhibition building had a huge oval form like a *colosseum* which integrated both concentric and radial planning.[81] Thus, while some of the exhibition buildings were highly influential, composed of thin and relatively lightweight mass-produced structural elements, some did not depart from historicist approaches as was the case with the museum buildings of the 19th century. Hence, the museums, as the new institutions, also brought new architectural typologies, out of the classical architectural forms.

2.1. Architecture of the Museum

The proliferation of museums in the 19th century also brought about a new architectural typology along with them. Before having their specifically designed museum buildings, the initial models of museums in the forms of chambers and rooms were settled in those prominent buildings like the Palazzo Mecici (1444-1459), the Uffizi Gallery (1560-1574), and the Pitti Palace (designed by Brunelleschi in 1451, enlarged by Ammannati in 1558-1570).

The Palazzo Medici can be regarded as the first museum designed by Michelozzo di Bartolomeo, housing finest collections of Italian and Dutch paintings.[82] "On the first floor was his exquisite *Studiolo* (study), lined with inset portraits of classical and

[80] The Paris Exposition of 1867 celebrated another form of colonial appropriation in featuring archaeological and ethnological materials. Bouquet, M. 1996. *Sans og samling-- hos Universitetes etnografiske museum = Bringing it all back home-- to the Oslo University Ethnographic Museum*. Oslo: -Universitetsforlaget, Universitetes Etnografiske museum, 110.

[81] Trachtenberg, Marvin and Isabelle Hyman. 2002, 462.

[82] Çalıkoğlu, Levent. 2004. *Çağdaş Sanat Konuşmları 4: Koleksiyon, Koleksiyonerlik ve Müzecilik.* İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 20.

Christian philosophers and poets, where he kept his rarest manuscripts."[83] Those *studiolos* are regarded as more "intellectual rooms" in comparison to the cabinets of curiosities. They were authentically decorated by the owners of the houses.[84] A very creative space of *studiolo* of Duke Federigo is described as follows:

> the lower part of the studiolo is paneled with a base of wood inlay, with space for the two doors into the sala delle udienze and garderobe, but concealing the door to the loggia; in this way the studiolo –though in direct communication with the outside and the panorama – appears as an enclosed space, in contrast with the open *expanse* of the valley; here the perspective illusion created by the inlay dominates, while from the loggia one sees real space, peopled with real objects.[85] (Figure 5,6)

The Palazzo Medici (also known as Palazzo Medici-Ricardi) has a square courtyard with arcades around the four sides, which may be assumed as one of the earlier examples of typical palazzo plan that took its roots from the Roman peristyle. The palazzo plan, which was "based on the traditional Florentine internal court,"[86] is also described as it "was a block built round a central courtyard, to a square or quadrangular plan and looking very massive from the outside but with plenty of loggias and balconies opening on to the courtyard."[87] (Figure 7-9)

The art collection was moved to the Uffizi Gallery (*galleria degli Uffizi*), which was initially planned for administration (in Italian *uffizi* refers the offices). Its contruction began in 1560 by Giorgio Vasari, who has been so-called as the father

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[83] Watkin, David. 1996. *A History of Western Architecture*. Second edition. London: Laurence King, 185-187.

[84] Çalıkoğlu, Levent. 2004, 70.

[85] Murray, Peter. 1986. *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*. Third Edition. London: Thames and Hudson, 176.

[86] Murray, Peter. 1986, 50.

[87] Jestaz, Bertrand. 1996. *Architecture of the Renaissance: from Brunelleschi to Palladio*. London: New Horizons, 78.

of art history with his renowned book titled *Lives of the Artists* (1550). The aim of Cosimo I was to locate the government offices of the new Tuscan state in the Uffizi by moving those offices from the Palazzo della Signoria which was identified with the centre of power and republican memories. Murray stated "the Uffizi must have been very large for its original purpose, since it now stretches for about four hundred feet on either side of a very long, narrow, street-like piazzetta, and the buildings are three storeys in height."[88] The large scale of that building enabled the formation of displaying halls soon after Buotalenti's designs on the buildings were begun in 1574. Buotaltenti, "laid out the terrace on the loggia dei lanzi as a hanging garden, and created the famous gallery for the exhibiton of *objets d'art*, which became the first nucleus of the Uffizi".[89] Over the years, the building was enourmously expanded with the collections of Medicis who also commissioned the creation of those paintings and sculptures. The gallery was opened to special visitors in the late-16th century, and it was officially opened to the public in 1765.

The Uffizi had administrative offices and state archives as well as laboratories, special rooms for private interests, family collections of ancient sculpture and artworks in the long and narrow galleries, and the octagonal room known as the *tribune* that displayed cabinets for curiosities. The perspective created with a short and a narrow street among the buildings in the narrow courtyard had been evaluated by Giedion as a "masterpiece of perspective in depth in the short street of the Uffizi by means of continuous horizontal lines, the projecting roof, the three cornices, the steps."[90] The Uffizi has been similarly called in Sternau's book entitled *Museums: Masterpieces of Architecture* as "a superb example of Late Renaissance or

[88] Murray, Peter. 1986, 246.

[89] Benevolo, Leonardo. 1978. *The Architecture of the Renaissance*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 481-482.

[90] Giedion, Sigfried. 1967. *Space, Time and Architecture: the Growth of a New Tradition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 59.

Mannerist architecture, the Uffizi embodies the classic design principles of harmony, balance, and coherence."[91] (Figure 10-12)

Those Renaissance-style buildings at the summit of their perfection constituted the origins of museum buildings, even if not specifically designed for this purpose. The radical change was observed during the 18th century when museums were opened to public visits. Enlightenment thinking did not only let public access to those art collections, but also gave rise to art history as a scientific field. The organization of those collections was arranged by the help of scholars "…in a chronological manner, stressing artistic development and separating national schools of artists. Connoisseurs, meanwhile, arranged art works based on aesthetic relationships, color, or subject."[92]

The 18th century museums "were not a distinct building type and rarely were architects called upon develop a distinct programmatic form."[93] The prominent museums of that era like the Capitoline Museum in Rome (1734), the Vatican's Museo pio Clementino (1771), the Belvedere Palace (1779), the Musee Central des Arts in Paris (the Palace of Louvre) (1793) and others were not purpose-built museums.[94] However, a new function was attributed to those historical buildings considering their existing building plans. The 18th century museums that were located in the old palaces, however, were very well adapted to the function as Savaş emphasizes:

[91] Sternau, Susan. 1999, 12.

[92] Ibid., 7.

[93] Rosensblatt, Arthur. 1998. Foreword to *Museum Architecture*, by Justin Henderson. MA.: Rockport Publishers, 7.

[94] Ibid., 7.

> … with their large entrance halls, high ceiling flats, huge storage and service floors and with linear spatial organizations were welcoming museum functions without major spatial and structural changes. The visual representation of history in a chronological layout (period rooms) could easily overlap with the linear flow of rooms in old palaces. The necessary infrastructure including lighting, air conditioning, and security systems already designed for public use purposes, was considered appropriate for the preservation, conservation, and the exhibition of museum objects.[95]

In parallel to this description, the halls and galleries of the Louvre Palace[96] were believed to be the most appropriate spaces for display, which were originated from the long galleries of the Uffizi. For long times the collections which came to be displayed in those magnificent 'palace museums' also led to the adaptation of those types of buildings as museum buildings.[97]

However, during the 19th century museums acquired autonomous structures.[98] According to Arthur Rosenblatt, the specific design for a museum building type was initiated by Jean Nicolas Louis Durand, who published the type in his two volumes of *Précis des leçons d'architecture donnees a l'Ecole Polytechnique* (Paris, 1802-1805).[99] Rosenblatt emphasizes the utilitarian understanding that greatly influenced

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[95] Savaş, Ayşen. 2010. "House Museum: A New Function for Old Buildings." *METU Journal of the Faculty of* Architecture 27(1): 142.

[96] The leading example of this era is the Louvre named as Musee Central des Arts, founded as the first public museum that was opened to the public in 1793 in the grand gallery of the Louvre Palace. The buildings dated originally to twelfth century, but it had later additions in the following centuries and took its final shape during the time of Napoleon III in the second empire. Sternau, Susan. 1999, 35.

[97] Atagök, Tomur. 1992. "Müze Tipolojisinin Gelişimi." *Tasarım* 30:116.

[98] Tony Bennett states: "in Britain, France and Germany, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed a spate of state-sponsored architectural competitions for the design of museums in which the emphasis shifted progressively away from organizing spaces of display for the private pleasure of the prince of aristocrat and towards an organization of space and vision that would enable museums to function as organs of public instruction." Quoted in Bennett, Tony. 1995, 68.

[99] Among the projects in this publication were a museum, a library and a theater project. Villari, Sergio. 1990. *J.N.L. Durand (1760-1834): Art and Science of Architecture*. New York: Rizzoli.

"the design of this new kind of structure".[100] A central circular colonnade with four aisles was connected to the outer galleries of the museum project. (Figure 13)

Another earliest model on museum building was the design project of Louis Etienne Boulle in 1783. This museum proposal with a central circular colonnade that was illuminated from the open oculus, was reminiscent of the Pantheon in Rome. Boullee intended a 'monument of public gratitude to great men'. The building is described as follows:

> There are two main buildings fitted one within the other. One is an elevated circular colonnade with four radiating aisles, all surrounding an inner ring of columns. The other is grouping of shell-like vaults, with a giant hemisphere and an oculus occupying the central position. From it extends four barrel vaults, which cover the aisles of the colonnade. To a visitor ascending the majestic staircase, the colossal roof and dwarfing the colonnades would have looked like the celestial vault…. The strict geometric precision Boullee sought is evident in his ground plans as well as in his elevations. Again, the architect expresses his predilection for alignments of columns, which help to create grandeur.[101] (Figure 14,15)

Atagök calls these two examples as the first models for museum architecture that further progressed through the 19th century.[102] Similarly, Rosenblatt emphasized the importance of two other museum structures; the Dulwich Gallery in London (1811-1814) designed by Sir John Soane, and the Altes Museum in Berlin (1823-1830) by Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Both were based on Durand's type in terms of program and functional requirement. He referred to those two examples as they "both represent

[100] Rosensblatt, Arthur. 1998, 7.

[101] Lemagny, Jean-Claude. 1968. *Visionary Architects: Boullée, Ledoux, Lequeu*. Houston, Tex., Printed by Gulf Print. Co, 56.

[102] Atagök, Tomur. 1992, 116-117.

the most notable early examples of an architect's design of an edifice specifically with a public museum role".[103]

Indeed, Schinkel's museum design has been a prominent sample in the history of museums. The Altes Museum has been widely accepted as one of the first museum structures in the western world, forming the basis of the neo-classical museum buildings; and it became a model to be followed in the museum architecture over a century.[104] Gottfried Riemann indicates how the plan and design of the Altes Museum is appropriate for an ideal museum design by saying "with his Museum, Schinkel created an exemplary type for the nineteenth century due to its ideal architectural form, classical magnificence, but also the organization of its contents, especially the historical polarity of the two great collections from antiquity (sculpture) and the Renaissance (painting), which were regarded as the fundamental elements of European civilization, and to each of which one floor was dedicated."[105] (Figure 16)

Schinkel's design has long been compared with Durand's museum proposal for *Précis des leçons d'architecture donnees a l'Ecole Polytechnique.* A formal and stylistic comparison was initially made by Sigfried Giedion in 1922, and then the similarities were confirmed by Henry Russell Hitchcock in his book titled *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Later, a similar analogy was made by Nicolaus Pevsner who stated "the design is clearly inspired by Durand and [it] is one of the few buildings in which the sheerness of the long colonnades so

[103] Rosensblatt, Arthur. 1998, 7.

[104] Atagök, Tomur. 2002. "Müzelerin Anlaşılır Kılınması, İç Mekan ve Sergi Tasarımları." *Mimarist* 2/4: 55-56.

[105] Riemann, Gottfried. 1991. "Schinkel's Buildings and Plans for Berlin." In *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, edited by Michael Snodin, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 20.

liberally put on paper by the architects of the French Revolution reached reality."[106] The same point was discussed by David Watkin and Tilman Mellinghof soon after. However, there have also been contrasting ideas which put forward those close similarities as well as differences in size, scale, program, and the site.

To make such a comparison with Durand's *précis*, the formal and stylistic characteristics of the Altes museum should be described in advance:

> Schinkel's Old Museum has a façade formed of a long colonnade of 40-foot high (12 meters) Ionic columns. The building is entered by means of a monumental double staircase leading up into the colonnade and a concealed second level. The front of the building is of stone, for a grand effect, but the rest of the building is made of brick, the most readily available regional building material at the time… The building was intended to produce a feeling of exaltation, the domed Pantheon –like hall was to be a sanctuary for treasures, and the vast murals behind the colonnade depicted a grand vision of the place of art within civilization.[107] (Figure 17,18)

To make a comparison between these two projects of the first museum buildings, would be illuminating to provide insight about the core of museum designs, and hence very helpful to understand the museum buildings which has been scrutinized in the scope of this thesis. If Durand's and Schinkel's projects are compared; the first formal similarity should be about the centre of these compositional schemes where halls with domes are located, as in Pantheon. A second similarity is their exterior façades which are designed in such a way to have "a long stoa-like colonnade forming an open entrance vestibule."[108] Even though there were such close similarities, Schinkel's design rather resembled the Greek architecture as if he

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[106] Goalen, Martin. 1991. "Schinkel and Durand: the Case of the Altes Museum." In *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, edited by Michael Snodin, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 27.

[107] Sternau, Susan. 1999, 19.

[108] Goalen, Martin. 1991, 31-32.

was inspired from the Erectheum of the Acropolis in Athens and the temple of Athena in Priene in consequence of his archaeological studies; whereas Durand mainly opted the architectural features of the imperial Roman architecture with "the endless colonnades that are usually in that most characteristically Roman order, the Corinthian as transmitted through his teacher Boullee and other French architects of the late eighteenth century."[109] (Figure 19,20)

Indeed, most of the earliest examples of museum buildings constructed in the same century "invoke[d] a classical tradition that resonates with an idealized past, both remote and Arcadian."[110] The British Museum in London (1823-1848)[111] can be regarded as one of the best examples of those neo-classical 'temples'.[112] The stylistic property is so identified with the British Museum that was "built in the image of that nationalistic temple of culture."[113] The museum was planned by Sir Robert Smirke with a portico composed by Ionic columns, which remind the columns of the temple of Athena in Priene -like the Altes museum- with a pediment that was fully decorated with sculptures in Greek revival style. As well as Smirke's travels to Greece, the discovery of the Parthenon, and the transfer of the friezes in 1816, might have also influenced the design of the British Museum, whose façade looks like a Greek temple and very classical in contrast to the contemporary

[109] Ibid., 32. For further analysis between those two, please see Goalen, Martin. 1991. "Schinkel and Durand: the Case of the Altes Museum." In *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*, edited by Michael Snodin, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 27-35.

[110] Giebelhausen, Michaela. 2003. "Introduction: The Architecture of the Museum: Symbolic Structures, Urban Contexts." In *The Architecture of the Museum: Symbolic Structures, Urban Contexts*, edited by Michaela Giebelhausen, 1-2.

[111] "The British museum, the first great national museum in the world, was founded by the house of commons in 1753 as a combined national library and general museum that soon became especially strong in collections of antiquities, natural history and ethnography." Alexander, Edward P. 1979, 44. Its worldwide collection was composed of antiquities from Egypt, Western Asia, Greece and Rome, as well as prehistoric, Romano-British, Medieval, Renaissance, Modern, and Oriental collections. Sternau, Susan. 1999, 20.

[112] It has also been stated that it was the first museum in Europe specifically intended to be open to the public. Sternau, Susan. 1999, 20.

[113] Greenhill, Eilean Hooper. 1992, 1.

architectural fashion of the Gothic style. The building was described by Pevsner (1948) as being "in the chestiest Beaux Arts style."[114] (Figure 21) Smirke proposed building a quadrangle as a large courtyard to "be used as an open space and a garden in fact, where the public could wander during their visit."[115] (Figure 22) However, the courtyard in the centre was re-developed by Antonio Panizzi[116] and switched to a reading room in a circular building and covered with an steel construction. The project was formalized by Sydney Smirke and completed in 1857.[117] Even though this approach provided the formal planning with a central rotunda, which is surrounded by vaulted galleries like many other museum buildings, there is a significant difference in planning: because of the function of that space that was to serve as a reading room and book-stacking, it does not allow public access that Robert Smirke had proposed in the initial stage of the project. (Figure 23)

The Glyptothek in Munich designed by Leo von Klenze (1816-1830), the Prado Museum in Madrid (constructed in 1784, opened to the public in 1811), the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (1870-1876) (Figure 24) , the Pushkin Fine Arts Museum in Moscow (1898-1912) (Figure 25), and the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (1866-1888)[118] (Figure 26), were all built in the neo-classical style and they have come to be called as the typical examples of 19th century museum style. This stylistic approach was based on the idea of a golden age of classical antiquity, which was taken as appropriate for the ancient collections displayed in the museums.

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[114] Quoted in Caygill Marjorie and Christopher Date. 1999, 60.

[115] Anderson, Robert. 2000. *The Great Court and The British Museum*. London: The British Museum Press, 15.

[116] A. Panizzi was the principal librarian or director of the British Museum. Ibid., 21.

[117] Ibid., 22-23.

[118] The National Archaeological Museum was one of the first museums in Greece established in the late-19th century and was built by two German architects.

It is crucial at this stage to emphasize the change in the meaning of the museum – symbolic as well as architectural- during the 19th century. The public museums were the 'newcomers'[119] to contemporary cities. For instance, Schinkel's Altes Museum represents a significant change in the urban context with its functionality for the civic improvement. The new meaning of the museum has been described by Rosenblatt as follows: "The museum, therefore, becomes more than a vehicle for the exhibition, study, and preservation of precious objects; it represents the highest goals and aspirations of a society, and even more importantly, becomes a bold statement of civic and national pride."[120] In the case of Berlin, the increasing importance of the Altes Museum in the society was reinforced with the construction of the other museum buildings in its vicinity in the so called 'Museum Island' over a century.[121] This indicates the museum's potential role and its significant contribution to the city. Schinkel's desire of building the Altes Museum as a model of "beauty and ornament to the city"[122] may illustrate the point very well. Similar developments can be observed all over Europe. The two museums of the 19th century in Vienna are other exemplary models. These two museums called *Kunsthistorisches Museum* (Museum of Art History) and *Naturhistorisches Museum* (Museum of Natural History) were built facing each other, creating a square which was also located on one of the main sights of the so-called *Ringstrasse* and in the vicinity of the imperial residence.

Lewis Mumford describes the museum as "the most typical institution of the metropolis, as characteristic of its ideal life as the gymnasium was of the Hellenic city or the hospital of the medieval city."[123] Indeed, the museums were the

[119] Giebelhausen, Michaela. 2003, 1.

[120] Rosensblatt, Arthur. 1998, 7.

[121] The Altes Museum was followed by the New Museum (1843-1850), the Old National Gallery (1866-1876), the Bode Museum (1897-1904), and the Pergamon Museum (1933) very recently.

[122] Quoted in Giebelhausen, Michaela. 2003, 10.

symbolic representations of the city, and were generally situated at the central points alongside the public parks, and built with marble façades, and interiors with marble halls. Because of their monumental image, the museums were the "shrine of cultural treasure, a place for calm and deep communion with the great works of art of the past ages."[124] Hence, such buildings had a powerful appeal with their imposing sites and ceremonial entrances. Carol Duncan in her book called *Civilizing Rituals* states "museums have always been compared to older ceremonial monuments such as palaces or temples. Indeed, from the eighteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries, they were deliberately designed to resemble them."[125] However, those museums "do not simply resemble temples architecturally; they work like temples, shrines, and other such monuments."[126] Thus, the style of the museum formed of Greek and Roman forms corresponds both 'secular and ritual associations' of the museum.[127] The 'ceremonial program' was formulated in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (1872), in which the main axis of the building is to bring the visitors to antiquity or Renaissance, whereas left and right sides were reserved for Greece and Egypt, and upstairs for Italy, while the other collections were placed at the rear of the museum.[128] Duncan gives another example from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (1870-1876) and describes how the museum has been based on a similar system: "Everything was organized around the central theme of civilization. Behind the monumental classical entry façade, the entire sequence of world civilizations followed one upon the other: Greece, Rome, and Egypt on one side, balance by their Eastern counterparts on the other. The rest of art history came after, all in its proper order, with the Renaissance

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[123] Mumford, Lewis. 1975. *The City in History*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 639.

[124] Trachtenberg, Marvin and Isabelle Hyman. 2002, 419.

[125] Duncan, Carol. 1995, 7.

[126] Duncan, Carol. 1991, 91.

[127] Ibid., 91.

[128] Ibid., 99.

centrally placed."[129] Hence, the contents of those museums were in harmony with their temple-façade buildings.

In order to figure out the spatial and stylistic characteristics of these early museums, it would be better to draw a general picture on the architectural production during the 19th century. The interest in historicism, appearing in such styles of neo-Classic, neo-Renaissance, and neo-Gothic, and eclectic, and the industrial revolution played immense roles in shaping of architectural history of the period. The 19th century has been described as "an age of radical change during which the modern world took shape."[130] Even though historicism marked the age, the stylistic approaches of historicism have been presented within new techniques of design and construction materials such as iron, steel, glass etc. within more rational, practical and functional planning. While the use of iron and glass enabled the construction of more flexible buildings, social transformation also required emerging industrial constructions such as factories, warehouses, railroad stations and bridges, and new building types such as banks, exchanges, department stores, market halls, office buildings, and international exhibitions, as well as the museums.

Indeed, historicism in architecture -often called as the revival of earlier styles- that came to be so important by the 19th century was associated with the rise of archaeology under the influence of the excavations conducted at such places as Rome, Acropolis and Baalbek, and with the perception of perfect rational proportions of the classical style. It was also accepted that historicism was

[129] However, there have been some significant changes observed to meet the new demands of the museum visitors. The new additions have brought a new arrangement that consists of halls for modern arts, restaurants, exhibition spaces, and museum shops. Duncan, Carol. 1991, 100-101.
However, after mid-20th century museums have been formulated on a system that considers consumption within highly creative buildings; as Sternau describes the museum is today a "popular entertainment center that also educates, feeds, merchandises, providing a social as well as a spiritual experience." Sternau, Susan. 1999, 7.

[130] Croix, Horst de la and Richard G. Tansey. *Gardner's Art Through the Ages.* San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 808.

influenced by the romantic age of experiment and sensibility. In other words, new scientific scholarship brought about a new picture of historical styles, making them "irresistible models for architects."[131]

One of the principle styles in the 19th century was the Gothic Revival, which also revealed a nationalistic representation in certain countries. Kostof calls it as "a fervent and archaeologically rigid movement that stirred public opinion during the 1830s and 1840s, was rationalized as a national and Christian style."[132] Also, an important aspect of the Gothic revival was the archaeological recovery of the middle ages. In addition to those, super imposing structures that became possible to be constructed by the industrial power were also powerful symbols of the nations and empires in the field of architectural production.

Although classical and Gothic revivals dominated the early 19th century, exotic styles borrowed from the eastern countries as seen in the Egyptian style of buildings like medical colleges, libraries, cemetery gates, and even churches, also became very popular. On the other hand, many architects preferred more than one style depending on the requests of clients. Thus, an eclectic approach was also much of interest especially towards the end of the century. Moreover, another style, purified from historicism, was also observed as the result of industrialization. "…the nineteenth-century architect gradually comes to abandon sentimental and Romantic designs from the historical past in the interest of an honest expression of the building's purpose."[133] Due to this diversity in architectural styles, this century is generally called as that of a "pluralism of styles". Spiro Kostof emphasizes such

[131]Trachtenberg, Marvin and Isabelle Hyman. 2002, 416.

[132] Kostof, Spiro. 1995. *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*. New York: Oxford University, 572.

[133] Croix, Horst de la and Richard G. 1986, 881.

diversities as follows: "in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, European architecture was learning to live with diversity -and even thrive on it."[134]

In this pluralist context, architectural manner for public museums were generally chosen from historical styles, especially the neo-classical style. This style spread in Europe and America, taking its inspiration from Greek and Roman buildings and Renaissance spatial concepts. This style came to be adopted by several museums in the world in the 19th century. The very classical façades of museum buildings presented a powerful harmony with their contemporary contents that were mainly devoted to Greek and Roman civilizations. The museum visitor experiences the museum before entering it. Early museum buildings could communicate about their collections with visitors when they stood in front of the buildings, giving a message of what one would expect to see in the museum. Sternau describes the neo-classical museum architecturally and explains why it was chosen for the 19th century museums:

> The resulting marriage of Greek and Roman structural systems of colonnades, vaults, and domes, with the Renaissance grace of cabinets, galleries, and courtyards became the archetype of the public museum. Since the collections of the first museums centered on the art of ancient Greece and Rome, and of the Renaissance, the buildings were a perfect compliment to their contents.[135]

The museum's function that was laid upon 'rational and historical' should be represented in a "proper" building[136] as a unity of historicism and technology together. Ernst's approach is quite noteworthy here: "The art of architecture was to be expressed by the museum building itself, assisted by models, machines, and exemplary fragments. The museum was thus to serve both as work of art and as

[134] Kostof, Spiro. 1995, 571.

[135] Sternau, Susan. 1999, 18-19.

[136] Ernst, Wolfgang. 2000. "Archi(ve)textures of Museology". In *Museums and Memory* edited by Susan A. Crane. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 19.

monument of history."[137] However, the vitally important point that should be especially underlined is the intimate relationship of historicism with nations and nationalism. In that sense, classicism was central to the concept of nationalism in the 19th century, and the monumental structures of museums represented "the idealized power of civilization and the paternalistic concerns of the nation state"[138] in a significantly chosen spot in urban contexts. Similarly, as Croix and Tansey state, "the art of the remote past was now appreciated as a product of racial and national genius."[139]

Hence, neo-classicism's monumental effect highly contributed to the powerful image of public museums as well as power of the state. Carol Duncan indicates in her book that the relationship between monumentality and public museums is excessively influential. She calls art museums as "ceremonial monuments":

> …a museum is not the neutral and transparent sheltering space that is often claimed to be. More like the traditional ceremonial monuments that museum buildings frequently emulate – classical temples, medieval cathedrals, Renaissance palaces – the museum is a complex experience involving architecture, programmed displays of art objects, and highly rationalized installation practices.[140]

To conclude with, this chapter discussed the museums in the western world in a contextual framework in which museums emerged from a model of the so-called cabinet of curiosities in the Renaissance and evolved into their institutionalized form as monumental public institutions in the 19th century by carrying some formal and stylistic features inherited from its earliest phases. In this process, museums performed a symbolically as well as a spatially, dialectic relationship with such

[137] Ibid., 20.

[138] Giebelhausen, Michaela. 2003, 4.

[139] Croix, Horst de la and Richard G. 1986, 811.

[140] Duncan, Carol. 1991, 90.

contemporary practices of nationalism, colonialism, and imperialism. Archaeological and ethnographical materials were historicized, nationalized, and *museumified* in this context through the agency of museums, and the architectural production of museums functioned accordingly for visualizing the power-knowledge relation in the contemporary process of the construction of a collective identity.

CHAPTER 3

MUSEUMS IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The practice of exhibiting through museums in the late Ottoman Empire followed a different development pattern from the earlier models of Western European museums in the late-18th and 19th centuries. One could say that such relatively accelerated development as seen in the Ottoman context starting from the mid-19th century, could also have been observed in the newly founded nation-states such as in the nearby geographies like the Balkan Peninsula. As seen in the earlier models of museums in such geographies, the first Ottoman museums could be deemed to have utilized a similar strategy in functioning as vehicles for the construction of a collective identity. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to examine the relationship between collective memory and history, by analyzing in what ways collective identity interfered representation and visualization of history in the late Ottoman Museums and how this relation manifested itself on the architectural production of the museum buildings. It tries to understand this relationship by focusing on the first examples of archaeological and ethnographic museums in the late Ottoman Empire, which were used to display a collective identity as formulated in relation to history.[141]

In line with this objective, the first part of this chapter starts with the examination of the developments in the 19th century when the seeds were planted in the fields of museology and archaeological studies. The opening of museums and inauguration of archaeological studies in the late Ottoman Empire indissociably intertwined with each other and existing contextual conditions. In order to evaluate the accelerated

[141] By aiming to analyze the role of museums in forming the collective identity by relating to history, this research does not include other Ottoman museums of the period such as the Naval Museum (1897) and the Military Museum (1908) in İstanbul that were not taken as significant in such an endeavor.

process of museological practice in the Empire, the political and socio-cultural developments of the 19th century will offer a more precise panorama to the reader. The initial and temporary attempts in museology in the Late Ottoman Empire that is examined through the museums of Church of St. Irene and the Tiled Pavilion in the second part is followed by the foundation of the first museum called the Imperial Ottoman Museum (*Müze-i Hümâyûn*) that was built to embrace archaeological collections emphasizing the Classical Heritage. This archaeological museum was accompanied by the opening of the Museum of Pious Foundations (*Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi*) in a historical building in the last years of the Ottoman Empire which was formulated to highlight the existence of the Islamic heritage that was represented through the Islamic arts and ethnographical objects.

At the beginning of the 19th century, despite the internal and external struggles, the Ottoman Empire was still controlling a significantly large territory that expanded from the Balkans to the Arabian Gulf, from Egypt in North Africa to Algeria. The historical context of the period, on the other hand, could be defined by a nationalist ideology that was spread by emphasizing the collective national identity as rooted in common history. Hence, if the museum is regarded as a public space for visual representation of collective history and identity, one needs to know the existing communities in the late Ottoman Empire to understand the museum in this historical and geographical context.

Towards the end of the 18th century, in the Asian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, most of the population was Muslim that was composed of Turks, Arabs, and Kurds together with a significant number of Christian and Jewish communities. In the Balkans, however, most of the population was Christian as formed of Rums, Bulgarians, Serbians, Montenegrins, and Wallachs,[142] where there were also a

[142] Wallachs are the Christian communities that were used to live in the Balkans and South-Eastern Europe.

significant number of Muslim communities of Bosnians, Pomaks,[143] Albanians, and Turks.[144] Such a cosmopolitan environment in the 1890s was described by a traveler who noted that there was not another city like İstanbul in the world where so many different people gathered and lived side by side with each other.[145]

The multi-cultural (multi-ethnic and multi-religious) structure of the Ottoman Empire that had been inherited from the Byzantine Empire was also supported by the political actions of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror upon his conquest of Constantinople in 1453. By means of obligatory settlement, Muslim, Christian, and Jewish communities were imported from different parts of the Ottoman lands for the purpose of increasing the number of population to fulfill the needs of repair and reconstruction works in the city; moreover, notable tradesmen were also encouraged to live in the new capital to revive trade in İstanbul.[146]

The commercial ties -supported by trade agreements as well- were accelerated following such events of French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte's military expedition of Egypt (1798), the invention of steamships that provided easy access for European countries such as Britain, France, and Austria in the Eastern Mediterranean[147], and the expansion of railway lines that gave rise to information exchange between

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[143] Muslim Bulgarians.

[144] Zürcher, Erik J. 1993. *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*. Translated by Yasemin Saner Gören. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. Originally published as *Turkey: A Modern History*. (London; New York : I.B. Tauris : Distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1998), 24.

[145] Marion-Crawford, Francis. 2007. *1890'larda İstanbul*. Edited by Emre Yalçın. Trans. Şeniz Türkömer. Originally published as Old Constantinople. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 10.

[146] Quoted in Çelik, Zeynep. 1998. *Değişen İstanbul: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti*. Translated by Selim Deringil, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları. Originally published as The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986.), 20.

[147] Ortaylı, İlber. 2004. *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 105.

"Eastern" and "Western" worlds. Beyond political intercourse ongoing for centuries, the acceleration of close cultural and economic relationships of the Ottomans with European societies provided similar ideas and practices to exist in both contexts. The first groups in the Ottoman Empire that were affected from those interactions were Rums and Serbians who had had long-term relationships with the Europeans.

The nationalist ideology of the French Revolution in 1789 that was proclaimed as "liberty, equality, fraternity", spread across Europe from late-18th century onwards. In the 19th century this movement initially found approval among the non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire. As the Ottoman authority got weakened under the pressure of political and economic problems throughout the century, the movement came to strengthen among the Balkan societies, which then aimed to assure their national independence from the Ottoman hegemony.[148]

Ernest Gellner argues that cultural and ethnic differences in pre-industrial societies were not found inconvenient, but rather this situation provided a cultural wealth by supporting political and cultural structure of the society. Such conflicting differences in the society did not then cause any political trauma; however, in the nationalist societies under the conditions of industrial production, standardization produced political and cultural units that were expected to be internally homogeneous, but externally heterogeneous. The state as political unit was now the protector of culture, and culture would ensure legitimacy through symbols of the state.[149] In that context, although multi-ethnic and multi-religious groups had existed in most part of the Ottoman history pursuing compatible relations, in the 19th

[148] Zürcher, Erik J. 1993, 47.
[149] Gellner, Ernest. 1998. *Milliyetçiliğe Bakmak*. Trans. Simten Coşar et al. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. Originally published as *Encounters with Nationalism*. (Oxford [England]; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994), 59-60,69.

century, the modern construction of nationalism broke off this relationship.[150] As the result of such a development, the "nations" such as Greeks (1829), Serbians, Montenegrins, and Romanians (1878) declared their independence respectively in this century.

The emergence of a nationalist awareness among the Ottoman-Turkish bureaucrats followed those auspicious developments, even if that was relatively delayed.[151] Namık Kemal (1840-1888) and Ziya Gökalp (1875-1924) could be regarded as the predecessors of Turkish nationalism. While Namık Kemal represented an Ottoman point of view by positioning this theme in between pan-Islamism and Turkish nationalism, Ziya Gökalp stands much closer to the main principles of Turkish nationalim[152] which appeared towards the end of the 19th century. Turkish nationalism disfavored Ottomanism which had emerged as the first effective political ideology appealing to all the communities concurrently in the Ottoman Empire[153] envisaging a unity among the various nationalities living in the territory of the Empire. Such a generation of an 'Ottoman nation' was corresponded to the ideological context of the Tanzimât Reform Era (1839-1876) which started with the proclamation of the Imperial Edict of Gülhane *(Gülhâne Hatt-ı Hümâyûnu)*.[154]

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[150] Quataert, Donald. 2004. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu (1700-1922)*. Translated by Ayse Berktay, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. Originally published as *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 249.

[151] Ortaylı, İlber. 2004, 86. Georgeon, Françoise. 1999. *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Yusuf Akçura (1976-1935).* Translated by Alev Er. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları. Originally published as Aux origines du Nationalisme Turc: Yusuf Akçura, 1876-1935. (Paris: ADPF, 1980), 10.

[152] Deringil, Selim. 2009. *Simgeden Millete: II. Abdülhamid'den Mustafa Kemal'e Devlet ve Millet.* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 271.

[153] Somel, Selçuk Akşin. "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlıcılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913)". In *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikim*, edited by Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil, 115.

[154] Georgeon, Françoise. 1999, 38.

The Imperial Edict of Gülhane was crucial in many ways: *Tanzimât Fermânı* by Sultan Abdülmecid I, promising significant reforms, was proclaimed to the bureaucrats and foreign officers on the Gülhane Square (03.11.1839). Tanzimât was of importance as it promised equality of citizens under the rule of the Ottoman Empire without distinction of religion, language, and ethnicity. Thus, the first steps were taken in line with such political principle of constituting an Ottoman nation.[155] Ortaylı states that the Tanzimât bureaucrats attempted in this context to form Ottoman nationalism and patriotism.[156] Hence, one of the main characteristics of the 19th and 20th centuries was the prominence of ethnic sentiments that became politicized and led to nationalism; and the Ottoman condition resulted in the correspondence of ethnic borders with political borders, and the ethnic background of the ruling with the ruled.[157] However, the Ottoman bureaucrats at the time attempted to keep the Ottoman society together regardless of ethnic and religious differences in order to embrace the non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.[158] In the face of the deteriorating political and economic conditions, it was planned that such a cultural unity should cooperate with advancements towards "Westernization" and "Modernization". These two concepts of "Westernization" and "Modernization" were used in the sense that "Modernization" was described with reference to the "West", meaning to depend on European models whereby Europe was a geographical region that was steadily changing to have reached the position of being a world centre.[159]

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[155] Ibid., 14.

[156] Ortaylı, İlber. 2004, 113.

[157] Gellner, Ernest. 1998, 59.

[158] Anagnostopulu states that an institutionalization under the name of a nation was inevitably required for the efficiently working mechanism of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. Anagnostopulu, Athanasia. 2003. "Tanzimat ve Rum Milletinin Kurumsal Çerçevesi: Patrikhane, Cemaat Kurumları, Eğitim". In *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Gayri Müslimler*, edited by Pinelopi Stathis. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 3.

[159] Ortaylı, İlber. 2004, 27.

There has been an expanded literature on the rising of Ottoman modernization during the Tanzimât Reform Era. One of such discussions relevant for this research is about evaluating the Ottoman modernization in the 19th century with reference to its inherent potentials or external pressure that was imposed. Rıfa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj criticizes the methodological problems of the Euro-centric approach - defines Europe as distinct entity and accepts its superiority over other cultures- that evaluates Tanzimât reforms as imports that was based on "Western models", unprecedented, and unique attempts suddenly occurred in the Empire once the old political system and social order was not able to achieve its self-reformation.[160] He antagonizes those who comment on the Ottoman society as a stable society and dependent variable[161] rather by pointing out the fluidity and dynamism of the Ottoman society.[162] Speaking of Tanzimât reforms, he states that those attempts can be seen as the synthesis of a chain of bicentennial experiences and ad hoc solutions that were guided by internal forces.[163] Accordingly, Ortaylı indicates that "Westernization" attempts in the Ottoman society, which had also evolved continually just as other societies,[164] were the result of internal decisions.[165] His assertion is that Ottoman modernization cannot be restricted with the Tanzimât era; and it was not a sudden encounter with the "West" in the 19th century since Ottoman geography had been in unity with the European geography in terms of politics and economy throughout its history.[166]

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[160] Abou- El Haj, Rıfa'at Ali. 2000. *Modern Devletin Doğası: 16. Yüzyıldan 18. Yüzyıla Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*. Translated by Oktay Özel and Canay Şahin. İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi. Originally published as *Formation of the Modern State* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 110.

[161] Abou- El Haj, Rıfa'at Ali. 2000, 110,124.

[162] Ibid., 93.

[163] Ibid., 116.

[164] Ortaylı, İlber. 2004, 13-14.

[165] Ibid., 25.

[166] Ortaylı, İlber. 2004, 13.

One point that should be discussed particularly is to what extent "Western modes" were internalized in the Ottoman society. Ortaylı claims that, in the process of "Westernization", Ottoman bureaucracy was pragmatic, as well as skeptic and cautious.[167] With a similar approach, Abou-El Haj also asserts that cultural forms were adopted due to the needs of Ottoman elites, and they were exposed as neither the result of foreign existence nor gravitation of foreign model.[168] Referring to the foundation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abou-El-Haj expresses that none of the "Western" institutions were totally imported; rather administration offices evolved as the result of internal needs of bureaucratic specialization.[169] In this direction, one of the most significant developments that came up in Ottoman politics with Tanzimât reforms was the rising of Ottoman bureaucracy with the passing of power from the Topkapı Palace to the Sublime Porte (*Bâb-ı Âli*) during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid I and Sultan Abdülaziz.[170] Not only the Grand Vizier, but also the bureaucrats who represented a new type in Ottoman politics gained the right to govern the Ottoman Empire. In this connection, Erik Jan Zürcher defines Tanzimât, even if limited, as a cultural revolution.[171] He associates the rise of bureaucrats to their knowledge on Europe and European languages.[172] Developments outside the Empire called the attention of Ottoman elites who discovered a wider history and geography of the world. A sharp increase in the rate of literacy was recorded particularly during the 19th century,[173] and such a development brought along access

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[167] Ibid., 24-25.

[168] Abou- El Haj, Rıfa'at Ali. 2000, 119.

[169] Ibid., 118.

[170] After the reign of Abdülmecid I and Abdülaziz, the Sultans re-hold power by keeping it until the Second Constitution. (1908)

[171] Stefan Yerasimos, however, states that Tânzimat as an action imposed from above did not depend on common negotiations, but on the contrary, attempted to strengthen the power of the state. Yerasimos, Stefanos. 1999. "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine." In *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, edited by Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, translated by Ali Berktay. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları. Originally published as *Villes Ottomanes à la fin de l'Empire*. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992), 5.

[172] Zürcher, Erik J. 1993, 101.

to the sources written in other languages, easy communication, and setting up official relationships with foreigners.

Having started with Sultan Selim III, delegates sent to capital cities of European states, and accordingly, Ottoman embassies were opened in such states respectively in London, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin in the late-18th century. However, communication problems aroused from difference of language hampered setting up reliable relationships. In that context, the Chamber of Translation (*Tercüme Odası*) was established in 1833 to overcome those problems in the state, and to set up diplomatic relationships. In that context, one of the most prominent developments could be regarded as the official establishment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1834 during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, which initiated reciprocal diplomacy between Ottoman Empire and European states.[174] Young Ottoman bureaucrats who became experienced in those embassies and got the opportunity to follow social and cultural developments as well as science and technology in Europe, were the people who implemented the modernization process in the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the first peaceful visit to Europe that was very educational and stimulating was made by Sultan Abdülaziz in 1867 to such cities as Paris, London, Vienna, and Berlin etc. Having observed developments more closely in the European societies, a set of innovations and institutions began to be practiced in the Ottoman society that processed the move towards a modern state.

Selim Deringil states that it would not be an exaggeration to say that the modern state was established upon the Tanzimât reforms. He describes emergence of

[173] There have been an estimated percentage of 2 or 3 over hundred among Muslim communities in the beginning of the 19th century; however, the rate of literacy increased to 15 percentage towards the end of the century. Quataert, Donald. 2004, 244.

[174] Towards the end of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire had embassies in Paris, London, Vienna and St. Petersburg; representative agencies in Berlin, Washington and Florence/Rome; and consulates in various states in North and South America, Africa, and Asia. Quataert, Donald. 2004, 131-132.

formal education, postal services, railways, clock towers, population census, passports, and museums among the features of the modern state.[175] The transformation of the capital city of İstanbul in the 19th century could present an accurate model where modernist innovations were clearly observed in city scale. Zeynep Çelik describes this transformation after the 1830s as conscious disengagement from Turk-Islam heritage.[176] Three "invented traditions"[177] taken from the Western European countries appeared in the Ottoman society: laws and regulations on city planning; principles of urban design such as new networks, monumental squares, uniform urban fabric etc.; and in the field of architecture, new building types with new architectural styles.[178]

A series of regulations were implemented between the years of 1848-1882 on such services of expansion, maintenance, cleansing, illumination of streets, pavement of ways, installation of water supply, and sewage systems, etc. Besides, parallel to the increase in foreign populations, new districts were developed as appropriate to the principles of modern city planning. Against historical peninsula filled with Ottoman monuments such as complexes (*külliye)*, mosques, *türbes,* etc., the north side of Golden Horn (*Haliç*) came into prominence with new "western types" of buildings such as banks, theatres, shops, hotels, multi-storey houses, commercial buildings, etc. For instance, Pera had been known with its vineyards (*vignes de Pera*) and fruit gardens until the 18th century; but it developed as a residential district for upper

[175] Deringil, Selim. 2007. *İktidarın Sembolleri ve İdeoloji: II. Abdülhamid Dönemi (1876-1909).* Translated by Gül Çağalı Güven. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları. Originally published as *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire (1876-1909).* (London; New York : I.B. Tauris, 1998), 24.

[176] Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 2. For more information on nineteenth century İstanbul please see this inspiring source.

[177] "Invented traditions" is a contextual definition of the prominent historian Eric Hobsbawm. For an extended discussion on nations and nationalism please see Hobsbawm, E. 1995. *1780'den Günümüze Milletler ve Milliyetçilik*. Translated by Osman Akınhay İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları. Originally published as *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[178] Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 3.

classes such as French, British, Venetian, Dutch, and Genovese delegates as well as Christian communities of the Ottoman society who had constructed houses with gardens here in the 17th century. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, Pera turned into a "European" district that experienced a "construction boom".[179] Similarly, Galata evolved as commercial center from the mid-19th century onwards. On the other hand, Dolmabahçe - Beşiktaş area came to take on a new meaning with the construction of the Dolmabahçe Palace in Beşiktaş and the moving of Sultan Abdülmecid I to this residential palace in 1856.[180] The intensive process for public improvements was predominantly observed in these referred areas after the mid-19th century. İlhan Tekeli points out that the development of *Bâb-ı Âli* in the historical peninsula, on the other hand, equalized the impact of the moving of the Sultan to some extent.[181]

Transportation in the city improved with tramway which was initiated in 1864 by the construction of lines from Eminönü to the Beyazıt Square. This was followed by the opening of *Tünel* in 1875 that connected Karaköy to Beyoğlu. The transportation network developed with the construction of new railway stations such as Sirkeci, built in 1889, and Haydarpaşa in 1909, and new ports that connected water to land transportation such as Galata in 1895 and the Sirkeci Port built in 1900.[182]

The 19th century has come to be known with emergence of new public spaces. Since the conquest of İstanbul Muslim quarters in the city had developed around *külliyes* as appropriate to Islamic traditions.[183] The courtyards of those *külliyes,* and mosques and commercial areas such as the Covered Bazaar (*Kapalıçarşı)* and the

[179] Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 26.

[180] On the other hand, Abdülhamid II preferred to live in the Yıldız Palace that was built up the hill of the Bosphorus Shore in Beşiktaş.

[181] Tekeli, İlhan. 1999, 29.

[182] Quoted in Tekeli, İlhan. 1999, 27.

[183]Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 21.

Spice Bazaar (*Mısır Çarşısı*) were the open areas where the public gathered. Similarly, non-Muslim communities would gather around synagogues and churches. The shores of *Haliç* had become attractions of the city in the early-18th century with places such as *Sadabad Gardens* in Kağıthane that were formed in accordance with the gardening techniques of Tuileries Palace in France that 28 Mehmed Çelebi specified in his travel notes. However, a new concept of green areas as parks emerged in İstanbul in the 1860s. Çelik points out that the Taksim Park *(Taksim Bahçesi)* in this context emerged as the first of the kind in the Ottoman capital, as specified with rectangular shape, symmetrical plan, design according to Beaux-Arts principles at the core, and picturesque motifs towards the edges.[184] After its completion, the Taksim Park became a popular parade for the public,[185] especially on Sunday afternoons when it was peopled and in summer time when it hosted performances of music and light operas (by French and Italian groups on the tour of İstanbul).[186] Turkish shadow play, *Karagöz* and *Hacivat,* popular in Ottoman society were then replaced by those new (western) styles of entertainments from the 19th century onwards.[187] Similarly, theatres were opened in the 1840s that were brought by foreign groups. In a few decades theatres began to be performed not only by foreigners but also by local people. Francis Marion-Crawford, who travelled to İstanbul in 1890, mentioned the Ottoman theatre -named *Kuşdili*- in Kadıköy, which played legendary events that took place in "Eastern societies", and he defined it as an inviting place even for foreigners who were strange to Ottoman language.[188]

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[184] Ibid., 57.

[185] Quoted in Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 57.

[186] Ibid., 57-58.

[187] Similarly, a part of the area next to the Muslim cemetery in Tozkoparan was turned into a park named *Tepebaşı Bahçesi* and another park was designed in Kısıklı in the Anatolian side called *Millet Bahçesi* in 1870. Quoted in Tekeli, İlhan. 1999, 26-27.

[188] Marion-Crawford, Francis. 2007, 74.

Beside theatres,[189] in the presence of new requirements for a modern way of living, the Ottoman society became acquainted with other new buildings types at the time. Galata and Pera became full of cafés, restaurants, banks, hotels, office blocks, and large stores. Those new buildings were realized in new architectural styles by forming a pluralistic and eclectic atmosphere in the end of the 19th century. Çelik generalizes those styles –although she calls this a tentative attempt- in four groups as neo-classical, Gothic, new forms of Islamic style, and Art Nouveau. Those styles were applied not only in new building types but also on already existing typologies such as mosques and *türbes*.[190] Beyond those new building types, new institutions such as libraries and archives[191] were also initiated in the late-19th century, presenting the contemporary desire to acquire knowledge and making knowledge available for all. One of such new scientific institutions of the nineteenth century that collected, preserved, and displayed historical artifacts to the public were the museums.

3.1. The Birth of Museology in the Ottoman Context

The initial steps for museology were taken in the first half of the 19th century. It has been generally accepted that the year of 1846 represents the beginning of museology in Ottoman history that were specified by legal provisions.[192] At the time, a collection of antiquities[193] together with antique weapons[194] were begun to be

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[189] The first cinema was also introduced in İstanbul in 1897 shortly after its invention by Lumiere Brothers in France. Quataert, Donald. 2004, 236.

[190] Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 101.

[191] An institutionalization on recording and documenting was begun in the state offices and accordingly, the State Archive (*Hazine-i Evrak*) was founded in that era which was also used to institutionalize modern administration memory. Ortaylı, İlber. 2004, 147.

[192] For the disccusions on the beginning date of museology in the Ottoman history, please see Shaw, Wendy. 2004. *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi = Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Translated by Esin Soğancılar. İstanbul: İletişim, 19-21.

[193] *Mecma-ı Âsâr-ı Âtika*.

gathered and sheltered under the roof of the Byzantine church of St. Irene. This is a milestone in Ottoman museology to be dealt in more detail below, offering remarkable evidence that the Ottoman Empire was no longer indifferent to history, archaeology, and displaying of antiquities, and valuable articles through museums.

The growing awareness towards such notions and requisition of collecting and displaying of historical items appeared among the Ottoman reformers initially that were the bureaucrats who were trained or experienced in administrative functions in European states.[195] Those Ottoman intellectuals were able to follow contemporary developments, and hence they could initiate a deliberate dialog with history, and have the potential to change the environment that they were involved in.[196] The close contact of Ottomans with Europe went back to the early-18th century, with the first representative of the Ottoman Empire, 28 Mehmed Çelebi, who was assigned as the Ottoman ambassador and sent to Paris in 1720. In addition to his official duty, 28 Mehmet Çelebi was asked to prepare a report –named *Sefaretname*- about his observations on social events, ceremonies, buildings of opera houses, theatres, palaces with their gardens, and generally the European way of life in France. The resulting information about Europe by Ottoman intellectuals and bureaucrats like 28 Mehmet Çelebi highly influenced construction of the palaces and gardens in the first quarter of the 18th century - that were all demolished during the rebellions of the 1730s. In that context, in the early-19th century, museums proliferated from the late-18th century onwards in Western Europe, should have called the attention of those people during their visits. The founding of the first museum in St. Irene was the success of Ahmed Fethi Paşa who represented the Ottoman Empire at the embassies of Paris and Vienna and instated in various duties in London and Moscow in the 1830s and 1840s. As a result of his experience in such foreign countries, Ahmed

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[194] *Mecma-ı Eslihâ-i Âtika*.

[195] The students sent to European countries for educational purposes during the reign of Mahmud II helped the emergence of an Ottoman intelligentsia who were familiar with the European culture.

[196] Ortaylı, İlber. 2004, 17.

Fethi Paşa adopted artistic and cultural activities that he saw there and he made use of all possibilities to carry out those in his homeland.[197] Besides Ahmed Fethi Paşa (1801-1858), Safvet Paşa (1814-1883), and Ahmet Vefik Paşa (1823-1891), who experienced foreign missions in European countries, and some people such as Suphi Paşa (1818-1866), and Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910), who were trained in European countries were some of the leading figures considered it necessary to keep the antiquities in the country and desired to preserve them in museum. The Ottoman Empire's understandable aim to retain its own heritage against exportation to European countries in legal and illegal ways very much corresponded to, and was even supported by "Westernization" attempts, which seemed to have played a key role in the formation of the first museum. "Growing contemporary Ottoman interest in antiquities, reflected an increased awareness of their role in the re-definition of the identity of the country, laying claim to participation in European culture."[198] This was as a result of the fact that the Ottomans, besides "Westernization" attempts, were also processing nationalist ideals aspiring to stake out a claim of their national heritage to be utilized in search of tracing their roots and forming collective identity of the Ottoman Empire. Similar to contemporary European societies' interest in classical antiquities, the Ottoman Empire also gave importance to Greco-Roman heritage, which would form the basis of the collection of the Ottoman Imperial Museum in İstanbul. In addition to such pervasive impact of nationalist ideals and "Westernization" attempts that led Ottoman intellectuals to possess rising interest towards history, archaeology, and museums, discovery of "East" and accordingly Ottoman lands by European powers created a consciousness among those people who initiated an approach of self-defense on the issue of cultural heritage and solution seeking against looting and smuggling of antiquities.

[197] Öz, Tahsin. 1948. *Ahmet Fethi Paşa ve Müzeler*. İstanbul: MEB Basımevi, 6.

[198] Donkov, Izabella. 2004. "The Ephesus Excavations 1863-1874, in the Light of the Ottoman Legislation on Antiquities." *Anatolian Studies* 54:109.

Those problems can be discussed in the frame of contemporary Orientalist understanding through which European societies developed an interest in the "Eastern world", emphasizing its spiritual values, culture, and history that resulted initiation of archeological researches on "Eastern lands", and resulted in such cases of the destruction of antiquities, smuggling of historical artifacts and their exportation to either private collections or museums in European countries. Those constituted potential factors in emergence of archaeological studies; the enactment of legislations on preserving antiquities, and the foundation of the museums were quite intertwined in the Ottoman/Turkish museum history.

The territories of the Ottoman Empire hosted various archaeological zones of the ancient world, particularly in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Anatolia, which were regarded as the cradle of civilization. The antiquities on Ottoman lands were esteemed very highly by western researchers, travelers, treasure hunters, and for ambassadors and political missioners since the late-18th and early-19th centuries.

Some of the travelers such as Richard Pococke (visited the Ottoman empire between 1736-1740), J.C. Hobhouse (1809-1810), William Turner (1816), and Anton von Prokesch (1824-1825) and several others visited Egypt, Middle East, Cyprus, Greece, and Anatolia, mainly such ancient sites of Ephesus, Magnesia, Clazomenae, Smyrna, Alabanda, Tralles, Hierapolis, Collossae, Sardis, Miletus, Didyma, Pergamon, and Troy in the Western Coast of Anatolia, as well as Constantinople. Those travelers wrote what they saw during their journeys by expressing their knowledge and observations on those lands.[199]

[199] For more info on 19th century travelers, please see Madran, Emre. 1981-1983. "19.Yüzyıl Gezi Yapıtlarında Batı Anadolu Arkeolojisi." *Anadolu* 21:227-237.

Besides those who were enthusiastic with antiquities, Ottoman lands also witnessed scientific researchers who attempted to measure, record, and explain ancient remains, statues, inscriptions and other types of archaeological artifacts. The initial researches to dig out antiquities were as follows: *Petra* (Jordan) and *Abu Simbel* (Egypt) were discovered by Swiss scholar Johann Ludwig Burckhardt in 1821; the tomb of I. Seti in the Kings Valley of Teb (Egypt) was discovered by Italian scholar Giovanni Battista Belzoni; and the Egyptian hieroglyphs were unraveled thanks to the *Rosetta Stone* by French scholar Jean François Champollion in 1822. French architect and archaeologist Charles Texier wandered around the ancient ruins of *Boğazköy* and *Yazılıkay*a and drew initial plans of the city. The Nereid Monument and some other reliefs and statues were discovered by the British archaeologist-traveler Charles Fellows in Xanthos (Southwest of Anatolia) in 1842 and were taken to the British Museum after obtaining legal permissions from the Ottoman Empire. In 1847 British archaeologist-counselor Sir Austin Henry Layard did archaeological excavations in *Nimrud*, *Nineveh* and some other Assyrian sites and similarly, a part of the finds were sent to the British Museum in 1847. The *Halicarnassus* (Southeast of Anatolia) freezes were discovered once they got the required permissions to dig out and were taken to the British Museum in 1846 by the British ambassador Lord Stratford Canning. John Turtle Wood found the Artemis Temple in Ephesus after his long run researches in 1862 and many artifacts were exported to the British Museum soon after.[200]

These scientific expeditions that were vitally important for the developments in archaeological studies resulted in unearthing antiquities, shipping them to be exhibited in European museums thanks to unlawful means or given permissions[201]

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[200] Cinoğlu, Uğur. 2002. *Türk Arkeolojisinde Theodor Makridi*. Master's Thesis, Marmara University, 24. Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999. *Türk Müzeciliği*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 13-25. İnankur, Zeynep and Semra, Germaner. 1989. *Oryantalism ve Türkiye*, Türk Kültürüne Hizmet Vakfı Sanat Yayınları, 4, İstanbul: Türk Kültürüne Hizmet Vakfı, 20. Şahin, Gürsoy. 2007. "Avrupalıların Osmanlı Ülkesindeki Eski Eserlerle İlgili İzlenimleri ve Osmanlı Müzeciliği." *Ankara Üniversitesi Dergisi* 26 (42):109.

in the absence of Ottoman legislations on preservation of antiquities. It has been known that from the 18th century onwards foreigners who visited Ottoman lands were seeking for diplomatic support to be able to search for historical artifacts and those amateur and professional archaeologists who had such permissions to unearth antiquities took away those pieces legally and illegally. Railway construction on the other hand, provided a suitable context for that. While it brought up-to-date technology in transportation, it also caused the destruction of antiquities and encouraged the smuggling of historical artifacts.[202] For instance, John Turtle Wood (1821-1890), an architect and surveyor who worked for the Ottoman railway company, found the ancient temple of Artemis in Ephesus and officially conducted excavations at Ephesus (1863-1874) on behalf of the British Museum. Over the course of those excavations that lasted 11 years, many pieces of antiques were exported after the *firmans,* since there were no laws yet to prohibit the process. Antiquities continued to be taken away but illegally with the decision of the Trustees of the British Museum when the renewal of the *firman* was no longer provided after the impact of growing Ottoman awareness of antiquities and the newly enacted legislations on antiquities in 1869 and 1874 later on.[203]

The example of Ephesus clearly presents a changing attitude of the Ottoman Empire towards antiquities in state level which promulgated particular legislations that prohibited removal of antiquities and suggested strict control over foreign excavations that were conducted in the Ottoman territories. The legislations of 1869 on antiquities coincided with the formation at the same year of the first museum of the Ottoman Empire, the Imperial Museum in Constantinople.[204]

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[201] For more information on the discovery of archaeological sites in Ottoman lands and smuggling of antiquities, please see Karaduman, Hüseyin. 2008. *Türkiye'de Eski Eser Kaçakçılığı*. Ankara: ICOM Türkiye Milli Komitesi, 130-175. Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 13-27.

[202] Karaduman, Hüseyin. 2008, 27.

[203] Donkov, Izabella. 2004, 109-117.

[204] Donkov, Izabella. 2004, 112.

3.1.1. The Foundation of the First Museum

For centuries, as in the Western European societies, the Ottoman State did not find it necessary to collect or preserve cultural artifacts except for the palace collections and wakf *(vakıf*). In his book titled *Enderun Tarihi*, Ata Bey mentioned that Sultan Mehmed II had an Imperial Treasury (*Hazine-i Hümâyûn*) with a library, and some Sultans had treasuries that were kept in their palaces of Bursa and Edirne which were full of precious objects. During the reign of Sultan Yavuz Selim, those spaces became inadequate for the vast number of collected objects, so a part of them were moved to the dungeons of *Yedikule*. Until the reign of Murat III, they were kept there, but during his period they were moved to the Topkapı Palace.[205] Abdülhak Şinasi (Hisar) evaluated this collection that was composed of jewelry, precious objects, weapons, Chinese porcelains and ceremonial costumes as the beginning of museology in the Ottoman Empire.[206] However, the attempt of forming that type of a collection was not assessed in the right sense of collecting, but rather was developed as the result of respect to ancestors and loyalty to customs especially from the 16th century onwards.[207] According to Semavi Eyice, on the other hand, the first attempts for museology even went back to the Seljuk period.[208] One of the mounds surrounded by city walls in Konya had then been constructed with so many kinds of engraved stones that were inserted onto the walls;[209] and it is known that this type of pragmatic applications were frequently seen in many places such as for the construction of the Süleymaniye Complex, for which used materials that

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[205] Şinasi, Abdülhak. 1933. "Bizde Müzeciliğin Başlangıçları", *Ülkü* 2:132. Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 79.

[206] Şinasi, Abdülhak. 1933,132.

[207] Pasinli, Alpay. 2003. *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi*. Akbank Kultur ve Sanat Dizisi 71. İstanbul: Mas Matbaacılık, 12.

[208] Eyice, Semavi. 1989-1990. "Müzeciliğimizin Başlangıcı ve Türk-İslam Eserleri Müzeleri", *Müze/Museum* 2-3:5-8.

[209] Eyice, Semavi. 1985. "Arkeoloji Müzesi ve Kuruluşu." In *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi 6*, 1596-1603. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1596.

belonged to earlier periods were brought from İstanbul and other places.[210] Eyice stated that this method of storing historical materials was utilized to prevent their destruction.[211]

In this process, the Ottoman State's increasing consciousness about their cultural heritage and their attempt to gather and preserve it gained a new dimension with the foundation of the first Ottoman museum in Istanbul towards the end of the 19th century. In that context, there have been different approaches to understand the beginning of museology in Ottoman history.[212] However, it has come to be widely accepted that museology in the Ottoman period started with the collection housed in the Church of St. Irene.

The Church of St. Irene (Hagia Eirini)

In 1846 a collection of antiquities came to be stored in the former church of St. Irene, which was named as the *Mecma-ı Âsâr-ı Âtika* with the ancient weapons called *Mecma-ı Eslihâ-i Âtika*. This Byzantine church was not converted into a mosque after the conquest of Constantinople, but came to be used as the Internal arsenal *(İç Cebehane*) of older collection of arms and armory that were obtained as spoil of war from the mid-15th century onwards.[213] (Figure 27) When the historical church dated 4th century was burnt in 532 AD during the revolts, the existing church

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[210] İncicyan, P.Ğ. 1976. *18. Asırda İstanbul.* Trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan. İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 47. Gürsoy Şahin quotes some travelers' approaches who stated that the Sultan was not embarrassed to let any historical masonry to have been carried to İstanbul during construction of his Palace. Şahin, Gürsoy. 2007, 104.

[211] Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1596.

[212] Shaw, Wendy M.K. 2004, 19-21. Some sources specified the opening year of the museum as 1847. Mumcu, Ahmet. 1969. Eski Eserler Hukuku ve Türkiye, *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 3-4 (26):68. Ogan, Aziz. 1947. *Türk Müzeciği'nin 100. Yıldönümü*. İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu/ İstanbulu Sevenler Grubu Yayınlarından, 3.

[213] Sakaoğlu, Necdet. 2002. *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun: Topkapı Sarayı*. İstanbul: Denizbank, 65. Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1596.

was re-constructed by Emperor Justinian I (527-565).[214] Together with the Topkapı Palace, the building sits on one of the seven hills of the city of Istanbul.[215] (Figure 28) The palace area formed the acropolis of the ancient Byzantium. The Ottoman dynasty lived there until 1853 when Sultan Abdülmecid I moved to the new palace of *Dolmabahçe* in *Beşiktaş*. The Janissaries used the church as an armory which was also utilized as a warehouse for war booty. The arsenal function of St. Irene lasted until the mid-eighteenth century. During the reign of Sultan Ahmed III (1673–1736) it was converted into an armory museum. From 1726 onwards, in parallel to contemporary modernization attempts, the idea of founding a military museum emerged. Thus, by doing some re-organizations and necessary set up, it gained the form of a kind of museum, which was named as the Military Museum (known as *Dârü'l-Eslihâ).*[216] However, the practice was not long-lived: The janissary revolts and some rebellions plundered the collection of janissary equipments and weapons especially during the abolition of guild of Janissaries and exposed to be closed during the reigns of Sultan Selim III (1761-1808) and Sultan Mahmud II (1785-1839).[217] Stuart W. Pyhrr stated that precious weapons were moved to the Imperial Treasury and some others were given as present to foreigners after the Janissary revolts.[218] However, after 1839-1840s, a great loss in the collection was observed when it was named as the Arsenal (*Harbiye Ambarı*) during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid I (1823-1861). "Vast quantities of European and Islamic armor and weapons were thrown out of St. Irene, apparently as scrap."[219] Those exported items were now in the museums and private collections around as

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[214] Sakaoğlu, Necdet. 2002, 64.

[215] According to İncicyan, the former structure on the same location was also called as St. Irene where the First Council of Constantinople took place from May to July 381. İncicyan, P.Ğ. 1976, 57.

[216] For some historians, this date could also be accepted as the beginning of museology in the Empire. Eralp, Tahir Nejat. 1985. "Askeri Müze." In *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 6:1604.

[217] Ibid., 1604.

[218] Quoted in Pyhrr, Stuart W. 1989. "European Armor from the Imperial Ottoman Arsenal." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 24:87.

[219] Pyhrr, Stuart W. 1989, 87.

recorded by Robert Curzon, the former consular attaché in Constantinople (1841-1844) and a collector of weapons.[220] (Figure 29, 30)

In general terms, it has been widely accepted that Turks were known as relatively indifferent to the works of art, ancient ruins, and historical artifacts. This situation could be explained with Islamic societies' incongruity with "Western arts" of painting and sculpture as well as ancient art works. Foreign travelers' accounts confirm that Turks did not recognize the value of ancient artifacts and even stated that Turks and Christian minorities did not refrain themselves to sell those artifacts to foreigners.[221] Some of the travelers such as Francis-Marion Crawford expressed that this indifference was due to the Islamic character that forbade depiction of anything that breathed; instead, calligraphy was equal to what a painting of a great artist meant.[222] The interest in the past relied on such various factors like artistic or economic factors, usage values of historical artifacts or religion originated fear or respect. Those factors let countries to come out against cultural properties.[223]

However, establishing a museum that had two collections of military equipments as well as archaeological items could be deemed as a kind of break off with the earlier approach towards ancient works, and could be regarded as an indicator of the growing awareness among the ruling class about the issue. Hence, for example, it has been reported that Sultan Abdülmecid I ordered ancient objects that he saw on his journey to be sent to Istanbul and gathered in St. Irene during his visit of Yalova

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[220] Ibid., 87.

[221] Şahin, Gürsoy. 2007, 104-105.

[222] Marion-Crawford, Francis. 2007, 57.

[223] Quoted in Şimşek, Fatma and Güven Dinç. 2009. "XIX. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Eski Eser Anlayışının Doğuşu ve Bu Alanda Uygulanan Politikalar." *Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 10 (16):103.

in 1845.[224] Thanks to the zeal of Ahmed Fethi Pasa, Marshall of Imperial Arsenal (*Tophane)*, the first attempt in museology occurred. Due to his abroad experience in Vienna, Moscow, and Paris in the 1830s, he came out with the idea of a museum project to save and protect ancient artifacts.[225] Aziz Ogan claimed that "his idea and contemplation to set a nucleus for a museum within the closed area of *Darü'l-Eslihâ* clearly substantiates his refined cultural delicacy."[226] Consequently, an official way of collecting ancient artifacts in a museum was initiated in 1846.[227]

The church has the form of a Roman basilica with has a nave that leads towards and ends with an apse in the southeastern direction which is covered with a half dome; and the nave is flanked by two aisles covered with vaults and a narthex. (Figure 31-34) The church was expanded with later extensions in the 8th century when galleries with an atrium were also added. Sermet Mouktar's book on *Musee Militaire Ottoman*, even if a later publication, shows the plan of the former church and the young museum in 1920 with its extensions in all periods. (Figure 35,36)

The main space and the aisles of the former museum were reserved for holding armory. (Figure 37,38) Precious relics, such as the sword of Mohammed, arm sheeting of Timur, arms and armor of several famous persons, some pieces of armor richly ornamented and gilded, and latch keys of conquered cities were placed into the apse that was turned into a displaying area. The atrium attached with two galleries in the 8th century came to be used for displaying the double collections. As of 1846 a small collection of ancient artifacts with a collection of historical weapons

[224] Yücel, Erdem. 1999. *Türkiye'de Müzecilik*. İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 30.

[225] Donkov, Izabella. 2004, 112. Shaw, Wendy. 2004, 43.

[226] Ogan, Aziz. 1947. *Türk Müzeciği'nin 100. Yıldönümü*. İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu/ İstanbulu Sevenler Grubu Yayınlarından, 3.

[227] On the other hand, it has been stated the earliest date that an object was recorded was 1851. Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 4.

that formed the basis of all the collection were inserted in the corridors that were divided by an atrium in the middle. The names of the museums were inscribed on the marble door jambs opening to the atrium. The atrium was fenestrated and was devoted for display of the sarcophaguses, sculptures, fragments of reliefs that had formed the core of the Byzantine museum.[228]

To the north of the building, there are some extensions to the main building that were constructed during the Ottoman period after the conquest of İstanbul. Those vaulted rooms had also arms and armors, and some other military objects. There were staircases leading to the displaying hall of the museum from the main door of the church as shown in an old photograph, probably a later period.[229] (Figure 39)

An important point that should be revealed on this building is that a special room was assigned for Sultan Abdülmecid I after its re-organization as a museum by Ahmed Fethi Paşa. This room was planned for his rests during his visits to the museum[230] and it has been told that it was decorated as a small-size duplicate of a Louis XVI room in French palaces. The room located in between the atrium and the main space might have had European style of furniture with colorful and gilded decoration.[231]

[228] Dethier, P.A. 1993. *Boğaziçi ve İstanbul: 19. Yüzyıl Sonu*. Introduction by Semavi Eyice, translated by Ümit Öztürk. İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 42. Eyice, Semavi. 1985. "Arkeoloji Müzesi ve Kuruluşu." In *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 6:1597. Shaw, Wendy. 2004, 45-47. Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 82.

[229] İncicyan, P.Ğ. 1976, 57-58.

[230] It has been mentioned in some sources that Abdülmecid I visited the museum several times. Öz, Tahsin. 1948, 7.

[231] Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1599. Eralp, Tahir Nejat. 1985, 1604.

French writer and art historian Theophille Gautier was one of the first visitors to the museum in 1852 and he wrote that the museum was organized according to a kind of military order and system. Likewise Gautier, Albert Dumont also recorded in 1867 that objects from Greek, Roman, early Christian and Byzantine periods were displayed in the cabinets placed in a large closed hall, in the atrium preceding this hall and in the atrium located at the left of the entryway to *Harbiye Ambarı*. However, the collection was described somehow differently by the French writer Gustave Flaubert in his travel notes after having visited the museum in 1850. What he saw in the museum and wrote in his memories were a sculpture of a masquerader, several busts, some pots and pans, Egyptian hieroglyphs, and some inscriptions.[232]

In addition to the collection housed in the St. Irene, the museum building was evaluated and even found praiseworthy by Phillip Anton Dethier in terms of its museological characteristics. He was quite assertive, however, with having an Orientalist thinking by saying: "This *Harbiye Ambarı* with the preciousness of the exhibited collections and delicate organization of displays may well prove the fact that it is possible to reach a highly agreeable and acceptable museological style, even in the Orient".[233] On the other hand, it was criticized by Aziz Ogan, one of the former directors of the İstanbul Archaeological Museum that the objects were not accurately analyzed, and over the odds, displayed objects were even preserved and cleaned by sentries.[234] Similarly, Albert Dumont also claimed that the objects in the galleries were disorderly displayed and terribly damaged due to humidity and insufficient care. The thing that he found upsetting was unregistered condition of the collections in the museum.[235]

[232] Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1597.

[233] Dethier, P.A. 1993, 42.

[234] Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 4.
[235] Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1597.

Even though the initial museum trial was not an outstanding attempt in terms of museology, and hence the selection of the building was to serve a very practical purpose, there were particular underlying thoughts that should be considered here. One of those belonged to Gülru Necipoğlu who stated that the Topkapı Palace was consciously constructed above the Byzantium Acropolis[236] and accordingly the museum area has to come acquire a considerable importance through the same approach. With a splendid location in an old Byzantine church located at the outermost courtyard, the museum constituted a kind of a buffer zone between the public and the palace. Having this advantage, the symbolic meaning of this building that was combined with a rich collection extending back to a glorious past, became an impressive tool to imply the Ottoman power and domination by calling upon its conquest of Constantinople to the local masses and foreign visitors.[237] Similarly, Wendy Shaw states that the location of the museum would provide a secure place to the collections by underlining the power and gratification of Ottoman Empire that possessed, collected, and displayed such collections.[238] Dumont evaluated the building from a totally different and biased perspective, and praised the former church building as an architectural monument. He noted that no other Greco-Byzantine structure of similar characteristics could reach to the superior level of this building.[239]

In 1869, during the grand viziership of Ali Paşa and the term of Safvet Paşa as the Minister of Education, the depot was officially established as a museum and was called as the Ottoman Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümâyûn)*.[240] This development

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[236] Necipoğlu, Gülru. 2007. *15. ve 16. Yüzyılda Topkapı Sarayı: Mimari, Tören ve İktidar*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 304.

[237] Quoted in Pyhrr, Stuart W. 1989, 87. Şimşek, Fatma and Güven Dinç. 2009, 106.

[238] Shaw, Wendy. 2004, 42.

[239] Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1597.

[240] Kamil Su specifies it as 1868. Su, Kamil. 1965. *Osman Hamdi Bey'e Kadar Türk Müzesi*. ICOM Türkiye Milli Komitesi Yayınları, 3:8. The first official document in which the institution was named as the Museum was dated 29.01.1869. Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 85-86.

was initiated by Safvet Paşa's circular letter sent to governors ordering preservation of antiquities in the territories of their provinces against demolition, and transfer of those safely to the Imperial Museum in Istanbul.[241] British history teacher as well as inspector of instruction at the Imperial College of Galatasaray (*Mekteb-i Sultani*), Edward Goold, was appointed as the first director of the museum, and worked there between the years of 1869-1871.[242] (Appendix A)

The first scientific publication on museum works in the Empire was a kind of catalog that was prepared by Albert Dumont who obtained a special permission to visit the museum in 1867.[243] This was published in *Revue Archaeologique* in a 26-page article titled *Le Musee Sainte-Irene a Constantinople Antiquities Grecques, Greco-Romaines et Byzantines* in 1868.[244] As the title clarifies, the collection belonged to ancient ages and extended to the period of the Byzantine Empire until its collapse in the mid-15th century. By going further, Eyice restricted its scope by claiming that there was even no artifact mentioned apart from ancient times in this catalogue.[245] In this small catalogue, a collection of sculptures, metalwork, earthenware were described as well as some archaeological artifacts that were displayed in the museum called as *Elbise-i Atika,* and displayed on Janissary models in a museum at the Sultanahmet Square.[246] However, it is questionable to keep

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[241] Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 4.

[242] Ibid., 4.

[243] Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1597.

[244] Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1597. Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 83.

[245] Eyice, Semavi. 1990, 7.

[246] *Elbise-i Âtika* has been also known as *Musee des Janissaires*. Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1597-1598. Wendy Shaw states that those models were taken from the Church of St. Irene in 1852 and moved to a new and separate place called Ancient Costumery (*Elbise-i Âtika)* on the *At Meydanı* across the Sultanahmet Mosque. While those collections were emphasizing the success of the Janissaries on the other hand, such museum also proved that the Janisarries were imbedded in history and were no longer alive. Shaw draws attention to three matters: First, such display of historical models proved how far the Ottoman military was from Islamic iconoclasticism. The second one is the conscious attempt and aim of clarifying the political agenda towards the Janissaries that was supported with the

those Greco-Roman pieces in such a costume museum in the 1850s instead of collecting them in St. Irene where archaeological objects were hold.[247]

Besides this publication, a short catalogue of a selected collection in the museum was prepared by the museum directorate itself and published in 1871 as a 58-page catalogue. This catalogue was named as *Le Musee Imperial de Constantinople* and was dedicated to the Grand Vizier Ali Paşa.[248] In the same year, after his death, the directorship of the museum was abolished upon the order of the new Grand Vizier, Mahmud Nedim Paşa. A painter named Terenzio was charged with keeping the collection of the museum upon the suggestion of the Austrian ambassador, Prokesch Osten. During his work there for about a year, he failed to make an inventory of the collection even if he attempted to do so.[249]

With the accession of Midhat Paşa (1822-1884) as the Grand Vizier and Ahmet Vefik Paşa as the Minister of Education in 1872, the museum directorate was re-established. Ahmet Vefik Paşa set up a museum directorship for the second time and hired the German historian, archaeologist, epigraphist, and painter, Dr. Phillip Anton Dethier, who proved to be so successful at collecting materials that the idea of a purposely built museum started to gain tract. Dethier was appointed as the new director who was the head master of the Austrian College in İstanbul. He was trained in archaeology, art history, philology, and history at Berlin University

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location of the museum. This location was corresponded to the uprising of the Janissaries that occurred in the Sultanahmet area. The third matter of concern is the new and closer location of the museum which provided easy access to the public. Those models were taken to the Church of St. Irene around 1868. Likewise the first move, the reason behind this second transfer could not have been understood. Shaw, Wendy. 2004, 54, 55, 58.

[247] Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1598.

[248] Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 87. Also in the same year, the entrance fee was determined as 100 *para,* however it was implemented as late as 1881. Su, Kamil. 1965, 14.

[249] Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 4.

between the years of 1823-1827. Dethier fulfilled his work for 9 years until his death in 1881.[250] During his work for the museum, he succeeded the implementation of new regulations on antiquities in 1874 upon the former regulations proclaimed in 1869.

This was of considerable importance as it legitimized protection of antiquities by regulations. Ahmet Mumcu clearly presented the development of those regulations beginning his article by mentioning the efforts that were initiated in 1847. Before that year, there was no legislation enforceable to punish crimes on antiquities. In 1858, according to criminal codes, those whoever would give damage to sacred and monumental buildings were to be punished.[251] The first legislations especially concerning antiquities were published in the official newspaper of *Takvim-i Vekayi* on 13.02.1869.[252] According to those legislations, carrying out a research in the territories of the Ottoman Empire was subjected to permissions to be taken from the Ministry of Education.[253] The second series of those legislations were issued on 07.04.1874, which were implemented in order to fill the missing points; for example, for the first time immovable properties were included in this scope and in addition to this for conducting an excavation, it was now required to fulfill requested duties and pay the fee to the state. Besides, if an antiquity was found on any land, it would be shared among the state, land owner, and the founder according to the new laws.[254] However, it would legitimize transportation of antiquities in case a foreigner attempted to export it outside of the Empire.[255] Those legal gaps would last up until the implementation of new regulations in 1884 that is to be

[250] Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1601. Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 90-91.

[251] Mumcu, Ahmet. 1969. "Eski Eserler Hukuku ve Türkiye", *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 3-4 (26):68.

[252] Karaduman, Hüseyin. 2004. "Belgelerle İlk Türk Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi." *Belgeler* 25/29:79.

[253] Mumcu, Ahmet. 1969, 69.
[254] Ibid., 70.

[255] Karaduman, Hüseyin. 2004, 95.

examined with the project executer, Osman Hamdi Bey who became a director of the museum after Dethier's death.

Dethier's second project was to establish a School of Antiquities (or School of Museology or Archaeology) called *İzzeddiniye* to train employees required for the museum management. The Imperial Order of the Sultan Abdülaziz was issued on 03.02.1875; however, this project was not implemented.[256] A document found in the State Archives deals with the program of the school by emphasizing the necessity of having such an institution against increasing demand in parallel to the rise of archaeological studies. It was planned that this two-year school was to offer courses on history, ancient Greek and Latin language and some other related courses. And the students who had excellence in French language to be allowed in this program.[257] (Appendix B)

Dethier's another achievement and one of the primary concerns of this thesis is the moving of the museum from the Church of St. Irene to the Tiled Pavilion *(Çinili Köşk*).[258] The museum in St. Irene was described in various sources as looking like a depot that would store antiquities. The spaces were both insufficient and inconvenient for the purpose of display.[259] Furthermore, the sculptures, tablets, and reliefs were placed irregularly in the galleries of the museum.[260] However, the

[256] Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1602. For extended information on this school please see Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 102-104 and Cezar, Mustafa. 1995. *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi I, II*. İstanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı, 243-245.

[257] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives. YEE 41/23. However, the date of this document was not given.

[258] The Tiled Pavilion was commissioned by Sultan Mehmed II in 1472. It is one of the oldest structures in Istanbul featuring Ottoman civil architecture, and was a part of the Topkapı Palace outer gardens. It was used as the Imperial Museum between 1875 and 1891 before the collection moved to the newly constructed main building. It was opened to public in 1953 as the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, and was later incorporated into the İstanbul Archaeological Museum.

[259] Su, Kamil. 1965, 7,12.

rate of humidity was terribly damaging for historical artifacts. The report dated 30.01.1872, written by the Board of Education and Discipline (*Talim Terbiye Dairesi*) of the Ministry of Education verified the inconvenient situation of the museum by specifying the tendency of the antiquities to have rusted and decayed. The same report also stated that the existed building was not able to serve public access and fulfill the development of such activities of education and fine arts. For those reasons, the report indicated that a new space was required for the museum.[261]

For that reason, it was proposed to buy a land around *Çemberlitaş* (district where the Column of Constantine was erected), and construct a two storey building that was planned as "orderly and convenient" to be composed of a library and a museum. While the upper storey was to be designed as a day-long open public library, the ground floor was planned as a museum named as *Müze-i Osmani* that was organized properly to display antiquities. An entrance fee was proposed dueing public access to the museum. Due to the unavailability of existing state budget, however, this building project could not be realized in 1872.[262] Kamil Su evaluated this project as a proof both for the necessity of constructing a new museum building from the point of state administration, and for the adoption of the idea of displaying museum collection to the public. This foreseeing attempt could be deemed as the first effort for constructing a new museum building.[263]

Some reasons caused the construction of a new museum building to be postponed for several years. Instead, the Tiled Pavilion was utilized as a museum. One of the

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[260] Ibid., 7.

[261] Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 89.

[262] Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 89. Su, Kamil. 1965, 9-10,40-42.

[263] Su, Kamil. 1965, 10.

factors that quickened the adoption of such a building was 88 boxes of antiquities found in Cyprus that were brought to İstanbul in 1873.[264] According to several sources, the museum director even insisted on the construction of a new museum building in exchange for selling duplicate antiquities. Due to some challenges, however, the Tiled Pavilion was found as the best solution.[265] It has been widely accepted that the idea of adopting such a building was proposed by Suphi Paşa who was appointed as the Minister of Education. He was a great scholar especially interested in history, philology, and numismatics.[266] As a result, this idea was approved by Sultan Abdülaziz and an imperial decree was enacted in 24.08.1875.[267] Thereby, the collection was moved from the Church of St. Irene to the Tiled Pavilion in 1876.[268] After five years of restoration process, the museum was opened to the public in 1880.

Tiled Pavilion (Çinili Köşk)

This building was built by the order of Sultan Mehmed II on the Sarayburnu peninsula between Golden Horn (*Haliç*) and the Sea of Marmara in 1472 as it can be understood from its inscription panel. It was constructed almost at the same time with the Palace. It is located on the outer gardens of the Topkapı Palace, however, was laid inside the walls (*Sûr-ı Sultani*) surrounding the palace. The pavilion has been known as a non-official building designed as the Sultan's private residence. As the miniature named *Hünername* depicted by Molla Tiflisi in the 16th century, the area in the front portico of the Pavilion was a sand terrace, named *Ağa Çayırı,* which hosted plays such as *cirit* (the Central Asian horseback game akin to polo),

[264] Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 93. Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 9.

[265] Cezar, Mustafa. 1995, 238.

[266] Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 7. Hisar, Abülhak Şinasi. 2010. *Türk Müzeciliği*. Yayına hazırlayan, Necmettin Turinay. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 27.

[267] Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 96.

[268] Su, Kamil. 1965, 13.

wooden balls, and riding. (Figure 40) These games were traced from the porches of the pavilion by statesmen and also even the Sultan himself.[269] The pavilion was located on the way where the Regiment of Surre *(Surre Alayı*) started their journey to Mecca and Medina, and was sent off with ceremonies by the public every year until 1864.[270] It is also known that the pavilion was located on the through-road for the Sultan when he used to go out from the *Perde Kapısı* of the Topkapı Palace for the Procession of Sword *(Kılıç Alayı*).[271] (Figure 41, 42)

Dethier mentioned that the area was a terrace that was decorated by the pavilion and the entrance to this area was through a small door next to the Imperial Mint *(Darphane*). He also stated that the pavilion was named as the Konstantinos Kiosk without a known reason to call it so. Moreover, he presented a different approach by saying that in the past the pavilion had been used as a museum for janissary costumes on wax models. Later those garments were moved to the Church of St. Irene and to the School of Commerce and Art at the Hippodrome.[272] Also in some source, it has been mentioned that the pavilion served for the *Saray Ağa,* starting immediately after the fire of 1737 until its opening as a museum in 1880.[273]

The Tiled Pavilion, the first built pavilion of the Topkapı Palace complex, has a central plan accentuated with a dome and it gains a cross shape plan with its exposed side on its southern façade. Two iwans *(eyvan*) on both sides and four

[269] Seçkin, Nadide. 1998. *Topkapı Sarayı'nın Biçimlenmesine Egemen olan Tasarım Gelenekleri Üzerine bir Araştırma (1453-1755*). Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 127. Tuncay, Hülya. 1980. *Çinili Köşk*. Topkapı Museum Series 4, İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, 3. Orgun, Zarif. "Çinili Köşk", 6.

[270] Aydın, Nilüfer. 2007. *Çinili Köşk Müzesi*, photographed by Turhan Bilgili. İstanbul: Diacan Grafik ve Matbaacılık Tic. Ltd. Şti, 10. Orgun, Zarif. "Çinili Köşk", 6.

[271] Aydın, Nilüfer. 2007, 10. Orgun, Zarif. "Çinili Köşk", 6.

[272] Dethier, P.A. 1993, 42.

[273] Aydın, Nilüfer. 2007, 11.

rooms at each of the four corners with a hearth form the main layout of its plan that lies in north-south direction. Due to its position on an inclined ground, the pavilion is a single storey building on the entrance façade, and two- storey on the southern façade. The entrance has a porch that is composed of 14 marble columns. The main iwan is decorated with tiles and those much alike Seljuk manner. The entryway is framed with a non-arched marble-doorframe.[274] (Figure 43-48)

Necdet Sakaoğlu claims that like the first Ottoman mosques, the pavilion has an iwan and central *sofa* plan, and is a unique example of Ottoman architecture under the influence of Iranian-Anatolian style.[275] The Iranian influence was discussed in detail in Gülru Necipoğlu's inspiring book on the Topkapı Palace. She stated that this pavilion was built in the manner of Timurid of Iranian and Turanian (Central Asia), and typically not in accord with Ottoman architectural traditions. Typical Timurid style of arches, vaults, tile decorations could have been done by Iranian craftsman that might have worked in Karaman before. Necipoğlu referred to Angiolello who also underlined that the pavilion was built according to the Iranian style and decorated according to the manner adopted in the Karaman region.[276] Similarly, another source also confirmed this approach, claiming that the pavilion presented a different typological example among other kiosk structures varied in terms of its location, Iranian style of design principle, façade order, architectural and structural form, and materials.[277] The same source attributed the entrance porch of the kiosk to the colonnaded entrance of Greek architecture, Anatolian Hilani, Iraqi talar, and Chinese structures that laid back to old and common usage. As the

[274] Tuncay, Hülya. 1980, 3-4. Sakaoğlu, Necdet. 2002, 74. Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 97. Necipoğlu, Gülru. 2007, 272.

[275] Sakaoğlu, Necdet. 2002, 74.

[276] Necipoğlu, Gülru. 2007, 269-272.

[277] Seçkin, Nadide. 1998, 132.

product of a long period and diversity, this variety should also be evaluated as natural.[278]

It has been quite often mentioned that the restoration process of the pavilion to run it into a museum was not conducted to revive its original state. A Romanian architect, Monterano was involved in the process,[279] but many writers have claimed that he failed in this task.[280] In order to carry up the heavy stone statues such as the Bes statue from *Amanthus* (Cyprus) to the pavilion, the original staircases were replaced by double-sided staircases in front of the building.[281] (Figure 49-52) Besides this replacement, the tiles were excessively damaged during restoration. The glazed tile bricks laid on the lateral facades were whitewashed; and the wooden carved door was replaced with an iron gate. Tile laying on the walls were also damaged due to the installation of displaying shelves. Some of the existing walls and doors of the pavilion were demolished for doing some new additions for instance; some niches were filled, hearths were walled and new doors were opened for transforming the pavilion to a museum.[282] (Figure 53)

The museum was inaugurated on 16.08.1880.[283] It has been stated that the number of attendants' inauguration was little simply because the date of the inaugural ceremony overlapped with Ramadan.[284] As the official documents indicated, the

[278] Ibid., 132.

[279] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives I.MMS 53/2348, 31.07.1291.

[280] Pasinli, Alpay. 2003, 16. Öz, Tahsin. 1948, 9.

[281] Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 97. Those staircases were taken down in 1950. Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1602.

[282] Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 8. Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 97. Eyice, Semavi. 1985, 1602.

[283] Pasinli, Alpay. 2003,16. Cezar, Mustafa. 1995, 241.

[284] Şinasi, Abdülhak. 1933, 136.

museum was planned to be "open" on-every day basis; however, the ladies were allowed only on Wednesdays. The opening hours were designated as from 9 am to 4 pm[285], except Fridays and Sundays. Also, the entrance fees were priced as 5 *kuruş* on Tuesdays and 2,5 *kuruş* on rest of the days in a week.[286]

The placing of the collection in the museum was described as follows: The two rooms at the entrance of the pavilion were allocated for such antiquities from Tadmor[287] (*Tedmüriyye, Palmyra)* and Himyarite Kingdom[288] (*Himyeriyye);* and the main space was reserved for Roman and Greek antiquities, while the other two rooms ahead towards the corners were allocated for antiquities brought from Cyprus and the other one was used to hold the objects of the Bronze Age. The cloisters were filled with Byzantine antiquities. In addition to those, a few numbers of Hittite objects were also displayed in the museum.[289] (Figure 54)

The opening of the Tiled Pavilion marks a significant change in accordance with the conditions of the late-19th century. It was remarkable that *Bâb-ı Âli* felt the need of having a separate building allocated for a museum and opened it to public access. The Minister of Education of the era, Münif Paşa, revealed this progressive attempt at the inauguration ceremony of the museum building, the Tiled Pavilion, saying that "it was the goal of our developing country to establish a museum in Istanbul in parallel to the other civilized countries. The completion of this museum, filling a niche, should be a fountain of serenity for all of us as a monumental masterpiece created by His Almighty and Imperial Highness the Sultan, who has

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[285] Kamil Su indicated that the museum was open from 2 to 9 according to Alaturca time. Su, Kamil. 1965, 14.

[286] Su, Kamil. 1965, 14, 70-71.

[287] The ancient city in central Syria, also known as Palmyra.

[288] Himyarite was a kingdom in ancient Yemen.

[289] Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. 1936. *Müzeler Tarihi.* İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası, 45-48.

been serving his royal efforts for the proliferation and extension of similar institutions."[290] It can be understood from Münif Paşa's speech that the role of the museum and archaeology were taken as indispensible for a civilized society. He tried to put forward the civilized status of the Ottoman Empire by emphasizing that it had progressed as it had been the case for other civilized countries.[291]

However, it is hard to say that the Tiled Pavilion was more spacious than the Church of St. Irene considering available areas of usage existed in those two buildings. Depending on Millingen's plan for the St. Irene one can make a very rough estimation on the sizes of the building. (Figure 55) The former museum with its atrium extension might have a total of 3000 m2 closed area. More than half of the building was used for *Harbiye Ambarı,* and the rest was reserved for antique weapons and archaeological objects almost equally. This rough estimation leads one to think that the space allocated for archaeological collections was almost 600 m2. On the other hand, the total area of the Tiled Pavilion is almost 900 m2.[292] Considering the margin of error, the areas of those two buildings devoted for displaying collections are almost at par in size. So, one could raise the question why the Tiled Pavilion was selected as the new museum of a long-term project.

The official documents indicated that the move of the collection from St. Irene Church to the Tiled Pavilion was also a kind of an indispensable requirement for holding the military weapons in a special and safe place. To let foreign visitors access and watch those weapons closely (after obtaining special permissions from the Sultan) might be regarded as a potential threat for revealing the armory. Thus, leaving those armories in the Church of St. Irene and sending the rest to another

[290] Cezar, Mustafa. 1995, 241.

[291] Cezar, Mustafa. 1995, 241-242.

[292] Please see Figure 45. Aydın, Nilüfer. 2007, 23.

place was the main purpose.[293] (Appendices C) The Tiled Pavilion was found convenient for such a function; however, strikingly the correspondences indicate that that there was no other appropriate place for that function.[294] (Appendix D) It seems that the fastest and easiest solution in terms of logistics was to choose the Tiled Pavilion. It was not evaluated as a kind of step forward, but rather it should have been regarded as a provisional remedy.

Such an attempt to give a new function to one of the annexes of the Topkapı Palace could be perceived as a simple and practical resolution; however, one needs to question exactly to what extent 15th century Ottoman building has been accepted among the society as museum in the 19th century. Due to the lack of sources, it is not quite possible to know exactly. The Tiled Pavilion building was evaluated by Münif Paşa as an outstanding example of the architectural style of the Conqueror's period accepted as the antiquity of the Empire, and was found very much compatible with the museum idea.[295] On the other hand, there have been plenty of sources on that issue that were written in later periods. In fact, those scholars were not against making the Tiled Pavilion as museum, but against the incompatibility of the archaeological collection with the Ottoman period building. Zarif Orgun stated that having been transformed into a sculpture museum creates an incongruity with the structure and character of the building. For that reason, sorting out the antiquities and placing them in another building was an appropriate practice although it was a late progress.[296] Another writer, Remzi Oğuz Arık, also pointed out the same issue in the 1950s that the Tiled Pavilion should have put forth its

[293] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives. A.MKT.MHM 471/11, 28 Şevval 1290.
Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives. A.MKT.MHM 471/11.

[294] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives. A.MKT.MHM 471/11.

[295] Cezar, Mustafa. 1995, 242.
[296] Orgun, Zarif. "Çinili Köşk", 6.

character by displaying Mehmed the Conqueror's personal costumes, portraits, arms, books, and other objects belonging to such a period.[297]

In the light of such information, one should discuss the meaning of the Tiled Pavilion in both architectural terms and with reference to collective memory. As briefly pointed out above, it would be hard to say that the Tiled Pavilion had been built very similar in comparison to the other buildings of the palace. As Necipoğlu suggested, it rather reflected the Iranian way of planning in architectural terms and construction techniques and materials. She attributed this manner to the political projects of Sultan Mehmed II. She stated that the Tiled Pavilion was built to demonstrate the Sultan's aim to have control over Iran and to conquer the whole world and to compete with other Islamic capitals that shared international Timurid culture.[298] In addition to its architectural evaluation that put forward its dissimilarity with the rest of the buildings in the palace complex, in terms of its function the Tiled Pavilion had been used for hosting some entertainments (*bezm*)[299] that were organized for the Sultan. Its farther location being outside of the ceremonial courtyards of the palace sets one to think about why those entertainments were held in this pavilion.[300] The Tiled Pavilion fulfilled a variety of functions such as serving as part of the Imperial Mint in the late-16th century, and being used by the *Saray Ağası* after the fire in 1737. It is also possible to assert that most of the time the space had remained idle, or had not taken on a significant task and not assigned with a specific and identified function. So it rather seemed to carry a title as a secondary functional area in the Topkapı Palace complex. This brief literal survey helps conclude that the meaning of the building was partly because of its prestigious location as a part of the Topkapı Palace Complex as well as its

[297] Arık, Remzi Oğuz. 1953, 14.

[298] Necipoğlu, Gülru. 2007, 271-272.

[299] The Persian word of *bezm* might be translated into Turkish as *içki meclisi*, *dost toplantısı*. Quoted in Necipoğlu, Gülru. 2007, 274.

[300] Necipoğlu, Gülru. 2007, 274.

prominence of being the product of a magnificent period of the Ottoman history during the Conqueror's reign. However, except those mentioned above, the Pavilion amongst the other structures of the Palace could be regarded as an idiosyncratic example in terms of its architecture and its function. The building's difference in architectural terms as well as its function for carrying out social life by the Sultan and his courtiers gives a different meaning to this structure that might have resulted in well acceptance among the society. Hence, assigning a new function to this existing pavilion and converting the intrinsically different structure into a museum should not be deemed to be disagreeable.

Over the years, the existed building came to be inconvenient and insufficient to fulfill the required functions as a museum. Moreover, it was not spacious enough to hold and display all the antiquities newly arriving to the museum. The decision was finally inevitable when extremely important and enormously big and heavy sarcophaguses found in *Sayda* (Sidon in Lebanon) in 1887-1888 were intended to be brought to the Ottoman Imperial Museum. It was not physically possible to fit those colossal sarcophaguses in the Tiled Pavilion. Hence, the idea of having a new building potently appeared for the purpose of preserving and displaying those artifacts in it. The new masonry building was decided to be built at the front side of the existing museum building right behind the Imperial Stable *(Has Ahır*) of the Topkapı Palace, and it was then called as the Ottoman Imperial Museum.

3.2. The Museum and the Classical Heritage

3.2.1 Ottoman Imperial Museum *(Müze-i Hümâyûn)*

The Ottoman Imperial Museum (1887-1891),[301] or as the official documents named it with French words *Musee Imperial Ottoman*,[302] (Figure 56, 57) was an archaeological museum that was opened to the public in 1891. As well as being the first purpose-built museum of the Empire, it was one of the earlier museums of its kind in the world. Building up such a monumental museum building during the depression years of the Ottoman Empire should be regarded as a successful attempt that opened a new page in the history of museology in Turkey.

Despite its considerable importance, there is no detailed research specifically on that museum so far that have examined the relationship between collective identity and history, and the manifestation of this relationship through architectural production of the museum building. Nonetheless, there are a few sources distinguished in that sense which deal with the museum building in architectural terms: One of those is an important source that deals with the building process of the museum, even if it does not focus on the museum building itself, is the unpublished dissertation written by Mustafa Akpolat about the French originated Levantine architect Alexandre Vallaury (1850-1921)[303] titled *Fransız Kökenli Levanten Mimar Alexandre*

[301] The museum has been called as İstanbul Archaeological Museum since the foundation of the Turkish Republic. The name of the museum was indicated on the official correspondences in the State Archive as *Müzehane, Müze-i Amire Müze-i Hümâyûn*. In addition to those, the name of the museum was written with bronze inscriptions in 1891 on the triangle pediment of the museum building as *Asar-ı Atika Müzesi*. However the museum has come to be called as *Müze-i Hümayun* even after 1891 in all the correspondences about to the museum found in the State Archives. That is why the museum has been called by the author in this Thesis as *Müze-i Hümâyûn*.

[302] The museum was referred as *Musee Imperial Ottoman* on the original drawings of the museum building.

[303] Mustafa Akpolat and many writers call his name as Alexandre Vallaury. Zeynep Çelik refers to Antoine Vallaury. Umut Çevik who studied this architect in his Master's Thesis indicated his name as Alexandre Vallauri. Similarly, a note taken by someone who was possibly involved in the building process of the museum called him as Vallauri on the back page of an original drawing. However, the

Vallaury. In his study completed in 1991, Akpolat mainly examines the architectural approach of the architect in general terms and the buildings Vallaury designed in Istanbul. Another significant source is Afife Batur's detailed examination titled *Arkeoloji Müzeleri Binası* (1993) that revealed the architectural features of that museum building at length. Another source which is highly extensive on this subject is a book written by Mustafa Cezar in 1995 entitled *Sanatta Batıya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*. This book mainly deals with the European influences during the late Ottoman period, which can be seen in art, museology, and archaeology, focusing on Osman Hamdi Bey and his attempts. This book could be regarded as a main reference that gives comprehensive information about the building process of the Ottoman Imperial Museum intensified by the attachments of original drawings and official documents. Besides those sources about the architectural information on the building, another source which is a doctoral dissertation published in Turkish in 2004, is Wendy Shaw's inspiring work titled *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi*. In her study, Shaw examines how museum institutions were born, and developed during the late Ottoman period in detail. She states that Ottoman museums should be seen as originally developed, and would symbolize a change rather than an imitation or a direct model taken without synthesis. Shaw claims that the aim of the Ottoman Empire was to adopt Hellenic and Byzantine heritage, to praise military history, to support national and religious proud, and to show the extensity of the Ottoman lands, rather than to educate masses by introducing them progressive ideals like in the museums of European countries. Shaw has opened a new scene about the Ottoman museums, and has provided a detailed history of the museums by discussing the whole context behind them, also briefly examining the architectural process of the first imperial museum.

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original documents that were either written or signed by himself could be the most reliable sources in that sense. The original projects designed by the architect himself were signed as A. Vallaury. However, one of his letters sent to Osman Hamdi Bey was signed as Alex. Vallaury. Under the light of this information the author preferred to use Alexandre Vallaury in this thesis. There is an official correspondence indicating Vallaury as French. Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives. DH.MKT 2670/33, 14.08.1324. For more discussion on his name and ethnic origin, please see Can, Cengiz. 1993. *İstanbul'da 19.Yüzyıl Batılı ve Levanten Mimarların Yapıları ve Koruma Sorunları*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 225-226. And Çevik, Umut. 2001. Alexandre Vallauri ve Yapıları Üzerine Bir Araştırma. Master's Thesis, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 15-16.

In addition to information gathered from those studies stated above, primary sources obtained from the archive of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, i.e. the original drawings that are consisted of plans, sections, elevations, details, and sketches, helped the Author figure out and analyze the building process. Besides those, original correspondences found in the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives (*T.C. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*) provide specific information to evaluate the general context of the late Ottoman period that produced the museum building.

Before examining the museum building in detail, one should initially take up its historical narrative with the leading figures involved in this process. In the first part of this chapter the role of some figures like grand viziers, ministers, and bureaucrats has been underlined. Those statesmen were quite productive and effective in decision-making in favor of the formation of the first museum in the Ottoman Empire. Rapid developments soon after 1881 can be regarded as a new period in Ottoman museology. The construction of a new building for the Ottoman Imperial Museum was closely related with Osman Hamdi Bey who was appointed as the new director of the museum in 04.09.1881 upon Sultan Abdülhamid's order.[304] Osman Hamdi, the French-trained founder of the Ottoman School of Fine Arts *(Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi)*[305], was the mastermind of this project. As the son of the Grand Vizier İbrahim Edhem Paşa, he was born in 1842 and sent to France in 1860 by his father to be trained in law; however, he preferred training in arts and archaeology in the Ecoles des Beaux Arts and returned to İstanbul in 1869.

His first contribution when he became the director of the museum was having published the first catalogue of the museum that was prepared by French archaeologist and philologist Solomon Reinach who had been invited upon Osman

[304] Pasinli, Alpay. 2003, 18.

[305] The school of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) will be discussed in the following part.

Hamdi's request to İstanbul. It was published in 1882 titled *Musee Imperial D'Antiquities Constantinople*.[306] Osman Hamdi's other achievement was the implementation of new regulations on antiquities in 1884. By bringing a revolutionary system on the prevention of sharing the antiquities within a particular percent, those regulations principally envisaged the state's absolute possession of them. In addition to this matter, those regulations brought prohibitions on exportation of the antiquities unexceptionally,[307] and any damage and intervention to be done on antiquities. An important point in those regulations was that for the first time it was proposed to found museums in several cities.[308]

Besides those regulations, the first scientific excavations were also initiated with Osman Hamdi's efforts. The first one of those was at the Nemrud Mountain in the borders of Adıyaman and was also conducted by him in 1883. Over years, those excavations increased in number as followed by Baalbek and Tedmor (Palmyra) (cooperated with a German team) in 1900, Rakka (Syria) in 1905, Boğazköy and Alacahöyük (cooperated with German scholar Hugo Winckler) in 1905 etc. However, his worldwide known excavation was the Sidon Necropolis (Sayda, Lebanon) in 1887.[309] Soon after the discovery of a series of sarcophaguses, a decision was immediately taken on the transportation of the findings to İstanbul.[310] (Appendix E) It would not be an exaggeration to say that those sarcophaguses almost radically changed the future of the museum.

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[306] Pasinli, Alpay. 2003, 18.

[307] Karaduman, Hüseyin. 2008, 26.

[308] Ahmet Mumcu states that the basic principles in those regulations are almost the same that have been currently applied in contemporary regulations. Mumcu, Ahmet. 1969, 73-74.

[309] Cinoğlu, Uğur. 2002, 19-24. The reports of this excavation were also published by French archaeologist, historian and numismatics Thedora Reinach titled with *Une Necropole Royale de Sidon*. Pasinli, Alpay. 2003, 19.

[310] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives İ.DH 1023/80670 Fi 14 Cumadelahire sene 1304.

Yet, the problems that the Museum Directorate encountered during their transportation to İstanbul were not easy to cope with. There have been plenty of urban legends that mentioned those troubles;[311] anyhow, Osman Hamdi succeeded having them brought safely to the Imperial Museum. After the arrival of those sarcophaguses to İstanbul, in a very short period of time, Osman Hamdi had a new museum plan drawn by Alexandre Vallaury. He was the architect of the School of Fine Arts building as well as a commissioned instructor of architectural courses at that school. The reason that made this process extremely fast was the immense significance of those findings and the necessity to store them against exogenous factors before getting damaged. Once those sarcophaguses were available to be moved, Osman Hamdi wrote a letter dated 26.07.1887 to the Ministry of Education, saying that there was no way to insert the antiquities to the existing museum building. Thus, those archaeological finds had to be transported to the gardens of the Imperial Museum. However, this was a temporary solution; for those and many others possible to come in the near future, it was required to construct a new building in front of the existing Imperial museum building of Tiled Pavilion. (Figure 58) Osman Hamdi attached the plans of the new museum drawn by Vallaury to his letter. He also underlined the urgency of the project by claiming the necessity of keeping those inside of a building before winter.[312] (Appendix F)

The approval was taken from Sultan Abdülhamid II, and consequently, the first steps were taken for the construction of a new museum building. The building was planned laying 61 m in length and 13 m in width, a total of 793 m2, to be fitted on the prescribed land.[313] In the preliminary correspondences the building was planned to be made up of wood; however, instead of a wooden building, having it built with a masonry building with iron roof was preferred considering stiffness of the

[311] Şinasi, Abdülhak. March 14, 1934. "Müzelerimiz ve Hamdi Bey", *Ülkü,*115.

[312] It was not possible to reach this significant official document in the State Archive. Quoted in Cezar, Mustafa. 1995, 257-258.

[313] Please see Appendix F.

structure. (Appendix G)[314] When *Bâb-ı Âli* came across that a wooden building was planned in exchange of 2000 Ottoman gold, they agreed upon the insecurity of a wooden building. For that reason, they had asked another estimated cost from the Ministry of Education for the construction of a masonry building. Consequently, this proposal of the museum project was accepted in the condition of the designated cost would be covered by the Ministry of Education, and an additional allocation would be paid from the Imperial Treasury (*Hâzine-i Cedide)*. (Figure 59-61)

However, the point that should be emphasized is the reason of the proposal of a wooden construction. It is obvious that a wooden construction might decrease the total cost and render this project possible. It is hard to guess whether it was a tactic or a naïve desire to make the project realized. A very similar point related to the budget at issue was that the design of the museum was initially proposed as single-storey, as the official documents also verify. It has been told in some of the sources that Abdülhamid II was not in favor of the construction of a new museum building in the palace complex, and only accepted it under some conditions. In this situation of uncertainty, Osman Hamdi mentioned that it would be proper to build it with only one floor. It is possible to assert that the project had begun as a modest structure, but became more sophisticated in the end with the addition of a second floor[315] and with the change of its material from wood to masonry. Besides, it should have already been known at the time of its design that the museum would not be sufficient to hold the collections that might be arriving soon. Being aware of this potential, from the very beginning, the project had been designed as such by foreseeing the extension of the museum in the near future. All those stated above prove that Osman Hamdi, perhaps due to his personal attempt or on behalf of the institution he represented, spent an enormous effort to overcome the financial

[314] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives İ.MMS 93/3911 , 24 Zilkade 1304

[315] Osman Hamdi asked the construction of one more floor and indicated this construction would cost 400-500 lira which was approved. Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 10.

obstacles by using his subtle wit and succeeded the construction of a monumental building in three stages.

3.2.2. Architectural Evaluation of the Museum Building

This part starts with the architectural narrative of the building in relation to the general layout of its planning, and is followed by evaluations on stylistic issue that is examined in the framework of the 19th century Ottoman architecture. The three stages of the museum buildings were designed by Alexandre Vallaury at the very beginning of the project, and were constructed respectively in 1891, 1903 and 1908.[316] As it can be seen from the earliest plan on hand, the anticipated extensions of the museum had already been drawn with lead pencil. (Figure 62) The first stage was built between the years of 1887-1891, and opened to the public on June 13, 1891. The new building was erected on the entrance axis of the Tiled Pavilion. It is symmetrically planned and the entrance is flanked by two main rooms. The staircases going upstairs are located at the end of the entrance axis. The museum had two-storey, and an area of approximately 1600 m2. Each floor was composed of two main rooms that were subdivided. The heavy antiquities such as sarcophaguses and marble steles were placed on the ground floor of the museum. The museum was also called as the Museum of Sarcophaguses[317] with reference to its collection of those renowned sarcophaguses brought from Sidon Necropolis. (Figure 63) The second floor was used for the antiquities that were relatively easy to move.

[316] At the beginning of the project the possible extension of the museum building was foreseen. Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 10. The official document in the State Archive somehow verifies this point. Even if the museum building was newly constructed a correspondence in the State Archive dated 1893 mentions the necessity of the expansion of the building. Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives. Y.MTV 79/61, 14 Zilhicce 1310).

[317] Mansel, Arif Müfid. 1960. "Osman Hamdi Bey." Belleten 24 (94): 297.

In the process of time, it was understood that the existing museum could no longer contain the antiquities transported from several sites of the Ottoman lands where the Museum Directorate conducted excavations. Hundreds of pieces and especially the friezes of such temples of *Hekate* in ancient city of *Lagina* in Milas (Muğla) and *Artemis* in ancient city of Magnesia ad Maeandrum in Söke (Aydın) required the construction of a new building. (Appendix H) In addition to this flow of antiquities to the museum, there was another reason for building a new museum. Despite the first museum building was constructed so recently, many pieces had still to be preserved in the Tiled Pavilion. For that reason, the construction of a second building was proposed on the left hand side of the Tiled Pavilion.[318] This proposal prescribed an estimated cost of 528.790,5 *kuruş*. And if the expenses exceeded this amount, an extra of 30.000 *kuruş* would be paid from the following year's budget.[319]

The second museum building was constructed between the years of 1899-1903 and was opened to the public in 07.11.1903 by the Minister Haşim Paşa.[320] This building was planned with a very similar layout and was connected to the former one, lying in north-east direction. The entrance of the building was positioned on the axis of the main route between the first museum building and the Tiled Pavilion. Setting aside the exposed staircases that were designed on the main axis of the building, the new structure has an L shape plan. (Figure 64-66) This form was obtained with the attachment of a huge rectangular and a relatively small square like blocks with each other and was added to the former block. The connection room was designed considering the length and width of the former building to provide integrity. The entrance to the second building was flanked by two main areas. The large room on the right hand side and the connection room were planned for

[318] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives APPENDIX 11 İ.HUS 1317.M/54

[319] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives İ.MF 1317 R/19.

[320] The construction began in 31.08.1898. Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. 1936, 45.

displaying heavy antiquities such as reliefs, friezes, and sarcophaguses. In order to carry up those heavy antiquities, a ramp was designed starting from the entrance of the former building and lying towards the connection room. The spaces on the left hand side of the entrance were planned for ateliers, laboratories, and administration offices. The upper storey was appropriated for displaying of ceramics, figurines, ancient coins, and also for a library. The basement was designed for depots and rooms for museum staff and accountant.

The belief that has been widely accepted by scholars is that the second and third stages were not applied by Vallaury himself although it is definitely known that he had designed them all. By comparing the existing design of the building with Vallaury's projects, one can say that the application project show considerable differences from what Vallaury designed for those museums. Indeed, the remark of 'non-execute' found on the back page of those plans verifies those arguments. Before dealing with the differences between Vallaury's design and the application project, it could be better to put forward the possible reasons of such questions as why Vallaury was not able to get involved personally in the construction of the three stages and why his project was not precisely applied. It can be understood from an official document that Vallaury's involvement in this museum project was Osman Hamdi's personal consideration. (Appendix I) However, troubles proceeded as financial problems emerged in every stage of construction. The original correspondence mentions a very crucial point that has not been come to light so far, revealing the fact that budget resources were not sufficient to pay an architect's stipend. Consequently, taking the durability and excellence of the building into account, it was accepted that a special commission was to be set up for the construction of the building on consignment. In many of the sources, it has been widely accepted that Italian instructor Philippe Bello conducted the second

construction in line with Vallury's design.[321] Depending on that correspondence it is possible to state that this commission might have been composed of experts who were teaching in the School of Fine Arts. Bello was an architect as well as a painter and decorator who was working as the deputy of Vallaury at the school. Another correspondence states that this commission was to be composed of the staff of the Imperial museum itself. Since the Directorate of both the museum and the school were connected (up until 1917), it would be meaningful to assert that Bello might have been involved in this process to an extent as he worked at the School of Fine Arts between 1902-1909. Besides Vallaury and Bello, others who might also have been involved in this process as they worked for the School of Fine Arts during the construction of the second building (1899-1903) were respectively Hasan Fuat Bey, who was a mathematics teacher working at the school between 1883-1902 or 1903, Ahmet Ziya (Akbulut), who was a mathematics, perspective, design and geometry teacher working between 1898-1938, and lastly Vedat Bey (Tek), who was an architectural history and design teacher working between 1899-1909.[322] (Figure 67)

In addition to those mentioned above, Edhem Hamdi Bey's –the son of Osman Hamdi- contribution to the second project is also possible. On the contrary to the general belief that defends Edhem Hamdi Bey's involvement in the third project as the main figure that conducted the project, Edhem Hamdi Bey might already have taken part during the construction process of the second building. The document in the archive shows that Edhem Hamdi Bey was charged as an employee of the Imperial Museum in June 1902 when the construction was still continuing. As he was one of the employees of the museum at the time, his involvement in the second project sounds possible.

[321] Batur, Afife. 1993. "Arkeoloji Müzeleri Binası." In *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 1, 301-310.

[322] Cezar, Mustafa. 1983. *Güzel Sanatlar Eğitiminde 100 Yıl*, edited by Zeki Sönmez. 68-74.

The drawings that most likely belonged to Vallaury were consisted of two separate papers which were signed by Vallaury in July 1899. This date corresponds to the beginning year of the second construction. Those drawings are composed of three floor plans –basement, ground and first floors- and an elevation. What Vallaury proposed for this second building had some alternatives both for the basement and ground floors and one single plan for the first floor. There are three alternatives for the basement floor, two for the ground floor, and one for the first floor.

Starting with the ground floor, one can say that in both the first and the second projects for that floor, the building was planned as detached. This feature was not applied in the actual project, however, and those two blocks were connected with a relatively small connection room. In both projects, with the exposed entrance and grandiose staircases, a monumental façade was designed. The first project had an exposed entrance with imposing double-sided staircases. Once entered the building, the entrance hall was flanked by two displaying halls. The rectangular hall on the left hand side creates a sort of displaying route like nested boxes. The staircases providing a vertical circulation was placed at the corner of that hall. The hall on the right hand side has a similar plan; however, a rotated U shape gallery with an atrium was planned. This atrium, however, was not designed in the application project. The second and the third projects were designed as the same. The entrance in those projects was exposed and monumental staircases were located on the symmetrical axis of the entrance. A terrace was placed on the main façade of the building to the left that did not take place in the applied project. Nevertheless, this project was closer to the realized building. The staircases inside were located at the end of the main axis of the building. This property was kept on the applied project, with a difference whereby those staircases were exposed instead of the ones on the main façade. Also, the forms of those staircases were slightly different from the original situation of the building. The entrance hall was again flanked by two displaying halls. The one on the right hand side was not completely drawn, which refers to its duplication with the first project. The left hall was divided into three sub-spaces for

creating a circulation route. Beyond this room, there is another room planned in the application project that had not taken place in Vallaury's project. (Figure 68)

Considering the monumental staircases of that building on the elevation project that takes place on the same paper, this elevation most likely shows the first project's main façade. (Figure 69) However, due to the location of the staircases, it would be much possible to claim that the elevation belongs to the second and third projects. A grandiose façade with monumental staircases were planned on that project that was not implemented. Similarly, the entrance part was higher than the rest of the building. A very simple and modest entrance from outside without stairs opening to the areas for museum staff was planned in the application plan. (Figure 70-73) A façade sketch in the archive is very similar to that elevation: The entrance hall was planned as two-storey while the library was located on the first floor; and the displaying hall was placed on the ground floor. However, this sketch proposed a different form of double return staircases at the entrance, and a different row of windows on the façade for the basement and ground floors. In addition to that, no entrance was designed for service on the main facade. (Figure 74)

Besides the ground floor plan alternatives, Vallaury draw the project of the first floor, presenting it as a single project that had no alternative. He placed only the library on that floor. The rectangular shape of the plan was reached from the staircases on the main axis of the entrance hall. A sketch -most likely belonging to Vallaury- shows the horizontal section of the building and especially the staircases and the areas of the ground floor and the library floor. (Figure 75) It is noteworthy to mention the place of the library that should have a fine view at the top of the building. In the application project, the library as well as some other displaying areas and a hall for numismatics were also located on that floor.

In addition to ground and first floor plans signed by Vallaury, there is a basement floor plan that was also signed by him. (Figure 76) This paper presents also three alternatives for the basement floor. If one considers the location of the staircases, the first and the second projects might have been thought to connect to the first project of the ground floor. In the first project, Vallaury proposed an entrance door for service between the imposing staircases on the main façade. As distinct from the application project, Vallaury proposed two displaying spaces –what he called as central and lateral on the basement floor. Those spaces were reached with the staircases located at the corner of the hall. The lateral hall was semi-surrounded by administrative rooms. The second project had an entrance that would allow the personnel into the building. Again there are two displaying spaces designed as central and lateral. The staircases were placed in the same place with the first one; and the lateral hall was semi-surrounded by administrative rooms. The only difference is the plan of the displaying area in the lateral hall. Instead of an open area without walls dividing the space, the second project, here, proposed vertically laying walls that created sub-divisions for the displaying area. And the third project for the basement floor was designed in association with what the ground floor stated as "project 2 & 3". There are some differences from the first and the second project here: The service entrance from the exterior was provided from the right side behind the monumental staircases; and the staircases providing vertical circulation to the upper floor were placed at the end of this central hall. As one can see, in the first and second projects, there were also two displaying halls. However, in this project, two rooms were separated with a wall, and the lateral hall became a spacious area that has eight columns. In order to carry up the materials to the building, another service entrance was designed, opening to the lateral hall. A sketch in the archive without any name and signature, which might have been drawn by Vallury, shows the lateral façade of the building, clearly illustrating the lower and the higher sections of the building with its roof and entrance staircases. (Figure 77) On the third project of the basement floor plan, the administration section was placed next to the lateral hall, but was detached from it with a wall. Administration offices had an entrance from outside, but also had connections with the lateral and central halls.

This area was designed at the below of the terrace that is shown on the ground floor plan.

The main differences of the application project from Vallaury's plans are its simplicity and austerity. It would be proper to assert that almost all the architectural features that necessitated a considerable budget were extracted from the application project as those drawings and documents show. One can say that Vallaury was involved in this project to some extent, and then some other architects joined into the process later on. There is a proof on hand to justify this argument: There is a difference in some ways between those two floor plans stated in detail above that can be barely seen. While both basement floor and ground/first floor plans were signed by Vallaury, the typeface and the typed text on those papers were different from each other. At the bottom of the basement floor plan it was written that it was 'designed by the architect undersigned", that is, a hundred percent, Vallaury. However, on the ground floor plan, the notice 'designed by the architects undersigned" was written with a different typeface at the bottom of the paper. This reveals that, besides Vallaury, some others could be involved in this project team later on. Considering Edhem Hamdi Bey's script on several drawings –for example, the museum and archaeological excavations in *Tralles* (conducted in 1902)- his involvement in the second project is possible. There is lack of information, however, on Edhem Hamdi's life (1882-1857). The only source that mentions about this person says that he was born in 1882 and was sent to Paris after his graduation from the School of Fine Arts. Upon his return to İstanbul, he was charged with working at the Imperial Museum as an architect and archaeologist.[323] If one takes his age into consideration, one would come across with a chronological inconsistency because he must have been twenty years old when he made a contract with the museum directorate in 1902. So, it is not very clear if he was involved in the second stage of construction in 1899 during his studentship. Besides Edhem

[323] Toros, Taha. November 1990. "Osman Hamdi Bey ve Çevresi." *Tarih ve Toplum* 1(83): 28.

Hamdi Bey, some explanations such as *Elevazioni e Dettagli Profilo* and *Studi Facciate* written in Italian on some of the sketches also indicate Bello's involvement in this process. (Figure 78, 79) In addition to that, a sketch showing some calculations on the foundation of the building had the name of "Ahmed" on it, which most probably refers Ahmet Ziya who was a teacher at School of Fine Arts on mathematics, perspective, design, and geometry. (Figure 80)

Turning back to the architectural narrative of the museum buildings, what one comes across is the insufficiency of the second museum building and the necessity of creating new museum spaces. On the back page of the foundation plans, it says "annex 1 and 2", indicating that those two additions were planned at the very start. Soon after the completion of the second museum building, it was understood that the annex would not be sufficient to shelter the coming and upcoming antiquities. This required the building up of a second annex. The location of this new building was decided to be placed next to the path going up to the Topkapı Palace from the Gülhane Park. This area, as part of the Topkapı Palace complex, had been known as an important Byzantine site. A crucial point is the drawing indicating the existence of particular Byzantine structures here. On one of the foundation plans of this new building, one can – though barely – see a cross shape and square form plan structures on the same axis laying in south-east direction, which was drawn in blue color. Presumably, those structures were found during the construction of the third building and drawn as sketches on the foundation plan of the museum. A very good study on this subject is Hülya Tezcan's book titled *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi,* which deals with the Byzantine structures that were encountered during the construction of buildings on that area and mentioned in some of the sources. Those buildings can be summarized as the Byzantine galleries below the Tiled Pavilion; a church, arches and a bath under the School of Fine Arts; a bath, a civil building, a colonnade, a street, and a cistern below the third annex building that was built between the years of 1969-1983. However, this study does not mention about any foundation of a structure below the third museum building,

as seen on the drawings. The only knowledge available here is the existence of ceramics and architectural fragments;[324] yet, the two structures –most probably not a single building- on this drawing were not mentioned. The cross-shaped building, in essence of its form, could be considered to be a chapel or a martyrion; and the other building that was laying on its axis and situated on the same street could be considered to be a bath, a cistern or a civil building whose remains were found during the construction of the fourth museum building. (Figure 81)

The construction of the last stage started in 1904 and lasted until its opening in 1908. The third building was planned in consideration of a similar layout with the first one. Taking into account of the possessed land of 5000 m2,[325] the new structure also formed an L shape. The new annex was attached to the right side of the first museum building and extended towards the axis line of the School of Fine Arts. By making a 90 degree turn, the building headed towards that school. (Figure 82) The entrance of the building was designed as similar to the former one. Those twin entrances were positioned in alignment from left and right. Those buildings were designed in a unity. Another ramp, the same as the first one, was situated symmetrically to this side as well. Inside of the building, staircases providing vertical circulation were planned at the corner of two intersecting blocks. The only difference between the original drawing and the realized building was the place of those staircases that were attached to the wall and retreated from the facade. (Figure 83) Another drawing shows the further stage of this planning that was applied with details of staircases. (Figure 84, 85) The halls on the ground floor of the new building were appropriated for stone monuments such as fragments of statues and architectural details. This section can be seen separately on one of the drawings under the name of *Lapidarium*. (Figure 86)

[324] For more information on this issue please see Tezcan, Hülya. 1989. *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi,* İstanbul:Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu.

[325] Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. 1936, 38.

Besides those three buildings, i.e. the three stages of the museum, on one of the drawings another structure drawn with red color can be seen as attached to the second museum building, almost in the same width of the second museum. This building situated on the north-east of the second building, was, however, never executed. As the third stage of the museum building was drawn this plan should have been drawn after 1908. This proposed extension should have been planned to encompass the collection of Ancient Orient; however, there was no need to do such when he School of Fine Arts building was turned into a museum called Museum of Ancient Orient between the years of 1917-1919.[326]

Leaving the spatial planning aside, the museum buildings have many things to say also stylistically. The museum building was a typical example of museum architecture in the European societies in the same century. (Figure 87) It is possible to assert the adoption of a neo-classical style for this new type of building. The possible reasons of its use could be related to its being the pervasive style in the late Ottoman period, the general acceptance of the style worldwide as the universal style for museum buildings, the importation of the museum concept with its architectural style, and the connection of the French Levantine architect of the museum with the Parisian architectural school Ecole des Beaux Arts where the neo-classical style was dominantly taught in the19th century. However, in order to make a better comment on the architectural style of the building, it will be helpful to present the general architectural panorama during the late Ottoman period.

As observed in many aspects of life, a series of social and cultural transformations in line with the contemporary context of European countries followed the *Tanzimat,* including improvements in the architectural arena throughout the 19th century.

[326] The artifacts from the pre-islamic period in the Arabian Peninsula, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Anatolia such as the Sun-dial with Aramaean inscription, Egyptian mummies, statue of Arab King Lugal, the Kadesh agreement, Boğazköy sphinx and hieroglyps scribed Portal Lions from Maraş are among the collections of this museum. Istanbul Archaeological Museum Brochure.

Indeed, encounters with, and influences from "western modes" in architecture appeared much earlier; and from the 18th century onwards, the classical Ottoman architectural forms had been abandoned with the emergence of new forms as seen in "Western contexts". European-origin Baroque and Rococo styles, for example, were now harmonized with Ottoman forms as seen in many buildings of the capital city such as Nuruosmaniye Mosque (1775) and Laleli Mosque (1763). Yet, the 19th century left a permanent mark to the field of architecture with its new styles and building types. This can be attributed to the contemporary process of modernization, which was undertaken through an orientation towards European models as the result of political and economic situation of the Ottoman Empire. It was in this context of the 19th century that architectural styles and technological changes of European countries also widely applied in the Ottoman lands.

The rising interest in history, and the resulting Romanticism and Orientalism, as seen in the "Western societies" from the late-18th century onwards, were also experienced as the use of some historical forms in late Ottoman architecture. In the 19th century, architecture was shaped in accordance with the political contexts of particular decades: For instance, it would not be wrong to state that the popularity of "Western styles" during the reigns of Sultan Mahmud II, Abdülmecid I and Abdülaziz was faltered with the tendency of using Islamic forms in architectural arena in parallel to the ideological background during the reign of Abdülhamid II. Because of the plurality of ideologies dominant in that era, one can see a wide range of architectural styles in that period; which can be listed as neo-classical, neo-Gothic, Art Nouveau and eclectic styles.

Those styles were generally introduced by European and Levantine architects, and were applied on new types of buildings such as banks, stores, hotels, apartments, theatres, and office buildings. However, those new styles were also used in traditional Ottoman structures of mosques and *türbes*. Zeynep Çelik explains that,

when those styles were applied on new types of buildings they would generate similar examples to those buildings in Europe; however, once they were adapted to traditional building forms those would depart from traditional forms with their interesting and hybrid characteristics.[327] In that sense, the Sirkeci Station was a prominent structure in terms of signifying a contradiction between "Western" and "Eastern" values of 19th century İstanbul: The building constructed in 1889 by German architect August Jachmund was a combination of design principles of Beaux Arts with a new kind of Islamic style with the use of North African and Mamluk architectures that appeared in its façade elements. Hence, modern technology was placed into a framework that associated with local traditions.[328] (Figure 88) Moreover, Islamic revivalism or Ottoman eclecticism was used during the late Ottoman period not only by –mainly Levantine- Ottoman architects but also by foreign architects. This indicates how all those styles of the era could be adopted freely and became widespread in Galata-Pera area of the capital city as well as in the historical peninsula.

In that sense one of the most widely used style in the Ottoman Empire was the neo-classical style, as seen in the examples of state buildings such as *Bâb-ı Âli* building (built as early as 1843) and other military barracks such as Gümüşsuyu and Maçka, embassy buildings like Russia and Dutch embassies, educational buildings like Darülfünun and cultural buildings which the Imperial Ottoman Museum also took place.[329]

Speaking of its place in architectural production, 19th century European influence during the late Ottoman period can be seen in the neo-classical style of the museum

[327] Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 101.

[328] Ibid., 83.

[329] For more information on the architectural production in the 19th century İstanbul please see Zeynep Çelik. 1998, 101-124.

building. Like the earlier museums in Europe and America established in the same century such as the British Museum in London (1823-46), the Altes Museum in Berlin (1823-30) and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (1870-1876) and hence in line with the general approach of the period that suggested the use of the classical style in museum buildings, the Ottoman Imperial Museum reflected in its appearance the primary collection of Greco-Roman art displayed inside. The classical plan scheme, Greek temple front, and the façade of the building formed by particularly neo-Greek forms and motifs, clearly show this connection. (Figure 89)

The architectural features of the first museum building can be described as follows: The building was raised on a platform that provided an entry of twelve stairs, which were planned with a landing after eight steps were climbed up. The entry porch was supported with two-storey high columns. Those four, non-fluted columns have Corinthian style capitals that were adorned with acanthus leaves, which used to symbolize enduring life in ancient Greek architecture. The entablature rests on those columns that are composed of an architrave, frieze that has a bronze inscription of *Asar-ı Âtika Müzesi*, dentils, cornice, and a triangle pediment on it. On the tympanum of this classical pediment Sultan Abdülhamid's seal or signature (*tuğra*) was placed. The acroterion that has palmette leaf motifs sits at the highest point of the triangle pediment and two half palmette acroterions were laid on both corners of the pediment. The three rows of doors on the ground floor and windows on the upper floor axially continue up to the ceiling of the porch according to threesome grouping of the cassette ceiling order. Each wooden framed window has a particular order; above are the three rows of wooden ornamented windows, and middle are also windows that were divided into three frames while below is the cassette order decoration carved as four parts on the façade of the building with decoration of dentils. Wooden doors also have a kind of order consisting of three parts. Wooden netting decoration takes place both above and on the door wings. (Figure 90)

This entry order was repeated at the third construction so that the colonnaded entrance with Corinthian columns and triangular pediment was doubled this time. The elevation of the main façade of the building can be described as follows: All parts of the buildings stand on a raised podium that continues with addition of rectangular ashlars that sit over the platform. The surfaces of the façade were divided by pilasters that lay down to the level of entrance and up to the architrave. Top of those pilasters were decorated with a band of palmmette leafs. A row of pilaster is accompanied by a small colonette that is Ionic and fluted. The Ionic column has a capital with lateral volutes, and decorated with spiral scroll-like motifs, egg and dart patterns, acanthus leaves and floral rosettes. Those small colonettes that frame the windows of the ground and upper storey support the cornice with the acanthus leaf corbels. Wooden framed windows were relatively larger than the windows at the entrance, and this order was repeated on the whole façade. While they were divided into nine grids on the ground floor, on the upper floor the windows were divided into pieces with the frames, and below were also carved with cassette order decoration that has five equal parts and was embellished with egg and dart patterns. This pilaster-colonette module repeats on the main museum building, yet continues on the two wings in such an order of two pilasters-two colonettes. (Figure 91-93)

Due to the architectural characteristics of the museum, particularly the module mentioned above, there has been made a cliché explanation mentioned in almost every contemporary and recent source[330] that the sarcophagus known as the "Mourning Ladies" (found in Sidon/Lebanon and brought to the Ottoman Imperial Museum for display in 1887 had given inspiration to Vallaury in advance of his planning approach for the facade. As those sources have indicated, there is a

[330] Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. 1936, 38, 44. Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 9. Pasinli, Alpay. 1992. "Osman Hamdi Bey'in Müzecilik Yönü ve İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri." In *1.Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi: Bildiriler- 2-5 Ekim 1990*, edited by Zeynep Rona,150. Ortaylı, İlber. 2004. *İstanbul'dan Sayfalar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 215. Yüksel, Orhan. November 1966. "Arkeoloji Müzesi." *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası* 10(2):65. Halil Edhem. 1932, 563. Arık, Remzi Oğuz. 1953, 3.

considerable similarity between the façade of the sarcophagus and the first museum building. Particularly, the general composition with classical forms and motifs, simplicity of geometric forms, order of pilaster and ionic colonette modules, entry porch with columns, triangle pediment with an entablature on both museum and sarcophagus, quite resemble each other. Besides those, however, there are some differences on the museum building such as the use of Corinthian capitals on the entry with a pediment, order and beginning levels of pilasters and colonettes, use of floral rosette on the ionic capital, decorations on the upper part of pilasters, form and usage of acroterions, or the lack of egg and dart patterns below the dentils. (Figure 94,95) As a result, those similarities could not provide a hundred percent exact information to be able to state that the building was imitating, or Vallaury was inspired from that sarcophagus. One can say that, with its architectural characteristics the building is a typical example of a neo-classical style structure that one can come across in several places in that period. Afife Batur finds this similarity quite natural, considering the chronological developments; however, to her, Vallaury was much interested in here classical idealism rather than the use of such similar elements.[331]

The issue that classicism of neo-Greek, neo-Baroque, neo-Renaissance, neo-Gothic, etc. was applied as modified with the introduction of new techniques and materials, was closely related with the tendency of foreign and Levantine architects who were trained in western-European countries. The popularity of those architects was also the result of contemporary conditions in the architectural education on the Ottoman lands. From the classical Ottoman period onwards, the construction and restoration of palace buildings, official building works as well as architectural education had all been carried out by the Office of Royal Architects *(Hassa Mimarları Ocağı*), an official organization and a training center. In this organization there were architects called Royal Architects *(Hassa Mimarları*) and the chief architect of the Sultan *(Hassa Başmimarı*) had the authority there. The education was based on theory and

[331]Batur, Afife. 1993. "Arkeoloji Müzeleri Binası." In *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 1, 311.

practice in a system of master and apprenticeship. The educational period was long and salaries were low, but they had the opportunity to work with famous masters. Students were generally from the janissary organization, the artists from the palace or the talented youths from the society. This organization had it functioned until 1831 when the Directorate of Royal Buildings *(Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürlüğü*) was established.[332]

This change was related to the fact that, in the course of time, it was accepted that the existing organization could no longer train the eligible architects, and that architectural education of this institution were not in line with contemporary methods. The educational system based on master-apprentice relationship was now accepted to have already lost its identity, and completed its mission, no longer being able to educate young architects to compete with those trained in Europe in contemporary methods and models.[333] As a result of the changing system, some historians argue that "the nineteenth century witnessed the gradual decline of the traditional Turkish architect and a break in the evolution of traditional architecture."[334]

In this context, the 19th century became an era of minority architects such as Armenians like those from the Balyan family, and non-Muslim architects such as Vallaury, who were trained in Europe to better answer the complex spatial demands of the reforming sultans. Foreign architects such as Fossati Brothers, Barborini, Jachmund, etc. were also invited from Europe upon popularity of "Western styles" and after the dissolution of the Office of Royal Architects.

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[332] Nalbantoğlu, Gülsüm. 1989. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect.* Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 160.

[333] Sönmez, Zeki. 1992. "Sanayi-i Nefise Kurulurken Türkiye'de Mimarlık Ortamı." In *1.Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi: Bildiriler- 2-5 Ekim 1990*, edited by Zeynep Rona, 154.

[334] Yavuz, Yıldırım and Süha Özkan. 1984. "The Final Years of the Ottoman Empire." In *Modern Turkish Architecture*, edited by Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin, 35.

Alexandre Vallaury (1850-1921) was one of the important figures in the architectural arena at that time, as both the head of architectural education and the architect of the Imperial Ottoman Museum. Vallaury was the son of a Levantine family of French origin whose occupation was pastry cooking. (Figure 96) He was trained in Ecole des Beaux Arts[335] (Figure 97) in Paris in the atelier of M. Coquart (1870-1878) who had been to Samothrace excavations (Greece) and built several monuments and two museum buildings.[336] Vallaury returned to İstanbul in 1879 and attended several exhibitions organized there such as the one in Elifba Art Club in 1880 and 1881 that created opportunities to meet new people and hence provided benefits throughout his profession. Among those people was Osman Hamdi Bey, who also attended those exhibitions with his paintings.[337] This intimacy provided Vallaury to construct his first building, the School of Fine Arts *(Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) in 1882.

The building initially had five classes and ateliers. It was extended two times in the following years in 1882 and 1911 with the addition of three ateliers, four classes and an exhibition hall. One can see the neo-Renaissance style façade with its windows and staircases in the first building and the neo-classical style façade with its Ionic colonettes and triangle pediments in the second one. Historicism as the current style of that era and the principles that Vallaury gained during his education in Ecole des Beaux Arts, such as symmetrical planning and functional design according to the purpose of the building, can be both seen on this and the following projects.[338] (Figure 98-101)

[335] Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris functioned between the years of 1819-1968.

[336] Quoted Akpolat, Mustafa Servet. 1991, 10.

[337] Akpolat, Mustafa Servet. 1991, 12-13.

[338] Ibid., 32,120-121.

It should be worthy to point out the considerable importance of the *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi* since Vallaury's appointment as the first chief instructor at that school.[339] The new curriculum that the school introduced to young architects was to be effective in the formation of a new Ottoman architecture at the turn of the century. The school was formulated to bring a revolutionary attempt to architectural education, in line with its European counterparts, with the initiatives of Osman Hamdi, and was opened in 02.03.1883.[340] The curriculum was planned to train qualified architects in the Ottoman lands to bring an end to the invitation to foreign architects or sending Ottoman architects to study abroad.

The school had four main sections; architecture, painting, sculpture, and calligraphy. Speaking of the architectural section, the vast majority of instructors here were either Europeans or Levantines. In that condition the school naturally took its model and curriculum from Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, the most significant institution of architectural education in the 19th century, and hence was based on the contemporary type of curriculum, including courses such as geometry, design, perspective, art history, and anatomy. It should not be surprising that Vallaury, as the first chief instructor, prepared the program to be based on that of the school where he had himself been trained. The new School of Fine Arts in İstanbul was a contemporary architecture school, initiating the classical and eclectic taste and ideas in arts and architecture that were dominant in the late-19th century also in Europe. Hence, architectural education given in that era was able to fulfill the proposals that the Ottoman intelligentsia brought about, as trying various styles in that school enabled students also develop convenient conditions to adopt local architectural forms to the dominant historicist applications.[341] It is also important to note the long

[339] Vallaury worked at that School from its opening in 1883 until his resignation in 1908.

[340] Qutoed in Karakaya, Ebru. 2006. *Türk mimarlığı'nda Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi /Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'nin yeri ve Restorasyon alanına katkıları (1883-1960*). Master's Thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 8.

[341] Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 124.

term results on architecture in the early-20th century: Stylistic pluralism seen in the late-19th century created a tension among Ottoman intelligentsia who began to perceive such architectural developments as corruption and decline while architecture in the so-called classical period, such as Architect Sinan's works of the 16th century, were accepted as masterpieces of Ottoman architecture.[342] The Ottoman-Turkish architects, who were also affected by the emerging nationalism, were opposed to the European domination in architecture, and the result was a new trend in Ottoman neo-classical style, known as the "First National Style" that was mainly led by Kemalettin Bey and Vedat Bey in the first decades of the 20th century. This style was based on Ottoman imperial heritage, but was formed with the contemporary ideas of a national architecture. Such an Ottoman neo-classical style had already appeared in World Expositions of Paris in 1867 and Vienna in 1873, which could be taken as a plea against the dominance of "Western styles" in the Empire.[343] It was believed that the imitation of "Western forms", involvement of French architects, engineers and artists, would bring the end of the Ottoman architecture with the presentation of Nuruosmaniye and Laleli mosques as exemplary.[344]

At that point, it would be illuminating to examine shortly the approach towards stylistic issues in architecture of mid and late-19th century in the framework of World Fairs, whereby the Ottoman Empire was also represented. After a series of international expositions organized in European cities, starting with the 1851 World Fair in England, the Ottoman Empire participated for the first time in the Paris exposition in 1867. One of the most important improvements that the expo brought was to provide each country to represent its own architecture through its pavilion.

[342] Ibid., 119.

[343] However, Abdullah Kuran stated that the initial aim was to introduce Ottoman architecture instead of nationalizing architecture. Kuran, Aptullah. 1992. "Mimarlıkta Yeni-Türk Üslubu ve Osman Hamdi Bey." *In 1.Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi: Bildiriler- 2-5 Ekim 1990*, edited by Zeynep Rona, 114.

[344] Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 119-120.

In this expo, the Ottoman Empire was represented with a mosque, a kiosk and a bath. Montani and Baberini had some preliminary designs for those projects; however, eventually, all those buildings were designed by Leon Parville.[345] (Figure 102-105) These pavilion buildings were part of the attempts to revive classical Ottoman style, which gained a new dimension with the publication of a work entitled *Usul-ü Mimar-i Osmani: L'Architecture Ottomane,* prepared by Montani Efendi and Boğos Şaşıyan upon the order of the Sultan for the Vienna exposition in 1873.[346] This monograph "was the earliest scholarly work concentrating on the history and theory of Ottoman architecture".[347] The aim of this work published in Ottoman, French, and German, was to reveal the superiority of Ottoman architecture. Consequently, it introduced the masterpieces in İstanbul, Bursa, and Edirne to the public, and specifically to new architects to encourage them to utilize their style in contemporary buildings.[348] Besides, the Exhibition of Agriculture and Industry organized in 1893[349], brought about the stylistic concerns of choosing between Islamic and "Western" approaches once more, and as a result both styles were applied in late Ottoman architecture.[350]

Another point related to our main topic is about the people who were assigned in the process of fair organizations. Grand Vizier İbrahim Edhem Paşa was the father of Osman Hamdi Bey as well as the director of the commission for the Vienna

[345] Kuran, Aptullah. 1992, 114.

[346] Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 119. For more info on Vienna expo in 1873 please see Göğüş, Ceren. 2006. *19. Yüzyıl Avusturya Gazeteleri Işığında Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun 1873 Viyana Dünya Sergisine Katılımı*. Master's Thesis, İstanbul Technical Üniversitesi.

[347] Ersoy, Ahmet. 2003. "A Sartorial Tribute to Late Ottomanism: The Elbise-i Osmaniyye Album." *Muqarnas*, 20:190.

[348] Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 119-120.

[349] For extended info please refer Akyürek, Göksun. 2011. *Bilgiyi İnşa Etmek: Tanzimat Döneminde Mimarlık, Bilgi ve İktidar*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

[350] Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 121.

Exposition in 1873. Osman Hamdi attended in the organizations of the Paris Exposition in 1867, and was appointed as the commissariat for the Vienna Exposition in 1873. Kuran expresses Osman Hamdi's indirect relationship with the issue of architectural style by saying that he was closely following Montani and Parville's attempts to revive the classical Ottoman architecture, and supported this new "national" style in its attempt of purification from imposing eclecticism.[351] It is hard to tell to what extent Osman Hamdi contributed to the stylistic concerns of the late-nineteenth century; however, one can make some comments on his and the other two key figures' roles in the process of planning and construction of the Ottoman Imperial Museum exclusively.

Analyzing the construction and planning processes of the museum, one comes across three personalities, the commissioned architect Alexandre Vallaury, the commissioner Osman Hamdi, an avant-garde Ottoman intelligentsia, and Sultan Abdülhamid II as the source of power for the realization of the construction through his *firman*. Even though the Sultan's absolute authority was weakened by the *Tanzimat* reforms, a *firman* to justify his approval was still required in all conditions. In the context of the reforms, on the other hand, Ottoman intelligentsia gradually gained more power. Osman Hamdi, as one of these figures, was very productive and cleverly overcame the serious financial problems of the state to realize the construction of the museum building. Besides, it should have also been a significant success to establish such an archaeology museum in the face of the apparently little interest towards archaeology and cultural heritage among the ruling class and the Sultan himself.[352] It is generally argued that Osman Hamdi was one of the first persons who saw the wide lands of the empire as natural heirs of all civilizations.[353] Eventually, Osman Hamdi succeeded in getting permission from

[351] Kuran, Aptullah. 1992, 116.

[352] Ogan, Aziz. 1947. *Türk Müzeciği'nin 100. Yıldönümü*. İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu/ İstanbulu Sevenler Grubu Yayınlarından, 13. Mansel, Arif Müfid. 1960. "Osman Hamdi Bey." *Belleten* 24 (94): 300.

the Sultan for the foundation of such a glorious museum in the palace area of Topkapı. Considering the current problems arisen and solutions brought, one might state that Osman Hamdi had the power to make some decisions that were expanded from the choice of the architect to the location[354] and the contents of the museum. As a result of their close relationship coming from the past, Vallaury was appointed by the proposal of Osman Hamdi as the architect and the chief instructor of the School of Fine Arts as well as the architect of the Ottoman Imperial Museum.

Considering the cultural context from the 18th century onwards, France was the most affiliated country in Europe. As Paris became the most important centre in the field of fine arts, such institutions as the archaeological museum and the Ecole des Beaux Arts became exemplary models for the Ottoman Empire as well. [355] In that sense, a French trained architect was found appropriate to undertake such works. Under the given conditions, Vallaury designed the museum in contemporary neo-classical style. Cezar argues that, as architects were commissioned by the Ottoman elites, both the elites and architects are to be taken as the creators of the architectural style of the empire. This meant that the architectural products were realized not only with the talent and architectural taste of architects but also that of the elites.[356] The conditions of Ottoman architects in the late-19th century were different from those of the earlier periods as those architects were no longer the servants to the state as in the classical age. They now started to become autonomous artists who applied aesthetic discourses to their works from the 19th century onwards.[357] An

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[353] Cezar, Mustafa. 1995, 13-15.

[354] The School of Fine Arts was built next to the museum on purpose. Şinasi, Abdülhak. March 14, 1934. "Müzelerimiz ve Hamdi Bey", *Ülkü*, 114.

[355] Germaner, Semra. 1992. "Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı-Fransız Kültür İlişkileri ve Osman Hamdi Bey." In *1.Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi: Bildiriler- 2-5 Ekim 1990*, edited by Zeynep Rona, 105.

[356] Cezar, Mustafa. 1995, 104.

[357] Nalbantoğlu, Gülsüm. 1988. "The Birth of an Aesthetic Discourse in Ottoman Architecture." *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 8 (2):115.

investigation of the selection of architectural style of buildings makes sense in the context where architects had freedom to choose whatever style they would like to adopt. Vallaury built several renowned buildings in İstanbul including commercial buildings such as Pera Palas Hotel, Tokatlıyan Hotel, Ottoman Bank, state buildings like Duyun-u Umumiye, religious buildings like Hidayet Mosque, Osman Reis Mosque, the Church of the Metamorphosis of the Saviour in the Greek Orthodox Cemetery of Şişli (Figure 106), and educational and cultural structures like School of Fine Arts, *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*, Greek Orphanage in Büyükada, and several residential kiosks. His approach presented an architectural blend of "Western" and "Eastern" features as seen in various buildings that he designed such as the *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane* (Imperial College of Military Medicine) that has an eclectic style, or the Imperial Ottoman Museum that has a neo-classical style. Defending that it was Osman Hamdi who chose the neo-classical style for the School of Fine Arts and the Ottoman Imperial Museum, Kuran states:

> Here is the question why the School of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) formed by Osman Hamdi and the Archaeological Museum were both constructed in neoclassic style. One of the possible answers may be that Osman Hamdi did not interfere the neoclassic design solely decided by its architect. However it is not quite possible that Osman Hamdi who paid in-depth attention and concerned with every small details of the project cannot be assumed to let the architect made his own choice. Hence the most understandable answer is that both buildings had been designed in neoclassical style from the very beginning. This assumption may be supported by the fact that Neo Turkish styles of 1880s and 1890s had not been yet reached to a level of maturity technically and aesthetically to be applied to monumental structures to be exposed in the exhibitions all over the world. Thereupon Osman Hamdi preferred to choose principles-based approach instead of visual approach knowing that both European and Ottoman neoclassicism has been based on the same theoretical basis. In our opinion, Osman Hamdi did decided the architectural style of both buildings personally claiming his support to neoclassicism, and aimed to give a message that the educational institution he established would have been the pillar of classic art in Turkey.[358]

[358] Kuran, Aptullah. 1992, 116-117.

The idiom that defines museums as “the castle of classical arts” makes sense if one considers such a thematic correlation between the style of a museum building, and the contents that are displayed in museums established in the 19th century in “Western countries”. The harmony of the architectural style of a museum building with its interior design and contents was an aim to be achieved in this century, and how this worked out becomes clearer with information on the characteristics of the collection and displaying of those in a contemporary museum.

3.2.3 The Collection and the Displaying Methods

One can see a clear harmony between the inside and the outside of a 19th century museum design as in the Ottoman Imperial Museum: Here, the displaying halls that have high ceiling were subdivided by walls and/or partition walls. Above, the door beams were left open and decorated with four small Corinthian colonettes that were similar with the ones in capital style and in number at the entrance of the building, except their fluted character. Those fluted columns were flanked by pilasters that were also applied on the exterior facade. This design model provides a connection from the floor to the high ceiling and continuity between the spaces. The order of cassette design was also applied on the threshold between those small columns. Below the level of those colonettes, the door has two corbels on both sides to carry the fascia. Except two garment decorations on both sides there is not any decoration seen on that door. (Figure 107) A sketch found in the archive illustrates the preliminary stage of its design. According to that drawing, it can be understood that the door had been thought larger than the executed one with the addition of extra elements. (Figure 108) This sketch shows six Corinthian small colonettes and two pilasters flanked by those collonettes in the same height above the lintel, and below were the two fluted Corinthian columns and two pilasters flanked by them.

In the constructed building, the ceilings of the halls were designed according to cassette order design within different geometric forms and meandering decorations in white and grey. The walls on the entrance were painted in white. The wall color of the displaying halls in this building might have been chukker-brown with reference to old photos and recent conditions. The ground floor was all covered with marble tiles so that the objects would shine on marble floors and become more visible on the foreground of dark colored walls. Referring to an old photo, it could be argued that two colors starting from dark to light might have been applied on the walls. (Figure 109, 110) However, there is indeed no certain information on hand concerning the original colors of the paintings. The partition walls were placed between the objects to accentuate them belonging to different classifications. The staircases' handrails, and balustrades decorated with acanthus leafs and skirting were all of marble. The upper floor was covered with parquet. The door frames might have been in beige color and they were quite modest and undecorated in comparison to the ones on the ground floor. The cornice of the upper floor was decorated with dentil and Greek key motifs. (Figure 111)

In the second museum building, the concept, forms, and elements were repeated themselves inside of the museum as the outside design, however, with some differences. The displaying halls in the second museum building -also in the third building- were planned relatively larger than the ones in the first building. Doors have a similar decoration type; however, they were much narrower and accordingly the small colonettes were two in number. The corbels have acanthus leaf decorations. The floors were marbled, and the ceilings were again designed in a cassette design order. However, those second and third buildings were done in a different manner in terms of color, design motif, and form. While going upstairs the white painted walls were framed by a border painted in various colors harmonious with the ceiling decorations. The handrails were wooden and balustrades were made up of iron. (Figure- 112-114) The displaying halls might have been painted in chukker-brown or any similar tone of brown. The upper floor of the second

building was a bit lifted in order to create openings to get more light in. This ceiling has also cassette system decoration in a similar design. (Figure 115) The library, having 500 m2 space, was situated on that floor, and was a splendid place where the wooden tables, book shelves,[359] (Figure 116) exposed wooden beams, and elegant wooden staircases with its wooden balustrades and handrails existed in harmony. The mezzanine floor of the library was supported by wooden beams and iron corbels that were attached to the wooden shelves on the ground floor. With its wooden design, the library shows an obvious difference with the displaying halls that were designed with marble as the dominant element. The third building shows very similar characteristics of the second building in materials, elements and decorations.

In order to make an analysis of the museum building both externally and internally, one should also focus on the museum collection in depth, though not in detail as it is beyond the main scope of this study. The collection of the museum was primarily composed of relics from the Archaic to the Byzantine period; including sarcophaguses, steles, sculptures, architectural fragments, terra-cotta figurines etc. The first important collection of the museum was the Royal Necropolis of Sidon. The hall on the left hand side in the first museum building was allocated for such sarcophaguses of "Alexander", "Mourning Ladies", and three small sarcophaguses. The hall on the right hand side was also organized for those such as the "Satrap" sarcophagus, the sarcophagus of "King Tabnit", "Lycian" sarcophagus and some others.[360] Remzi Oğuz Arık, a reputed archaeologist of the early Republican period, described the core of the museum as follows: "İstanbul Archaeological Museum was constructed for to the preservation and display of invaluable sarcophaguses of Sidon. In process of time, the extensions had to be built in order to hold art and

[359] Koç, Havva. 2005. "İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Kütüphanesi: Kuruluşundan Cumhuriyet Dönemine Kadar". In *Nail Bayraktar'a Armağan: Türk Kütüphaneciliğinden İzdüşümler*, İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 149-150.

[360] This room was covered with red carpet later on.

archaeological records of pre-Hellenic, and Greek periods. Those records were obtained with several expeditions and excavations, and as well as through purchases and gifts. It is important to note that Istanbul Archaeological Museum represents centennial efforts of Turkish museology and cultures of Greek, Roman, Parthian, and Byzantine artifacts on all hands."[361] Necati Dolunay, one of the former directors of the museum, said that the ground floor of the museum was allocated for the display of archaic, classical, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods architectural and sculptural pieces.[362] The earliest source on hand that gives information about the collection on the ground floor was Gustave Mendel's catalogue entitled *Catalogue des Sculptures Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines* that was published in 1912. According to that catalogue, the visiting route started with the hall numbered 1 and continued to the left after having seen Royal Necropolis of Sidon. The steles, sarcophaguses like *Sidamara* (Asia Minor), and architectural fragments in Ancient Anatolia were placed on the ground floor of the second building.[363] The ground floor of the third museum building was designed for the sculptures from the Archaic to the Roman era, including *Aphrodisias* (Aydın). A guidebook published in 1934 is also another source illuminating the contemporary collection of the museum, even if this was also limited to Greek, Roman, and Byzantine artifacts and did not mention other classified groups exhibited on upper floors. According to this guidebook, the visiting route started with the room numbered 2 –in the second building- after having entered from the main entrance and continued to the left towards the second building.[364] (Figure 117-119)

[361] Arık, Remzi Oğuz. 1953, 10.

[362] Dolunay, Necati. 1973. *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri*. Sanat Kitapları Serisi 2. İstanbul:Ak Yayınları, 2.

[363] Mendel, Gustave. 1912. *Catalogue des Sculptures: Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines*. Constantinople.

[364] It should also be noted that there are some changes with the place of collections today.

The Greco-Roman character of the collections was also extended with the flourishing of new objects that belonged to pre-Greek Mesopotamian and Anatolian civilizations, and pre-Islamic Near Eastern civilizations, including Egypt and the Arabic Peninsula. The arrival of those objects required the opening of new sections on the upper floor. New galleries were designed for the collections brought from *Kypern* (Cyprus), Palmyra and Yemen; as well as Assyrians and Babylonians, Hittites and as such. (Figure 120-122)

An official document found in the archive registered to the Council of State and dated 20.05.1895, was a draft of the museum regulations, which indicated the six sections of the museum. The first one was the section that had a collection of Greek, Roman and Byzantine periods; the second was to hold the antiquities of Asian and African civilizations such as Assyrians, *Keldani* (Chaldean), Phoenicia, Egyptians, Hittites, and Arabs; the third section was reserved for the Islamic collection; the fourth section was to exhibit coins; the fifth section was arranged for the natural history; and the sixth section was allocated to the library.[365] (Appendix J) This means that, after the opening of the museum in its new building, it was already planned that the museum was to be extended to include those sections stated above.[366]

The first section's collection has been briefly mentioned above; the second section was to hold pre-Greek Mesopotamian and Anatolian civilizations, and pre-Islamic Near Eastern civilizations, including Egypt and Arabic Peninsula. The constant arrival of objects through official excavations conducted by the Museum Directorate in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Anatolia required the opening of new sections on the upper floor of the first museum building and then they were all moved to the

[365] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives ŞD. 210/27 1312 (Hicri:20 May 1895)

[366] The second museum was built between 1899-1903.

second museum building. Over the years, it was understood that the spaces became insufficient for holding all those collections. In addition to that, Halil Ethem, the director of the museum at the time, thought that those Near Eastern collections should have been displayed separately from Greek, Roman and Byzantine objects in another museum building. For the display of such collections, the Museum of Oriental Antiquities was established in the building formerly occupied by the School of Fine Arts, which was moved to another place in Cağaloğlu in 1917. The building that has 12 rooms was organized as a museum in 1917; the Hittite, Sumerian, Assyrian, Egyptian and Himyerite collections were all moved to that new building;[367] and this new museum was opened to the public in 1918 named as the Museum of Oriental Antiquities *(Şark-ı Kadim Müzesi*). With the collection of tablets on its ground floor it was one of the largest museums on those cultures in the world.[368]

The inclusion of Islamic objects in museum collection was dated back to 10.09.1894 when a decision was made to open a new branch of the museum separately for the Islamic objects. Late opening of that branch was quite related to the little amount of Islamic objects that were not enough to open a separate branch.[369] Once the second building was constructed the antiquities (non-Islamic objects) and coins that had been already located in the Tiled Pavilion were moved to that building, by leaving the Tile Pavilion only as the museum of Turkish-Arabian and Iranian arts.[370] In the following years, the Islamic branch that found a room on the upper floor was moved to the Tiled Pavilion,[371] thus the museum collections were split according to such classification of archaeological and Turkish-Islamic objects.

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[367] Ogan, Aziz. 1948. "Halil Edhem." In *Halil Edhem Hatıra Kitabı,* 2:99.

[368] Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 13.

[369] Şimşek and Dinç quoted from an official document in the State Archive numbered I.MF. -2/1312-Ra-4 dated 10.09.1894. Şimşek, Fatma and Güven Dinç. 2009, 118.

[370] Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 13. Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. 1936, 39.
[371] Öz, Tahsin. 1948, 10.

It is known that the coins were displayed in the museum in the 1890s, however, Islamic coins were arranged as late as 1910 when Halil Ethem Bey, a numismatist, was appointed as the new director of the museum.[372] The coins were displayed in the glass cabinets that were planned to have two faces in the hall devoted for numismatics. (Figure 123)

The attempts for the foundation of a library were also seen during Osman Hamdi's directorship. The internal regulations dated 13.05.1889 already mentioned the library. The core of the library was situated on the upper floor of the first museum, and the sources were systematically catalogued in July 1893 with the efforts of the librarian of the museum –in real terms- Baltacızade Todoraki Dimosten Bey.[373] However, some sources indicated that the library was established in 1902 and officially opened in 07.11.1903 in the second museum building that was recently constructed.[374] The library contained manuscripts and printed books on antiquity, numismatics, epigraphy, philology, fine arts and as such.[375] Besides purchases, primary donators were the states of Ottoman Empire, Austria, Germany, Spain and France, and the institutions of the British Museum, Smithsonian Institute, Kensington Museum, and the museums in Berlin and Vienna, as well as such institutions as the Society of Palestine (*la Societe de Palestine*), the Institute of Oriental Languages of St. Petersburg, University of Pennsylvania, National Library in Greece, and as such.[376] Besides those, private libraries of some people such as the Grand Vizier Ahmed Cevad Paşa, Mehmet Şakir Paşa, Sultan Mehmet Reşat V,

[372] Ogan, Aziz. 1947,14.

[373] Vatin, Nicolas and Havva Koç. 1985. "La Bibliotheque Des Musees Archeologiques D'Istanbul". *Travaux et Recherches en Turquie*, 213.

[374] Koç, Havva. 2005, 149. Vatin, Nicolas and Havva Koç. 1985, 214.

[375] Ibid., 213.

[376] Ibid., 215.

Diyarbakırlı Said Paşa Foundation, and Recaizade Ekrem Bey Foundation were donated to the library in the Ottoman Imperial Museum.[377]

According to the available data, one can assert that the relative simplicity and purity of the interior in comparison to the outside decoration should have been designed not to leave at the background the invaluable pieces that were displayed. The rooms were quite modest and were not full of objects at that time. All the showcases and free standing objects were neatly placed in the halls. As the earliest photographs of the interior that had shown in Halil Ethem's book titled *Das Osmanische Antikenmuseum in Konstantinopel* published in 1909, the sarcophaguses were displayed behind a security bar without any glass protection. There were curtains for the windows not to let direct sunlight in. The banks were placed as sitting units for those who wanted to look over the objects closely. For displaying purposes, horizontal and vertical glass showcases were designed, depending on the size and type of the objects. For small size objects such as ceramic fragments, wooden framed cabinets were provided. Besides those cabinets, lower wooden showcases covered with glass above were utilized to exhibit small sized objects that required special protection behind glasses. Those showcases also helped create subspaces in the displaying halls. Similar objects protected under glass were inserted at the center of the room on the axis line so that it could be seen all along the farther rooms. The sculptures were lined up through the walls, placed around the columns or located at the center of the room on the axis line above marble bases. Steles that were located in the section of Cyprus, Palmyra and Yemen were again lined up through the walls in two rows of shelves mounted onto the walls. If one compares the photos of the earlier and later years, it can be seen that some of the rooms were re-organized in time. Some of the collections, especially the ones in the third museum building, were later begun to be displayed in cabinets. The sarcophaguses

[377] Ibid., 216-217.

found in the hall of royal necropolis of Sidon were also re-placed in a different order. [378]

3.2.4 Concluding Remarks

Performing its basic function of exhibiting its extended collection of antiquities to domestic and foreign communities, the Ottoman Imperial Museum was instrumental in the representation and visualization of history, and hence the formation of a collective identity for the Empire, in its choice of material culture to be displayed, methods of arrangement in display, and the general architectural planning and decorative style of the museum building. The role of the museum in this wider context could be evaluated with reference to the theoretical and practical strategies of the late-19th century when it was founded as an imperial institution.

As Shaw indicated, during the late Ottoman period, the imperial power tried to form a single Ottoman identity by co-opting Greek and Roman heritage, and displaying objects found by excavations on the lands under Ottoman hegemony. Therefore, in order to protect its authority against the potential threat of independence by multi-religious and multi-ethnic communities, the imperial power utilized the Ottoman Imperial Museum as a communicative device to show how the Empire embraced various cultures under its roof.[379]

European museums compiled collections from all around the world to justify the evolutionary process in the 19th century while the very existence of such museums emphasized the imperial power of Europe in this process by exhibiting the objects of the colonized dependants. One can say that a similar strategy was adopted by the

[378] Although the collections in the museum were changed in certain times, the rooms of those sarcophaguses have never been changed.

[379] Shaw, Wendy M.K. 2004, 316.

imperial museum in İstanbul in terms of the compilation of the material culture of the large boundaries of Ottoman rule. However, the fact that the imperial museum offered not an evolutionary development rather the Imperial Museum exhibited a particular collection of antiquities within a particular timeline that was composed of Greek and Roman periods. In the same vein, Wendy Shaw states that the Ottomans did not have an aim of displaying its collection based on classification principles like the contemporary museums in Europe and America. The classification methods adopted by those museums were replaced by the local ideological requirements in the Imperial Museum. The eclectic collection that they possessed was rather to demonstrate its control over antiquities.[380]

This choice of material culture requires further analysis also in relation to the stylistic features of the museum building. Archaeology in the 19th century has come to be identified with the Hellenistic culture which has been defined as Grecism by the "Western Worlds". The admiration of Hellenistic and Roman cultures and their archaeological remains triggered formation of a similar interest among the Ottoman elites who has evaluated archaeology identified with the Classical Hellenic-Roman cultures. Thus, Hellenistic-Roman archaeology known as Classical Archaeology has been evaluated as part of the Westernization process in the 19th century.[381] Wendy Shaw claims that through the display of Hellenistic-Byzantine cultures the Ottomans were involved in this collective Pan-European memory. Ancient Greek culture as the symbols of modern identity has been internalized by the Ottomans who desired to form a collective "Western civilization".[382] Mehmet Özdoğan points out that this engagement with the Hellenic culture has been perceived as a pre-requisite of "Westernization" by the Ottomans.[383]

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[380] Ibid., 91, 307.

[381] Özdoğan, Mehmet. 2006. *Arkeolojinin Politikası ve Politik bir Araç olarak Arkeoloji*. İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 31-52.

[382] Shaw, Wendy M.K. 2004, 75, 77.

[383] Özdoğan, Mehmet. 2006, 52.

The new museum was purposefully built as an archaeological museum embracing collections of Classical archaeology. Other collections such as Islamic; and Near Eastern including Eastern Mediterranean, Mesopotamia, and Egypt known as "Biblical Archaeology" remained relatively small and were often excluded in the catalogues, and guide books published by the Museum Directorate. When the collections of those other periods and cultures reached to substantial amounts in time, they were separated from the main building and moved to more suitable buildings. When the Tiled Pavilion was cleared of the antiquities, the collection of Islamic arts was moved to the Tiled Pavilion, for example. The historical meaning that the Tiled Pavilion had carried should have made this place as the most suitable place to display such a collection of the Islamic arts in those years.[384]

The historical importance of the Tiled Pavilion in relation to the stylistic issue of the new museum building was described very similarly in many sources published in the following Republican period. For instance, in the First Historical Congress held in 1932 Halil Ethem claimed that, if the new building was also built in Turkish or "Eastern" architectural style, this would run down the unrivaled Tiled Pavilion.[385] Having a similar understanding, Ogan also stated that the Tiled Pavilion, as the pearl of Turkish architecture and gate of the Conqueror, was respectfully surrounded by the new museum building with its additions.[386] Those statements referred to the dissimilarity between the Tiled Pavilion and the newly constructed building, and demonstrated how such distinctness was utilized in order to sublimate and leave the pavilion unique.

[384] However, the collection housed in the Tiled Pavilion was to be moved to the *imaret* of Süleymaniye and opened to public in 1914.

[385] Halil Edhem. 1932. "Müzeler", *1. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Konferanslar, Müzakere Zabıtları*. Ankara: T.C. Maarif Vekaleti, 563.

[386] Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 10.

However, the construction of the museum building in the courtyard of the Topkapı Palace was assessed as a challenge to the rest of the classical Ottoman style of buildings in its vicinity. Remzi Oğuz Arık stated that the Tiled Pavilion was an important part of the palace complex and the archaeology museum should be the one that remained or should have remained outside.[387] Presenting a similar view, Abdülhak Şinasi argued that the new museum building was built in a Greek style, and he pointed out his doubts and, actually, negative thoughts about it by raising the question if the style and location of the new museum was appropriate to its context.[388] On the contrary to such discussions on Tiled Pavilion and Imperial Museum, the harmony of those two buildings with each other, and with their contents, however, the appropriation of a separate museum building, Museum of Oriental Antiquities for the Near Eastern collection was never discussed as such. It has already been accepted that the most available place for the Museum of Oriental Antiquities was chosen for practical concerns, and the building of the School of Fine Arts was not identified with a particular collective memory likewise the Tiled Pavilion that reminds classical Ottoman ages.

Speaking of the architectural style, spatial planning and organizational arrangement of the museum building, the emphasis on the classical period could be clearly seen: Entering the site of the museum visitors could come across with a neo-classical façade that would perfectly communicate with them to give a clear message about the major collections of the museum. Moreover, the exterior façade was in a harmony with the objects displayed outside of the building. Similar architectural elements and motifs also continued inside the museum that was fairly integrated with the collection. Moreover, in some of the displaying halls on the ground floor, the spaces became so intertwined with the artifacts that it could even be difficult for visitors to distinguish the objects displayed in the hall from the architectural elements of the building, such as the Medusa relief on the wall placed on the landing

[387] Arık, Remzi Oğuz. 1953, 13.

[388] Şinasi, Abdülhak. March 16, 1934. "Müzelerimiz ve Hamdi Bey", *Ülkü,* 290.

of staircases. The sculptures of the ladies and the lions on a base placed on both sides of the staircases for another example, were fully integrated with interior decoration. It is possible to state that the museum building provided a framed view of everything in it with a suitable choice of colors and materials. By looking at the old photos of the museum building, it would be possible to state that the material culture was illustrated very well in a pleasant effect. The color of paint inside the museum was in a complete order with the objects to be shown. The spaces appropriated for marble sculptures and sarcophaguses became more effective with the help of color contrast.

The setting of the objects in a certain arrangement brings about a new point to be discussed. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill states that "decisions in museums and galleries about how to position material things in the context of others are determined by a number of factors, including the existing divisions between objects, the particular curatorial practices of the specific institution, the physical condition of the material object, and the interests, enthusiasms, and expertise of the curator in questions."[389] In the case of the Imperial Museum, such decisions exemplify a similar understanding in terms of the method of arrangement. The location of the Greco-Roman and Byzantine collections on the ground floor indicates a message that the visitors could easily conceive: In architectural terms, the spaces having the advantage of easy access gained importance and those spaces, consequently, became the objects that the museum emphasized more by not letting the visitor leave the museum without seeing them. On the other hand, the sections devoted to Islamic, and Near Eastern collections were located on the first floor of the museum building and had little spaces reserved for them. Moreover, the limited number of sources illustrating the sections on the first floor could show relatively less importance given to those sections.

[389] Greenhill, Eilean Hooper. 1992, 6.

Where the objects were displayed is important as much as where they were not displayed. The British Museum could present a helpful example in indicating such a situation, and helping define the contemporary idea in "Western countries" about the roots of "civilization". Although the British Museum has changed and expanded enormously since the 19th century, its spatial planning has not changed that much.[390] Entering the building, the central *great court* orients the visitor towards left or right. If one takes left, (and it is recommended to start from left because of a chronological sequence), the visitor will see the galleries of Greek, Roman, Egypt and the Middle East cultures, an order exactly corresponding to the understanding of history of "civilization". What would it be if one takes the right? One would see the Enlightenment, which the British Museum takes as the point where ancient history ends, and goes on scientifically history-writing starting with the Enlightenment, defined as a product of European culture. This is so crucial if one thinks about the other civilizations and geographies in the museum: The sections devoted to Islamic, Asian and the Americas (including North America and Mexico) are located at the backside of the museum and have little spaces reserved for them. Carol Duncan perfectly reveals that "What we see and do not see in art museums- and on what terms and by whose authority we do or do not see it – is closely linked to larger questions about who constitutes the community and who defines its identity." [391]

For the visual representation of a multi-cultural structure, the Ottoman Imperial Museum as an archaeological museum was utilized as a vehicle to form a certain collective memory and identity, and construct a bridge with the past of the large Ottoman territory through Hellenistic-Byzantine heritage. The message of the museum was formulated to emphasize the ownership of this ancient culture by proclaiming that the Ottoman Empire was "a great power like all the others."[392]

[390] Please see Figure 23.

[391] Duncan, Carol. 1995, 7.

[392] Deringil, Selim. 2007, 141.

Münif Paşa, in his speech in 1881, emphasized the appealing role of archaeology and the museums in the formation of those great powers. He says:

> There is no need to go too far to explain the benefits of these museums. Nevertheless they demonstrate the level of civilization of the past ethnic groups along with their gradual time-wise progressions. Therefore it is possible to draw beneficial conclusions out of these knowledge with respect to historical and artistic aspects. Nevertheless it is a well-known fact that archaeology had a great influence on the European civilizations.[393]

In parallel to his thoughts there have been several documents in the State Archives that indicated European museums' exemplary conditions.[394] Another correspondence also described the attempts to create an excellent museum like the ones in Europe and especially in France. The Ottomans should have seriously considered the opinions of the "Western worlds", and accordingly tried to compete with the museums in the European countries. As it has been also stated in the official correspondences that every foreigner visiting the city was asking where the museum and the library were located. Besides, it had earlier been mentioned in letters in sorrow that the antiquities found near Musul had been taken to the museums in London and Paris since the Ottoman Empire did not have such a museum to display them.[395]

Thus, the Ottoman Imperial Museum was formulated as an important mechanism of contemporary state ideology, and became a source of pride to be shown to the masses as well as to other countries. This context corresponds to the general approach of the late Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. Deringil points out:

> …late-nineteenth century Ottoman polity was very much a part of world trends…What the Ottoman elite, like their counterparts in other imperial systems, were trying to foster from the mid-century onwards was just this

[393] Cezar, Mustafa. 1995, 241.

[394] Please see APPENDIX A.

[395] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Directorate of State Archives YEE 41/231-2.

> transition from passive obedience to active and conscious subscription to a new normative order. [396]

Thus, by representing the material culture of especially the classical antiquity that was accepted in that era as the ideal past, i.e the root of European "civilization", the Ottoman Imperial Museum would also prove the place of the Ottoman Empire in this historical narrative, and its consequent power in contemporary international relations. The Ottoman Imperial Museum was seen as equal to the European museums in terms of its building, and its ancient materials displayed in a rational order.

In parallel to "Westernization attempts" the Ottomanist ideological approach in the mid- 19th century[397] seized upon this power of ownership on ancient materials that was to contribute to the formation of a collective Ottoman identity within a way which Hobsbawm defined "the use of ancient materials to construct invented traditions of a novel type for quite novel purposes."[398] This romantic pursuit animated with the style of the museum building, the interior planning, as well as the material culture displayed in the museum, constituted as parts of the collective identity that contemporary political power aimed to create.

3.3. The Museum and the Islamic Heritage

3.3.1. The Museum of Pious Foundations (*Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi)*

After the archaeology museum, established as the Ottoman Imperial Museum, a museum on ethnographical collection was also founded by the Ottoman Empire in

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[396] Deringil, Selim. 2000. *The Ottomans, The Turks and World Power Politics: Collected Essays*, Analecta Isisiana Series, 49:164.

[397] The supra-religious narrative of Ottomanism was turned into a much more Islamic character during the reign of Abdülhamid II. Deringil, Selim. 2000. 67, 139.

[398] Hobsbawm, Eric. 1983. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", in *The Invention of Traditions*, Cambridge, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 6.

the early-20th century. The dual type of museums of archaeology and ethnography relate to different spheres of cultural heritage, and constitute the main frame of discussion in this study that aims to understand the conception of history and cultural heritage via its representation in museums. The Museum of Pious Foundations (*Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi*) was the first of those museums established to include Turkish-Islamic arts as a whole.[399] The attempts for founding such a museum were initiated in the late-19th century; however, the aim could only be realized as late as 1913 and the museum was opened to the public in 1914. (Figure 124)

The *imaret* (public kitchen) building of the Süleymaniye *Külliyesi* (Complex) (1550-1557), which was one of the significant buildings that Sinan ever built, was selected for holding such a collection. This brings up the issue of preservation and re-functioning historical buildings in the late Ottoman period, which is also closely related to the conception of cultural heritage. Hence, this part initially examines the historical narrative of the museum that led to its foundation in the first place, and then the restoration process of the building as museum is examined in relation to contemporary development of regulations enacted on conservation of historical monuments. After an analysis of the collection in relation to the methods of displaying them, the aim is to comment on how collective identity was represented and visualized in relation to a certain approach to history as seen both in its collection of a certain type of material culture, and the selected historical building for that museum.

[399] The museum was the first museum on Islamic arts and also the fourth and last museum of the Ottoman period. At that time there were only three museums; Ottoman Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümâyûn*), the Naval Museum (*Bahriye Müzesi*) (Figure 125 a,b,c) and the Military Museum (*Askeri Müze*) (Figure 126).

Following the archaeology and military museums, the first prominent attempt for a different type of museum was for founding the Museum of Pious Foundations.[400] This was the first museum on Islamic arts with a collection of the works of Islamic foundations, the *vakıfs* (wakfs). However, the foundation of such a museum can not be considered as the result of a sudden action and autonomous motivation. The initial development of such a consciousness towards Islamic arts, and the display of those had been dated much earlier, even if not as old as archaeology. The first steps for preserving the Islamic heritage were also taken up by Osman Hamdi, once he became the director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum that concentrated on the classical heritage. Upon his order a commission was set up and a decision was taken to collect valuable Islamic works starting from the wakfs.[401] Thus, towards the end of the 19th century, a revised administrative program was set out in the Ottoman Imperial Museum to include a department of Islamic Arts as one of the six branches to preserve the Islamic heritage against despoilment and theft, approximately 42 years later than the official establishment of the museum in 1889.[402] In 1908, the Islamic collection was moved from the upper floor of the Imperial Museum building to the Tiled Pavilion. After a while, the spaces of the Tiled Pavilion became insufficient in the face of the increasing number of objects. As a result, a more suitable place for this collection was sought for. Although constructing a new museum building was initially thought, this idea had to be given up due to the financial situations of the state. Instead of a new building especially built for such a purpose, a historical building was decided to be restored.[403] The new museum was opened on 14.04.1914, which was the date of the anniversary of the coronation of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad.

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[400] *Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi* was handed over to the Directorate of Istanbul Museums in 1924 upon the abolishment of the Pious Foundations with the establishment of the Republic. Consequently, the name of the museum was changed into the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts.

[401] Those wakfs were the unique places in terms of preserving the objects through long ages.

[402] Shaw, Wendy. 2000. "Islamic Arts in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, 1889-1923." *Ars Orientalis* 30:58.

[403] This place was also the first station for the collection of Ankara Ethnographical Museum.

One should raise the question of why Islamic works of art became increasingly important in the Ottoman Empire by the end of the 19th century while it was of secondary importance for almost a half century. The practical reason behind this project, which necessitated the collecting of Islamic works, was thefts[404] and looting that became a serious issue for wakf buildings where precious objects were held. Carpets, *kilims*, Qurans, lecterns, candle holders and similar objects of significance for Islamic heritage were donated by those who desired to do charity work and be benefited from prays during worship. Thus, those objects came to be preserved in those wakf buildings and became historical artifacts as centuries passed. Some of the historical artifacts from the wakfs, which were worthy enough to be displayed in the museum, were selected during a survey conducted between the years of 1911-1914 and brought to the museum from the wakfs.[405] It is not possible to state that this collecting process from the wakfs was efficiently projected; nevertheless, all those efforts should not be underestimated under the existing conditions of hardships in the late Ottoman period.[406]

On the other hand, the popularity of the Islamic art arisen during the 19th century had explicitly various reasons beyond mere practical needs. This was the era of "Western world's" expansion politics through colonization in several geographies including the Muslim lands.[407] Stimulated by colonialism, orientalist approach led to inquiries of Europeans on the Islamic world and the emergence of Islamic studies in "Western societies" from the end of the 18th century onwards. In addition, the widespread movement of Romanticism, which was based on "finding an inspiration

[404] Şahin, Seracettin. 2009. *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi: Emevilerden Osmanlılara 13 Asırlık İhtişam.* İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 13.

[405] *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi*, 1939. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi.

[406] Karaduman, Hüseyin. 2008, 30.

[407] The interest of Europeans was not merely on Muslim lands. The investigation of the Middle Eastern, African, and Asian pasts was also in the scope of "Western" power.

and example for the present", appeared to look into the past.[408] As a result, Islamic art began to be represented in the museums of Europe and America. For instance, a department on Islamic collections was opened in the South Kensington Museum in 1870; the Department on Oriental Manuscripts in the British Museum in 1867; and a similar section was opened in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1890. Islamic studies were also introduced by various publications after scientific studies conducted; and Islamic culture was displayed at international exhibitions, which also became an arena for self-display though art and architecture. The 19th century was the era when the modern nation-state and ideology of nationalism were born, whereby preservation and representation of cultural heritage came to be valuable to make a claim of a collective identity.

Hereby, the role of museums as a political instrument to signify such an ideological expression of collective identity was of vital importance to be dealt with in depth. According to Wendy Shaw, "as the empire [Ottoman] weakened during the early twentieth century, the identification of Islamic works of art became increasingly important to the development of a sense of an Ottoman national identity".[409] In this context, "Sultan Abdülhamid II's political strategy was to use Islamism as a means of holding together the Ottoman Muslims" to be able to resist "Western powers" and nationalist movements of minorities throughout the Empire.[410] Besides Sultan Abdülhamid's such politics utilizing Islamism for nationalistic expression, the ideology of the Young Turks, the powerful political movement of the late Ottoman decades, also used the Islamic arts as a tool of nationalistic expression and challenge to European domination.[411] Thus, with the beginning of the 20th century, a new

[408] For more information on those issue please see Odabaşıoğlu, Müjde. 2002. *The Perception and Representation of Islamic Art and the Emergence of the Islamic Department in the Müze-i Hümayun (1889-1908).* Unpublished Master's Thesis. İstanbul: Bosphorus University.

[409] Shaw, Wendy. 2000, 58.

[410] Odabaşıoğlu, Müjde. 2002, 47.

[411] Shaw, Wendy. 2000, 64.

meaning of Islamic and relatedly Ottoman arts began to be supported also by the Ottoman Ministry of Public Education under legal provisions.[412]

Although in the earlier times the smallest collection had been that of Islamic arts at the museum; a new section on Islamic arts was opened there late as 1889; and a catalogue on the Islamic objects in the Tiled Pavilion was only published in 1938.[413] The opening of a museum for such a collection in the late decades of the Ottoman Empire witnessed the increasing awareness towards this heritage which was related to the politics of Sultan Abdülhamid II that developed also in relation to the wider context of the 19th century. Relatedly, Sultan Abdülhamid's reign also saw attempts of repair and restoration of a serious number of historical monuments. "The government took an active role in repairing all mosques, museums, *medreses*, libraries, in a word, all national old buildings in the capital and the provinces. These attempts were to revive and preserve the cultural heritage of the empire's Islamic past."[414] One of those restored buildings was the public kitchen of the Süleymaniye Complex as part of a great wakf that was appropriated by the Museum of Pious Foundations for holding wakf works of art.

[412] It should be noted that during the final decades of the Ottoman Empire such movements of Ottomanism, pan-Islamism, and pan-Turkism were the effective idologies. However, there were not strict boundaries between those themes. Ottomanism that flourished during the Tanzimat from the 1840s to 1870s evolved from an authoritarian Ottomanism into Constitutionalist Ottomanism by the New Ottomans (*Yeni Osmanlılar*) in the 1860s and 1870s, and later on led to the emergence of Young Turks (*Jön Türkler*) who were against the absolute power of Abdülhamid II from the 1890s until the proclamation of the II. Constitution. However, there were transitions between those terms. Namık Kemal as a defenders of the New Ottomans used the term of *ümmet* that also referred to an Islamic bond; in that sense those were regarded as the initiators of pan-Islamism. Within a similar framework, the Young Turks' perspective towards Ottomanism, in fact, evoked Pan-Turkism and it emerged as a counter movement against the failure of Ottomanism towards nationalist movements that were resulted in the gaining independence of nations from the Ottoman Empire. Somel, Selçuk Akşin. "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlıcılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913)". In *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikim*, edited by Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil, 104-107, 115.

[413] Shaw, Wendy. 2000, 66.

[414] Odabaşıoğlu, Müjde. 2002, 47.

3.3.2. The Museum Building and Its Restoration Process

The public kitchen –known as *imaret*/*imarethane*/*imaret-i amire* or *matbah*- was one of the structures of the Süleymaniye Complex that was built between the years of 1550-1557. The complex sponsored by Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1494-1566) was positioned on a large terrain at the top of the third hill of the city of İstanbul. (Figure 127) One of the oldest sources on İstanbul written by Incicyan claimed that this spot was the highest and the most eminent point overlooking the port. The giant complex was beautifully designed and some of the marble columns were brought from such historical sites like Alexander Troas (Çanakkale).[415] Apart from the *imaret*, a devastating mosque with a courtyard with a fountain that separated the mosque from the outer buildings; two *türbes* for Sultan Süleyman and his wife Haseki Hürrem Sultan that were enclosed with a wall; five *medrese* (madrasa); a *mekteb* or *muallimhane* (Quran school for children); *darüşşifa* (hospital); a *tabhane* (guest house); a *kervansaray* (caravanserai) on a lower level; a *hamam* (bath); and rows of small shops on the slopes of the terrain were found in this complex.[416] The rationally planned character of that complex has geometrically organized units around the mosque. Gülru Necipoğlu explains that "the centrally organized geometric plan of this complex also seems to express the centralizing tendencies of the Ottoman state".[417]

In such a huge site for religious, educational and cultural practices, the kitchen unit with its courtyard and large spaces was used to serve food to students and the public for long years from the 16th century onwards. The public kitchen was consisted of a *matbah/mutfak* (kitchen), a *fırın* (furnace), a *folda* (furnace for bread), a *kiler* (storage), storehouses for salt and flour, a special section for the *mütevelli*

[415] İncicyan, P.Ğ. 1976, 47.

[416] Çelik, Serpil. 2009. *Süleymaniye Külliyesi: Malzeme, Teknik ve Süreç*. Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayını, no.359. Araştırma İnceleme Dizisi, 58:13-14.

[417] Necipoğlu, Gülru. 1985. "The Süleymaniye Complex in İstanbul: An Interpretation." *Muqarnas* 3:96.

(Trustees), and a *mekel/yemekhane* (dining halls).[418] In one of the oldest sources written by Celalzade it was mentioned as follows:

> A spacious dining hall for the guests. Fancy fountains and ponds made of well-trimmed and shaved marble. Breakfasts and delicious, sour and stomach-soothing late afternoon meals are served to all guests from all social classes including scholars, administrators, famous, rich, students, indigent, deprived, and to the ones around who are starving, bizarre and in need. The animals belonging to the guests staying overnight at the Guest House (*Tabhane*) were also served with fodder. Said services provided for the guests were free of charge for a period of three days. Kitchen is auspicious and copious.[419]

It has also been stated that, benefiting from the slope of the terrain, a caravanserai was built for tradesmen' and guests' horses. The spaces were organized around a courtyard which has a fountain located at the middle. The pointed arches with twenty marble columns, which had *baklava* decorations on their capitals and square plan plinth, carried the upper structure and the domes atop. There were openings with barred windows in rectangular shape.[420] (Figure 128-134)

With the decision of adopting such an old and remarkable building for a museum, the necessary work for conversion began. The rooms used for storages and cooking were replaced by exhibition halls, and the marble colonnaded courtyard was designed as a garden decorated with grass and flowers. The administrative rooms were allocated on the right hand side from the entrance. It is described in some of the sources that the visitors were impressed when entered the museum and saw the charming courtyard.[421] (Figure 135-137) One can raise the question why this structure was chosen as a museum for Islamic arts. First of all, that historical

[418] Quoted in Çelik, Serpil. 2009, 38.

[419] Ibid., 38.

[420] Ibid., 80-82.

[421] *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi*. 1939, 4.

building should have been in good condition as a unit of a wakf building. Wakf was an institution which had great effects on economic, social, and cultural life of the Ottomans. And repair work and restoration of those wakf buildings was a very traditional practice which came to be conducted meticulously. In the wakf system "repair work was carried out for the benefit of the public" and "the motivating force behind this aim was the symbolic and functional value of the monuments".[422] Religiously significant and social buildings were frequently under repair to secure the continuity of their function.[423] Ahmet Mumcu stated that only a part of the wakf buildings were in good condition,[424] so repair was common practice. The *mütevelli* was responsible for application of such works.[425] Emre Madran gave an example from a wakf that was burnt in 1826. For the repair and restoration works an allocation was not found, consequently some lands and properties that belonged to the wakf were decided to be sold in order to obtain income for those works.[426] Almost every great wakf had a permanent staff for repair works and restoration of its historical monuments, including an architect, carpenters, stonemasons, glaziers, etc.[427]

Restoration works and the maintenance of wakf buildings were conducted by the *Evkaf-ı Hümâyûn Nezareti* after it became an independent organization in 1826. Such developments and institutionalizations suggest an increasing consciousness of

[422] Türay, Esen. 1982. *The History of Architectural Restoration in Turkey: From 1869 to the Present Times*. Master's Thesis, Bosphorus University, 12-13.

[423] There was no particular concern for the civil architecture. Most of the buildings made up of timber were protected by use and when necessary by the people living in them. Türay, Esen. 1982, 12-13.

[424] Mumcu, Ahmet. 1969, 66-67.

[425] The *mütevelli* would be urged for repair, and if he still persisted in avoiding, he would be discharged from office and someone else would be appointed. Quoted in Türay, Esen. 1982, 6.

[426] Madran, Emre. 2002. *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler: 1800-1950.* Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 11-12.

[427] Ibid., 9.

historical environment in the 19th century. Thus it is necessary to open a parenthesis at this point and provide a short history to present general information on the development of conservation measures on preservation and architectural restoration in the Ottoman Empire. Neriman Şahin Güçhan and Esra Kurul clearly summarized this development process in their article: The conservation of monuments was under the influence of Office of Royal Architects *(Hassa Mimarları Ocağı*) and was evaluated according to their economic and functional values that were of mostly the wakfs. However, from the *Tanzimat* reforms onwards, there were several other reforms were begun to be applied. In 1846, with the establishment of the museum, artifact focused conservation activities began. In 1869, the first ancient monument regulations were implemented that suggested particular focus on archaeological matters. In 1874, the second ancient monument regulations were enacted, which suggested the term of "historic artifact" to mean moveable and immovable of disused artifacts of the pre-Ottoman period. In 1884, the third ancient monument regulations were implemented and thus, fundamental principles of conservation were presented by extending the definition of this term to include all moveable and immovable artifacts of the pre-Ottoman period. In 1906, the fourth ancient monuments regulations were enacted and the definition of this term was now also to mean not only Islamic heritage but also non-Islamic heritage such as churches, monasteries, synagogues. In 1912, the Conservation of Monuments Act was legalized and permissible interventions were seen. In 1915, it was decided that ancient city walls and castles were left to municipalities and to governor's offices. And in 1917, the Ancient Monument Conservation Council was founded in İstanbul and artifacts were registered; some interventions were seen on the registered buildings and it had paved the way for the opening of the museum.[428]

[428] Şahin-Güçhan, Neriman and Esra Kurul. 2009. "A History of the Development of Conservation Measures in Turkey: From the Mid 19th Century until 2004." *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 26(2): 21-22.

Halil Ethem states that if the building [he refers the *imaret* building] was not restored by the Minister of Pious Foundations, Hayri Efendi, it would have been destroyed like other *medrese* structures. He adds that this museum, with its building and content, was one of the rare museums in the world.[429] In that sense, with the selection of that building, practically the building was to be kept in good condition and the collection was to be complied with the museum building. It should also be noted that the centrally organized geometric plan of this old building quite fit the new concept of displaying. The colonnaded courtyards filled with objects and the halls surrounding the central courtyard arranged for display were already seen in the European museums.[430] Hence, restoring the building was a convenient solution to house the new museum. (Figure 138,139)

Beyond those reasons, restoring such a structure which is part of a magnificent complex representative of the four hundred years of Ottoman history, and attributing it a new value and re-functioning it as a museum concept, make the museum space itself an object for display. Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar calls the Süleymaniye complex as "the largest of the Ottoman building enterprises";[431] and Çelik stated that the Süleymaniye complex was called as the final expression of the golden ages of the Ottoman Empire.[432] Thus, the precious Islamic collection inside the museum was crowned with a museum building that remained from a glorious Ottoman past. Thus, the Islamic collection helped set up a bridge between that glorious past and the present of the Empire. For that reason, the Islamic collection was moved to such a building from the Imperial Museum, leaving the building solely to the Hellenic

[429] Edhem, Halil. July 1932, 546.

[430] Moreover, this spatial planning for such a museum purpose might afterwards inspire Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu's design of Ankara Ethnographical Museum that has a colonnaded courtyard with a pond at the centre and displaying halls around it.

[431] Necipoğlu–Kafadar, Gülru. 1985, 92.

[432] Çelik, Zeynep. 1998, 24.

past of the Ottoman Empire as if to more forcefully emphasize that the Ottoman identity was a great part of the Islamic civilizations of the past.

3.3.3. The Collection and the Displaying Methods

The museum had a significant collection based on Islamic arts covering almost all periods in terms of art of wood working, stone and clay works, metal and ceramic objects, glassware and codex, but the most impressive collection of the museum was especially the carpets belonging from the 13th to the 20th centuries which were brought from the mosques, *medreses*, *türbes*, libraries, and other institutions connected to the wakfs.[433]

The catalogue that was published in 1939 is one of the rare sources on that museum. According to that guide book, there were five displaying halls in the museum. The first of those was reserved for holding carpet, *seccade*, *rahle* (lectern), *şamdan* (candle holders) and as such. (Figure 140) Very similar collections were preserved in the second and third rooms, which had carpet, *seccade*, *rahle* and as such. (Figure 141,142) The fourth room mostly had carpet, *kilim* and *seccade*, (Figure 143) and the fifth room had some manuscripts, seal collections, inkwells, etc. (Figure 144,145). After a ten-year break, the museum was re-organized and opened in 1949.[434] The former director of the museum described the halls of the museum in 1950 with some differences. He stated that the museum had now four displaying halls; two of those four rooms were allocated for carpets, one for manuscripts, and the other was for various items especially ethnographical artifacts. The ethnographical collection of the museum had important items presenting social life of the Ottoman people from the 18th to the early-20th centuries. He also expressed

[433] *Türk ve İslam Esereri Müzesi*. 2002. İstanbul:Akbank Yayınları, 9.

[434] Naci, Elif. 1950. "Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi." *Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni,* 99: 27.

that the museum was planned to be extended[435] with the addition and restoration of a *tabhane* in the following years, and the objects that had not been in use before were begun to be displayed.[436] The point that should be emphasized is that a more systematic organization was provided during the re-organization between the years of 1939-1949. Elif Naci expressed his thoughts about the museum by saying that the display could now give a better idea of the context to the visitors.[437] That might call into the problem of the earlier set up according to which the objects should have been placed irregularly and without any referential bounds. Thus, creating rooms for particular objects should have ensured an understandable logic to the viewers during visits. Wendy Shaw recorded an important note on the display of the objects at the museum, stating that the museum administration was much more interested in the religious values rather than the aesthetic. As the result of such inequity, some of the precious carpets were stolen from the museum.[438]

Considering the methods used for the display, one could see a very similar technique that was used at the Ottoman Imperial Museum. While larger objects were independently displayed, small and fragile ones were displayed in the cabinets. Some objects were hung on the walls such as wooden doors, tiles, calligraphic works, and some of them were hanged from the ceiling like the carpets and *kilims*. Depending on the old photographs of those displaying halls, once can clearly see the systematic and symmetric planning represented within certain groups. (Figure 146)

Symbolically the museum was effectively to set up a bridge between the past and the present of the Ottoman culture. The visitor would see the *kaftan* of the Sultan and traditional women costumes consecutively in the museum under the roof of a

[435] Çığ, Kemal. 1953. *Bilgi Dergisi*, 29.

[436] Naci, Elif. 1950, 27-29.

[437] Ibid., 30.

[438] Shaw, Wendy. 2000, 63-66.

classical Ottoman structure. Those were the artifacts of the museum collection; however, there were more things to tell about the narrative of the museum building, to emphasize the permanent marks that could be experienced by the visitor. The catalogue also enables us to look from a different perspective, describing the museum as follows: Entering the building from the portal of the *imaret,* one would go down by passing from a corridor that had marble staircases and see a garden which had a fountain that were shadowed by the plane trees remained from the period of Sinan. The visitors would be impressed by the view he/she would see. Another thing that they experienced was the chimneys and furnaces that were no longer in use but their traces could already be perceived by the visitors. With those permanent stamps, the museum building suggested a significant value artistically as well as historically.[439] The same source also dealt with the objects existing in the building that had been used when it functioned as *imaret*. Those objects like stone mills were still preserved and displayed in the museum that gives an idea about daily life earlier experienced in the building.

3.3.4. Concluding Remarks

As the result of this contextual framework, it would not be wrong to say that the Museum of Pious Foundations was utilized to re-construct a particular collective memory, and represented it to the public both explicitly and implicitly by selecting certain artifacts of its glorious past, re-functioning a historical Ottoman period building, and presenting the spirit of the classical Ottoman ages all together as a package to the visitors. In parallel to reinforcement of such a conception, the moving of the Islamic collection from the Ottoman Imperial Museum to such a building marks its increasing importance as well as its autonomous character. The Ottoman Imperial Museum, as an archaeology museum consciously breaks off its relationship with the Islamic past by emphasizing the Classical past, while the Museum of Pious Foundations gives the message that the Ottoman identity was also

[439] *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Rehberi,* 1939.

relied on the Islamic heritage. Thus, the Islamic collection was formalized and hence, it gained an independent identity against the power of the classical-Hellenistic past. This situation was quite related to the contemporary contextual framework: Shaw stated that "collections of Islamic antiquities reasserted the political affiliation between the Ottoman Empire and Islam. In order to promote Ottoman nationalism, the affinity between Muslim Ottoman citizens and Islam had to be harnessed as an identification with the Ottoman state." [440]

No matter how the general outlook seems consistent and one can see a harmony between the building and the cultural materials, as well as the site; many of its features were criticized by the writers in the Republican period, especially in the 1940s and the 1950s. For instance, Aziz Ogan expressed that the distant location of the museum was decreasing the number of visitors.[441] Remzi Oğuz Arık also pointed out that the museum building was not fitting to the requirements of a modern museum.[442] Enver Şapolyo, who wrote a book in 1936 on the history of museums, argues that this museum was based on the life of Islamic tribes, not exactly a museum concerning Turkish arts or civilization.[443] Despite such critics motivated by Turkish nationalism which prioritized adoption of modern techniques, the foundation of the museum was quite suitable to its political and socio-cultural context. Moreover, such a function of displaying history was not against the nature of the building that was a part of the Süleymaniye Complex, whose structural elements were brought from such ancient sites as the Solomon's Palace in Baalbek, Alexandria, and Constantinople,[444] revealing a multi layered past of the Ottoman

[440] Shaw, Wendy. 2000, 59.

[441] Ogan, Aziz. 1947, 19.

[442] Arık, Remzi Oğuz. 1953, 14. However, lighting and humidity conditions of that building were the most serious concerns which did make it necessary to move to another building in 1964. The museum was moved to the Ibrahim Pasha Palace between the years 1965-1983 and opened to visitors in 1983. Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 361.

[443] Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. 1936, 4.

[444] Necipoğlu, Gülru, 1985, 104.

identity. Serpil Çelik states that none of the mosques was decorated with precious columns as much as Süleymaniye was; and it could be considered as a symbolic album that contained sacred memories of civilizations and crowned the victory of Süleyman.[445] The Flemish traveler Bushbeq, who visited İstanbul in that era, states: "The Turks have not the slightest idea of chronology, or of different epochs, and they mix up together in a wonderful way all historical events."[446] The Ottoman Empire was inherently a mixture of its multi-layered pasts; yet, its Islamic past was overemphasized in this museum in the utilization of forming a collective identity and providing such continuity with the period that was taken as the glorious past of the Empire.

[445] Çelik, Serpil, 2009, 14.

[446] Necipoğlu, Gülru, 1985, 104.

CHAPTER 4

MUSEUMS IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

Following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War, the Turkish Republic was founded in 1923 after the Independence War. The socio-cultural and political context of the early Republican era provided the setting for the displaying of material culture in currently existing or newly established museums, among which the Ethnographical Museum and the Hittite Museum[1] stand out as the most significant.

The early Republican period witnessed the institutionalization of museology in Turkey that had emerged during the late Ottoman period. The establishment of an ethnographical museum as the first newly founded institution in the Republican period corresponded to the birth of ethnology and ethnography, and museums undertaking such studies in European countries in early-20th century. Hence, this chapter examines the Ankara Ethnographical Museum (1925-27; opened in 1930) within this contextual frame and discusses how Turkish and Anatolian history was constructed and displayed through the first museum of the new Republic.

The chapter also analyzes a non-implemented project, consisting of a library, an academy, and a museum (*Milli Kütüphane, Akademi ve Müze*). The development of archaeological studies in the Republican period, and the foundation of an archaeological museum are scrutinized in relation to the proposal of an archaeological museum (1933) and the preliminary drafts and reports of which were prepared by Eckhard Unger and Ernst Egli. Although this initial proposal was not

[1] The contemporary name of the museum is Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum (*Ankara Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi*).

realized, an archaeological museum was later materialized in Ankara named as the Hittite Museum (*Eti Müzesi*) (restoration: 1938-1968), which is also studied in this chapter in the framework of developing ideas of preservation of cultural and architectural heritage in early Turkish Republic.

The first museums of the Turkish Republic were concretized as effective instruments for the declaration of nationalistic idealism and progress through modernization for the Republican regime in the early-20th century. That goes without saying that the goal of the newly founded state of Turkish Republic was to find the best representation of a "modern" and secular "nation", and to create a new Turkish identity and Turkish image, which required new symbols to support the revolutionary program. The replacement of the earlier image of the Ottoman Empire with a new one was the state ideology,[2] and as Feroz Ahmad suggested, "the state newly established by Atatürk was not carrying common features with the Ottoman Empire, but it attempted a complete break from it."[3] For that purpose, the state adopted a certain ideological approach towards its history, and decided to implement series of regulations on collecting, classifying, preserving, and displaying historical artifacts, utilizing the museum as the tangible paradigm of a modern and national institution. In that vein, the establishment of the first museum in the early years of the Republic in Ankara, the new capital city of Turkish Republic, and in the cradle of Anatolia, could be regarded as the representation of an attempt for divergence away from the Ottoman past.

The early Republican period employed the practice of exhibiting in such a way by representing a selected version of material culture to construct a certain frame of a collective identity. As such, the initial museums in the early Republican era were

[2] Gürol Öngören, Pelin. 2009. *Engendering Space for Education in Turkey: İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute in Ankara in the 1930's*. VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 3.

[3] Ahmad, Feroz. 1999. *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu,* İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 11.

appropriate tools to suggest a collective identity for the newly founded nation, based on the idea of a "common culture rooted in a common history".[4] The collective identity was hence built upon certain historical periods by externalizing others in the early Republican museums.

4.1. The Institutionalization of Museology in the Republican Context

The museums increasing in rapid succession were observed all over Anatolia and could be classified according to their administration, and sources of expenditures in three categories: state museums, museums established by local authorities, and depots to preserve antiquities. Accordingly, early state museums can be listed chronologically as follows: Ankara (1923), Edirne (1923), Antalya (1923), Adana (1924), Bergama (1924), and İzmir (1927) etc.[5] The museums granted by local authorities are the museums in Tokat (1926), Sinop (1926), Sivas (1927), Kayseri (1929), Afyon (1931), Van (1933), Efes (1934), Diyarbakır (1934), Manisa (1935), and Niğde (1936). The third group, the depots for antiquities, includes those in Amasya (1926), Denizli (1932), Çanakkale (1932), Samsun (1933), İznik (1934), Alaca (1935), Isparta (1935), Silifke (1935), Tire (1936), Kütahya (1936), and Kırşehir (1936).[6] (Table 1)

Besides those museums flourishing in a short span of time, the palaces of the Ottoman Sultans, which were symbolizing the earlier political system of the empire, were converted into museums in early Republican years. In İstanbul, the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, the Topkapı Palace became a museum in 1924, just after the foundation of the Republic, and the Museum of Paintings and Sculpture was settled

[4] Ergut, T. Elvan. 2000-2001. "Searching for a National Architecture: The Architectural Discourse in Early Republican Turkey", *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements*. Working Paper Series, 130:102.

[5] The museums in Konya (1902), and Bursa (1904) were the first of those.

[6] Arık, Remzi Oğuz. 1953, 70-71.

in the Dolmabahçe Palace in 1937.[7] The religious center of Mevlana in Konya (*Mevlana Tekke ve Türbesi)* that contained important Seljuk and Ottoman pieces of art was also converted into a museum by the decree of the Council of Ministers on 6.4.1926, no:3426.[8] In addition to those, spiritually surpassing church of Saint Sophia (*Aya Sofya*), which had been used as a mosque during the Ottoman period, was turned into a museum in 1934 with the decree of the Council of Ministers.

Having started with an archaeological museum known as the Ottoman Imperial Museum, the establishment of museums in the late Ottoman period continued with specific types of museums like the Naval Museum and the Military Museum, and lastly the museum including Islamic arts and ethnographical collections called as the Museum of Pious Foundations. Although different types of museums were also opened, the archaeological museum had a dominant role in the late Ottoman period, witnessing the basic function of archaeological studies in the relation formed with history to define a collective identity. Hence, it may be concluded that the Ottoman collective identity was defined with reference to the classical heritage, in line with European countries' approach; while references to the Islamic heritage came to play a more significant role towards the end of the Ottoman times with the foundation of a museum to display that heritage.

The specifically defined relation to history and its reflection in museums -including their architectural characteristics as well as collections- mainly resulted in two contemporary fields of historical studies, namely archaeology and ethnography, in the early Republican Turkey. Interest in archaeology still continued and the so-called Museum of Culture (*Hars Müzesi*) was established as soon as the Republic was founded in 1921, although it functioned in the bastion of the Ankara Citadel-

[7] Altan Ergut, E. 2003. "(Re)Forming the Collective Memory: The Modern Museum in Early Republican Turkey", *Spaces and Memories*. 2nd Mediterranean Congress of Aesthetics, Tunisia.

[8] Koşay, Hamit. 1949, 3.

known as *Akkale*- and should be regarded more as a depot than a museum in real terms. The first museum established and constructed in Ankara, the capital of the new nation-state, was an ethnographical museum named as Ankara Ethnographical Museum, requiring not only archaeological but also ethnographical studies in relation to the institutionalization of museums in the young Republic.

4.2. The Museum and the National Heritage

4.2.1. Ethnographical Studies

Before discussing the topic it would be better to present brief information on such descriptions. Ethnology is the science that analyzes and compares human cultures, as in social structure, language, religion as such. The development of ethnology from the 18th century onwards put the analysis on native and foreign cultures into a scientific frame as a comparative study in European societies. One of the developments related to the rise of this discipline was the ethnographical studies and opening of the ethnographical museums which housed the materials obtained in field researches. These museums played the same role for cultural research as the archives did for the science of history. The simple idea suggested by French geographer F. Jomard in the 1820s on forming collections based on the variety of cultures for their better analysis was improved in the following years. The foundation of the earliest ethnographical museum was in Copenhagen and dated back to 1841. Ethnographical museums reflecting native and foreign cultures by displaying compiled materials began to be opened one after another in various countries of Europe.[9] Those museums provided the European states the opportunity of displaying their own national culture and often other cultures' materials for presentation of history in a certain flow. In general, the idea of such studies is that, if ethnographical objects are analyzed correctly and systematically, they might be

[9] Tapan, Nazan. 1984. "Müzelerin Etnoğrafik Çalışmaları ve Kurulacak Bir Etnoğrafya Müzesi için Düşünceler," *Folklor ve Etnoğrafya Araştırmaları*, Offprint, 546-547.

regarded as the most valuable documents to show social structure, national identity, character, and mentality. For that reason, ethnographical objects are paid much attention as they are perceived as treasures of a nation.[10]

Ernest Gellner expressed the significant contribution of ethnography in the process of nation building especially in the countries of Central Europe. He suggested the existence of two models that were followed within two hundred years after the French Revolution (1789). The first of those was that of nation-states that were developed as based on previous states and/or existing cultures. In the second model -he asserted that was the one realized in reality- existing folk traditions were utilized together with the invented traditions in order to lay the foundation of a new nation. This model required the invention of consciousness and memory, and ethnographical studies were necessary to do such invention and legalization.[11]

In examining the meaning of ethnography in the local context of the Turkish Republic, Hamit Zübeyr Koşay is a key figure in museology, archaeological as well as ethnographical, and folklore studies. He called ethnology as the science of tribes (*kavimler ilmi*) that dealt with both tangible and intangible products starting from the primitive stages to the highest point of civilization: The science of ethnography, which collects, classifies, describes, and preserves in museums those material cultures, i.e. tangible products related to fishing, farming, clothing, craftsmanship, etc. Intangible products such as folk literature, folk religion, and folk traditions are the fields that folklore is concerned with.[12]

[10] Ibid., 547.

[11] Gellner, Ernest. 1998, 241-242.

[12] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1974. *Etnoğrafya, Folklor, Dil, Tarih v.d Konularda Makaleler ve İncelemeler*. Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası A.Ş, 17.

Koşay explained the difference between ethnology and ethnography by stating that the first goal of a state should be to establish a national ethnographical museum and then extend its collection progressively into a more general framework to turn it into an ethnological museum by encompassing cultural arts of neighboring countries and primitive tribes in order to make comparisons with those neighboring countries.[13] This comparative framework was noteworthy in understanding the "Anatolian-Turkish" culture by finding out its supposedly genuine origins in Asia -how it used to be before its encounter with Islam- by comparing it with Asian cultures.[14]

Such an approach signified the political ideology of the new nation-state: Ethnography underlined nationalist discourse of the regime by stressing upon the Turkish identity and Anatolian territory. On the other hand, contemporary belief in science also found meaning in researches conducted comparatively between neighboring Asian cultures to find out the pure and genuine basis of Anatolian culture. Once such scientific studies were undertaken, would be shared with the people at large, which was in fact in accordance with modern nation-state's principle of distributing values and knowledge of culture to publicize their ideology through different social institutions, especially education as well as the printed and visual media [15] Museums should also be understood as one of such mediums of state propaganda.

[13] Ibid., 85. This statement goes in parallel to the source entitled *Ethnographical Guidebook of Edirne and its Vicinity* that was published in 1938. It stated that Turkish ethnographical museums should be the mirror of the Anatolian culture and civilization. Beyond Anatolian cultural materials, tangible and intangible products of Asian-Turkish people should be at display for a particular reason, that is to make comparisons between Asian and Anatolian traditions and customs to evaluate authenticity since Anatolian traditions that were rooted on Asian cultures enormously changed with the impact of Islam. Ocakcıoğlu, Haydar. 1938. *Etnoğrafya Kılavuzu*. İstanbul: Edirne ve Yöresi Eski Eserleri Sevenler Kurumu Yayınlarından, 8.

[14] Ocakcıoğlu, Haydar. 1938, 8.

[15] Davis, N. Yuval. 2003. *Cinsiyet ve Millet*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 41.

The first attempts for founding of an ethnographical museum was begun during the 19th century, upon great interest of foreign ethnologists in Anatolia and the objects that were taken abroad from Anatolia to European museums for display.[16] The first prominent attempt for an ethnographical museum can be regarded as the foundation of the Museum of Pious Foundations in Istanbul in 1914 that has been examined in the previous chapter in detail. The collection of the museum was a compilation of the Islamic Arts and ethnographical artifacts. After this preliminary step, a systematic research on ethnographical works was inaugurated with the Republican era. Upon the order of the Minister of Education, in 1920s, a notice was issued to schools for the collection of cultural and folkloric products. The invitation to the Hungarian Turcologist Gyula Mezsaros, one of the front runners of the Budapest Ethnographical Museum, to come to Istanbul University (*Dar-ül Fünun)* to give some lectures on ethnology can also be regarded as an important development for ethnographical studies in Turkey.[17] Ethnographical studies –that was mostly dealt with in anthropological sense- were inaugurated in the Faculty of Science at Istanbul University in 1933-1935. However, in real terms, the ethnographical studies began to be taught in 1935 in the Faculty of Language, History and Geography of Ankara University as the part of Anthropology and Ethnology Institute.[18]

A variety of related actions were observed in service of searching for the traditional culture such as the foundation of the Ministry of Culture (*Hars Müdürlüğü*) and the Commission of Culture (*Hars Encümeni*) and the institution established soon after a congress on folklore that was held in 1927. The news on folklore were published in İstanbul between 1929-1942, and from 1939 onwards an exhibition series on ethnography was held titled as "Turkmen Tribes in the South" (*Cenupta Türkmen Oymakları*), and another publication series named as "Post of Folklore" (*Folklor*

[16] Tapan, Nazan. 1984, 547.

[17] Tapan, Nazan. 1984, 548.

[18] Erdentuğ, Nermin. 1969. "Türk Etnoğrafya Çalışmaları." *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi* 1-4:67.

Postası) was published from 1945 until 1966. The journal of "Turkish History, Archaeology and Ethnography" (*Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnoğrafya Dergisi*) was printed regularly from 1932 onwards as the official publication of the Ministry of Education. Beyond those publications on ethnography and folklore, a related significant journal was *Ülkü* that was the media organ of the People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) in Ankara.[19]

Apart from the Ministry of Education and the universities, the important institutions of People's Houses were quite active in ethnographical field in the first decades of the Republic. This cultural and educational institution that was founded in 1932 by the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) aimed to educate individuals along the modernizing ideals of the state.[20] Beyond their potential force of equipping the masses culturally those institutions had crucial power as they were regarded as the instruments of political communication with the masses. Due to the limited number of media organs and non-governmental organizations at the time, the People's Houses acted as negotiators to solve disconnections and polarization between the state and the masses.[21]

Having such a motivation, those institutions made serious contributions on the cultural life in Turkey by specializing on artistic and cultural activities of theatre, opera, and exhibition as well as by setting up libraries, collecting archaeological and

[19] Erdentuğ, Nermin. 1969, 65-66. The journal of *Ülkü* was initially published in 1933 in Ankara as the official journal of the Ankara People's Houses; and continued to be published until 1950. The period starting from 1933 to 1941, which is known as the first series of that journal, was identified with the Turkish revolutionary ideology in the 1930s and was also regarded as the announcer of cultural politics of the Republican People's Party (RPP-*Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası*). Şimşek, Sefa. 2002. *Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi: Halkevleri 1932-1951*. İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 116, 143.

[20] For more information on People's Houses please see the inspiring study of Neşe Gurallar Yeşilkaya entitled *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık.*

[21] Şimşek, Sefa. 2002, 12. The number of the People's Houses increased rapidly; in 1933 55, in 1935 103, in 1938 210, in 1940 379, in 1945 438, in 1946 455, and in 1950 478 People's Houses were established. Quoted in Şimşek, Sefa. 2002, 61.

ethnographical artifacts and displaying all those to the public.[22] Those facilities were conducted through the branches that were programmed to edit rich folklore, study historical artifacts and monuments and find out national ethnographical items. In 1940s, national artifacts that were found valuable were collected and displayed under the History and Museum Branch (*Tarih ve Müze Kolu*) in People's Houses.[23] Like encouraging ethnographical studies, those institutions made serious contributions to the development of museums in Turkey, even if this could be regarded in small scale. The Museum and Exhibition Branch (*Müze ve Sergi Kolu*), on the other hand, aimed at developing theoretical studies, and preservation methods by working collaboratively with the Turkish Historical Society and the museum department of the Ministry of Education, organizing trips to historical sites to raise consciousness of the people towards history; introducing history, art and culture to the public more closely by opening up local museums, and if they already existed, making contributions to their development or publishing journals, etc.[24] Those institutions functioned as auxiliary sections to support the Turkish Historical Society, and became a basis to disseminate its cultural theories until they were abolished in 1951.

Such media as through publications and educational and cultural institutions including the National Schools (*Millet Mektepleri*) (1928), the Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) (1931)[25], the Turkish Language Society (*Türk Dil*

[22] Yeşilkaya, Neşe. 1999. *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 59.
Between the years of 1932-1940 such activities were held in the People's Houses: 23750 conferences, 12350 theatres, 9050 concerts, 7850 movies, and 970 exhibitions. Quoted in Şimşek, Sefa. 2002, 61.

[23] Erdentuğ, Nermin. 1969, 66.

[24] İğdemir, Uluğ. 1940, *Belleten* 4(16), 166.

[25] The inital foresteps towards the along foundation of the Turkish Historical Society were taken as early as 1930. This organization was founded under the directorship of Turkish Hearts (*Türk Ocakları*) and named as *Türk Ocakları Türk Tarihi Tetkik Heyeti*. The first significant work of this organization was to publish and distribute a book titled *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları* in 1930. After the abolishment of the Turkish Hearths in 10 April 1931 this organization gained an autonomous character and was called as *Türk Tarihini Tetkik Cemiyeti.* The organization was re-named as the Turkish Historical Society (*Türk*

Kurumu) (1932), the People's Houses (1932), and People's Rooms (*Halk Odalari*) (1939-1940)[26] all worked towards propagating the state's understanding of a collective culture and were involved in the reproduction of critical symbols for the new nation-state. The keystone for such propaganda could be regarded as the proclamation of the Turkish History Thesis (*Türk Tarih Tezi*) (1931)[27] and the Sun Language Theory (*Güneş Dil Teorisi*) (1936).[28] Those ideological approaches were formulated to enhance the importance of Turkish history and Turkish language, and hence to overemphasize a pioneering role for the Turkish race in world history and to present Turkish language as the origin of world languages. Those developments in early Turkish history indicated the formulation of the Kemalist ideology which set a course for a specific relation with history via archaeological or ethnographical studies. One of the primary attempts on that field could also be regarded as the opening of new museums of ethnography and archaeology, initially in the capital city of Ankara and later also in other places, all programmed to preserve and display the history of the Turkish people.

4.2.2. Ethnographical Museum (*Etnoğrafya Müzesi*)

The Hungarian Turcologist Gyula Mezsaros was invited to İstanbul University in 1924, and he was also asked by the Minister of Education in 1924 to express his ideas and suggestions on the foundation of a new ethnographical museum in Ankara. He submitted a report to the Ministry of Education in November 29, 1924, and was then officially charged for the duty of establishing a People's Museum in

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Tarih Kurumu) in 1935. Çağaptay, Soner. 2002. "Otuzlarda Türk Milliyetçiliğinde Irk, Dil ve Etnisite." In *Modern Dünyada Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, edited by Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil, 245, 257.

[26] Şimşek, Sefa. 2002, 1.

[27] The Turkish History Thesis was proclaimed at the First History Congress in 1931. Çağaptay, Soner. 2002, 247.

[28] Sun Language Theory was proclaimed at the third Congress of Turkish Language in 1936 which was held by the Turkish Language Society. Çağaptay, Soner. 2002, 256.

Ankara in December 1, 1924.[29] (Appendix K) This museum, later named as Ankara Ethnographical Museum, was exclusively devoted to ethnography; indeed, most of the museums founded in that period in Turkey also contained ethnographical sections such as the museum in Adana (1935), and Edirne (1936).[30]

Gyula Mezsaros' report[31] is a very important source, illuminating the first stages of that museum before its foundation. Depending on this report and a body of existing literature on the museum, such as Nilgün Çuha's detailed study entitled "T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü ve Etnoğrafya Müzesi Binalarına Restitütif bir Yaklaşım",[32] this part of the study will examine the Ethnographical Museum of the early Republican Turkey. Zeynep Kezer's inspiring work entitled "Familiar Things on Strange Places: Ankara's Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey" is another source on the museum that examines the building in the context of modernization and nationalization processes of the new state.[33] Nurcan İnci Fırat's book entitled "Ankara'da Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarisinden İki Örnek",[34] İnci Aslanoğlu's reputable book on early Republican architecture entitled "Erken Cumhuriyet

[29] Çuha, Nilgün. 2004. *T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü ve Etnoğrafya Müzesi Binalarına Restitütif Bir Yaklaşım*, 89.

[30] Tapan, Nazan. 1984.

[31] The report was not published; however, a part of it was evaluated and published in the following source. Karaduman, Hüseyin. 2006. "Gyula Meszaros ve Bir Halk Müzesi Projesi." *İdol* 8(31): 38-45.

[32] Çuha, Nilgün. 2004. *T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü ve Etnoğrafya Müzesi Binalarına Restitütif Bir Yaklaşım.*

[33] Kezer points out that the museum was utilized as a tool for national unity that was defined along the modernizing lines of the state. Practically, everything pre-modern or traditional was to be excluded from contemporary daily life and imprisoned at the museum. The underlying idea here was to show that those traditional practices were no longer alive but were now only the objects of history. Kezer, Zeynep. 2000. "Familiar Things in Strange Places: Ankara's Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey." *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 8:101-116.

[34] Fırat, Nurcan İnci. 1998. *Ankara'da Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarisinden İki Örnek: Etnoğrafya Müzesi ve Eski Türk Ocağı Merkez Binası,* T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Cumhuriyet Dizisi, Ankara: TTK Basımevi.

Dönemi Mimarlığı",[35] and the memoirs of the architect of the building, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, entitled "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Mimar, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu: Anılar, Yazılar, Mektuplar, Belgeler",[36] will help this study form a basic knowledge of the building, upon which the aim is to develop further analysis and evaluation.

Ankara Ethnographical Museum was built between 1925-1927, and opened to the public in July 18, 1930. It was not only the first ethnographical museum in Republican Turkey history, but also the first on purpose-built museum in Ankara after the establishment of the Republic.[37] "The Museum of Ethnography was organized and commissioned by Atatürk himself who perceived it as the repository of folk art and culture, the base for his new cultural policy."[38] The museum was built on the Namazgah Hill, which was known as the Muslim cemetery and was one of the newly developing regions of Ankara as well.

For the realization of a national museum project, the first steps had been taken as early as 1917. At the Congress of the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*), the party in power during the late Ottoman period, the decision for the formation of a national and ethnographical museum was taken; however, it was not realized until the issue was handled again in July 15, 1923 at the meeting of

[35] Aslanoğlu, İnci. 2001. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı (1923-1938*), Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları.

[36] Kuruyazıcı, Hasan, ed. 2008. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Mimar, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu: Anılar, Yazılar, Mektuplar, Belgeler*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

[37] On the other hand following the opening of the first ever Republican museum in Ankara- Turkey in the 1930s, the number of ethnographical museums (or branches under existing museums, namely, Adana and Edirne in 1935 and 1936, successively) has reached to 30 museums until the 1960s. This is an indication how far the Government of Turkey attached importance to the cultural arts and heritage with an increasing pace. Erdentuğ, Nermin. 1969, 66.

[38] Yavuz, Yıldırım & Süha Özkan. 1984b. "Finding National Idiom: The First National Style." In *Modern Turkish Architecture*, edited by Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin, 63-64.

the Science Committee (*Heyet-i İlmiye)*.[39] The decision on the foundation of a new national museum was officially taken in 1924. Accordingly, upon the order of the Minister of Education, Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, two commissions were set up consequently: The first commission was founded upon the order dated 02.07.1924, decree no: 646, chaired by Celal Esat Arseven, to be followed by the second commission established according to the official decision dated 21.05.1925, decree no: 3585, by Halil Ethem, the director of the İstanbul Museums. The objects consisting of 1250 pieces were purchased and preserved in one of the rooms in Istanbul University. After Meszaros was officially appointed by the state to establish a People's Museum in Ankara, the design of the museum building was entrusted to a Turkish architect, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu. The construction of the museum started on October 25, 1925. Once the rough construction of the museum was completed, the collections at the *imaret* of the Süleymaniye complex were transferred to the new museum with the decision dated 12.08.1926.[40] Prof. Meszaros then continued his work of categorization, classification, arrangement, and exhibition at the museum in Ankara. The museum was finished in 18 months, in June 1, 1927. Hamit Zübeyr Koşay[41], former Director of Cultural Affairs, was appointed as the director of the museum once the Cultural Affairs Department was divided into three branches as museum, library and fine arts.[42] The museum was opened to the public in July 18, 1930.

It is important to draw a framework based on contemporary authors' discourses to describe the aims and the place of Ankara Ethnographical Museum during the early Republican Turkey. The catalogue of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum written

[39] Karaduman, Hüseyin. 2006, 38.

[40] Karaduman, Hüseyin. 2006, 43.

[41] Hamit Zübeyr Koşay was appointed as the director for the new Ethnographical Museum and remained in this position until 13.03.1931.

[42] Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. 1936, 76, Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 3, Karaduman, Hüseyin. 2006, 39, Gürçay, Hikmet. 1968. "Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesi", *Önasya*, 4(37):12.

by Koşay, and published by the Turkish Historical Society in 1956, describes the foundation of the museum in 1924 as follows: the goal of the museum was to contain commemorative culture of Turkish people, morally and materially, and to collect commonalities, which were motivated by such factors of excitement of emancipation and nationalist movements.[43] One might say that, in order to keep national spirit and history of the Turkish nation alive, the idea of founding a public museum arouse.[44] As a result, the state got to work on collecting information on Turkish culture.[45] Enver Behnan (Şapolyo), another contemporary author, indicated museums' significant role for mass education and representation of glorious Turkish past. He proposed four matters to make a claim of cultural heritage: The first is to preserve architectural and memorial monuments; the second is to collect manuscripts, and written sources; the third is to collect ethnographical materials of civilization; and the last one is to edit folkloric knowledge.[46] His statement presented an important clue in terms of showing the general view towards museology and the priority given to ethnography in this context. Besides, Halil Edhem, the director of the İstanbul Museums, in his presentation at the first Congress of History, clarified the impossibility of collecting paintings or foreign art pieces as they were non-existing in our culture. Instead, he emphasized the task of museums as collecting archaeological and ethnographical objects of Turkish nation.[47] However, the most important source on that theme is Mezsaros' first report, in which he revealed his ideas and suggestions on the outline of the museum. In order to understand the socio-cultural standing of the ethnographical museum, and the powerful nationalist discourse, Prof. Mezsaros' report presents a clear point of view. In the report, he highlighted the importance of ethnography and ethnology,

[43] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 2.

[44] Gürçay, Hikmet. 1968, 12.

[45] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 2.

[46] Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. 1936, 85-86.

[47] Edhem, Halil. July 1932. "Müzeler.", *1. Türk Tarih Kongresi,* Ankara: Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti, 564.

and how those studies could be used as supportive devices in the nation-making process. He ascertained such matters as follows:

1) Every independent nation that gives considerable importance to its future seeks for its past and roots by utilizing written sources; if those sources are not available, the only source that can be applied for are the material and moral values of the natives.

2) As this museum is formulated as a national museum, the lives of the Anatolian Turks should be investigated, their belongings should be collected and analyzed.

3) As this museum is programmed as a national museum, it should resemble the public museums founded in Hungary, Finland, and Estonia.

4) Keeping the entities of Turkish civilization is the main duty of Turkish nation. In that context, other Turkish societies in Asia also have to be investigated and analyzed.

5) The Turkish inscriptions in Mongolia have to be preserved and should be brought to the museum that has recently been planned.

6) Asian Turks have to be examined in detail ethnographically and ethnologically, and those materials should be collected and classification of those should be done in this museum.

7) Necessary conditions should be fulfilled for making scientific expeditions in Anatolia for the purpose of collecting ethnographical works. Those investigations are planned to be performed in summers, followed by procedures for their conservation in winters.

8) The results of all investigations should be published by the museum in several languages of Turkish, French, and German.[48]

In his first report, Mezsaros drew attention to the nationalist discourse by describing the type of the museum, sorts of objects to be displayed in the museum, and the methods to attain such a goal in the short and long term processes. Behind the formation of such a museum, the underlying idea could be regarded as absolute nationalism. It should be also noted that Mezsaros was deeply affiliated by Turanist ideology; hence, such a powerful nationalist construction behind museum planning should not be assumed as surprising.

Besides nationalist discourse that the foundation of the museum was backed upon, its formation was also identified with the revolutionary program of the mid-1920s. Ankara Ethnographical Museum was commissioned by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself as part of the revolutions carried on at the same time. His goal was to ensure the people not to forget about old arts, clothing, and customs of the people, which might likely disappear after the revolutions.[49] The historical background was neither destroyed nor ignored.[50] However, it was utilized in such a compatible way with the official ideology. Atatürk and the governing elite might have thought that traditional way of life should be collected and displayed in museums rather than being practiced by the people.[51] Zeynep Kezer takes this point much further, pointing out that, "in the Ethnographical Museum, the exhibits consisted of familiar things still part of everyday use, which were labeled as historical and placed on display for the viewing of the locals… By taking the familiar out of its context and

[48] Karaduman, Hüseyin. 2006, 40-41.

[49] Tansuğ, Sabiha. 1990. "Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesi", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, 18:659.

[50] Whittemore, Thomas. April-June 2003. "Archaeology During the Republic in Turkey", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 47 (2), 166.

[51] Tansuğ, Sabiha. 1990, 659.

thereby estranging it from its common users, the Ethnographical Museum deliberately attempted to seal off from the present the practices and objects that defined a way of life that, according to the official ideology, was to remain in the past."[52] Besides such a powerful ideological implication, once the religion oriented organizations such as dervish lodges (*tekke*), guild lodges (*zaviye*) and *türbes* were shut down in November 30, 1925, the state took the possession of those organizations due to the reason of their potential challenge to the revolutions. As Kezer expressed, "Atatürk saw the activities of *tarikats* not merely as roadblocks on 'the nation's manifest path toward modern civilization' but as a divisive threat to the integrity of the nation and the sovereignty of the state as well."[53] Thus, such ideological and practical reasons triggered compulsory collection of those materials in a museum that was composed of personal belonging, furniture, manuscripts, documents, and other collections of those organizations. The Ankara Ethnographical Museum would sit upon such a basis.

4.2.3. Architectural Evaluation of the Museum Building

The museum was built on the Namazgah Hill, which was known as a Muslim cemetery and one of the newly developing regions of Ankara. This land was allocated by the General Directorate of Foundations to the Ministry of Education for building a museum in November 15, 1925 with the decree of the Council of Ministers.[54] Before dealing with its building, the location of the museum, its position in the city scale, and symbolic significance of the site should be discussed. (Figure 144-147)

[52] Kezer, Zeynep. 2000, 107-108.

[53] Ibid., 109.

[54] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 1.

Once the decision was taken on building up a public museum, an investigation for an available location began. Eventually, this land atop the Namazgah Hill (open-air prayer place) was selected, which was overlooking an important part of the city expending towards the south to Yenişehir – the newly developing part of the city; the moorlands laid on its north-east direction where the Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı)* (1936-1943) would later be constructed; and the train station was on its north. The building was located on a hill, which is located at the junction of the Talat Paşa Boulevard and the Atatürk Boulevard, the two most important routes of the period in Ankara, and between the Opera and Hacettepe districts as they are called today. (Figure 148,149) The Namazgah Hill would also be the site of many important state buildings in the early years of the Republic such as the Turkish Aeronautical Association (*Türk Hava Kurumu*) (1933) on the north-east direction (near the foot of Namazgah hill), the Ankara Girls' High School (1930) on its west, the Radio House (1938) on its north, the Turkish Heart Building (*Türk Ocağı*) (1927-1930) on its east, and the Numune Hospital (1933) on its south (before Numune, there was a small hospital on its location).[55]

Some sources have noted that Namazgah was one of the entrances of the outer castle walls amongst the seven others.[56] This rocky land was known as a Muslim cemetery according to the old sources. Most of the soldiers who were dead during the War of Independence were buried in that area due to its closeness to the small hospital.[57] (Figure 148) Concurrently, the Namazgah Hill had also come to be known as a place where national and religious ceremonies took place between 1918-1922. Such national ceremonies were considerably important meetings during the First World War for national solidarity. On the other hand, religious ceremonies could be

[55] Sağdıç, Ozan. 2000. *Once Upon a Time, Ankara*. Ankara: The Greater Ankara Municipality, 108.

[56] The names of the entrances were as follows: Çankırıkapısı, Erzurumkapısı, Kayserikapısı, Aynalıkapı, İzmirkapısı, Hisarkapısı and Namazgah kapısı. Batur, Enis, ed. 1944. *Ankara Ankara.* İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 370. Eyice, Semavi. 1970. "Ankara'nın Eski Bir Resmi", *Atatürk Konferansları*, 4:78.

[57] Although the same area was described as a Jewish cemetery in some sources, this area is clearly shown as Muslim cemetery according to an old map of Ankara. www.vekam.org.tr

described as daily prayers (*namaz*) on prayer times daily, Friday prayers, religious holiday prayers, or prayers for rain when people (*cemaat*) gathered here in crowds. The Namazgah was put up by three rows of stone for praying performances.[58] In addition to religiously significant symbolism that the place had come to possessed, it is also recorded in some sources that there used to be a *türbe* called *Uzun Dede* on the same hill that was frequently visited for healing by those who were infected by malaria.[59] (Figure 149)

However, such religiously symbolic meanings that were attributed to the site came to an end by the danger of destruction after the establishment of the Republic. The *türbe,* the cemetery and the praying area on the Namazgah Hill were all abolished by 1923 due to the requirements for the construction of buildings, schools, institutions, and streets in the context of modern city planning.[60] Hence, after having served as an open-air prayer place for long centuries, with the construction of Ankara Ethnographical Museum on that hill, the site was turned it into a symbol of the newly developing capital city of Ankara.

Indeed, the museum is located on one of the most prominent spots of Ankara. Its highly visible location on a hill was also described by contemporary authors. The contemporary Turkish Life Magazine (*Hayat Mecmuası*) wrote in 1928 that the Ethnographical Museum was located on an outstanding spot, having a wide panorama and the best location in Ankara.[61] It should also be mentioned that it was

[58] Özel, Mehmet. October 11, 1973. "Etnoğrafya Müzesi", *Türkiyemiz 50 Yıl Özel Sayısı*, 11, İstanbul: Apa Ofset Basımevi, 22; Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 1; Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr. 1982. "Hars (Kültür) Dairesinin Kuruluşu ve İlk Etnoğrafya Müzesinin Açılışı", *Milletlerarası Türk Folklor Kongresi*, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Milli Folklor Araştırma Dairesi, 171.

[59] Tanyu, Hikmet. 1967. *Ankara ve Çevresinde Adak ve Adak Yerleri*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 52, 54.

[60] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr. 1982, 53-54.

[61] Halil, Ahmet. 20 Aralık 1928. "Etnoğrafya Müzemiz". *Hayat Mecmuası*. 5(108): 69.

written in the city plan of Ankara that the most impressive view of a city a foreigner could observe was the view from the train station of a city.[62] Accordingly, the Ethnographical Museum on the top of the Namazgah Hill was standing with its highly visible location that one can clearly see it from the train station without any obstacle in between. (Figure 150)

The selection of such a crucial point of the city for a monumental museum building should be regarded as a significant attempt justifying Evans' description of the modern public museum as an invention "for the purposes of celebrating and dramatizing the unity of the nation state and to make visible to its public the prevailing ideals embodied by the concept of national culture."[63] Beyond this physical visibility, the spot of the museum had more to say to the masses. As a new and modern institution of early Republican Ankara, the site of the museum was the result of a decision that conveyed "a prominent hill halfway between old and new Ankara, as if the repository were meant to be the mediator between tradition and revolution."[64] Similarly, Kezer underlines the same point by saying that, "embracing the new Ankara in the front, but built on the brim of the old town, with the citadel at its back, the museum stood like a threshold between the two parts of the town. Interestingly, the sense of physical in-betweenness exuded by the building's location seemed to echo its intended function as a jarring separator between the past and the present".[65] Such a paradigmatic situation strengthens if one considers the historical style of the museum building and the contents of its display.

The museum was designed by the Turkish architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu between 1925-1927. It has a rectangular plan and an area of 854 square meters with

[62] *Ankara İmar Planı*. 1937. İstanbul: Alaeddin Kıral Basımevi, 18-19. Therefore, the Youth Park was later planned in that area with its impressive parks, pools, and ponds.

[63] Evans, Jessica. 1999, 6.

[64] Yavuz, Yıldırım & Süha Özkan. 1984, 63-64.

[65] Kezer, Zeynep. 2000, 104.

eight rooms allocated for exhibition purposes, an entrance hall covered with a dome, a colonnaded courtyard which has a pond at the center, a duplex administrative division with five rooms on the southeast direction and a small basement floor reserved for storage. (Figure 151) The museum building is symmetrically designed in terms of its plan and façade layout. The main façade facing the northwest direction is punctuated with excessive ornamentation. Relatively, the other facades are quite modest and simple, following a neo-classical practice applied since the Renaissance. Side facades only have four rows of windows and small columns at the back corners.[66] The main façade is divided into vertical sections. At the middle is the main entrance of the building, on its both sides are the interspaces that has three barred windows and framed with marble rectangular pediments at the bottom and pediments in the form of pointed arch above the window. The corner masses that are exposed have also such kind of single, but enlarged windows with the same frame ornamentation. In addition, on both sides of these windows are the niches in the form of a prayer niche (*mihrap*) and rosettes (*kabara*) on the pediments above the windows. The main entrance of the building is accentuated with monumental staircases with 24 steps, and a monumental portal which is raised and exposed to the front. At the front gate is the portico with four columns decorated with muqarnas, which is connected by pointed arches. The three wooden entrance doors are on the same axis with these columns, figured as depressed arches. Above these entrances are the tile decorations. Besides the main entrance, there is another one for administrative offices at the rear façade on the south-east direction. The door is flanked by two barred windows on the ground floor and six windows aligned two by two on the second floor. The basement has one entrance and one window on its side façade in the north east direction according to the restitution project designed by Nilgün Çuha. However, the number of the windows and doors were planned to be increased with insertion of the library and cafeteria in the further restoration projects. The fascia decorated with triangles surrounds the entire building. The

[66] They were abolished with the addition of new blocks in 1955-1956.

main façade is crowned with palmette (*palmet*) motives atop the fascia.[67] (Figure 152-158)

The walls of the reinforced building are ashlar stone cladding. Facing stones on the basement plinth level are of dark colored Shell limestone, and above of light colored *Küfeki* stone. Another material used on this building is marble. Pediments, window frames, columns and column capitals, arches, flooring material in some of the spaces are all of marble, which were brought from the Marmara Island. The roof was covered with roof tiles, but replaced with copper later on. The dome is covered with lead. The main doors and window frames are all wooden.

Entering the museum, a hall with a dome atop meets the visitor. The interior dome is the only ornamented surface which is decorated with Turkish motifs, especially palmettes, with a hand-drawn technique. The exhibition halls are situated symmetrically around the inner courtyard, which was designed as an open space between the fourth and the fifth exhibition halls in square shape, and entered with the doors. Those exhibition halls composed of six rectangular rooms, and two square rooms, were not sufficient to hold the whole collection of the museum in time. For that reason, two blocks were inserted to both sides of the administrative offices between 1955-1956. These spaces were designed as displaying halls as well as storages. Besides that, between 1957-1967, filled earth materials under the building and terraces were removed and some spaces were created for cafeteria and library services.[68] In 1935, the inner courtyard with a pond decorated with rosettes, palmettes, and muqarnas was covered with glass/iron construction. However, the ceiling was replaced by concrete cross ribbed vault in the restoration project as late as 1963-1965. In 1938, this space was allocated for Atatürk's temporary tomb for 15 years after he passed away, and it was called as the Hall of Honor (*Şeref Holü*); and

[67] Fırat, Nurcan İnci. 1998.

[68] Çuha, Nilgün. 2004, 59.

the decoration pond was moved outside behind the rear façade in 1938. The museum was closed to public[69] except visits of bureaucrats and researchers from November 21, 1938 to November 10, 1953.[70] (Figure 159-161) Once the space is evacuated, a restoration project conducted by İhsan Kıygı was implemented between 1953-1956.[71] The museum was re-opened to public in 1956.[72] The place of Atatürk's tomb has still been kept unchanged there for a symbolic purpose since then.[73] (Figure 162)

Leaving spatial planning aside, the museum buildings stylistically had too much to say: The museum was built in a historicist manner with the utilization of architectural elements borrowed from Seljuk and classical Ottoman styles. The façades as well as the architectural design of the museum building is reminiscent of Ottoman religious architecture: Such elements as the portico with four columns and monumental staircases on a symmetrical axis that emphasize the entrance, the square shaped space at the entrance covered up with a dome that was ornamented with Turkish motifs, the colonnaded courtyard with a pond at the center, pointed arches on both exterior and interior, the column capitals with muqarnas and *baklava*, Seljuk style rosettes on the pediments, the exposed corner blocks, floral motifs on eaves and fascia of the building, and the tile decorations on the main façade are some of the characteristics of the museum building that make it to be classified as one of the representatives of the so-called style of the First National Movement.

[69] It was only opened to public during the ceremonies.

[70] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 4.

[71] Çuha, Nilgün. 2004, 65.

[72] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 4.

[73] Çuha, Nilgün. 2004, 64, 75, 79.

The style was manipulated by nationalist sentiments of the era. Historicism as one of the most dominant styles in the West through the 19th century was reflected in the architectural arena. The well-educated Ottoman middle classes, including architects, supported the nationalist-historicist program formulated after 1908, which created a critique of European effect in architectural field, even leading to an anti-western manner among Turkish architects who exposed their influence as a new trend in architectural styling known as the First National Style in the first decades of the 20th century. The birth of a nationalist style was also associated with the foundation of an architectural school in the late-19th century.[74] The western way of architectural education (based on the model and curriculum of Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris), which was taught by mostly European or Levantine instructors such as Alexandre Vallaury and Gulio Mongeri, had a great influence on Ottoman architects. The emergence of such a new approach led to the development of a new trend and style in architecture reviving the Ottoman styles. With the aim of adopting a national style, Turkish architects such as Vedat Tek, Mimar Kemalettin, Mimar Muzaffer, Tahsin Sermet and an Italian origined architect Gulio Mongeri built many buildings such as Sirkeci Post Office (1909), IV. Vakıf Han (1916-1926), II. National Assembly (1924), Ankara Palace (1924-1928), Tekel (1928), Turkish Heart (1927-1930) and as such. The architect of the Ethnography Museum, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, wrote in his memoirs that, by going towards their national past instead of western styles, Turkish architects created a new style that he referred to as the neo-Ottoman style.[75]

For the Ethnographical Museum Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu was appointed by the Ministry of Education; however, he was asked to design that museum in compatible

[74] There was a need for such a school which would train qualified architects since it was understood that it was not a solution to cope with the insufficient numbers of architects by just inviting foreign architects or sending Ottoman architects to study abroad. Meanwhile the School of Civil Engineering (*Hendese-i Mülkiye*) which had been established in 1884 provided architectural education as an extension of the Imperial College of Military Engineering (*Mühendishane-i Berri Hümayun*) that was also established under German influence and hence its teachers were recruited from Germany and Austria.

[75] Kuruyazıcı, Hasan, ed. 2008, 25.

with the national and religious character of the artifacts the museum hold. Koyunoğlu mentions the criticism of Cevat Abbas Bey who accompanied Atatürk at his visit to the museum under construction: "Your Highness, you are talking about modern architecture but Hikmet (Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu) is erecting a museum building like old *medreses*". Thereupon, Atatürk replied: "The architect builds art piece considering what it will be used for and what style he will apply. We ordered this museum to be built in a fashion as a container compatible with its contents which are the pieces demonstrating old Turkish living styles and traditions, but with the inspirations from old Turkish artifacts. Hikmet build it as directed".[76]

Atatürk's opinions conveyed by Koyunoğlu were challenging on this stylistic issue. If those were really authentic and if there was a certain kind of approach towards its style that the rulers had, there should be a strong reason to commission Koyunoğlu by the Ministry of Education for such a project. Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu who was graduated from the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) in 1914, was one of the leading figures of the First National Movement. First, he had a good knowledge on Seljuk and Ottoman architecture as he seriously worked on measured drawing studies of some of the historical buildings such as temples in Greece and many Seljuk and Ottoman structures in Anatolia during his education. In 1921, he started working in Ankara at the Pious Foundations on *vakıf* structures, and opened his own office in Ulus on designing as well as contracting in 1923.[77] addition, he had a very good experience on religious buildings as he worked in the restoration project of *Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli Türbesi* and constructed a guesthouse for that *türbe* in 1923. Whether it is a coincidence or not, it should be noted that after a while his museum building was to hold the collections that was to be brought from that *türbe*.[78] Besides these, he designed many different buildings, such as the Mosque of Eskişehir Bazaar (1925), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1927), Turkish

[76] Kuruyazıcı, Hasan, ed. 2008, 246.

[77] Çuha, Nilgün. 2004, 6-7.

[78] Ibid., 27-30.

Heart Building (1927-1930), and residences for Falih Rıfkı Atay and Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın.[79]

Having examined the characteristics of the museum building architecturally, one should discuss whether there has been a thematic correlation between the style and contents of the museum. The harmony of inside and outside, building and collection, objects and displaying methods were the themes that should be examined in detail.

4.2.4. The Collection and the Displaying Methods

Symmetrically planned rectangle and square shaped halls for exhibition are aligned within a certain way of order in the museum. The halls on the left and right sides of the symmetry axis are grouped as foursome, and connected to each other within a certain flow. The connection is provided by an open courtyard. This spatial organization was also helpful to classify and categorize the objects. (Figure 163) Nurcan İnci Fırat wrote that the collection of the museum was comprised of two groups; the objects of ethnography and art history. The rooms on the right hand side would compose the main collection of the museum that were the ethnographical objects such as traditional folk garments, ornaments, carpets and *kilims,* and the objects that were used for fishery, embroidery or agriculture in daily life. On the other side of the museum, the rooms were appropriated for mainly Turkish-Islamic arts like manuscripts, woodworks and objects of religious organizations that were brought from the dervish and guild lodges such as the objects in the *türbe* of Kırşehir *Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli* or center of *Mevlana* in Konya once they were abolished in 1925 within the scope of a law.[80]

[79] Kuruyazıcı, Hasan, ed. 2008, 28-30.

[80] Accordingly, the library of Hacı Bektaş was also transferred to the library of the Ministry of Education. Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. 1936, 76. Fırat, Nurcan İnci. 1998, 28.

The most significant source on the collection of the museum is the text published in 1928 in one of the prominent journals of the era, Life Magazine (*Hayat Mecmuası*), which mentioned about the museum in detail at the time when its construction was over, but was not open to the public yet. The author told what he saw at the museum while Prof. Mezsaros was guiding him. Perhaps these descriptions could be the first detailed description on the sort of the collection, spatial organization, and display of the materials in the museum. He described the museum halls where scientific activities of the revolution centre (*inkılap merkezi*) were performed. And he expressed that exhibitions in the museum were designed in a certain methodology. The first room he saw belongs to the ethnographical pieces of the primitive tribes. Gyula Mezsaros justified the presence and importance of this collection by noting the necessity for knowing history of civilization before heading to national ethnography.

In that context, the first room had such objects made up of wood, stone and leather, which belonged to Australians and Polynesians, and the African tribes. In the same room, he mentioned about a costume of a native American chief displayed on a model in a wooden framed glass showcase. (Figure 164) This costume was given as gift from the president of United States of America, Franklin Roosevelt, to Abdülhamid II. In another glass show case are the objects of primitive civilizations such as wooden boats and gun cases. A set of saddles, which were given as gift by the King of Abyssinia (Habeşistan) to Abdülhamid II, were transferred from the Military Museum and begun to be displayed in a wooden framed glass showcase in that museum. A collection of Eskimos, which were donated to the museum by the Danish government two years ago, were displayed out of the showcases. The author summarized those collections as signifying the first stages of civilization. However, his evaluation on this room shows us that he was not impressed with that sort of a worldwide collection. He claimed that his only concern in this room was the national objects that were used for fishery and battling. The journalist' approach towards the Ethnographical Museum, his negligence towards non-national objects,

presents a good clue on the expectations of contemporary visitors to the museum. It should be noted that those non-national objects were removed from the museum sometime later, and the museum became more focused on national culture.[81]

The journalist went on explaining the second room of the museum, which he called 'completely national'. Domestic utensils, especially historically valuable metal works, were displayed on the shelves and the ceramic collection composed of China, *Yıldız, Kütahya and İznik* ceramics, and folkloric craftsmanship such as bracelet, button, earring, and necklace were displayed in wooden framed glass showcases.[82] (Figure 165)

The third room was appropriated for the embroideries which were categorized according to their artistic value and were hanged one under the other in glass cases. The author praised those embroideries and emphasized their importance for Turkish arts. Through the end of this room, four models were standing in glass showcases within their local costumes such as a boy from Trabzon, a lady from Amasya, a model from a tribe (*aşiret*) in Anatolia, and an Anatolian bride. He described those rich and precious collections as the main sources for searching national sociology.[83] (Figure 166,167)

He started explaining the fourth room as the most important one in this museum in terms of presenting national and social history. He clarified one of the most contentious issues of the era: The fourth room had a collection of objects taken from

[81] According to the guidebook of the museum published in 1956, there were traditional folkloric garments and *kilims* in the first room. Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 5.

[82] According to the guidebook of the museum published in 1956, there were embroideries in the second room. Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 5.

[83] According to the guidebook of the museum published in 1956, there were carpets, fabrics in the third room. Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 6.

some religious organizations that had been closed by the Republican government. He emphasized the necessity of preserving and displaying these objects taken from such dervish lodges due to the scientific importance that they carried. Candlesticks, censers (*buhurdanlık*), reed flutes (*ney*), or lecterns (*rahle*) were some of the materials displayed in wooden framed glass showcases. In the same room, there were two models who wore *Bektaşi* and *Mevlevi* costumes as displayed in glass showcases. He described those objects in detail, saying that the objects found very convenient places to be displayed.[84] (Figure 168)

The fifth room was reserved for the display of the antiquities that were recently found in the excavations conducted in Yozgat and in its vicinity around the Kızılırmak basin by Van der Osten and Smith from the Oriental Institute in Chicago. Those objects were especially remains of the Hittites and the civilizations settled in Anatolia before and after the Hittites.[85] According to the author, considering the similarities between the collections consisting such periods of Hittites, Romans, and Turks, supported the idea of the unity of civilization in Anatolia.

Those were the main collections that were categorized and classified in the museum and were described by the author. He expressed that the objects obtained in research expeditions by Mezsaros and Koşay to Anatolia had not been categorized yet and were preserved together in one of the rooms of the museum. The fact that great numbers of objects were still to be classified, with new objects added to the colection continuously, proved that even at this initial stage the building was small for its function and more spaces were needed. Mezsaros said that, for such revolutionary aims, the museum should fulfill the mirroring duty of our civilization. Museums were one of the institutions that should make people proud of their

[84] According to the guidebook of the museum published in 1956, there were folkloric plays such as Hacıvat and Karagöz in the fourth room. Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 6.

[85] According to the guidebook of the museum published in 1956, there were manuscripts, guns, copper pots, objects of Hacı Bayram in the fifth and sixh rooms. Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 6.

collective being. He concluded his report by expressing how ambitious and dedicated the museum employees were in order to open the museum soon.[86]

It also was mentioned by some other contemporary authors that the museum contained a precious collection as a beginning. Koşay indicated the scientific as well as the historical importance of a museum in terms of its role on education. Besides, he expressed the existence of some objects in storages which were to be displayed at a Museum of Revolution planned to be constructed in the near future.[87] Similarly, some sources wrote that, due to the insufficiency of museum spaces to hold all the objects, some of the objects were to be sent to the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography.[88]

While the collections mainly focused on ethnographical materials, it was also planned to design an open air museum particularly for archaeological objects. According to the prominent sources on this field, due to the lack of an archaeological museum at Ankara –excluding the depot at *Akkale*, the Ethnographical Museum was also organized to hold and display the archaeological remains until the *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* was restored as an archaeological museum.[89] (Figure 169) However, some of the sources claim that the building of Ankara Ethnographical Museum was initially divided into two parts when the museum was founded. The informative text in the Life Magazine written in 1928 verified that two rooms were allocated to display the ethnographical pieces and the other section was organized to display antiquities such as the remains from recent excavations, *Boğazkoy, Alişar* and *Alacahöyük,* and this section was called as

[86] Halil, Ahmet. 20 Aralık 1928. "Etnoğrafya Müzemiz". *Hayat Mecmuası*. 5(108).

[87] Kandemir, Seyyah. 1932. *Seyahat Serisi: Ankara Vilayeti*, Türkiye Seyahatnamesi 1:126.

[88] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 9.

[89] Behnan, Enver. March 17, 1934. "Müzeciliğin Tarihi", *Ülkü*, 430. Gürçay, Hikmet. 1968, 12.

Ankara Archaeological Museum.[90] İnci Bayburtluoğlu expressed that, as early as 1926, when Ankara Ethnographical Museum was under construction, it was decided to preserve and display the archaeological remains. She also stated that the allocation of such a space in the Ethnographical Museum meant that *Hars Müzesi* (Museum of Culture) –the one at *Akkale*- was not important as much as the open area in front of the museum. Indeed, the only museum in Ankara was the Ethnographical Museum and there was no other closed space available for the remains.[91] One extremely important point which should be added is the expression of Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, the architect of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum: He clarified that the museum building, which was actually built for an archaeological museum, was inconvenient for displaying huge scale objects, so it was decided to open a school for arts and sculpture at this building. But after its opening in 1926, the building was used as the Ethnographical Museum.[92]

It would be better to make an evaluation on museum planning, spatial organization, interior design, choice of material, and some other technical details from the perspective of museology with reference to the second report written by Meszaros who prepared the general layout of this project. A part of Mezsaros' reports were published by Hüseyin Karaduman.[93] In his second report, Mezaros gave place to the following matters that are to be discussed in relation to the building constructed by Koyunoğlu:

> 1) The museum building has to be constructed on one of the high hills of Ankara in order to be away from humidity. Besides that, it should be designed to preserve its collection against the problems of ventilation, fire, and robbery.

[90] Halil, Ahmet. 20 Aralık 1928, 73.

[91] Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 401.

[92] Pehlivanlı, Selçuk. 1977. "Mimar Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu ile bir Söyleşi", *Mimarlık*, 150:10.

[93] Karaduman, Hüseyin. 2006, 38-45.

As it was proposed in his report, the museum was built on a high hill. (Figure 170) The open courtyard was first closed with glass, but soon after, for better insulation and prevention against fire, the glass/iron construction was replaced with reinforced concrete ceiling.[94]

> 2) One of the rules for national museums is the appropriate lighting. Since the museum is planned to be constructed having two floors, it will not be possible to have ceiling windows on top. That is why, the windows on the exterior walls should be designed as big as they can be to get more light in. However, for the preservation of objects from harmful sun light in summer, wooden sun breakers should be applied to the inside of windows, and in addition to that, all the windows should have white curtains.

Contrary to what he proposed, the spaces for exhibition halls were planned on a single floor; nevertheless, no ceiling windows were planned on top. The courtyard was left open, but that is not helpful for illumination of exhibition halls as they were separated from the courtyard with walls. The sun breakers were never applied.

> 3) Displaying areas should be controlled with central heating system. An electrical lighting should be installed in the building; however, the cables should be carefully insulated against fire.

Despite the proposal on this matter, central heating system was not planned at the beginning and could only be installed to the building later on.

> 4) Water and water filter should also be installed in the building, especially in the laboratories and photography studios.

It is not known if water and water filter were installed; however, neither laboratories nor photography studios were designed in the museum.

> 5) In case of spatial expansion in the future, the museum building should be planned on a large area considering the architectural manner of the existing

[94] Çuha, Nilgün. 2004, 74.

> building. Large scale objects are to be displayed in the open area of the museum, like the open air museums such as the Scandinavian Ethnographical Museum, namely Skansen.

Indeed, the museum project was planned overlaying the entire hill at the beginning.[95] And, in the first project, it was designed that the museum was planned to be expanded towards the Numune Hospital; however, the Girls' High School project made it impossible.[96] Nevertheless, two blocks were added in 1955-1956; and an open air museum was planned for displaying archaeological objects in front of the museum, even if that was not permanent.

> 6) This museum is planned to carry the Turkish character as its identity. That is why, the museum is planned to be designed by a master Turkish architect not in the Arabic style, but in the old, authentic and if required, in oriental Turkish style.[97]

Even if the evaluation of the style as "not Arabic, but oriental Turkish style" is not very clear; the aim can be regarded as that the museum building was desired to be in the contemporary national style and built by a Turkish architect. One can say that his proposals on both matters were realized. (Figure 171)

> 7) Displaying halls should be located on the spaces where they are well illuminated. The number of rooms should be ten to twelve having an area of 200-750 meter squares. There should be two storage rooms which have an area of 150-200 meter squares for each, two large laboratories, a disinfection room, two photography rooms, a director room, a few rooms for anthropology, folklore and the like, and two large halls for the library.

In practice, displaying halls were located throughout the exterior facades of the building to be more luminous. However, the windows are closed, today and there is

[95] Özel, Mehmet. October 11, 1973, 22.

[96] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 1.

[97] Those descriptions were taken from H. Karaduman's article since it was not possible to find those original documents.

artificial lighting inside the building. The number of the displaying halls was eight and it was increased to ten rooms later on. Although Meszaros proposed at least 2300 meter square area, the final building has an area of 854 square meters in total. (Figure 172) This means that the building is considerably smaller than it was planned. The laboratories, disinfection room, photography studios, scientific research rooms and the library were never designed; however a library was added on the basement floor afterwards.

8) The museum is planned to have five branches.

Those branches were described in his report as follows:

a) Displaying Halls: They are regarded as the core of the museum building which will display historical artifacts of the civilizations of Turkey in glass showcases after required scientific and typological categorization is completed. European museums would be taken as exemplary during the process of placing the objects. For display of costumes, models would be preferred.

As it was proposed, the halls were to display Turkish history in the wooden framed glass showcases. It is not known if the European museums were taken as a paradigm for the organization of the objects, but it can be said that the objects were placed within a coherent method of categorization.

b) Branch of Ethnology: The branch is planned to search for Turkish ethnicity; for that reason, there was a need of an ethnologist, a laboratory, and necessary measuring equipments. The ethnologist should attend scientific expeditions with the museum staff.

There is little information on hand to evaluate those points. Ethnological studies were conducted by the museum employees in the museum, but not in a laboratory as there was no space for that. And it is also known that scientific excursions were made personally by Mezsaros and Koşay.

c) Branch of Folklore: This branch is planned to be responsible for keeping and searching moral values of the people, verbal works (*sözlü eserler*), the development of the national music (*Milli Musiki*), etc.

It is not known if this kind of a research was conducted.

d) Laboratory: All necessary precautions are taken in laboratory, such as preservation and conservation of materials against corrosion, corruption and moths. Conservation methods would be applied to the same methods as the European museums used.

As it is expressed above, a laboratory space was never realized.

e) Library: The collection of a library is to be comprised of sources on ethnology and ethnography. A list of books is prepared including 102 books written in different languages.

A library was added on the basement floor afterwards. According to the guidebook of the museum dated 1956, there were 2574 books and journals in the library.[98]

4.2.5. Concluding Remarks

As the first museum of Ankara, the Ethnographical Museum was established as a modern institution which provided a visual description of Turkish cultural history to the masses. Over the years that it was founded the museum had a rich collection of Anatolian folk art beginning from the Hittite period. Those objects were regarded as the best samples of traditional artifacts of various places of Anatolia. In architectural terms, as Aslanoğlu pointed out, "ethnographic Museum in Ankara in 1927, is a strong evidence to show the intimacy of the ideology of Turkish

[98] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyir. 1956, 10.

nationalism and the architecture of those years."[99] What makes significant of this building was to display the folkloric past of the "Turkish nation" at a new and modern institution, at the connection of old and new Ankara in Turkish style as it was desired so. The museum building was in harmony with its historical style at the old Ankara as well as new Ankara and also with its national identity and revolutionary goals as a new and modern institution. (Figure 173)

Beyond those, the relationship of the Ethnographical Museum with the sculpture of M. K. Atatürk that was placed in the front garden of the museum building and the Turkish Hearth (converted into a People's House, in 1931), is noteworthy to emphasize. The sculpture of Atatürk designed by the Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica was placed here in 1927. As well as its location on a hill that made the sculpture visible from everywhere in the city, it also carries significance as it was the first sculpture realized in Ankara. This sculpture portrays Atatürk looking to West, sitting on a horse and in a military costume like a commander who gained victory. Besides, the important events of the pre-Republican and early Republican period such as the opening of the Grand National Assembly, the arrival of Atatürk to Ankara, and the War of Independence, were engraved on the base of the sculpture to commemorat the successes of the new nation-state and spread the influential project of Kemalism to the masses.

As well as the sculpture, the Turkish Hearth Building that was and later turned into the People's House also highly contributed to the overall effect of Kemalist ideology of the Republic. The Ankara Turkish Hearth (1927-1930), and later the Ankara People's House (1931 onwards) had in fact similar objectives, which Sefa Şimşek summarizes as follows: both were established to improve the Turkish nation's culturally and economically in the direction of contemporary western

[99] Aslanoğlu, İnci. 1986. "Evaluation of Architectural Developments in Turkey within the Socio-Economic and Cultural Framework of the 1923-38 Period", *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture,* 2(7):16.

civilizations. Moreover the methods utilized by those two institutions were very much the same. Both organized entertainments, competitions, conferences, and courses in the fields of fine arts and similar fields, celebrated important events and national days and educated the masses with the aim of making them modern citizens.[100] He also states that those epic literature, songs, poems, historical plays, and sports produced in the framework of Turkish Historical Thesis and shared with the public in these institutions, could be regarded as the raw materials that were eminently convenient for inventing crucial symbols.[101] As such, the Atatürk statue and the Turkish Hearth/ People's House building in the vicinity of the Ethnography Museum should be regarded as excessively influential instruments in the dissemination of the Republican ideology in the 1930s.

The architectural style and design of the building highly contributed to the narrative of the museum as it was strongly compatible with the collection that it hold. Indeed, the representation of the past matched with the architectural features of the museum. Before entering the museum, the style could give a clue about its content like the Ottoman Imperial Museum in Istanbul. The visitor can get the message of what sort of a collection they were going to see. For instance, the tile decorations on the main façade of the building can be seen from the outside as well as in the form of a collection displayed inside the museum. So, it would be possible to claim that the objects that were chosen for display were well integrated with the overall narrative. The objects were mainly historic artifacts of the Turkish nation, which corresponded with the aim of founding a national museum.

A final aspect that should be touched upon is the appropriation of the Ethnographical Museum for Atatürk's temporary tomb, which attained some

[100] Şimsek, Sefa. 2002, 28.

[101] Ibid., 65.

national, symbolic and religious meanings.[102] What affected the choice of the museum amongst the other buildings in Ankara might be explained with its location on a high hill, which is a highly visible spot of Ankara. In addition, the hill had been used as a Muslim cemetery for long years until it was abolished in 1924. However, the main point that should be questioned is the selection of a museum building for such a function. Being a national and a modern institution of the Turkish Republic, the spaces of the museum were already well organized for display and the building was potentially compatible as a tomb. One thing that should be importantly dealt with is that the Ethnographical Museum was also one of the strong candidates as the place of Atatürk's permanent tomb,[103] which was suggested by the commission that was first convened in December 6, 1938. This evaluation also shows how well the museum idea was co-opted by the people.[104]

The visuality of the building, its spatial planning, collection and location, and how the collection was displayed, were all used in the service of the national unification in Turkey. As Zeynep Kezer pointed out, "one of the top strategies used by the nationalists was to instill in the minds of the people a sense of continuity from the

[102] For more information on Anıtkabir, please see Batur, Afife. 1997. *Thinking for Atatürk. Two Works: Catafalque and Anıtkabir. Two Architects: Bruno Taut and Emin Onat / Atatürk için Düşünmek. İki Eser: Katafalk ve Anıtkabir. İki Mimar: Bruno Taut ve Emin Onat*. Milli Reasürans; Wilson, Christopher. 2007. *Remembering and Forgetting in the Funerary Architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: The Construction and Maintenance of National Memory*. Ph.D Dissertation. METU.

[103] The other strong candidate specified was Çankaya.

[104] The other locations proposed for Atatürk's permanent tomb were Çankaya, the School of Agriculture (*Ziraat Mektebi),* Ankara Citadel, the area of the Ministry of Education in Ministries District of Ankara (*Bakanlıklar),* the green hill above the Grand National Assembly Building (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*), the Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*), Hıdırlık/Timurlenk Hill, *Kabatepe,* and the Atatürk Forest Farm (*Atatürk Orman Çiftliği*). Gülekli, Nurettin Can. 1960. *Atatürk Anıtkabir Kılavuzu*. İstanbul: Çeltüt Matbaası, 16. However, after seven months work of the commission, *Rasattepe* which is known as Phrygian Tumulus of 1000 BC was selected in 07.07.1939. Gürçay, Hikmet. 1968. "Anıtkabir ve Müzesi", *Önasya*, 39. It is a highly visible point of Ankara as well as it can be clearly viewed from the furthest points of west and east railways and it is not far from the city center. Besides those, this hill is at the intersection of two alignments approaching from two significant points of Ankara, the Grand National Assembly Building and the Ankara Citadel. *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi*, October 1946, 141. Afet İnan wrote in her memoirs that she had previously escorted Atatürk to Rasattepe, and she mentioned how much he liked this hill as it is viewing the Ankara Citadel by adding that this land was at the midpoint of new and old Ankara. İnan, Afet. April 1950. "Atatürk'ten Hatıralar ve Onun Anıt-Kabri için Düşünceler", *Belleten,* 14 (54), Ankara:TTK Basımevi.

past into the future as a nation with a shared history and a common destiny."[105] One can conclude that Ankara Ethnographical Museum hence played a significant role for the effectiveness of contemporary nationalism in defining a national culture and hence constructing a collective national identity in its physical presence and in its displays.

4.3. The Museum and the Hittites as the Root of the Nation

4.3.1. Archaeological Studies

From the early years of the Republican era the new nation-state eagerly worked on establishing a museum to exhibit archaeological artifacts that were collected from various sites of Anatolia in a purpose-built museum building which was called as the Hittite Museum (in some sources *Eti Müzesi*) at that time. The idea of a Hittite Museum came along with the idea of building a new museum after its temporary location at the *Akkale* Bastion of the Ankara Citadel. Like many intellectuals of the era, Theodor Makridi, an archaeologist who had been employed for the İstanbul Museum of Antiquities, emphasized in 1926 the necessity of building a Hittite Museum in Ankara which would house unique Hittite artifacts for which Turkey was proud of. In the 1930s, it was already an item in the government agenda to establish a museum-library-academy complex. Enver Behnan (Şapolyo) clarified in 1934 that such a building complex was eventually to be constructed very soon because *Gazi Hazretleri* – Atatürk – was himself very much interested in this issue.[106] However, such an imposing project conceptually prepared by German Archaeology Professor Eckhard Unger and designed by Austrian-Swiss architect Ernst Egli was never realized. Before getting into the details of this non-implemented building complex project in Ankara, one should examine the attributed role of Anatolian archaeology, and mainly the Hittite civilization, during the process

[105] Kezer, Zeynep. 2000, 103.

[106] Behnan, Enver. March 17, 1934. "Müzeciliğin Tarihi", *Ülkü*, 430.

of the construction of a nation-state in Turkey and the rapid improvement of archaeological studies in this context.

Scientific researches on ancient history in Turkey, and in conjunction with archaeological studies, gained a new dimension with the implementation of new state regulations in the Early Republican Period. The goal of the new nation-state was to create a new Turkish historical past, which depended upon new symbols. And the past was attempted to be designated as neither Ottoman nor Greco-Roman, but rather Turkish, that was constructed with reference to Anatolia (that corresponds to the national borders of the Turkish Republic) and Anatolian civilizations,[107] mainly the Hittites -a culture that had established its empire in Anatolia (2000-1000 B.C)- and other cultures settled in Anatolia such as the Phryrigian, Lydian, and Urartian cultures.[108] It was especially important to revive in the people of a Turkish spirit through the study of history of their forefathers, and of the land in which they lived. But for pursuing such studies, scientific foundations were needed. Hence, the state decided to carry out a scientific research on Turkish history for the purpose of finding out the roots of the Turks. The archaeological maps showing Anatolia in particular also made this research deeper and more scientific. Among many others,[109] *Alacahöyük* excavation conducted by the Turkish Historical Society (TTK) was quite illuminating in terms of showing a thousand years of Turkish history, which was very much supportive to re-construct such framework. According to the new Republic, as appropriate to its nationalist program, the belief was that the Hittites were the first owners of the Anatolia and hence were the

[107] It is stated by the report of the Commission of Protecting Antiquities that Anatolia is the most valuable museum and history book on earth. *Kültür Bakanlığı Antikiteler ve Müzeler Dairesi Anıtları Koruma Komisyonunun 1933-1935 Yıllarındaki Çalışmaları*. 1935. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1.

[108] Vedat İdil claims in his book that all the collections of the Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum were found in Anatolia and they all belonged to Anatolian civilizations. İdil, Vedat. 1993. *Ankara: Tarihi Yerler ve Müzeler*. İstanbul: Net Turistik Yayınlar, 30.

[109] The first excavations were conducted by native archaeologists in Ahlatlıbel (Ankara) (1933), Karalar (Ankara) (1933), Göllüdağ (Niğde) (1934), Alacahöyük (Çorum) (1935), Trakya Tumuli (1938), Ankara Citadel (1938), Çankırıkapı (Ankara) (1937), Etiyokuşu (Ankara) (1937), Pazarlı (Çorum) (1937), Namazgah (İzmir) (1940), Sarayburnu (İstanbul) (1937) etc.

ancestors of the Turks.[110] Afet İnan's (1908-1985)[111] words in her report were significant:

> We are pretty sure that our motherland has become homeland to the ancestors of many Turkish peoples who lived in Turkey. The people of Anatolia have demonstrated the same character irrespective the fluctuations in political sovereignty and the titles of the states founded. Hittites have Turkish origin as much as the Seljuk Turks although they write in Farsi. Our excavations revealed these issues…. and they will keep confirming further.[112]

In the earliest issues of the *Belleten*, the journal on history,[113] the reasons for digging the Hittite sites were described and justified as follows:

> The Sumerians, the earliest known historic civilization, Etruscans, the founders of Latin civilization, Hittites, who ruled in old Anatolia……..there are many European historians who believe that all these peoples are originally Turks… so it is obvious that the founders and the creators of many old civilizations are Turks.[114]

Ekrem Akurgal, who was one of the foremost Turkish archeologists, expressed his thoughts: "Mustafa Kemal Atatürk felt the necessity to go to the earliest civilizations since this history hasn't been worn out, far from criticism, and

[110] Apart from this, many governmental institutions such as banks were named as Sümerbank and Etibank at that time. "The state-run industry and credit bank (sanayi kredi bankası) was renamed Sümerbank in 1933, a state metallurgy company, founded in 1935, was named Etibank (Hittite Bank)". Bilsel, Can. "Our Anatolia: Organicism and the Making of Humanist Culture in Turkey". *Muqarnas: History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rums",* edited by Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu. 24:225.

[111] She was one of the first professors in history, one of the founders of the Turkish Historical Society (TTK-*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) and Turkish History Thesis (*Türk Tarih Tezi*). She was also the dopted child of M. K. Atatürk.

[112] İnan, Afet. 1944. "Türk Tarih Kurumunun 1937'den 1943'e kadar Arkeolojik Çalışmaları Hakkında", *Belleten*, 9 (29): 50.

[113] *Belleten* was the first journal published in Latin alphabet from 1937 onwards. It was the continuation of a journal called *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası* that was started in 1910 and kept on publishing with an alteration of its name to *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası* in 1931.

[114] İnan, Afet. April 1947. "Türk Tarih Kurumu'nun Kuruluşuna Dair", *Belleten*, 11 (42), 177-178.

moreover there was a need of epic and mythical history at that time".[115] On September 23, 1935, upon the arrival of archaeological remains to Ankara, Atatürk ordered the native archaeologists to conduct an excavation in *Alacahöyük* and scholars to found a Hittite Museum in Ankara. On November 1, 1936, he made a speech on the Alacahöyük excavation during the opening of the new period at the parliament, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey *(Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi)*:

> The remains and 5000 year-old Turkish artifacts discovered after excavations made in Alacahöyük are very well capable of further researching and deepening knowledge about the worldwide existence of the Turks.[116]

Ekrem Akurgal asserted that Atatürk supported the Turkish History Thesis *(Türk Tarih Tezi)*, that argued for the existence of the roots of the Turks in far history, by emphasizing the Scythian, Sumerian and Hittite cultures instead of the Ottoman, Seljuk and Uyghur as the ancestors of the Turks.[117] However, one should keep in mind that the Ottoman and Seljuk heritage were not absolutely excluded from the historical scope of the early Republican period.[118] Nonetheless, rising consciousness towards excavating, finding archaeological remains and constructing Turkish history in this particular way constituted one of the main concerns of the Republican project in its process of nation building. For that purpose, the state brought about serious rules and regulations on searching, preserving, classifying, and displaying the antiquities. In order to compensate the need for experts on those issues, the

[115] Akurgal, Ekrem. 1956. "Tarih İlmi ve Atatürk", *Belleten,* 20(80): 582-583.

[116] Önder, Mehmet. November 1989. "Atatürk ve Müzeler", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, 6(16):72.

[117] Akurgal, Ekrem. 1956, 582.

[118] As it will be analyzed in the next part of the study, the state spent a great effort on the preservation of Ottoman and Seljuk heritage and on handing it down to next generations as it can be understood from the official decisions. For restoration of prominent religious structure -mosques and *medreses*- that belonged to those periods, systematic and scientific studies were performed and a significant amount of income was allocated from the budget. Document sent from General Directorate of Foundations to Prime Ministry, 0.30.10.213.447.3 dated June 2, 1936, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive, 13-15.

Turkish Archaeological Institute (*Türk Arkeoloji Enstitüsü)* of Istanbul University was opened in 1934, and the Faculty of Language, History and Geography (DTCF) was opened in Ankara University January 9, 1936. Consequently, their graduates were assigned for the positions at archaeological excavations, surveys and museums.

The Republican state's approach towards Classical Antiquity and Byzantine periods should be further discusssed here. The state's attempt to stay away from those periods has been could be explained by two possible reasons: One is related to the political problems between Greece and Turkey since Greece's proclamation of its independence from the Ottoman Empire, which generated scepticism towards everything related to Greece, ie. classical Greek and Byzantine heritage. A second reason is related to the general acceptance of Greek civilization as the root of Western civilization.[119] However, the Greek civilization was not totally excluded from being a research field in the Republican period. Especially after the 1940s, the archaeological excavations on Classical and Byzantine periods increased very fast and reseraches were conducted at important sites such as the Temple of Augustos, the Roman Baths at Çankırıkapı in the capital city of Republic, and the restorations pursued in the Churches of St. Sophia (1934) and Kariye (1948) in İstanbul.[120] Suna Güven presents possible reasons of such an interest as full propriatorship, assimilation, cultural richness, and regional honor. She indicates that the significant thing was the legalization of such an interest and tolarance towards Greek, Roman, and Byzantine heritages in the Early Republican period.[121]

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[119] Ergin, Murat. 2010. "Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiyesinde Yunan, Roma ve Bizans Dönemlerinin Algılanması ve Arkeoloji". In *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Geçmişe Bakış Açıları: Klasik ve Bizans Dönemleri*, edited by Scott Redford and Nina Ergin, 35.

[120] The first excavation conducted by a Turkish archaeologist (Arif Müfit Mansel) on Byzantine structure was the *mesjit* of Balabanağa in 1930. Akyürek, Engin. 2010. "Modern Türkiye'de Bizans Sanatı Tarihi". In *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Geçmişe Bakış Açıları: Klasik ve Bizans Dönemleri*, edited by Scott Redford and Nina Ergin. Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları 2, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Araştırma Merkezi Sempozyum Dizisi 1. İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 245.

As mentioned above, the prominence of setting up an archeological museum was not only to fill the deficiency of a modern institution to display archaeological heritage of the nation, but it also became the place where ancient history of Turkey was visually and textually constructed. One can say that efforts of the people who whole-heartedly supported museums were encouraged by the state for this facility, and consequently the result was obtained.

However, it would not be off beam to state that the foundation of an archaeological museum in Ankara was a troublesome and a challenging process. The project did not come through for almost two decades, and the solutions remained temporary until the restoration of two Ottoman period buildings of a *bedesten* and *han* that were partially finished in 1948. The first attempt to found the first archaeological museum in Ankara was made by Mübarek Galip Bey in 1921 at the peak of the castle, *Akkale* bastion, which was on north-west of the castle.[122] Some travelers who came to Ankara at the time noted that the antiquities were already stored in the castle in the 17th and 18th centuries. Evliya Çelebi noted down the weapons that he saw in the castle in 1640 in his travel notes, *Seyahatname*.[123] Almost two decades later, French Auby de la Montraye and Polish Simion similarly expressed that they saw Turkish and Tatar weapons in the warehouse of the citadel.[124] Besides, it was described that there were commissioned guards since the citadel hold a collection of weapons and military equipments almost like an arsenal. Jerphanion who

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[121] Güven, Suna. 2010. "Ankara'da Geçmişi İnşa Etmek: Augustus'tan Atatürk'e". In *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Geçmişe Bakış Açıları: Klasik ve Bizans Dönemleri*, edited by Scott Redford and Nina Ergin, 42,53.

[122] The Akkale Bastion is today used as storage of the Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum.

[123] Özdemir, Rıfat. 1998. *19.yy'ın İlk Yarısında Ankara. Ankara*. T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 40-41.

[124] Ibid., 41. Batur, Enis, ed. 1944, 263.

introduced the citadel for scientific studies, also mentioned the existence of sculptures standing upside down and inscriptions belonging to classical periods.[125]

In the light of the information given by the travelers, one might say that the castle was already housing the antiquities, even if the objects were placed disorderly. As the first serious step, the storage that belonged to the municipality was evacuated and appropriated as Museum of Culture (*Hars Müzesi*) in 1921. This attempt could be regarded as the seed of the Hittite Museum (*Eti Müzesi*) and Ethnographical Museums.[126] Remzi Oğuz Arık who was the director of the Ankara Archaeological Museum between 1940-1943 asserted that the museum was opened in 1923 and had 39511 pieces. However, the so-called museum was indeed far from providing appropriate spaces as required by a museum; instead, it was more like a storage where archaeological remains were accumulated. Arık expressed that this place did not go beyond an organized storage.[127] İnci Bayburtluoğlu mentioned that Nuri Gökçe who worked on the restoration of this space and laid the basis of museum works; reported the condition of the ruined building to the Ministry of Education in February 7, 1945. Bayburtluoğlu pointed out that this first museum was composed of two dark rooms, which had low ceilings. Similarly, Cemal Sena, the director of the museum expressed that the building was terribly ruined. With a small amount of income allocated by the state, he was only able to install windows, spread plaster and do the wood paneling of the lower level of the rooms. There were only a few number of glass cases in these rooms, which contained several coins and small artifacts. In addition to those, some small ethnographic pieces such as embroideries, and crimped fabrics were also stored here.

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[125] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr. 1979. "Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinin (Yeni Adıyla Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi) İlk Kuruluş Safhası ile İlgili Anılar*". Belleten*, 73(170): 309.

[126] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991. "Müze Belgelerine Göre Kuruluşundan Günümüze Kadar Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi", *Ankara Dergisi*, 1(2):98.

[127] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 99.

Besides such a museum in *Akkale*, the temple of Augustus next to the Hacı Bayram Mosque and the Roman Baths were also utilized to preserve unique antiquities until a permanent decision was made on the location and the building of the museum. (Figure 174)[128] In his book written in 1936 Enver Behnan (Şapolyo) clarified that archaeological remains from the Hittite, Roman, and Byzantine periods were standing in the open area which was founded in 1923. And he went on saying that a huge archaeological museum building was going to be constructed very soon.[129] But one should reveal the lack of a consistent approach on the chronological sequence and the accuracy of the first attempts towards a museum among contemporary writers. A few people suggested that the earliest stage was founded at the castle and some other writers thought that the utilization of the Temple of Augustus as a museum was much earlier.[130] In any case, both places were not convenient enough to preserve the archaeological remains, which were continually increasing in number.

In 1933, the open area in front of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum, as the only museum in Ankara at the time, was organized to hold and display archaeological remains.[131] Many of the sources verified the information that the open area in front of the museum was served as an archaeological museum.[132] Also the official reports prepared by a commission in 1934 confirmed this view. The destroyed parts of the castle, the repositioning of the Julian Column, and the construction of an open Hittite museum in front of the Ethnographical Museum were the themes mentioned in this report.[133] (Table 2) One extremely important point which should be added is

[128] Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 363.

[129] Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. 1936, 76-77.

[130] Gürçay, Hikmet. 1968. Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 363.

[131] Behnan, Enver. March 17, 1934, 430. Gürçay, Hikmet. 1968, 12.

[132] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 99-100.

the expression of Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, the architect of Ankara Ethnographical Museum: He clarified that the museum building which was actually built for an archaeological museum was inconvenient for displaying huge scale objects, so it was decided to open a school for Arts and Sculpture at this building. But after 1926, the building has come to be used as the Ethnographical Museum.[134]

As discussed above, bringing together the archaeological remains which were standing at different points of Ankara became one of the matters of priority for the state; however, a temporary location for archaeological objects would last several years until a museum would be created exclusively for them. In the meanwhile, a complex project including a museum-library-academy at the castle was planned in 1933, yet has never gone beyond being a mere project.

4.3.2. A "Wissenschaftlichen Zentrale" and the Hittite/ National Museum

Almost all the sources published so far have stated that the restoration project of the historical buildings of *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* and *Kurşunlu Han* for re-functioning as museum was prepared by Austrian-Swiss architect Ernst Egli. For instance, İnci Bayburtluoğlu, the former director of Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum, gave the most detailed information on the historical process of the restoration work substantiated by official correspondences. In her text, she indicated that the idea of the restoration of the existing buildings was adopted as early as the 1930s. An official letter sent to the Governorship of Ankara from the Ministry of Education, No; 661, dated 9/12/1930, explained the attempt of evacuating and cleaning of the *bedesten* and the *han* buildings for the purpose of converting them into a central

[133] *Kültür Bakanlığı Antikiteler ve Müzeler Dayresi Anıtları Koruma Komisyonunun 1933-1935 Yıllarındaki Çalışmaları*. 1935. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 14.

[134] Pehlivanlı, Selçuk. 1977, 10.

museum very soon.[135] The restoration project for the *bedesten* was officially ratified in 1936, followed by the implementation of the project started by 1938 and completed by 1968, respectively. She mentioned involvement of foreign academicians, such as the archaeology professors Eckhard Unger, Hans Henning Von Der Osten, Georg Rohde, and Hans Güterbock, the architect Ernst Egli, and the urban planner Hermann Jansen in this process. She also referred two reports prepared by Unger (1931 and 1933), and two restoration projects for those historical buildings with an organizational outline planned by Egli (1931 and 1937). However, the project prepared by Egli in 1937 did not satisfy the authorities. Consequently, Egli was replaced by a Turkish architect, Macit Rüştü Kural, a well known architect with his in-depth knowledge on Turkish architecture, who prepared the restoration project that was implemented.[136]

The above-mentioned history of the Hittite Museum that depended on a limited number of studies rather contradicts with the original reports dated 1932, 1933 and 1934. According to those original documents[137] found during archival research, Unger and Egli had worked jointly on a new building complex project in Ankara, which Unger named in his report as "Wissenschaftlichbuildingen Zentrale in Ankara" (*Ankara'da Bilim Merkezi*- A Scientific Center in Ankara). This building complex was planned to consist of an archaeological museum, an academy, and a library. The location for that building complex was resolved as the Ankara Citadel in Ulus. Considering that information, the project was neither a restoration project for the *bedesten* planned by Unger and Egli, nor concerned only an archaeological museum; instead it was a building complex including a Hittite museum (National Museum), library and academy conjointly.

[135] It has not been possible to reach this original document.

[136] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 100-101.

[137] I would like to thank Prof. Edhem Eldem from Boğaziçi University for providing me the report and the plans of that building complex project.

It would be helpful to expose and clarify some of the factual points before elaborating on the original reports on that building complex project. Prof. Unger's report was printed in Istanbul in December 9, 1932. He was an archaeology professor, who was invited by Halil Edhem Bey (Director of the İstanbul Museum of Antiquities) to classify, display, and catalogue artifacts of Near Eastern cultures apart from Greek, Roman, and Byzantine sections; and was assigned to train an assistant for the Ancient Orient Museum at the İstanbul Museum of Antiquities (Appendix L).[138] Presumably following his successful work in the Ancient Orient Museum, as curator and expert who had a great knowledge on Assyrian, Babylonian, and Anatolian cultures, he was requested to establish a proposal on a new building complex combining a museum, academy and library in Ankara.

The original reports are composed of a bundle of published texts written by Prof. Unger, concerning the manuscripts on academy and library, photographic reproductions on collection of library, sketches of preliminary project, scale drawings of the project (only plans), and a letter addressed to Prof. Unger from the Ministry of Education. The printed report is a 7-page proposal appended by a site plan sketch drawn by the commissioned architect of İstanbul Museum of Antiquities, dated 22.12.1932. In addition, there are some sketches of various elevations (most likely not attached to the report), presumably drawn by either Unger or Egli. Typeface examinations perused on the reports indicate that those sketches were most likely the original drawings of Unger himself. This project has also scaled drawings of each floor, dated 10.10.1933, drawn by the architectural office of the Ministry of Education, which was directed by Egli in those years. Those scaled drawings had also site lists, which were sent to Prof. Unger with a letter dated 10.03.1934 from the Academy of Fine Arts of the Ministry of Education. Thanks to the availability of those scaled drawings, making 3-D models of the project has become possible.

[138] Unger worked at the Istanbul Museum of Antiquities between the years of 1917-1919 and 1932-1935.

Undertaking a research on a non-implemented project by depending on just textual and visual materials in the absence of a physical museum structure has generated a different process of writing. One method to deal with this would be revealing the project depending on the chronological sequence of the materials on hand. Thus, it would be appropriate to start with Unger's complete report (the earliest document), where he described this project in five major sub-topics (organization of buildings, geographical location, organization of the museum, the museum and *Bit-Hilani,* and interior of the museum), and pursue the examination in accordance with the dates of other sorts of original materials.[139] Then, the study could undertake the architectural evaluation, analyze its collection and displaying methods, and hence attempt to discuss the meaning of the museum in its context by referring to the projections of Unger's report and other original materials. Yet the other aspect of this study is the overlapping of the Hittite Museum with the overall project, and the inconvenience of the engagement with the museum specifically by taking the museum part out of the project. For that reason, the project of the Hittite Museum is examined within the project of museum-library and academy complex as a whole. Before dealing with the dimensional drawings, architectural planning of the preliminary project should be scrutinized in the light of Unger's report and the sketches therein.

According to Unger's report dated 08.12.1932, the building complex was planned to comprise an academy, a library and a museum. The building complex project was prepared by Ernst Egli who proposed as the site an area on a hill that was 20 meters in height, and located to the west of the city and the Ankara Citadel. The typical characteristic of this hill was that it had a sudden cliff in the north, but a mild slope in the south. The main road coming from the city was in the south and crossed the eastern border of the hill, on which the complex sits. This point is the entry to the hill and the academy, the main building of the complex, is planned to be raised on that point. Two towers, to improve the visibility of the building complex, were

[139] I would like to thank Enes Kuru who helped me translate Unger's reports from German into Turkish. The report was translated from Turkish into English by the author. It should be noted that there might be some semantic shifts or misconceptions due to the multiple translation process.

designed on the entrance side; one was at the corner of the road and the other was at the corner of the street coming from the citadel. Those visitors coming along the directions of south and east could focus on the buildings so that this scientific institution would gain a imposing view in the cityscape. (Figure 175, 176)

One of the few sources on that project is the article published in the newspaper of *Cumhuriyet* dated 11.02.1933 under the heading of "Three Great Institutions of Wisdom in Ankara" (*Ankara'da Üç Büyük İrfan Müessesesi*), which provided further information to clarify the uncertain points and justify the information that has been enabled by the original documents. Speaking of the location of that building project, there is a major difference between Unger's report and that newspaper article. *Cumhuriyet* indicated that the buildings were planned on Çankırı Caddesi whereas Unger expressed in his report that Egli proposed the Ankara Citadel. Such an inconsistency might have been associated with a possible change in the idea of moving of the project from the Ankara Citadel to the Çankırı Caddesi, considering the dates of those two documents. However, the advisable reason might have been misinformation that one of the sources provided. The existence of a site plan dated 22.12.1932 attests Unger's or Egli's proposition to have a general idea on the site. (Figure 177) As one can clearly see on this site plan, the building complex project was planned with a combination of four buildings, two rectangular blocks (museum and library) and two cubic blocks (academy and representation) are located around a rectangular courtyard at the center. The Academy building marked as "A" is followed by 80 meter long courtyard towards the west, which is marked as "H" (*Asmakat Galerili Avlu*). The block in the west was dedicated to "Representations" (that might be called as reading and conference halls), named as "R". The library building is located in the northern direction named as "B", and the Museum "Ma" was drawn to the south of the building complex, considering possible extensions in the future named as "Mb" and "Mc". According to Unger's report, those organizations were planned in fact completely independent in nature and each of them could be constructed independently. However, they all offered

collective benefits to the prospective users and required areas for scientific researches, lecture and reading halls, and recreation areas that resulted in planning of a fourth building. It is considerably important to examine the museum within its context. Consequently, in the light of Unger's report and preliminary sketches, it was intended that the whole project is planned to be described below at first by handling each institution before focusing on the Hittite Museum.

The library of the project was suggested in Unger's report, where he explained his ideas on the organization of the library in detail. He pointed out that the library would be appreciated only if it had a complete collection of books. It was so important for a researcher to have easy access to the sources to be searched. For instance, the source could be reached in quite a short time, approximately 5 minutes, such as in the "Art Library" in Berlin or the "British Museum" in London. This is the only way that one could support a researcher in his researches. The library should be a *Präsensbibliothek* (Reference Library) and a source should be easily accessible. Borrowing a book was only permissible when it had a duplicate. Unger made some comments on the category of the library. It was planned to have materials in fields such as theology, medicine, biology, archaeology, architecture, history, philosophy, physics, philology, geology, geography, botanic, zoology, physics, chemistry, mathematics, music studies, etc. Besides, the library was specified as Assyrian, Babylonian, Sumerian, Hittite, Egyptian, Persian, Armenian, Greek, Mycenaean, Aegean, Roman, Byzantine, Elam, and general sections and journals. The bookshelves were located in the north. Since lighting was not quite as important for a depot having bookshelves as much as the museum, the museum was constructed in the south to maximize the benefit from daylight.

In terms of its architectural planning, the library named as "B" is located at north. The eastern side of this building accommodated administration offices and storerooms or materials numerated 17 through to 21. Research and technical

administrative offices were located on the other side of this building, numbered 20 through 24. This part would also be in close proximity to the main Representation Building, mentioned as "R", which housed a spacious reading hall within the library and areas for circulation (borrowing and returning books). For instance, book storage rooms located on the Library building had easy access to the reading halls planned in the "R". Thus, the relevant departments were so interweaved to enable inter-departmental activities. For the circulation of materials, there should be a carrying mechanism such as a conveyor band for the materials to be transported from the archive of the library to the reading halls of the Representation building. Such a transporting system should be set up not only between those areas indicated above but also in the whole library space.

The building of Representation named as "R" would have a large reading room for the library, a large and a small lecture hall, reading and meeting rooms for academics, a dining and a restoration hall. Restoration areas are planned on top floor of the main building. This was an inevitable attempt to create such a space for that kind of an institution. This section was planned on the west side of the building, considering the scenery of sunset and general cityscape which would make an appropriate recreation area and serve as a natural energy source.[140]

4.3.2.1. Architectural Evaluation of the Project

Speaking of the Academy building, there is little information on the organization of that institute in Unger's report. A handwritten draft of the academy project that was written by Unger called this institute as "The Turkish Center of Science (*Türkiye İlim Göbeği) (TIG)"*.[141] Nonetheless, beyond its scientific value, this building

[140] A German word of "Restauration" in the report was translated into Turkish as *Restorasyon* which implies a space for conservation; however according to the whole text it might most likely be a space for physical and mental relaxation and recreation.

presents a remarkable value in architectural terms. Entered with wide staircases, the monumental façade of the academy building was described by Unger as the keystone of the building complex. The complex had an impressive entrance also with two towers on both corners of the main façade, facing towards the east direction leading to the Ankara castle.[142] (Figure 178)

Unger stated that a museum came to be generally described as a means to display historical artifacts and any items showing history of a country in an appropriate environment. Another purpose of a modern museum was to display the artifacts in a particular chronological sequence of history. In his proposal, the museum was located at south, and planned to have a single storey to get light from top so the building sitting on a rough terrain would be efficiently illuminated. Unger stated in his report that there were various reasons for constructing library and museum buildings on indicated directions. First of those, the building complex would be well integrated to the cityscape. Secondly, in case of a need for extension of the museum and library buildings in the future, the mild slope towards the southern direction could provide the necessary space for the museum annex, whereas the extension of the library was planned towards the inside of the courtyard that was marked as "H" on the site plan. The issue of extension that never spoiled the external appearance of the buildings as they were enlarged on the same elevation, was described in Unger's report in detail. Whereas the library would extend towards only inside without letting visitors to realize that the courtyard was filled, the museum building would be easily expandable towards the gentle slope if it was planned to enlarge it

[141] As the original documents are not so legible, there might be some lexical errors arising from reading. His project for the academy was planned to be composed of twelve branches, which were listed on one of the drafts as follows: *Türkiye İlim Merkezi, Türk Tarih Tetkik Cemiyeti* (TTTC), *Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti* (TDTC), *Türk Güzel Sanatlar Encümeni, Türk Kitabeleri Tetkik Encümeni, Hatti Kurum Encümeni, Asar-ı Atika Kurumu Encümeni, İlim Propoganda Encümeni, Türkiye Tabii Tetkik Encümeni, Folklor Encümeni, Milli Türk Kültür Encümeni, Türk Biyografi Encümeni*. He has also another draft of those that includes a list of different institutions such as *Ziraat Encümeni, Iktisat Encümeni, Hukuk Encümeni* and *Tıp Encümeni*. But the correct names of those institutions were indicated on the site lists of the final project.

[142] According to Unger's report, a post office also should be planned in the academy.

in the future. The spaces to the south, drawn with dots and dashes and named as "Mb" and "Mc" on the site plan, showed possible annexes of the museum.

For the integrity of museum "M" and library buildings "B" in the complex, it was planned to build those two buildings completely identical in terms of their exterior facades. Both buildings of "M" and "B" would be flanked by two or more storey adjacent buildings that left the central block as single storey to be illuminated by sunlight radiating from the ceiling. Due to the buildings on both sides it would never be possible to make important alterations and modifications in the museum in order not to block its natural daylight. The eastern side of the museum building, which was used for the purposes of technical services on the first floor and by the museum administration and affiliated departments on the first and second floors, had been marked with "5" and "6".[143] On the other floors of the museum building there were spaces for commissioned researchers. Also there were some areas designed for researchers (not museum staff) to conduct their studies to the western side of the museum that was marked with "11" and "12". Those areas were planned on the same floor with reading halls and circulation spaces in the "R" so that the researchers could easily access the books. Those reading halls and research laboratories were planned independently from each other. That is due to the fact that the researches on tablets, ceramic pots/potteries, and vases that were supplied from the stocks of materials of the museum would require special security control over those areas. For that reason, the laboratory, depots, and archives of the museum were all planned on the basement floor of the museum section.[144] As well as a chemistry laboratory for research on conservation of antiquities, books and manuscripts, a photography lab, and such ateliers should be founded for molding, carpentry, ironworking, painting, bookbinding, glassworks, repairing and maintenance of equipments to be used in and out of the museum. In case of an

[143] Similarly a library administration was planned across the museum administration.

[144] Unger indicates that dimensional requirements for those spaces were delivered to Prof. Egli by himself.

extension for museum building there could be additions on the basement floor, enlarging those storage areas for materials and workshops.

To the west of the museum building, that would be close to the reading halls, a general inventory should be founded. Beyond the library stock in "B", another inventory for the records of antiquities was needed. Also attached to those inventories, there should be card indexes indicating the place of ancient monuments and remains, and which museum they were currently displayed at. In addition to those inventories, an extra inventory on photographs, moulds, and displayed objects should be kept. There should be cabinets in order to keep the small objects found on the excavations and the copies that were made of moulds. A museum shop was also proposed on the ground floor marked with "5", which had photographs of the antiques, duplicates of molding, and postcards on sale.

A place called "Center for Conservation of Antiques" (*Zentrale elle fur Denkmalspflege*) should be founded either on the first floor of the museum or an available space close to the Academy - such a department should even become a branch of the Academy. This center should be supported by the museum which would let it benefit from its technical and scientific opportunities. This center was also planned to be a sort of research institute to hold the inventory of all monuments in Turkey. The commission would be appointed by the center to organize the finding of archaeological remains and historical artifacts and directing of those activities.

Beyond those features on spatial planning, the museum building was also planned to have stylistically interesting characteristics. The Academy building had the entrance of the complex building in *Bit-Hilani* manner. High and magnificent towers that were located on both sides, *Bit-Hilani* was an ancient architectural style

used in Mesopotamia (especially by Assyrians), in the Mediterranean (by Mycenaean) and Anatolia (by the neo-Hittite Kingdoms). Between those two towers on both corners was a large colonnaded entrance that was subdivided into segments by the big animal statues and four columns on the top. This entrance courtyard was composed of a huge area that lied towards outside and had many gates to let the visitors in. The *Bit-Hilani* provided a magnificent external view; however, Unger expressed that *Bit-Hilani* might not be proper to apply for the museum building that might create incompatibility with the other three buildings. Consequently, the motifs of *Bit- Hilani* could perfectly be used on the exterior façade of the Academy building. Besides, the same motifs could also be used on the façade of the western building marked as "R", creating an amazing silhouette of the whole building complex that laid on the hill. This plan of *Bit-Hilani* was shown softly on the project that was planned along two main roads. Unger claimed that this manner could be adopted inside of the museum by insertion of the Hittite remains to the courtyard as well as to the entrance and exit of the museum as the museum had a sufficient number of Hittite artifacts. (Figure 179-185)

The collection of the museum was planned to be composed of antiquities and art treasures of homeland. Unger proposed to build three museums abreast. These museums were nominated as the Museum of Hittite Sculptures *(Hettitische Skultpuren Museum),* the Museum of Inscriptions or Scripts or Tablets (*Schrift und Buch Museum)*[145], and the Museum of Ceramics (*Keramik Museum*). There were precious art works of ancient manuscripts and books or extended collection of scripts in Turkey, which should be displayed as a focal point of the museum within a historical flow side by side with the Egyptian hieroglyphs, Sumerian cuneiform scripts, Chinese scripts, etc. Those should be displayed in a chronological flow in the Museum of Inscriptions. The same method would be practiced at the Ceramic Museum too. Pots, potteries, Neolithic articles, and their development from the

[145] Unger used the word of "Schrift" for naming of the museum section; however he might have used this word in the meaning of "scripts" or "inscriptions" as it is understood from the rest of text.

earliest times up to today would be displayed in the museum. The focal point in this museum was the history of tile art in Turkish art history. Due to the location, the Museum of Tablets on the eastern side numbered as “5” and “6”, and the Ceramic Museum placed to the west, could not get direct daylight from above and should be illuminated laterally with natural daylight. Consequently, the Museum of Hittite Sculpture formed a central focal point and would have a larger area than other two museums. So, the excellent location of the museum facing the courtyard would become a very specific place once the Hittite statues would be placed in the courtyard. The courtyard could be much more impressive once the statues of lion, bull, king and mythological statues would be laid properly. Yet, in order to place the artifacts properly it was required to have good information on those monuments and artifacts. A suggestion was to build a gallery at the first floor around the courtyard which would provide access between the departments. This area could be planned having benches inserted into the niches to serve researchers as a lounge and chatting area during breaks. This gallery could also function as a displaying area of busts and medallions of important male figures in Turkish history. In addition to that, contemporary monuments could be placed in the courtyard which had a length of 80 meters.

The museum area should be planned on the ground floor without any platform or steps. The museum area was composed of a hall and corridors that should not be more than 5 m in length not to create museum fatigue on visitors. Beyond displaying halls, the museum needed an exhibition area for special exhibitions or exhibitions for newly found antiquities. Such an exhibition area should be located in the main building close to the library which would host special exhibitions as well. Such exhibitions in the library concerning for a particular field, a literary movement or an author should also be available for common use.

For providing circulation between the spaces, escalators could be used that would have been hidden behind the galleries. This would enable users an easy and fast access from the Museum to the Academy building. The escalators (the number of that could be increased and located around the courtyard) could be planned from the ground floor to the first floor level. Besides those escalators, the elevators at those numbers "17" and "20" from the ground floor to the top floor should be devoted to the visitors; the other two elevators numbered as "5" and "11" from the basement floor to the top floor would be installed for staff use only. Beyond those, on the basement floors where archives and storage rooms would be located, there should be trails for providing access of small vehicles employed to move the antiquities and heavy loads.

Information gathered from the documents as presented above belongs to the preliminary stages of the building complex project that was approved. Afterwards, Egli was sent to Europe for making an investigation on museum and library buildings from January to March 1933.[146] The date is so striking because the preliminary project had most likely been submitted in late December 1932 (considering the date of a site plan), and in a very short period of time, it seems that the project was approved and Egli was sent to Europe.[147] This indicates how fast the project was developed in that process. In his travel to Europe, including such countries of Austria, Germany and Switzerland, he visited numerous libraries and museums in various cities and had the opportunity to meet Hans Poelzig.[148] Poelzig could be the same person *Cumhuriyet* mentioned in its report mentioned above. The report claimed that Egli would meet with a successful architect who had won many international architectural competitions for the purpose of assigned consultation. In addition to that, the purpose of this travel was described with reference to the aim that the building complex would be constructed in a modern and technologically

[146] Cumhuriyet Newspaper, February 11, 1933.

[147] Cumhuriyet Newspaper, February 11, 1933.

[148] For detailed information please see Bernd Nicolai's book titled *Moderne und Exil*.

advanced design which required a serious investigation at European institutions. The newspaper also stated that the final drawings would be done after Egli would return back to Turkey.[149] Eventually the final projects were really prepared and presented within almost six months (considering the date on the final drawings) after Egli's return. Those dimensioned drawings are dated 10.10.1933, which were drawn by the architectural office of the Ministry of Education, revealing the fact that the preliminary project was planned by Ernst Egli - the chief architect of the Ministry of Education - but drawn by the commissioned museum architect as it was developed after the ratification of relevant departments (possibly he Ministry of Education) and submitted (possibly to the Prime Ministry) almost within 10 months. In the light of those dimensional drawings the museum building is examined in the whole context of the project.

The final projects on hand are 1/200 scale dimensional drawings of plans. The idea of a rectangular plan in the preliminary project can be seen in the final drawings as well. Yet, herein the blocks were much integrated to each other and the buildings that had specific functions were no longer located independently but within an integrated character. The buildings had three floors and a basement floor. The colonnaded entrance and rectangular courtyard, that is, the semi-open colonnaded exhibition area were the characteristics of the building that could be seen in the preliminary project. The entrance to the building was provided by monumental staircases that were flanked by ramps. Straight ahead of the stairs, one would enter the great exhibition hall by passing the gate that was two storeys high.

The museum section was planned on the west side of the building. The museum, like the academy and library buildings, had a distorted L shape plan, having different square meters almost on each floor. The library section that was relatively smaller than the museum was located on the eastern side of the complex building.

[149] Cumhuriyet Newspaper, February 11, 1933.

Once entered the complex building the guests could reach the academy building by going towards directly to the courtyard. All those sections had access on the ground level and visual connection from upper floors to this grandeur colonnaded courtyard. This courtyard that was numbered with "115" did not have a space description on the room lists. Thus, it is not possible to know if this courtyard was planned as a displaying area in extension to the museum halls. But, such an approach already existed in the preliminary sketches and this courtyard was designed to hold antiquities that could be seen from the museum as well as from the other buildings.

On the ground floor of the academy there were a two storey high stage (s*ahne*), a place called *gazino*, some service areas, and halls between those. The academy had another entrance which could be reached after passing a few steps high large terrace. A service area was planned on the basement floor. On the first floor, there were administration offices of the Headquarters of Turkish Academy (*Türk Akademisi Fahrireisligi - TAFR),* and meeting halls, etc. On the second floor, the branches of the Academy (*Akademi İlim Katı*) were placed with departments such as philosophy, literature, science, economics, etc. On the third floor, there were areas for the commissions (*Umumi Daireler Katı*) that were connected to the Academy, such as commissions of Fine Arts, Turkish Language, Law, Preservation of Antiquities, etc. The library had also another entrance that was connected on the basement floor. An area for the storage of the books that was located on that block vertically and connected with an elevator to the upper floors, a printing room, areas for service, and some necessary rooms for the staff took place on the same floor. On the ground floor, the library had a large reading hall that was two storey high, storage of books, an area for catalogs, and journals and newspapers etc. On the first floor, there were offices and spaces open to below and an area for storage of books. On the second floor, there was also an area for storage of books, hostel (*Pansiyon Odaları*), and rooms for duplicate sources indicated as *İhtiyat Odaları*. There was also a space that connected the library to the academy building. on the third floor, besides

storage area, there were a restaurant, a kitchen, a place called *gazino,* and a narrow but considerably large rectangular area for photography and laboratory.

On the ground floor, the museum had large displaying halls that were divided by walls to create sub-spaces. Besides some ateliers for pottery, a recreation area in a form of Turkish garden with a pond (*Halk için İstirahat Havuzlu Türk Bahçesi*) that was surrounded by long displaying halls. On the basement floor there were depots, some ateliers for molding, glass, bronze, ceramics, etc that were grouped in a rectangular room, but separated by walls, as well as rooms for scientists and experts, studying rooms, and areas for service. There was a long corridor planned for connecting this building with other buildings, laid below the courtyard. On the first floor, there were displaying halls, ateliers for certain functions, and spaces open to below to see the displaying objects from the upper level. On the second floor, there was a laboratory, ateliers and depots, storages and rooms for chemists. There was a connection planned for the access to the academy building that viewed the garden with a pond downstairs. The third room was for the administrative department, as well as meeting rooms, and offices. The same connection space viewing the garden was also planned on this floor as well.

The overall symmetric plan, classic colonnaded entrance and monumentality of the building are reminiscent of Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin. It should also be pointed out that such a resemblance recalls Egli's visit to Berlin to investigate the Berlin Museum, which could have resulted in such an inspiration. It is possible to assert that the building complex project also reflects Egli's general approach of using functional planning, geometric volumes, and particular fenestration technique, bridges, terraces and balconies. For instance, in terms of planning, the building complex has similarities with the Faculty of Agriculture, which was also constructed in the same year. The faculty building has also a colonnaded courtyard (even if not structural columns) with staircases on both sides and a single storey gateway

between those two blocks. In comparison to Egli's simple and modest design of the Ismet Paşa Girls' Institute, the complex project could be an example of quite a massive, colossal and monumental building. The changing political and architectural tendencies with the rising influence of nationalism and the resultant classicism in architecture by the end of the 1930s, may also have affected Egli to design this complex building in rather a classical and monumental manner. However, strong monumentality of the building gets slightly weakened with the lifting up of the volumes from the ground above the structural columns, the openings on top of the buildings, the dynamism of volumes, the exposed eaves, and different levels of platforms. (Figure 186-199) (Appendix M)

The striking point that should be emphasized is the *Bit-Hilani* manner that constitutes the origin of this project. As also stated in Unger's report and in the sketches, the idea of having a monumental entrance flanked by two towers, a columned portico (covered roof), a long reception hall with a staircase raised on a platform, and a large hall in the middle that takes place in the preliminary project, recalls the *Bit-Hilani* manner. Except the two towers in the first drafts, the final project still kept the same architectural characteristics, but rather hybridized.

The idea of this manner most likely belonged to Egli, which can be supported with the following original document: In the draft of a (undated) letter written to Hamit Zübeyr Koşay (Director of Antiquities and Museums of the Ministry of Education at that time), Unger wrote about his conversation with Egli. He stated that he met Egli to talk about the Hittite Museum in Ankara, and continued with words of appreciation for Egli's project. Unger then added that he already agreed with Egli on the general outline of the project; however, some particular changes were required. Egli's style, as Bernd Nicolai stated, is a kind of patchwork which

harmonized different things altogether.[150] In that sense, one can make an assumption that the building complex started with an inspiration by Egli from the *Bit-Hilani* style, which would be conceptually appropriate for a structure to house a Hittite museum. Egli also utilized his functionalist approach here, but hybridized it with other favored styles of the European museums, and nationalist and classicist movements that were seen in architectural arena of his era.

4.3.2.2. The Collection and the Displaying Methods

The museum could be reached after having passed the gallery by turning right and going up a few stairs. Here was the point where the information desk, ticket office, museum shop, and cloakroom would meet the visitor. After going up a few more steps the visitor would come across objects of the Hittite civilization. This hall was specified as *Yazılıkaya Hitit Mabet Salonu* and it was the point where the visiting route started and ended. It should also be noted that there was no information that described the collection and the method of displaying in that museum except those written on the plans of the museum. After seeing this remarkable hall, the visitors would be oriented to take right and continue with another displaying hall of the Hittites (*İkinci Hitit Teşhir Salonu*). This hall was connected to a fairly long gallery that had a reverse U shape plan. Those galleries were planned to see the grandeur courtyard as well as the Turkish garden with a pond in the middle. Once the visitors followed those galleries they would come across two displaying halls and come to the place where they started their route. The visitors would be oriented to go upstairs to see the displaying halls on the first floor. Although two elevators were planned for staff use and to carry the heavy loads, another elevator for visitors' use was not designed in the plan. Once the visitors came to the first floor they would see the displaying halls that were connected with each other presenting a certain flow of visitors. With spaces created as open to below, these halls would enable

[150] Nicolai, Bernd. 1998. *Moderne und Exil, Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Turkei 1925-1955*. Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen.

visitors to view materials displayed downstairs. Besides those, when visitors would come to the room numbered as "121", they would enjoy viewing the courtyard that might have been decorated by antiquities.

The visitors to the complex would see the Hittite antiquities in a nicely arranged environment within a huge cultural center. The existence of a Turkish garden with a pond reminds the similar one that was located in the colonnaded courtyard of Ankara Ethnographical Museum. This characteristic is a very typical feature of the Seljuk and Ottoman architecture. This pond could have been planned to emphasize the Turkish identity to the visitors. Thus, visitors would connect the present time with remote past by the museum collection based on the Hittites as well as a more recent past of the Seljuk and Ottoman periods via the Turkish garden with a pond. The magnificent complex center would present the visitors the glorious past of the Turkish nation within an imposing and high scale monumental complex that praised the power of the Turkish nation.

4.3.3. Hittite Museum (*Eti Müzesi*)

On the earliest archaeological museum of the Republican state there have been only a few studies. A great deal of information on the museum is provided by one of the comprehensive and scientific work written by İnci Bayburtluoğlu, who was the former director of the museum. This text forms the basis of this study, which tells about the historical process from the first attempts for the foundation of the museum through the end of the restoration work, depending on official correspondences. Various people who actively took part in that process, such as Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, Remzi Oğuz Arık, and Hans Güterbock, had also published on the subject specifying the history of the museum in detail from a contemporary perspective. In addition to those, the original documents and old photographs that were found in the State Archives are invaluable to conduct such a study based on visualization. In this

part of the study Hittite Museum (*Eti Müzesi)* will be discussed in relation to the basic themes of restoration and preservation of cultural and architectural heritage as well as the display of the history of the nation to the public.

Even though the idea of constructing a new building for a Hittite museum had earlier been discussed, which was broadly discussed in the previous part of the study, this idea had to be shelved due to the fact that financially a better solution to allocate an existing structure for that function was found. Consequently, instead of erecting new museum building, converting two historical buildings into a museum building was opted.[151] Hans Güterbock in his booklet confirmed this information by saying that for a long time nothing was done on the construction of the museum building, and revealed his desperation by saying that it would not be possible likewise to build such a large modern museum building in the near future. To him, under those conditions, restoration of the old bazaar (he mentioned *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni*) as a Hittite museum by the Directorate of Museums was the right decision. Moreover, with this decision, one of the greatest monuments in Ankara, which suited perfectly to the needs of a Hittite museum, could be hence saved from destruction.[152]

The buildings that were transformed to the Hittite Museum were a *bedesten* and a *han* from the 15th century that were parts of a historical Ottoman market complex. *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* and *Kurşunlu Han* were the most remarkable buildings not only for Ankara residents, but also for international merchants. (Appendix N) Ottoman commerce of especially angora wool and leather were very important in the 16th and 17th centuries, which took place at the *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* in *Atpazarı* (horse market) and in the nearby *hans*. British traveler Richard Pockocke (1739-1740) indicated the popularity of the structure in his notes by saying that the

[151] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 100.

[152] Güterbock, Hans D. 1946. *Ankara Eti Bedesteninde Bulunan Eti Müzesi Büyük Salonunun Kılavuzu*. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Umum Müdürlüğü Anıtları Koruma Kurulu, 1(10):3.

bedesten building, the masonry and domed building, where valuable products were sold, was so magnificent.[153] A contemporary author also stated that *bedesten* was the place that took the pulse of trade in the city.[154] The *han* district composed of *Çengelhan, Pilavoğlu Han, Sulu Han,* and *Zafran Han,* which were mostly constructed in the 16th and 17th centuries, emerged for fulfilling the needs of merchants traveling along the ancient silk road between China and Europe. However, "the ottoman economy was adversely affected by the impact of the industrial revolution, and Ankara textiles became less competitive in the face of the challenge from English textiles… Destructive fires in the zone also dealt further blows to commerce and during the Republican era commercial activity moved to other parts of the capital".[155] The once popular buildings of trade turned into desolate places as a result of such developments, and especially the big fires in 1827 and 1881 badly damaged the *bedesten*.[156] Soon after, the walls and dome of the *bedesten* were collapsed due to dilapidation. Even though a serious attempt came out to restore the *bedesten* in 1901, for some reasons it was not realized.[157] In the first years of the Republic, the Ministry of Public Works did not display much activity in this area. However, this situation would change substantially in the following years with some operations such as the opening of new arteries like Ulucanlar and Talat Paşa Boulevards, the restoration of *bedesten* and *han* to be used as a museum, and the enlargement of *Atpazarı* Square.[158] In that sense, the citadel and its surrounding became an area which was efficaciously paid attention to. The

[153] Bakırer, Ömür and Emre Madran. 1984. "Ankara Kent Merkezinde Özellikle Hanlar ve Bedestenin Ortaya Çıkışı ve Gelişimi", *Tarih İçinde Ankara Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, Ankara: ODTÜ, 111.

[154] Georgeon, François. 1999. "Keçi Kılından Kalpağa: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Son Yüzyılında Ankara'nın Gelişimi." In *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, edited by Paul Dumont and François Georgeon and translated by Ali Berktay, 99-112.

[155] Oğuzertem, Süha. 2008. *Ulusla Buluşma II: Zaman Geçtikçe Ankara Kalesi ve Hanlar Bölgesi-Sergi Kataloğu/ Meeting Ulus, Meeting the Nation. As time Goes By:The Ankara Citadel and the Zone of Hans- Exhibition Catalogue*. 1st ed. Ankara: Ankara Vehbi Koç ve Ankara Araştırmaları Merkezi.

[156] Gürçay, Hikmet. 1968.

[157] Tuncer, Mehmet. 2001, 65.

[158] Ibid., 94.

preservation of the citadel was also specified in German planner Hermann Jansen's plan for Ankara prepared for the international competition in 1927.[159] A very similar, even more specified understanding was proposed in the same competition by another German planner Brix, who envisaged the preservation of the traditional texture in and around the citadel, indicating that the citadel and especially the *bedesten* should be as visible as possible.[160] One point that should be highlighted in his report is that his only touch on the citadel was by constructing a museum and a conference hall there to crown the place with a "cultural temple" of Turkish nation.[161] Thus, one can claim that the idea of a museum planned at the castle area had been proposed much earlier than its realization.

About the foundation of the museum, a very serious problem of inconsistencies between sources makes the research harder: Bayburtluoğlu claims that the idea of the restoration of the existing buildings was initially accepted in 1930. An official letter sent to the Governorship of Ankara from the Ministry of Education dated 9/12/1930 and numbered 661 explains the attempts of evacuating and cleaning the *bedesten* and the *han* buildings for their utilization as the central museum soon. In her article Bayburtluoğlu also mentions involvement of Egli and Unger in the preparation process of a report on the organization of the museum and conversion of those buildings in 1931. She also states another restoration project for the *bedesten* building that was designed by Egli in 1937, which was not accepted by the authorities but Macit Kural was commissioned for the work instead of him.[162] As discussed in the previous part in detail, those expressions might have been

[159] Document sent from Ministry of Education to Prime Ministry, 190. 304.4. May 9, 1939, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive, 1-2.

[160] Document sent from Ministry of Internal Affairs to Prime Ministry, 0.30.10.122.867.02 March 3, 1929, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive. He also stated that besides the *bedesten*, the Temple of Augustus and the Roman Baths should also be preserved since they had come to be the treasures of the city.

[161] Document sent from Ministry of Internal Affairs to Prime Ministry, 0.30.10.122.867.02 March 3, 1929, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive, 3.

[162] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 100-101.

misinforming in some respects. Yet, one can come across a very problematic situation to deal with in terms of the consistency of materials. In the light of Bayburtluoğlu's statements, it would be possible to claim that the complex project that included an academy, a library and a museum was the initial step of Ankara Archaeological Museum project. However, in another source published in 1932, Seyyah Kandemir suggested that the idea of an archaeological museum project in Ankara by appropriating the old *bedesten* building was already on the agenda.[163] This corresponds chronologically to what Bayburtluoğlu states in her article. If the earliest attempts for the foundation of a museum in the historical *bedesten* building that had really been initiated as early as 1930 and developed in the following years of 1931, 1932, and 1933, it means that this idea of the conversion of the historical *bedesten* into an archaeological museum had already existed almost at the same time when the library, museum and academy complex project was on the agenda. It still sounds unreasonable to have both restoration and new construction projects for the same museum model between the years of 1931-1933 by the same designer. Another point that is not clear in Bayburtluoğlu's article, is her statement about two restoration projects both designed by Egli in 1931 and 1937.[164] According to the evaluations of Bayburtluoğlu and the new original documents on hand, one can make an assumption that the first project –that was proposed in 1931 as Bayburtluoğlu indicated- might have been about the construction of the new museum building as part of the complex, whereas the second project – that was proposed in 1937 as Bayburtluoğlu mentioned- might have been for the restoration of the *bedesten;* yet the lack of sufficient information still leaves those points and some others obscured.

By putting those confusions aside, and turning back to Egli's unapproved project, the point that should be primarily stressed upon is the preference of the Turkish

[163] Kandemir, Seyyah. 1932. *Seyahat Serisi: Ankara Vilayeti, Türkiye Seyahatnamesi*. Ankara: Başvekalet Müdevvenat Matbaası, 1:125.

[164] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 100-101.

architect Macit Kural this time -to be introduced in the following part- instead of a foreign one. The issue of foreign architects was one of the critical concerns of early Republican Turkey in architectural terms. The attempt of reaching the level of the West, underlined the contemporary call to foreign experts[165]; consequently, a significant number of foreign architects were invited to design public buildings, including Ernst Egli who designed governmental and school buildings.[166] Foreign architects not only practiced architecture, but also taught at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. They were initially welcome with enthusiasm, especially by the state elites and professionals. In 1934, Falif Rıfkı wrote in Hakimiyet-i Milliye:

> European architects, who put an end to the imitations of the early deformed mosques and caravansaries, succeeded in bringing the new culture to the School of Fine Arts. They are the ones who will nationalize architecture by using modern techniques but by keeping the self of the Turks and they are the ones who will make this new architecture fit for the climate, the setting and the characteristics of the country.[167]

Although the government, and some scholars and journalists were supportive of the work of foreign architects, some others, especially the native architects, were definitely criticizing the foreigners and the state policy of commissioning foreigners. In the only architectural periodical of the period *Mimar*, Zeki Sayar criticized the commissioning of foreign architects and suggested: "Let us stop leaving our cities to the artistic experiments of foreigners. It is high time for us to have faith in our own architects and give them a chance."[168]

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[165] The discussions on foreign architects in this part have been developed from the information in Pelin Gurol's Master's thesis: Gürol, Pelin. 2003. *Building for Women's Education During the early Republican Period in Turkey: İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute in Ankara in the 1930s*. Unpublished Master's Thesis. METU.

[166] Others included Clemens Holzmeister who designed government buildings and banks, Bruno Taut for school buildings, Theodor Jost for health buildings, Paolo Vietti-Violi for sport facilities, Robert Oerley for health institutions, Martin Elsaesser for banks, Hermann Jansen for urban planning and mass-housing projects and so on. Aslanoğlu, İnci. 1992. N. Şahin, ed. "1923-1950 Yılları Arasında Çalışan Yabancı Mimarlar", *Ankara Konuşmaları,* Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları, 118-119.

[167] Quoted in Ural, Somer. Ocak-Şubat 1974, 29.

Each work commissioned to foreign architects meant a missed opportunity for Turkish architects for their practice, knowledge, and economic income. Turkish architects were critical of the work of foreigners in that respect, but they were still quite positive for the working of foreign architects as educators in schools or advisors in state offices.[169] We can follow the arguments on the issue as discussed on the pages of contemporary publications. For example, in '*Mimar*', Şevki Balmumcu wrote in 1931:

> This country is in need of westerners in the field of architecture as well. The foreign architects have to respect Turkish architecture and remember that they do not work in their own countries but in Turkey.[170]

Thus, with the negative and positive reactions to foreign architects, a new style of modern architecture -called cubic- was presented in Turkey by foreigners and met with the enthusiasm of native architects who were graduated from Egli's studios in the Academy of Fine Arts.[171] In such a context, Egli was already a well known figure in Turkish architecture. He worked in Turkey from 1927 until 1936 by designing many buildings – more in number than the number of buildings designed by all the other foreign architects who were employed in Turkey at that period.[172] He worked as a designer and an advisor in charge at the Architectural Office of the Ministry of Education (1927-1936). Besides, he taught at the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul, where he was also in charge of re-organizing the architectural education (1930-1936). Egli changed the curriculum and 'modernized' the architectural education in the Academy to make it similar to the programs in Central Europe. In the official decision in 1932 for the construction of the schools of agriculture and veterinarians (*Yüksek Ziraat and Baytar Mektepleri)*, it was stated that "the work is

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[168] Sayar, Zeki. 1938. "Yerli ve Yabancı Mimar". Arkitekt, 8(2):65.

[169] Tümer, Gürhan. 1998. *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Yabancı Mimar Sorunu, 1920 lerden 1950 lere*, İzmir:İzmir Mimarlar Odası İzmir Şubesi Yayınları, 92.

[170] Quoted in Ural, Somer. Ocak-Şubat 1974, 28.

[171] Nalbantoğlu, Gülsüm. 1989, 152.

[172] Aslanoğlu, İnci. 1984, 16.

to be given to Prof. Egli whose knowledge is already known and experienced".[173] In the same year, for the conversion of a burnt military building in Edirne into a jail, Egli was commissioned again as stated that: "Prof. Egli's expertise is obvious, and has already been approved as well".[174] Consequently, one can raise the question why the state gave up to commission the realization of the project designed by Egli who was at the same time in charge of designing many state buildings, also working at the Ministry of Education and the Academy of Fine Arts in the same period and decided to give the restoration work to a Turkish architect. The question why the restoration project was commissioned to another architect is not so easy to answer if one considers Egli's architectural approach in the Republican Turkey. According to Batur, Egli's architecture was modest, modern, and appropriate to widespread and anonymous usage[175] and he was functionalist, but not a dogmatic modernist in his designs.[176] Although his architecture was accepted to carry the characteristics of the Viennese school of the modern architecture,[177] he did not propose the imitation of the architecture developed in other cultures and climates. Instead, he considered the physical and psychological conditions in Turkey.[178] According to Aslanoğlu, although Egli was very influential in the formation of a modern architecture in Turkey by designing buildings that were examples of rationalist and functionalist architecture, he also taught students the importance of traditional values and local conditions in architecture as he considered the context of a building to include social

[173] On the legal decision numbered 0.30.18. 01.02.31.68.6 dated October 26, 1932, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive.

[174] On the legal decision numbered 0.30.18. 01.02.32.76. dated December 18, 1932, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive.

[175] Batur, Afife. 1983. "Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Türk Mimarlığı", *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, 5:1390.

[176] Ediz, Özgür. 1995. *Osmanlı Mimarlığı'nın Son Dönemi (Tanzimat Dönemi) ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı'nda (1923-1950) Yabancı Mimarların Çalışmaları Üzerine Bir Araştırma.* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 87.

[177] Nasır, Ayse, "Alman Mimarlar Türkiye'de", *Arradamento Mimarlık*, 1997. 7(8):76.

[178] Batur, Afife. 1983, 390.

values and regional properties.[179] In fact, Egli devoted himself to the Republican project and he tried to find a modern architecture appropriate to the country, nation, climate, landscape and cultural heritage.[180] He was the first architect to advocate in Turkey that the buildings should be considered within their contexts, and constructed according to science and technique.[181] In that manner, "as an educator and architect, Egli might be said to represent the best the spirit of the young Republic."[182] For him, the first thing to do was to create a contemporary architecture depending on technology, and he supported innovation in architecture by strongly claiming that:

> The history of civilization has clearly indicated that the architecture adopted by the nations purely reflects and demonstrates the mainline of national characteristics experienced through the structural transformations and reforms. Consequently it is not a surprise that Turkish reforms have also reshaped the nation's architectural choices to transform its classical appearance.[183]

In the light of this information about Egli, it can hardly be said that Egli's architectural approach was inappropriate for the aims of the Turkish nation or contrasted with the expectations of the new Republic at that time. In that sense, it presents a serious contradiction for the authorities to ask officially a foreign architect's help and then reject his project by arguing that a Turkish architect would do the work much better as he was already well informed on local building traditions.[184]

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[179] Aslanoğlu, İnci. 1984, 18.

[180] Franck, Oya Atalay. "Bir Modernlik Arayışı: Ernst Egli ve Türkiye (1927-1940)", in *2000'den Kesitler II: Cumhuriyet'in Zamanları/ Mekanları/İnsanları. Doktora Araştırmaları Sempozyumu. Bildiriler*, edited by Elvan Altan Ergut. Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture, 3.

[181] Ediz, Özgür. 1995, 87.

[182] Batur, Afife. 1984. "To be Modern: Search For a Republican Architecture". In Modern Turkish Architecture, edited by Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin, 83.

[183] Quoted in Ural, Somer. Ocak-Şubat 1974, 29.

[184] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 103.

Similar contradictions can also be observed in the field of historical preservation. A commission was formed mostly by native architects with the belief that Turkish architects would know Turkish monuments better than foreign architects. Nonetheless, some members of this commission such as archaeologists and photographers were still foreign experts such as Miltner, who was an archaeologist in charge of the archaeological remains. Some argue that this might be associated with unfamiliarity with archaeology and photography in Turkey as an unknown field and the lack of experienced native archaeologists and photographers. Similarly, "as for restoration projects, the ministry turned to foreign architects, nevertheless in this case their involvement didn't depend so much, by a typically professionally point of view, on specific skills as on the chance to take advantage of their charisma as state icons in legitimizing a method (scientific restoration) and an aim (institutionalization of the past)."[185]

Leaving such a complicated context aside, the foundation process of the museum has been described in few of those sources as follows: The *han* and the *bedesten* were purchased from the Municipality and the stores were cleared off in 1933.[186] In 1936, the Director of Culture, Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, wrote a letter to Saffet Arıkan, claiming his suggestion of utilizing the *han* and the *bedesten* as museum buildings. His suggestion of an allocation and restoration project was officially accepted in 1936, and the project began in 1938, having an appropriation of 50.000 Liras.[187] However, due to financial problems, it was not going to be possible to finish the project in 1938.[188] The restoration was inaugurated officially by Macit Kural in

[185] Gasco, Giorgio. June 20, 2008. "Bruno Taut and the Turkish Ministry of Culture: Professsional routes as State Architect in Republican Turkey", *Authors of Cultural Production and the Shaping of History in Early Republican Turkey.* Unpublished paper, 4.

[186] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 100.

[187] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 100-101.

[188] Document sent from Ministry of Education to Prime Ministry, 190. 304.4. May 9, 1939, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive,1,2. On the legal decision numbered 0.30.18. 01.02.85.120.3 dated February 15, 1939, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive, 1.

1938. He was the designer as well as the contractor of the restoration project.[189] Soon after, the antiquities from *Hacıbayram* and *Çankırıkapı* were started to get moved to the *bedesten*. In 1939, the piles of earth at the *bedesten* were cleaned, the bases of the antiquities were placed and the objects in the Temple of Augustus were carried to the *bedesten*.[190] In the official document that was sent to the Prime Ministry, the Minister of Education claimed the appropriation of the area around the vicinity of the *bedesten* and the *han* by demolishing the ruined buildings that belonged to the pious foundations. Despite the fact that the remains from other periods such as the finds around the Roman temple were also taken to the museum, it was indeed planned specifically to house the Hittite heritage that was then mainly emphasized to have been the real roots of the Turkish nation. In the above document it is written that the *bedesten,* which had a great historical and architectural value built by Mahmut Paşa, was being restored in order to create a Hittite museum that was needed not only in Ankara but also in Turkey in general. It is also mentioned in this document that the surrounding of the museum was to be a park according to Jansen's plan.[191] Prof. Hans Güterbock dealt with this park which was named as "İsmet İnönü", and stated that the museum was connected to a wide road.[192] In 1940, the antiquities were started to be placed in the museum under the supervision of Güterbock; and the rooms of the *han* started to get used as storage for antiquities. In 1941 and 1942, most of the works at the *bedesten* were completed; the main hall in the center was ready for exhibition preparations.[193] According to Ferruh Gerçek, who wrote a book titled *Turikish Museology (Türk Müzeciliği),* the main halls were opened to visit in 1943.[194] Bayburtluoğlu gives the date of 1945 for the completion of the restoration of the *bedesten*. In the same year,

[189] Gürçay, Hikmet. 1968.

[190] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 101.

[191] Document sent from Ministry of Education to Prime Ministry, 190. 304.4. May 9, 1939, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive.

[192] Güterbock, Hans D. 1946, 3-4.

[193] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 101.

[194] Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 365.

upon Ali Saim Ülgen's report, the rooms of the *han* were to be appropriated to administrative offices and storages of the museum.[195] In 1948 the restoration of the ground floor of the three rooms in south east of *Kurşunlu han* were completed[196] by Ali Saim Ülgen, who had started the restoration in 1945[197]. With the move of administration offices, the *Akkale* museum was closed and up to now it has been used as museum storage.[198]

The restoration of the *bedesten* was conducted by Zühtü Başar after the bidding, and the estimation of the galleries which were used as stores was undertaken by İhsan Kıygı, who was working as an architect at the Directorate of Monuments.[199] Bayburtluoğlu somehow verified this information and claimed that the connection between the *han* and the *bedesten* provided by staircases and the stores on the south were covered according to İhsan Kıygı's project.[200] Bayburtluoğlu indicated that Ankara stone surfacing of the *bedesten* was done by Vehbi Kentkur, and the bidding for *Kurşunlu Han* was given to Oğuz Babaoğlu in 1946. For the period of 1938-1948, the expenses for restoration of those buildings cost 547.238,19 Liras.[201] These rooms of *Kurşunlu Han* were appropriated to administrative offices, a conference hall, library and studios in the 1950s.[202] After some minor additions, the building took its final form in 1968.

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[195] Gülekli, Nurettin Can. 1948. *Ankara: Tarih ve Arkeoloji*. Ankara: Doğuş Matbaası.

[196] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991.

[197] Gülekli, Nurettin Can. 1948.

[198] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 100-102.

[199] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr. 1979, 311.

[200] In the 1960s a great number of museums were opened whose projects were prepared by İhsan Kıygı upon the order of Ministry of Education. Özkasım, Hale and Semra Ögel. December 2005. "Türkiye'de Müzeciliğin Gelişimi", *İTÜ Dergisi* /B, 2(1):101.

[201] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 101-102.

[202] Gürçay, Hikmet. 1968. Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr. 1979, 311.

It is highly important to point out the idea of utilizing those historical buildings that came out just before the decision about the restoration of those buildings to be used as museum space. Those buildings were initially considered to be an archiv. The contemporary director of the Museum of Culture (*Hars Müzesi)*, Hamit Zübeyr Koşay argued that the ruined bazaar should be restored and re-functioned to be used as the state archive entitled *Hazine-i Evrak,* which was not only related to Turkish history, but also planned to hold historical documents about neighboring countries. He claimed that there could not be a better place to utilize the *bedesten* and the *han* for this precious collection on Ottoman and Turkish history.[203] About the foundation of such an archive building, legal decisions were taken. According to that, the archive was to be established in such cities that had universities, hence either in İstanbul or Ankara. After searching for an available place in İstanbul, it was decided that the construction of an archive building in Ankara would be much more appropriate. The construction of such a modern building would require at least 100.000 Liras. The Ministry of Finance claimed in the official decision dated 1/1/1935 and numbered 1091/35 that this amount should be allocated from the budget of whichever ministry was going to be in charge of that.[204] For this purpose, in 1935, it was decided to assemble a commission by the attendance of the Ministries of Education, Finance, Public Works, and Defense, and as well as the Turkish Historical Society. This commission was asked to present a report on the amount that the foundation process would require for the implementation of this archive building.[205]

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[203] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr. 1979, 310.

[204] On the legal decision numbered 0.30.18. 01.02.51.3.6 dated January 12, 1935, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive, 1-2.

[205] The national archive was also emphasized by Ziya Gökalp. Karadaş, Yücel. 2008. *Ziya Gökalp'te Şarkıyatçılık: Doğu'nun Batıcı Üretimi.* İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, 155.
In 1936 a Hungarian historian and expert on archives, Dr. Lajos Fekete, was invited by the Turkish State to re-organize the archive. He organized the archive at the Topkapı Palace and the Ottoman Archives in 1936-1937. Kaya, Bilge. 1994. *Macar Asıllı Türk Tarihçisi ve Arşivist Lajos Fekete'nin Arşivciliğimizdeki Yeri.* Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 20. Ankara.

Later on, Koşay mentioned that he changed his mind about opening an archive in the old *bedesten* and *han,* considering the archaeological remains that had come from the recent excavations. He stated that these old buildings could be hence used as an Hittite museum.[206] He expressed his thoughts to Saffet Arıkan, the Minister of Education at that time. Koşay told the process in his memoirs:

> As far as I heard later, he (Saffet Arıkan) mentioned about this proposal to Prof. Taut, the architect of the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography, who claimed that it was possible to build a museum using the same money required to renovate the *Bedesten*. We made Prof. Taut know that the purpose of this attempt was to convert the *Bedesten* into a museum by this renovation in order to kill two birds with one stone. Hence, Prof. Taut did not insist on his original idea and confirmed his approval for the renovation to the Minister, after which we happily heard that 50.000 Liras were allocated from the national budget for the *Bedesten's* renovation.[207]

In both cases, the re-functioning of those historical buildings brings forth an emphasis on the issues of collecting, classifying, and documenting history, and the preservation of cultural and architectural heritage during the early Republican period. As an archaeological museum, this building definitely reveals the importance given to the preservation of material culture with museum collection and to architectural heritage with its historical museum building.

4.3.3.1. Heritage Preservation and the Restoration Process of the Museum Buildings

The Preservation of architectural monuments in Turkey was not a new practice that emerged with the Republican period. Repairs of distinguished historical buildings had always been conducted by the pious foundations during the Ottoman Empire. Thus, one can claim that this situation is fairly old and even traditional in Turkey.

[206] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr. 1979, 310.

[207] Ibid., 311.

However, the practice had earlier been confined to socio-religious buildings such as mosques, madrasas, *imarets* and as such. The ones which remained out of that scope were not prioritized due to traditional concerns and left to their fate. In addition, some of the monuments were exposed to natural conditions and destroyed as there was limited budget and lack of technical possibilities.[208] However, institutionalization in that field was slowly developing from the mid-19th century onwards. Nur Altınyıldız pointed out the two institutions that came out in that era; the Ministry of Pious Foundations (*Nezaret-i Evkaf-ı Humayun*) founded in 1836 that provided central state authority over Pious Foundations, and the Municipalities (*Şehremaneti*) established in 1855 that brought along regulations on urban life. She summarized this situation by referring to the fact that "urban administration as well as preservation thus broke loose of religious authority".[209] Even if limited to İstanbul, some other improvements were also seen in the field of preservation. The formation of the Council of the Preservation of Monuments in 1915, which was also approved by the Republican state in 1925 and took the name of *Muhafaza-ı Asar-ı Atika Encümeni,* was perpetuated functioning preservation of the monuments in İstanbul until 1951.[210]

The conception of the Ottoman state towards the preservation of material culture and ancient ruins, with the series of regulations that had formerly been enacted by 1846, were examined before in detail. However, it should be emphasized here that the first serious attempt in terms of the institutionalization of the preservation of cultural heritage was the foundation of the Turkish Directorate of Historical Works (*Türk Asar-ı Atika Müdürlüğü)* in 1920, which was formulated to carry out museum works. One year later, it took the name of the Directorate of Culture (*Hars/Kültür Müdürlüğü)*. One of the most important steps was taken with the note on museums

[208] Erder, Cevat. "Mimar ve Tarihi Anıtların Onarım Sorunu", *Mimarlık*, 34: 24.

[209] Altınyıldız, Nur. 2007. "The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation". *Muqarnas: History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rums",* edited by Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu. 24:283-284.

[210] Ibid., 287.

titled "Order about Musems and Historical Works" (*Müzeler ve Asar-ı Atika Hakkında Talimat)* given by Atatürk on 5.11.1922 and sent to all cities by İsmail Safa.[211] In this note, the duties and responsibilities of the museum directorate and its civil servants; the necessity of preserving, classifying, and forming inventories of archaeological objects; and the opening up new museums were all described.[212]

Just before and soon after the proclamation of the Republic, the institutionalization in the field of the preservation of architectural heritage became much visible. Restoration of ruined monuments was initiated by the Ministry and the Pious Foundations (*Şeriye ve Evkaf Nezareti)* in 1922, and was conducted by the General Directorate of the Pious Foundations (*Evkaf Umum Müdürlüğü)* from 1924 on. Between the years of 1922-1932, 3788 foundations were restored, which cost 2.115.660 Liras. Yet, as Emre Madran pointed out, the works for the sake of preservation during the first years of the Republic did not have enough capacity.[213] However, in fifteen years after the establishment of the Republic, the restoration of ruined monuments was seriously undertaken. The preventing of those buildings from destruction and their re-functioning to be used as museums, libraries and galleries, were the projects that had great priority.[214]

After all, according to many sources, Atatürk's well known telegraph sent to the Prime Minister of the era, İsmet İnönü, during his journey to Konya that was dated 23.3.1931 and numbered 4/159, had a significant role in the field of the preservation

[211] Madran, Emre. Mart 2000. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 75. yılında Bilim: "Bilanço 1923-1998" *Ulusal Toplantısı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 75. Yılında Kültürel Varlıkların Korunması,* Ayrıbasım. Ankara:TÜBA Yayınları, 224.

[212] Önder, Mehmet. October 11, 1973. "Atatürk ve Müzeler", *Türkiyemiz 50. Yıl Özel Sayısı,* 11:3.

[213] Madran, Emre. Mart 2000.

[214] Gerçek, Ferruh. 1999, 152.

of historical monuments.[215] Atatürk emphasized the necessity of the preservation of archaeological and historical works and stated that their evaluation should be conducted only by experts. After this telegraph, a commission was formed by the participation of the Undersecretary of Education, the General Director of Museums the Director of Ankara Ethnographical Museum, and the General Director of Pious Foundations upon the decision of the Council of Ministers dated 01.04.1931 under the presidency of the Undersecretary of Prime Ministry.[216] This commission primarily revealed two points: Monuments fell into ruin due to the financial insufficiency of sources and lack of technical possibilities. In addition, the value of the preservation of historical monuments was not well known by the municipalities and local authorities.[217] Upon the report of this commission, the Commission of the Protection of Antiquities Monuments (*Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu)* was founded in 1933. This commission was to be formed by a foreign archaeologist, one native architect, another native architect who was in charge of measured drawings, one native or foreign photographer, and one person who was in charge of organization and conducting correspondences. Their wages in response to their work were also described in this report.[218]

The first issue that this commission dealt with was to specify the monuments, and to record their quantities all over Anatolia. Thus, they started their task by making a list of buildings that would require immediate intervention. The structures were classified into two basic groups: The first group was the structures of Turkish-Anatolian arts, including Seljuk, early and classical Ottoman monuments in particular, which were to be examined by Rüştü Macit Kural who was an important

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[215] *Kültür Bakanlığı Antikiteler ve Müzeler Dayresi Anıtları Koruma Komisyonunun 1933-1935 Yıllarındaki Çalışmaları*. 1935. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 8. Madran, Emre. Mart 2000, 226.

[216] Document sent from Ministry of Education to Prime Ministry, 0.30.10.213.445.11 dated April 1, 1931, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive, 1-5.

[217] Madran, Emre. Mart 2000, 226.

[218] *Kültür Bakanlığı Antikiteler ve Müzeler Dayresi Anıtları Koruma Komisyonunun 1933-1935 Yıllarındaki Çalışmaları.* 1935, 10.

figure who would conduct the restoration project of the Hittite Museum (*Eti Müzesi)*. In order to make an inventory of the monuments, Macit Kural visited some cities such as Erzurum, Sivas, Amasya, Tokat, Niğde, Konya, and Afyon, which had remarkable Seljuk monuments.[219] An overall number of fifty three structures were investigated by Macit Kural and were classified according to the parameters of their plan, structure, history, and ornamentation, and were also categorized in three groups according to their priority.[220] Madran claimed that Kural adopted such an approach of priority of buildings that needed restoration instead of classifying structures as worthless or precious. Kural pointed out that tourism had a considerably important role in the determination of priorities on the restoration of historical monuments.[221] Kural was also known with his famous restoration works which he conducted at the Topkapı Palace and *Yeşil Türbe*. In that sense, the initiation of restoration works with *Yeşil Türbe* in Bursa should not be seen as purposeless: It was indeed "one of the most famous monuments of early Ottoman heritage" and was one of the "most symbolic and crucial intervention"[222] in this framework. One small note that should be attached to this point is the involvement of foreign experts to solve possible technical problems. For example, a technical problem that was unsolved related to the glazed ceramic tiles necessitated the work of a foreign expert. For that purpose, the architects Bruno Taut and Franz Hillinger, and Saffet Arıkan on behalf of the Ministry of Culture, visited Bursa together to make an evaluation and prepare an exclusive report on the restoration of *Yeşil Türbe* in 17.09.1938. There is not exact information about whether Taut prepared a restoration project for *Yeşil Türbe* before his passing away in 1938 or not. However, it has been known that a restoration project of *Yeşil Türbe* was

[219] *Kültür Bakanlığı Antikiteler ve Müzeler Dayresi Anıtları Koruma Komisyonunun 1933-1935 Yıllarındaki Çalışmaları.* 1935, 3.

[220] Ibid., 27.

[221] Madran, Emre. Mart 2000, 227.

[222] Gasco, Giorgio. June 20, 2008, 2-3.

prepared and conducted by Macit Kural.[223] According to Giorgio Gasco, Taut's involvement in this project had an "official character of this assignment and moreover, it represents a source of a paramount importance not only to investigate the relationship between Taut and restoration principles but especially to re-formulate his professional status inside the operative structure of the Ministry of Culture".[224]

Likewise Kural, Sedat Çetintaş was also appointed for the task of measured drawings and defining quantities. Çetintaş worked in Bursa and Edirne to prepare the estimated plans of some of the buildings. In addition to the first group concerned with Turkish-Anatolian arts, the second group would work in archaeological sites and structures. Prof. Miltner who was already a member of Austrian Archaeological Institute was commissioned as the head of this group and adopted the same approach which Kural did. In addition to those names, Prof. Schüler who had been working at *Alişar* for five years was appointed as the photographer.[225] To this commission, Selahattin Kandemir was entrusted with the task of registration works in 1935.

The efforts for the preservation of architectural heritage were not limited to the operations of this commission. The state attempted to lead the masses to gain awareness of historical heritage. İsmet Inönü sent this note to the cities in 1934:

> Those most valuable monuments that introduced our national existence and civilization for centuries will do so in the future to the world. Hence, they should be preserved and protected against human interventions and natural destruction instead of demolishing them as a result of meaningless

[223] Yücel, Erdem 2005. "Cumhuriyetten Günümüze Retorator Mimarlar". In *60. Yaşına Sinan Genim'e Armağan,* edited by Oktay Belli and Belma Barış Kurtel. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 738.

[224] Gasco, Giorgio. June 20, 2008, 1.

[225] In 1935, a Turkish assistant was given to Schuler to be educated by him. *Kültür Bakanlığı Antikiteler ve Müzeler Dayresi Anıtları Koruma Komisyonunun 1933-1935 Yıllarındaki Çalışmaları.* 1935, 11-12.

> or meaningful reasons. This is not only a legal responsibility but also a national liability.[226]

In addition, in the same note İsmet Inönü underlined the responsibility of protecting valuable monuments by indicating that those who attempted to destroy such monuments were to be punished:

> On the basis that only a specialized authority could appraise the true value of an artwork and the terms and conditions leading to its conservation and protection, I kindly request an utmost care in protecting such artworks existing in cities, towns, villages and rural areas against all kinds of destruction on the condition that demolishing of any of those items could only be allowed upon the approval of the Ministry of Education. Those who act against this notification and those indulge to such actions shall be prosecuted.[227]

As well as the official efforts to evoke a consciousness among the masses, some other publications also functioned to call attention of the people to the issue of the preservation of historical and architectural heritage as well as the transportation of antiquities out of the country.[228] In the light of such an understanding towards preservation in that era, the choice of the *bedesten* and the *han* buildings as the Hittite Museum (*Eti Müzesi*) was definitely relevant.

4.3.3.2 Architectural Evaluation of the Museum Buildings

Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni (bazaar or market) was one of the chief buildings in the trade center from the 15th through 18th centuries in Ankara. The *bedesten* adjacent to *Kurşunlu han* is located on a high plain called *Abacılar Yokuşu* that goes to the Horse

[226] Document sent to the provinces from Prime Ministry, 0.30.10.15.84.1 dated January 27, 1934, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive, 1-2.

[227] Document sent to the provinces from Prime Ministry, 0.30.10.15.84.1 dated January 27, 1934, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Republican Archive, 1-2.

[228] Büngül, Nureddin Rüştü. 1939. *Eski Eserler Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Çituri Biraderler Basımevi, 3.

Market (*Atpazarı)* to east and southwest of the castle walls. The building was located in north-south direction. (Figure 200) It was dated around 1459-1460 according to Tacizade Cafer Çelebi; and on its foundation certificate, it was written that the *bedesten* was built by Sadrazam Mahmut Paşa, the Grandvizier of Fatih the Conqueror, between 1464-1471,[229] however, it does not have an inscription panel to justify this information. *Kurşunlu Han* is also located further up on the same slope and is attached to the *bedesten* from the eastern wall. It is one of the biggest *hans* in Ankara and does not have an inscription panel either. It has been widely believed that, considering the characteristics of the *bedesten*, the *han* might have also been built by the Grandvizier Mahmut Paşa. However, another source on this matter indicates that it was constructed by another vizier of Fatih the Conqueror, Rum Mehmet Paşa.[230] (Figure 201,202)

Both buildings were in absolute harmony with the texture of the citadel and other structures in their vicinity, having been constructed in similar times with the same material, i.e. local Ankara stone, dark red andesite.[231] Güterbock, the supervisor of displaying the antiquities in the museum, described the space of the *bedesten* as follows: "the *bedestan* consists of a big central hall covered by ten domes resting on four pillars and a gallery leading around the four sides, with little shops in the manner of covered bazaars."[232] The galleries of the *bedesten* (*arasta*) that were covered with barrel vaults had 102 shops when it was in use. Those galleries were connected to the central hall with four entrances located on each side. With this organizational scheme, the *bedesten* structure is one of the examples of the classical ottoman typology. Due to the slope of the terrain towards the south galleries of the *bedesten,* the building was constructed as a two-storey structure. The *bedesten* had four gates on each side and the one in north formed the main gate of the *bedesten* as

[229] Tuncer, Mehmet. 2001. *Ankara (Angora) Şehir Merkez Gelişimi (14-20.yy),* Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 39-40.

[230] Tuncer, Mehmet. 2001, 42.

[231] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 96.

[232] Güterbock, Hans D. 1946, 52.

it has been since it has turned into a museum.[233] The main gate has a square frame that was reminiscent of portal structures. This square frame is composed of bricks and andesite within a regular pattern. All the shops located on the galleries had windows except the one adjacent to *Kurşunlu Han*. The building was covered with ten brick domes that had lead coverings at the top. (Figure 203)

Kurşunlu Han has almost a square and trapezoid plan which has an open courtyard in the centre that is surrounded by the arcaded galleries on four sides, and the rooms opening to those galleries. The galleries have cross vaults above, whereas the rooms that have niches and hearths are covered with barrel vaults.[234] To the south of the main gate the staircases were located that were going upstairs. The rooms - except the ones facing the north- have windows looking to outside. This structure is a three storey building with its basement appropriated as barns on the western and southern sides due to the topography, and two storeys on the eastern and northern sides. Those barns were reached by the staircases located in the courtyard. The first floor had 28 and the second floor had 30 rooms, all opening to the arcaded galleries with doors and windows. Besides, there were nine shops to the east, eleven shops to the north and four shops facing each other in the iwan situated in the north of the *han*. Güterbock stated that the rooms on the ground floor were used as storages of the *han*. According to some of the sources, the *han* was one of the most crowded in the area in the 16th century, and was very convenient due to its closeness to the *bedesten*. Its storages were used by those merchants who stored their goods there.[235] Like the main gate of the *bedesten*, the main gate of *Kurşunlu Han* was also composed of brick and andesite stone that were used in an ornamented way of a

[233] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 96-97.

[234] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 97.

[235] Güterbock, Hans D. 1946, 40.

regular pattern. *Kurşunlu Han* also resembles the typical *han* structures of classical Ottoman architecture as seen in İstanbul and Bursa.[236] (Figure 204, 205)

4.3.3.3 The Collection and the Displaying Methods

Two displaying areas were organized in the museum depending on the plan of the *bedesten*. The central hall in the *bedesten* had dimensions of 49x18 meters, and it was used to display huge sized reliefs from the recent excavations conducted in *Alacahöyük* (Çorum), *Carchemish* (Gaziantep)*, Arslantepe* (Malatya), *Sakçagözü* (Gaziantep), *Havuzköy* (Sivas), *Köylütolu* (Konya), and different sites in Ankara. Those objects were all the remains of the Hittite civilization from the Great Hittite Empire to the late Hittite Period. (2000-1000 B.C.) Prof. Güterbock and Prof. Von Der Osten from the Faculty of History, Language and Geography (Ankara University) were commissioned to organize the exhibition halls in 1940 soon after the restoration of the central hall had substantially been completed. Güterbock described the museum in general as follows:

> When finished, the museum will hold all pre-classical objects found in Anatolia. As among those, Hittite finds take the foremost place, the name 'Hittite Museum' is justified, without implying the exclusive exhibition of Hittite monuments.[237]

As the head of the displaying commission, Güterbock considered the objects' placement in the way they were found in their sites. He expressed the spaciousness of the central hall that allowed for displaying coherent series of stone monuments within their original positions.[238] He also described the central hall reserved for huge stone monuments where "the visitor has the opportunity- not found in any other museum- of getting an impression of the main works of Hittite art as a whole and of

[236] Ibid., 40.

[237] Güterbock, Hans D. 1946, 52.

[238] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991,103.

comparing them with one another."[239] Between those stone monuments, displaying cases were placed that were composed of small objects brought from the recent excavations in *Alacahöyük* and *Gordion* (Yassıhöyük).[240] As the method of displaying the artifacts, the movable glass cases, like detached display cases or the ones leaning to the walls, were designed in such a way that they provided a better circulation in the halls.[241]

The central hall was connected to the galleries which had two rows of shops flanked on both sides. Güterbock expressed that, in order to create more efficient displaying areas between the shops, walls were partly removed and columns were preferred.[242] The central hall was illuminated with natural light coming from the ceiling and the galleries took the advantage of natural light laterally from the windows as well as the day light coming from atop.[243] According to Güterbock, "the side rooms of the museum will be occupied, primarily, by the stone monuments not belonging to coherent series, and secondly, by all other pre-classical objects, such as pottery, tools, small works of art, seals, tablets, etc. The only stone monuments not belonging to a series which are exhibited in the main hall are the statue base from *Köylütolu* and the gate lion from *Havuzköy*. This exception is because of their size".[244] (Figure 206-209)

The exhibitions in the central hall of the *bedesten* were completed in 1945; however, the displaying of the artifacts in the galleries –north and west galleries at first- would be partly completed as late as 1960. After a few temporary exhibitions, the

[239] Güterbock, Hans D. 1946, 53.

[240] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 103-104.

[241] Ibid., 104.

[242] Güterbock, Hans D. 1946, 4.

[243] Ibid., 4.

[244] Ibid., 53.

displaying of the galleries was formulated in a chronological sequence starting from the Neolithic up to the Urartian civilization as of 1963. All the exhibition work in the galleries was only completed in 1968.[245] Raci Temizer, who was one of the former directors of the Museum, stated in 1979: "Thus the museum houses objects illustrating the civilizations of Anatolia from 50.000 B.C up to 1923 A.D." It would be most probably after the 1970s that the museum began to apply a more inclusive approach by involving all Anatolian history, i.e. the artifacts of Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk, and Ottoman periods.[246]

As of 1944 upon the proposal of Ali Saim Ülgen, the *Kurşunlu Han* was appropriated for depots and administration. Oğuz Babaoğlu was appointed as the contractor of the restoration project for the *han* in 1946. In addition to those spaces in the following years, ateliers, a kitchen, and a museum shop (1954) were placed in the ground floor whereas the upper floors were reserved for administration departments (1947) as well as archives, a conference hall (1957), and a small library.[247]

Bayburtluoğlu, as the former director of the museum, stated that the laboratories placed to the east, a room for implanting heating system to the west, and lodging buildings indicated that those two buildings were able to fulfill the needs of a modern museum and presented a very good example of preservation in terms of the re-functioning of a historical building with a new purpose.[248] In general, one can claim that after long years of restoration the museum was well adopted to the its function. Once the divisions of the shops were removed from the side halls, a long and continuous gallery was obtained. Yet, the principal hall, which shows the earlier

[245] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 104.

[246] Temizer, Raci. 1979. *Museum of Anatolian Civilizations*. Ankara: Akbank Yayınları, 50.

[247] Bayburtluoğlu, İnci. May 1991, 97.

[248] Ibid, 97-98.

phases of the museum, is the primary concern of this study. Except the four columns supporting the structural system, there was no obstacle in this part of the museum. Even those columns were utilized in harmony with the huge stone monuments that leaned against those. As it can be seen on the plan of this central hall, the part named *Sakçagözü* was created within the space of two columns. The monuments were arranged in a certain order based on chronology and the sites of those objects.

The development and adaptation process was listed in Bayburtluoğlu's article year by year. To the requirements for security, the *bedesten* was immediately surrounded by wire netting and its doors were constructed in 1938.[249] Towards the end of the restoration in 1947, heating systems and telephone connection were installed in the *bedesten*. In the same year, the gates of the *bedesten* were closed in order to create a visiting route in the museum.[250]

4.3.4. Concluding Remarks

The project of a museum-library-academy complex analyzed in detail in this study for the first time through original documents that are critically important for such fields of history, architectural history and museum studies, were not implemented, but it still reveals an important design of a complex composed of a museum, a library, and an academy building projected in the 1930s. Hence, one should scrutinize why such a complex project including a museum was laid aside when there was an urgent need of a museum during those early Republican years.

[249] Ibid., 101.

[250] Ibid., 101.

Scholars who commented on this subject generally claim that this project was never materialized due to financial reasons.[251] For example, Bernd Nicolai deals with the financial impossibilities by referring to Egli's personal memoirs written in 1969. Instead of a new building, a Hittite museum was later founded by restoring and re-functioning two Ottoman buildings in Ankara. An accurate comment on these decisions would only be possible if the budgets allocated for those two projects could be compared. The report in *Cumhuriyet* mentioned the budget of the building complex project, saying that the local governments had to pay ten percent in five years to the Ministry Education due to the legislation that was in practice for a while. It was planned that 2 million Turkish liras, out of those allocated appropriations, would be utilized for this project.[252] According to *Cumhuriyet* the estimated cost for this project would have been 1.5 million Turkish liras. However, for the period between 1938-1948 the expenses for the restoration of *bedesten* and *han* buildings cost 547.238,19 Turkish Liras,[253] which means only one third of the estimated cost of the new building complex project. So, in that sense, it seems possible to accept the explanation that claims the role of financial restrictions in the final decision about building a new museum or restoring an old building to be used as such.

The circular letter of 1934 (about the restoration of the remarkable old buildings as a matter of urgency) is considerably important, resulting in the utilization of the old buildings of a *bedesten* and a *han* for that purpose. So, indeed, the urgency of preserving antiquities in an appropriate environment might be the choice of restoration of two historical buildings instead of losing time by the construction of a grandeur building complex. This can be understood from the original document

[251] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr. 1979, 309-312.

[252] The draft mentioned above was found in the Assembly Minutes. The fifth matter of the said draft bill No.1/473 dates 14.01.1933 was about the appropriation of the amount which would be used for the construction and installment of necessary institutions for public learning. However, there was not a clear statement about the building complex project in this matter.

[253] Gürçay, Hikmet. 1968. Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr. 1979, 311.

dated 03.05.1939, and No: 4034/977, which says the *bedesten* was restored functioning as the Hittite Museum.

However, a part of the restoration project could only be completed in 1948, almost ten years after the decision was taken. Legal expropriations and the ruined situation of those structures might let this restoration project delay as contrary to general expectations. Besides, these old buildings were very well known structures among the Ankara residents and still had a serious place in people's memory during the 1930s. In the documents published by the state, the people's thoughts in this process of adopting an old building for a particular function were also given considerable importance. It was claimed that the impression of the old monuments in people's memory was so important to make the decision.[254] For that reason, there might have been an idea that people would like to visit a museum which they could relate to their memories, rather than a modern looking structure.

To conclude with, the building complex project was never realized in spite of all the efforts of individuals and the aim of the state. This project was far from being a personal attempt of a project planner or a designer. The official statement dated 28.02.1933, regarding Unger's agreement with the Directorship of Antiquities and Museums of the Ministry of Education, explicitly banned all personal tasks that Unger might possibly be in charge with, and restricted his work only with his official duty for the İstanbul Museum of Antiquities.[255]

In the light of those theories mentioned above in detail, the situation of having insufficient budget might be the most effective in the final decision not to construct a new museum building. However, it is also striking that in 1930, an official offer that came from a foreign institute, "Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in

[254] Ibid., 69.

[255] Istanbul Archaeological Museum Archives.

America", for building a similar building complex comprising of a Hittite Museum, a research library and a branch of their institute in Ankara, was rejected. According to the official document written by an agent of the Ministry of Education to the Prime Ministry, the said offer suggested to build all those buildings by their own financial sources. This might be explained with reference to the nationalist ideals that would confront with such a foreign attempt. However, the newly founded nation-state was not also powerful enough – at least financially – to materialize such a building complex project, and unfortunately the project remained unimplemented.

The contemporary choice of an Ottoman market complex including a *bedesten* and a *han* from the 15th century to display the artifacts of Anatolian heritage reflects the importance given to the preservation of cultural as well as architectural heritage. As Giorgio Gasco asserted, "first scientific restoration works performed as an effective tool in order to re-cast, re-shape the monuments of this supposed Turkish past. As from 1933 the ministry opened a wide debate concerning the pressing need of cataloguing and protecting Turkish monuments."[256] The genuine meaning behind "Turkish monuments" was the structures of mostly Seljuk and Ottoman monuments, early and classical periods in particular. Substantial budgets were allocated for restoration works of some structures as the official documents revealed. For the restoration of the following buildings; 1010.369 Liras for the Topkapı Palace (*Topkapı Sarayı)*, 226.732 Liras[257] for *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni,* 82.577 Liras for *Ayasofya*, 60.763 Liras for *Bursa Yeşil Türbe*, 17.000 Liras for *Erzurum Çifte Minareli Medrese*, 13.775 Liras for *Sultanahmet Medresesi* and 7862 Liras for *Söğüt Ertuğrul Gazi Türbesi* were paid from the budget.[258]

[256] Gasco, Giorgio. June 20, 2008, 2-3.

[257] The paid amounts for restoration work of the *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* in Ankara yearly as follows: 50.000 TL (1933), 46.611 TL (1937), 41.963 TL (1938), 29.517 TL (1941), 22.641 TL (1942), 36.000 TL (1943). *Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Umum Müdürlüğünün Genel Durumu (1943-1944 Yılları*), 1945. Ankara: Maarif Matbaası.

[258] *Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Umum Müdürlüğünün Genel Durumu (1943-1944 Yılları)*, 1945. Ankara: Maarif Matbaası.

The restoration of historical buildings for museum purpose brought about some questions to be discussed among the experts, such as if it could be possible to adopt a historical building for a museum; if an historical building was to be re-functioned as a museum, what should be the properties of this building; or whether it was inevitably necessary to build a modern museum.[259] Contemporary experts in that era delivered their opinion that the re-functioning of historical monuments for a museum was associated with the type of collection, its form of display, and tendency of the people to whom the museum was planned to serve.[260]

Speaking of compability and adaptability of the collection with the museum building, the selection of *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* and *Kurşunlu Han* could be accepted as a well-suited approach. The Republican state would embrace equally both its ancient past through the material culture of the Hittite civilization, and its Ottoman-Islamic past through these Ottoman period structures. The museum was hence an instrument of the Republican ideology that aimed to provide a connection between the past and the present of the new nation-state. Museums have always been used for the appropriation of a certain glorious past in the process of nation-building. All nations utilize museums to praise their historical characteristics that define their national identities.[261] As Georgeon expressed, in order to underline the progressive moves of the Republic in its early years, the Ottoman heritage was not emphasized, even forgotten to a degree.[262] However, the young Republic would not erase its past totally, but would remember parts of its history selectively. The message behind the restoration activities programmed in country scale, including that of the museum buildings, should have been to state that the functions of Ottoman institutions were no longer functional and, thus alive; but the Ottoman

[259] Ülgen, Ali Saim. 1943, 68.

[260] Ibid., 69.

[261] Madran, Burçak and Şebnem Önal. 2000. "Yerellikten Küreselliğe Uzanan Çizgide Tarihin Çokpaylaşımlı Vitrinleri: Müzeler ve Sunumları", *Müzecilikte Yeni Yaklaşımlar: Küreselleşme ve Yerelleşme*, 170-186.

[262] Georgeon, François. 1999, 113.

heritage should still be remembered and preserved to be adopted to contemporary needs. As Thomas Whittemore stated, "the creation of modern Ankara is the symbol of the liberation of Turkey from Ottoman rule, but the new city has neither destroyed nor ignored its historic background".[263]

The *bedesten* and the *han* were definitely to be restored according to the new regulations on historical preservation for a new function, so utilizing those buildings as a museum seemed as the most rational solution. As Koşay stated, it was like "to kill two birds with one stone".[264] The official records also stated that the only way to preserve old buildings was to restore them.[265] However, about the adaptability of a building of another function to a museum, Remzi Oğuz Arık had some doubts; hence he discussed the museum building as follows: "a magnificent structure, but a bit dark, and an architecture highly difficult to be adapted to the needs of modern museology; but the building really deserves to hold the pretty arrogant Hittite objects."[266] As Arık indicated, despite potential problems of adaptation, almost all of the earliest museums in Turkey functioned in restored historical buildings. This was quite related to the fact that, once a museum was programmed in a historical monument, it meant that the building would be well maintained and well preserved, hence requiring additional work, although utilizing an old building was much easier than constructing a new building in terms of practicality and economically.[267] That is why, besides such terms, other concerns should also have been influential in decisions of preservation, especially that of the value attributed to historical

[263] Whittemore, Thomas. April- June 1943. "Archaeology during the Republic in Turkey." *American Journal of Archaeology* 47(2): 166.

[264] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr. 1979.

[265] Ülgen, Ali Saim. 1943, 70.

[266] Arık, Remzi Oğuz. 1953, 18.

[267] Ülgen, Ali Saim. 1943, 70.

buildings. For example, Egli evaluated the *bedesten* as "a masterpiece of solid architecture"; and also asserted that it was superior to new buildings.[268]

The last point that should be highlighted is the opinion of people about the re-functioning of historical monuments. Ülgen argued that one of the requirements of a modern museum is its appropriateness to make people interested in. Hence, if a building is of interest and brings the people back, it means that it will influence the visitors.[269] In that sense, the Ottoman market complex of the *bedesten* and the *han* was a very well known structure for the residents of Ankara and still had an important place in people's memory during the 1930s. In that sense, the decision to restore and re-function these buildings as a museum could be evaluated as a result of such concern.

[268] Koşay, Hamit Zübeyr. 1979, 310. There have been no available information to justify these sentences, however, it should be a coincidence that Egli planned a new building for a museum and defended the superiority of the *bedesten* for the same function.

[269] Ülgen, Ali Saim. 1943, 69.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The display of cultural heritage in museums in the late-19th and early-20th centuries should be evaluated within the framework formed under the influence of imperialist and nationalist ideologies. In the historical contexts of the late Ottoman Empire and the early Republican Turkey at the turn of the century, a common concern prevailed so as to define a collective identity with reference to history, which was albeit variously defined through the different heritages emphasized in museums as related to the changing ideologies of the time.

The Ottoman Imperial Museum (1891) and Ankara Ethnographical Museum (1927) were the first museums planned and built to function as such in the late Ottoman and the early Republican periods. As such, they represent two different ideological agendas. During the late Ottoman period, in the mid- and the third quarter of the 19th century, the imperial power perceived the heritage of the multi-cultural structure of the empire in parallel to the ideological strategy of Ottomanism. The empire's attempt to keep all of its communities unified – under the threat of contemporary separationalist ideologies – under its imperial power was put into action as a strategy to define a single Ottoman identity. Such an understanding was materialized with the representation of a cultural heritage that would define the common roots of the Ottoman territory by means of the archaeological objects of -initially and mainly- Greek and Roman civilizations that were found on the lands of the Ottoman rule. The territorial unification within Ottoman lands was emphasized by the display of the ancient heritage which had been shared by a wide range of cultures for centuries on this geography. This process was indeed supported by the already existent interest in classical culture as witnessed in the increase in

archaeological studies since the 18th century and the display of their findings in western European museums for several decades.

From the point of architectural analysis, the "western" influence can also be seen in the neo-classical style of the Imperial Museum. The architectural style of the building echoed the primary collection of its Greco-Roman collection. Such a thematic correlation between the style and the content had already been established in the 19th century European museums, the earliest of the type. Such a stylistic choice can be well explained by the European-trained founders and executers of the museum, i.e. the mastermind of the project, Osman Hamdi Bey, and the architect of the museum buildings, Alexandre Vallaury. However, the stylistic choice can not be merely explained as a direct influence of European museums; rather, it should be seen as part of an understanding of that period: The contents of the museum that were brought from various parts of the Ottoman lands to be displayed, show similar characteristics with the stylistic features of the Ottoman Imperial Museum building. That is why, the display of the classical heritage not only inside the museum but also in the very physicality of the museum building itself, emphasizes that this part of history was internalized – by the Ottoman government and the governing intellectuals such as Osman Hamdi – as belonging to the Ottoman culture; and this should be seen as exemplary of the general emphasis on ancient heritage in the formation of an Ottoman identity towards the end of the 19th century.

On the other hand, museums were used as effective instruments of nationalistic ideology and the related formation of a Turkish identity for the Republican regime in the early-20th century. The understanding of cultural heritage was now identified with what was national, i.e. what was Turkish. Based on this ethnic formulation, displaying historical past of the Turkish nation through ethnographical materials that were taken specificallly as belonging to Turkish culture by exposing the Turkish and Islamic past of the Anatolian territory brought about a change in the perception of cultural heritage by the nation-state. The understanding towards cultural heritage

changed from the collective identity of a multi-cultural empire into a more limited definition of a national identity. The unrealized projects suggesting the founding of a museum of the revolution (*İnkilap Müzesi*)[1] were clear examples of such attempts to demonstrate the reforms undertaken by new nation-state to the masses in order to provide stronger national unity via museum displays.

As part of this nationalist ideology, the choice of material culture in the ethnographical museum in the capital city of the Turkish Republic also presented coherence with the stylistic and formal characteristics of the museum building. Unlike the Ottoman Imperial Museum, which was designed by a European architect, Ankara Ethnographical Museum, the first museum of the Republic, was designed by a Turkish architect, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, who was a well known figure for his knowledge on historical Turkish monuments. It was believed that the utilization of Seljuk and Ottoman forms and elements on the museum building could represent the "Turkish character" also in architecture. The museum building was hence convenient to the general architectural production of the era that was mainly planned to convey the "national" in architecture. This coherence between the contents of the museum and the museum building supported such a link, and contributed to the building process of a Turkish identity.

In comparison to the archaeological museum of the late Ottoman era, the first archaeological museum of the new Republic was planned as part of a large complex of a national center called as the National Library, Academy, and Museum (*Milli Kütüphane, Akademi ve Müze*), where scientific studies were to be pursued for the benefits of the new nation. The whole complex was planned to increase national power on knowledge production, and the museum was called by two names; the National Museum (*Milli Müze*)[2] and the Hittite Museum (*Hitit Müzesi*)[3]. The

[1] For more information on the Museum of Revolution, please see Hisar, Abülhak Şinasi. 2010. *Türk Müzeciliği*. Yayına hazırlayan, Necmettin Turinay. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

[2] This museum was called as *Milli Müze* on measured drawings of the building complex.

collection of that museum was composed of the findings of excavations in Anatolia, and the official excavations and surveys conducted by the Turkish Historical Society and sponsored by the state to find out the origins of the Turks contributed to the formation of such a collection. Among the apparent cultural richness of the Anatolian territory, the Hittites, who inhabited its central part, were adopted as the ancestors of the Turks. Such an adoption of the Hittite culture and the understanding of this culture as the ancient past of the Turkish nation resulted in the display of the Hittite culture in the museum as the representation of the collective identity and cultural heritage of the Turkish nation.[4]

It is noteworthy to make a comparison here between the Ottoman Imperial Museum in Istanbul and the Hittite Museum (*Milli Müze*) in Ankara. The Hittite culture had already been displayed in the Ottoman Imperial Museum, yet, with less emphasis, in a hall on the first floor of the museum building. The emphasis on the Hittite culture of the Republican agenda in the 1930s was clearly observed extending from naming the first archaeological museum as the Hittite Museum to the descriptions of the two main halls exclusively as the hall of Hittite Shrines of Yazılıkaya (*Yazılıkaya Hitit Mabed Salonu)* and reserving the second hall again for displaying the Hittite culture (*II. Hitit Teşhir Salonu)*. This example clearly presents how the perceptions on the same material culture changed, either being appreciated or depreciated, from the late Ottoman Empire to the early Republican Turkey. In general terms, the Republican emphasis on ancient Anatolian civilizations, especially the Hittites, instead of the Greco-Roman culture, marked a shift in the perception of the archaeological heritage and the construction of collective identity from an Ottoman identity towards a national-Turkish identity, as displayed in the two most significant museum projects designed in each period respectively.

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[3] The museum was named as the *Hitit Müzesi* on the site lists of the museum.

[4] This tendency and exposition of the Hittites was especially declared in the II. Congress of Turkish History in İstanbul (September 20-25, 1937).

The general understanding of the Republican state in the formation of an archaeological collection was also to emphasize the national in character, which can be seen with an architectural analysis of the museum building itself. The classical scheme of the unrealized complex project designed by Austrian-Swiss architect Ernst Egli, can also be interpreted as in harmony with the "western" and vernacular forms. To defend such an argument, one should quickly go over the architectural context of the 1930 where the foreign architects were highly respected by the state, and they were in charge of building the state buildings of the new Republic. Under the influence of foreign architects, in the architectural production especially in Ankara, there was a tendency of adopting western forms and elements, called as the "International Style", which, at the same time, did not mean to overlook but instead incorporated a relation with local-vernacular features as suggested by many foreign architects in Turkey at the time, including Egli. In that context, the choice of Egli for the design of the museum as a foreign architect who was known with his concern for vernacular forms and elements was also highly consistent. The architect's design proposing a classical colonnaded façade was also hybridized with the Hittite form of *Bit-Hilani*. In addition, the plan of a central courtyard in the museum section, a recreation area in a form of a Turkish garden with a pond[5], and such features like displaying the busts of prominent Turkish figures, and the Turkish tiles in the museum that were mentioned in the preliminary reports, in the overall, have proven such a proposed linkage between the past and the present of the nation.

Yet, such an assertive museum project was never realized; and the attempts for the foundation of an archaeological museum only re-started in the late 1930s with a similar narrative that was again formulated to expose the Hittite culture again. This museum was also called as the Hittite Museum (*Eti Müzesi*). Accordingly, the first restoration project of a building to be used as a museum was realized for a museum of the Hittite culture. Over the years, the collections of the museum enormously expanded with the acquisition of materials of other Anatolian cultures; yet, the

[5] This garden was called, in Turkish, *Halk için İstirahat Havuzlu Türk Bahçesi*.

primary collection situated at the core of the museum building has kept its hierarchical significance. Despite this clear reference to the Hittites that were then seen as the primary constituting element of the archaeological heritage of Turkey, the contemporary choice of the museum building was an Ottoman market complex, including a *bedesten* and a *han* from the fifteenth century. For such a function, a part of the *bedesten* initially, and later on its galleries and the *han* were restored and converted into a museum as the first archaeological museum of the Republican period.

This large scale restoration project verified the rising importance given to the preservation of historical monuments. Among those, the monuments from Seljuk and Ottoman periods –of early and classical Ottoman periods- were relatively more emphasized. (Table 3) This indicated general understanding of the Republican state towards Seljuk and classical Ottoman heritage, which was also seen as an important part of the cultural heritage of the Turkish nation. Beyond that, the commission formed to conduct restoration activities in those years was consisted of foreign and native experts; and the work was shared among those; native architects who were charged with restoring Seljuk and Ottoman buildings, and a foreign experts who directed the archaeological works. In parallel to this categorization, the restoration project of the Hittite Museum was entirely conducted by native architects with the belief that Turkish architects would know Turkish monuments better than foreign architects.

The broad scale of the restoration project became a source of pride for the Republican state and a symbol of modern state. It also reflected the importance given to the museum building as an integral element of defining collective identity. However, the re-functioning of an historical monument as a museum was not a new practice but had already been realized during the last decade of the Ottoman Empire in the 1910s. With a restoration work that was limited in comparison to the Hittite Museum of the early Republican era, the Museum of the Pious Foundations had a

great significance in many aspects: The building chosen for restoration was a classical Ottoman period *imaret* building that was part of a still functioning complex, which was central in Islamic way of life. Thus, in addition to the various services to its community, the complex now came to acquire one more function, i.e. the displaying of material culture to the public. This situation should have been seen rather challenging in comparison to the Hittite museum founded in the historical *bedesten* that had a commercial function, and was no longer functional.

Hence, the selected museum building demonstrated coherence with the material culture put on display in the museum, which was something other than archaeological remains or military objects of interest. In that sense, it was the first museum devoted to ethnographical collections that were mostly obtained from the Islamic wakfs as also seen in the name of the museum. The emphasis on the Islamic heritage indicated the inclusion of the Islamic past as part of the collective identity of the Ottomans, and the attempt of holding the Ottomans together with the bonds of Islam, which appeared in the very late decades of the Ottoman rule, when the understanding of cultural heritage, and hence the collective identity were shaped under the power of Islam and the caliphate.

A crucial point that should be pointed out is the similarity of the objects in the Museum of the Pious Foundations and the Ethnographical Museum; however, those two museums emphasized different histories. The clear emphasis in the Ottoman museum on the Islamic heritage that provided multiple meanings disappeared in the Ethnographical Museum of the new nation-state, yielding the focus to Anatolian traditions. Islamic objects were displayed in the Ethnographical Museum since it was believed that they formed part of the Anatolian history. Carpets and candles brought from various *türbes* were no more evaluated as objects of Islamic arts, but

rather such collections were understood as part of the historical wealth of a nation (*servet-i milliye*)[6] that should be well protected.[7]

The changing tendencies towards cultural heritage and collective identity under the influence of different ideologies can also be traced from the names of the museums which were changed from the late Ottoman to the Early Republican contexts. In this process, the name of the first museum, Ottoman Imperial Museum *(Müze-i Hümayun)* was initially changed to the Museum of the Ancient Arts (*Asar-ı Atika Müzesi)* after foundation of the Republic by removing the word "imperial", and with the simplification of language and considering its content that focused on the archaeological artifacts, the museum was then called as Istanbul Archaeological Museum (*İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi)* as of mid-1930s. In the same vein, in parallel to nationalist ideology envisaging secularism, the name of Museum of the Pious Foundations (*Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi)* was changed into the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (*Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi)* during the first years of the Republic, and in 1927 the museum was connected to the Ministry of Education.[8]

However, the museums founded in the early Republican years were also re-named several times in different periods of the Turkish Republic. In that sense, the most striking example is perhaps the Hittite Museum. The museum-depot founded in 1921 in the Akkale bastion of the Ankara citadel had been called as the Museum of Culture *(Hars Müzesi)*. The name of the museum was then changed into Ankara Archaeological Museum *(Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi*) in the 1930s when the collections were temporarily displayed next to Hacıbayram and the Temple of

[6] This term was metioned in the official decision which enacted the foundation of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum in Ankara.

[7] Hamit Zübeyr Koşay stated that the revolutions of the Republic did neither order destruction of religious entities of *türbes* nor offered their severe neglect, yet, proposed to build a barrier against utilization of those structures as the instruments of politics and ignorance. Koşay, Hamit 1949. "Tekke ve Türbeler Kapandıktan Sonra". *Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi*, 6:1.

[8] The information about the original names of those museums has been obtained from various official correspondances found in the State Archive and contemporary sources written prior to 1950s.

Augustus, and the ancient Roman baths in Çankırıkapı. However, for the first archaeological museum project of the new Republic that was not realized, two names were proposed in the mid-1930s: the Hittite Museum *(Hitit Müzesi*) and the National Museum *(Milli Müze*). This emphasis obviously indicates how the Hittite culture was identified with the nation as forming its ancient history. Such a highlight on the Hittites continued during the restoration process of the historical *bedesten*, and it was even called as *Eti Müzesi*, with the Turkish word used to refer to the *Hitit*. This name was used until the late 1940s, and the museum was then re-named once again as the Ankara Archaeological Museum *(Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi)*. It was named finally as the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations *(Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi*) as late as the 1970s.

The discussions so far show how the notion of cultural heritage was perceived and displayed in different ways through the museums from the late Ottoman to the early Republican periods under the influence of changing ideologies; as well as to what extent those prevalent ideologies were effective in the formation of collective identity by affirming of rejecting particular cultures through the agency of the museums and the material culture put on display. The crucial point that should necessarily be revealed is the common concerns in effect in all those cases, no matter how their narratives were shaped in different ways in different contexts. Even though the dissimilarities of material cultures, architectural styles and forms of those museums are obvious; there are also understandable similarities between the cases of the Ottoman and the Turkish museums.

The first of those similarities is the significant locations of those museum buildings, which have already been part of the collective memories, as well as their strategic positions in urban scale in both contexts. The Ottoman museum was constructed in the courter of the Topkapı Palace complex, which was once the acropolis of the Byzantine city of Constantinople. This indicates the desire in the construction of a bridge between the present and the multi-layered past of the Empire. In that sense,

the museum's significant location in the historical peninsula is striking. The museum building was not built in a newly developing district such as Pera, Galata or Karaköy, which were highly populated by European and Levantine communities by creating a western way of life. Such a "western" concept of museum in those regions might have been perceived as part of the "western culture". However, the choice of the historical area for the location of the museum seems to support the Roman and Byzantine linkages –those cultures were also displayed by the material cultures in the museum.

The first museum built specifically for that function during the early Republican years was located on a spot which had been full of symbolic, religious, and national meanings. In addition, Ankara Ethnographical Museum was constructed at the crossroads of the new and old city of Ankara that is visible from every part of the city, contributing to the formation of a collective memory to base national identity. The building was raised by encompassing the past memories of the nation and representing the symbol of a modern nation.

In that sense, the non-implemented museum project was also planned to be built high, at the Ankara Citadel. Such a choice of a historical site, which was situated at the top of the castle, was fairly convenient for building a museum for the Republican program. The emphasis on the citadel was planned to include the long history of the city with its archaeological past; and this was greatly emphasized with reference to the multi-layered past of the nation. In that vein, the location of the final project was again decided to be at the castle area. Similarly, the re-functioning of the historical *bedesten* building gives a clear reference to the classical Ottoman past, and how much this history was tried to be internalized as part of the national heritage.

In parallel to this connection, the last example of the Museum of the Pious Foundations was located in the Süleymaniye complex, which was highly significant, representing the past glories of Sultan Süleyman. As part of a complex that was full of symbolic meanings, the choice of the *imaret* building demonstrated the importance given to the museum. The Islamic heritage here became meaningful with the utilization of such a modest building, yet as part of an imposing complex, which was often deemed as the summit of Islamic architecture.

Such similarities can be seen not only in the locations of the museums, but also in their architectural planning in those two contexts, as based on basic and rational museum design principles. The Ottoman Imperial Museum was designed to have long corridors, which fits with the idea of period rooms of the late-18th and 19th century European museums. Even though the Ottoman Imperial museum in the late Ottoman period was not formulated to display the sequential narrative of ancient civilizations like the British Museum, the collections possessed were still displayed in this kind of a spatial plan in hierarchical and idiosyncratic order.

Similarly, the plan of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum show similarities with the design principles applied in European museums. Even though the museum building stylistically carries the features of Ottoman and Seljuk architectures, and the spatial scheme of the museum resembles the classical planning scheme of Ottoman *medrese,* its resemblance to the museum typology initiated by F. Schinkel for the Altes Museum in Berlin is also striking: The halls arranged for display around a courtyard and/or rotunda were accepted as the ideal plan of museum architecture in European countries used in many museums. This formal similarity and the overall design of the museum building indicate hybridization that can be seen in the way of the adaptation of a new function to the existing building form.

The non-implemented building complex project has a similar planning in its overall scheme. This huge scaled building complex that was planned to have a colonnaded entrance, raised on a platform, had long corridors, and a colonnaded courtyard where the Hittite objects were displayed, all fitting with the idea of western European museums in the 19th century. In addition to the general layout of the building complex, the museum was specifically consisted of similar forms of long galleries and a central courtyard; however, this inner courtyard with a pond called as the Turkish garden, was still a reminiscence of Ottoman *medrese* typology. Beyond that, the *Bit-Hilani* manner, which had been used in Hittite architecture, constituted the origins of the project. Even though the historical reference to *Bit Hilani* disappeared to an extent in the final project by the removal of the two towers flanked by the colonnaded portico, it was turned into a rather hybridized form with the adaptation of Hittite forms to the contemporary architecture of the early Republican era, yet decorated with an Ottoman type of courtyard. Thus, the formal features of the building greatly contributed to the highlight on the Hittites, and supported the national and modern mission of the Republican state with its imposing structure and grandiose scale.

The historical *bedesten* of the Hittite Museum that was given a new function suggested a rational choice in terms of the spatial planning of the building. The plan, consisting of a central hall surrounded by galleries, was highly convenient for the museum function. While this scheme suggested a circulation route provided by the galleries which were available for such categorizations on periods and geographies, the central hall was planned to display the highlights of the museum collection. Based on that planning, the emphasis on the Hittites was crystallized, and other cultures were also displayed in those surrounding galleries by composing the Anatolian past of the Turkish nation.

The late Ottoman case of the Museum of the Pious Foundations, which was given the new function of a museum, also had a convenient plan for such a purpose. The scheme of a courtyard and rooms surrounding it presented a modest, yet basic outline of museum typology that had come to be applied since the early 19th century European museums. With the spatial arrangement of that building it should be deemed as an appropriate choice in that sense; and it became an exemplary model of adaptation of a new function to a historical building.

All those comparisons among the different museums studied in this dissertation, have attempted to present the variability of the meanings given to material culture; the flexibility of adopting archaeological or ethnographical objects according to how the prefered cultural heritage is displayed and collective identity is defined relatedly; and the possibility of multiple ways of formulating narratives under the influence of political ideologies from the late Ottoman to the early Republican periods. In this process, the purpose-built and restored museum buildings examined in this study were evaluated architecturally as the products of conscious approaches and rational solutions. And they have been called as the apparatuses of decisive attempts of the current political systems filled with various ideological meanings, whereby the museum buildings as much as their contents became powerful objects of display and representation. Those museums with their collections, spatial organizations, and allocation of the objects in the museums, were not passively shaped under the contemporary ideologies, but they rather played active roles in building collective identities as they displayed the cultural heritage variously defined by changing contexts.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 1. List of the Museums in Turkey Betwen the Years of 1943-1944.

1943 – 1944 Türkiye'de Müzeler
Müze Müdürlükleri

Müzenin adı	**Kuruluş tarihi**	**1943-1944 yılında eser sayısı**
1. Adana Müzesi	1924 (1340)	19446
2. Afyon Müzesi	1931	33620
3. Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi	1923	39511
4. Ankara Etnografya Müzesi	1927	12282
5. Antalya Müzesi	1923 (1339)	4134
6. Bergama Müzesi	1924	5398
7. Bursa Müzesi	1923	5292
8. Erzurum Müzesi	1942	----
9. Gaziantep Müzesi	1943	830
10. Hatay Müzesi	1939	19050
11. İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi	1869	285227
12. İstanbul Ayasofya Müzesi	1934	491
13. İstanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi	1934	282854
14. İstanbul Çinili Köşk Müzesi	1875	
15. İstanbul Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi	1912	20580
16. İzmir Müzesi	1926	9860
17. Kastamonu Müzesi	1941	1386
18. Konya Müzesi	1904	17031
19. Manisa Müzesi	1935	4105

Table 1 (continued)

Müze Memurlukları

1. Diyarbakır Müzesi	1934	1635
2. Edirne Müzesi	1923(1339)	3456
3. Efes Müzesi	1934	951
4. Kayseri Müzesi	1929	4007
5. Niğde Müzesi	1936	3841
6. Sivas Müzesi	1927	1591
7. Tokat Müzesi	1926	2022
8. Van Müzesi	1933	157

Müze Depoları

Müzenin Adı	**Kuruluş tarihi**	**1943-1944 yılında eser sayısı**
1. Alaca Müze Deposu	1935	2240
2. Amasya Müze Deposu	1926	373
3. Çanakkale Müze Deposu	1932	4073
4. Denizli Müze Deposu	1932	439
5. Eskişehir Müzesi	1943	---
6. Isparta Müze Deposu	1935	322
7. İznik Müze Deposu	1934	638
8. Kırşehir Müze Deposu	1936	89
9. Kütahya Müze Deposu	1936	1903
10. Samsun Müze Deposu	1933	225
11. Sinop Müze Deposu	1926	580
12. Silifke Müze Deposu	1935	145
13. Tire Müze Deposu	1936	623 [1]
		760407

Arık, Remzi Oğuz. 1953. *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış*. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 70-71.

Table 2. The Allocations for Some Historical Monuments in Ankara

Anıtlarımızın Kurtarılması İçin Gerekli Ödenek

ANKARA

Ankara (Merkez)

	Sahibi	Yapılacak İş	İnşaatin Tutarı
Bedesten ve Han	M. Eğ. Bak.	Ona. (Restoras)	1.800.000
Ogüst Mabedi Çevresi	M. Eğ. Bak.	Ona. ve tanzim	60.000
Ankara Kalesi	M. Eğ. Bak.	İstimlak, takviye	1.200.000
Roma Hamamı	M. Eğ. Bak.	İstimlak ve tanzim	40.000

Turkey. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı. 1946. *Türkiye Tarihi Anıtları (Öntasarı)*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 24.

Table 3. The Restoration Works Conducted in Such Years of 1933, 1934 and 1935.

1933 senesinde yapılan onarımlar:

1- İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinin kulesi
2- Afyon: Gedik Ahmet Paşa Medresesinin bazı kısımları
3- Tokat: Ali Tusi Türbesi
4- Kayseri: Yoğunçburç, Sahabiye Medresesi, Ali Cafer Kümbeti, Sıraçlı Kümbet, Huvant Hatun Kümbeti
5- Bursa: Yeşil Türbenin dere tarafına set yapılması
6- Amasya: Hilfet Gazi türbesi ve bimarhane istimlakatı
7- İzmir: Efes İsa bey Camii ve türbesi onarımı
8- Diyarbekir Sincariye medresesi onarımı
9- Niğde: Ahi Eyüp Kümbeti onarımı
10- Denizli: Akhan Kervansarayının onarımı
11- Bergama: Kaleye çıkan yolun tanzimine yardım
12- İzmir: Namazgah hafriyatında çıkan kolonların tanzimi
13- Ankara: Jülyen Sütununun sökülmesi
14- Urfa: Bir evin temelinden çıkan kıymetli mozayiklerin sökülmesi
15- İstanbul: Tarihsel abidelerin tescilli masrafı
16- Antalya: Yivli Mimare Camiinin keşif masrafı
17- İstanbul: Topkapı sarayı müzesinin yangın söndürme tertibatı için
18- Bursa: Rölove masrafları

1934 yılında onarım ve tanzim işleri:

1- İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayının yangın tertibatı için geçen yıl başlanan tesisatın ikmali, Ayasofya Müzesinin ve Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa sebilinin onarılması, tarihsel anıtların tesciline devam
2- Ankara: Kalenin yıkılan kısımlarının onarılması, geçen yıl sökülen Jülyen sütununun yeniden dikilmesi, Etnoğrafya Müzesi önünde Eti Açık Müzesi inşaatı
3- Kayseri: Alaca Mescit ve Hoca Hasan kümbetlerinin onarılması
4- Bergama: İlimevinin inşaatına yardım
5- Edirne: Geçen yıl Bursa'da yapılan rölove işlerine devam
6- Kırşehir: Aşık paşa türbesinin onarılmsaı
7- Urfa: Meydana çıkan mozayik sahasının tanzimi
8- Denizli: Hiyeropolis harabesinin tanzimi

Table 3 (continued)

1935 yılında onarım işleri:

1- Erzurum: Çok değerli tarihi anıtlarımızdan Çifte mimarelerin onarımı yapılmıştır.
2- İstanbul: Bağdat Köşkünün, Ayazma Kapıdaki kale parçasının onarımları bitmiş, tarihi değeri bulunan türbelerin, Ayasofya Minarelerinin onarımları yapılmak üzeredir.
3- Ulukışla: Osmanlı Türk mimarısinin karakteristik eserlerinden büyük Kervansarayın onarımı yapılmıştır.
4- Söğüt: Ertuğrul türbesinin onraımı yapılmıştır.
5- Amasya: Selçuk eserlerinden Bimarhane etrafındaki evlerin istimlakı yapılmıştır.
6- Karaman: Nefise ultan medresesinin onarımı yapılmıştır.
7- Urfa: Bugün sınırlarımız dışında bulunan Caber kalesindeki Süleyman Şah türbesinin ve Urfa kasabası içindeki kalenin onarımı yapılmıştır.
8- Bolayır: Süleyman Şah ve Namık Kemal türbelerinin onarımı için tahsisat ayrılmıştır.
9- Afyon Karahisar: Geidk Ahmet Paşa medresesi onarımı için tahsisat ayrılmıştır.
10- Kayseri: Pınarbaşı ilçesindeki Selçuklu eserlerinden Karatay Han'ın onarımı yapılacaktır.
11- Niğde: Selçuklu eserlerinden Ak medresenin onarımı yapılacaktır.

Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü. 1935. *Kültür Bakanlığı Antikiteler ve Müzeler Dairesi Anıtları Koruma Komisyonunun 1933-1935 Yıllarındaki Çalışmaları*. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 13-15.

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

Figure 1. The British Museum (1823-48), Sir Robert Smirke.
Source: Trachtenberg, Marvin and Isabelle Hyman. 2002. *Architecture From Prehistory to Postmodernity*, Upper Saddle River,N.J:Prentice-Hall, 423.

Figure 2. The Ethnographical Gallery in the British Museum (late-19th century)
Source: Wilson, David M. 2002. *The British Museum: A History*. London: The British Museum Press, plate 20.

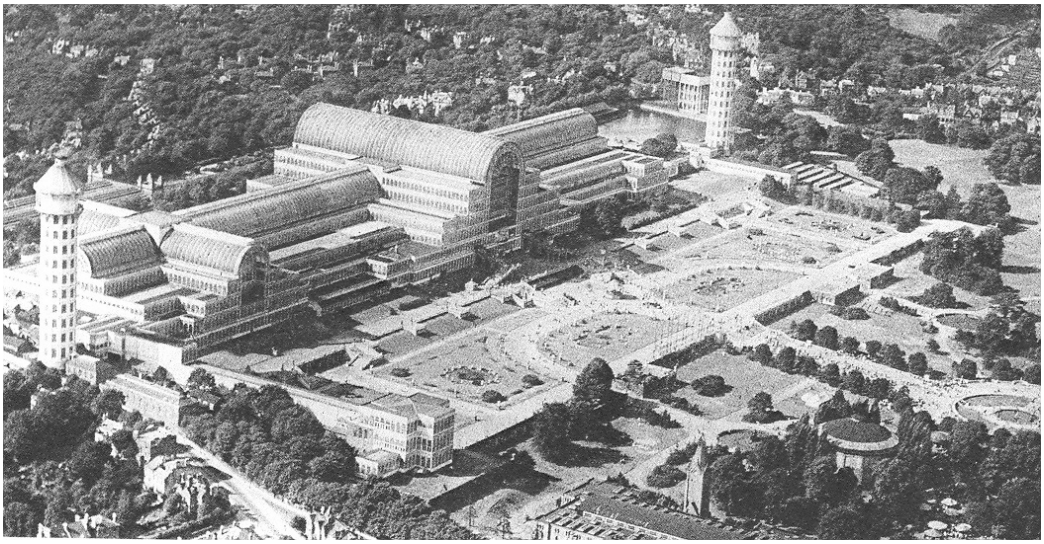


Figure 3. The Crystal Palace (1851), Joseph Paxton.
Source:Trachtenberg, Marvin and Isabelle Hyman. 2002. *Architecture, from Prehistory to Postmodernity*, Upper Saddle River, N.J: Prentice-Hall, 461.

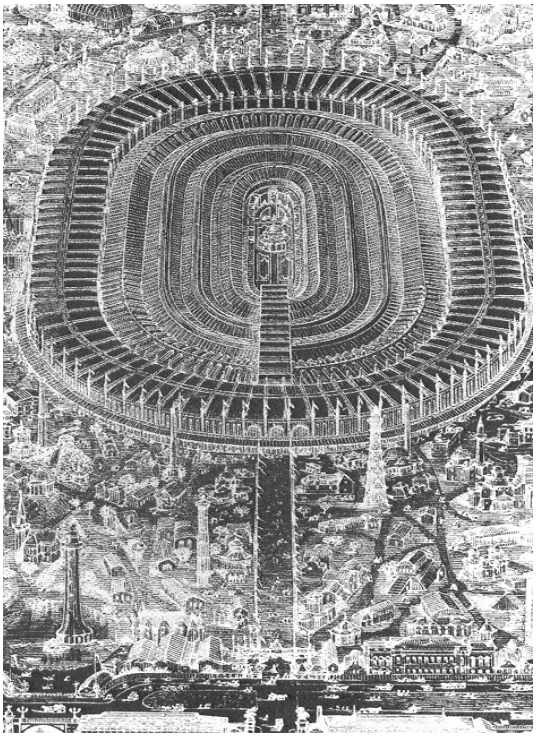


Figure 4. The Exhibition Building (1867).
Source: Trachtenberg, Marvin and Isabelle Hyman. 2002. *Architecture from Prehistory to Postmodernity*, Upper Saddle River, N.J: Prentice-Hall, 462.

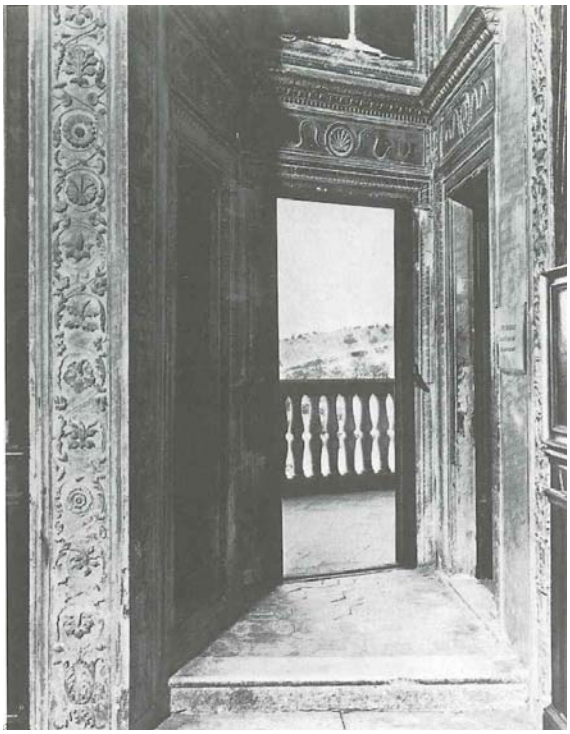


Figure 5. *Studiolo* of Duke Federigo, Ducal Palace
Source: Benevolo, Leonardo. 1978. *The Architecture of the Renaissance*. Vol I. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 177.

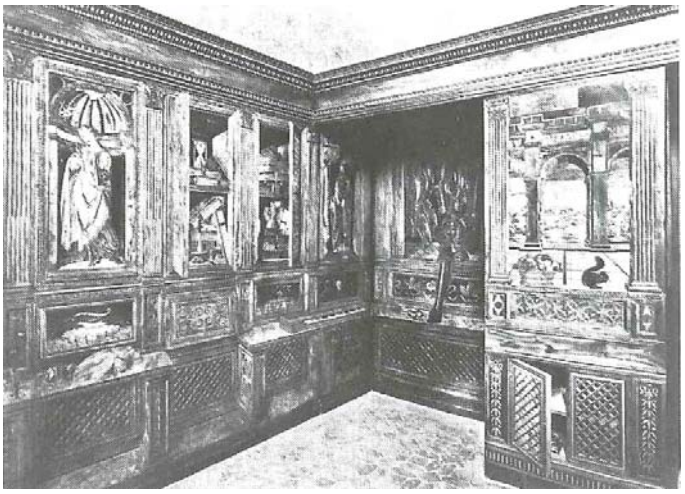


Figure 6. *Studiolo* of Duke Federigo, Ducal Palace
Source: Benevolo, Leonardo. 1978. *The Architecture of the Renaissance*. Vol I. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 177.

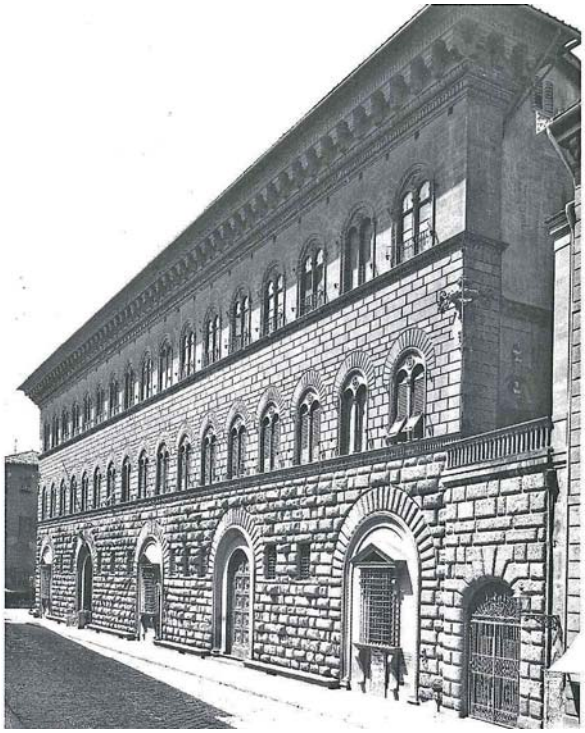


Figure 7. Exterior View of the Palazzo Medici
Watkin, David. 1996. *A History of Western Architecture*. Second edition. London: Laurence King, 187.

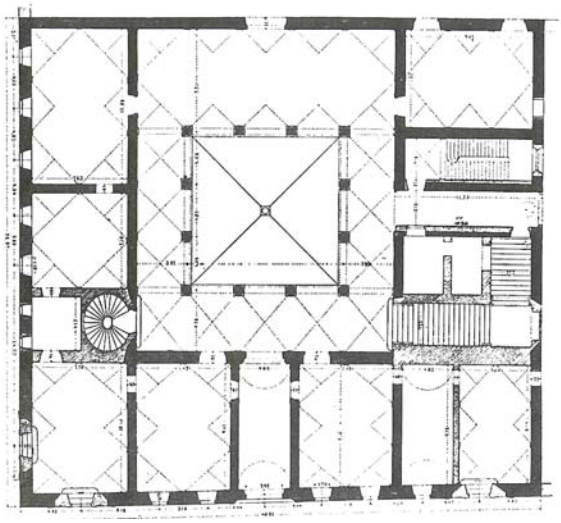


Figure 8. Plan of the Palazzo Medici
Watkin, David. 1996. *A History of Western Architecture*. Second edition. London: Laurence King, 70.

Figure 9. Interior View of the Palazzo Medici
Watkin, David. 1996. *A History of Western Architecture*. Second edition. London: Laurence King, 71.

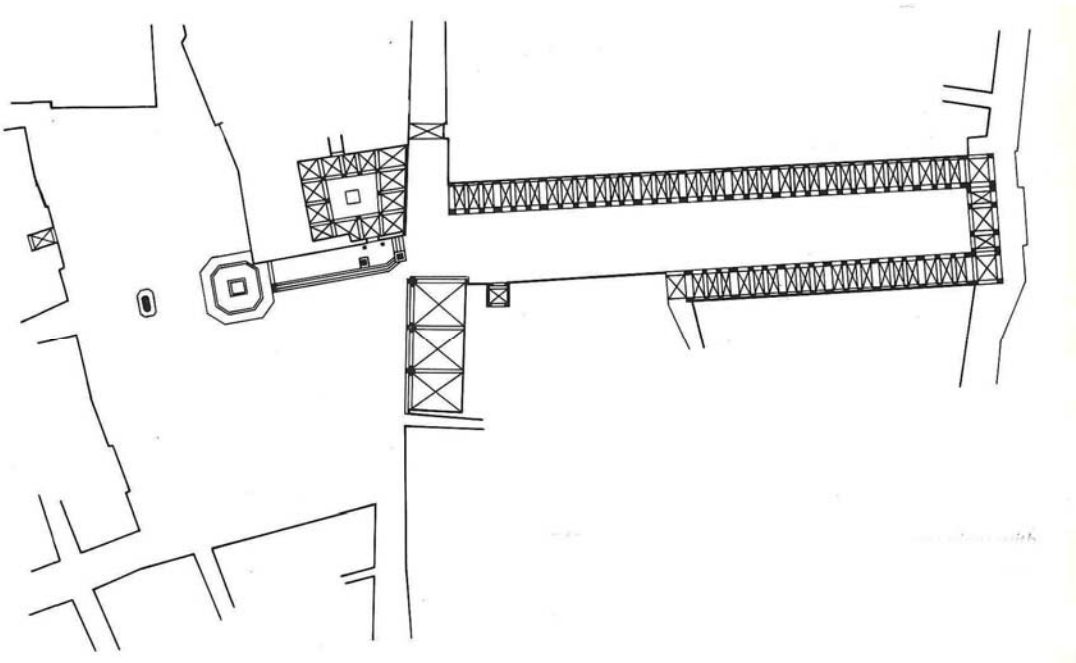


Figure 10. Plan of the Uffizi Gallery
Source: Benevolo, Leonardo. 1978. *The Architecture of the Renaissance*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 489.

Figure 11. The Uffizi Gallery
Source: Benevolo, Leonardo. 1978. *The Architecture of the Renaissance*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 489.

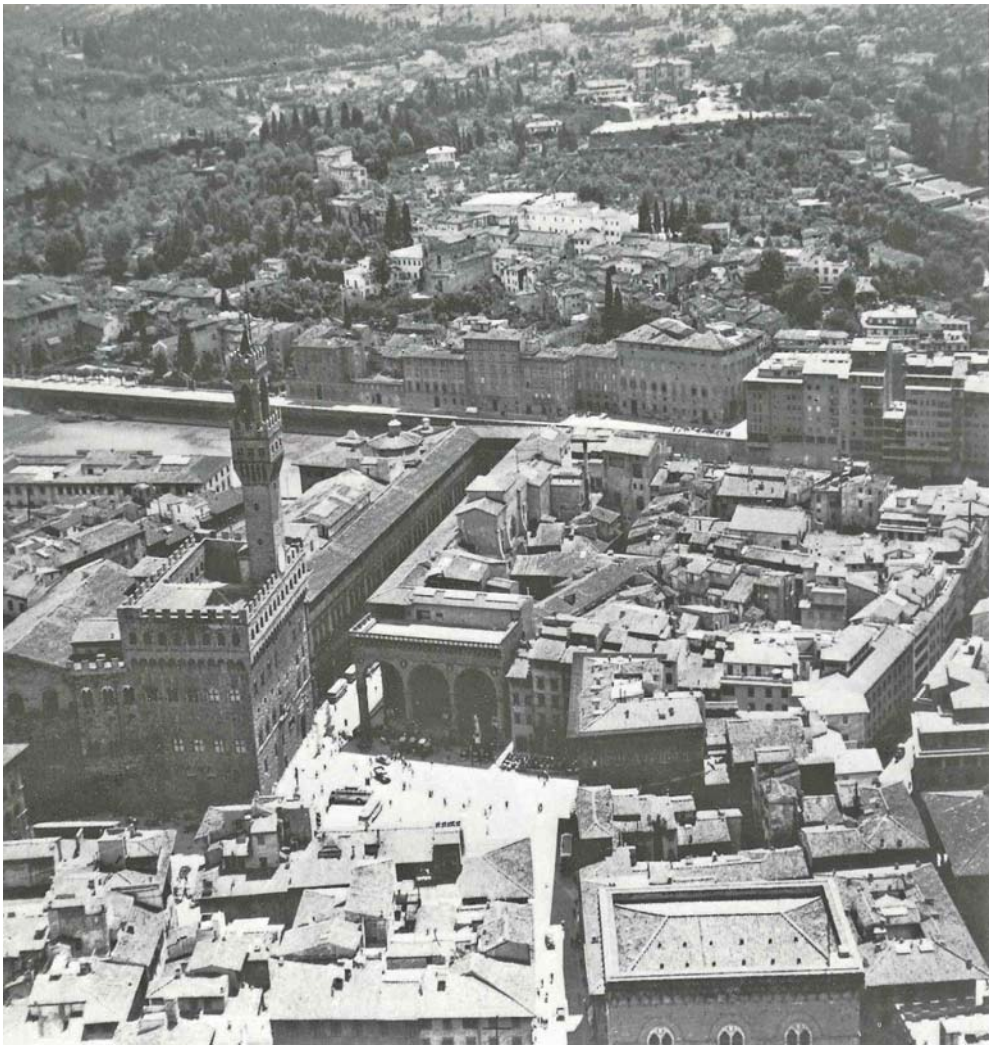


Figure 12. Aerial View of Florence with the Piazza della Signoria and the Uffizi. Source: Benevolo, Leonardo. 1978. *The Architecture of the Renaissance*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 490.

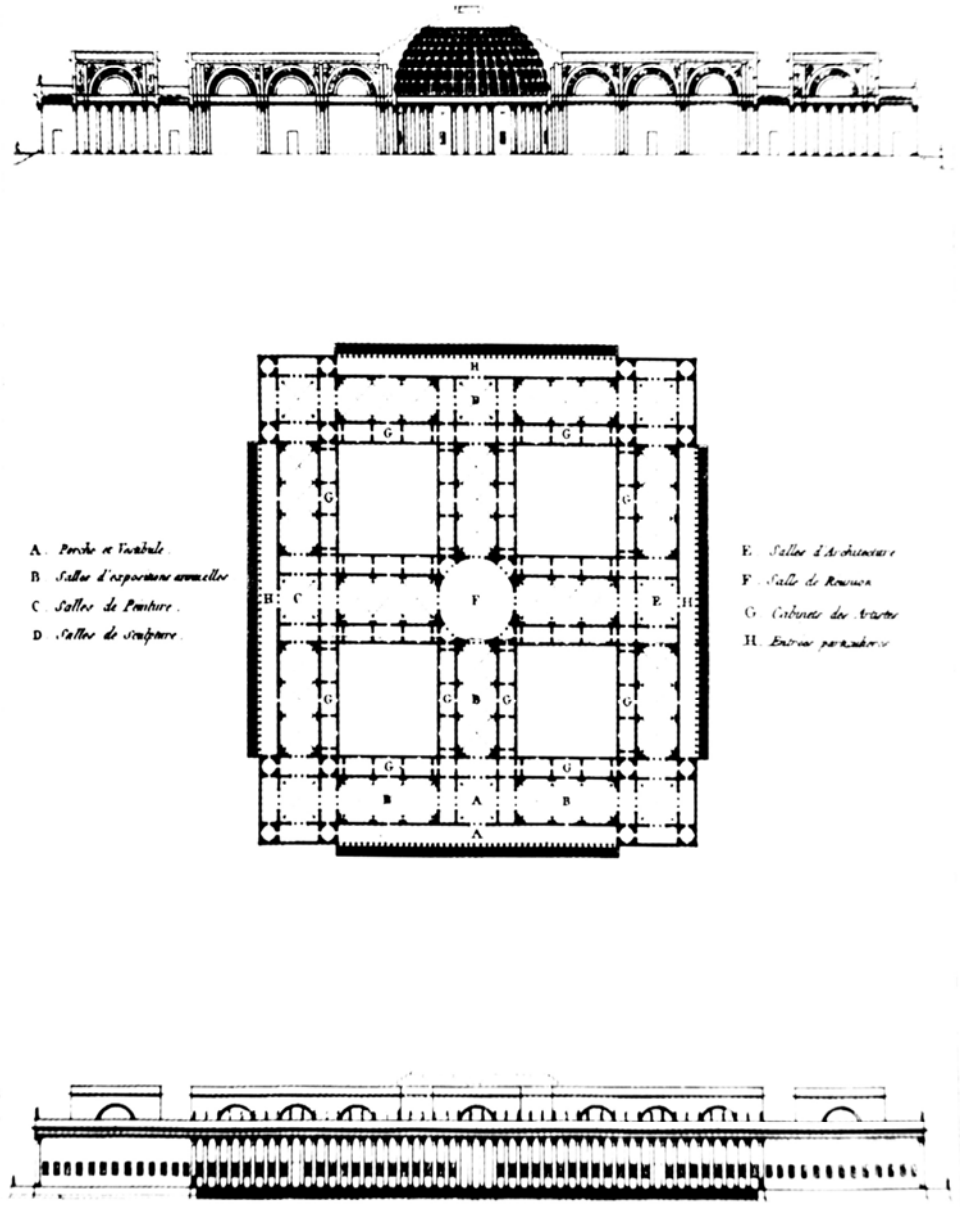


Figure 13. J.N.L.Durand. Museum, from the Precis, part 3, plate 1
Source: Snodin, Michael, ed. 1991. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 28.

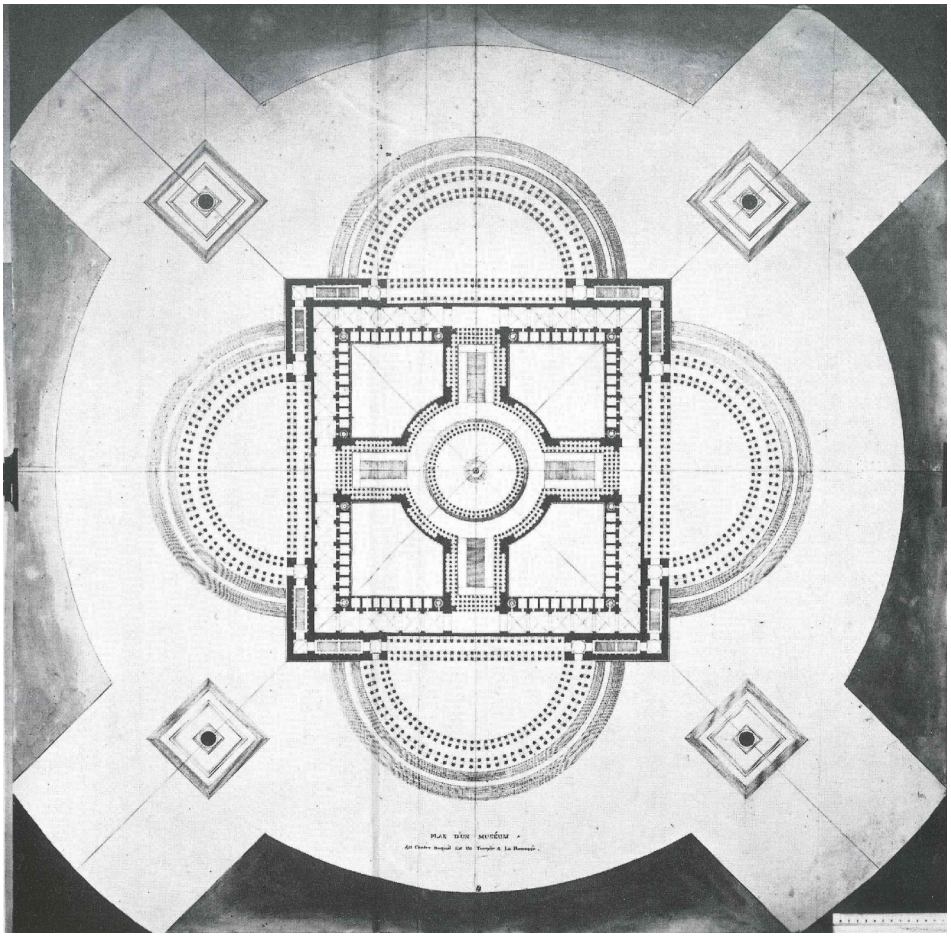


Figure 14. Plan of the Museum. L.E.Boullee (1783)
Source: Lemagny, Jean-Claude. 1968. *Visionary architects: Boullée, Ledoux, Lequeu*. Houston, Tex., Printed by Gulf Print. Co., 57.

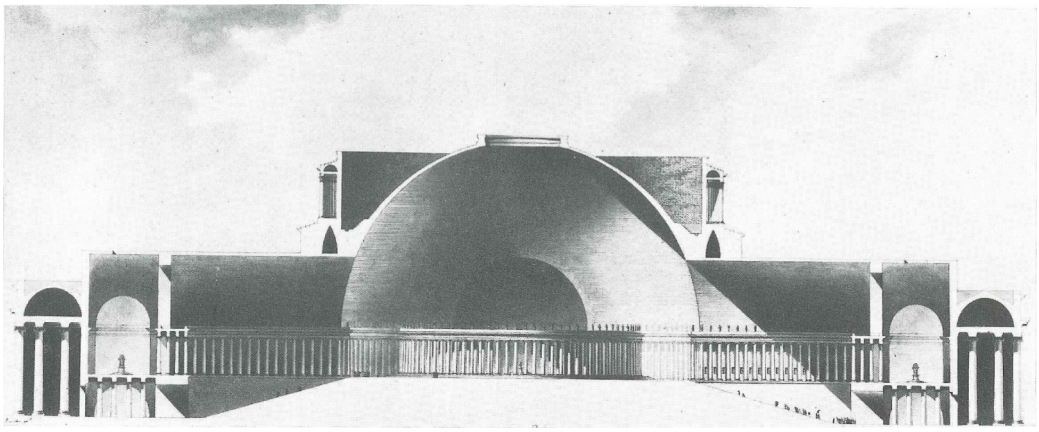


Figure 15. Cross Section of the Museum. L.E.Boullee (1783)
Source: Lemagny, Jean-Claude. 1968. *Visionary architects: Boullée, Ledoux, Lequeu*. Houston, Tex., Printed by Gulf Print. Co., 56.

Figure 16. The Altes Museum (1823-1830), Karl Friedrich Schinkel
Source: Trachtenberg, Marvin and Isabelle Hyman. 2002. *Architecture, from Prehistory to Postmodernity*, Upper Saddle River, N.J: Prentice-Hall, 420.

Figure 17. Exterior View of the Altes Museum
Source: Snodin, Michael, ed. 1991. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 70.

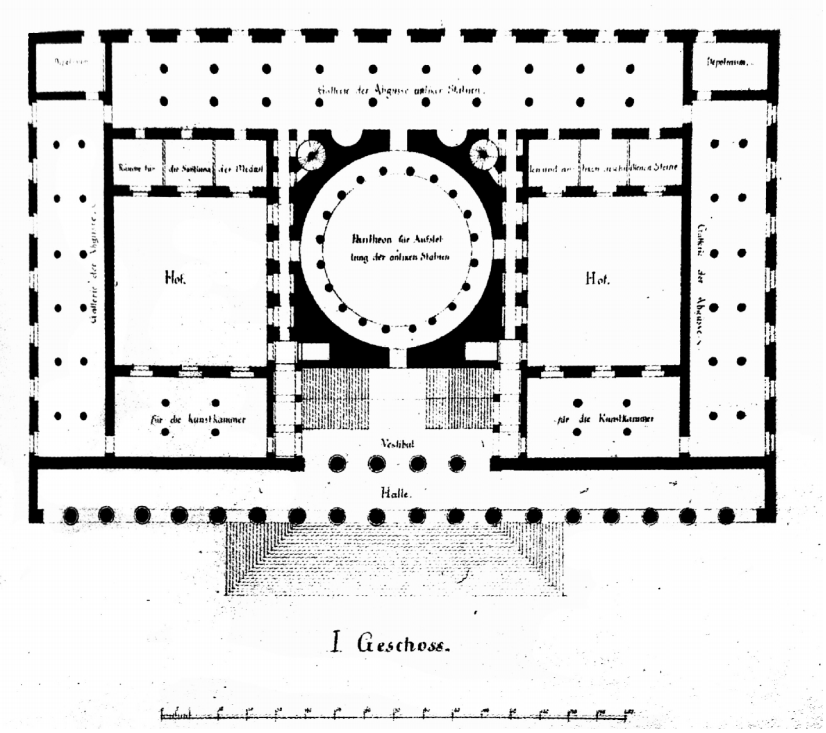


Figure 18. Plan of the Altes Museum, Berlin
Source: Snodin, Michael, ed. 1991. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 127.

Figure 19. Perspective of the Altes Museum, Berlin
Source: Snodin, Michael, ed. 1991. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 126.

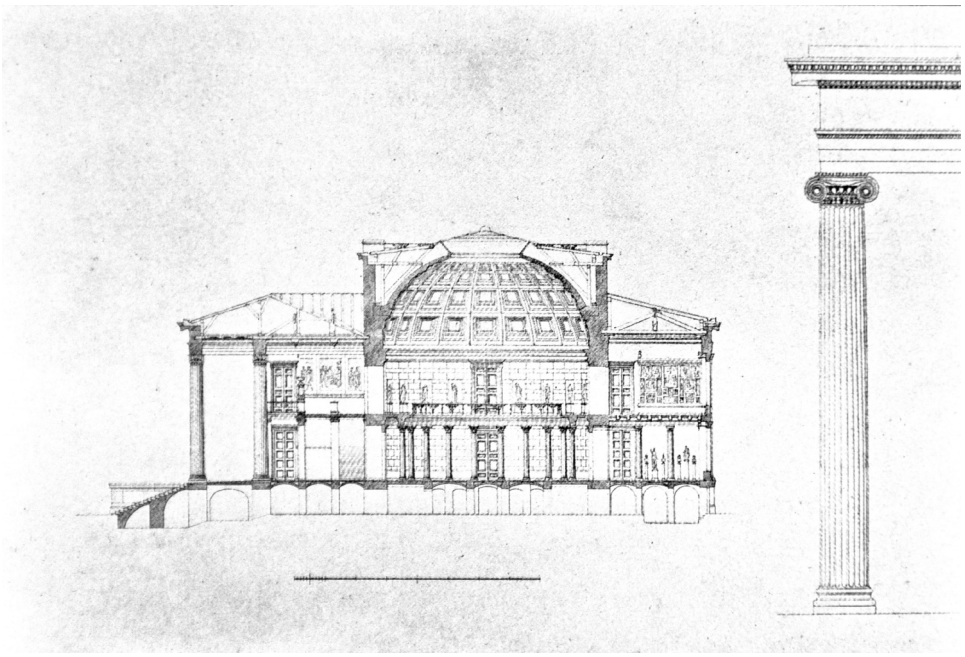


Figure 20. Cross-Section of the Altes Museum, Berlin.
Source: Snodin, Michael, ed. 1991. *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 126.

Figure 21. The British Museum (1823-1848)
Source: Author's Archive

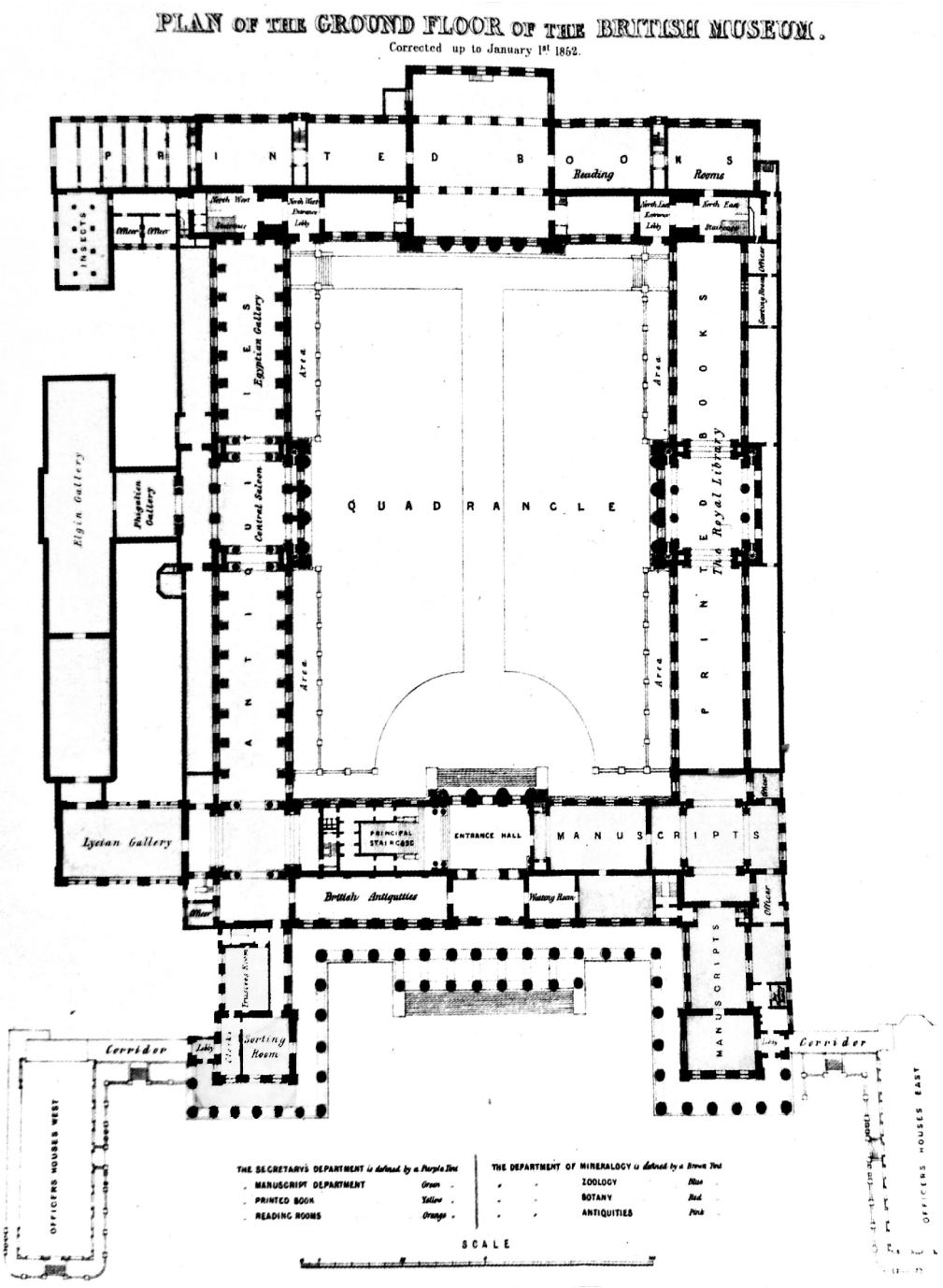


Figure 22. Initial Plan of the British Museum in 1852
Source: Anderson, Robert. 2000. *The Great Court and the British Museum*. London: The British Museum Press, 17.

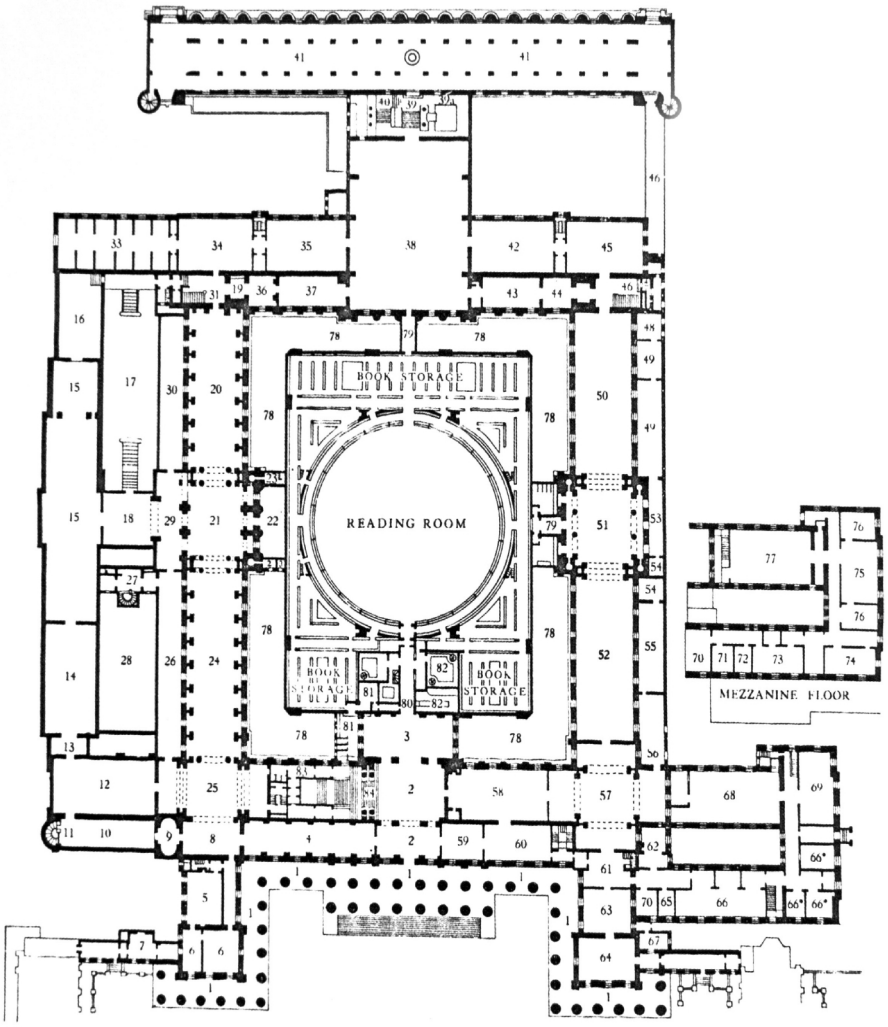


Figure 23. Plan of the British Museum in 1938
Source: Anderson, Robert. 2000. *The Great Court and the British Museum*. London: The British Museum Press, 18.

Figure 24. The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (1870-1876)
Source: Camin, Giulia. 2007. *Museums: Masterpieces of Architecture in the World*. Italy: White Star, 248.

Figure 25. The Pushkin Fine Arts Museum in Moscow (1898-1912) Source: Camin, Giulia. 2007. *Museums: Masterpieces of Architecture in the World*. Italy: White Star, 194.

Figure 26. The National Archaeological Museum in Athens (1866-1888) Source: Camin, Giulia. 2007. *Museums: Masterpieces of Architecture in the World*. Italy: White Star, 190.

Resim 1 — (Babı Humayun) dan (Ortakapı) ya kadar alay meydanı
Cebehanei Âmire (Askerî Müze) Hastalar odası (Enderun Hastanesi) Kulei Kâğıt Emini
1579 — 1584 (Hünernameden)

Figure. 27. The Miniature from *Hünername* showing the Arsenal
(The Church of St. Eirene)
Source: *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Rehberi*. 1933. İstanbul Asar-ı Atika Müzeleri. İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası.

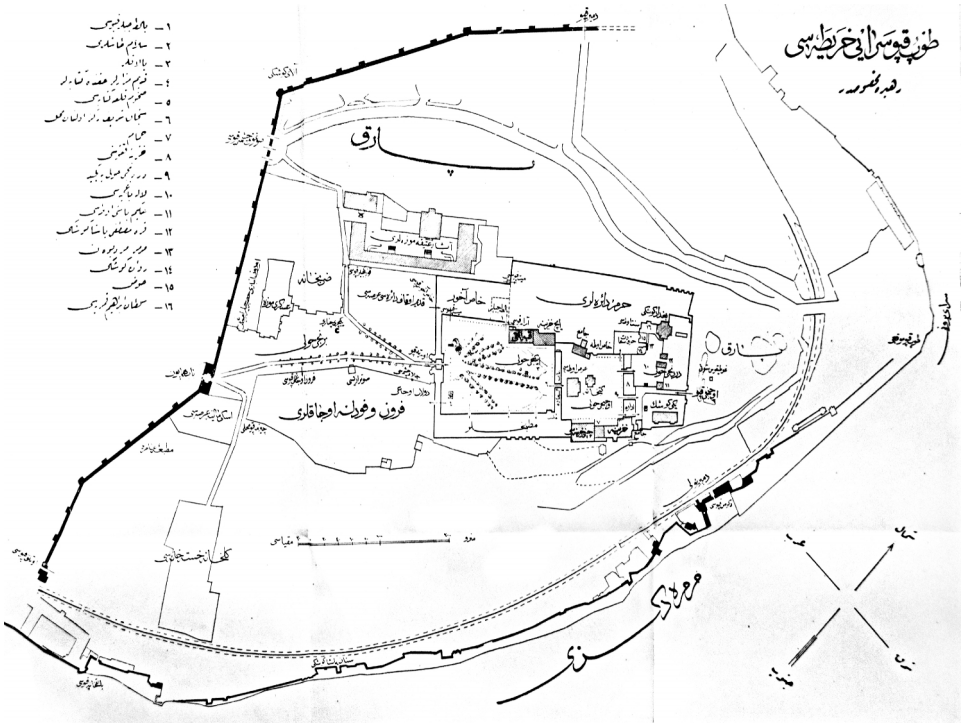


Figure 28. Plan of the Topkapı Palace
Source: *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi*. 1933. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Rehberi*. İstanbul Asar-ı Atika Müzeleri. İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası.

Figure 29. Exterior Views of the Church of St. Eirene (532 AD)
Source: Krautheimer, Richard. 1986. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. Harmondsworth, Middx.; Baltimore: Penguin Books.

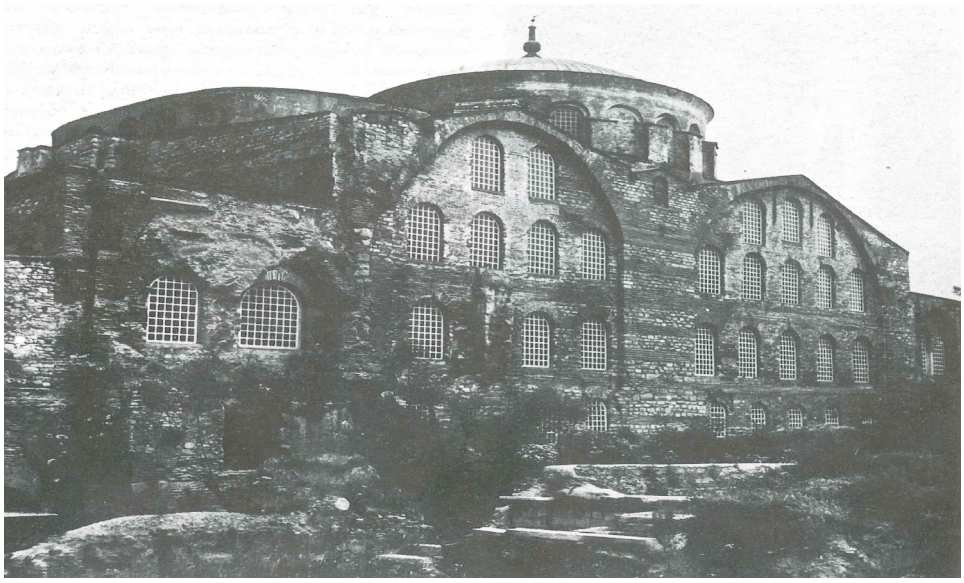


Figure 30 Exterior Views of the Church of St. Eirene (532 AD)
Source: Krautheimer, Richard. 1986. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. Harmondsworth, Middx.; Baltimore: Penguin Books.

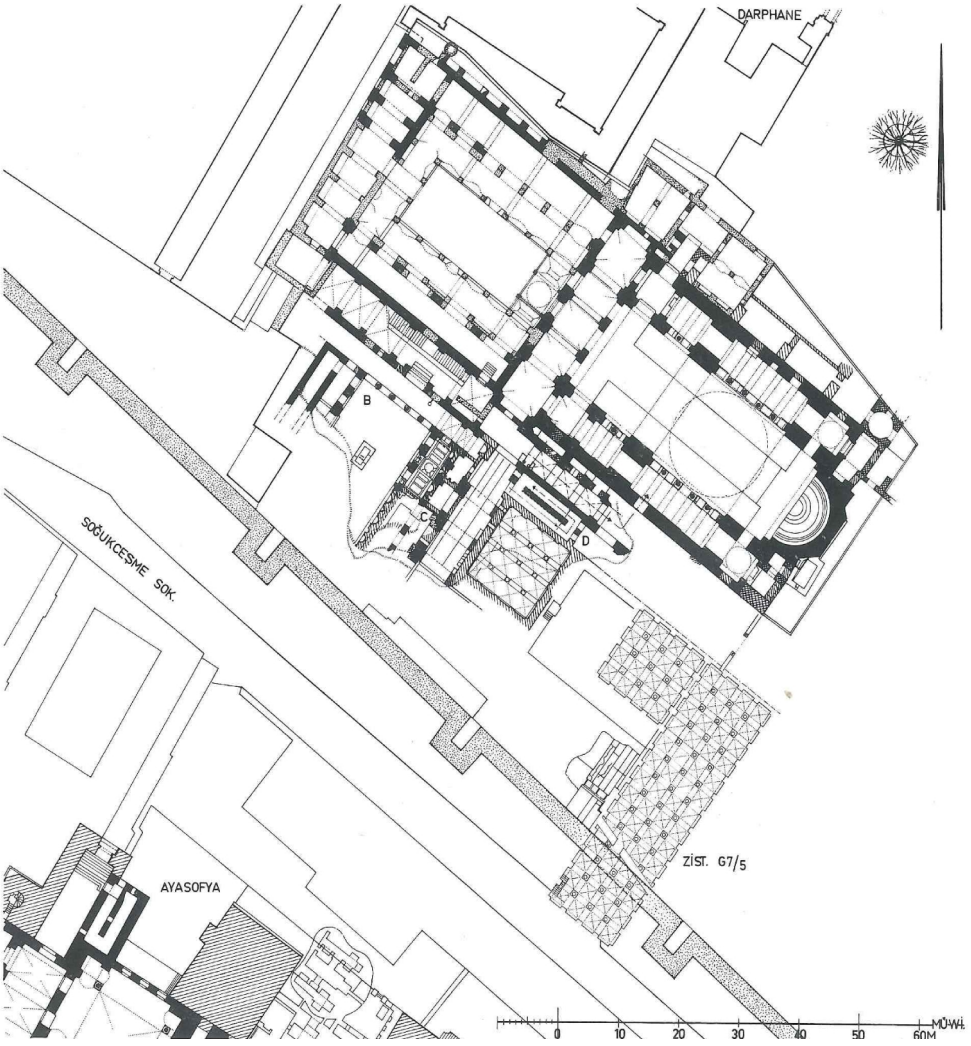


Figure 31. Plan of the Church of St. Eirene.
Source: Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang, Renate Schiele, and Wolf Schiele. 1977. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn d. 17. Jh*, unter Mitarb. von Renate u. Wolf Schiele; mit e. Beitr. von Nezih Fıratlı Tübingen: Wasmuth.

Figure 32. Interior View from the Church of St. Eirene
Source: Krautheimer, Richard. 1986. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. Harmondsworth, Middx.; Baltimore: Penguin Books.

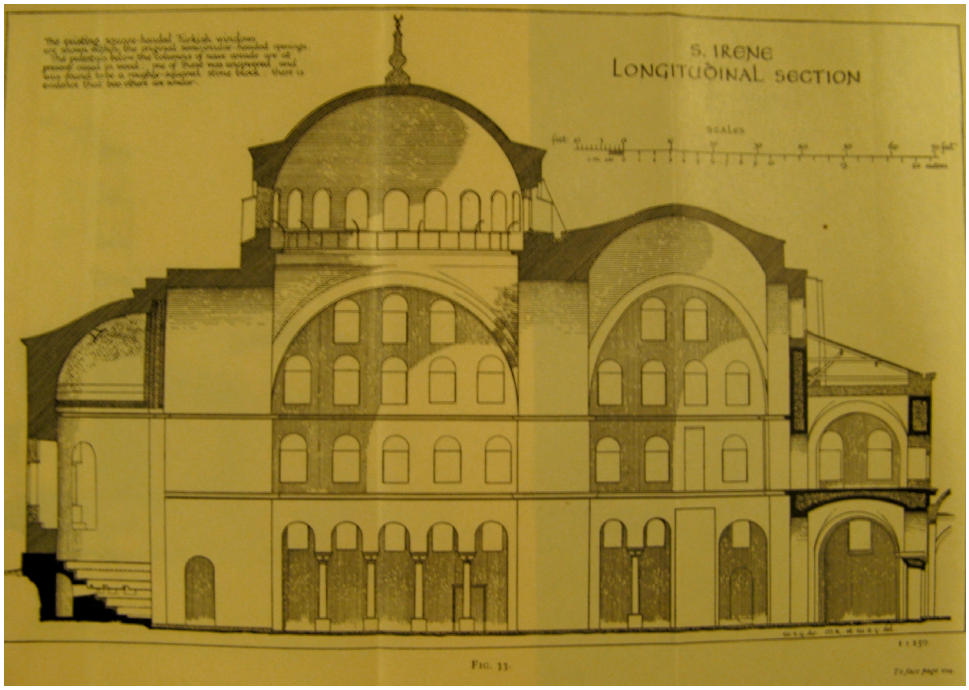


Figure 33. Section of the Church of St. Eirene
Source: Millingen, Alexander van. 1912. *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture*. London Mac Millan.

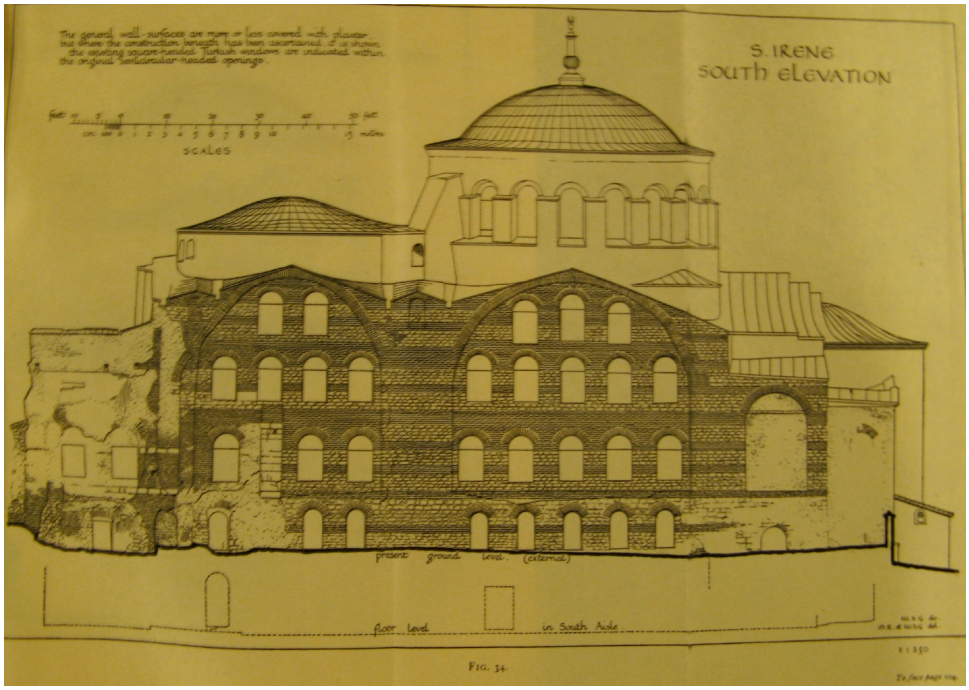


Figure 34. South Elevation of the Church of St. Eirene
Source: Millingen, Alexander van. 1912. *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople:Their History and Architecture*. London Mac Millan.

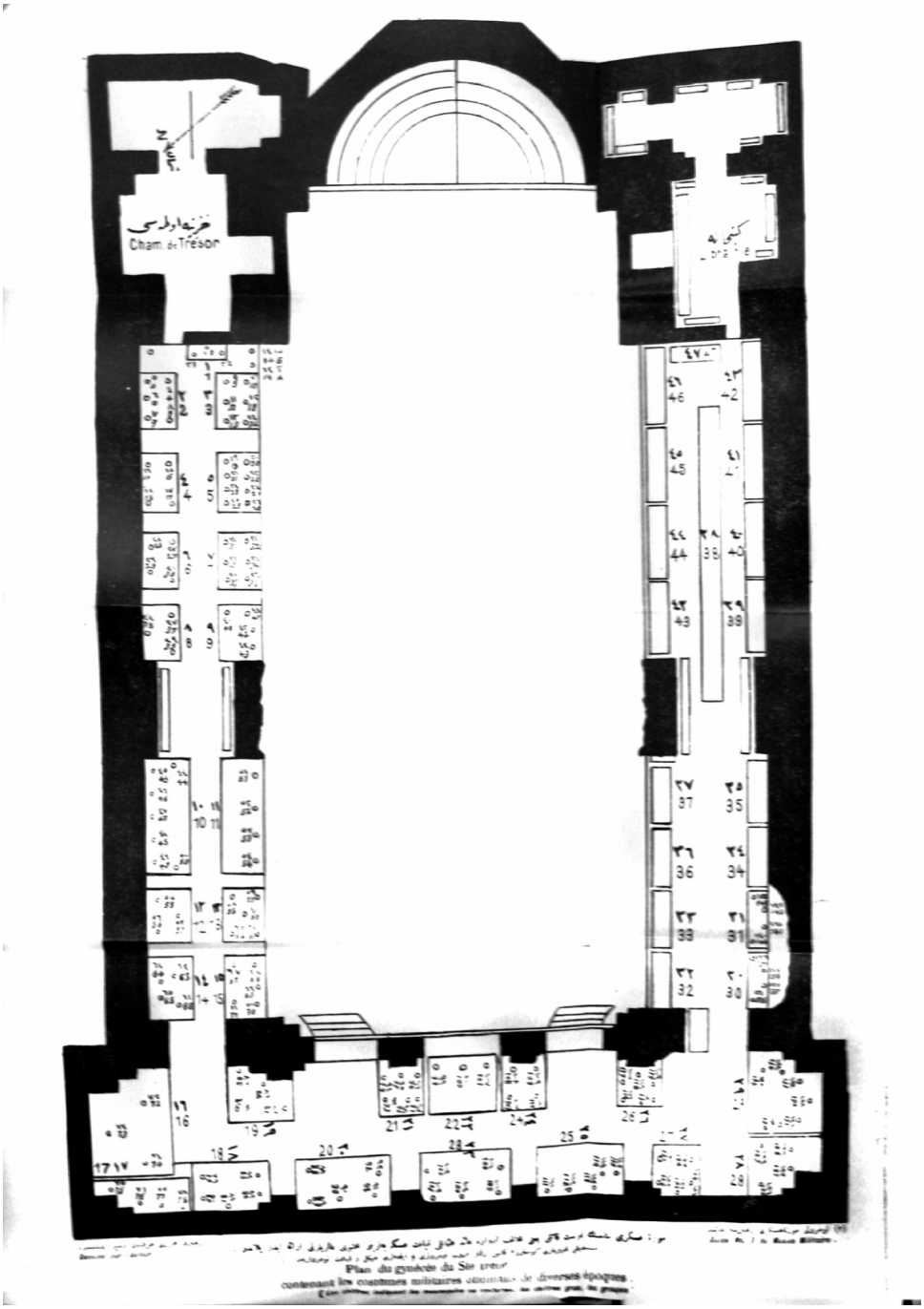


Figure 35. Plan of the Arsenal (*Harbiye Ambarı*) in the Military Museum (1917) Source: Moukhtar, Sermed. 1920. *Musee Militaire Ottoman, Guide*. İstanbul: Necm-e İstikbal Matbaası.

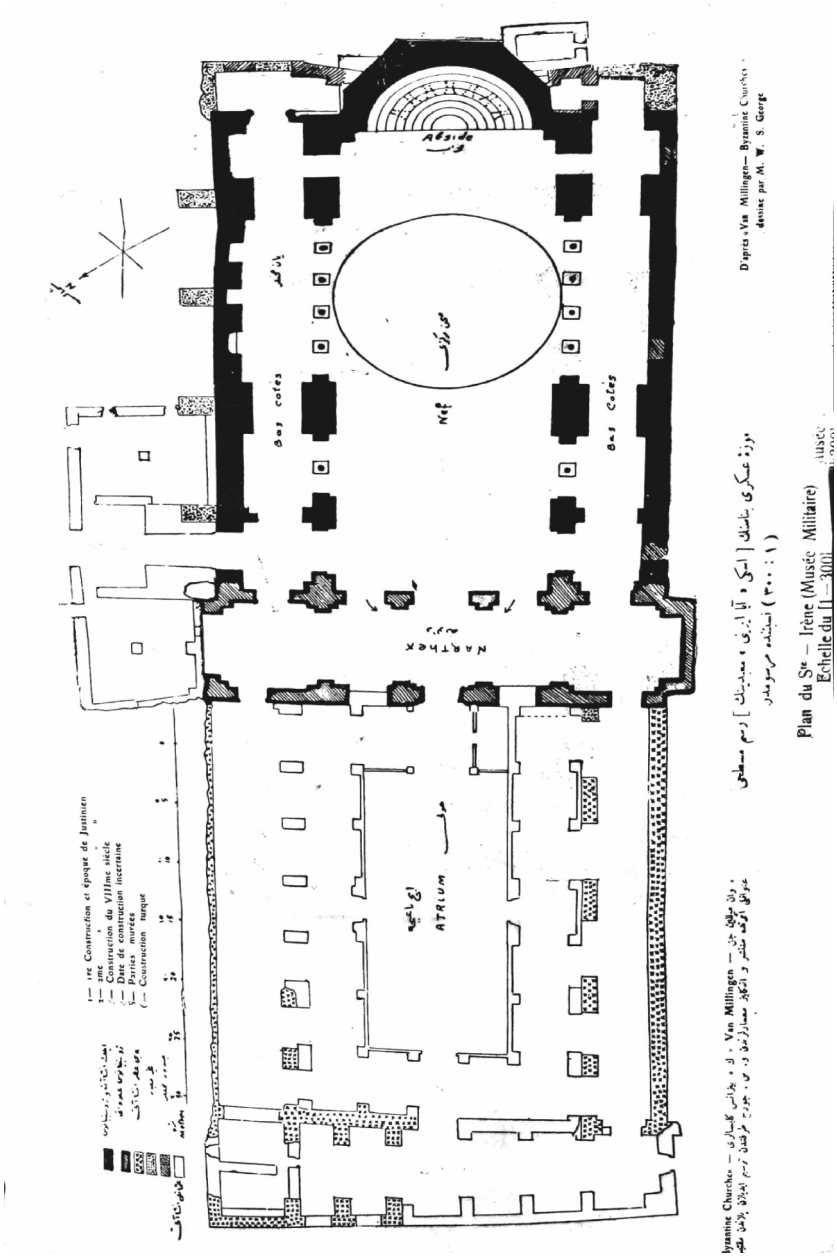


Figure 36. Plan of the Military Museum (1917)
Source: Moukhtar, Sermed. 1920. *Musee Militaire Ottoman, Guide*. İstanbul: Necm-e İstikbal Matbaası.

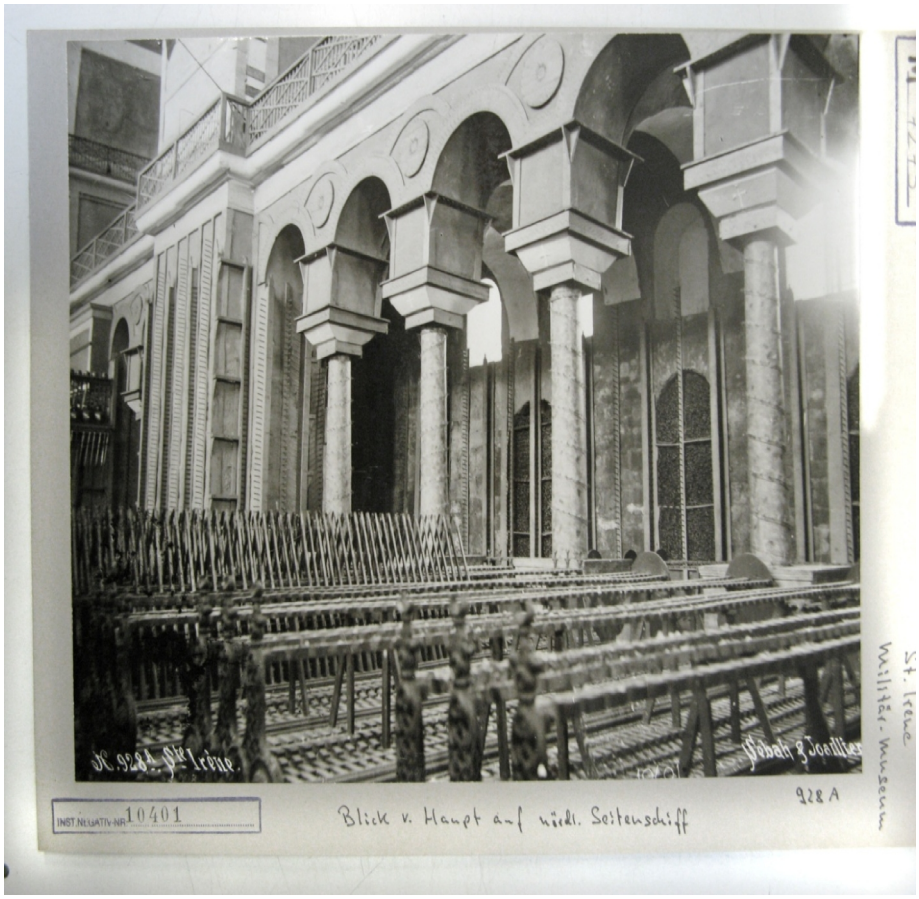


Figure 37. Interior View of the Military Museum showing the Armory Collections
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 38. Interior View of the Military Museum
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 39. Staircases Leading to the Displaying Hall of the Military Museum
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 40. The Miniature from the *Hünername* showing the Tiled Pavilion (16th century)
Source: Aydın, Nilüfer. 2007. *Çinili Köşk Müzesi*, photographed by Turhan Bilgili. İstanbul: Diacan Grafik ve Matbaacılık Tic. Ltd. Şti, 10.

Figure 41. Tiled Pavilion and its Surroundings Prior to 1860.
Source: TTOKB (*Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*), date unknown

Figure 42. Main Façade of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

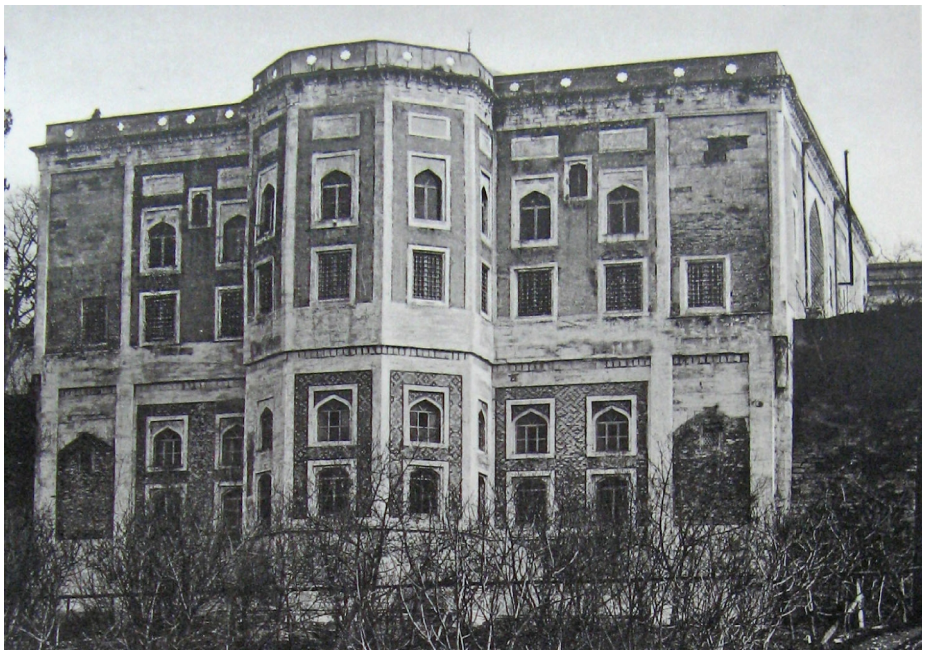


Figure 43. Exterior View of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Kühnel, Ernst. 1938. *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Şaheserler: Çinili Köşkde Türk ve İslam Eserleri Koleksiyonu*. Vol.3. Berlin.

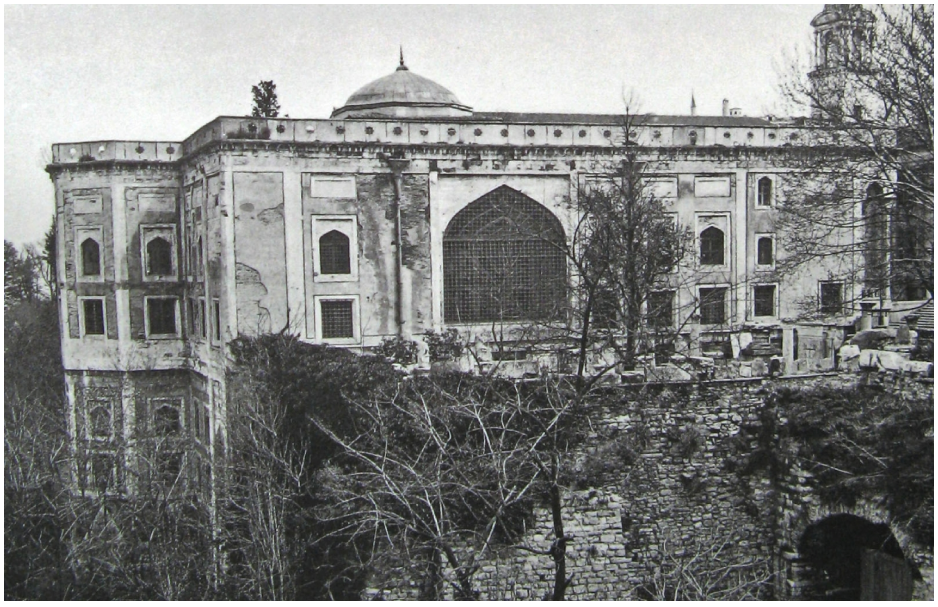


Figure 44. Exterior View of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Kühnel, Ernst. 1938. *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Şaheserler: Çinili Köşkde Türk ve İslam Eserleri Koleksiyonu*. Vol.3. Berlin.

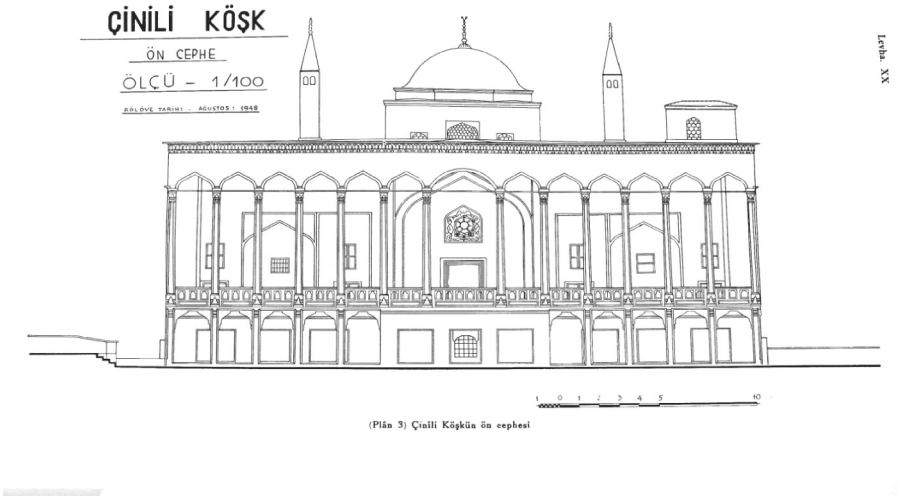


Figure 45. Drawings of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Öz, Tahsin. 1953. *Topkapı Sarayında Fatih Sultan Mehmet II. Ye Ait Eserler.* Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından 11(3). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

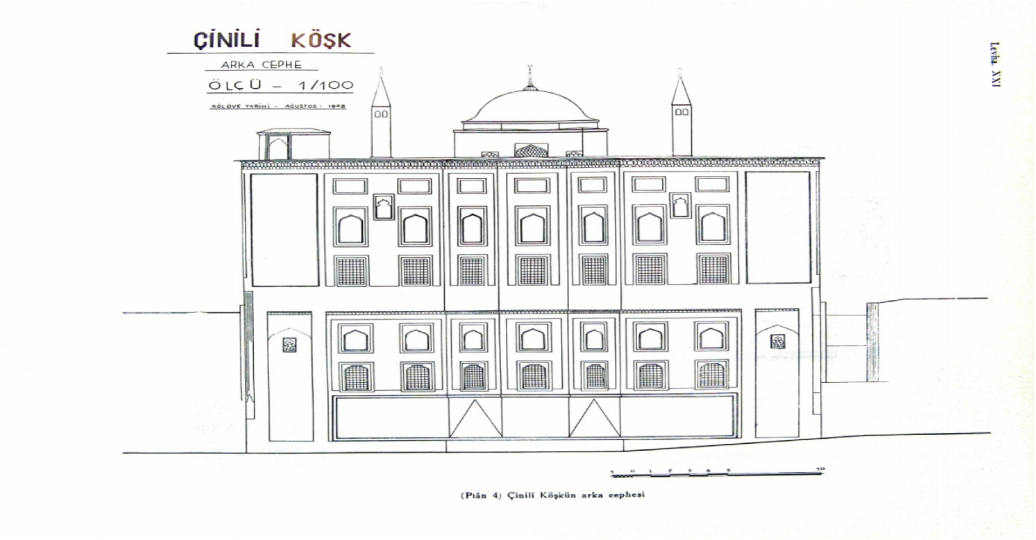


Figure 46. Drawings of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Öz, Tahsin. 1953. *Topkapı Sarayında Fatih Sultan Mehmet II. Ye Ait Eserler.* Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından 11(3). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

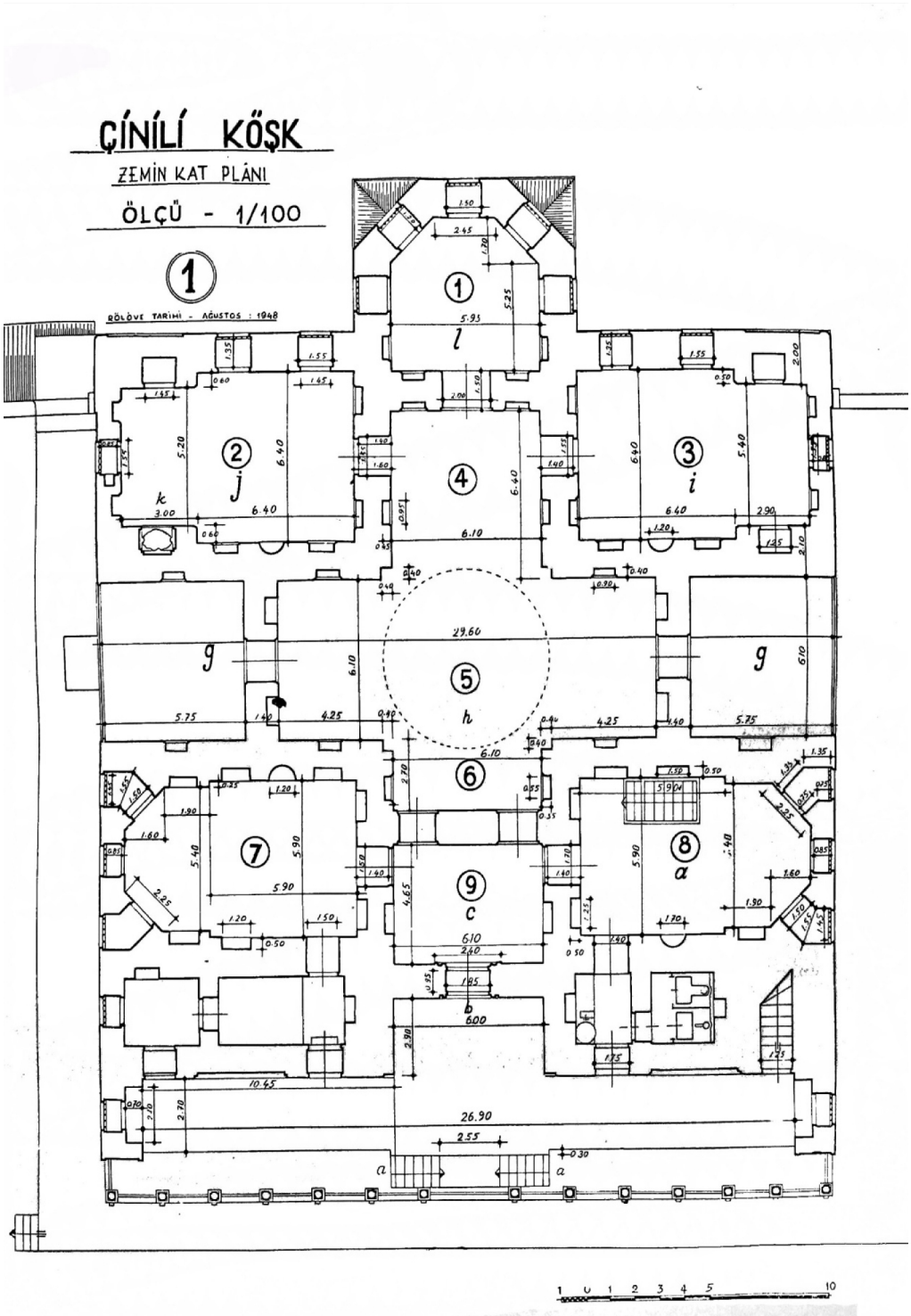


Figure 47. Plan of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Aydın, Nilüfer. 2007. *Çinili Köşk Müzesi*, photographed by Turhan Bilgili. İstanbul: Diacan Grafik ve Matbaacılık Tic. Ltd. Şti, 23.

Figure 48. Photograph of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 49. Photograph of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 50. Photograph of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 51. Photograph of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 52. Photograph of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 53. Photograph of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Öz, Tahsin. 1953. *Topkapı Sarayında Fatih Sultan Mehmet II. Ye Ait Eserler*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından 11(3). Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Abb. 11. Inneres vom Tschinili-Köschk.

Figure 54. Photograph of the Tiled Pavilion
Source: Edhem, Halil. 1909. *Das Osmanische Antiken Museum in Konstantinopel* Liepzig, res. 11.

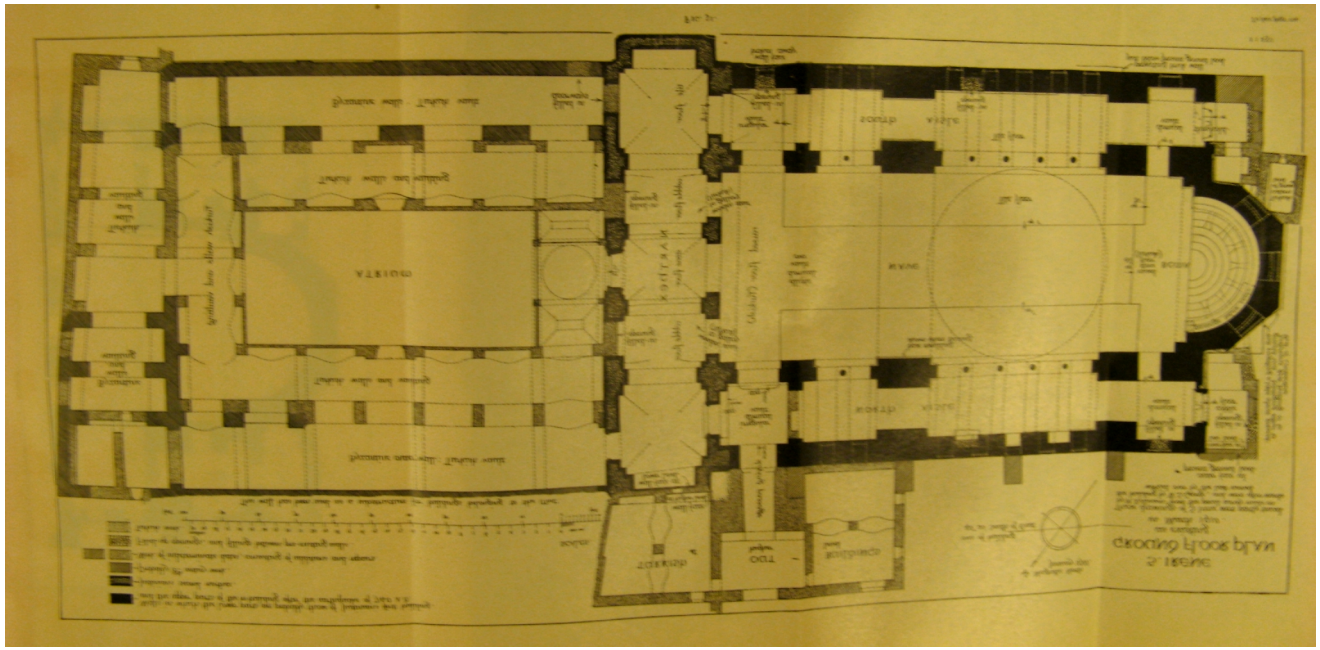


Figure 55. Plan of the Church of St. Eirene.
Source: Millingen, Alexander van. 1912. Byzantine Churches in Constantinople Their History and Architecture. London Mac Millan.

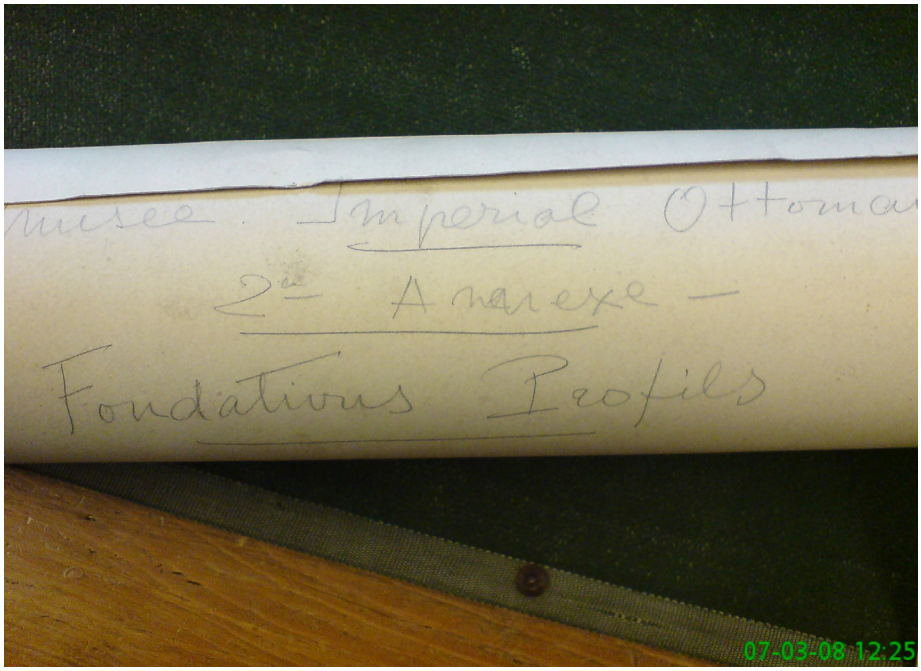


Figure 56. Name of the Museum on the Official Documents
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

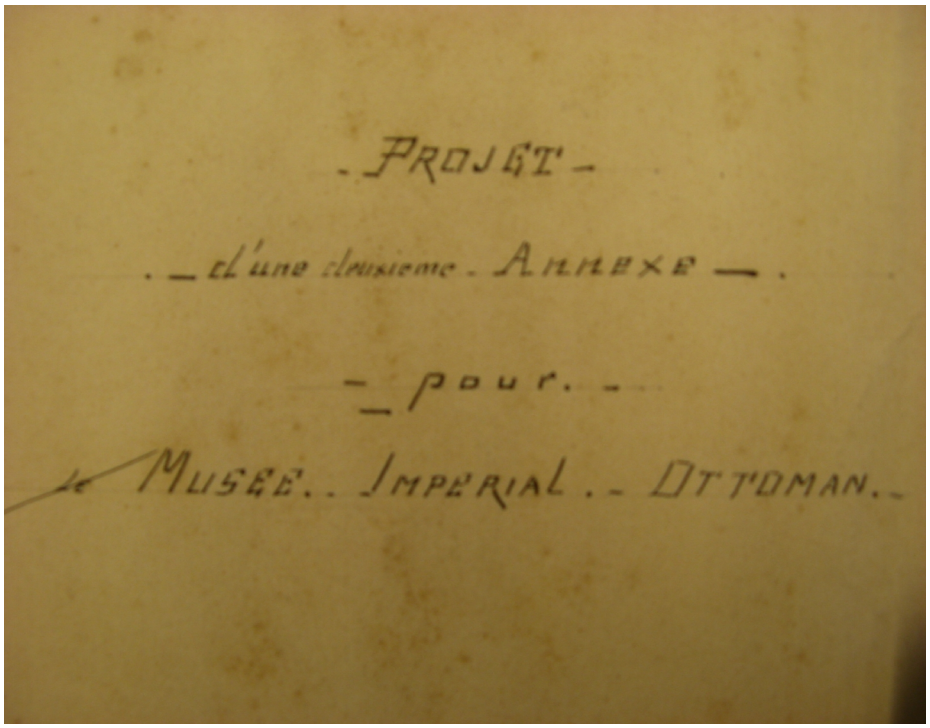


Figure 57. Name of the Museum on the Official Documents
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

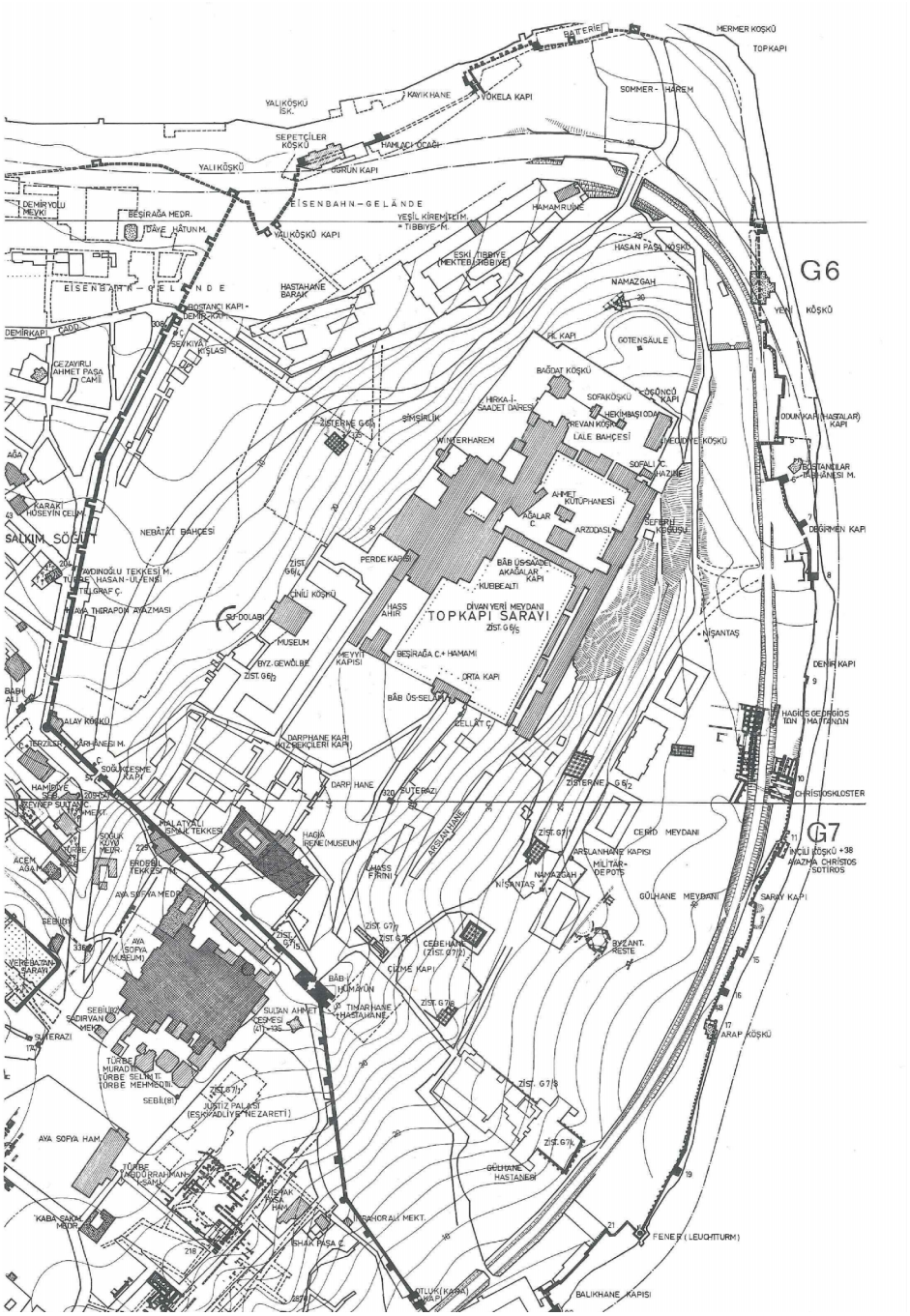


Figure 58. Plan of the Topkapı Palace
Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang, Renate Schiele, and Wolf Schiele. 1977. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn d. 17. Jh*, unter Mitarb. von Renate u. Wolf Schiele; mit e. Beitr. von Nezih Fıratlı Tübingen: Wasmuth, 497.

Figure 59. Main Façade of the Ottoman Imperial Museum
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

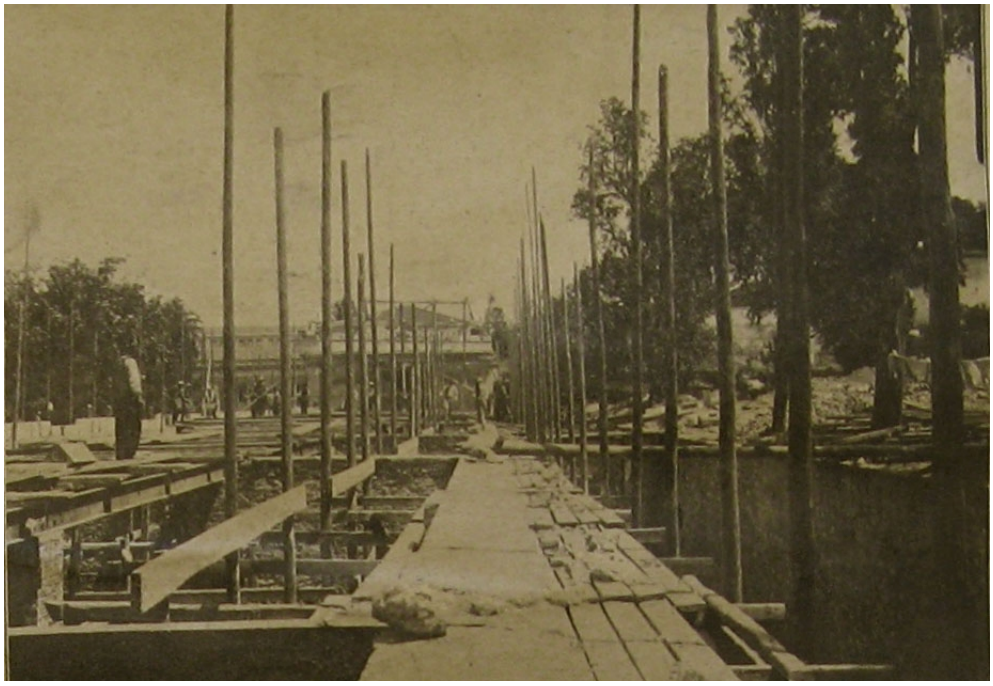


Figure 60.Construction of the First Museum Building
Source: Servet-i Fünun

Figure 61. Construction of the First Museum Building
Source: Servet-i Fünun

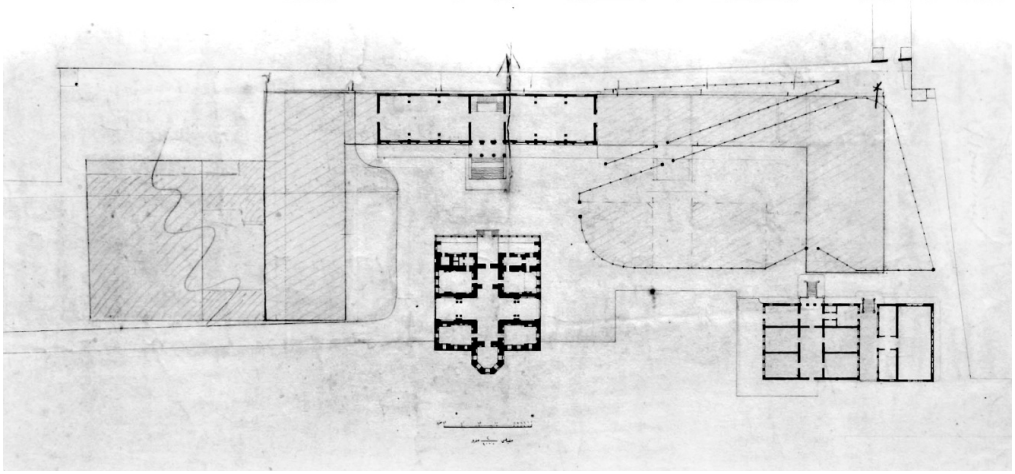


Figure 62. Plan of the First Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

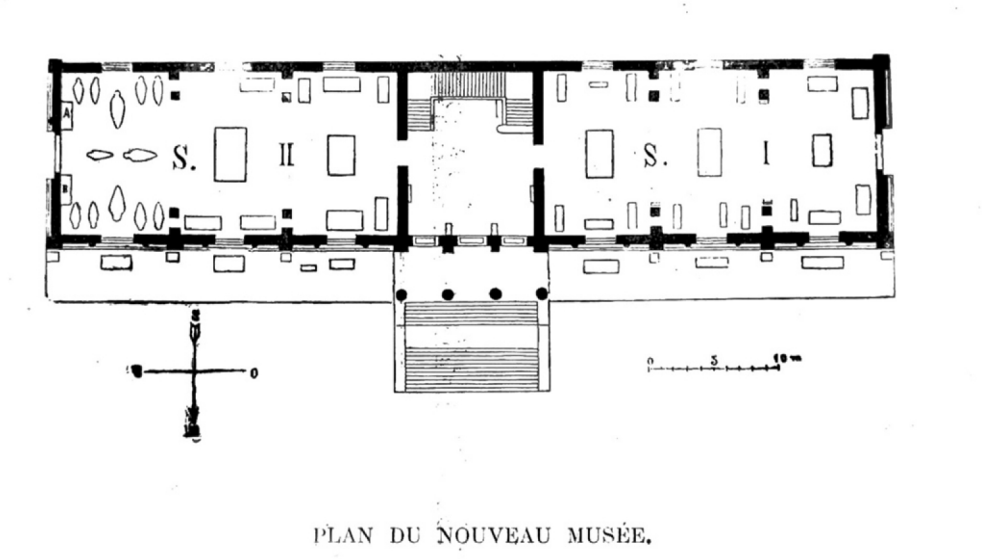


Figure 63. Plan of the First Museum Building Showing Displaying Halls
Source: Mendel, Gustave. 1912. *Catalogue des Sculptures: Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines*. Constantinople: Musees Imperıiaux Ottomans.

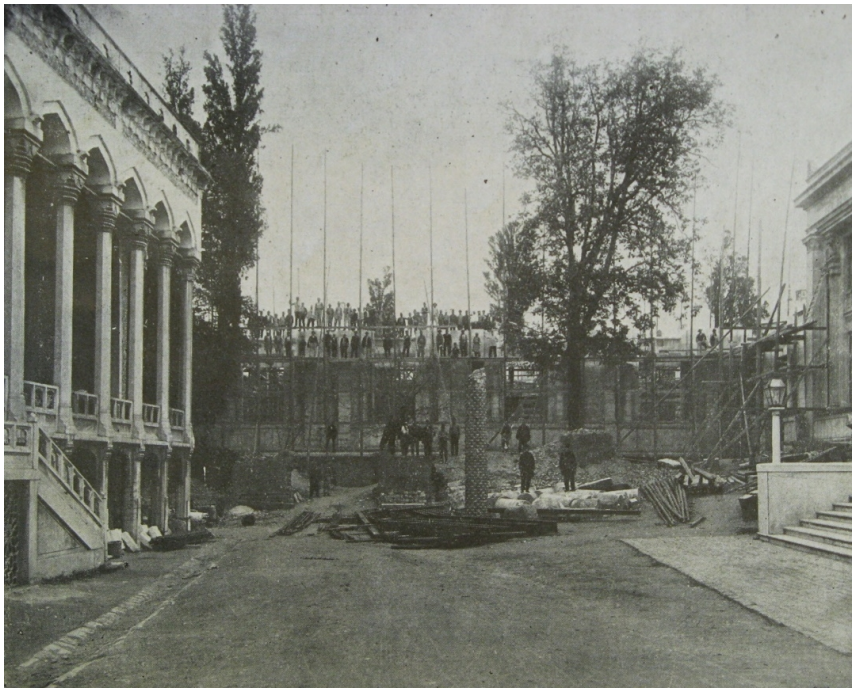


Figure 64. Construction of the Second Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

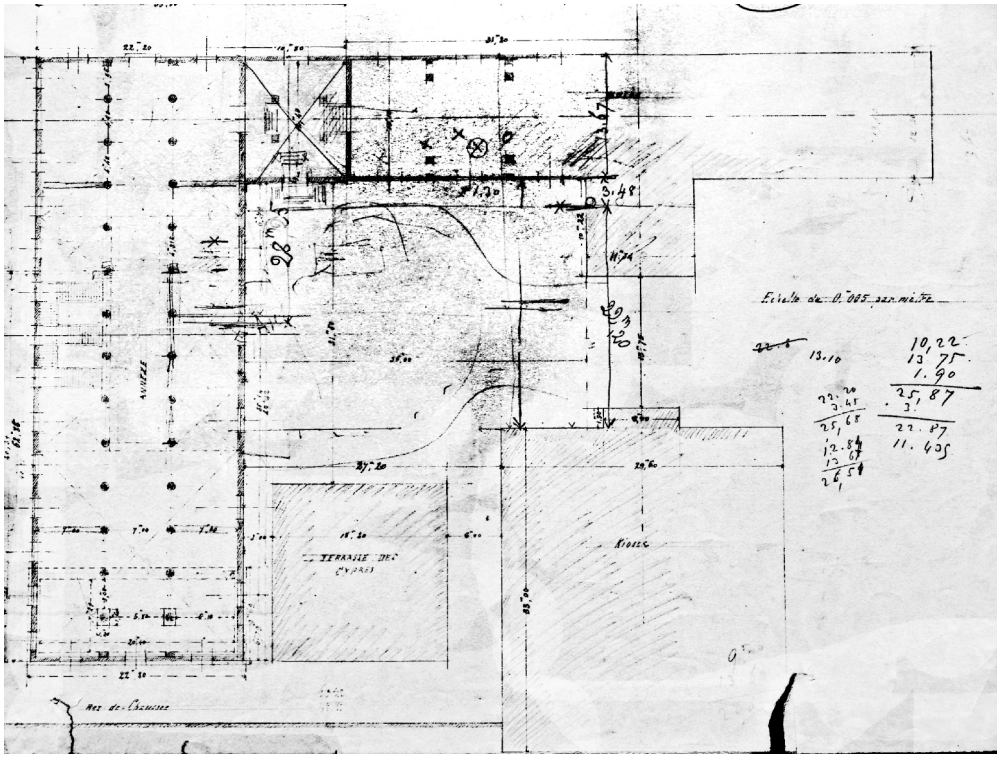


Figure 65. Preliminary Drawings of the First and Second Museum Buildings
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

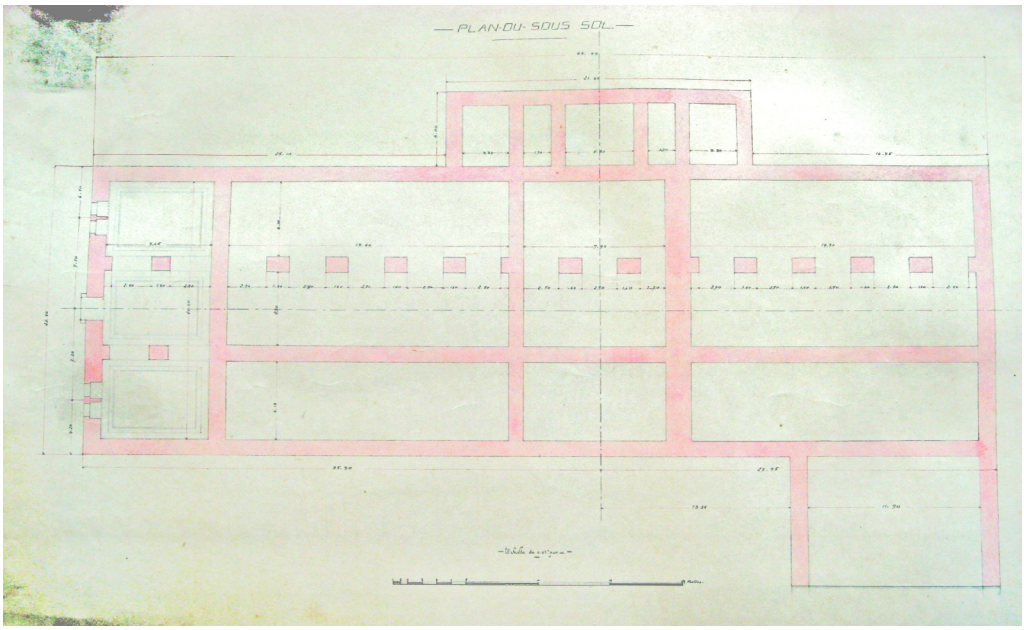


Figure 66. Basement Floor Plan of the Second Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archiv

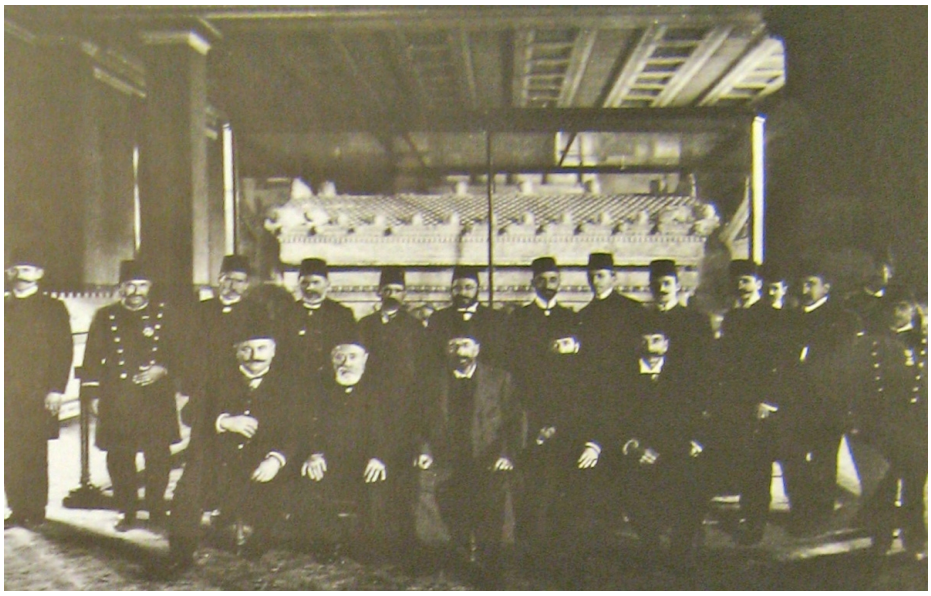


Figure 67. A Photograph of the Instructors of the School of Fine Arts in front of the Sarcophagus of Alexander
Source: Pasinli, Alpay. 2003. *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi*. Akbank Kültür ve Sanat Dizisi 71. Istanbul: Mas Matbaacılık, 23.

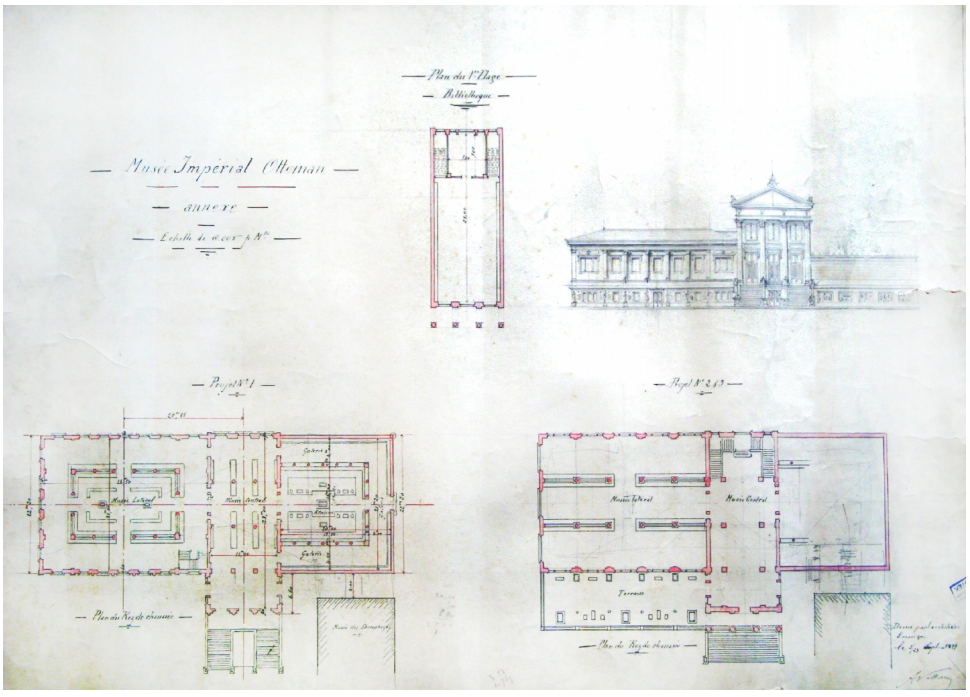


Figure 68. A.Vallaury's Projects for the Second Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

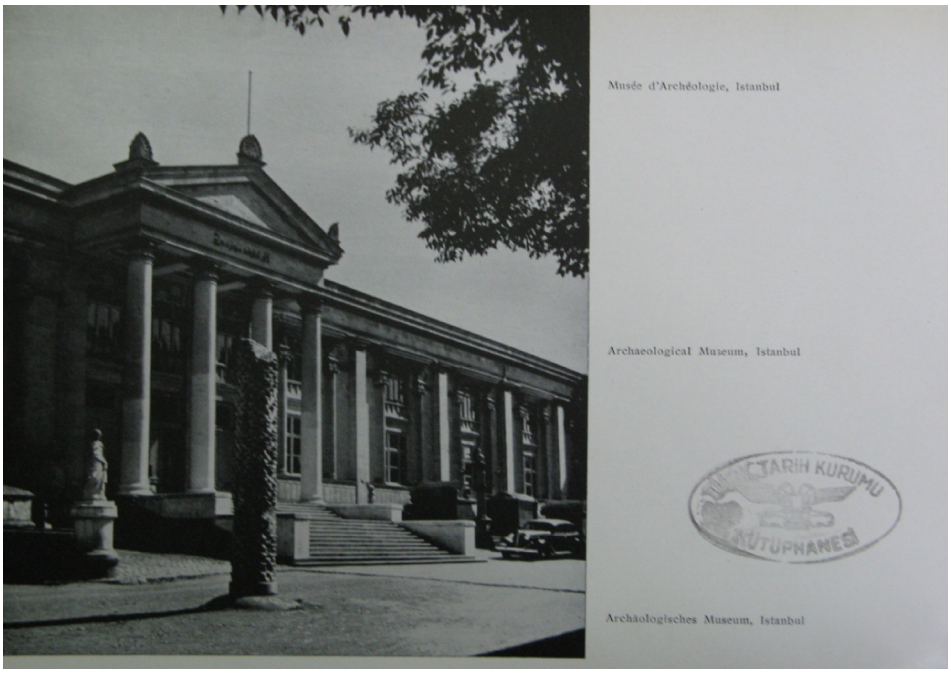


Figure 69. Main Façade of the Museum Building
Source: La Turquie Kemaliste February 1941, 41.

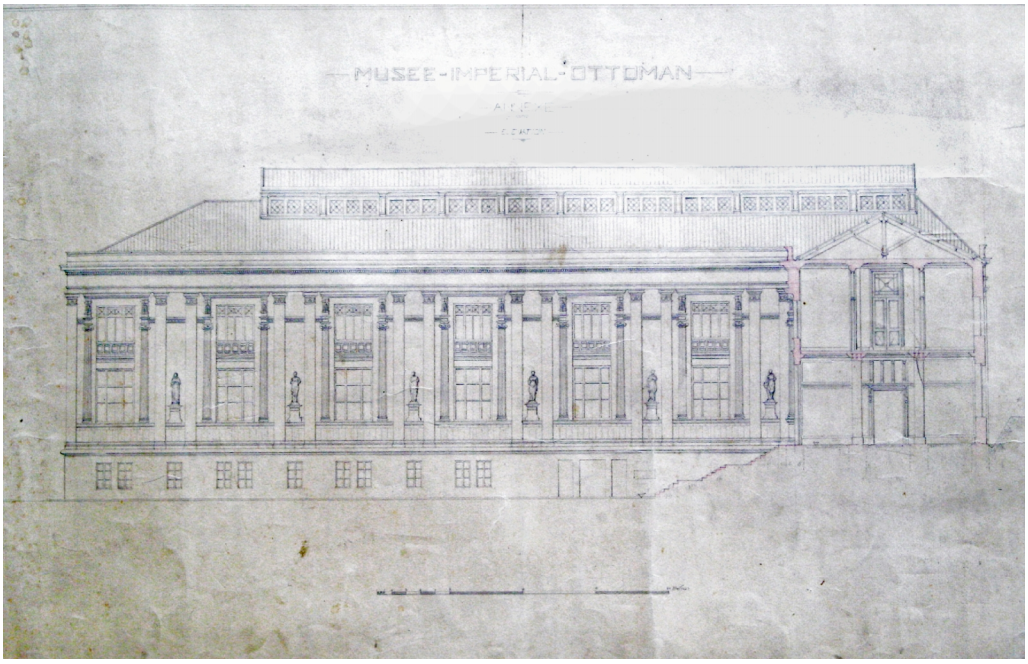


Figure 70. Section of the Second Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archiv

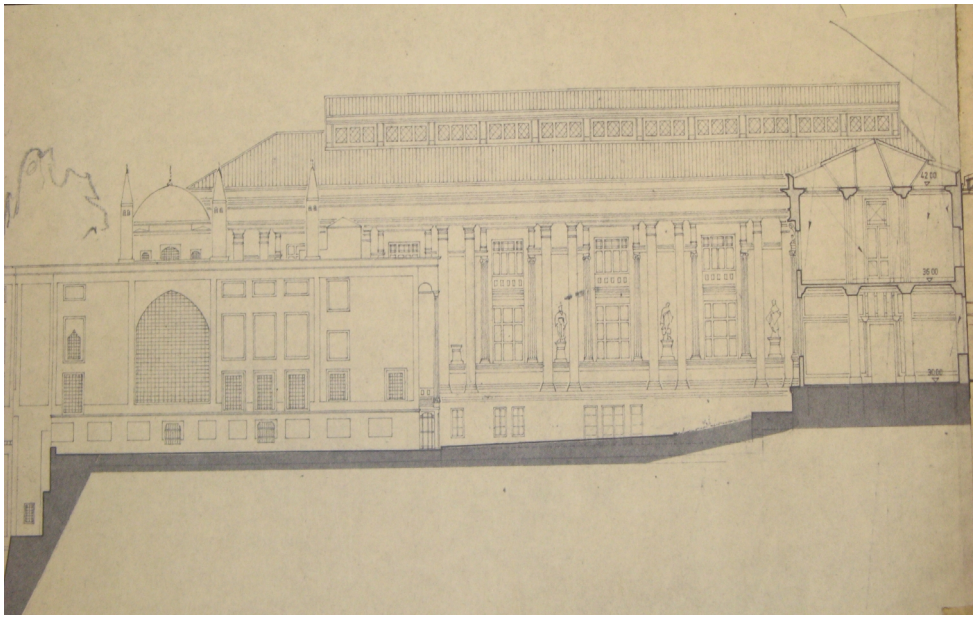


Figure 71.Section of the Second Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

Figure 72.Entrance of the Second Museum Building
Source: Author's Archive

Figure 73. Exterior View of the Second Museum Building
Source: Author's Archive.

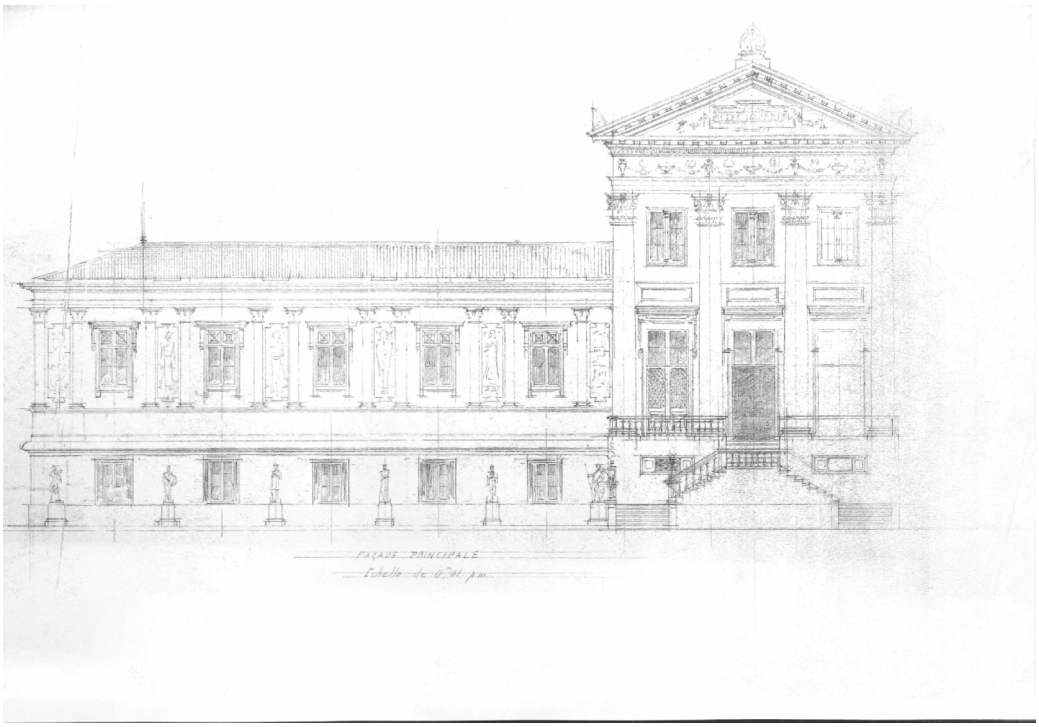


Figure 74. Project of A. Vallaury for the Second Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

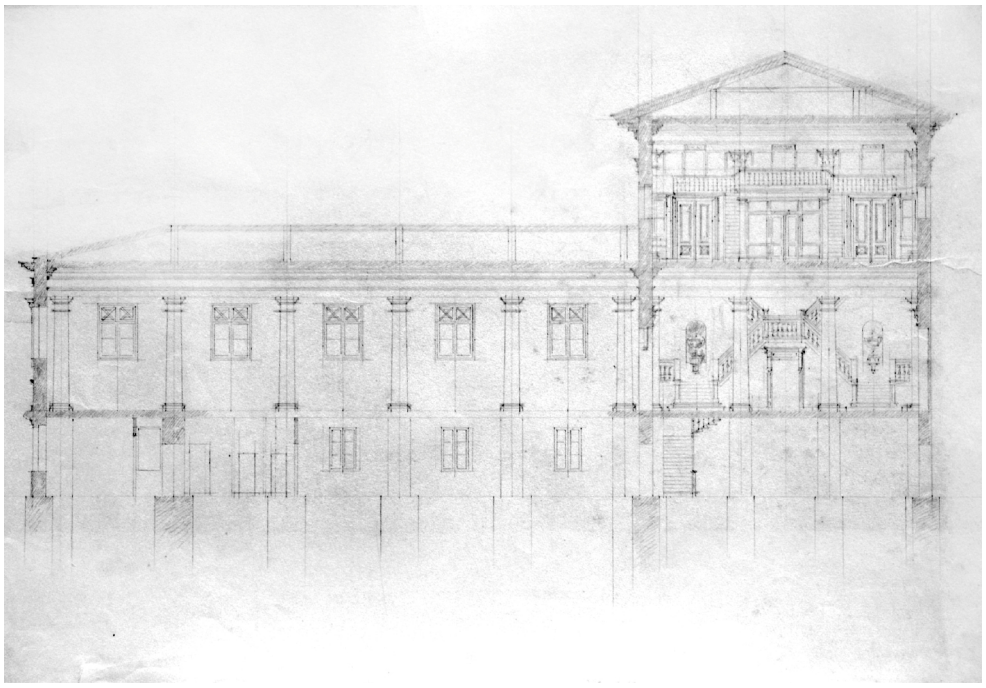


Figure 75.Section of the Second Museum Building drawn by A. Vallaury
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

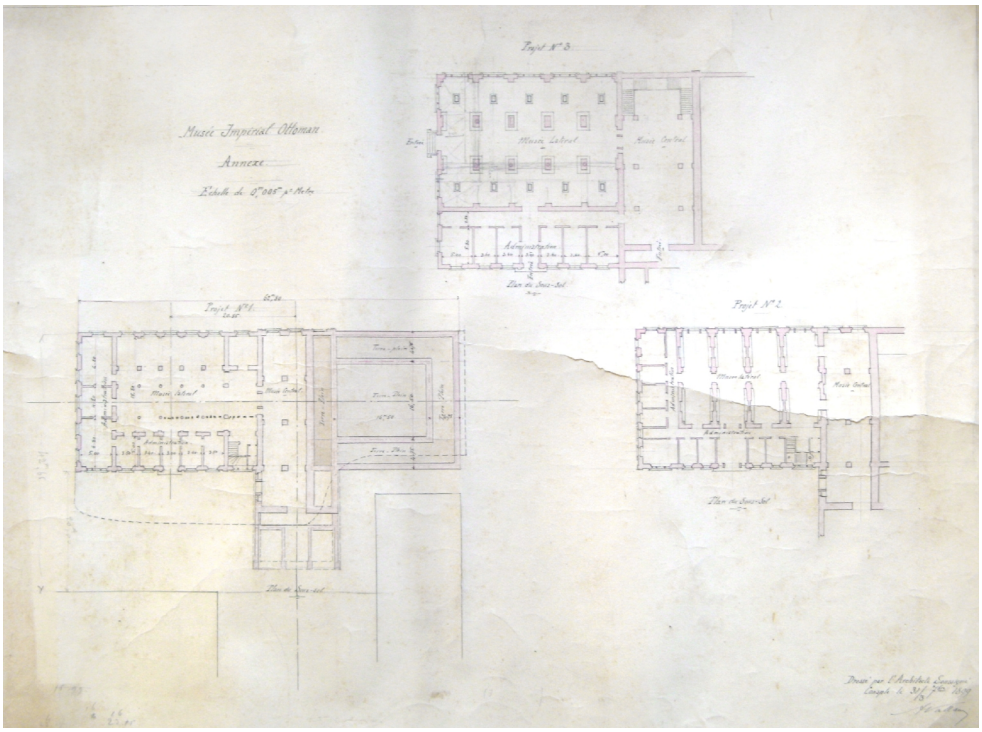


Figure 76.A Project Proposal of A. Vallaury for the Second Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

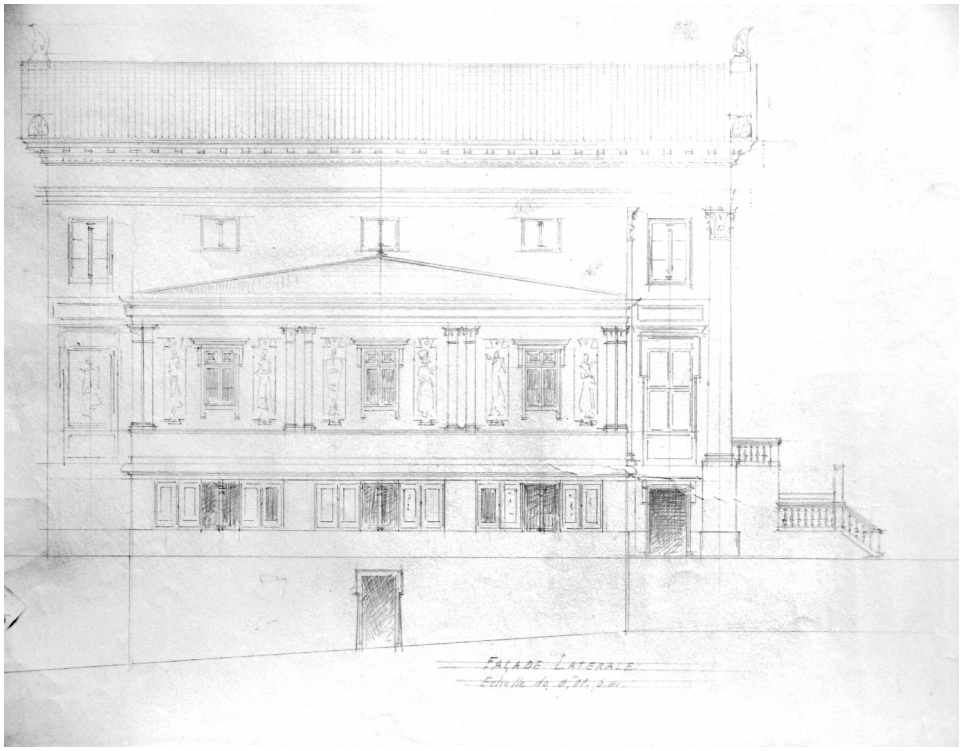


Figure 77. Drawing showing Lateral Façade of the Second Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

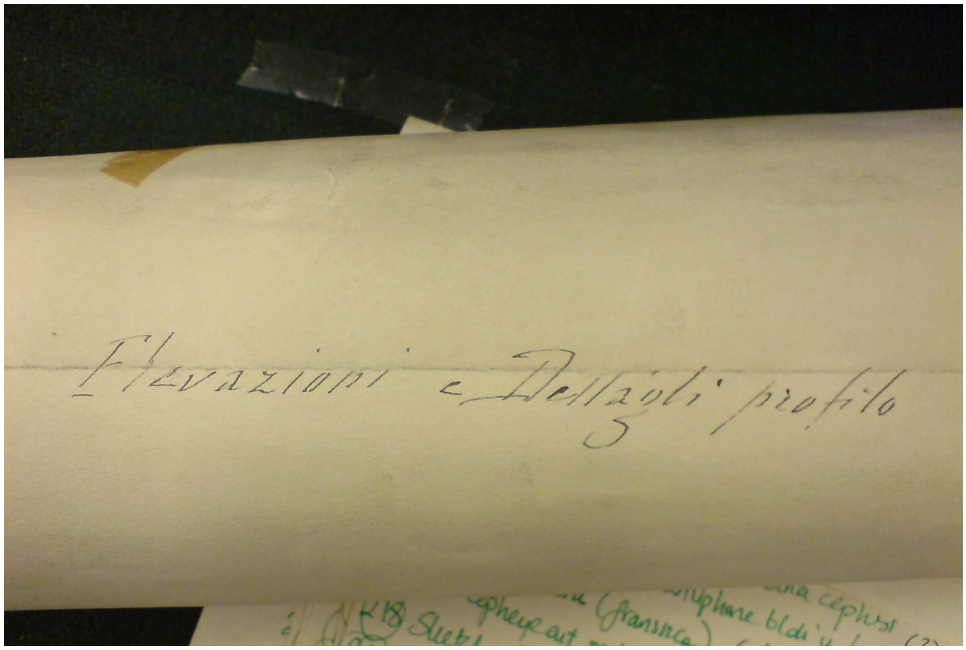


Figure 78. Descriptions at the Back of the Drawings Written in Italian
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

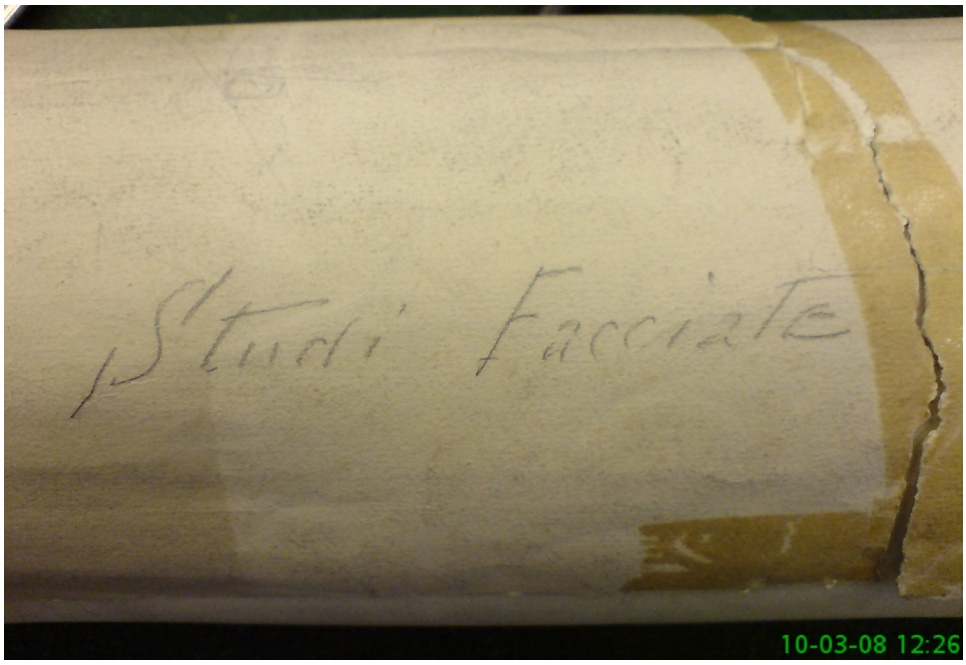


Figure 79. Descriptions at the Back of the Drawings Written in Italian
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

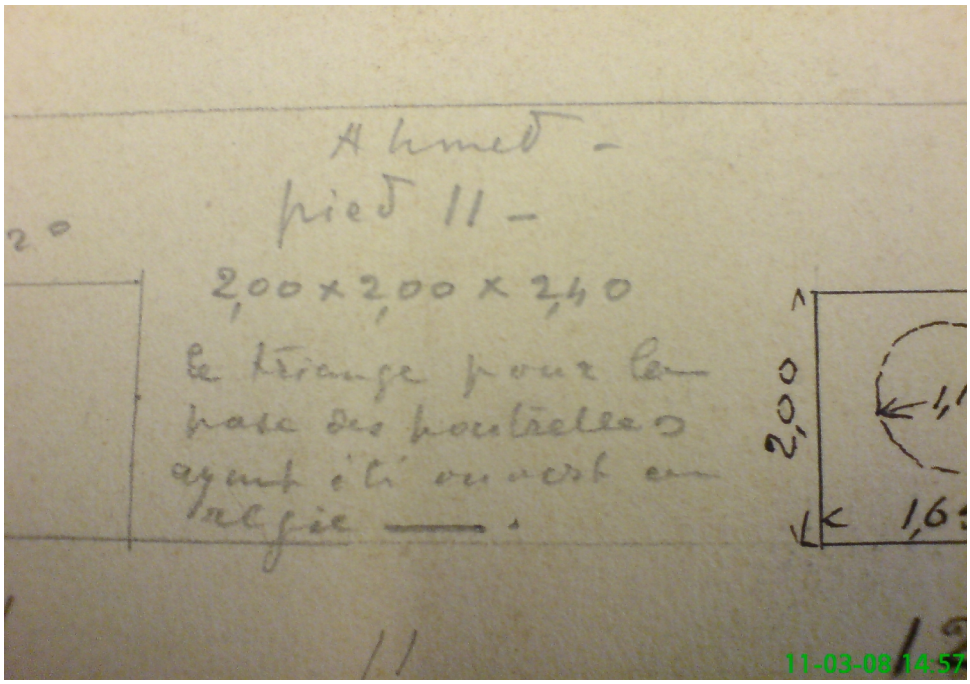


Figure 80. Drawing Showing Involvement of Ahmed Ziya in this Project as the Instructor of the School of Fine Arts
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

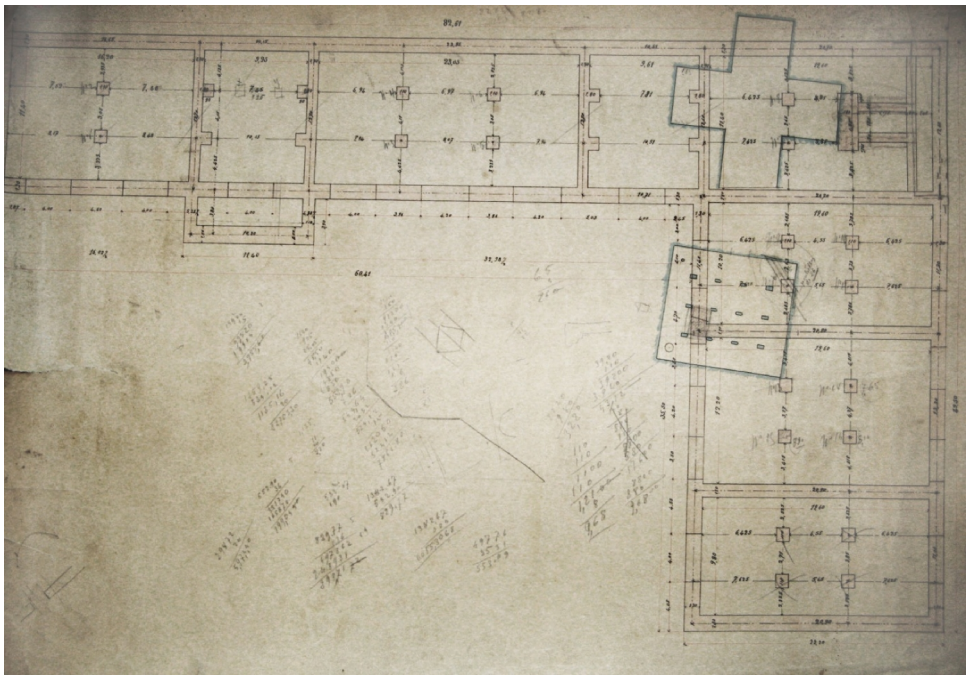


Figure 81. Cross-Shaped Building Drawn on Plan of the Third Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

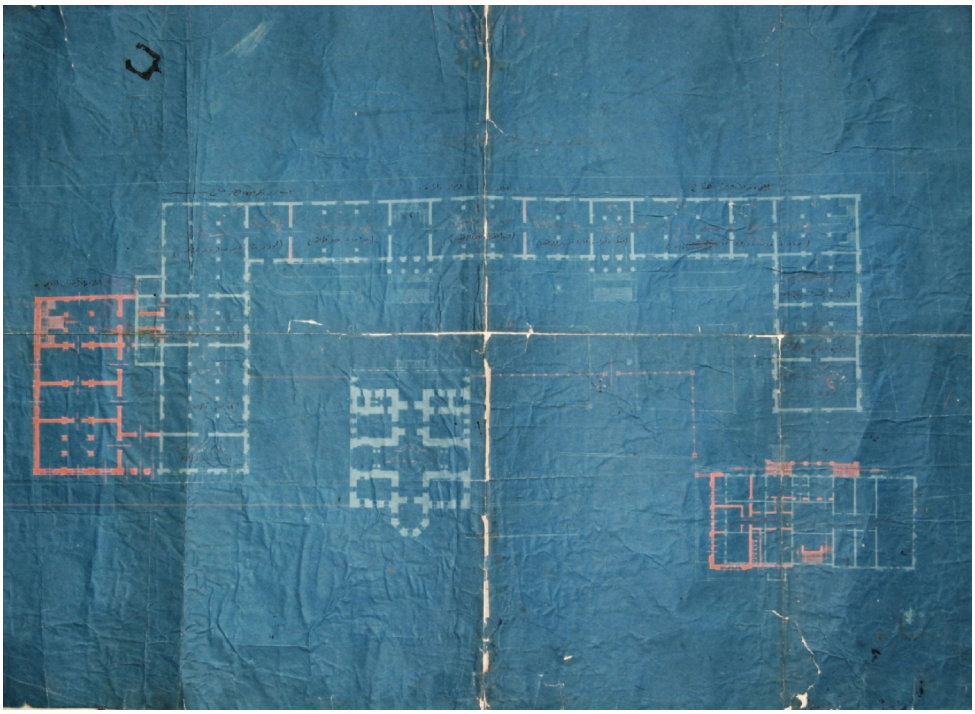


Figure 82. Plan of all the Museum Buildings
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archiv

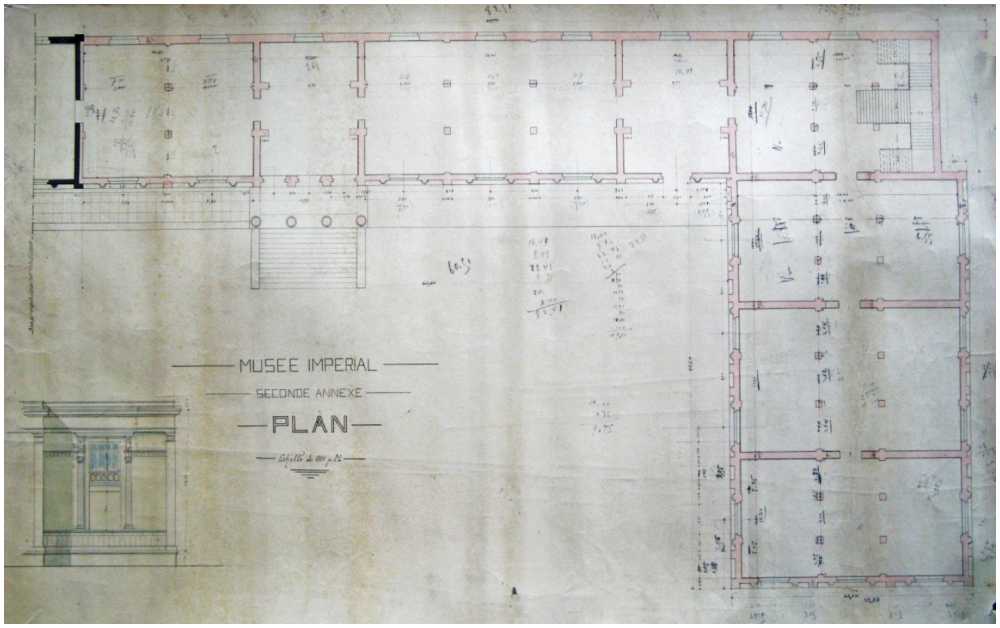


Figure 83. Preliminary Draft for the Third Museum Project
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

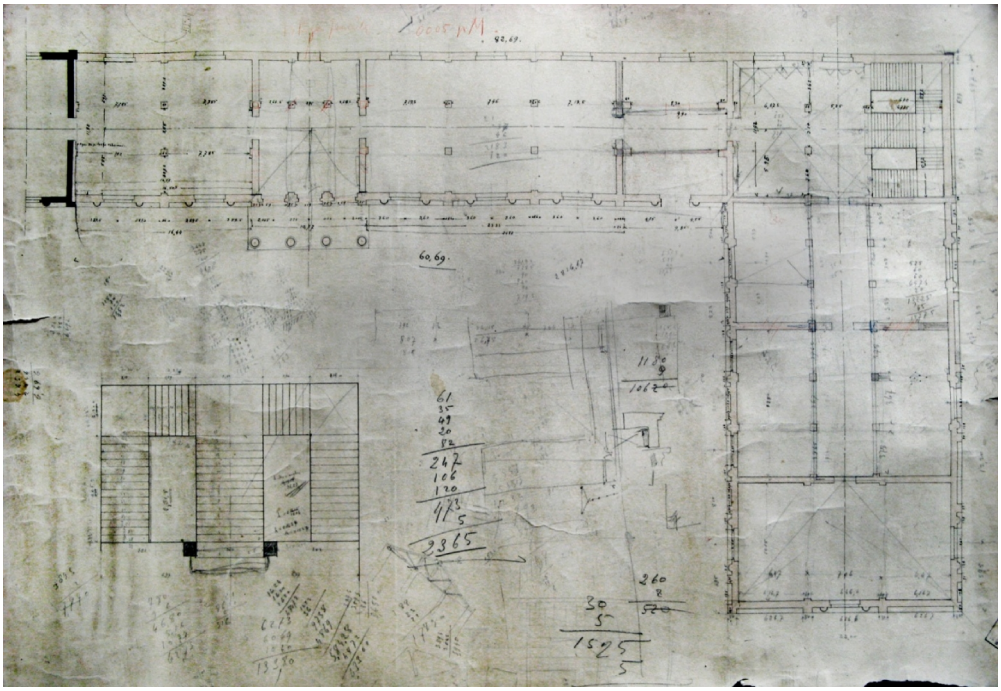


Figure 84. Final Museum Projects of the Third Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

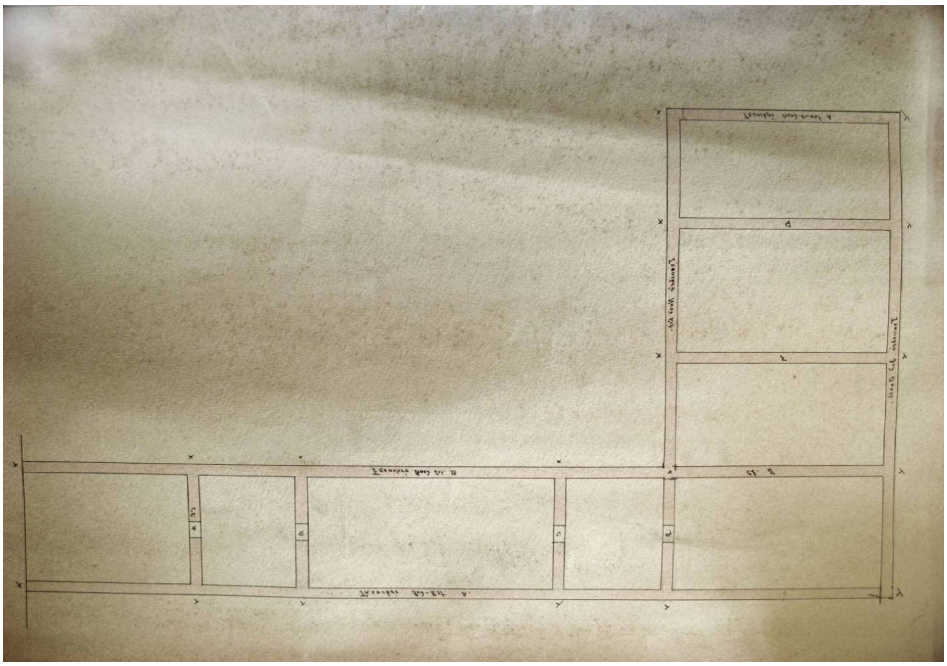


Figure 85. Foundation of the Third Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

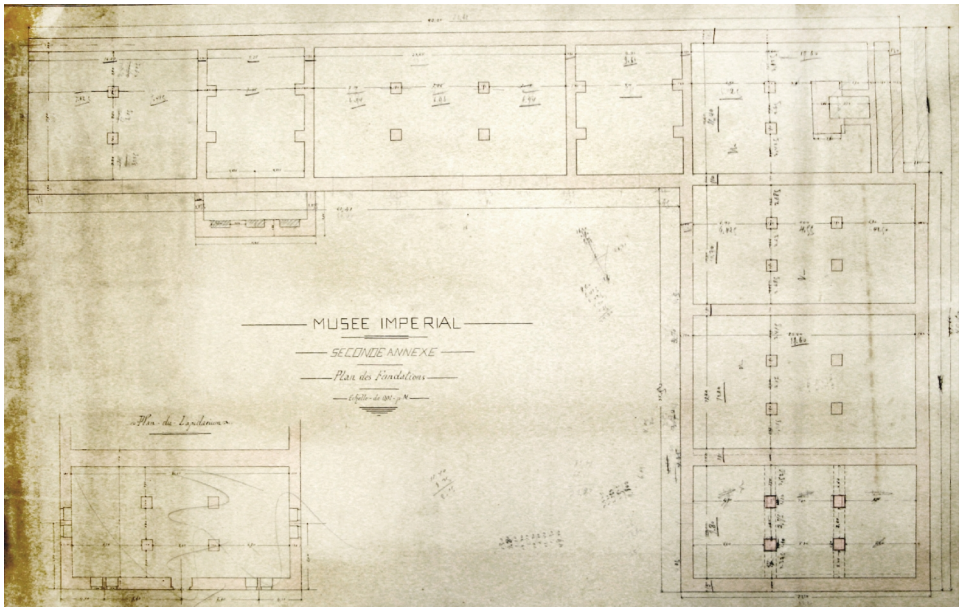


Figure 86. *Lapidarium* Drawn on the Third Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

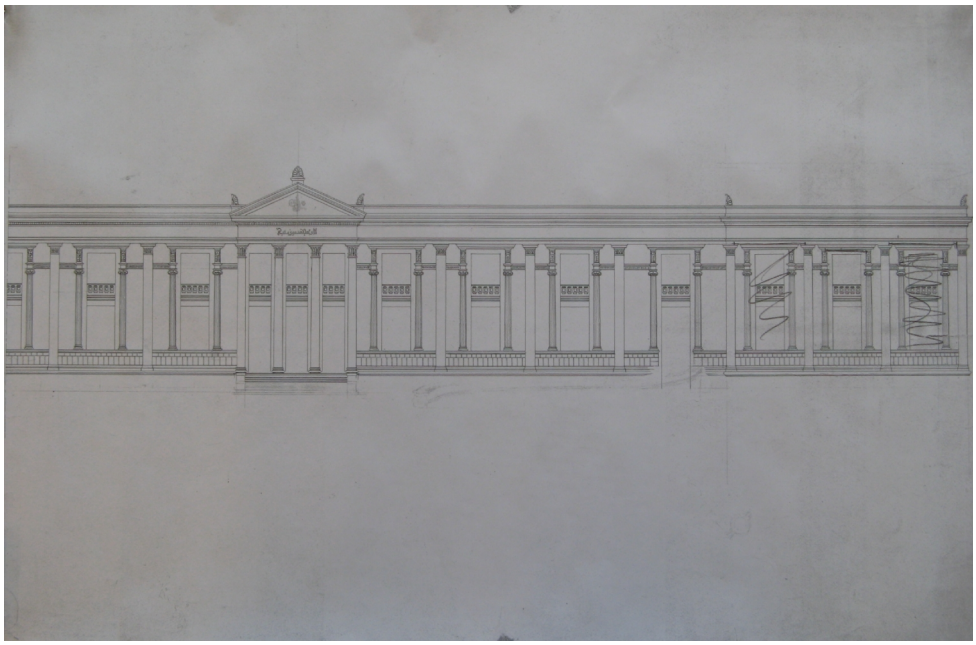


Figure 87. Façade of the Museum Building
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

Figure 88.Sirkeci Station by Jacmund (1889)
Çelik, Zeynep. 2005. *Şark'ın Sergilenişi: 19. Yüzyıl Dünya Fuarlarında İslam Mimarisi*. Translated by Nurettin Elhüseyni, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 172.

Figure 89. The Tiled Pavilion and the Ottoman Imperial Museum
Source: *La Turquie Kemaliste*

Figure 90. Entrance of the Museum Building
Source: Author's Archive

Figure 91 Exterior Façade of the Museum Building
Source: Author's Archive

Figure 92 Exterior Façade of the Museum Building
Source: Author's Archive

Figure 93. The Order of Architectural Elements
Source: Author's Archive

Figure 94. The Sarcophagus of Mourning Ladies
Source: Mendel, Gustave. 1912. *Catalogue des Sculptures: Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines*. Constantinople: Musees Imperıiaux Ottomans.

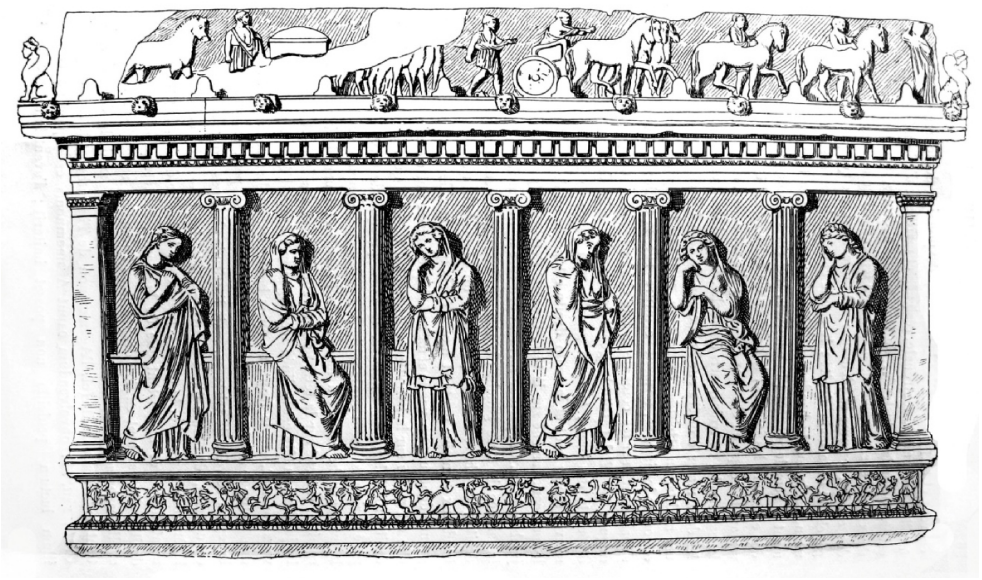


Figure 95. The Sarcophagus of the Mourning Ladies
Source: Mendel, Gustave. 1912. *Catalogue des Sculptures: Grecques, Romaines et Byzantines*. Constantinople: Musees Imperıiaux Ottomans.

Figure 96. Alexandre Vallaury (The Third From Left)
Source:Millas, Akylas. 2006. *Pera: The Crossroads of Constantinople*. Athens: Militos.

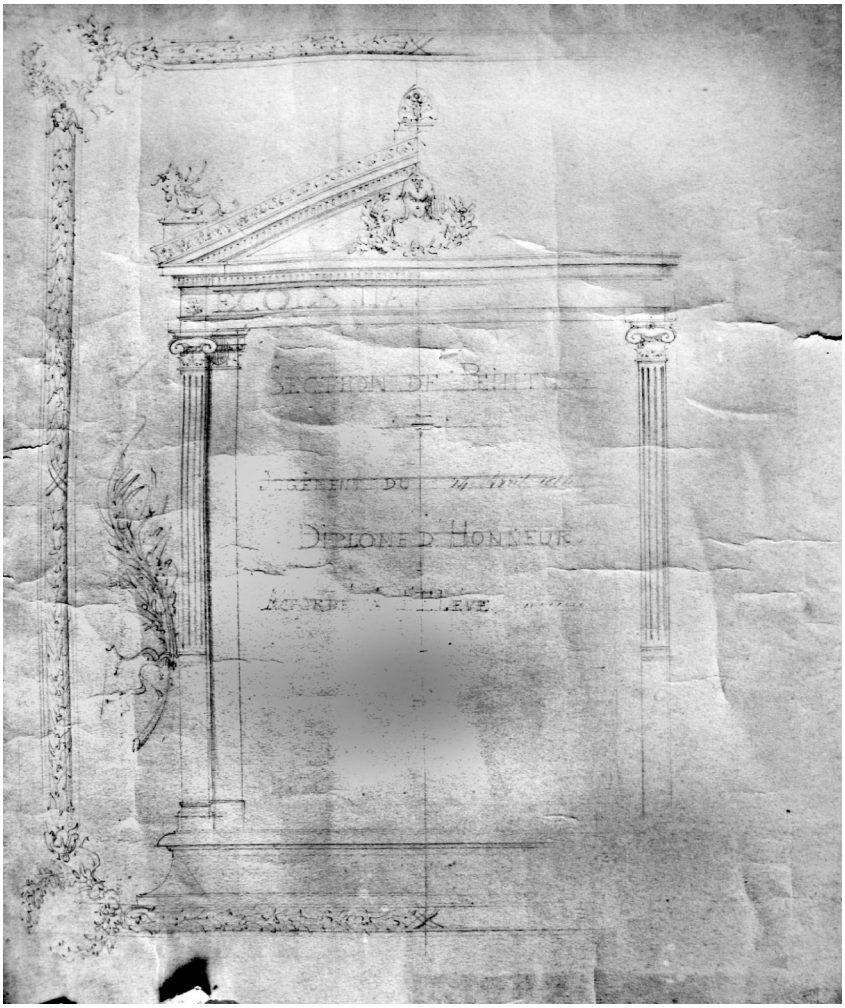


Figure 97. A. Vallaury's Sketch for a Facade
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

Figure 98. Exterior View of the School of Fine Arts
Source: Author's Archive

Figure 99. The School of Fine Arts
Source: Mansel, Arif Müfid. 1960. "Osman Hamdi Bey." *Belleten* 24 (94).

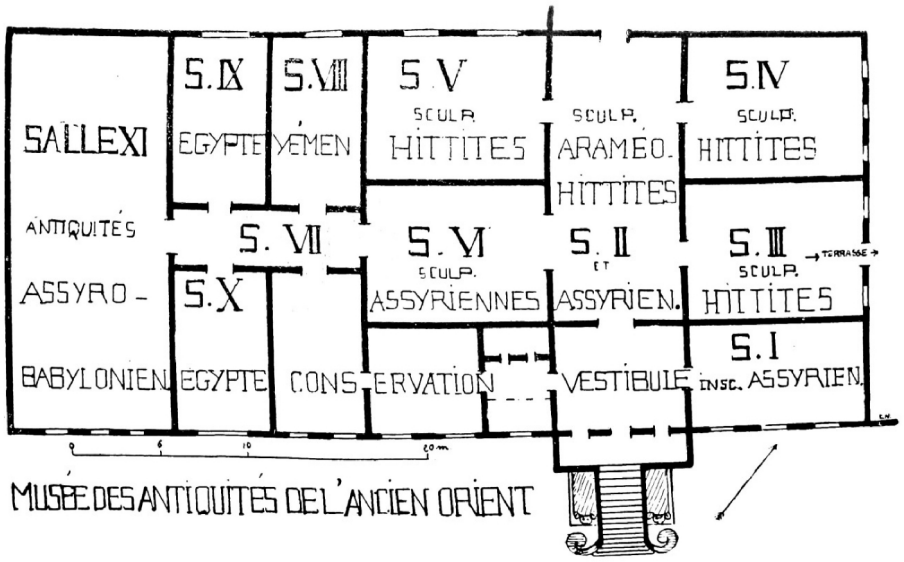


Figure 100. Plan of the School of Fine Arts
Source: Musees Des Antiquites de Stamboul. 1926. *Guide Sommaire: Antiquites Assyro-Babyloniennes*. Constantinople: Imprimerie Nationale.

Figure 101. Exterior View of the School of Fine Arts
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

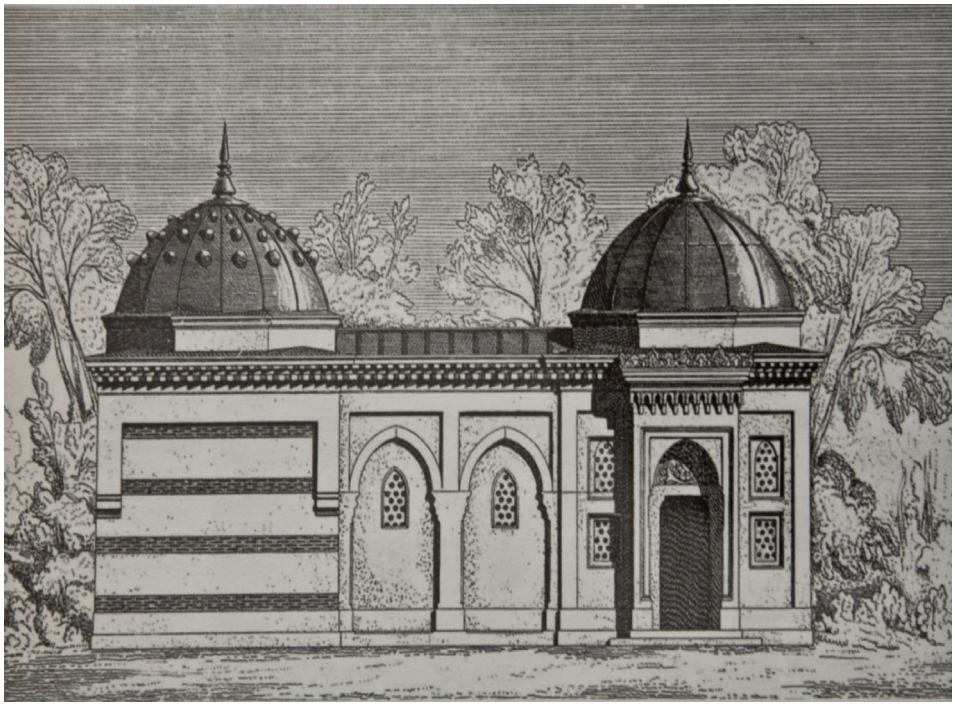


Figure 102. L. Parville's Project for Paris Expo in 1867
Source: Çelik, Zeynep. 2005. *Şark'ın Sergilenişi: 19. Yüzyıl Dünya Fuarlarında İslam Mimarisi*. Translated by Nurettin Elhüseyni, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 112.

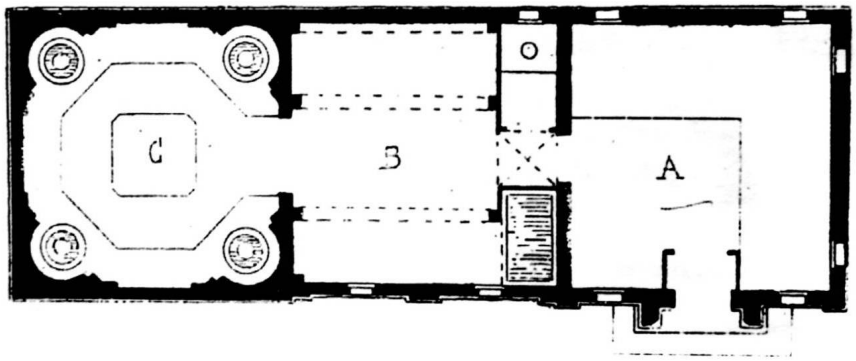


Figure 103. L. Parville's Project for Paris Expo in 1867
Source: Çelik, Zeynep. 2005. *Şark'ın Sergilenişi: 19. Yüzyıl Dünya Fuarlarında İslam Mimarisi*. Translated by Nurettin Elhüseyni, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 112.

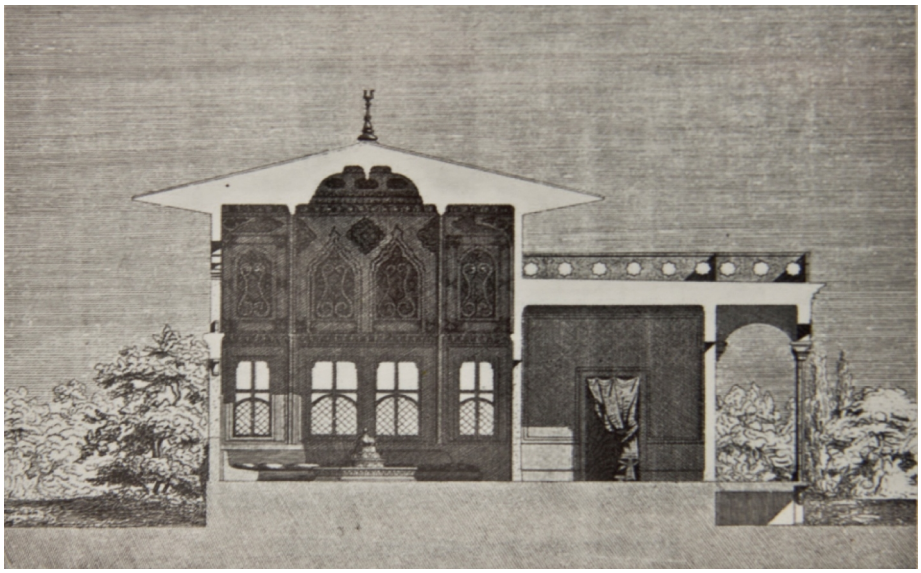


Figure 104. L. Parville's Project for Paris Expo in 1867
Source: Çelik, Zeynep. 2005. *Şark'ın Sergilenişi: 19. Yüzyıl Dünya Fuarlarında İslam Mimarisi*. Translated by Nurettin Elhüseyni, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 110.

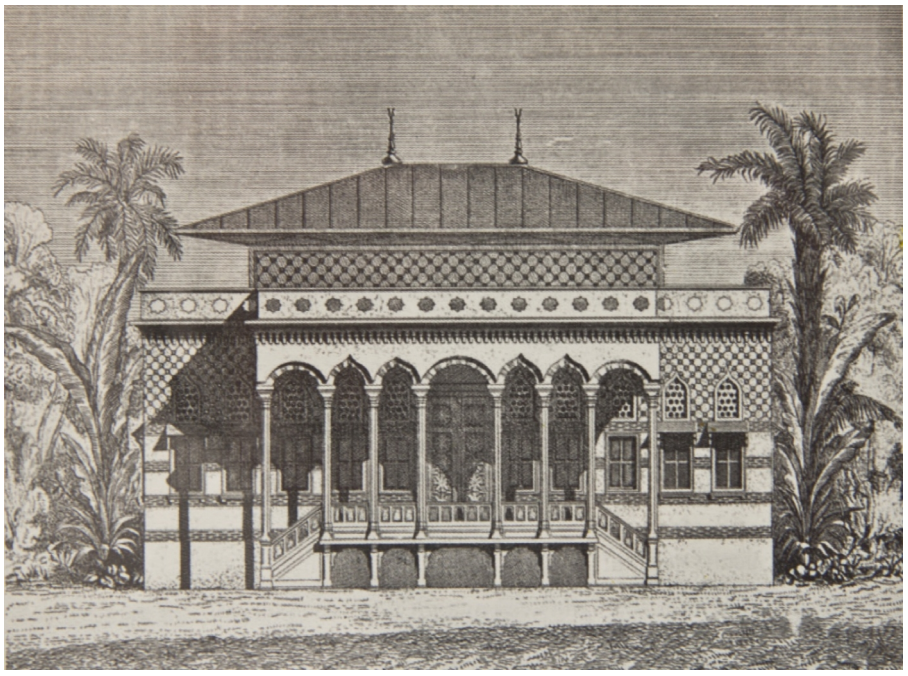


Figure 105. L. Parville's Project for Paris Expo in 1867
Source: Çelik, Zeynep. 2005. *Şark'ın Sergilenişi: 19. Yüzyıl Dünya Fuarlarında İslam Mimarisi*. Translated by Nurettin Elhüseyni, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 110.

Figure 106 The Greek Orthodox Cemetery of Şişli
Source: Millas, Akylas. 2006. *Pera: The Crossroads of Constantinople*. Athens: Militos.

Figure 107.The Interior View of the Museum Building
Source: Author's Archive

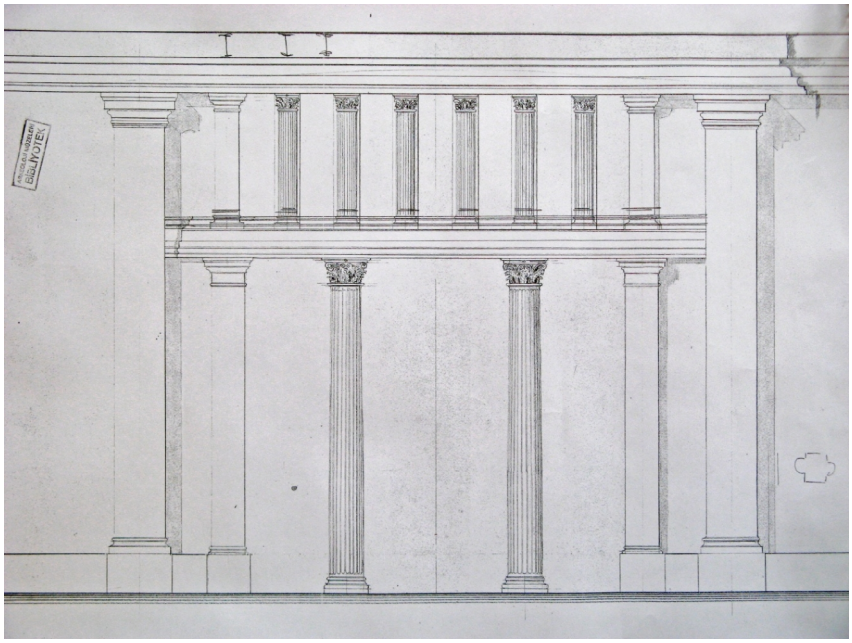


Figure 108. Sketch of the Interior
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

Figure 109. Interior of the Museum Building Showing the Collections
Source: Edhem, Halil. 1909. *Das Osmanische Antiken Museum in Konstantinopel*. Liepzig.

Figure 110. Interior of the Museum Building Showing the Collections
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 111. Interior of the Museum Building Showing the Collections
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

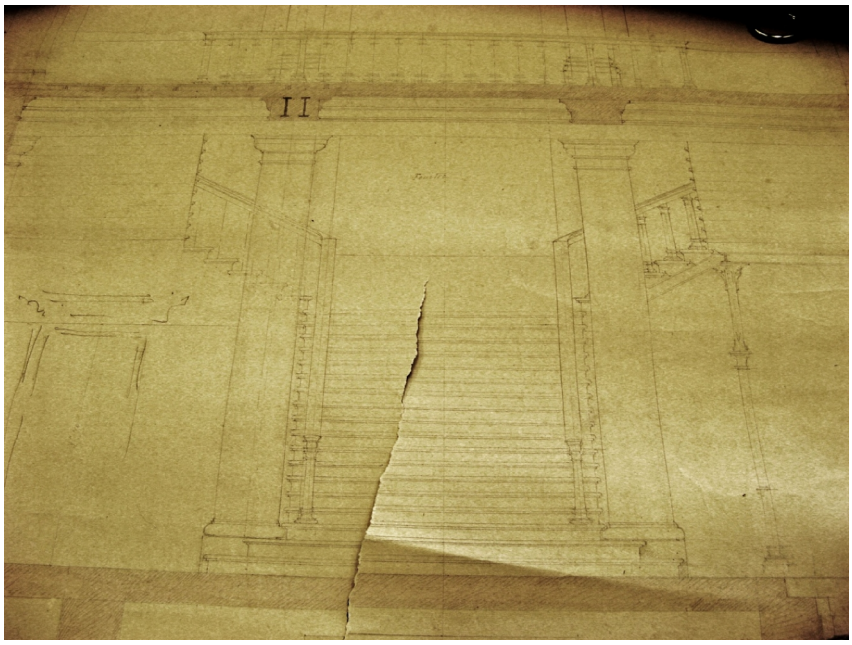


Figure 112. Drawing of the Staircases
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

Figure 113. Staircases of the Museum Building
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 114. Staircases of the Museum Building
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 115. Collections of the Second Museum Building
Source: Edhem, Halil. 1909. *Das Osmanische Antiken Museum in Konstantinopel*. Liepzig.

Figure 116. Library Planned on the Second Museum Building
Source: Edhem, Halil. 1909. *Das Osmanische Antiken Museum in Konstantinopel*. Liepzig.

Figure 117. Sarcophaguses on Display in the Museum Building
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archiv

Figure 118. Interior of the Museum Building Showing the Collections
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 119. Interior of the Museum Building Showing the Collections
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 120. Interior of the Museum Building Showing the Collections
Source: Edhem, Halil. 1909. *Das Osmanische Antiken Museum in Konstantinopel*. Liepzig.

Figure 121. Interior of the Museum Building Showing the Collections
Source: Edhem, Halil. 1909. *Das Osmanische Antiken Museum in Konstantinopel*. Liepzig.

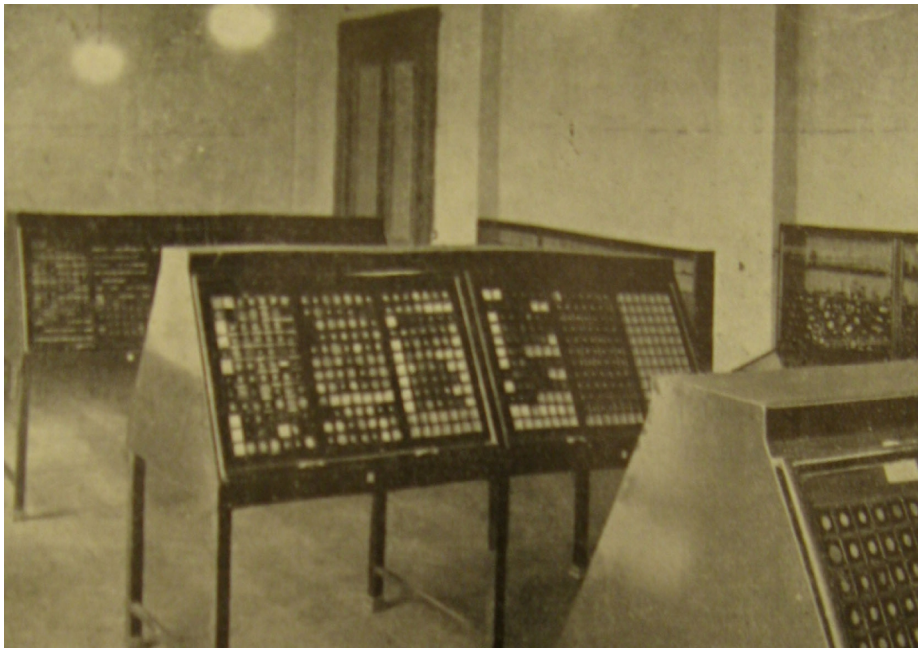


Figure 122.Numismatics Room in the Second Museum Building
Source: *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı*. 1937.

Figure 123. Interior of the Museum Building Showing the Collections

Figure 124. *Imaret* of the Süleymaniye Külliye
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

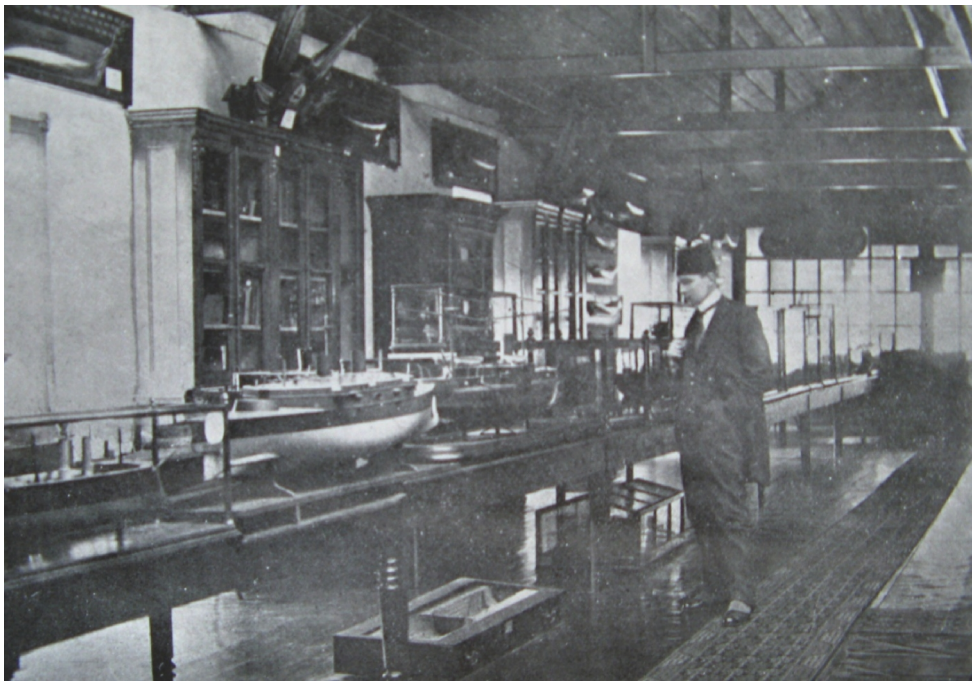


Figure 125a: The Naval Museum
Source: Ali Sami (Boyar). 1917. *Bahriye Müzesi Kataloğu*. İstanbul:Matbaa-yı Bahriye.

Figure 125b. Exterior View of the Naval Museum
Source: Ali Sami (Boyar). 1917. *Bahriye Müzesi Kataloğu*. İstanbul:Matbaa-yı Bahriye.

Figure 125c. Building of the Naval Museum
Source: Ali Sami (Boyar). 1917. *Bahriye Müzesi Kataloğu*. İstanbul:Matbaa-yı Bahriye.

Figure 126. The Military Museum
Source: Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang, Renate Schiele, and Wolf Schiele. 1977. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn d. 17. Jh*, unter Mitarb. von Renate u. Wolf Schiele; mit e. Beitr. von Nezih Fıratlı Tübingen: Wasmuth.

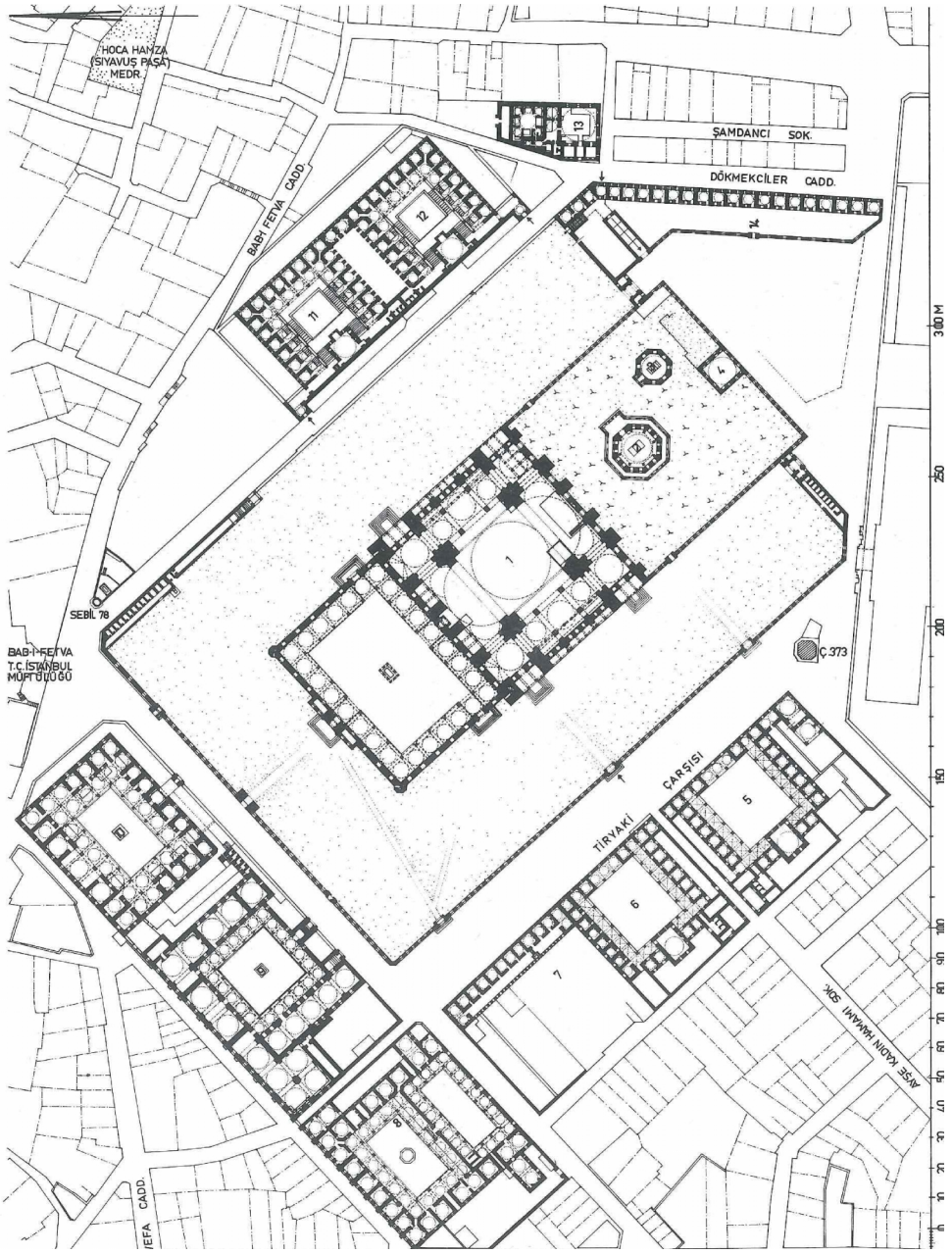


Figure 127. Plan of the Süleymaniye Külliye
Source: Müller-Wiener, Wolfgang, Renate Schiele, and Wolf Schiele. 1977. *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn d. 17. Jh*, unter Mitarb. von Renate u. Wolf Schiele; mit e. Beitr. von Nezih Fıratlı Tübingen: Wasmuth.

Figure 128.Exterior of the Museum of Pious Foundations
Source: Author's Archive

Figure 129. Entrance of the Museum of Pious Foundations
Source: Author's Archive

Figure 130. Interior of the Museum of Pious Foundations
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

Figure 131. Interior of the Museum of Pious Foundations
Source: İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

Figure 132 Courtyard of the Museum of Pious Foundations
Source: Author's Archive

Figure 133.Interior View of the Museum of Pious Foundations
Source: Author's Archive

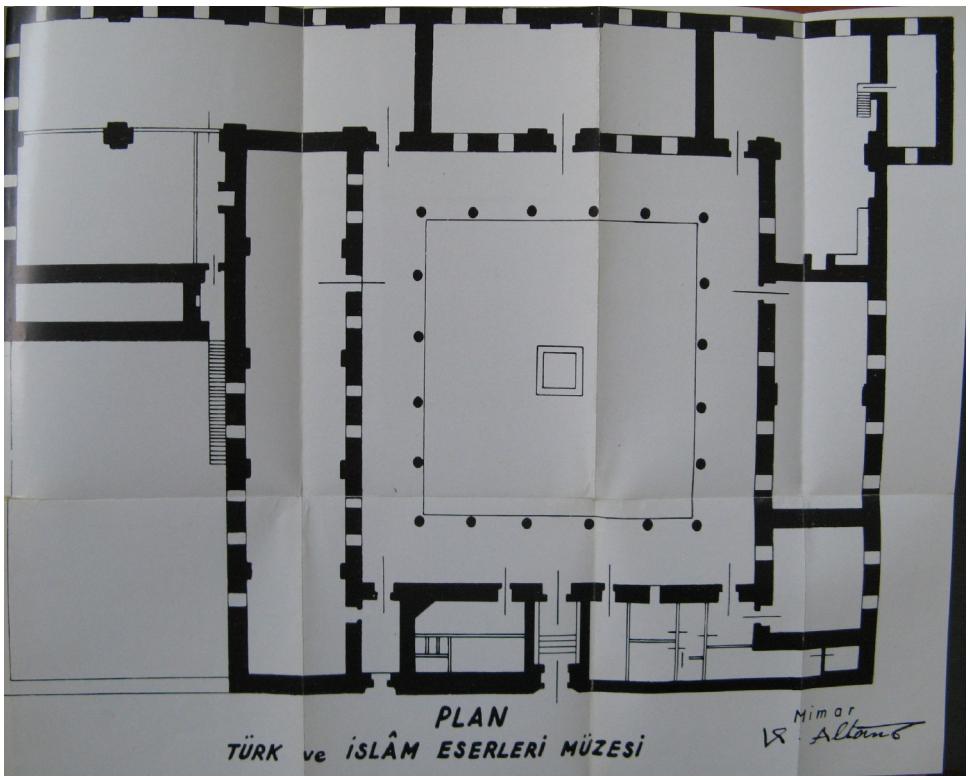


Figure 134. Plan of the Museum of Pious Foundations
Source: Turkey. Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi. 1939. *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi*. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi.

Figure 135. Interior of the Museum of Pious Foundations
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 136. Pool in the Courtyard of the Museum
Source: Turkey. Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi. 1939. *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi*. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi.

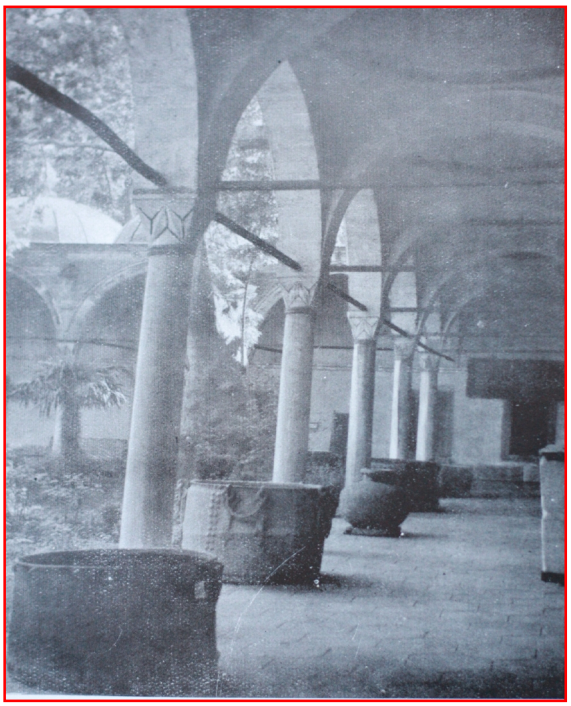


Figure 137. Galleries of the Museum of Pious Foundations
Source: Turkey. Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi. 1939.
Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi.

Figure 138. Courtyard of the Museum of Pious Foundations
Source: Deutsche Archäologisches Institut / İstanbul, Photo Archives

Figure 139. Central Area and Galleries for Display of the Museum of Pious Foundations
Source: Turkey. Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi. 1939. *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi*. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi.

Figure 140. Interior Showing Collections of the Museum
Source: Turkey. Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi. 1939. *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi*. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi.

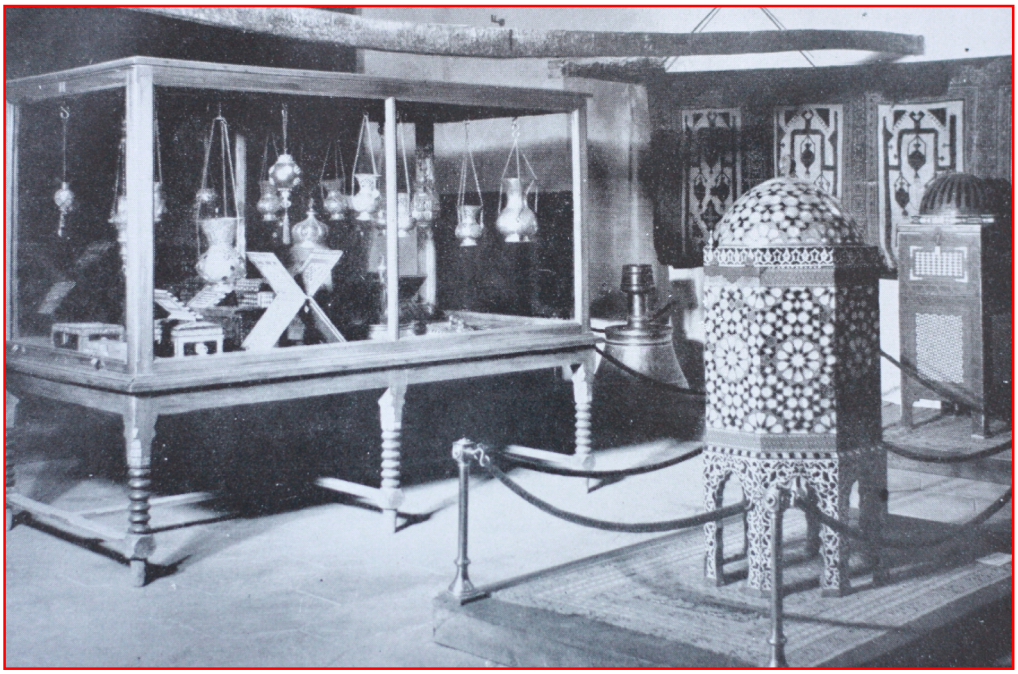


Figure 141. Collections Displayed in the Museum
Source: Turkey. Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi. 1939. *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi*. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi.

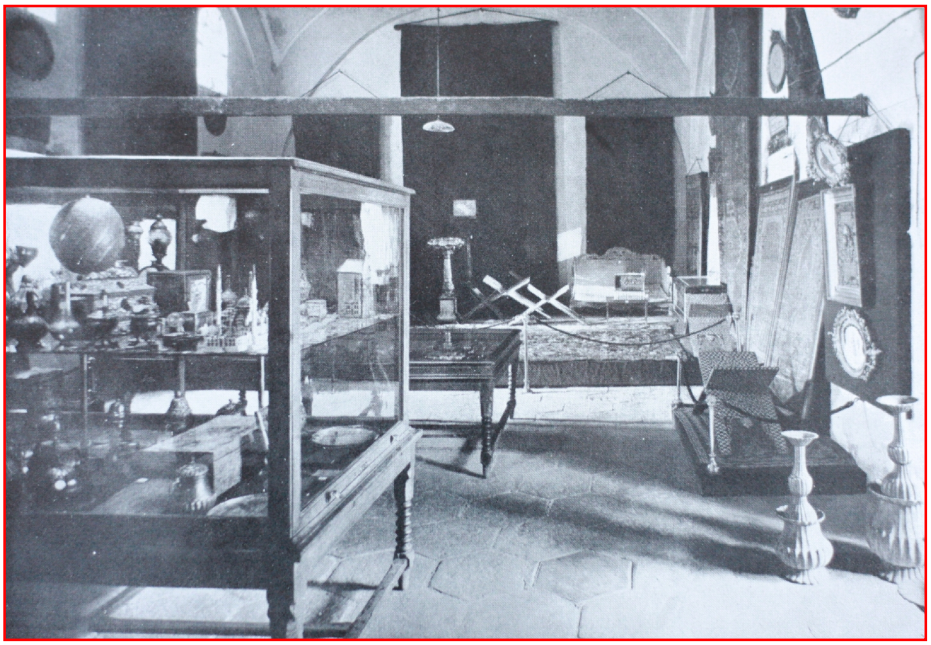


Figure 142. Collections Displayed in the Museum
Source: Turkey. Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi. 1939. *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi*. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi.

Figure 143. Collections Displayed in the Museum
Source: Turkey. Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi. 1939. *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi*. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi.

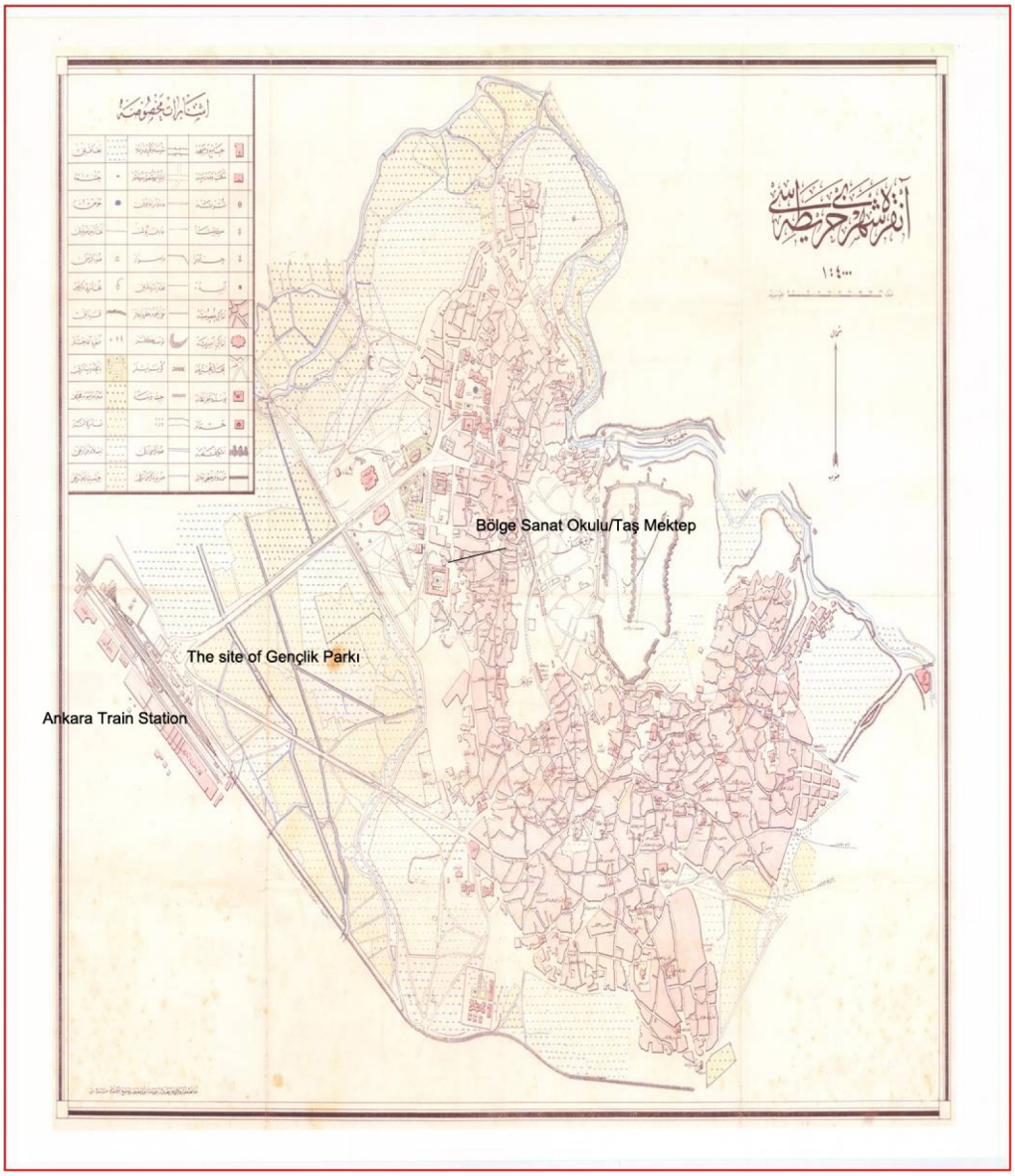


Figure 144. City Plan of Ankara showing the Muslim Cemetery on the Namazgah Hill.
Source: Gökçe Günel Archive

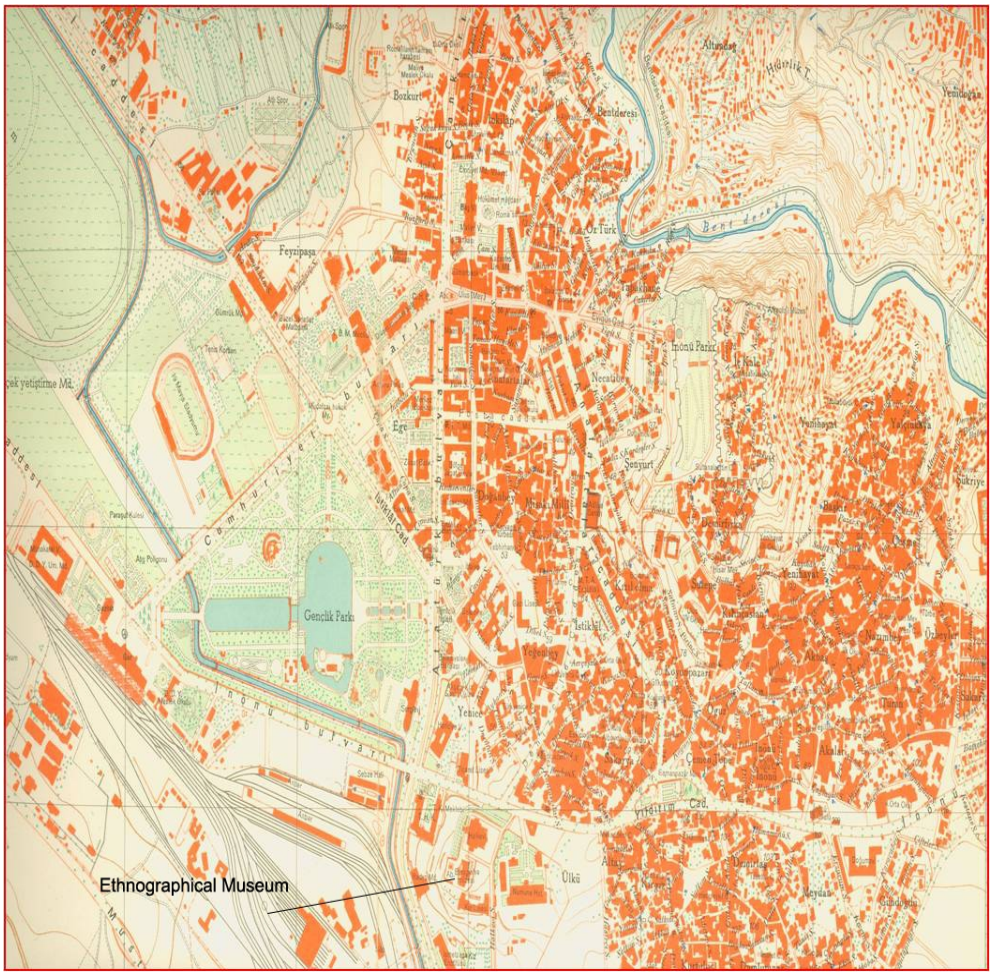


Figure 145. Ankara City Plan Showing Namazgah Hill and its Vicinity
Source: VEKAM

Figure 146. View from the *Sebze Hali*
Source: VEKAM

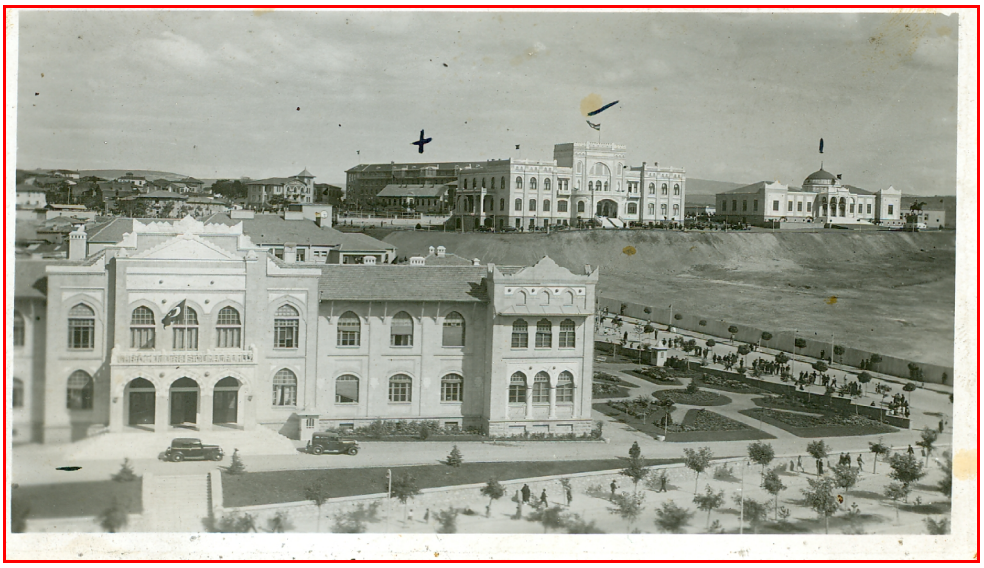


Figure 147. Grading Flat of the Rocky Land in front of the Ethnographical Museum
Source: VEKAM

Figure 148. *Taş Mektep* and the Muslim Cemetery
Source: VEKAM

Figure 149. The Namazgah Hill
Source: VEKAM

Figure 150. Ankara View from the Ankara Ethnographical Museum through the Direction of North West.
Source: *La Turquie Kemaliste* April 1936.12

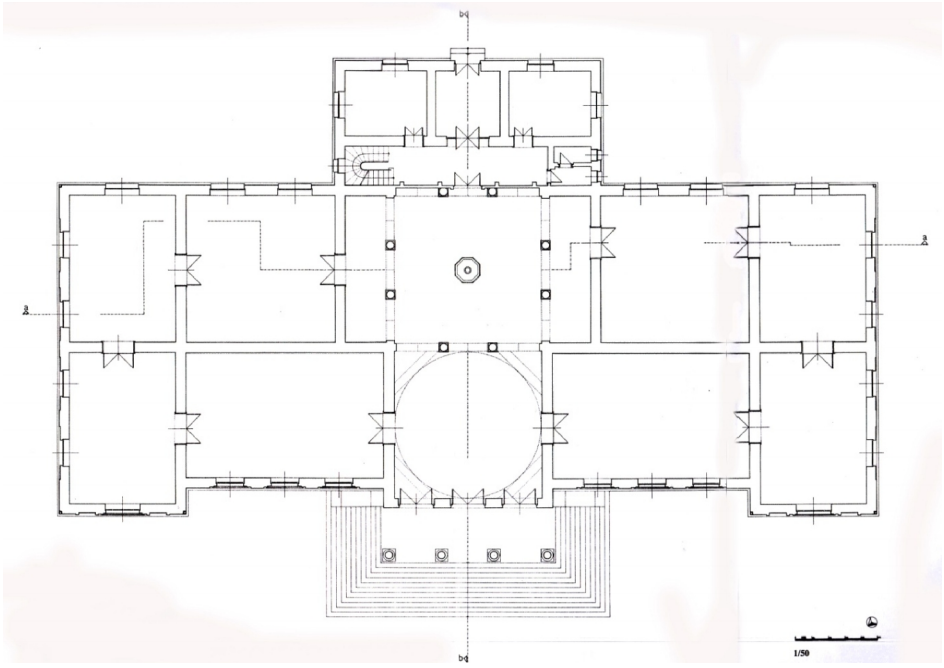


Figure 151. Plan of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum
Source: Çuha, Nilgün. 2004. *T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü ve Etnoğrafya Müzesi Binalarına Restitütif Bir Yaklaşım*. [Y. y. : s.n., t. y.]

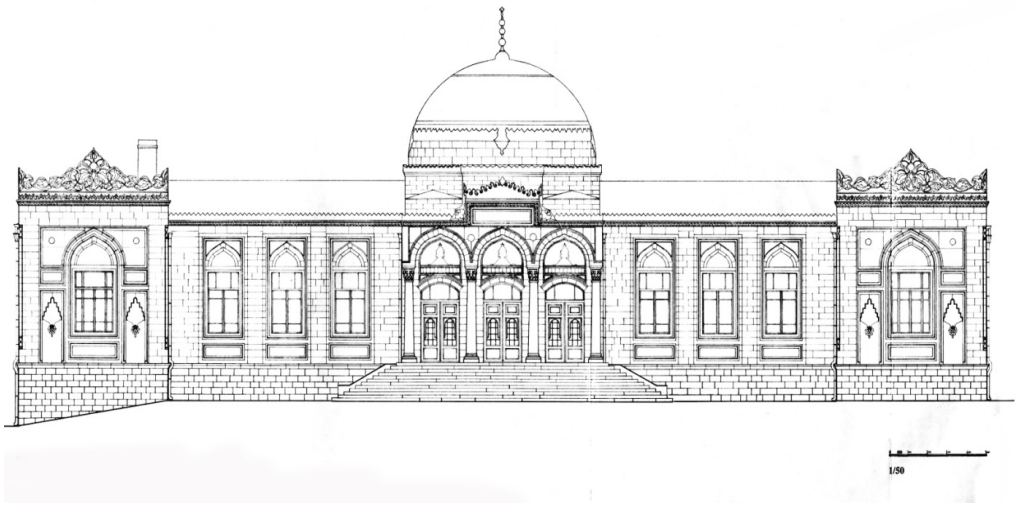


Figure 152. Main Façade of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum
Source: Çuha, Nilgün. 2004. *T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü ve Etnoğrafya Müzesi Binalarına Restitütif Bir Yaklaşım*. [Y. y. : s.n., t. y.]

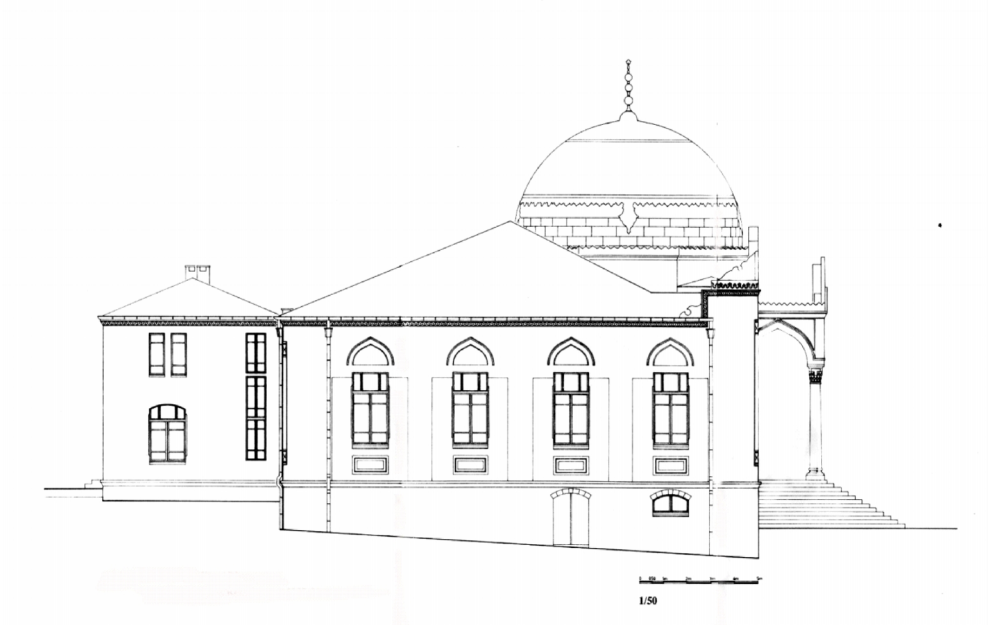


Figure 153 Lateral Façade of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum
Source: Çuha, Nilgün. 2004. *T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü ve Etnoğrafya Müzesi Binalarına Restitütif Bir Yaklaşım*. [Y. y. : s.n., t. y.]

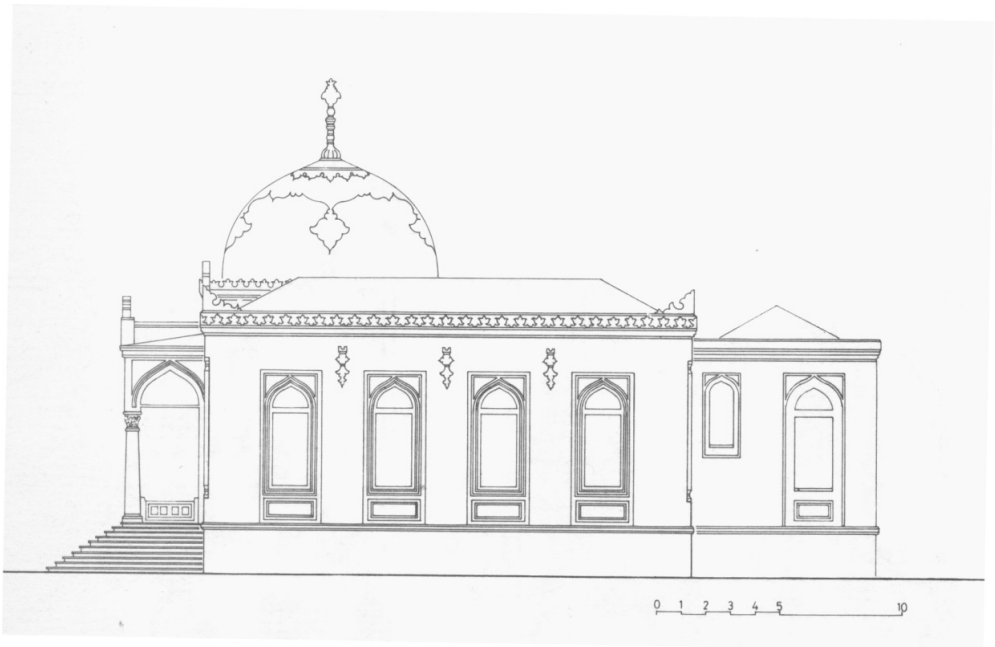


Figure 154. Lateral Façade of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum
Source: Çuha, Nilgün. 2004. *T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü ve Etnoğrafya Müzesi Binalarına Restitütif Bir Yaklaşım*. [Y. y. : s.n., t. y.]

Figure 155. Back Elevation of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum
Source: Çuha, Nilgün. 2004. *T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü ve Etnoğrafya Müzesi Binalarına Restitütif BirYaklaşım*. [Y. y. : s.n., t. y.]

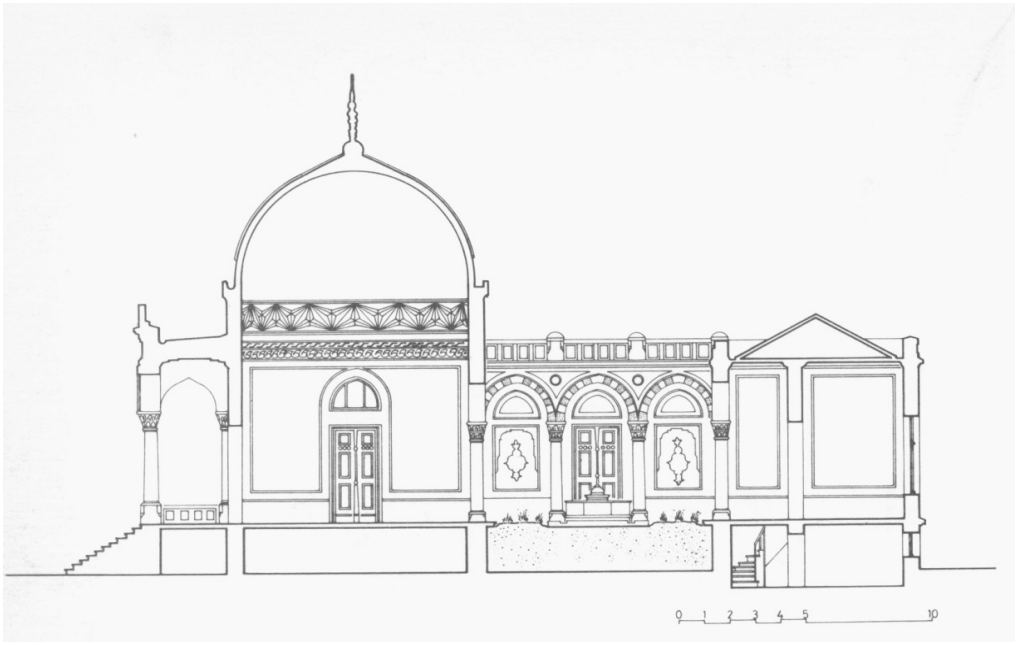


Figure 156. Section of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum
Source: Çuha, Nilgün. 2004. *T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü ve Etnoğrafya Müzesi Binalarına Restitütif BirYaklaşım*. [Y. y. : s.n., t. y.]

Figure 157. The Ankara Ethnographical Museum under construction.
Source: VEKAM

Figure 158. The Ankara Ethnographical Museum after it was opened to Public.
Source: VEKAM

Pazartesi 14 SONTEŞRİN 1938 — 5 KURUŞ

Ulus Basımevi Çankırı Caddesi, Ankara — Telgraf : Ulus - Ankara — TELEFON — İdare 1064

ULUS

ADIMIZ ANDIMIZDIR

MİLLİ YASIN 5 İNCİ GÜNÜ

Tören programı hazırlandı

Büyük Şef'in cenazesi kendisine lâyık Anıt - Kabir yapılıncıya kadar Etnoğrafya müzesinde kalacaktır

Millî cenaze töreni hazırlığı

KAMUTAY BUGÜN TOPLANIYOR

Büyük Şef'imiz Atatürk'ün ayın 21 inde yapılacak cenaze töreni programını hazırlamakla meşgul olan komisyon, dün öğleden evel saat onda, Hariciye Vekâleti Genel Sekreteri B. Numan Menemencioğlu'nun reisliğinde toplanmış ve saat 14 de kadar çalışmıştır.

Çalıştan sonra Cümhurreisi İnönü'nün evinde toplanan kabine içtimamda bulunan Hariciye Vekili B. Şükrü Saraçoğlu saat 18 de Menemencioğlu'nun evine gelmiş ve komisyonun mesaisiyle alâkadar olarak izahat almıştır. Bir müddet sonra Başvekilimiz Celâl Bayar da gelerek aynı mevzu üzerindeki kararlar gözden geçirilmiştir.

Hükümet, bir millî matem havası içinde yapacağımız Ebedî Şef'imiz Atatürk'ün cenaze töreni için sarfı zarurî parayı temin maksadiyle bir kanun projesi hazırlıyarak Kamutay'a takdim etmiştir.

Hükümet bu proje ile cenaze töreni masraflarını sarfa mezuniyet istemektedir.

Müstaceliyetle müzakeresi talep edilen projeyi, bugün saat onda toplanacak olan bütçe encümeni tetkik edecek ve mazbatasını hazırlıyarak ög-

(Sonu 9 uncu sayfada)

Bütçe Encümeni

Kamutay Bütçe Encümeni bugün saat onda toplanacaktır. Azanın bu saatte bulunması rica edilmektedir.

Büyük Şef'in yüksek şahsiyetine lâyık ve türk milletinin minnet ve şükranını ifade edebilecek büyüklükte anıt - kabir inşa edilinciye kadar cenazesi muhafaza edileceği Etnografya müzesi

Vekiller Heyeti dün Cümhurreisinin reisliğinde toplandı

Vekiller Heyeti bugün öğleden sonra Cümhur Reisi İsmet İnönü'nün Çankaya'daki evinde ve riyasetlerinde toplanmıştır. Toplantı iki saat kadar devam etmiştir. Toplantıdan sonra Başvekil, yanında vekiller olduğu halde köşklerine dönmüşlerdir.

Etnografya müzesinden Ankara'nın görünüşü

Muzaffer bir kumandan, dürüst ve samimi bir siyaset adamı: İSMET İNÖNÜ

YABACI GAZETELERİN YAZDIKLARI

Atatürk'ün yorulmak bilmez mesai arkadaşı, memleketi için harpta olduğu kadar sulhta da çalışan Sayın İsmet İnönü'nün Cümhurreisliğine seçilmesi, bütün yabancı memleketler gazetelerinde derin akisler uyandırmıştır. Sayın İnönü'nün tercümeihalini takdirkâr cümlelerle belirten bu gazeteler, onun başlıca meziyetlerini tebarüz ettiriyorlar: Dürüstlük, samimilik ve istikamet .

Gazeteler, Cümhurreisliğine İnönü'nün seçilmesinin, Atatürk'ün eserine bundan sonra da aynı hız ve şekilde devam edileceğinin en iyi teminatı olduğunu bu seçimin, Türkiyenin uğradığı kayıbın tesellisini teşkil ettiğini yazıyorlar. (Yazısı 3 üncüde)

BUGÜN

2 incide : Başyazımız — Hasan Âli Yücel, Naci Ali Küçüka, Burhan Belge, Nurettin Artam'ın yazıları

3 üncüde: İbrahim Necmi Dilmen, A. Ş. Esmer'in yazıları.

4 üncüde: Fazıl Ahmet Aykaç, Refik İnce'nin yazıları.

5 incide : Nasuhi Baydar, Ferit Celâl Güven, Kemal Zeki Gencosman'ın yazıları

6 ncıda : Bütün memleketin yas

7 incide : Kemalizm - Lâ Mus mecmuasında çıkan bir yazı.

8 incide : Büyük yasımız ve yabancı basın.

Büyük yasımız ve dünya basını

Atatürk ebedî uykusunu müsterih olarak uyuyabilir

Zira eserinin dirilen milletine saadet yolunu açtığını biliyordu

Bütün dünya gazeteleri, Türkiye'nin uğradığı acı kayıbın yasına iştirakte devam ediyorlar. Gazeteler her şeyden önce onun, çok sevdiği yurdu için yaptıklarını anlatmaktadırlar. İsveç gazeteleri bunu çok iyi ifade ediyorlar: "O olmasaydı, modern Türkiye de olmazdı. Fakat türkler O'nun fevkalâde eserini takip ederek itibarlarını daha fazla arttıracaklardır...

Atatürk'ün yalnız memleketinde değil, bütün dünyada bıraktığı büyük boşluğu bir bulgar gazetesi şu dikkate şayan cümle ile ifade etmektedir: "Bu müstesna ve büyük adamın ölümünden sonra, dünya artık eskisi kadar enteresan değildir...,,

Fakat bütün gazetelerin birleştikleri bir nokta vardır ki o da, Atatürk'ün yarattığı genç Türkiye'nin, onun çizdiği yoldan ayrılmıyacağıdır. Bunu da bir macar gazetesi şöyle anlatıyor: "Atatürk, ebedi uykusunu müsterih olarak uyuyabilir. Zira O, yarattığı eserin dirilen milletine saadet yolu açtığını biliyordu...,,

(Yazısı 8. inci sayfamızda)

Macar Senato ve parlâmentosunda

Atatürk için tazim ve taziz celsesi yapıldı

Budapeşte, 13 a.a. — Macar Telgraf ajansı bildiriyor:

Mebusan ve âyan meclisleri bugünkü celselerinin başlangıcını Atatürk'ün hâtırasını tazize tahsis etmişlerdir. Mebusan meclisinde, reis Kornis ayağa kalkarak demiştir ki:

"— Atatürk, Türkiye'nin siyasî, içtimaî, askerî, iktisadî, idarî ve kültürel hayatını baştan başa değiştirmiştir. Atatürk modern bir millet yaratmış, terakki edebilecek bir devlet kur-

(Sonu 9. uncu sayfada)

İSTANBUL'UN HINÇKIRIKLARI

Yüksek tahsil gençliği

Taksim anıtında hazin ve içli bir tören yapıldı

İstanbul, 13 (Telefonla) — İstanbul yüksek tahsil gençliği, Atatürk'ün ebediyen aramızdan ayrılmasi dolayısiyle duyduğu derin acıyı ifade etmek için cumartesi günü üniversite konferans salonunda göz yaşları arasında bir toplantı yapmış ve bugün için âbide önünde tezahürler yapılması kararlaşmıştı.

(Sonu 9 uncu sayfada)

Figure 159. Newspaper Report on Atatürk's Burial in the Museum.
Source: *Ulus Newspaper*. 10 November 1938.

Figure 160. Temporary Tombs of Atatürk
Source: VEKAM

Figure 161. Temporary Tomb of Atatürk
Source: VEKAM

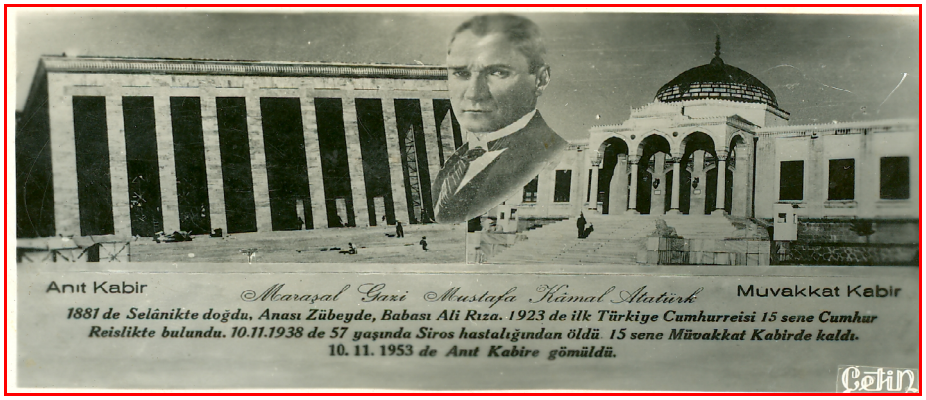


Figure 162. Permanent and Temporary Tombs of Atatürk
Source: VEKAM

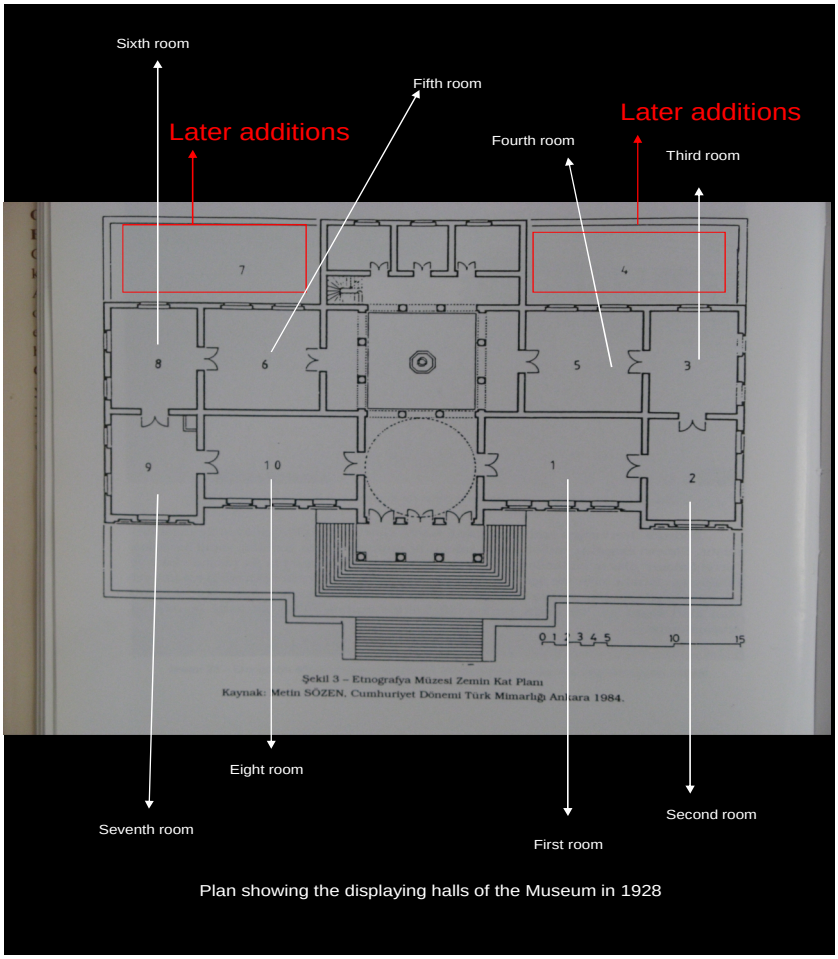


Figure 163. Plan Showing Displaying Halls in the Museum (1928).
Source: Çuha, Nilgün. 2004. *T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü ve Etnoğrafya Müzesi Binalarına Restitütif Bir Yaklaşım*. [Y. y. : s.n., t. y.]

Figure 164. First Hall of the Museum (1928)
Source: Halil, Ahmet. 1928. "Etnoğrafya Müzemiz." *Hayat Mecmuası* 5 (108).

Figure 165. Views of Collections of the Museum (1928)
Source: Halil, Ahmet. 1928. "Etnoğrafya Müzemiz." *Hayat Mecmuası* 5 (108).

Figure 166. Photographs Showing Collection of the Museum (1928)
Source: Halil, Ahmet. 1928. “Etnoğrafya Müzemiz.”
Hayat Mecmuası 5 (108).

Figure 167. Photographs Showing Collection of the Museum (1928)
Source: Halil, Ahmet. 1928. "Etnoğrafya Müzemiz."
Hayat Mecmuası 5 (108).

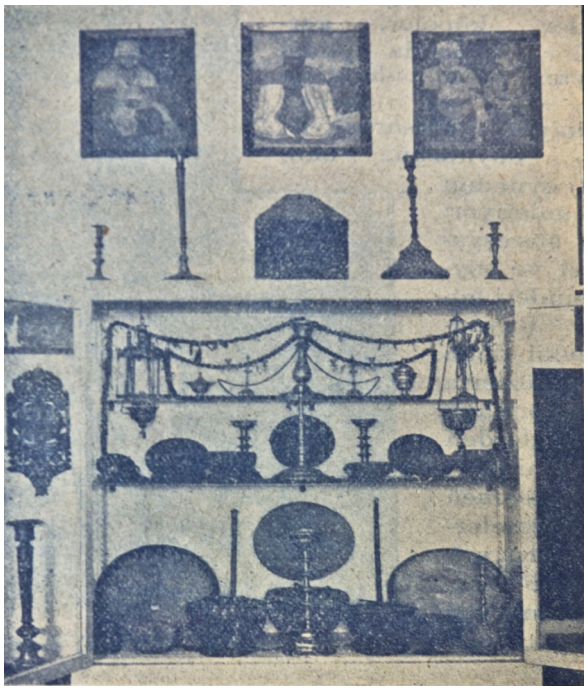


Figure 168. Photographs Showing Collection of the Museum (1928)
Source: Halil, Ahmet. 1928. "Etnoğrafya Müzemiz."
Hayat Mecmuası 5 (108).

Figure 169. *Akkale* Bastion at the Ankara Castle used as Museum Storage.
Source: VEKAM

Figure 170.The Ankara Ethnographical Museum under Construction
Source: VEKAM

Figure 171. The Turkish Heart Building next to the Ethnographical Museum
Source: VEKAM

Figure 172. Main Entrance of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum.
Source: VEKAM

Figure 173. The Ankara Ethnographical Museum on a Postcard.
Source: VEKAM

Figure 174. Ankara Hacı Bayram Camii used as Museum Storage
Source: VEKAM

Figure 175. Non-implemented Complex Project (Museum, Library, Academy)

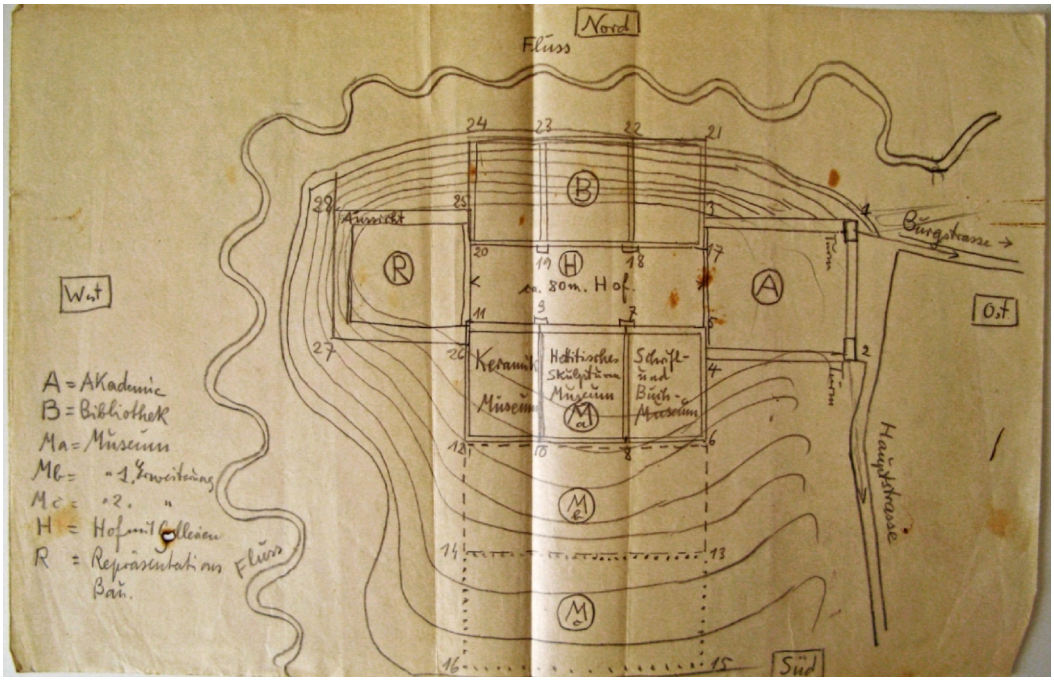


Figure 176. Plan of the Non-implemented Complex Project

Cumhuriyet 3

AFLAR

İzmir'de İki tevkif

Arapca ezan okuyan iki hoca tevkif edildi

İzmir 10 (A.A.)— İzmir'in Kahramanlar mahallesindeki cami minaresinde 5 şubat tarihinde arapça ezan okuyan meyzin Ömer Ef. ile gene aynı cami minaresinde evvelki gün arapça ezan okuduğu görülen Mustafa Avni Ef. müddeiumumilikçe tevkif edilmiştir.

Çankırı'da

Çankırı 10 (A.A.)— Bursa hâdisesi Çankırı'da derin nefretle karşılanmıştır.

Mersin'de

Mersin 10 (A.A.)— Bursa'da türkçe ezan için vaki olan hâdise bütün Mersin vilâyeti şehir ve kazaları halkı üzerinde büyük bir hayret ve nefret uyandırmıştır. Halk hâdiseyi ihdas ve buna iştirak edenleri şiddetle tel'in etmekte, mücrimlerin ağır surette cezalandırılmalarını beklemektedir. Halkımızın Cumhuriyet ve inkılâba olan sadakat ve merbutiyetini arz için büyüklerimize telgraflar çekilmiştir.

Hâdise her tarafta tel'in ediliyor

Kütahya 8 (A.A.)— Son Bursa hâdisesi münasebetile Kütahya'lıların duygularını ifade için Gazi Hz. ile Başvekil İsmet Pş. Hz. ne ve Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası Umumi kâtipliğine mühtelif teşekküller tarafından aşağıdaki telgraflar çekilmiştir:

«— İğri ruhlu bir kaç beyinsizin türkçe ezan vesilesile Bursa'da çıkartmak istediği hâdise muhitimizde lâyik olduğu nefretle karşılandı. Kütahya'lılar dini taklit ve görenek olmaktan kurtarmağa muvaffak olan son inkılâp hareketimizi bütün inkılâplarımız gibi çok yerinde ve öz duygularına uygun bulmuşlar ve benimsemişlerdir. Gençliğimizin ve halkımızın her ileri yürüyüşte hükûmet ve fırkamızla daima beraber olduğunu bir kere daha arzeder. içten gelen tazimlerimizi sunarız.»

Hafız Tevfik istiçvap ediliyor

Bursa 10 (Telefonla) — İstanbul'da tevkif edilen Ulucami sabık hatibi Hafız Tevfik Efendi bugün buraya getirilmiştir. Cuma olmasına rağmen kendisi akşam geç vakte kadar istiçvap edilmiştir.

Bugün tevkif edilmiş başka kimse yoktur.

İlecik ezanı değil, Kur'anı da Türkçe istiyor

Bilecik 10 (Hususi) — Bugün fırka, ve Belediyede binlerce halk, memurlar, sporcular, mekteplıler toplanarak Bursa'da yapılan irtica hâdisesini şiddetle tel'in etmişler ve mutuklar söylemişlerdir. Halk yalnız ezanın değil Kur'anın da türkçe olmasını istemiş ve bunu bir tazim telgrafile Gazi Hazretlerine arzetmiştir.

Gümüşane'lilerin asabiyeti

Gümüşane «Hususi» — Bursa'daki azı beyinsizlerin inkılâbımıza en el olmak gibi iğrenç hareketleri nefretlerle karşılandı. Halkevi önünde bu münasebetle büyük ve kalabalık bir miting yapan Gümüşane halkının coşkun tezahüratına ter - iman olan mühtelif halk hatipleri irtica hâdiseyi büyük asabiyetle tel'in ettikten sonra umumi arzu üzerine yüce sefirimiz Reisicumhur Hz. Büyük Millet Meclisine, Başvekâlete, İcra Vekillerine Gümüşane'lilerin Cumhuriyetimize karşı bağlılıklarını teyit ve müsebbiplerinin Cumhuriyetin çelik pençesinde kat'i âkibet'lerini beklediklerini telgrafla arz ve iblâğ eylemişlerdir. *Cemal*

Çin mahkemelerinin hakkı ve salâhiyet dairesi hakkında ittifak alâkadar memleketlerin müsellerile Nankin hükûmeti arasında mükâlemeler neticesinde verilen kararı mucibince nisanın birinci gününden itibaren üç sene temdit edilecek-

Ankara'da üç büyük irfan müessesesi...

Millî müze, millî kütüpane, ilimler ve san'atlar akademisi vücude getiriliyor

Ankara (Hususi)— Maarif Vekâleti Ankara'da tesisine karar verdiği milli müze, milli kütüpane ve ilimler ve san'atlar akademisine ait tetkikat ve hazırlıklarla meşguldür.

Vekâlet bu üç büyük milli irfan müessesesi için lâzım gelen tahsisatı Meclis tatil edilirken kabul edilen bir kanunla temin etmiş bulunmaktadır. Hususi idarelerin evvelce mevcut olan bir kanun mucibince beş sene zarfında Maarif vekâletine vermeğe mecbur oldukları yüzde onların bakiyesi olan paralardan iki milyon lira bu müesseselerin tesisine ve diğer bazı işlere sarfedilecektir.

Müze, kütüpane ve akademinin bir çatı altında inşası kararlaştırılmış ve binanın yeri de tayin edilmiştir. Bina Çankırı caddesi üzerinde yapılacaktır.

Müze, kütüpane ve akademi binasının ilk projesi yapılmıştır. Bu projeye göre bina müstatil bir avlunun etrafında muhtelif teşkilâttan mürekkep ve üç katlı olacaktır.

Binaya geniş bir merdivenle çıkılacaktır. Merdiven sahanlığının üstü örtülü olacak ve binanın bu kısmı Hitit üslûbunda iki büyük granit aslan heykeline istinat eden bir kemerle tutturulacaktır. Bundan başka binanın cephesi hafriyatta çıkan büyük Hitit kabartmaları ile süslenecektir.

Binanın birinci katında cepheye tesadüf eden kısımlar müze, kütüpane ve akademinin idari bürolarına tahsis edilecektir. Binanın ortasında mustatil şeklinde geniş bir avlu bulunacaktır. Avlunun etrafı üstü örtülü fakat yanları açık bir koridorla çevrelenecek ve bu koridor Türk tarihinin muhtelif safhalarını tesbit eden çini ve kabartmalarla kaplanacaktır. Aynı zamanda kabartmalar arasındaki boşluklara Türk tarihine hizmet etmiş Türk büyüklerinin büstleri konacaktır.

Binanın alt katı hemen tamamen müzeye tahsis edilmiştir. Yalnız iki büyük salondan biri konferans salonu, diğeri meşher ve neşriyat salonu olacaktır.

Milli müze, kütüpane ve ilimler ve san'atlar akademisinin teşkilâtı hakkında elde ettiğimiz malûmat şunlardır:

Milli müze

Milli müze bir Anadolu müzesi olacaktır. Fakat ihtiva edeceği eserlerin büyük kısmı Hitit eserleridir. Ankara bugün bile Hitit eserleri itibarile zengînlik ve ehemmiyette birinci gelen bir şehirdir. Müze binası yapıldıktan sonra İstanbul, Malatya, Maraş, Kayseri gibi muhtelif şehirlerdeki külliyetli Hitit eserleri Ankara'ya nakledilecektir.

Milli müze bu eserlerle büyük bir ehemmiyet alacak ve Ankara Hitit tarihi tetkikatı için dünyanın en mühim ilim merkezi olacaktır. Öyle ki Hititolog yetiştirmek istiyenler Ankara'da en az iki sene tetkikatta bulunmak mecburiyetinde kalacaklardır.

Müzenin üç büyük salonu olacaktır. Bunlardan birinde muhtelif Hitit yazıları, ikincisinde monümantal, abide tarzındaki Hitit eserleri, üçüncüsünde çanak, çömlek ve sair seramik eserler teşhir edilecektir. Bu üç salondan başka iki salon daha vardır ki bunlar Anadolu tarihini tamamlamak için vücude getirileceklerdir. Birincisi Hitit devrinden bugüne kadar olan zamana, ikincisi de yontma taş devrine ait eserleri ihtiva edecektir.

Milli kütüpane

Milli kütüpane bir milyon kitaplık olacaktır. Şimdilik yalnız 500 bin kitaplık tesisat yapılacak, bilâhara bu kâfi gelmediği takdirde ikinci 500 binlik tesisatı tamamlanacaktır.

Milli kütüpane en asrî bir şekilde yapılacaktır. Umuma mahsus büyük bir mütalea salonu, ilim erbabının ayrıca çalışabilecekleri küçük odalar, sigara içilebilecek mahaller bulunacaktır. Kütüpanenin kitap daireleri ile kataloğ daireleri her türlü yangın tehlikesine karşı teminatlı ve mahfuz olacaktır. Kataloğ dairesi ile üç büyük kitap deposunun irtibatı yalnız mihaniki olacak ve istenilen kitabın fişi hava borusu ile kitap Jeposuna gönderilecek ve kitap aynı suretle gelecektir.

İlimler ve san'atlar akademisi

Vekâlet Türkiye'de ilmin ve güzel san'atların ciddî bir surette inkişafı, bu yoldaki mesainin devletçe mükâfatlandırılması ve teşviki suretile mümkün olabileceği kanaatinde bulunduğundan akademinin tesisini çok lüzumlu görmektedir.

Akademinin dokuz şubesi olacaktır. Akademi azalarının nasıl intihap edileceği henüz tayin edilmemiştir. Vekâlet bu hususta tetkikatta bulunmaktadır. Şimdiden mukarrer olan cihet akademi azalarının mevcut ilim ve san'at adamları arasından gelişi güzel intihap edilmiyeceğidir. Akademi teşkilât ve nizamnameleri bizde henüz akademisyen evsafını haiz zevatın pek mahdut olduğu nazarı itibara alınarak tanzim edilecektir. Bu suretle akademinin tedrici bir surette tesisi ve teessüs ettikten sonra nasıl faaliyette bulunacağı mes'eleleri ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Vekâlet, birinci mes'ele hakkında kat'i kanaatlere maliktir. Akademi azalarının her halde çalıştığı ihtisas şubesinde ilmi kudret ve kabiliyetini tanıtmış, orijinal eserler vücude getirmiş zevat olmasına dikkat edilecektir. Akademinin mesai tarzına ve teşkilâtına gelince bu hususta başka memleketlerin tecrübelerinden istifade edilmek üzere tetkikat yapılmaktadır. Vekâlet kendi tetkikatını tamik için Avrupa'daki talebe müfettişlerini bulundukları memleketlerdeki akademilerin teşkilât ve mesai tarzları etrafında malumat istihsaline memur etmiştir.

Bu tetkikat bittikten sonra akademi teşkilât hakkında bir kanun lâyihası hazırlanacaktır.

Arkeoloji enstitüsü

Milli müze ve kütüpane binası içinde bir de arkeoloji enstitüsü bulunacaktır. Bu enstitü bilhassa Hitit tarihi etrafında taharriyat, tetkikat ve tedrisatla meşgul olacaktır.

Milli müze ve kütüpane binasının kat'i projeleri bu hususta Avrupa'da üç haftalık bir tetkik seyahatine çıkan Vekâlet mimarı profesör Egli geldikten sonra yapılacaktır. Binanın modern bir üslûpta ve tahsis edileceği muhtelif işlerin talep ettiği en asrî tesisatı muhtevi olarak yapılması istendiğinden profesör Egli müze ve kütüpane inşaatının en son şekilleri hakkında mahallen tetkikatta ve beynelmilel büyük mimari müsabakalarını kazanmış maruf bir profesörle istişarede bulunacaktır.

Binanın bir buçuk milyon liraya çıkacağı ümit ediliyor. İnşaat hazırlanda münakasaya konacaktır. — *A. S.*

Tayyareci Mollison, Port Natal'de

Londra 10 (A.A.) — Geçen pazartesi günü saat 8,12 de Lympne tayyare meydanından havalanan tayyareci Mollison dün Grinviç ayarile saat 18,20 de Port-Natal'e varmıştır.

Tayyarecinin Atlas Okyanos'unun cenup kısmını aşıp geçmesi sakin ve sıcak bir hava içinde cereyan etmiştir.

Emden'in bir hatırası

Londra 10 (A.A.) — Büyük harp esnasında sefer ve cevelânlarile şöhret alan ve cenup denizlerinde batan Emden kıvazörünün baş tarafındaki yazıyı havi olan parça Avusturalya'nın Londra sefiri tarafından Almanya hakkında bir hürmet ve takdir nişanesi olmak üzere Reisicumhur Fon Hindenburg'a tevdi edilecektir.

GÜNÜN AKİSLERİ

1933 Türkiye Güzellik Kraliçesi

Gün, perşembe.. Saat, dört.. Kapı, mahşer.. Parmaklığa dayanmış başlar, bir hayal avlamak, bir söz kapmak hırsile soluksuz bakıyor. Hiç bir mahpus, içeriden dışarıyı, dışarıdan içeriyi seyreden bu kalabalık kadar arzuyla, iştirasla seyretmemiştir.

Yukarıda, Cumhuriyet'in misafir salonları açık. Birinde güzeller, birinde hakemler.. Güzellerin arasında, tabiî yerimiz yok.. Hakemlerin yanına girdim: Abdülhak Hâmit, Halit Ziya, Sezai, Cenap ve Cahit Beyler koltuklara gömülmüşler.. Bizim nesil ayakta: Peyami Safa, Bürhan Ümit, Çallı İbrahim Vâ - Nû...

Bir kaç dakika sonra, hakem heyeti reisi, Vali ve Belediye Reisimiz Muhittin Beyefendi de, asil yüzünde, nezaketle vekarı eritmiş ince bir tebessümle içeri girdiler.. Sonra, şöhretleri bütün san'at hayatımıza kök salmış ressamlar, şairler, heykeltraşlar...

Kapı açıldı ve odaya bir demet güzel serpildi: Lâleler, manolyalar, karanfiller, güller ve yeşili perde perde değişen nadide yapraklar...

Yumuşak koltuklara gömülen muhterem hakemlerin yüzlerine baktım: Ne tatlı bir rüyaya dalmışlar... Ayaktaki gençlerle gözgöze geldim: Hepsinin bebeklerinde, kübik resimler gibi, bütün güzellerin sihirli terkibi yanıyordu!

Seçme kolay olmadı. Hakemler, titiz bir kimyager itinasile, her güzelin boyunu, rengini, havasını, önce teker teker, sonra toptan, gözlerinin hassas süzgeçile dimağlarına ve kalplerine damla dam'a süzdüler.. Sonra bir daha, sonra bir daha...

Netice: Nazire Hanım, 1933 Türkiye Güzellik Kraliçesi oldu.

Bayramın ikinci günü Maksim'de yapılan ilk seçmenin akislerini yazarken, yeni kraliçemiz için aynen şunları söylemiştim:

«Nazire Hanımı uzaktan ve yakından gördüm. Onun güzelliği, saf ve sade ruhların anlıyamıyacağı şeytanî bir güzellikti. Güzelliğin bütün esrarengiz ölçülerini bilen dostum Ruhi Vamık Bey, bu hanımın, tepeden tırnağa kadar bedii mikyaslara örnek olduğunu söyledi.

Ben güzellik gibi şeyyal bir tılsımı, hesap ve hendesenin âdetleri ve çizgileri içine hapseden ilme yabancıyım. Fakat bu cehaletin güzelden anlamama mânî değildir. İnsana hesabını şaşırtacak kadar güzel olanlar için, güzelliğin hesabını bilmeğe ne hacet var!»

Görülüyor ki, ben reyimi on beş gün evvel vermişim ve Nazire Hanımın güzellik nev'ini on beş gün evvel söylemişim: «Onun güzelliği, saf ve sade ruhların anlıyamıyacağı şeytanî bir güzelliktir!»

Nazire Hanımın Türkiye Güzeli seçilmesi, reyimin doğruluğunu, güzelliği hakkındaki dedikodular da, güzelliğinin nev'ini teşhiste gösterdiğim isabeti göstermiyor mu?

YUSUF ZİYA

Dünya Güzeli

Pire ve Atina'da büyük hüsnü kabul gördü

Atina 9 (A.A.) — Dünya Güzellik Kraliçesi Keriman Halis Hanım dün sabah buraya muvasalat etmiştir. Pire'de istikbale gelen gazeteciler tarafından kendisine çiçek bükâtleri takdim edilmiştir. Keriman Halis Hanım vapurdan indiği zaman halk kendisini alkışlamıştır. Keriman Halis Hanım M. Venizelos'u ziyaret etmiş ve öğle yemeğini Türkiye elçiliğinde yemiştir.

Akşam Mısır'a hareket etmiştir. Telmil gazeteciler Keriman Hanımın fotoraf ve mülâkatlarını neşretmişlerdir.

Figure 177. Cumhuriyet Newspaper Reporting the Complex Project (February 11, 1933)

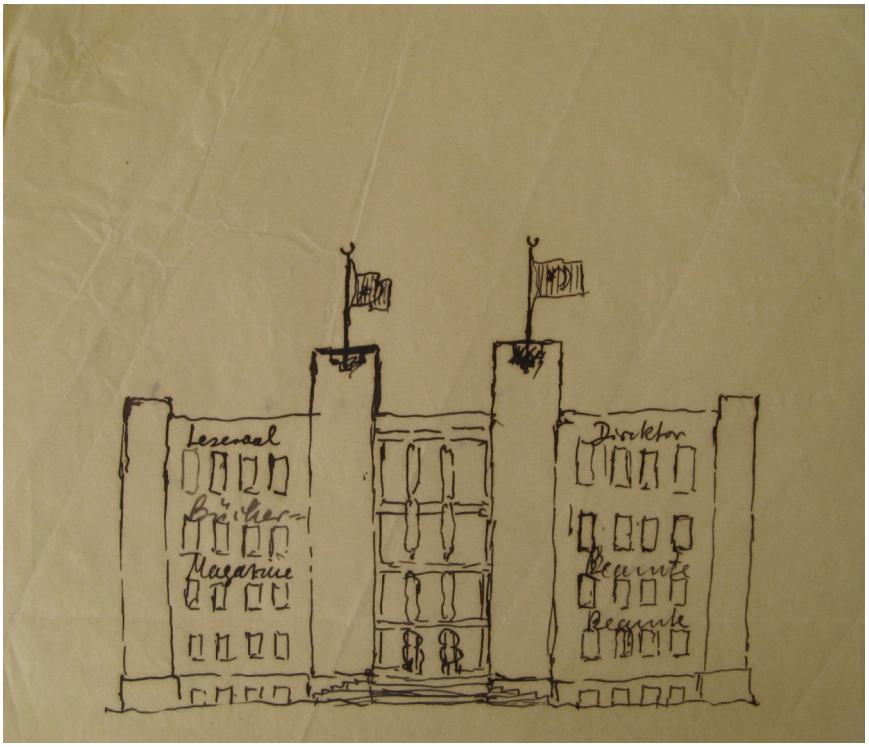


Figure 178. Sketch of the Project

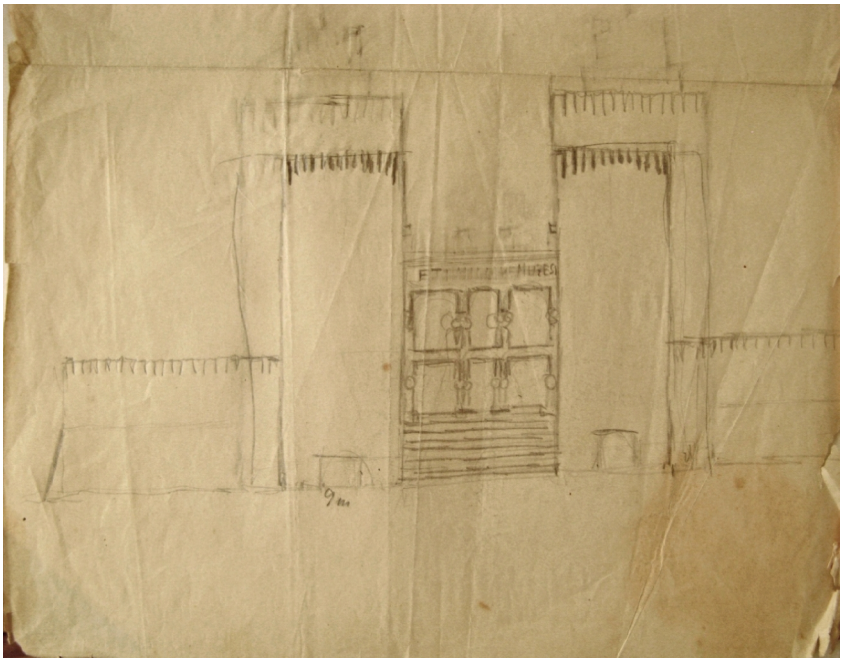


Figure 179. Sketch of the Project

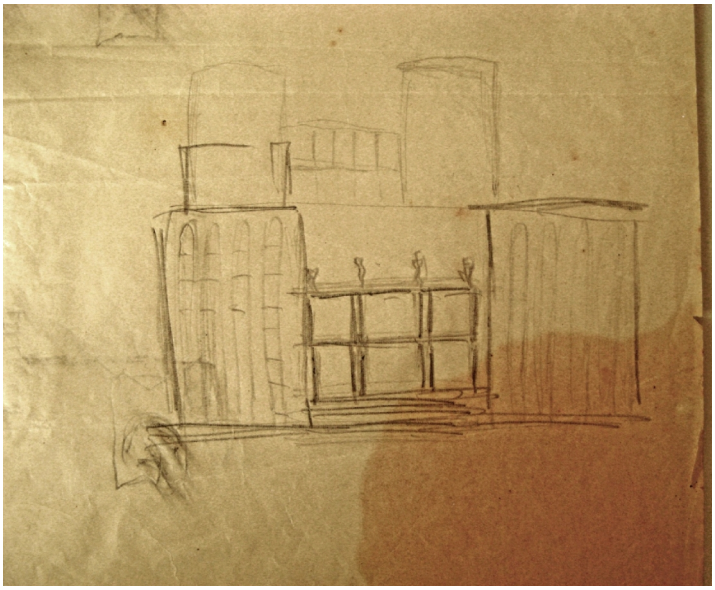


Figure 180. Sketch of the Project

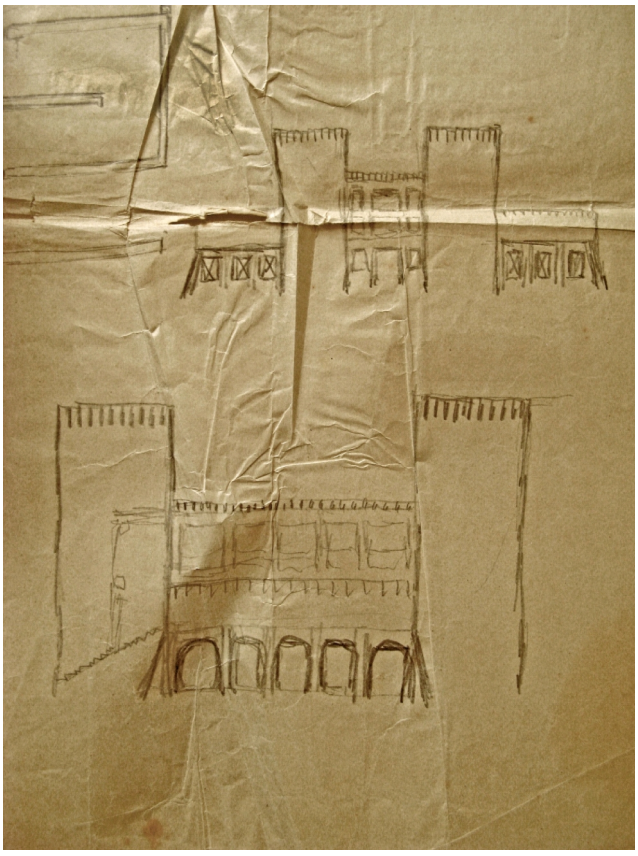


Figure 181. Sketch of the Project

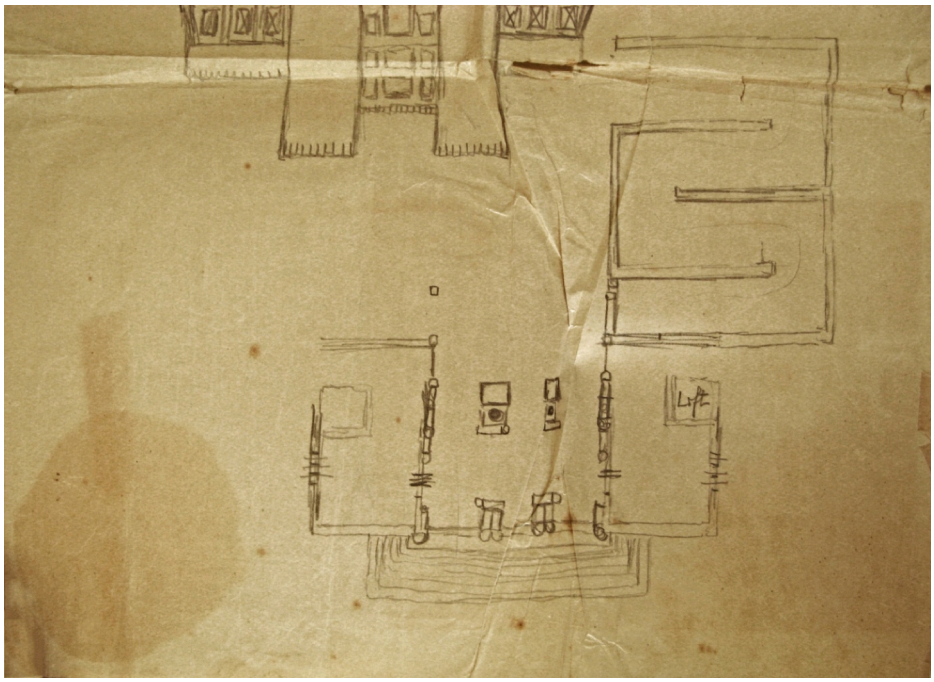


Figure 182. Sketch of the Project

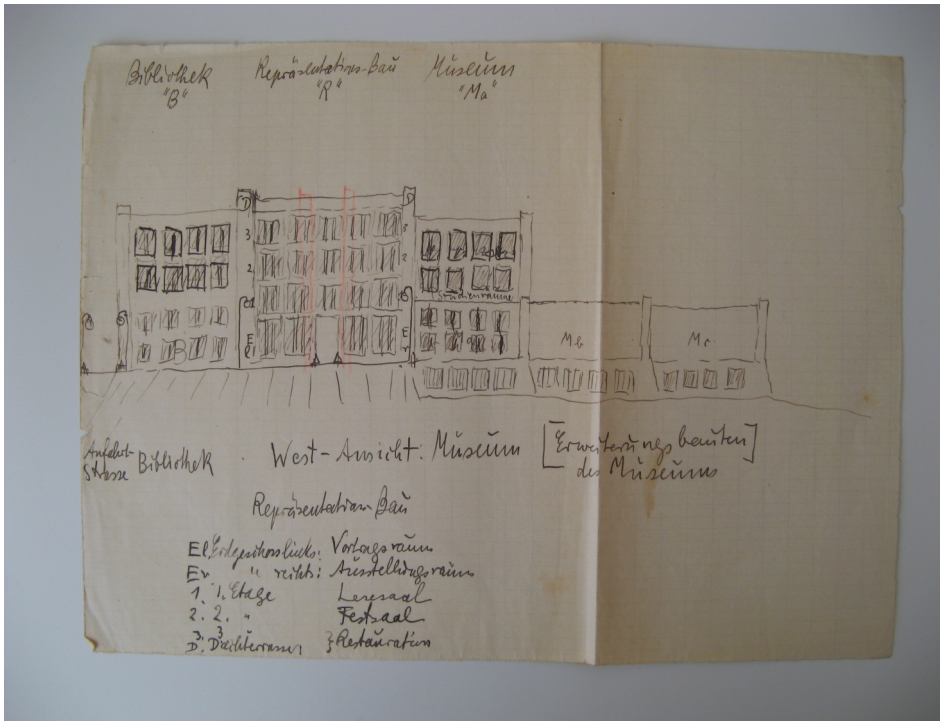


Figure 183. Sketch of the Project

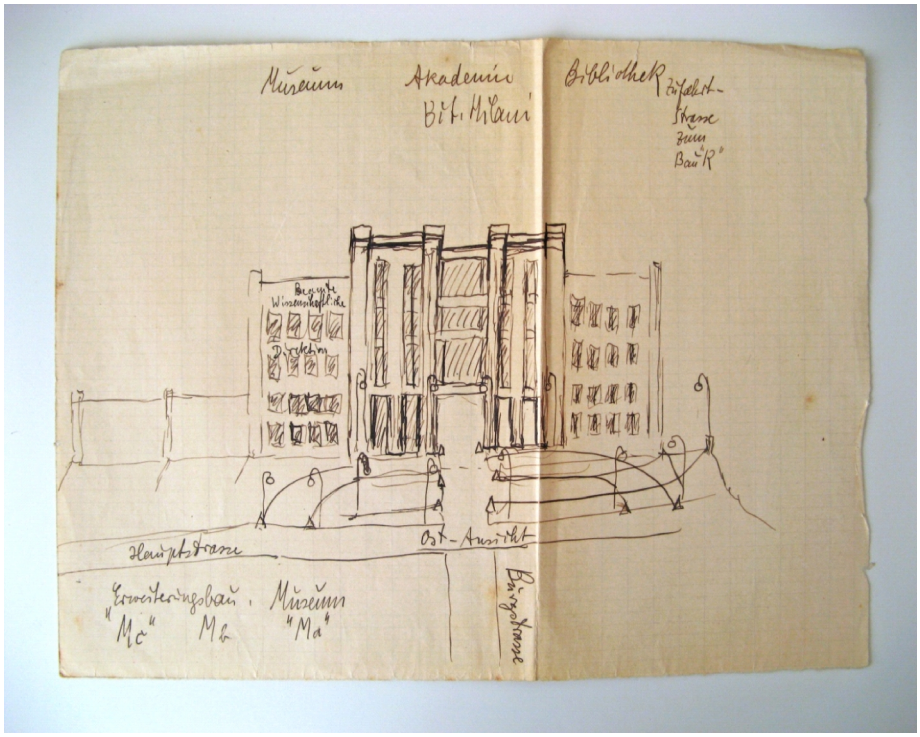


Figure 184. Sketch of the Project

Figure 185. Preliminary Draft of the Project

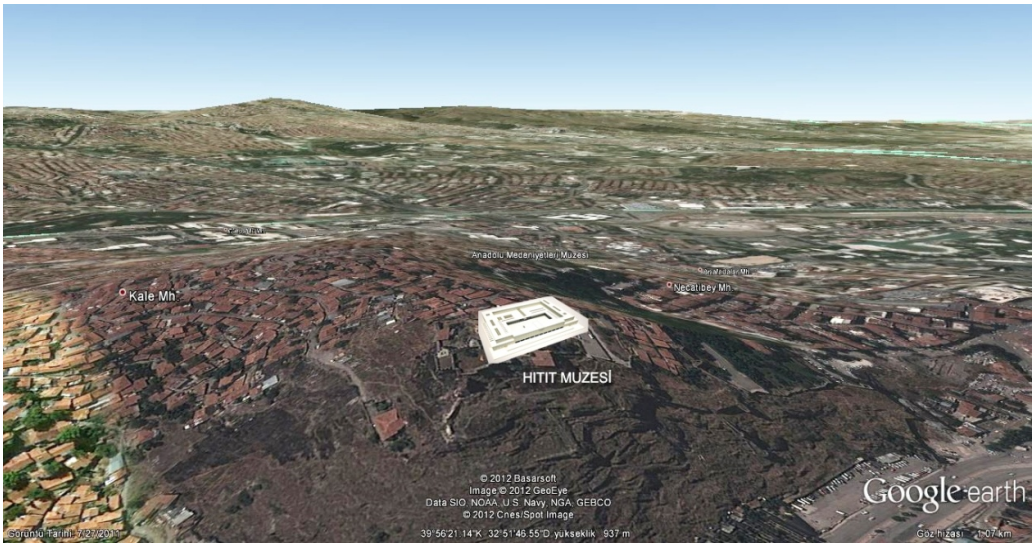
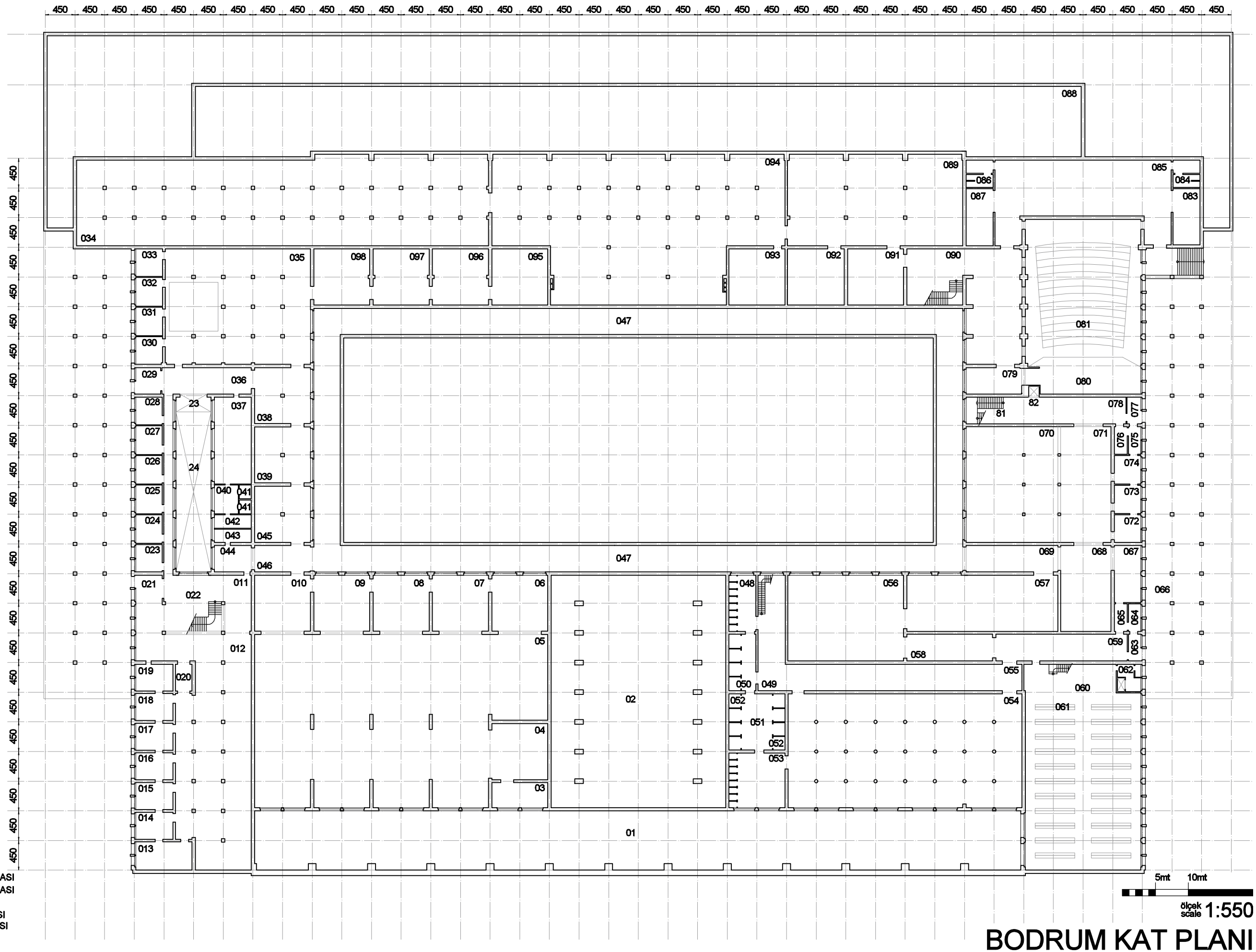


Figure 186. Estimated Location of the Building Complex
Source: Google Earth

Figures 187-191.

ANKARA'DA İNŞA EDİLECEK MİLLİ KÜTÜPHANE, AKADEMİ VE MÜZE PROJESİ - İSTANBUL 10.10.1933



LEJAND :

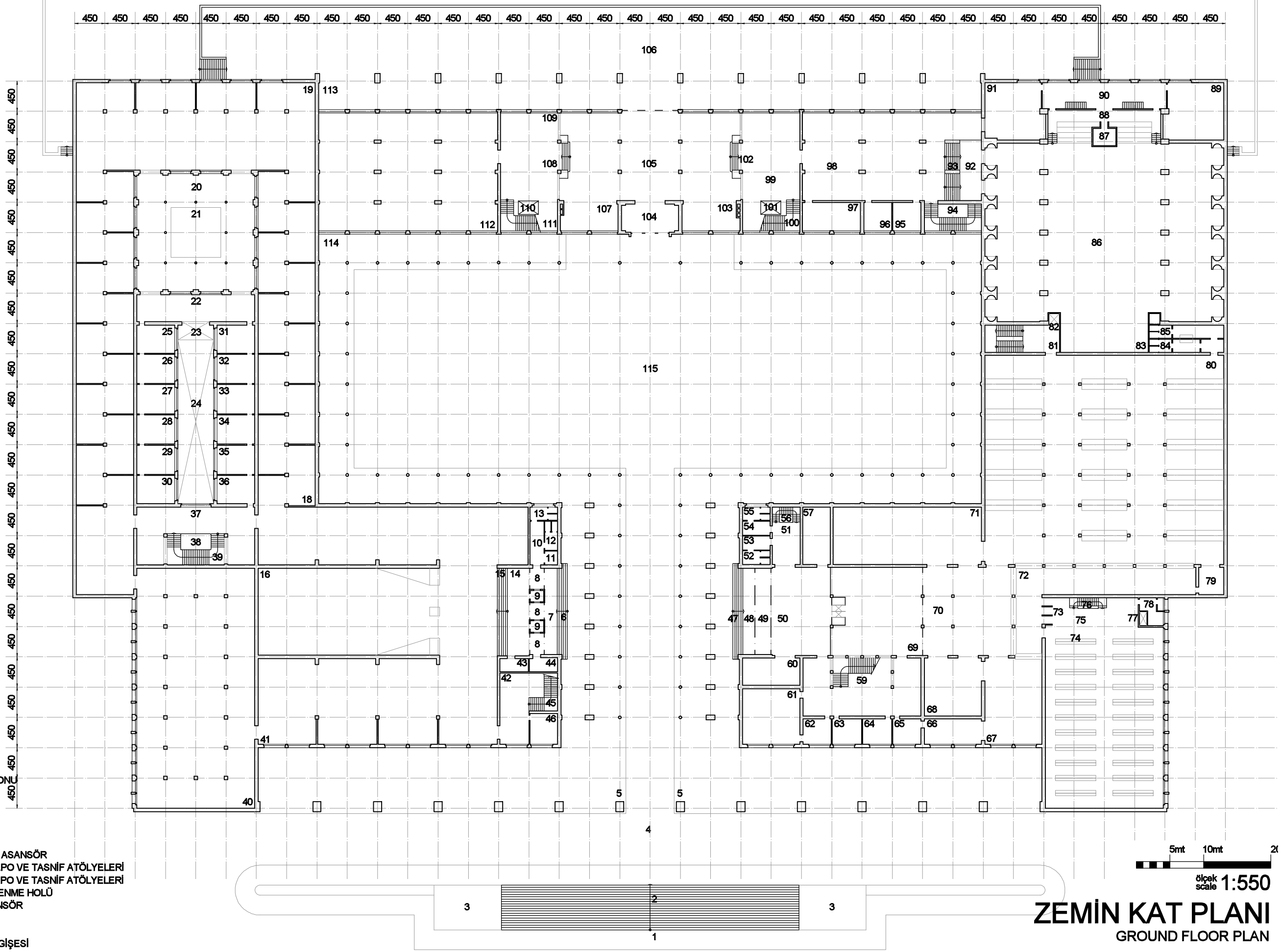
001- DEPO
004- DEPO
005- DEPO
006- SIRLI CAM ATÖLYESİ
007- YAĞLI BOYA ATÖLYESİ
008- TAHTA İŞİ ATÖLYESİ
009- ALÇI ATÖLYESİ
010- TOPRAK İŞİ ATÖLYESİ
011- MÜZE İDARE KISMI HOLÜ
013- İÇTİMA ODASI
014- MÜTEHASSIS ODASI
015- MÜTEHASSIS MUAVİN ODASI
016- MÜTEHASSIS MUAVİN ODASI
017- İDARE MÜDÜR ODASI
018- İDARE MÜDÜR YRD. ODASI
019- BEKLEME VE KABUL ODASI
020- HADEME VE GARDROP
022- MÜZE İDARİ KISMI HOLÜ
023-028 ASİSTAN ÇALIŞMA ODALARI
030-033 FEN MEMURU İŞ ODASI
037- MÜZE HADEMESİ YATAKHANESİ

ölçek
scale 1:550

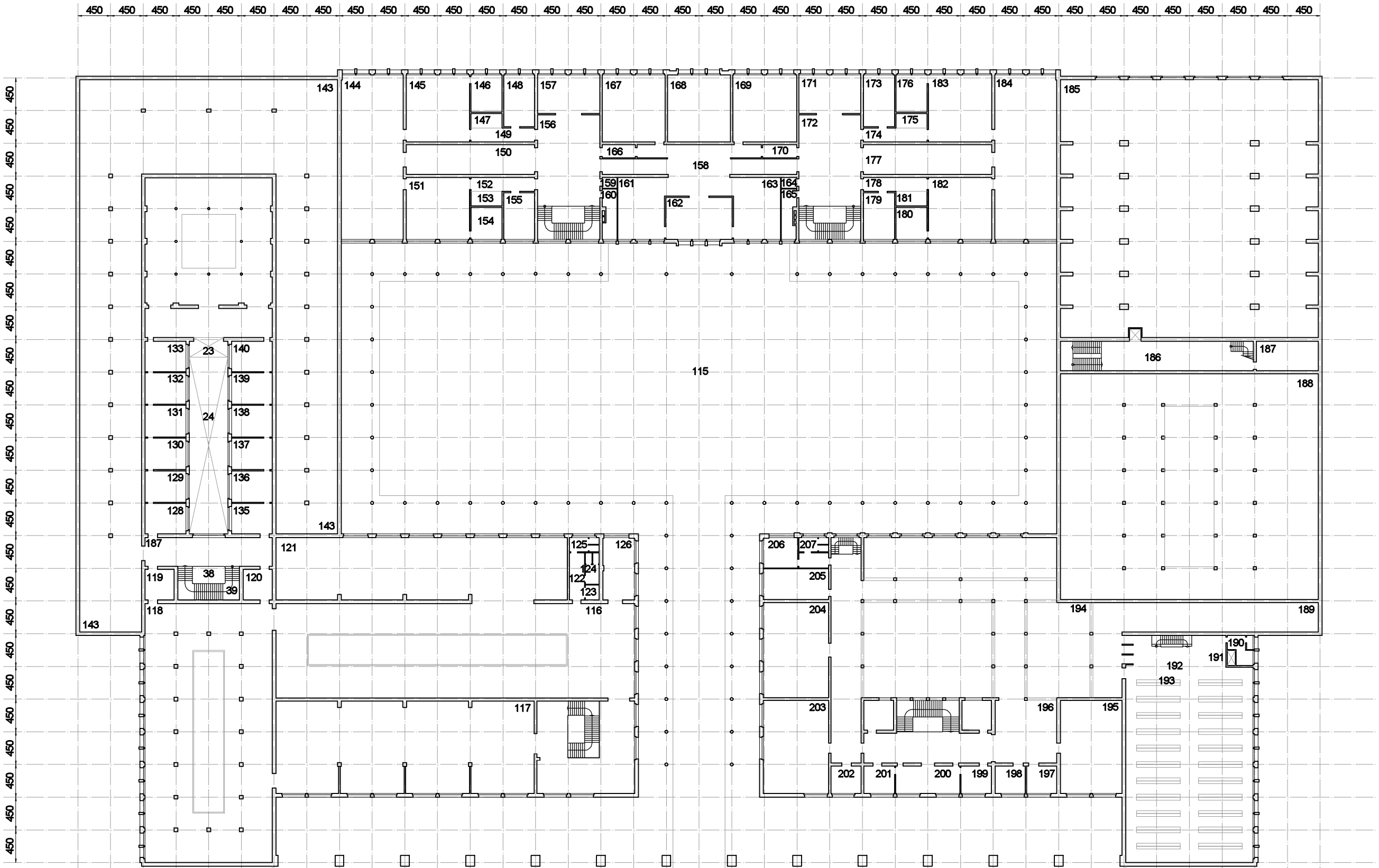
BODRUM KAT PLANI

UNDERGROUND FLOOR PLAN

ANKARA'DA İNŞA EDİLECEK MİLLİ KÜTÜPHANE, AKADEMİ VE MÜZE PROJESİ - İSTANBUL 10.10.1933


450 450 450

ANKARA'DA İNŞA EDİLECEK MİLLİ KÜTÜPHANE, AKADEMİ VE MÜZE PROJESİ - İSTANBUL 10.10.1933



LEJAND :

116- BALKONLU TEŞHİR GALERİSİ
117- UMUMİ SERGİ SALONU
118- BALKONLU SERGİ SALONU
119- HADEME VE KONTROL KÖŞESİ
120- HADEME VE KONTROL KÖŞESİ
123- EMANETÇİ
128-133- TOPRAK ÇANAK VE DİĞER ESERLER DEPO VE ATÖLYELERİ
136-140- TOPRAK ÇANAK VE DİĞER ESERLER DEPO TASNİF ATÖLYELERİ

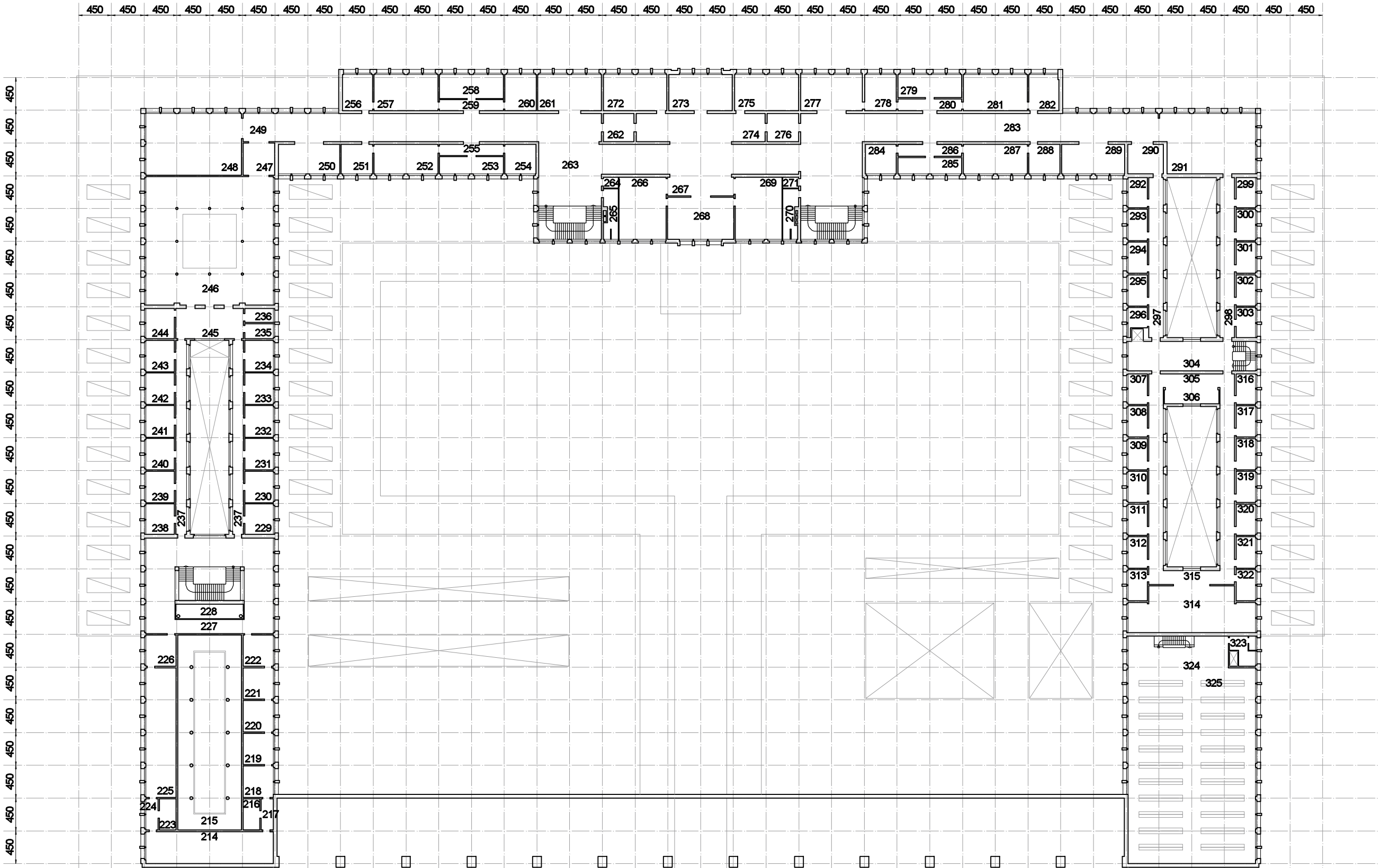
5mt 10mt 2

ölçek
scale 1:550

1. KAT PLANI

1st FLOOR PLAN

ANKARA'DA İNŞA EDİLECEK MİLLİ KÜTÜPHANE, AKADEMİ VE MÜZE PROJESİ - İSTANBUL 10.10.1933



LEJAND :

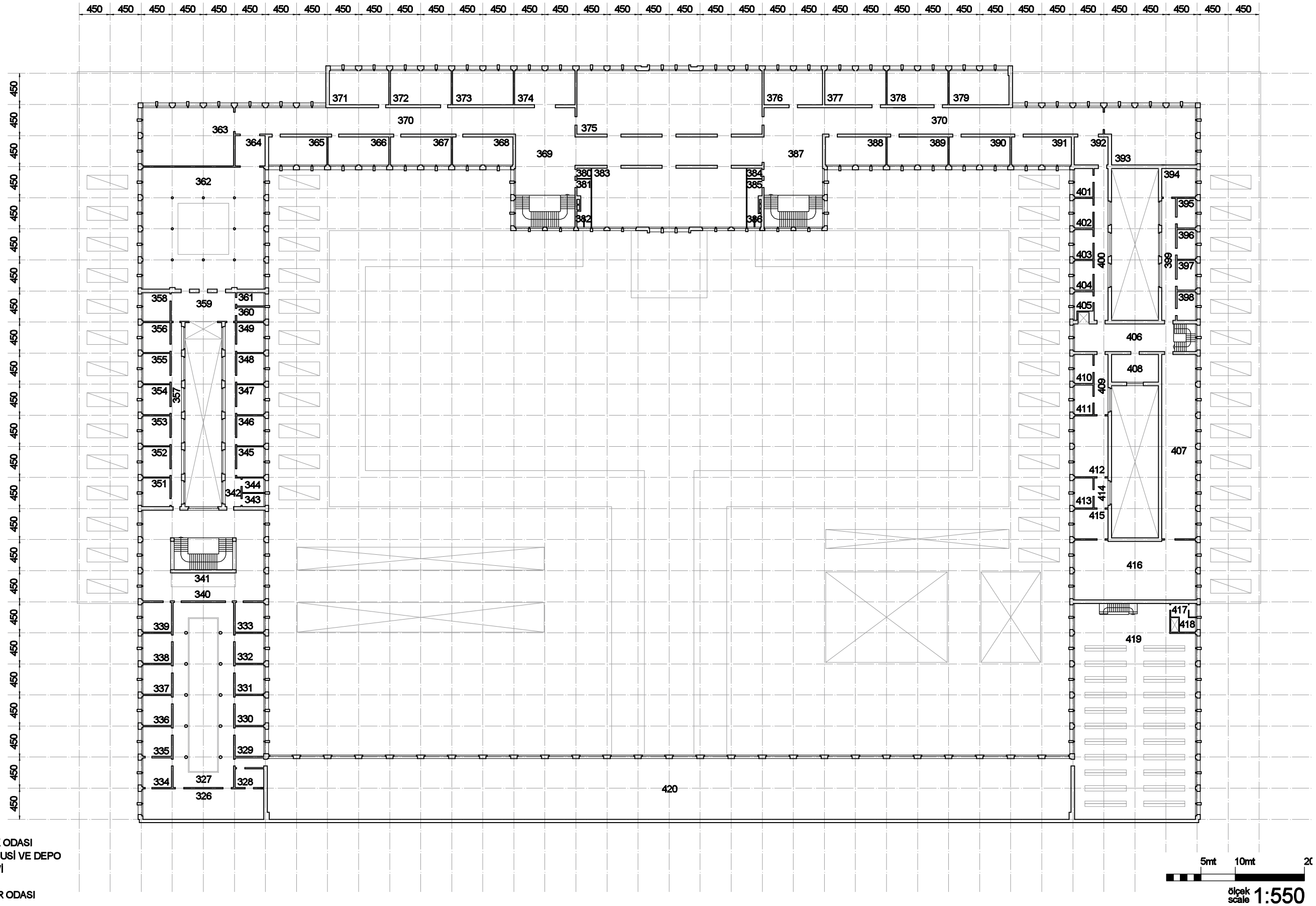
214- LABORATUVAR
215- GEÇİT
216- KARANLIK ODA
217- BAŞ KİMYAGER ÖZEL LABORATUVARI
219- BAŞ KİMYAGER ÖZEL ÇALIŞMA ODASI
220- BAŞ KİMYAGER OFİSİ
221- KİMYAGER MUAVİNİ
223- TEHLİKELİ İLAÇLARA AİT DEPO
224- GEÇİT
225- LABORATUVAR
226- ASİSTAN ODASI
229-234- TOPRAK ÇANAK VE DİĞER ESERLERİN TASNİF ATÖLYESİ VE DEPOSU
237- GEÇİT
238-244- TOPRAK ÇANAK VE DİĞER ESERLERİN TASNİF ATÖLYESİ VE DEPOSU

5mt 10mt 2

ölçek
scale 1:550

2. KAT PLANI
2nd FLOOR PLAN

ANKARA'DA İNŞA EDİLECEK MİLLİ KÜTÜPHANE, AKADEMİ VE MÜZE PROJESİ - İSTANBUL 10.10.1933



ölçek
scale 1:550

3. KAT PLANI

3rd FLOOR PLAN

LEJAND :

326- MECLİS ODASI
327- BALKONLU GEÇİT
328- GEÇİT VE KARANLIK ODASI
329-330- FOTOĞRAF HUSUSİ VE DEPO
331-333- FOTOTEK ARŞİVİ
334- MÜDÜR ODASI
335- MÜDÜR İÇİN MİSAFİR ODASI
336-338- BÜROLAR
339- BEKLEME SALONU
345-349- ASİSTAN ODALARI
351-358- FEN MEMURU ODALARI

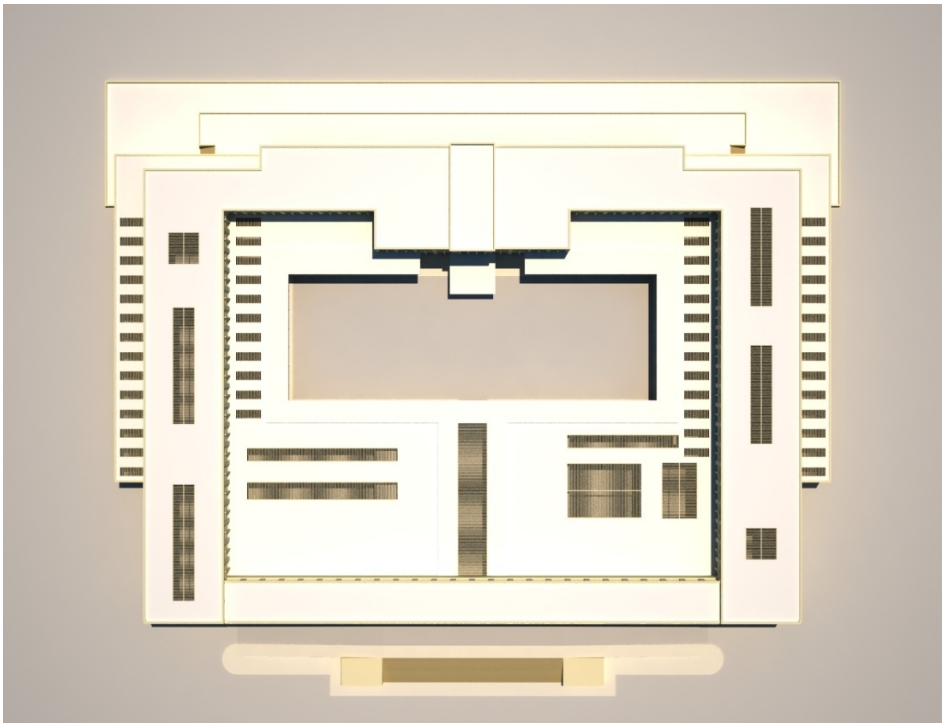


Figure 192. Site Plan of the Project

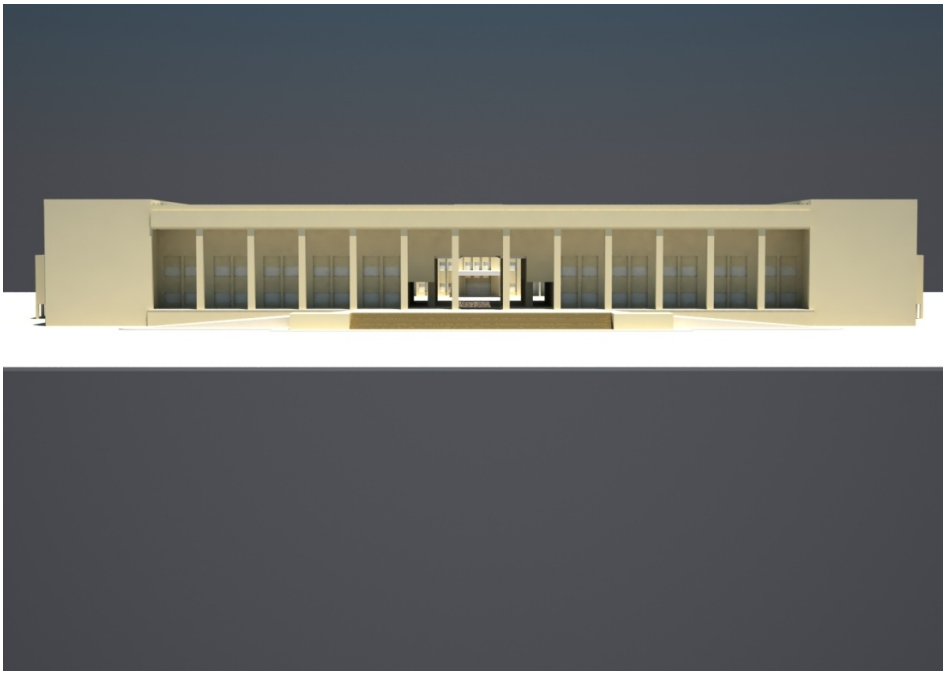


Figure 193. Main Facade of the Project

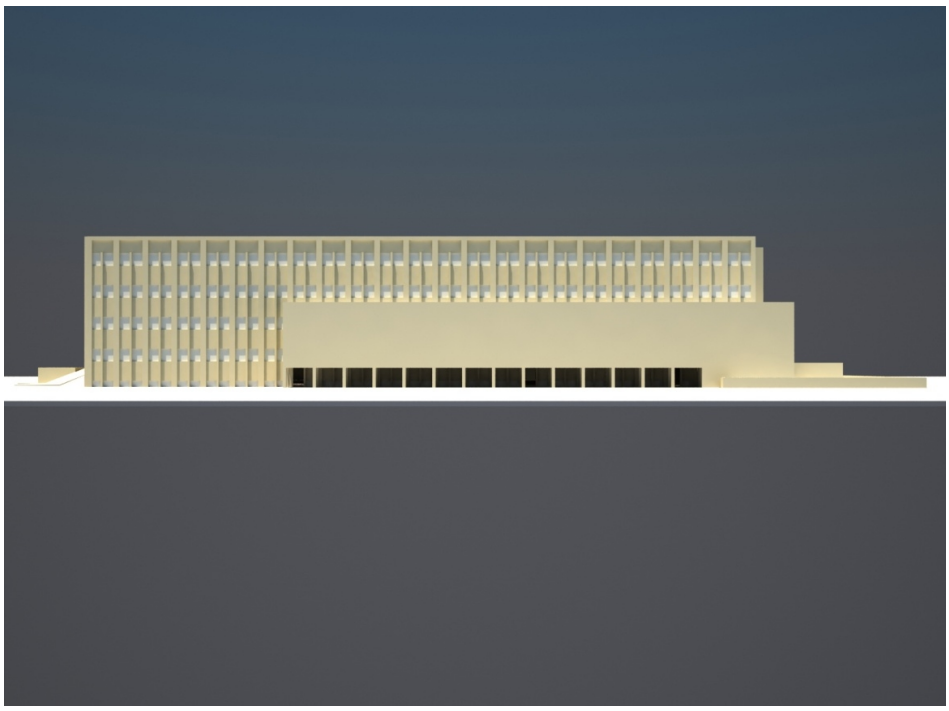


Figure 194. Lateral Facade of the Project

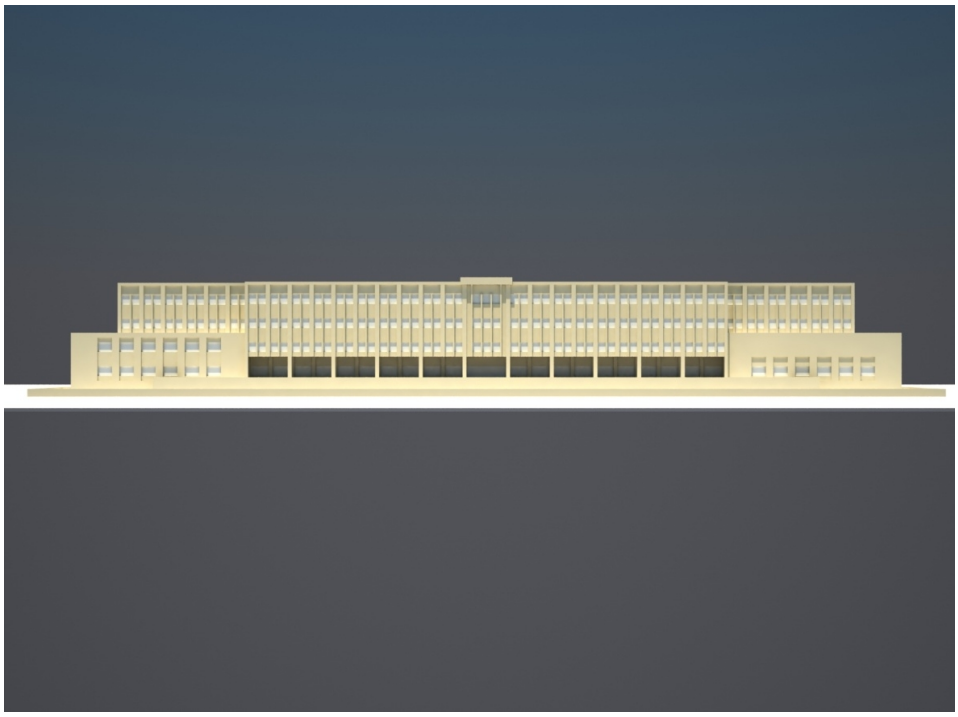


Figure 195. Rear Facade of the Project

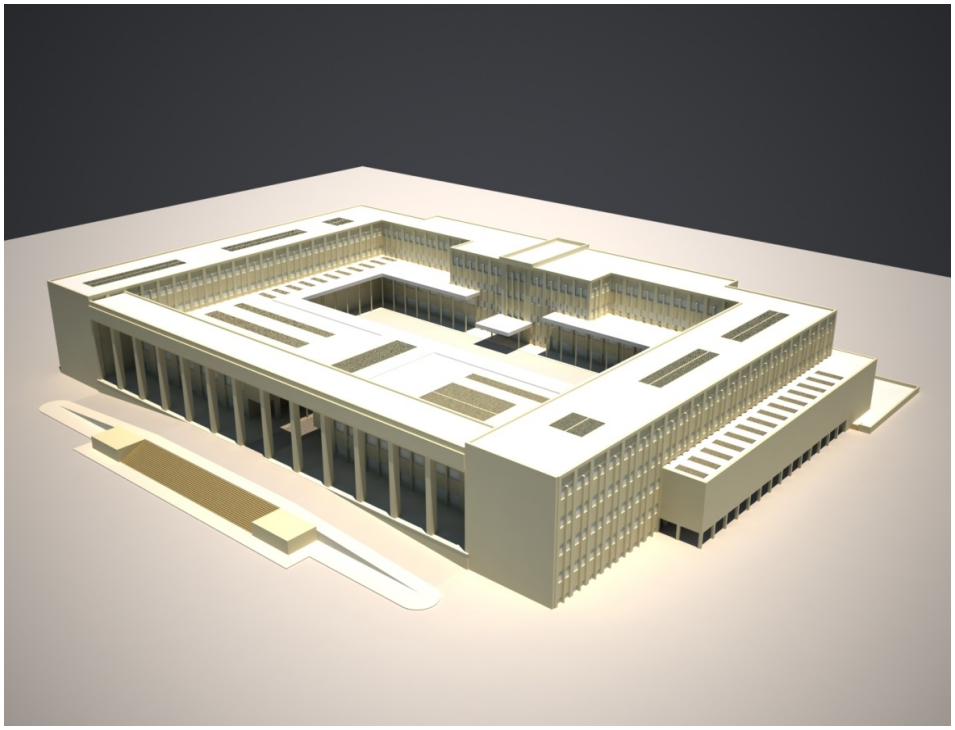


Figure 196. 3D Modeling of the Project

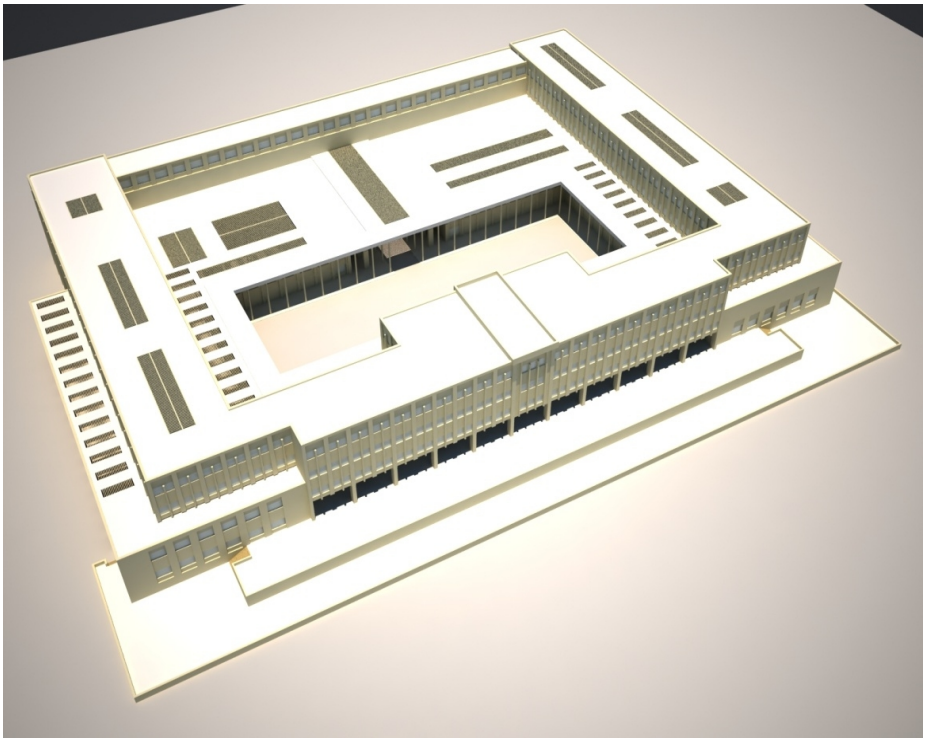


Figure 197. 3D Modeling of the Project

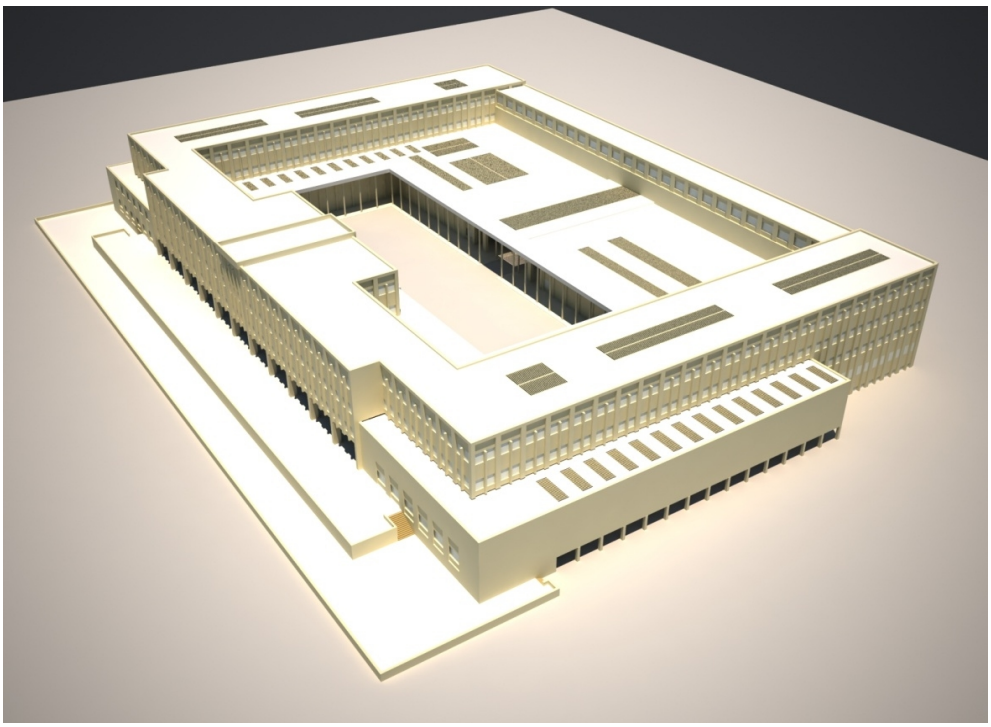


Figure 198. 3D Modeling of the Project

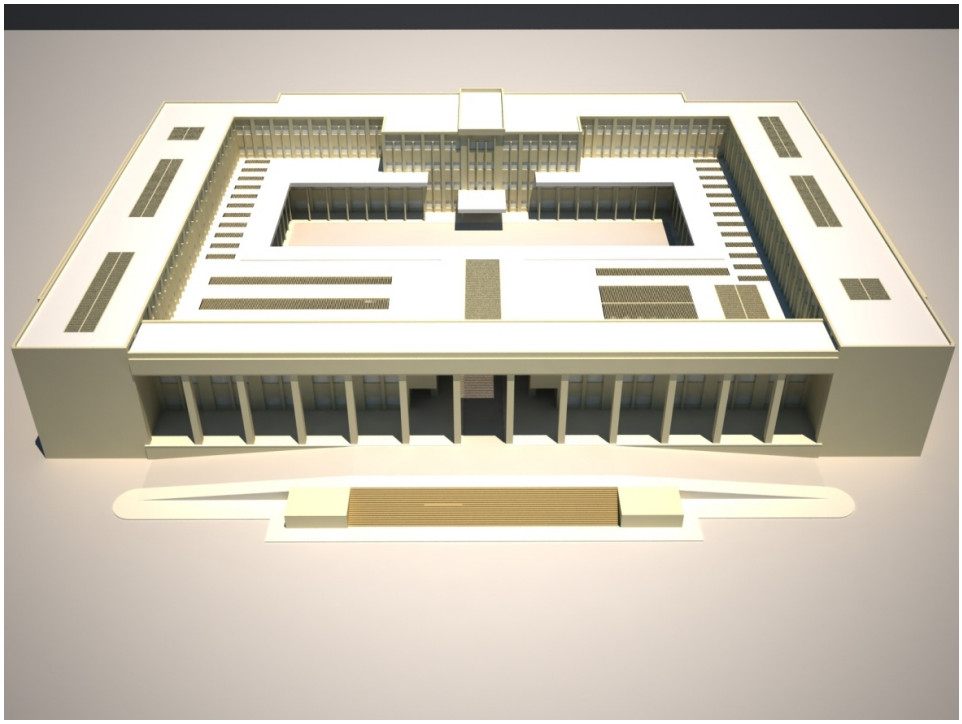


Figure 199. 3D Modeling of the Project

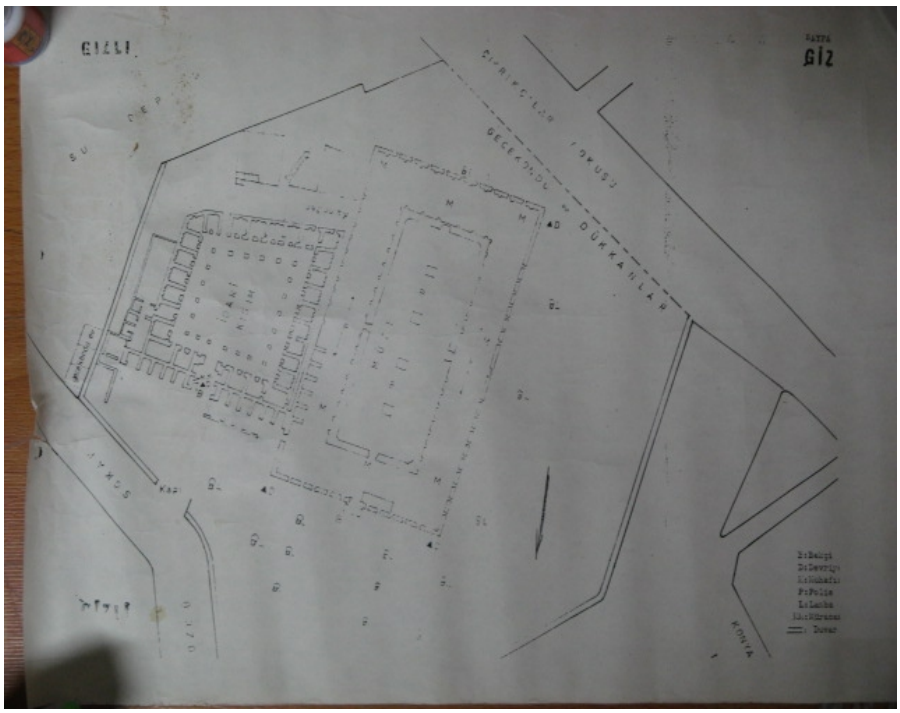


Figure 200. Site Plan of the Hittite Museum/ Eti Müzesi
Source: Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum

Figure 201.The Hittite Museum
Source: Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum

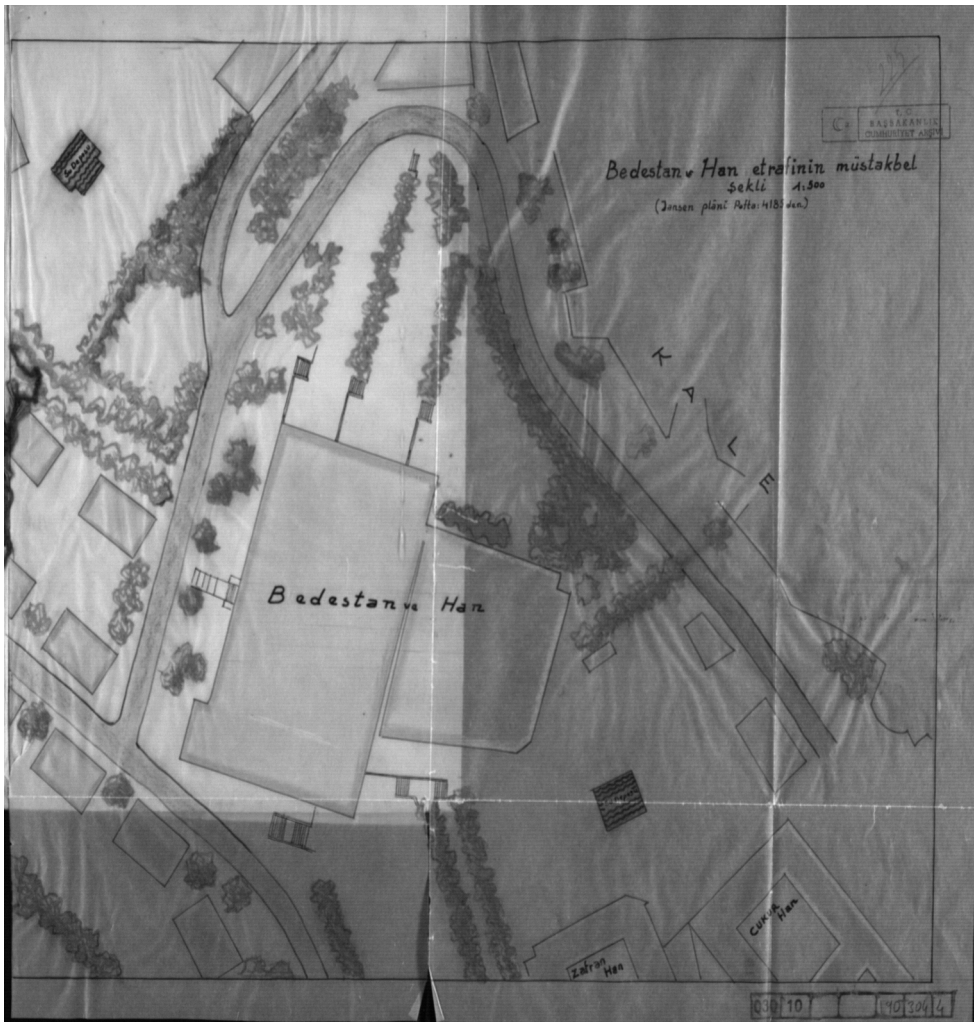


Figure 202. The *Bedesten* and the *Han* Buildings Restored as the Hittite Museum
Source: Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum

Figure 203. The *Han* building attached to the *Bedesten*
Source: Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum

Figure 204. The *Han* Building During Restoration
Source: Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum

Figure 205. Interior of the *Bedesten*
Source: Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum

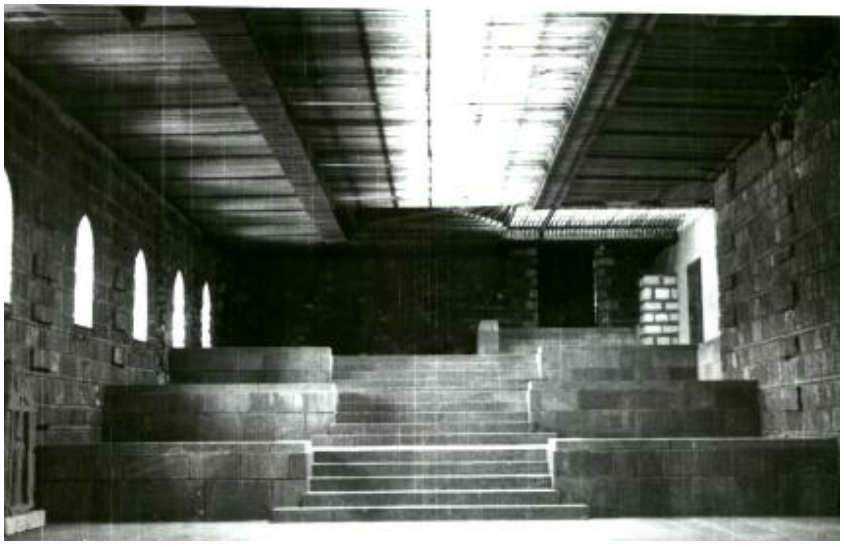


Figure 206. Interior of the *Bedesten*
Source: Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum

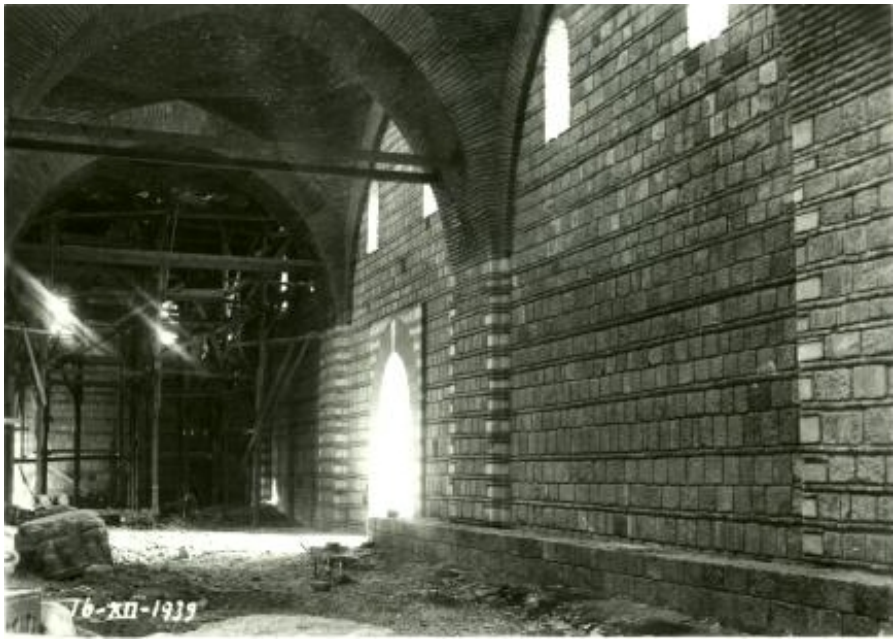


Figure 207. Central Hall during Restoration
Source: Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum

Figure 208. Transportation of the Hittite Objects
Source: Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum

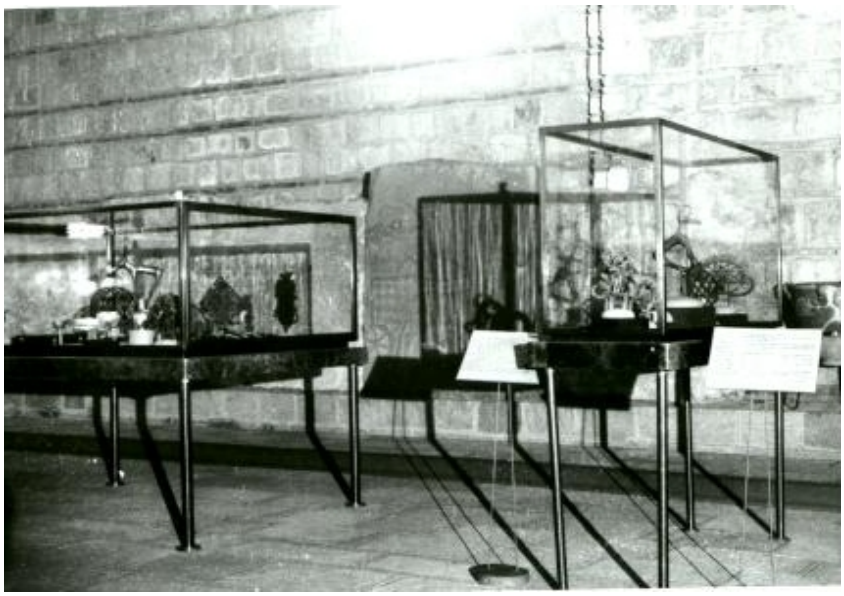
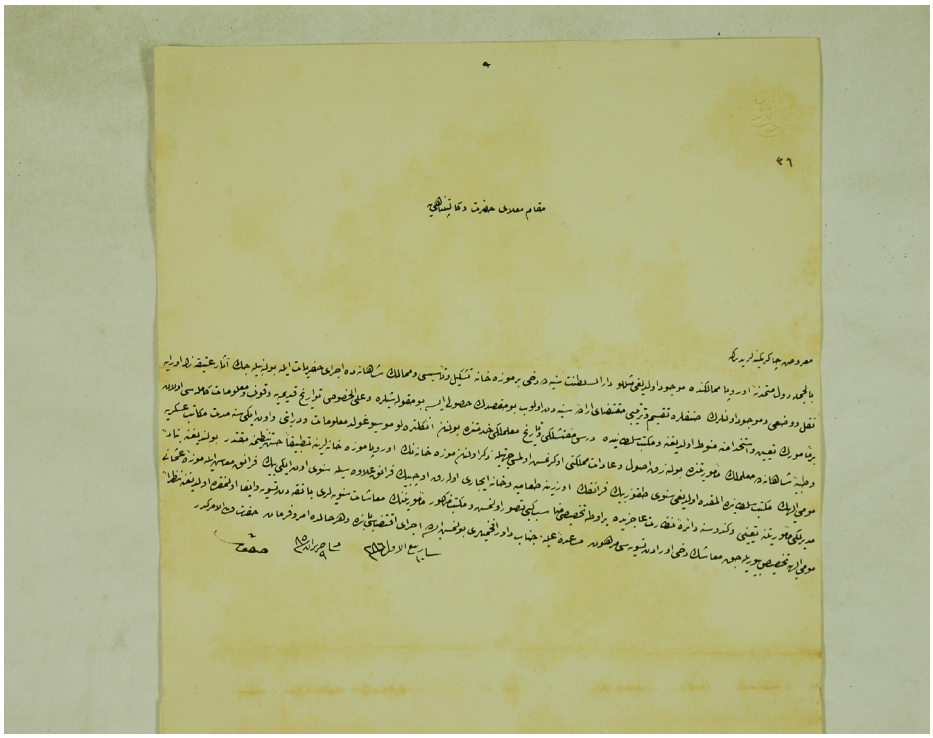


Figure 209. Display of the Small Objects in the Museum
Source: Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum

APPENDIX C

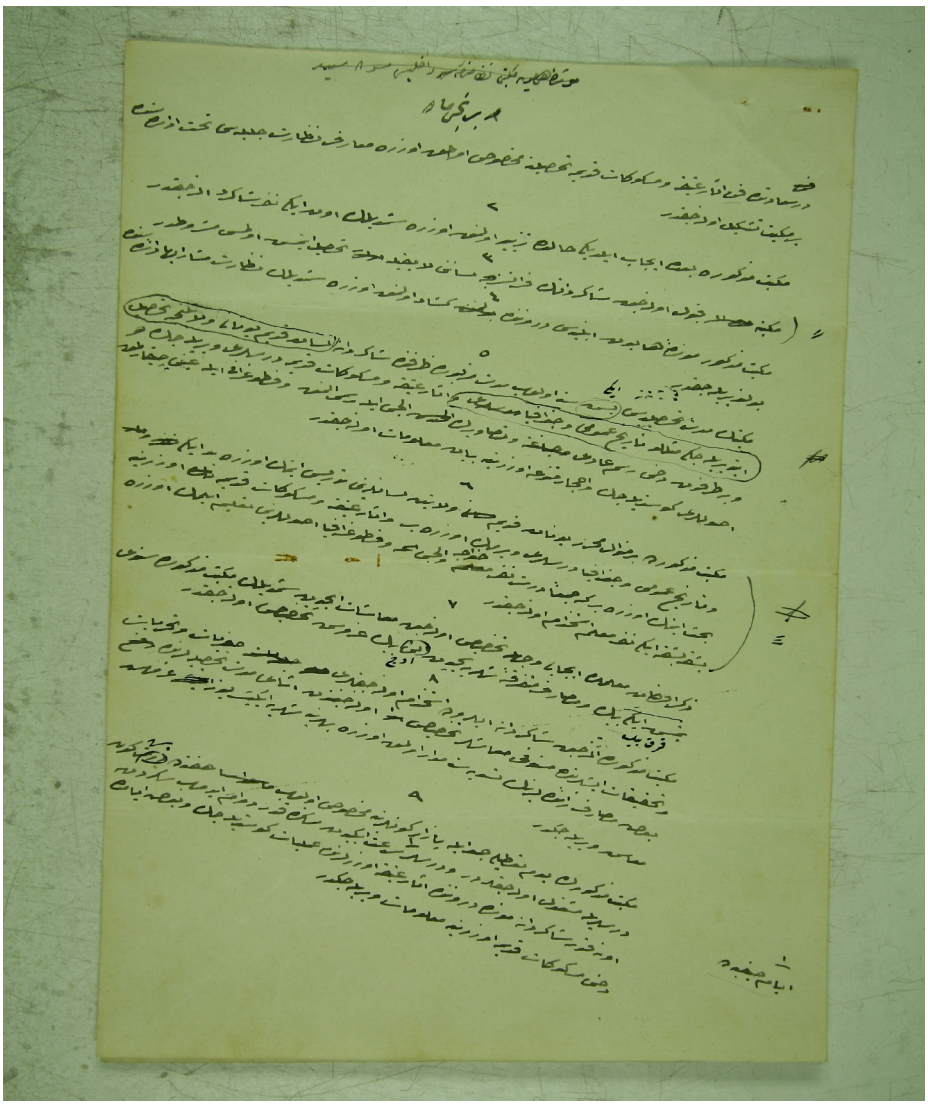
An Official Correspondence on Edward Goold's appointment as the Museum Director.



T.C Ottoman State Archives General Directory, **I.DH 594/41355,**
Fi 10 Rebiülevvel sene 1286

APPENDIX D

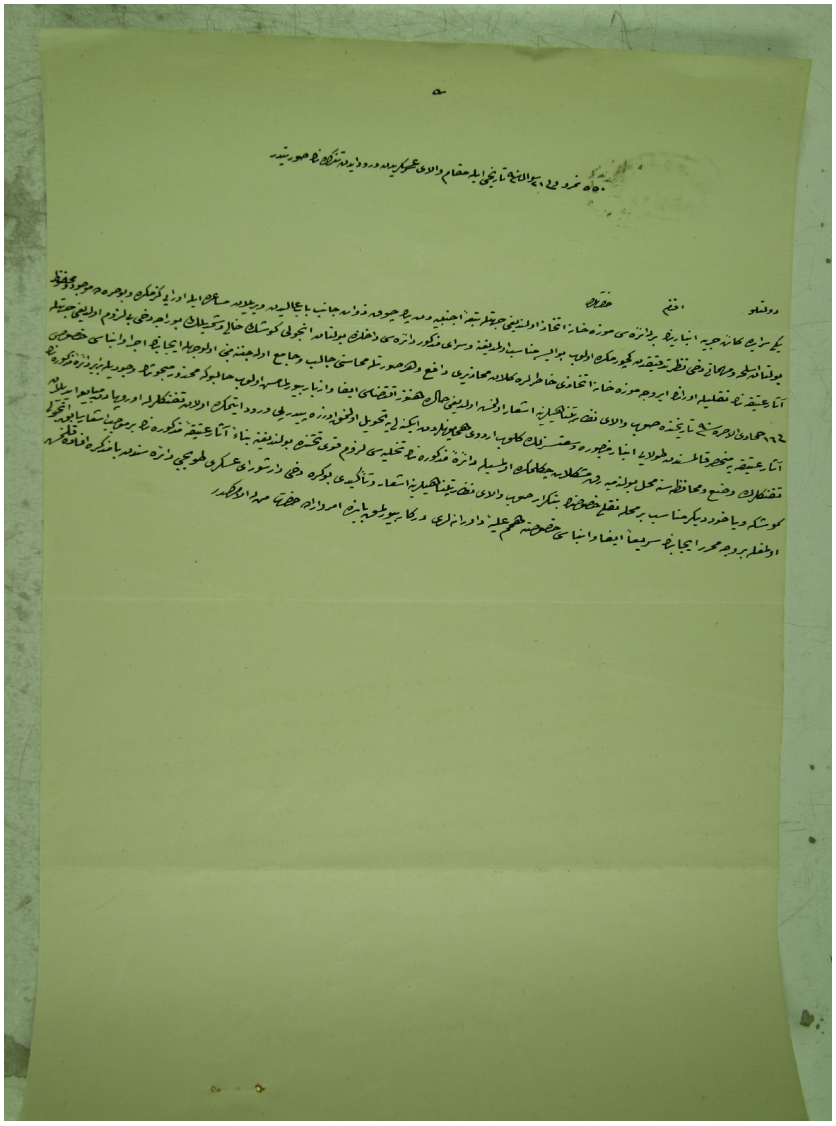
The Program for the School of Museum/ Archaeology



T.C Ottoman State Archives General Directory, **YEE 41/23**

APPENDIX E

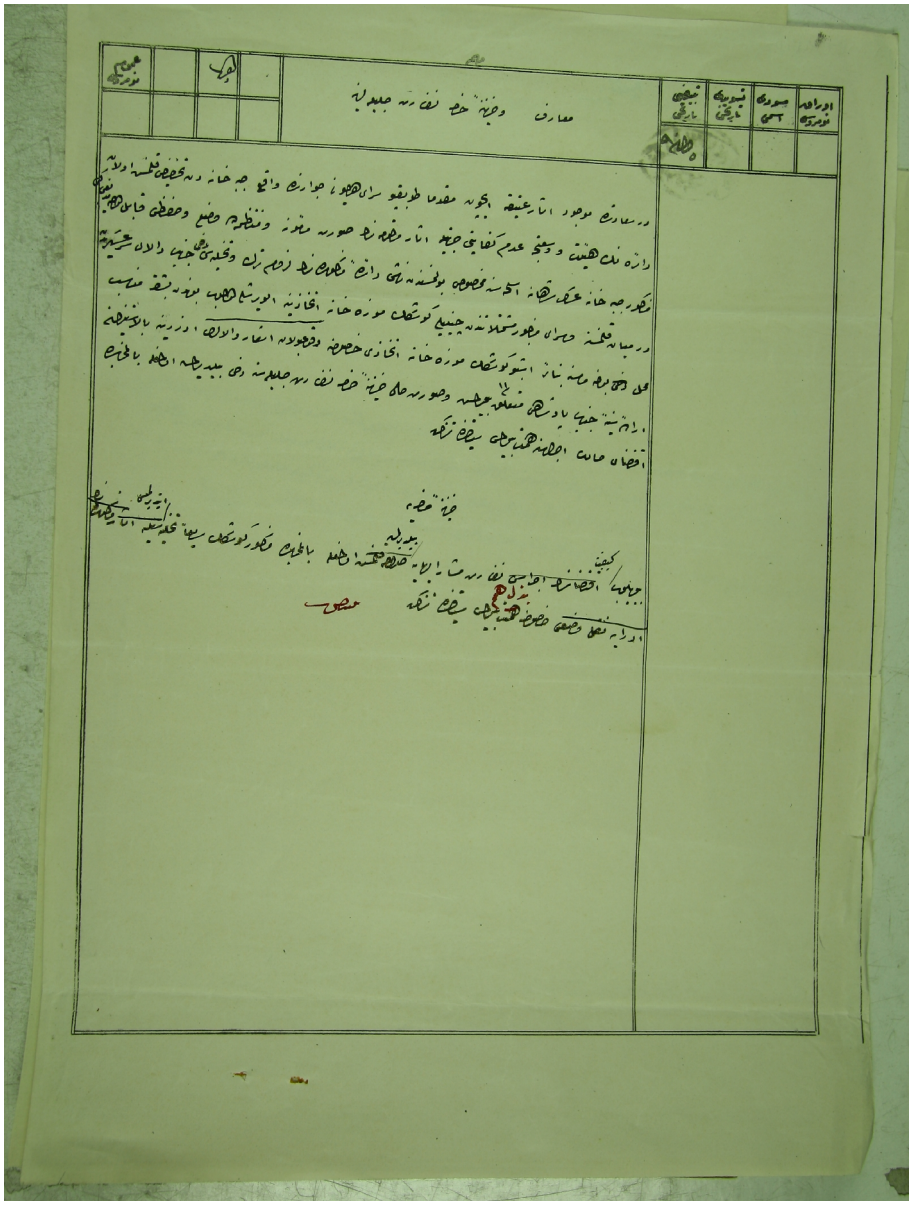
Due to the Security Reasons Necessity of Moving the Collections from the Arsenal to the Tiled Pavilion



T.C Ottoman State Archives General Directory,
A.MKT.MHM 471/11

APPENDIX F

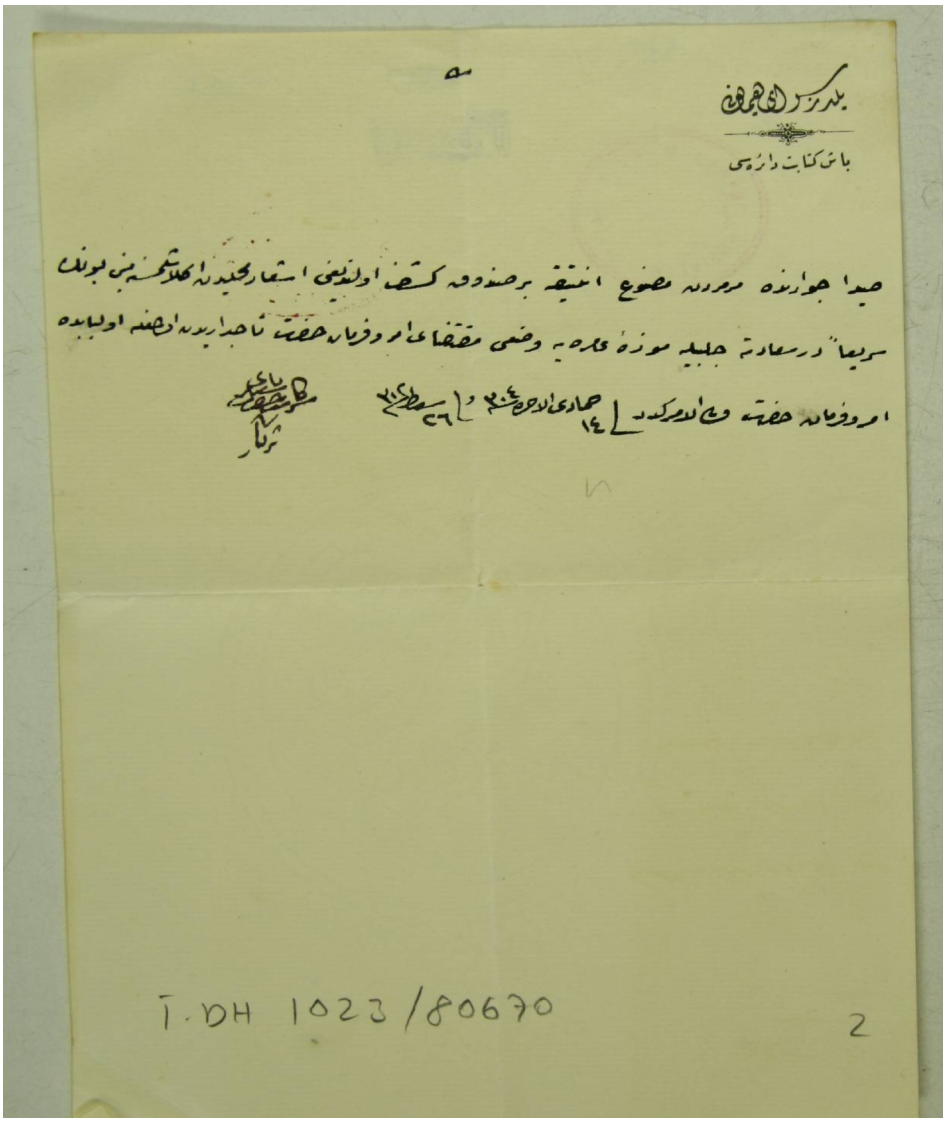
The Tiled Pavilion: The Most Convenient Place for the Collections



T.C Ottoman State Archives General Directory, **A.MKT.MHM 471/11**

APPENDIX G

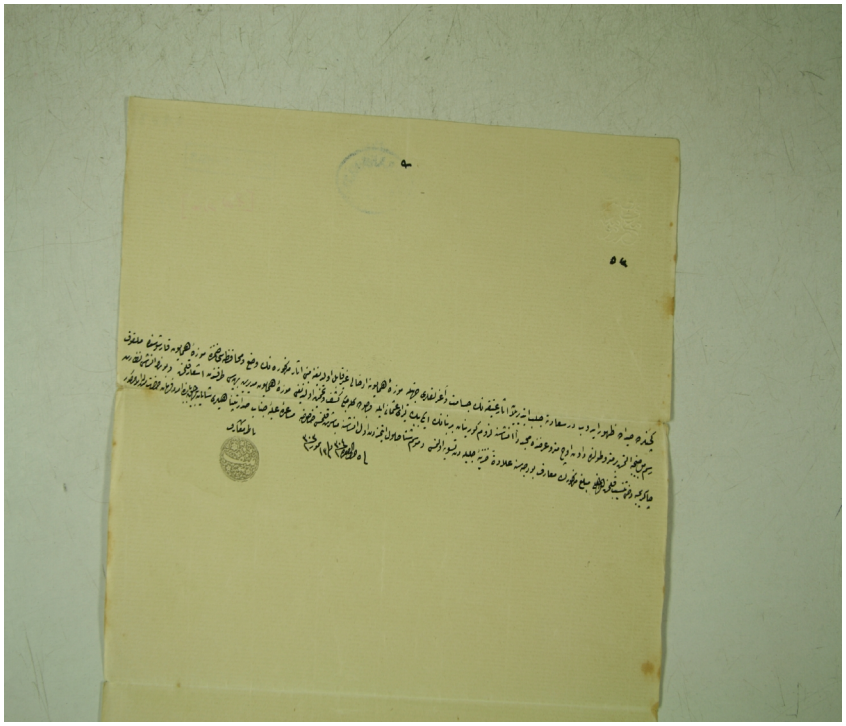
The Order for transferring the Sarcophaguses known from Sayda to İstanbul



T.C Ottoman State Archives General Directory, **İ.DH 1023/80670,**
Fi 14 Cumadelahire sene 1304

APPENDIX H

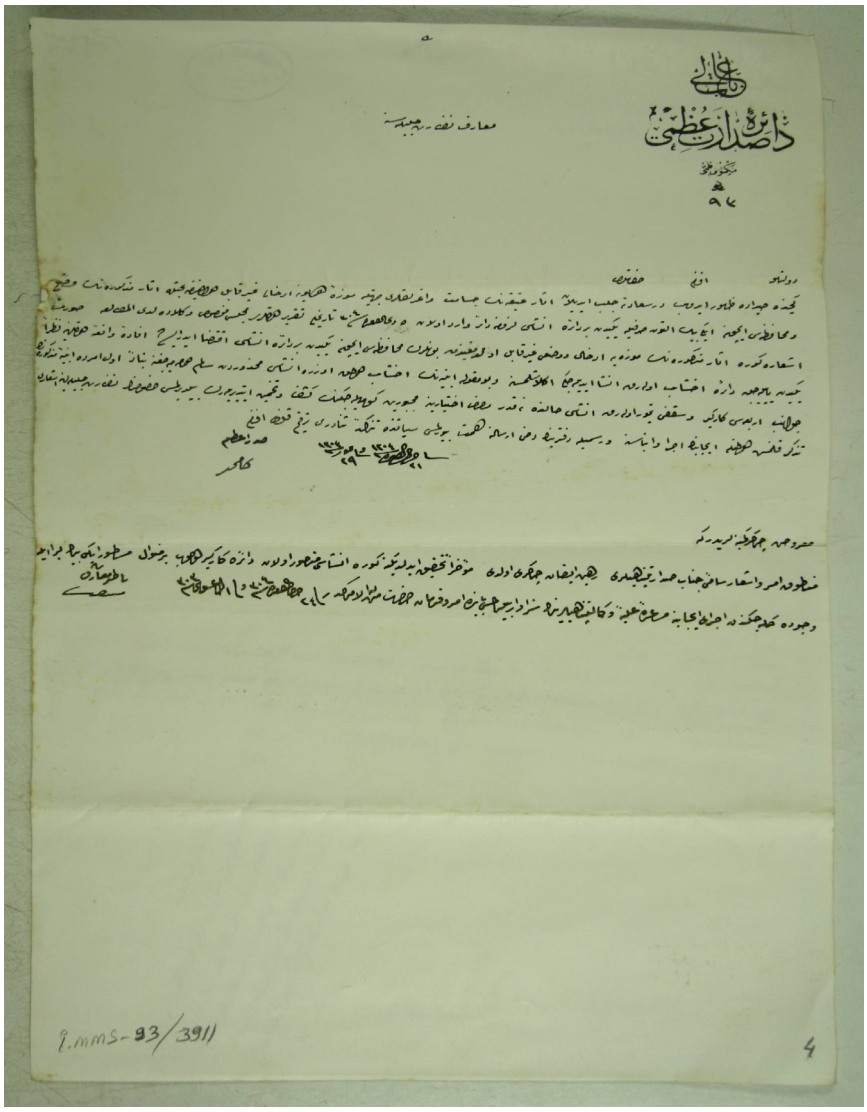
The Letter of the Minister of Education about Immediate Construction of the Imperial Museum



T.C Ottoman State Archives General Directory, **İ.MMS 93/3911,** 5 Zilkade 1304

APPENDIX I

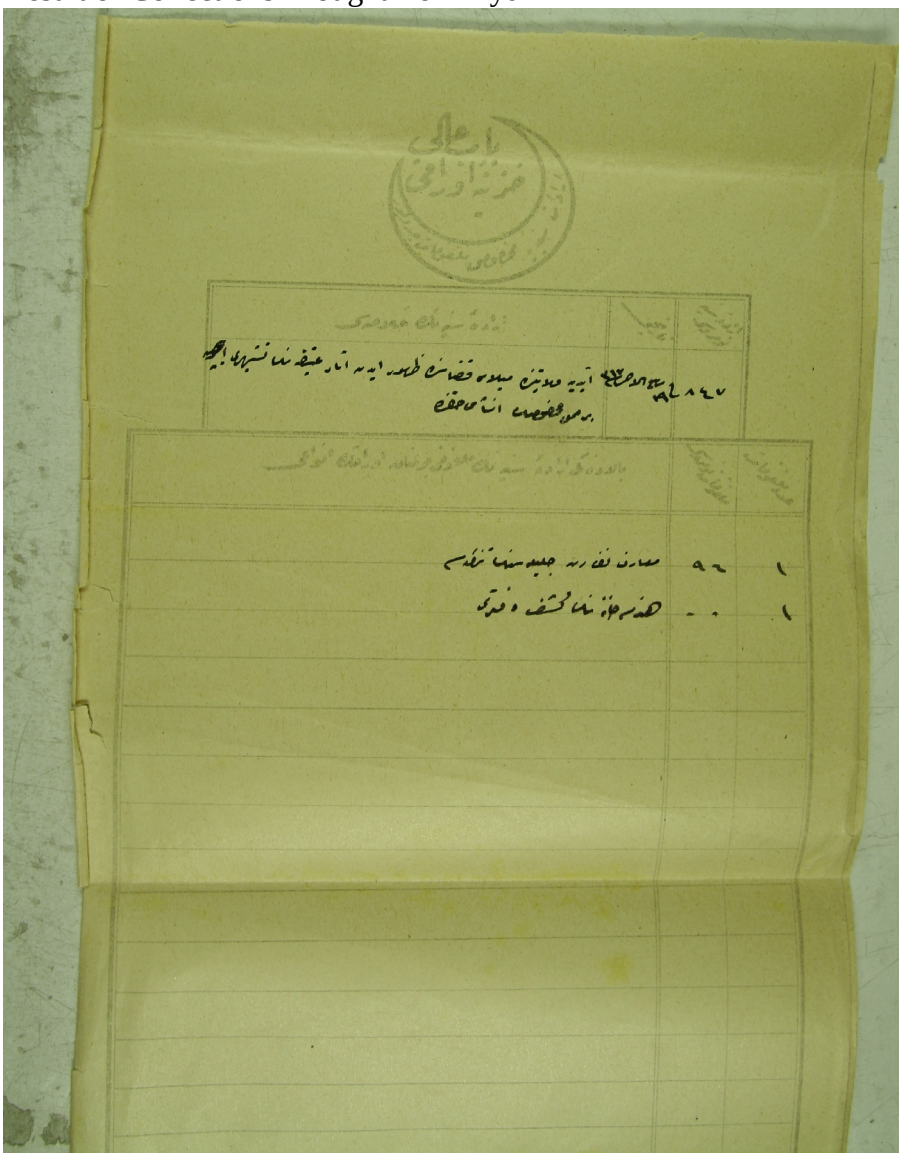
The Decision of Construction of a Masonry Museum Building instead of Wooden Construction



T.C Ottoman State Archives General Director, **İ.MMS 93/3911,** 24 Zilkade 1304

APPENDIX J

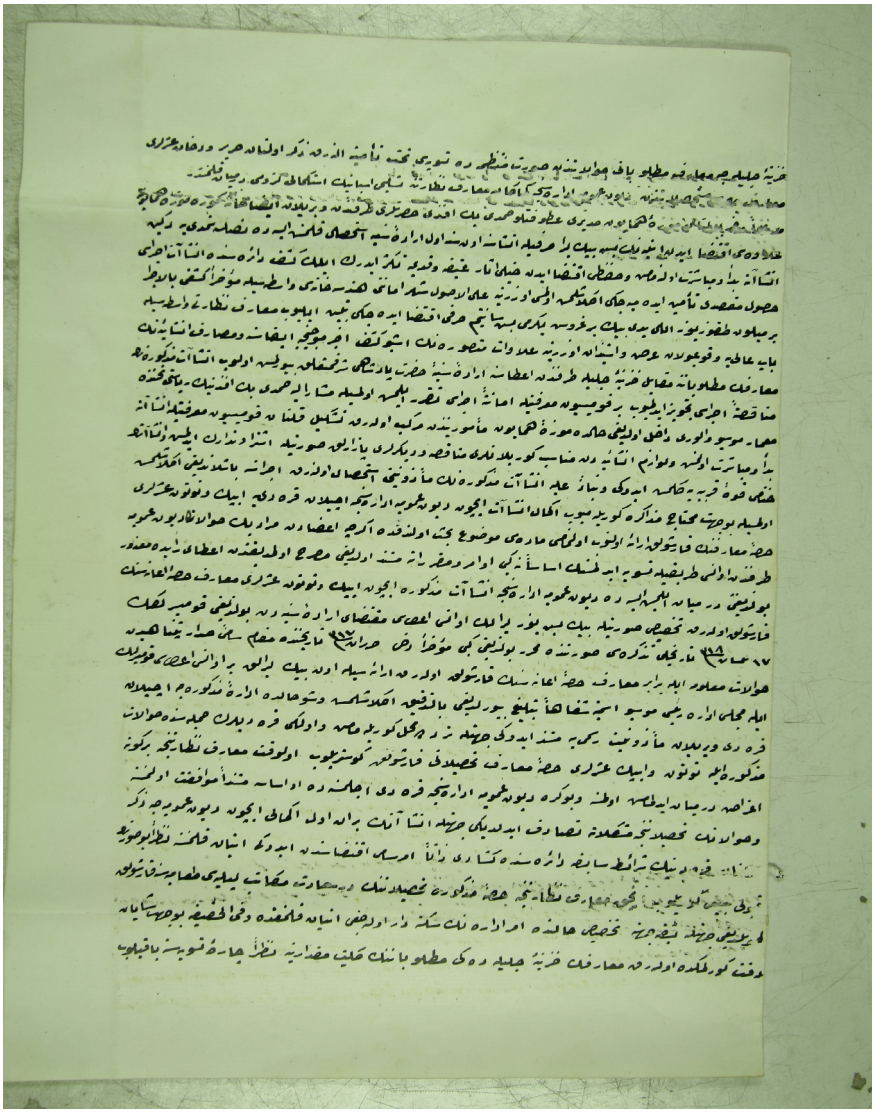
The Necessity of Construction of the Second Museum Building as the Result of Collections Brought from Aydın



T.C Ottoman State Archives General Directory, **İ.MF 1317 R/19,** 19 Rebiülahir 1317

APPENDIX K

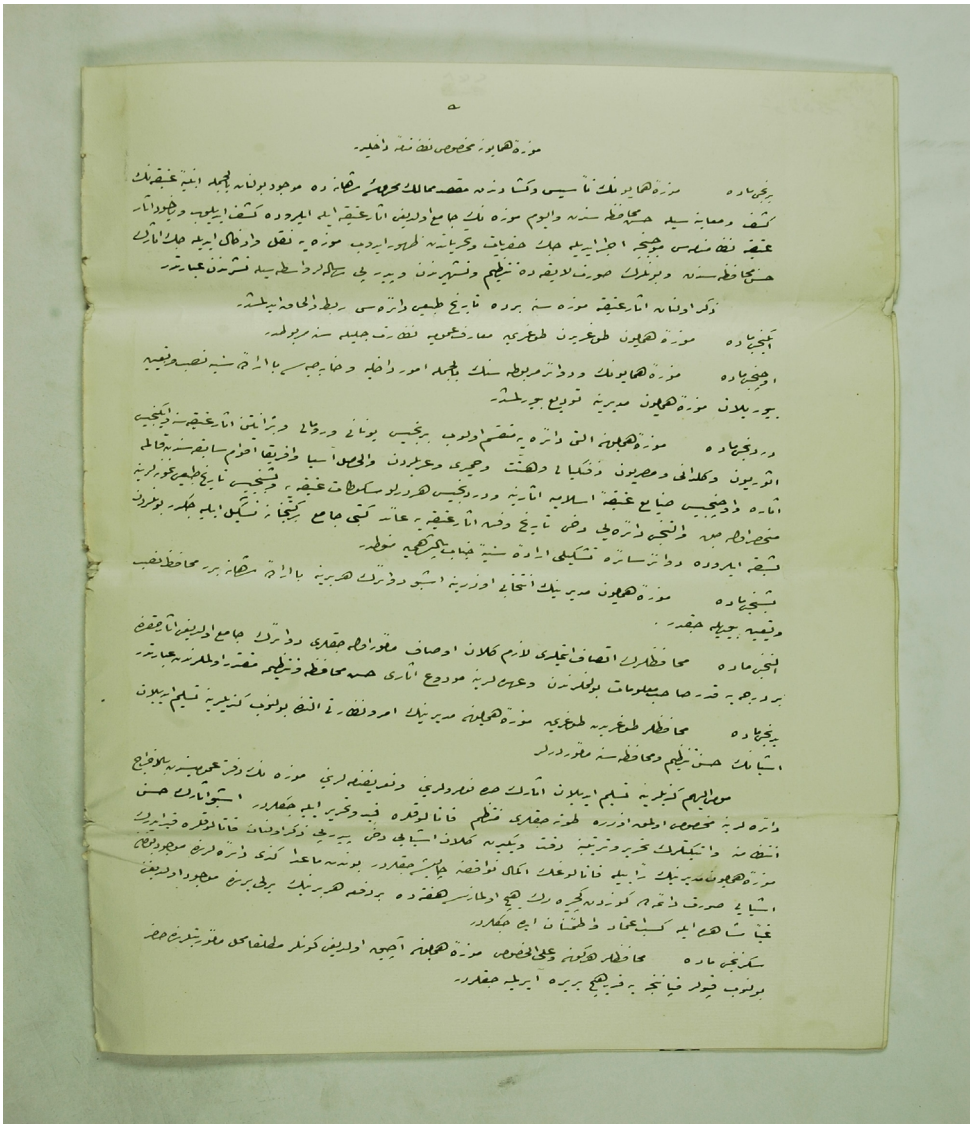
Alexandre Vallaury's Appointment upon Osman Hamdi Bey's Request: Construction of the Museum Building by the Committee selected from the School of Fine Arts



T.C Ottoman State Archives General Directory, **İ.MF 1320.Ca/4,** Fî 20 Rebiülevvel 1320

APPENDIX L

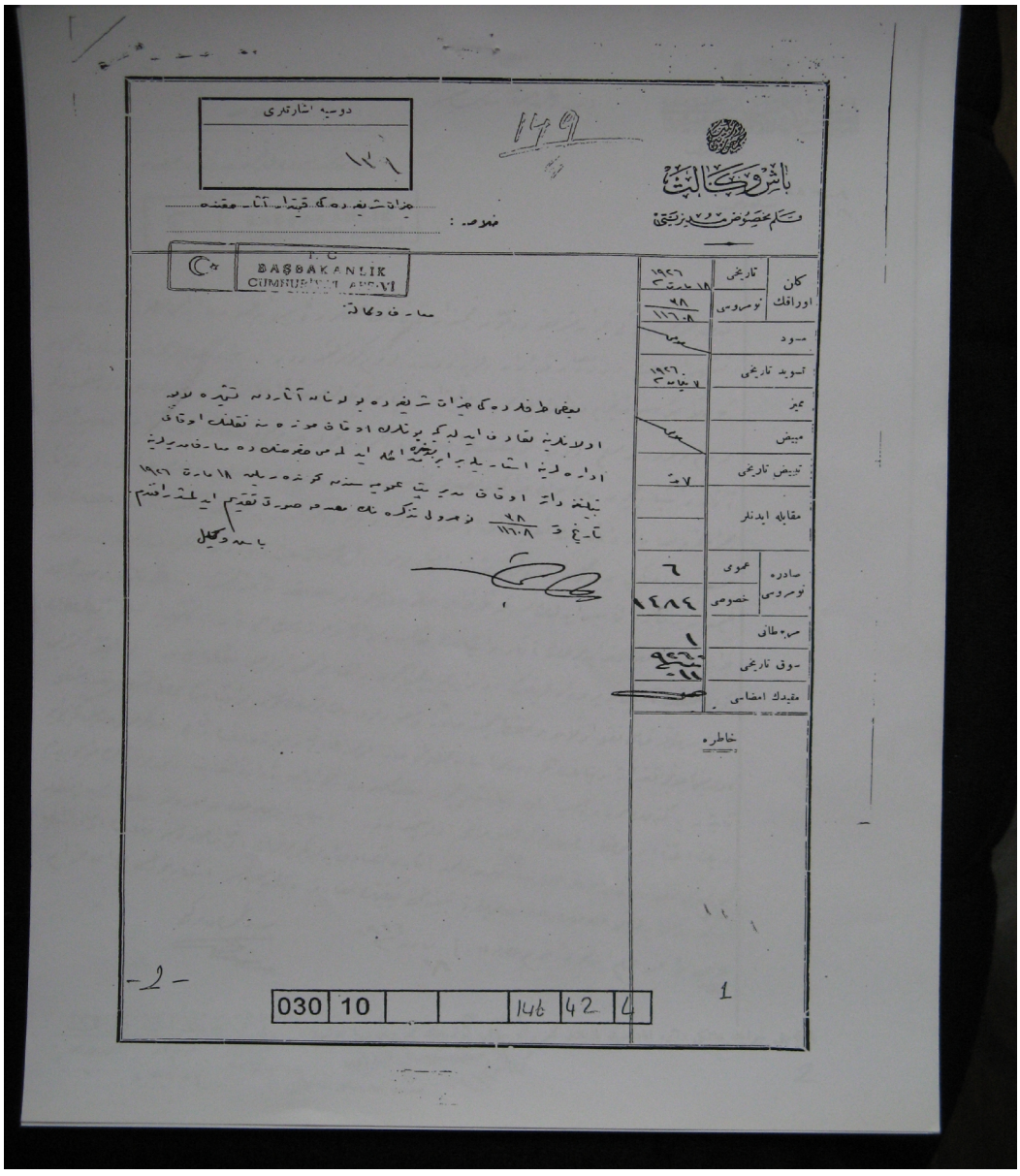
The Draft of Regulations on the Imperial Museum



T.C Ottoman State Archives General Directory, Ş.D. 210/27, 1306. Ra.23

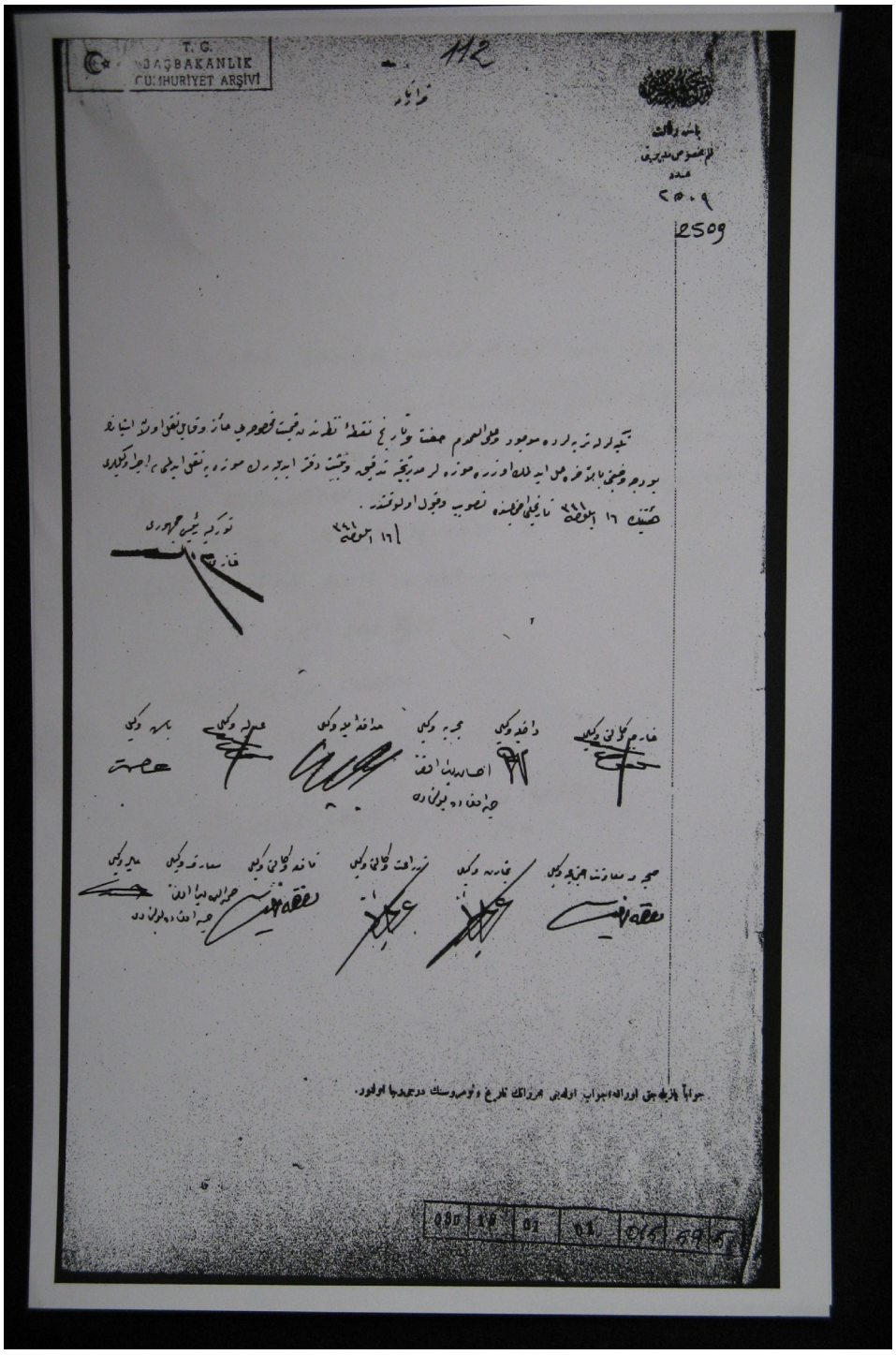
APPENDIX M

The Decision on Foundation of the Ankara Ethnographical Museum



T.C Başbakanlık State Archives General Directory, 030 10 01 01 012 629

Appendix M (continued)



APPENDIX N

Eckhard Unger's Appointment for the Ankara Museum

İstanbul Asarı Atika Müzeleri

Gelen №		Tarih	Yazılan №
			16938 / 579

10 / VI / 3

Prof. Unger'ın mukavelesinin yenilenmesi hakkında

Maarif Vekâleti Celilesine

Müzeler Dairesi ifadesile şerefvarit 18/III/933 tarih ve 84737 sayılı emirnameleri cevabıdır:

Prof. Unger'ın bu malî sene zarfında dahi Müzemiz ve lüzum görüldüğü takdirde Ankara Müzesinde çalıştırılıp ücretinin arttırılması hususu vait buyrulmuş idi.

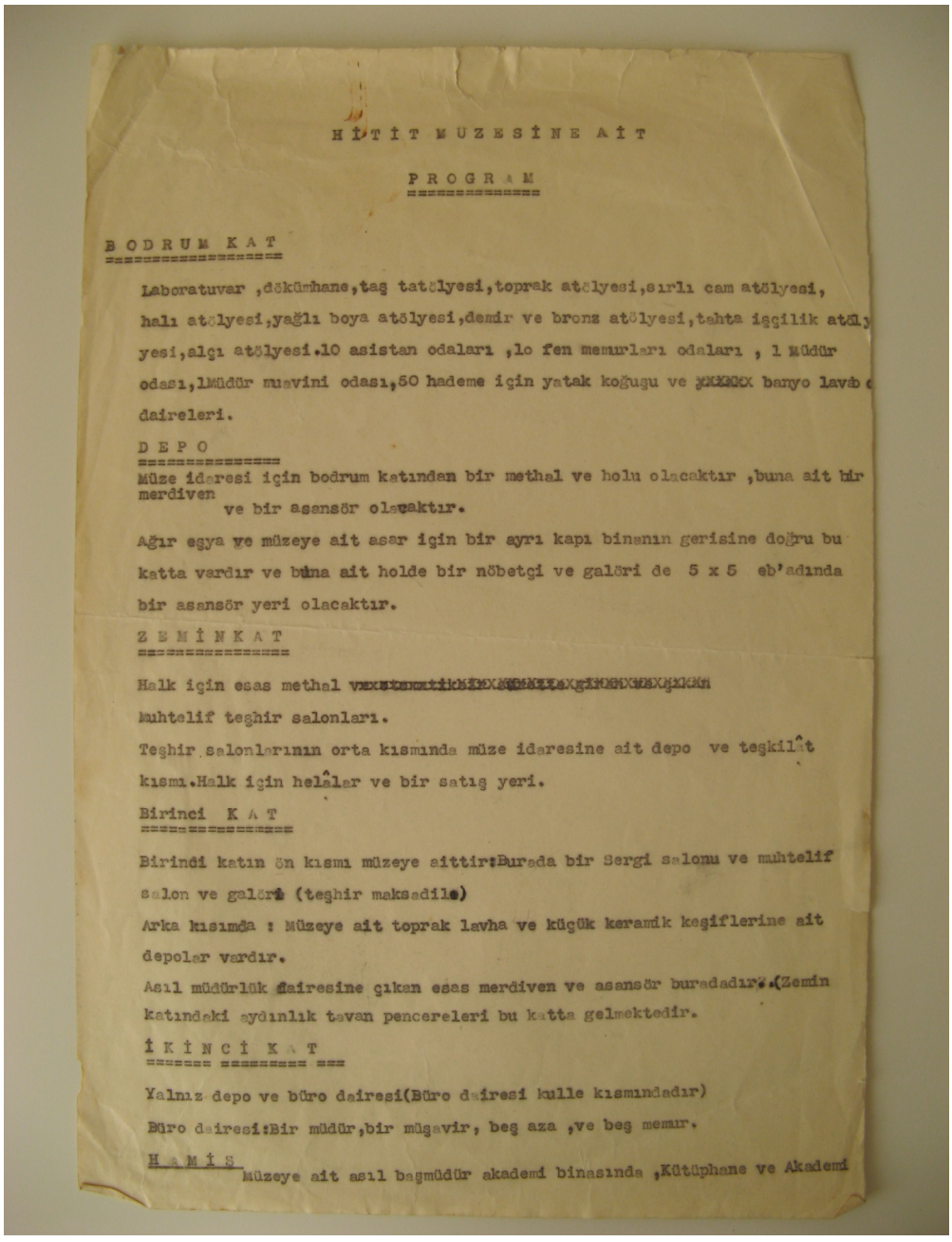
Malî sene başlamış olduğundan ay nihayetinde maaşını alabilmek üzere evvelce olduğu gibi İdarei acizi ile mumaileyh arasında lâzım gelen mukavelenamenin akit ve tahsisat havalesinin ona göre irsaline emir ve müsaade buyrulmasını istirham ile sonsuz saygılarımı sunarım Efendim.

Asarıatika Müzeleri Umum Müdürü

İstanbul Archaeological Museum Archive

APPENDIX O

Site Lists for the Non-implemented Complex Project



HİTİT MÜZESİNE AİT

PROGRAM

BODRUM KAT

Laboratuvar ,döküm hane,taş tatölyesi,toprak atölyesi,sırlı cam atölyesi, halı atölyesi,yağlı boya atölyesi,demir ve bronz atölyesi,tahta işçilik atöl yesi,alçı atölyesi.10 asistan odaları ,1o fen memurları odaları , 1 Müdür odası,1Müdür muavini odası,50 hademe için yatak koğuşu ve [illegible] banyo lavab daireleri.

DEPO

Müze idaresi için bodrum katından bir methal ve holu olacaktır ,buna ait bir merdiven ve bir asansör olacaktır.

Ağır eşya ve müzeye ait asar için bir ayrı kapı binanın gerisine doğru bu katta vardır ve buna ait holde bir nöbetçi ve galeri de 5 x 5 eb'adında bir asansör yeri olacaktır.

ZEMİNKAT

Halk için esas methal [illegible]

Muhtelif teşhir salonları.

Teşhir salonlarının orta kısmında müze idaresine ait depo ve teşkilât kısmı.Halk için helâlar ve bir satış yeri.

Birinci KAT

Birindi katın ön kısmı müzeye aittir:Burada bir Sergi salonu ve muhtelif salon ve galeri (teşhir maksadile)

Arka kısımda : Müzeye ait toprak lavha ve küçük keramik keşiflerine ait depolar vardır.

Asıl müdürlük dairesine çıkan esas merdiven ve asansör buradadır.(Zemin katındaki aydınlık tavan pencereleri bu katta gelmektedir.

İKİNCİ KAT

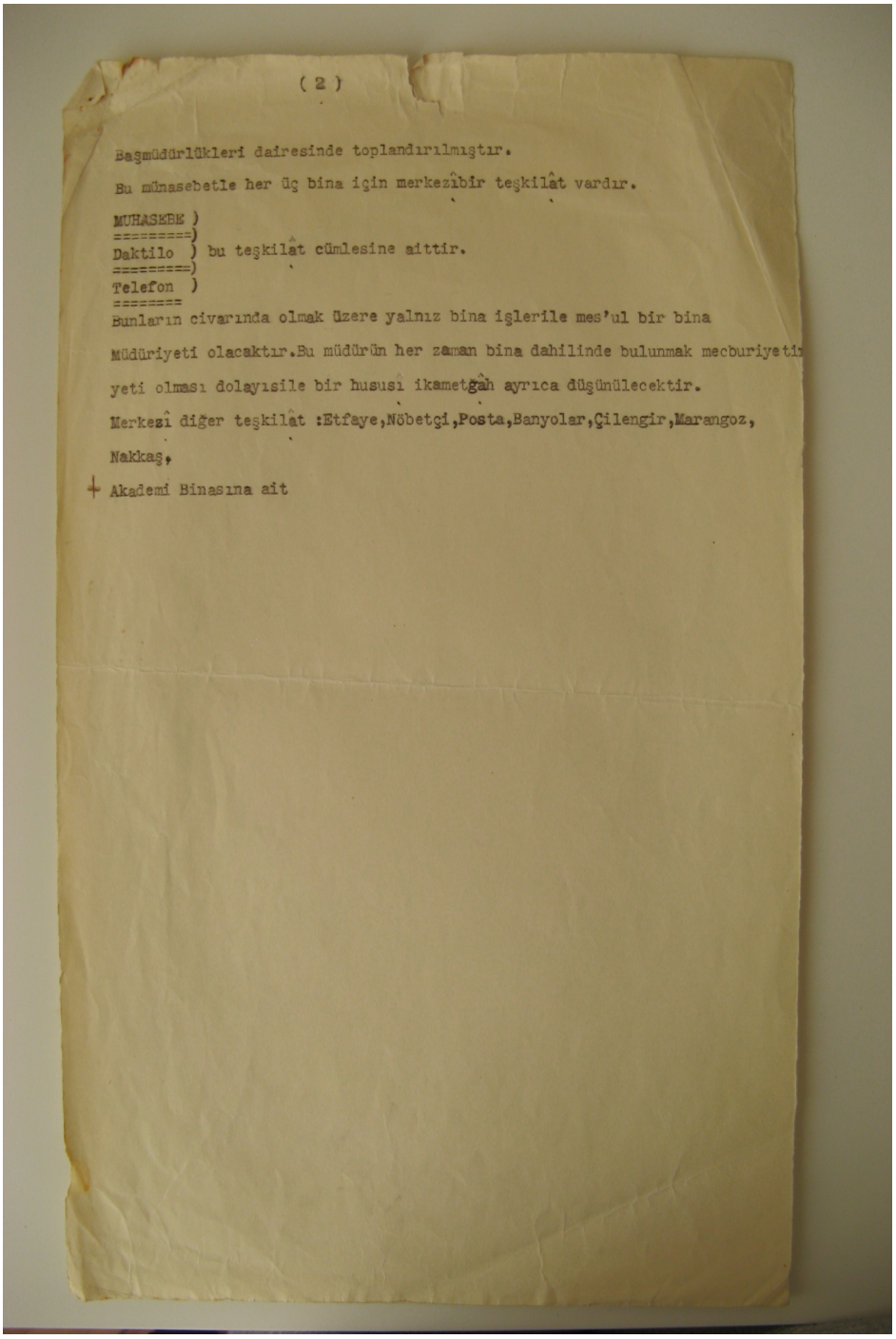
Yalnız depo ve büro dairesi(Büro dairesi kulle kısmındadır)

Büro dairesi:Bir müdür,bir müşavir, beş aza ,ve beş memur.

HAMİS

Müzeye ait asıl başmüdür akademi binasında ,Kütüphane ve Akademi

Appendix O (continued)



(2)

Başmüdürlükleri dairesinde toplandırılmıştır.

Bu münasebetle her üç bina için merkezî bir teşkilât vardır.

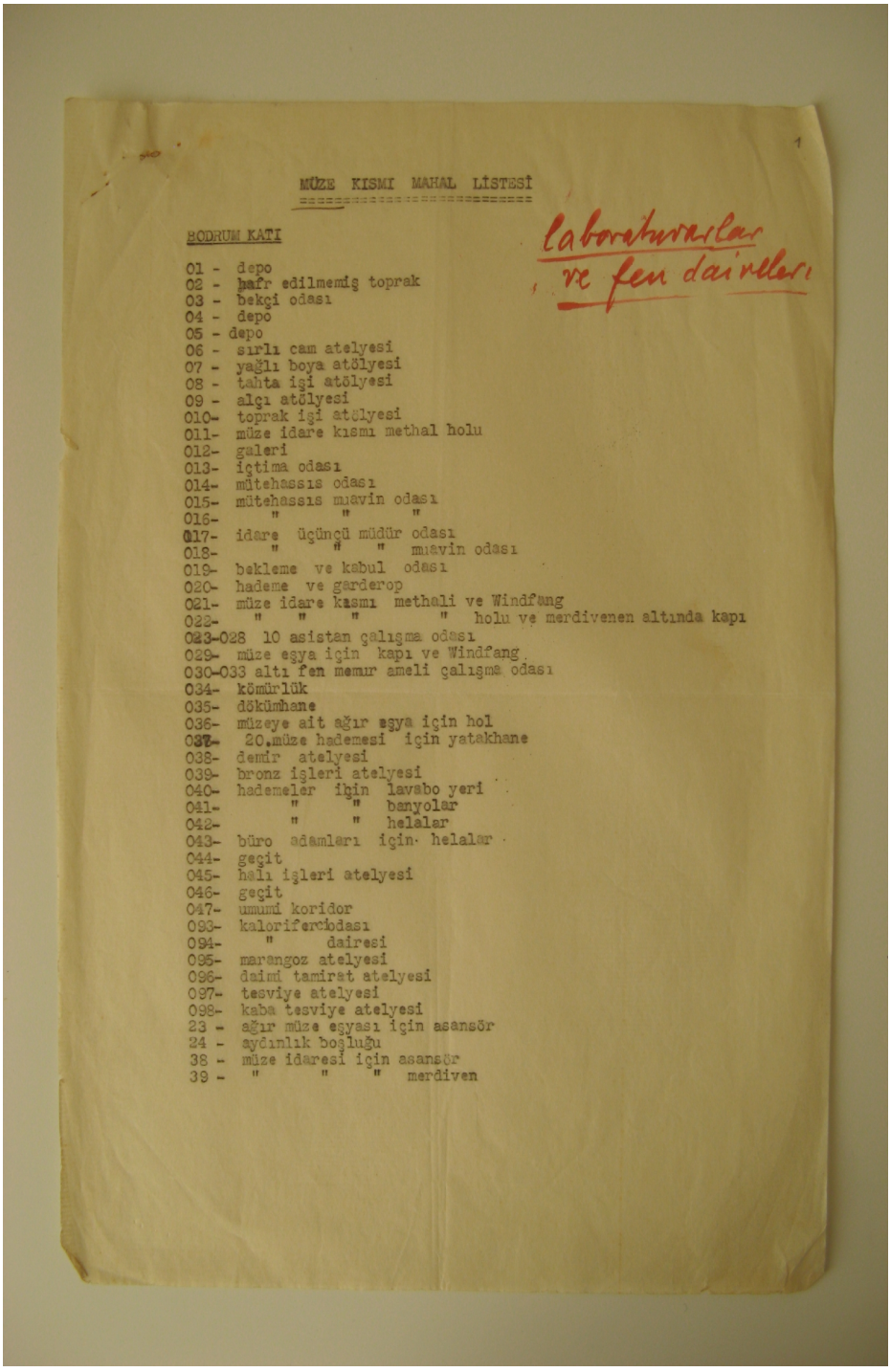
MUHASEBE)
=========)
Daktilo) bu teşkilât cümlesine aittir.
=========)
Telefon)
========

Bunların civarında olmak üzere yalnız bina işlerile mes'ul bir bina Müdüriyeti olacaktır.Bu müdürün her zaman bina dahilinde bulunmak mecburiyeti yeti olması dolayısile bir hususi ikametgâh ayrıca düşünülecektir.

Merkezî diğer teşkilât :Etfaye,Nöbetçi,Posta,Banyolar,Çilengir,Marangoz, Nakkaş,

+ Akademi Binasına ait

Appendix O (continued)



1

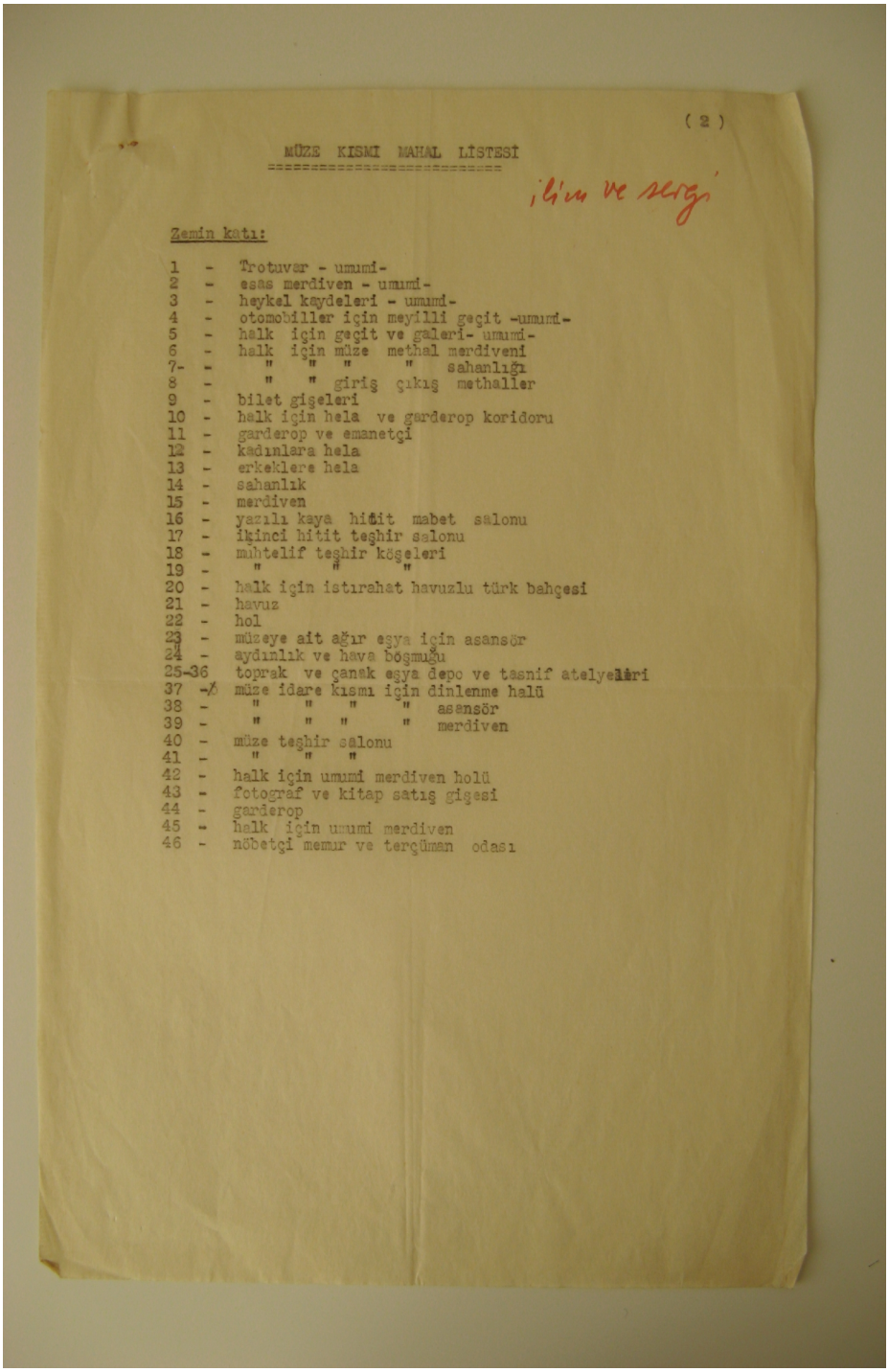
MÜZE KISMI MAHAL LİSTESİ

laboratuvarlar ve fen daireleri

BODRUM KATI

01 - depo
02 - hafr edilmemiş toprak
03 - bekçi odası
04 - depo
05 - depo
06 - sırlı cam atelyesi
07 - yağlı boya atölyesi
08 - tahta işi atölyesi
09 - alçı atölyesi
010- toprak işi atölyesi
011- müze idare kısmı methal holu
012- galeri
013- içtima odası
014- mütehassıs odası
015- mütehassıs muavin odası
016- " " "
017- idare üçüncü müdür odası
018- " " " muavin odası
019- bekleme ve kabul odası
020- hademe ve garderop
021- müze idare kısmı methali ve Windfang
022- " " " " holu ve merdivenen altında kapı
023-028 10 asistan çalışma odası
029- müze eşya için kapı ve Windfang
030-033 altı fen memur ameli çalışma odası
034- kömürlük
035- dökümhane
036- müzeye ait ağır eşya için hol
037- 20.müze hademesi için yatakhane
038- demir atelyesi
039- bronz işleri atelyesi
040- hademeler için lavabo yeri
041- " " banyolar
042- " " helalar
043- büro adamları için helalar
044- geçit
045- halı işleri atelyesi
046- geçit
047- umumi koridor
093- kalorifercidaresi
094- " dairesi
095- marangoz atelyesi
096- daimi tamirat atelyesi
097- tesviye atelyesi
098- kaba tesviye atelyesi
23 - ağır müze eşyası için asansör
24 - aydınlık boşluğu
38 - müze idaresi için asansör
39 - " " " merdiven

Appendix O (continued)



(2)

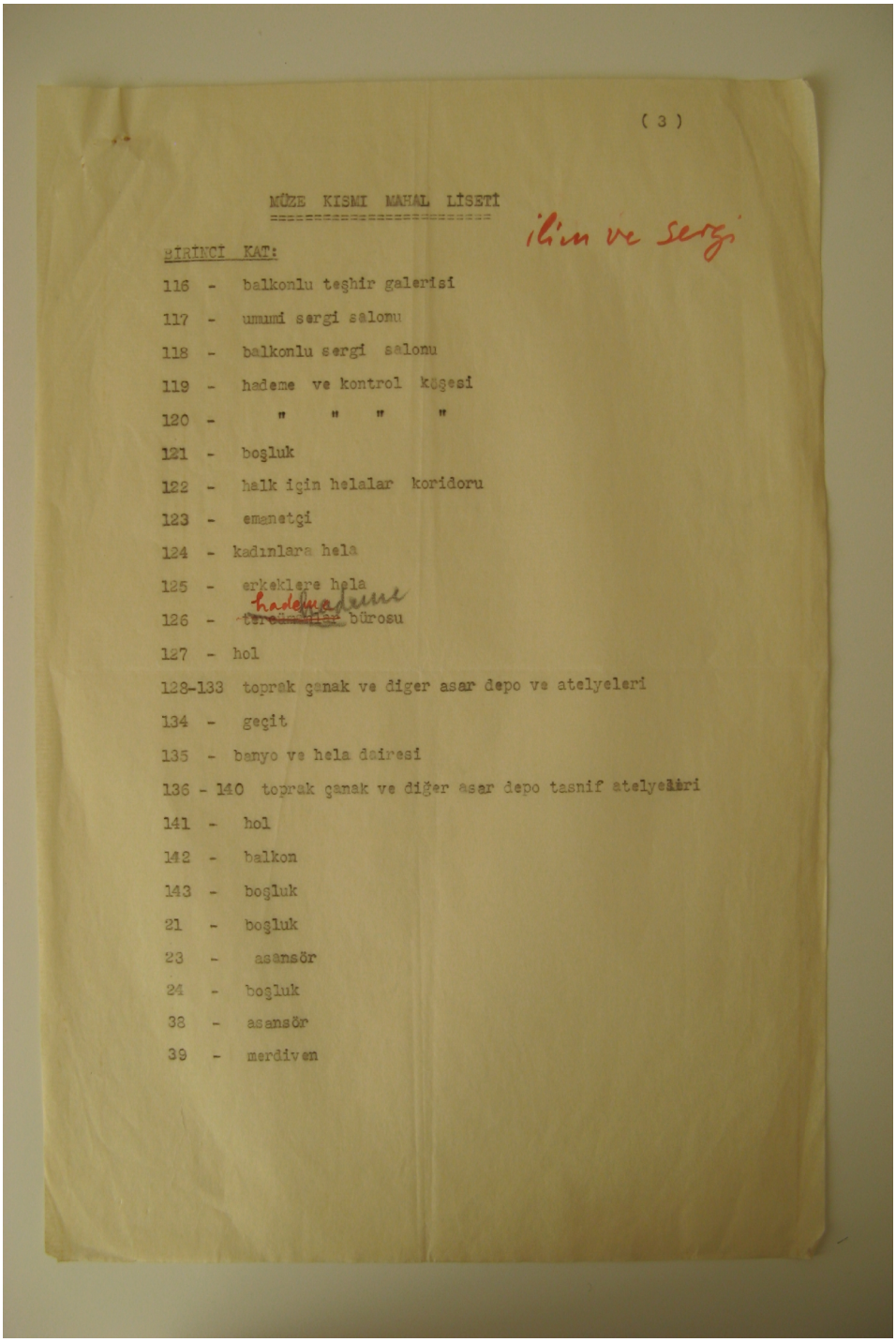
MÜZE KISMI MAHAL LİSTESİ

ilim ve sergi

Zemin katı:

1 - Trotuvar - umumi-
2 - esas merdiven - umumi-
3 - heykel kaydeleri - umumi-
4 - otomobiller için meyilli geçit -umumi-
5 - halk için geçit ve galeri- umumi-
6 - halk için müze methal merdiveni
7- - " " " " sahanlığı
8 - " " giriş çıkış methalleri
9 - bilet gişeleri
10 - halk için hela ve garderop koridoru
11 - garderop ve emanetçi
12 - kadınlara hela
13 - erkeklere hela
14 - sahanlık
15 - merdiven
16 - yazılı kaya hitit mabet salonu
17 - İkinci hitit teşhir salonu
18 - muhtelif teşhir köşeleri
19 - " " "
20 - halk için istırahat havuzlu türk bahçesi
21 - havuz
22 - hol
23 - müzeye ait ağır eşya için asansör
24 - aydınlık ve hava boşmuğu
25-36 toprak ve çanak eşya depo ve tasnif atelyeleri
37 - müze idare kısmı için dinlenme holü
38 - " " " " asansör
39 - " " " " merdiven
40 - müze teşhir salonu
41 - " " "
42 - halk için umumi merdiven holü
43 - fotograf ve kitap satış gişesi
44 - garderop
45 - halk için umumi merdiven
46 - nöbetçi memur ve terçüman odası

Appendix O (continued)



(3)

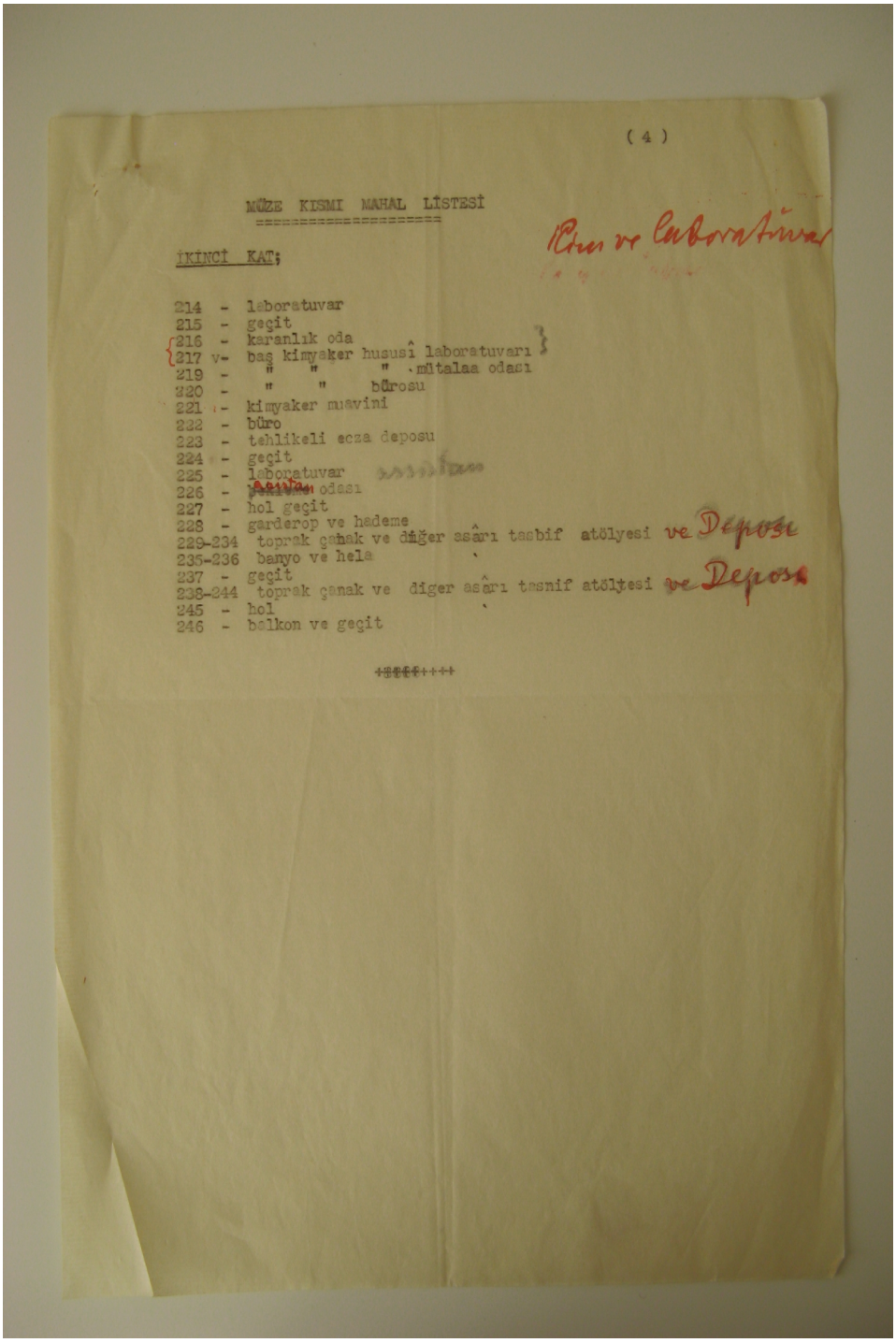
MÜZE KISMI MAHAL LİSETİ

ilim ve sergi

BİRİNCİ KAT:

116 - balkonlu teşhir galerisi
117 - umumi sergi salonu
118 - balkonlu sergi salonu
119 - hademe ve kontrol köşesi
120 - " " " "
121 - boşluk
122 - halk için helalar koridoru
123 - emanetçi
124 - kadınlara hela
125 - erkeklere hela
126 - hademe bürosu
127 - hol
128-133 toprak çanak ve diğer asar depo ve atelyeleri
134 - geçit
135 - banyo ve hela dairesi
136 - 140 toprak çanak ve diğer asar depo tasnif atelyeleri
141 - hol
142 - balkon
143 - boşluk
21 - boşluk
23 - asansör
24 - boşluk
38 - asansör
39 - merdiven

Appendix O (continued)



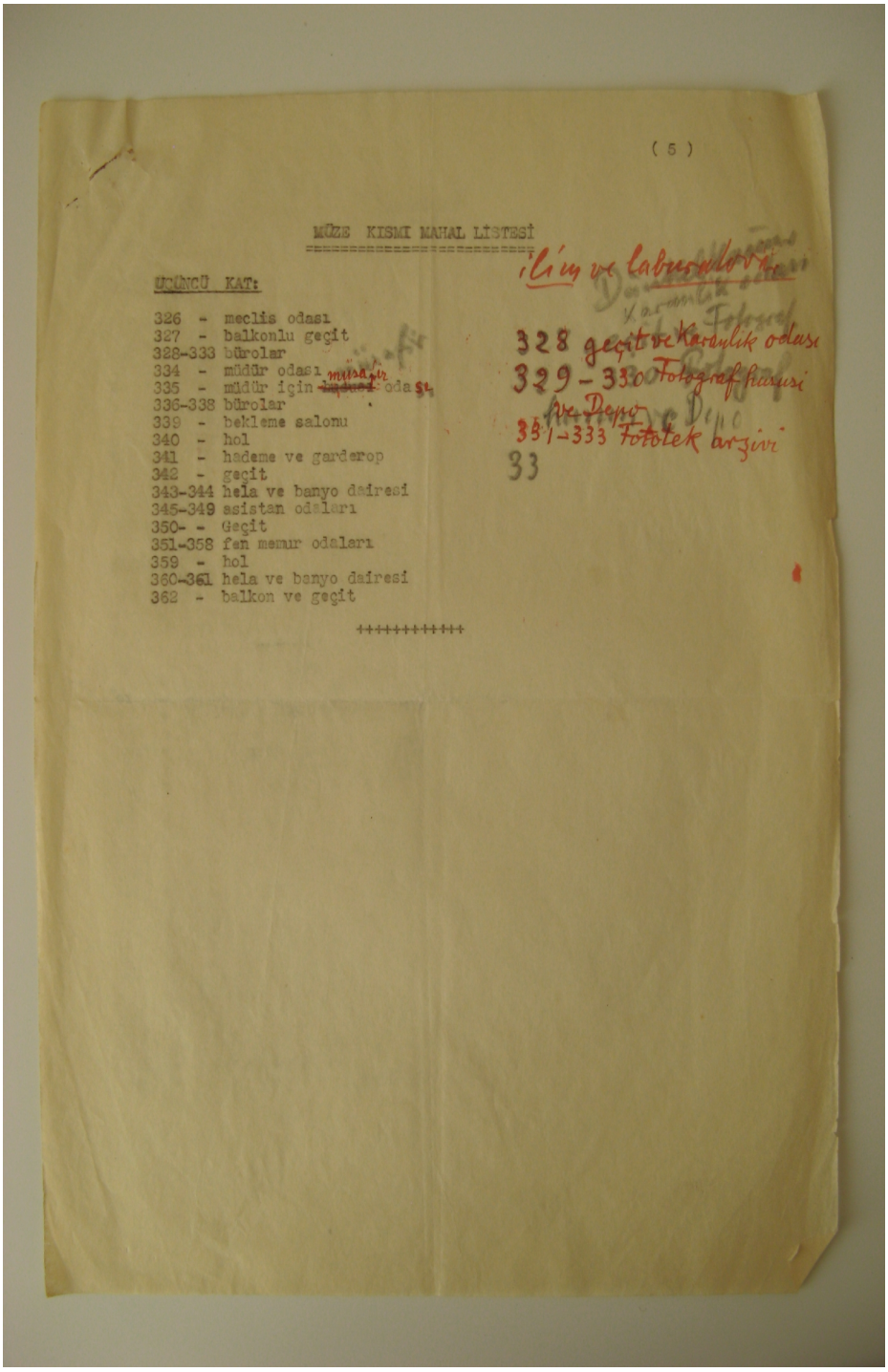
(4)

MÜZE KISMI MAHAL LİSTESİ

İKİNCİ KAT;

214 - laboratuvar
215 - geçit
216 - karanlık oda
217 v- baş kimyaker hususî laboratuvarı
219 - " " " mütalaa odası
220 - " " bürosu
221 - kimyaker muavini
222 - büro
223 - tehlikeli ecza deposu
224 - geçit
225 - laboratuvar
226 - [illegible] odası
227 - hol geçit
228 - garderop ve hademe
229-234 toprak çanak ve diğer asârı tasbif atölyesi
235-236 banyo ve hela
237 - geçit
238-244 toprak çanak ve diger asârı tasnif atölyesi
245 - hol
246 - balkon ve geçit

Appendix O (continued)



(5)

MÜZE KISMI MAHAL LİSTESİ

ÜÇÜNCÜ KAT:

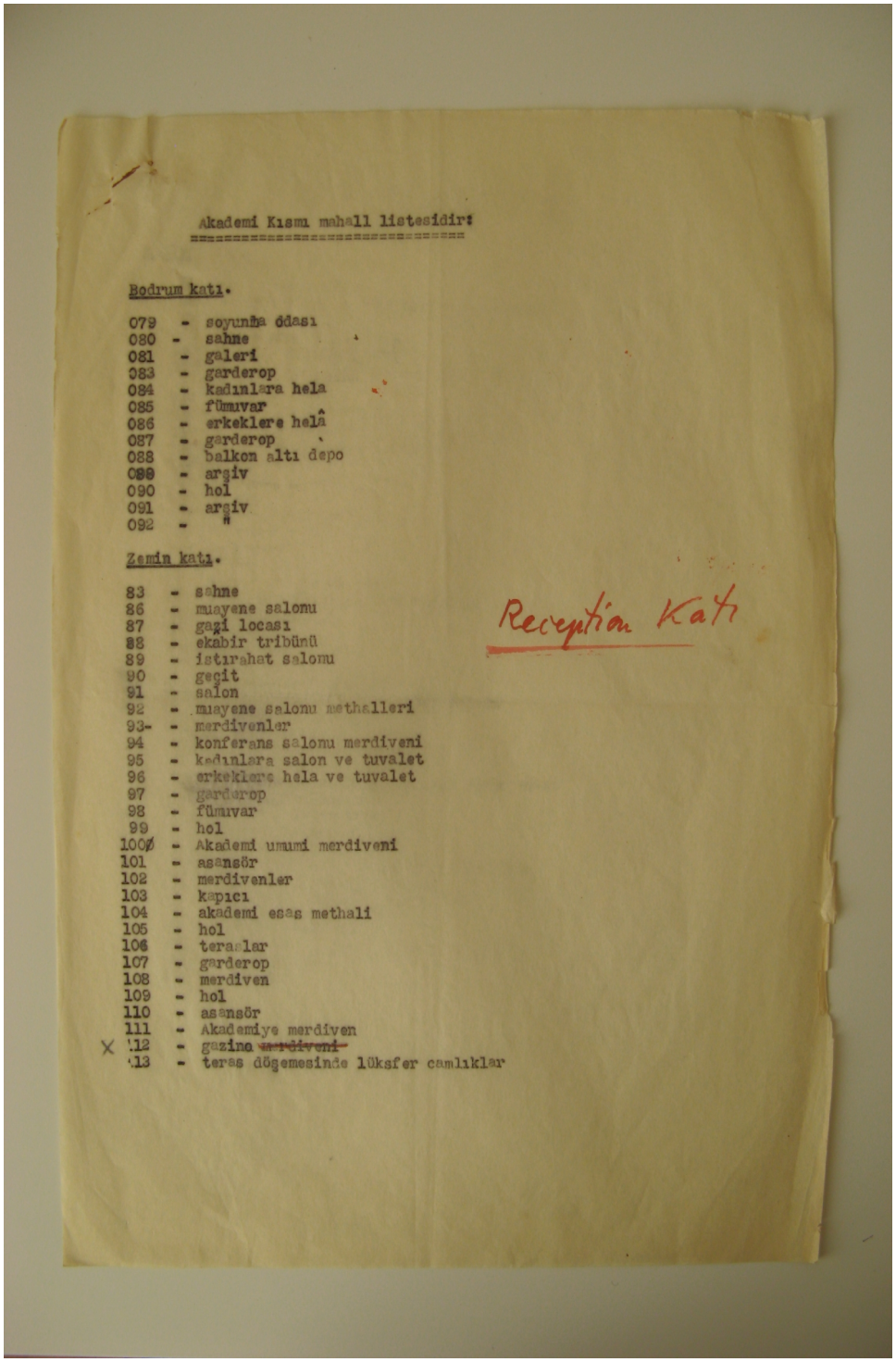
326 - meclis odası
327 - balkonlu geçit
328-333 bürolar
334 - müdür odası
335 - müdür için misafir oda
336-338 bürolar
339 - bekleme salonu
340 - hol
341 - hademe ve garderop
342 - geçit
343-344 hela ve banyo dairesi
345-349 asistan odaları
350- - Geçit
351-358 fen memur odaları
359 - hol
360-361 hela ve banyo dairesi
362 - balkon ve geçit

++++++++++++

İlim ve laboratuvar

328 geçit ve Karakılık odası
329-330 Fotoğraf bürosu ve Depo
331-333 Fotolek arşivi
33

Appendix O (continued)



Akademi Kısmı mahall listesidir:

Bodrum katı.

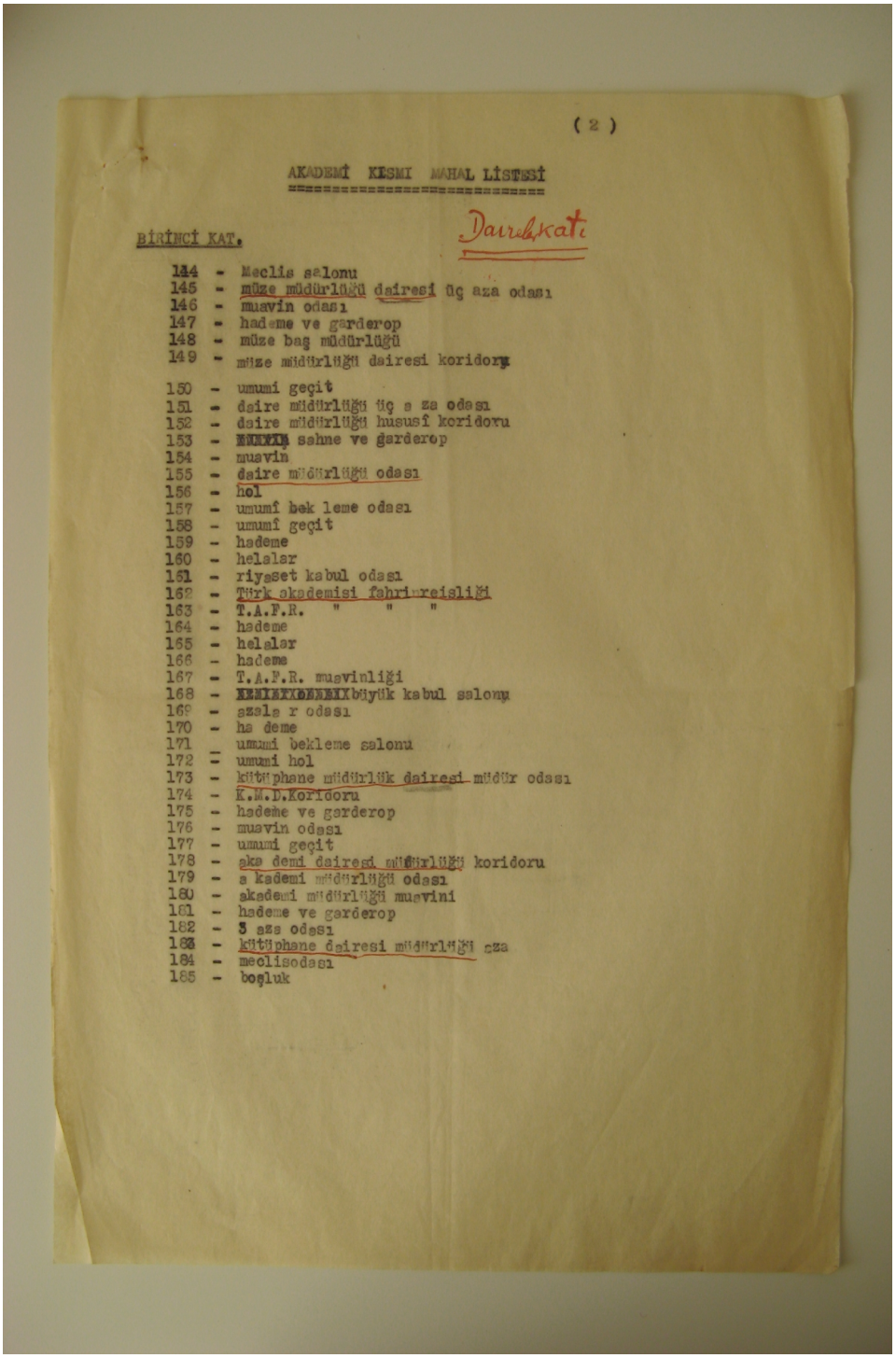
079 - soyunma odası
080 - sahne
081 - galeri
083 - garderop
084 - kadınlara hela
085 - fümuvar
086 - erkeklere helâ
087 - garderop
088 - balkon altı depo
089 - arşiv
090 - hol
091 - arşiv
092 - "

Zemin katı.

83 - sahne
86 - muayene salonu
87 - gazi locası
88 - ekabir tribünü
89 - istirahat salonu
90 - geçit
91 - salon
92 - muayene salonu methalleri
93- - merdivenler
94 - konferans salonu merdiveni
95 - kadınlara salon ve tuvalet
96 - erkeklere hela ve tuvalet
97 - garderop
98 - fümuvar
99 - hol
100 - Akademi umumi merdiveni
101 - asansör
102 - merdivenler
103 - kapıcı
104 - akademi esas methali
105 - hol
106 - teraslar
107 - garderop
108 - merdiven
109 - hol
110 - asansör
111 - Akademiye merdiven
X 112 - gazino ~~merdiveni~~
113 - teras döşemesinde lüksfer camlıklar

Reception Kath

Appendix O (continued)



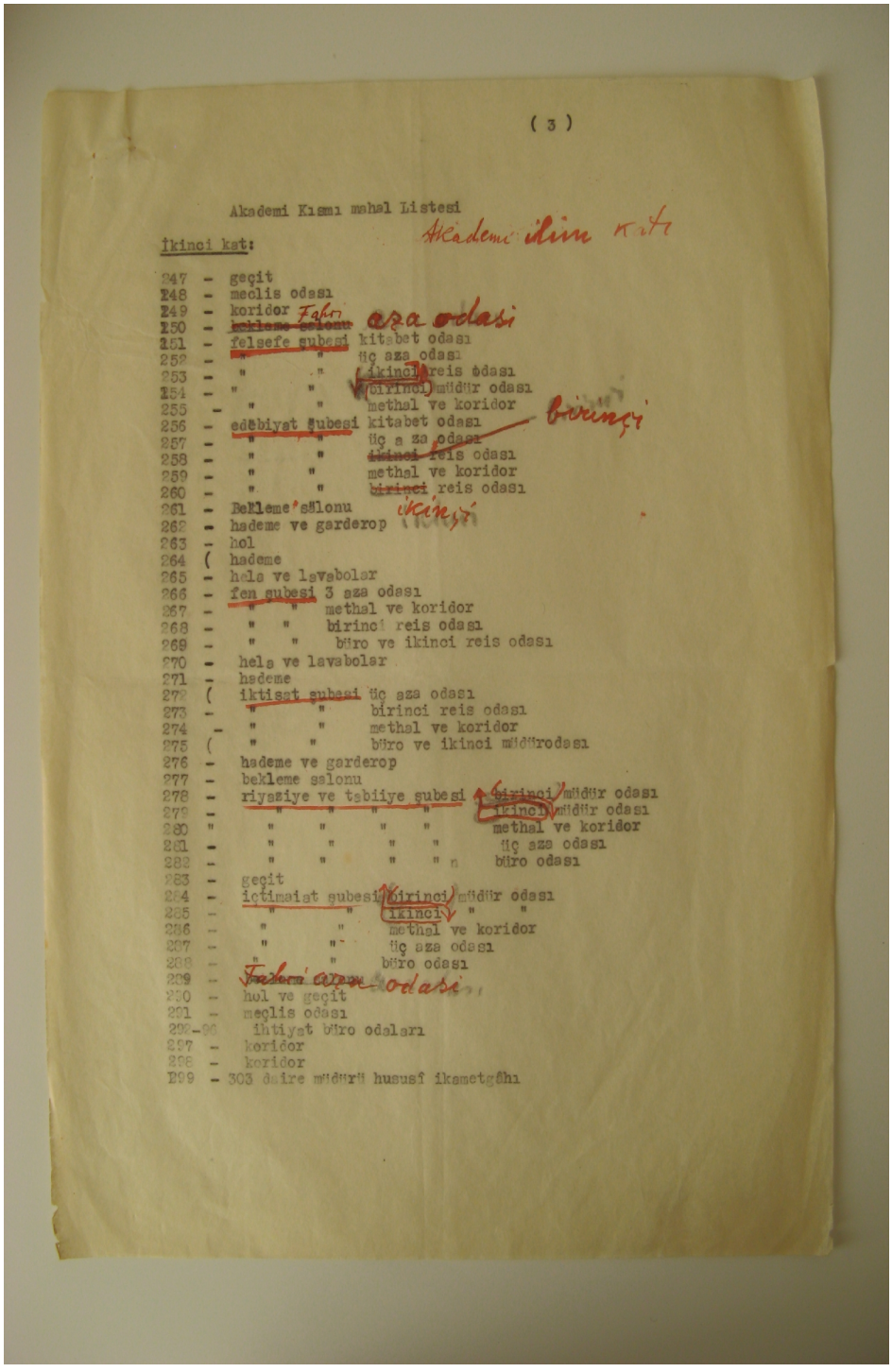
(2)

AKADEMİ KISMI MAHAL LİSTESİ

BİRİNCİ KAT. Dairekati

144 - Meclis salonu
145 - müze müdürlüğü dairesi üç aza odası
146 - muavin odası
147 - hademe ve garderop
148 - müze baş müdürlüğü
149 - müze müdürlüğü dairesi koridoru
150 - umumi geçit
151 - daire müdürlüğü üç a za odası
152 - daire müdürlüğü hususi koridoru
153 - [illegible] sahne ve garderop
154 - muavin
155 - daire müdürlüğü odası
156 - hol
157 - umumi bek leme odası
158 - umumi geçit
159 - hademe
160 - helalar
161 - riyaset kabul odası
162 - Türk akademisi fahri reisliği
163 - T.A.F.R. " " "
164 - hademe
165 - helalar
166 - hademe
167 - T.A.F.R. muavinliği
168 - [illegible]büyük kabul salonu
169 - sözle r odası
170 - ha deme
171 - umumi bekleme salonu
172 - umumi hol
173 - kütüphane müdürlük dairesi müdür odası
174 - K.M.D.Koridoru
175 - hademe ve garderop
176 - muavin odası
177 - umumi geçit
178 - akademi dairesi müdürlüğü koridoru
179 - akademi müdürlüğü odası
180 - akademi müdürlüğü muavini
181 - hademe ve garderop
182 - 3 azs odası
183 - kütüphane dairesi müdürlüğü oza
184 - meclisodası
185 - boşluk

Appendix O (continued)



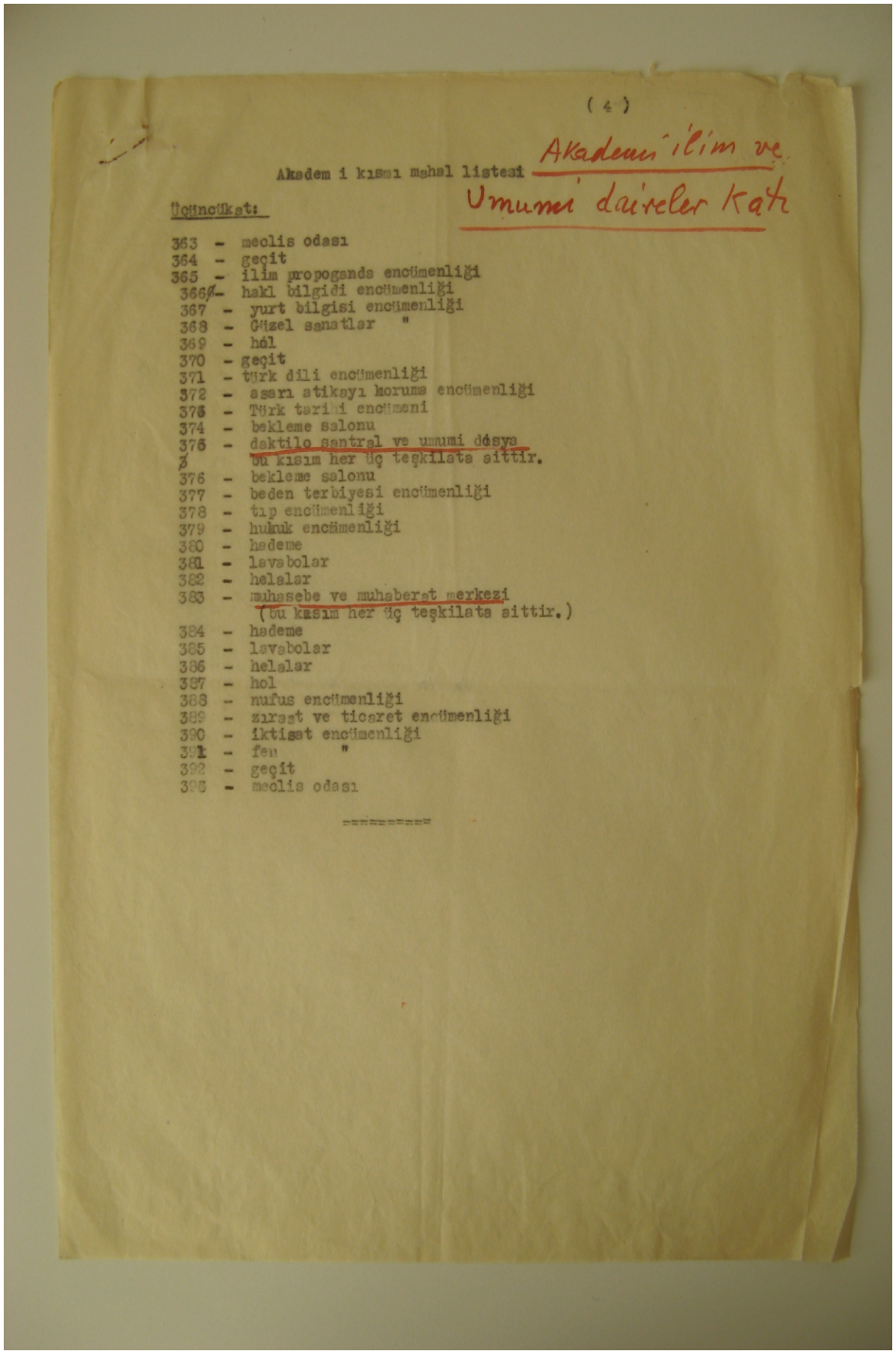
(3)

Akademi Kısmı mahal Listesi

İkinci kat:

247 - geçit
248 - meclis odası
249 - koridor
250 - bekleme salonu
251 - felsefe şubesi kitabet odası
252 - " " üç aza odası
253 - " " ikinci reis odası
254 - " " birinci müdür odası
255 - " " mahal ve koridor
256 - edebiyat şubesi kitabet odası
257 - " " üç aza odası
258 - " " ikinci reis odası
259 - " " mahal ve koridor
260 - " " birinci reis odası
261 - Bekleme salonu
262 - hademe ve garderop
263 - hol
264 (hademe
265 - hela ve lavabolar
266 - fen şubesi 3 aza odası
267 - " " mahal ve koridor
268 - " " birinci reis odası
269 - " " büro ve ikinci reis odası
270 - hela ve lavabolar
271 - hademe
272 (iktisat şubesi üç aza odası
273 - " " birinci reis odası
274 - " " mahal ve koridor
275 (" " büro ve ikinci müdürodası
276 - hademe ve garderop
277 - bekleme salonu
278 - riyaziye ve tabiiye şubesi birinci müdür odası
279 - " " " " ikinci müdür odası
280 " " " " " mahal ve koridor
281 - " " " " üç aza odası
282 - " " " " büro odası
283 - geçit
284 - içtimaiat şubesi birinci müdür odası
285 - " " ikinci " "
286 - " " mahal ve koridor
287 - " " üç aza odası
288 - " " büro odası
289 - Fahri aza odası
290 - hol ve geçit
291 - meclis odası
292-96 ihtiyat büro odaları
297 - koridor
298 - koridor
299 - 303 daire müdürü hususi ikametgâhı

Appendix O (continued)



(4)

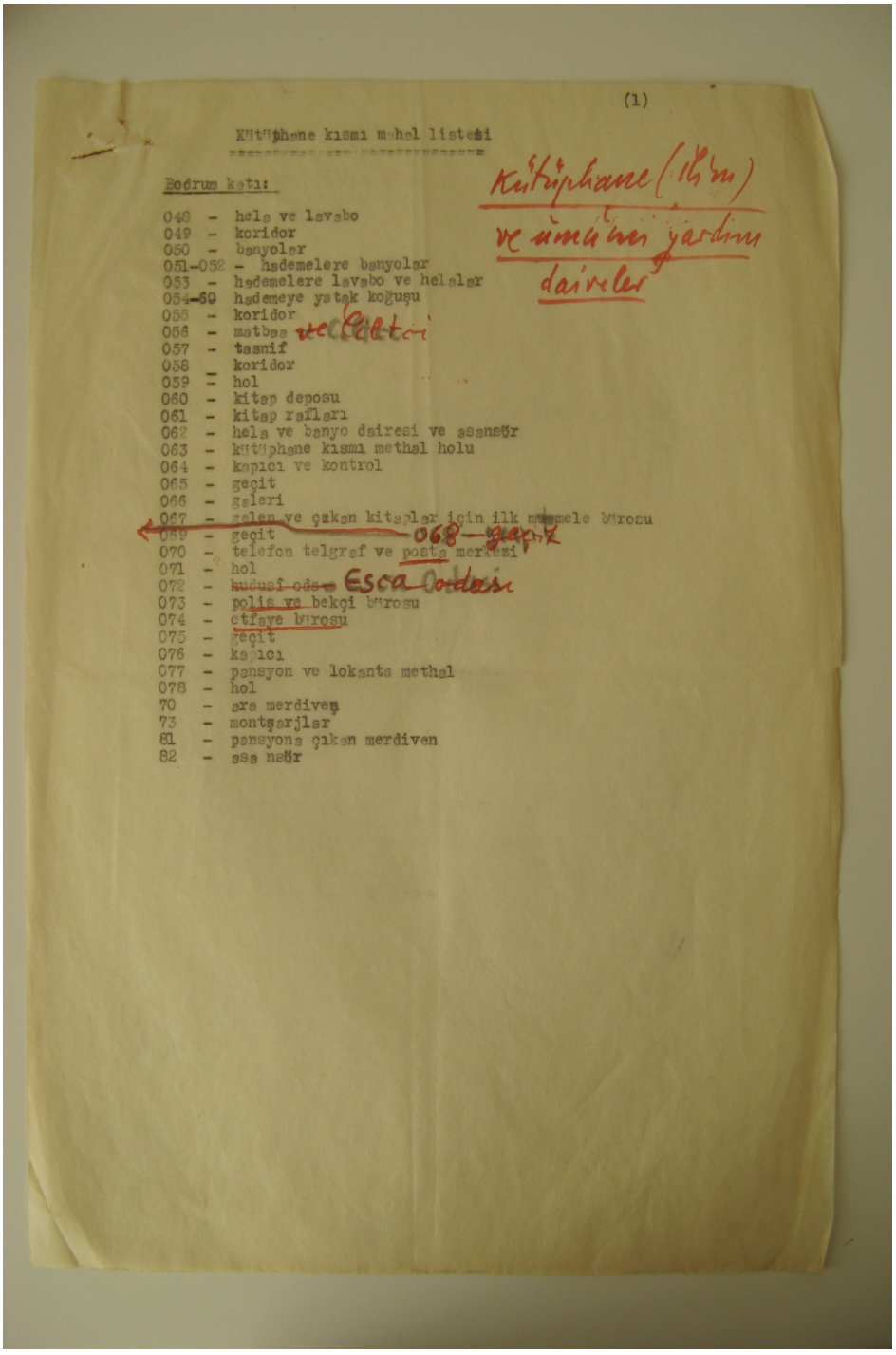
Akademi kısmı mahal listesi — Akademi ilim ve Umumi daireler kat

Üçüncükat:

363 - meclis odası
364 - geçit
365 - ilim propogande encümenliği
366 - halk bilgidi encümenliği
367 - yurt bilgisi encümenliği
368 - Güzel sanatlar "
369 - hol
370 - geçit
371 - türk dili encümenliği
372 - eserı atikayı koruma encümenliği
373 - Türk tarihi encümeni
374 - bekleme salonu
375 - daktilo santral ve umumi dosya
bu kısım her üç teşkilata sittir.
376 - bekleme salonu
377 - beden terbiyesi encümenliği
378 - tıp encümenliği
379 - hukuk encümenliği
380 - hademe
381 - levabolar
382 - helalar
383 - muhasebe ve muhaberat merkezi
(bu kısım her üç teşkilata sittir.)
384 - hademe
385 - levabolar
386 - helalar
387 - hol
388 - nufus encümenliği
389 - zıraat ve ticaret encümenliği
390 - iktisat encümenliği
391 - fen "
392 - geçit
393 - meclis odası

==========

Appendix O (continued)



(1)

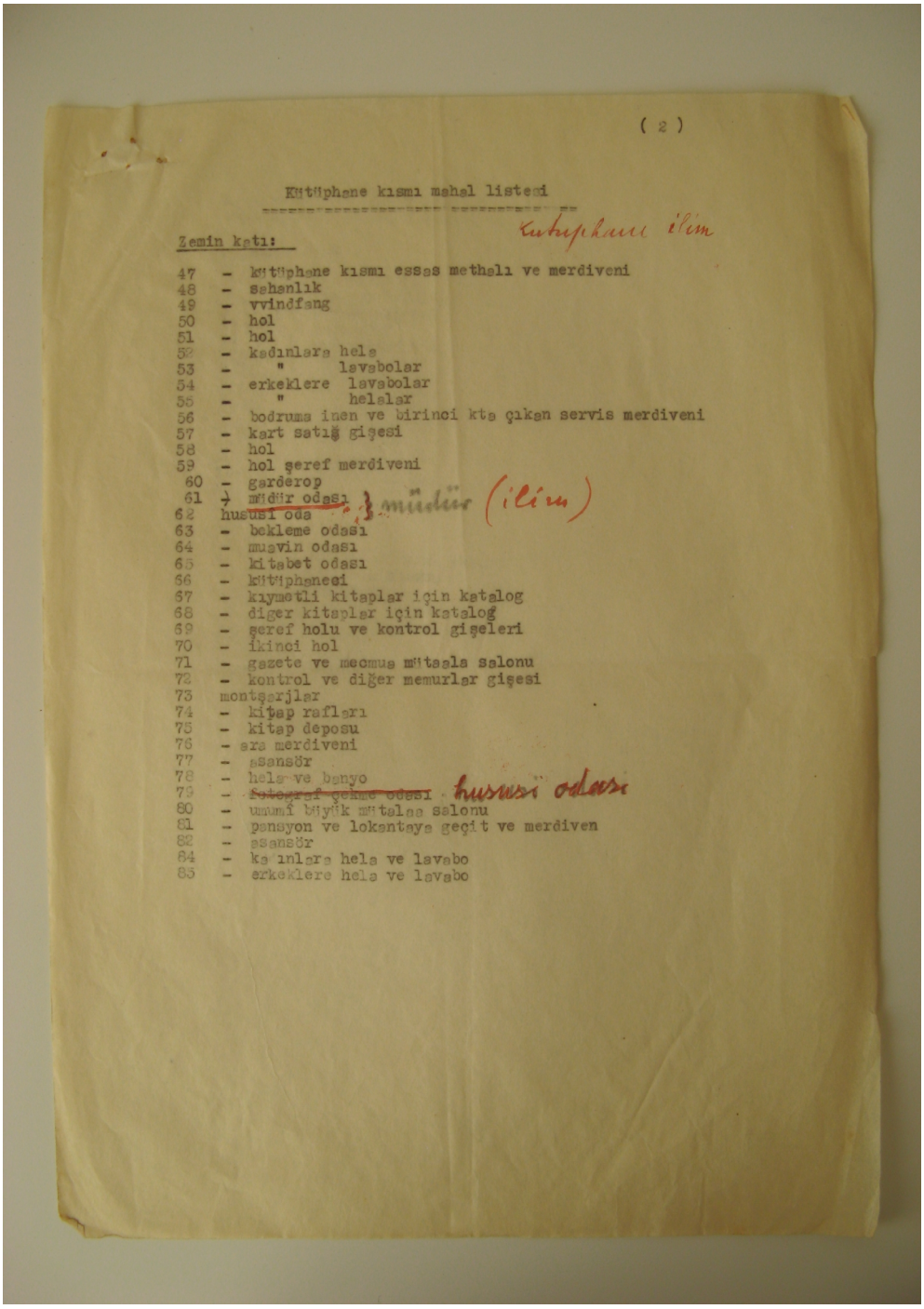
Kütüphane kısmı mahal listesi

Kütüphane (ikinci) ve yönetim yardımcı daireler

Bodrum katı:

048 - hela ve lavabo
049 - koridor
050 - banyolar
051-052 - hademelere banyolar
053 - hademelere lavabo ve helalar
054-60 hademeye yatak koğuşu
055 - koridor
056 - matbaa
057 - tasnif
058 - koridor
059 - hol
060 - kitap deposu
061 - kitap rafları
062 - hela ve banyo dairesi ve asansör
063 - kütüphane kısmı mahal holu
064 - kapıcı ve kontrol
065 - geçit
066 - gişeleri
067 - gelen ve çıkan kitaplar için ilk muamele bürosu
069 - geçit
070 - telefon telgraf ve posta merkezi
071 - hol
072 - ~~hususi oda~~ Esra Odası
073 - polis ve bekçi bürosu
074 - teftiye bürosu
075 - geçit
076 - kapıcı
077 - pansyon ve lokanta mahal
078 - hol
70 - ara merdiven
73 - montacirler
81 - pansyona çıkan merdiven
82 - ses nazır

Appendix O (continued)



(2)

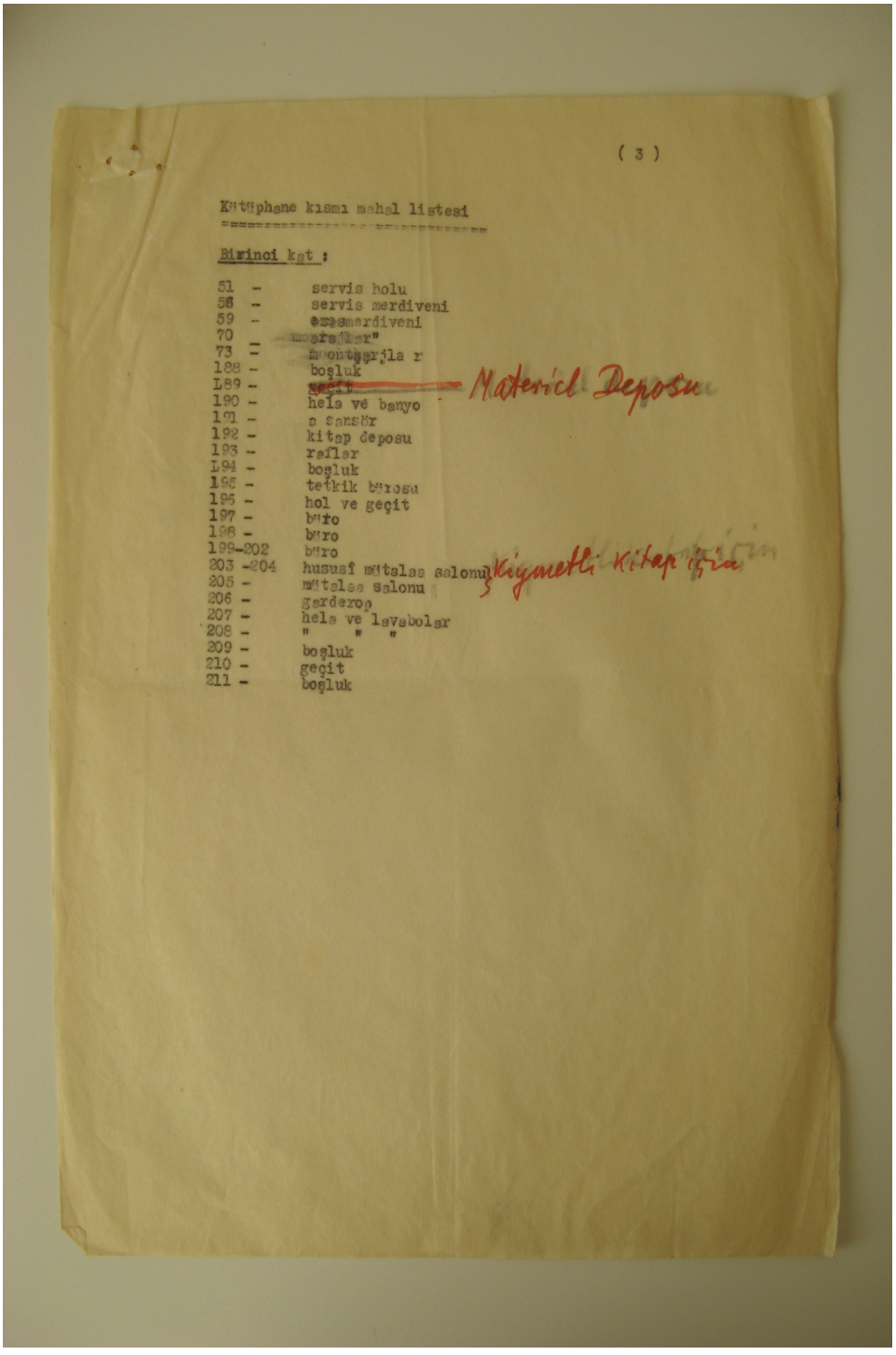
Kütüphane kısmı mahal listesi

Kütüphane ilim

Zemin katı:

47 - kütüphane kısmı esas methalı ve merdiveni
48 - sahanlık
49 - vvindfang
50 - hol
51 - hol
52 - kadınlara hela
53 - " lavabolar
54 - erkeklere lavabolar
55 - " helalar
56 - bodruma inen ve birinci kta çıkan servis merdiveni
57 - kart satış gişesi
58 - hol
59 - hol şeref merdiveni
60 - garderop
61 ~~müdür odası~~ müdür (ilim)
62 hususi oda
63 - bekleme odası
64 - muavin odası
65 - kitabet odası
66 - kütüphaneci
67 - kıymetli kitaplar için katalog
68 - diğer kitaplar için katalog
69 - şeref holu ve kontrol gişeleri
70 - ikinci hol
71 - gazete ve mecmua mütaala salonu
72 - kontrol ve diğer memurlar gişesi
73 montşarjlar
74 - kitap rafları
75 - kitap deposu
76 - ara merdiveni
77 - asansör
78 - hela ve banyo
79 - ~~Salon şeref çekme odası~~ hususi odası
80 - umumi büyük mütaala salonu
81 - pansyon ve lokantaya geçit ve merdiven
82 - asansör
84 - kadınlara hela ve lavabo
85 - erkeklere hela ve lavabo

Appendix O (continued)



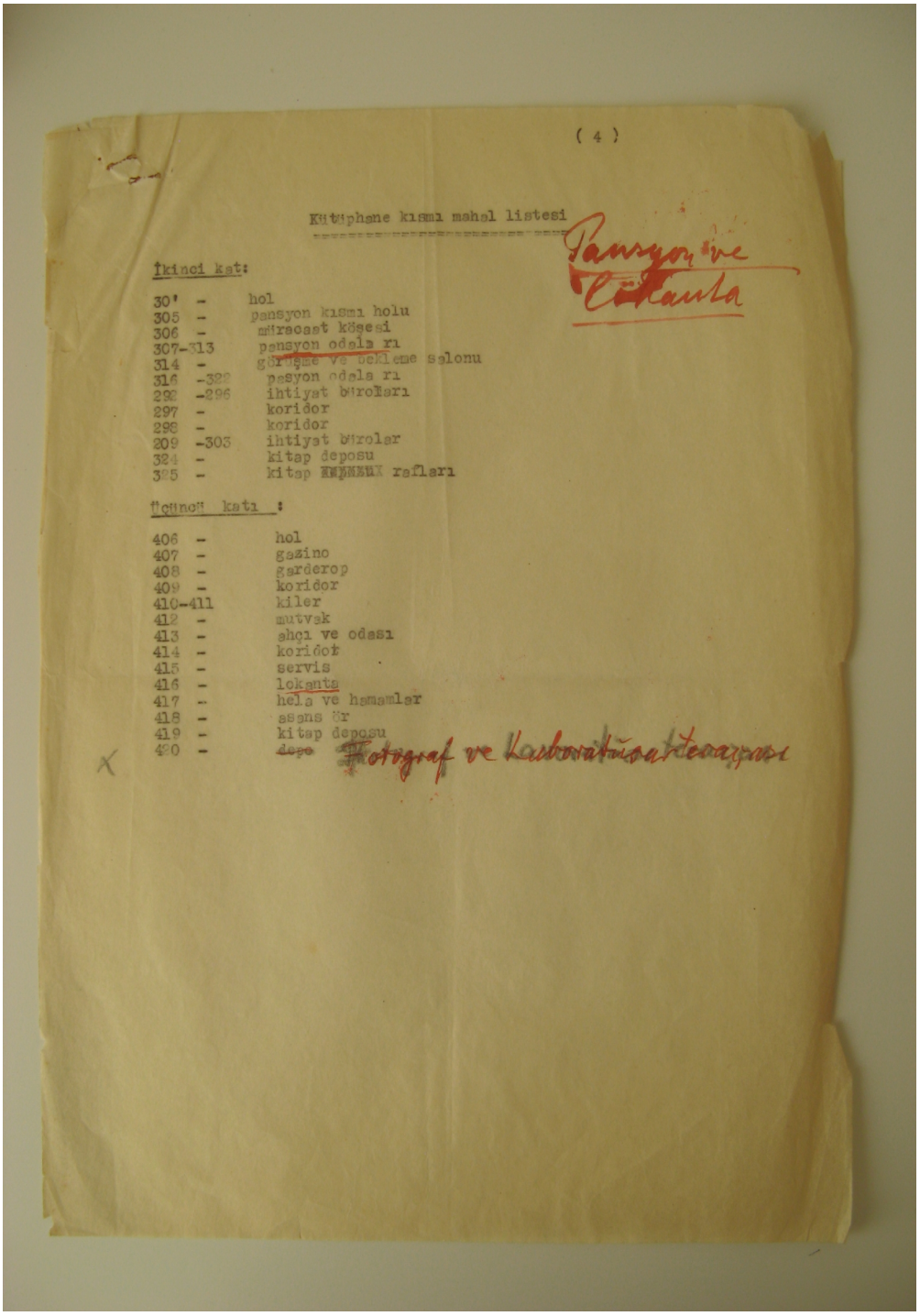
(3)

Kütüphane kısmı mahal listesi

Birinci kat :

51 - servis holu
56 - servis merdiveni
59 - asansörü merdiveni
70 - [illegible]"
73 - [illegible]
188 - boşluk
L89 - [illegible] Material Deposu
190 - hela ve banyo
191 - s [illegible]
192 - kitap deposu
193 - raflar
L94 - boşluk
195 - tetkik bürosu
196 - hol ve geçit
197 - büro
198 - büro
199-202 büro
203 -204 hususi mütalaa salonu 3 Kiymetli Kitap için
205 - mütalaa salonu
206 - garderop
207 - hela ve lavabolar
208 - " " "
209 - boşluk
210 - geçit
211 - boşluk

Appendix O (continued)



(4)

Kütüphane kısmı mahal listesi

Pansyon ve Lokanta

İkinci kat:

30'	-	hol
305	-	pansyon kısmı holu
306	-	müracaat köşesi
307-313		pansyon odala rı
314	-	görüşme ve bekleme salonu
316	-329	pasyon odala rı
292	-296	ihtiyat büroları
297	-	koridor
298	-	koridor
299	-303	ihtiyat büroları
324	-	kitap deposu
325	-	kitap [illegible] rafları

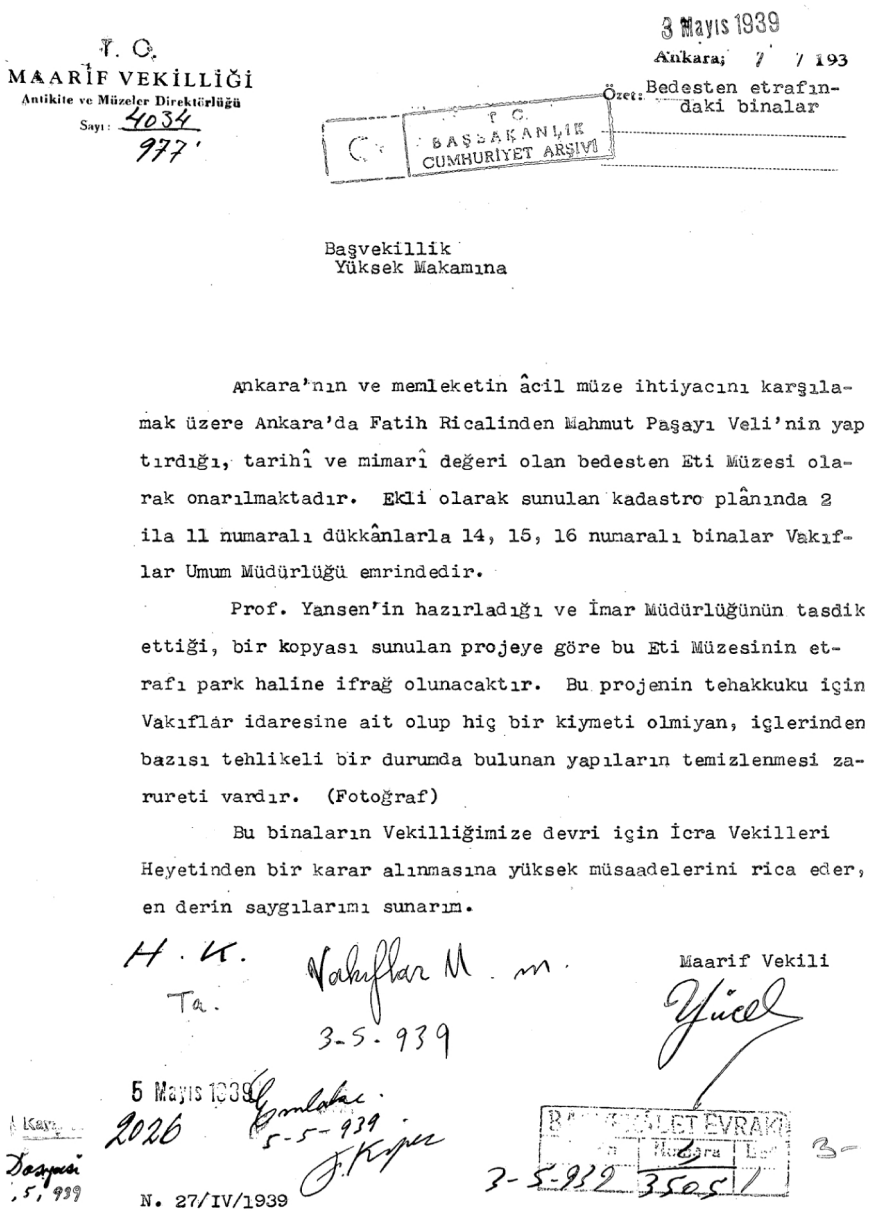
Üçüncü kata :

406	-	hol
407	-	gazino
408	-	garderop
409	-	koridor
410-411		kiler
412	-	mutvak
413	-	ahçı ve odası
414	-	koridor
415	-	servis
416	-	lokanta
417	-	hela ve hamamlar
418	-	asans ör
419	-	kitap deposu
420	-	~~depo~~ Fotograf ve Laboratuvar tezgahları

X

APPENDIX P

The Decision on Foundation of *Eti Müzesi* after the restoration of the Mahmut Paşa Bedesten



T. C.
MAARİF VEKİLLİĞİ
Antikite ve Müzeler Direktörlüğü
Sayı: 4034
977

3 Mayıs 1939
Ankara, 7 / 7 / 193
Özet: Bedesten etrafındaki binalar

T. C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

Başvekillik
Yüksek Makamına

Ankara'nın ve memleketin âcil müze ihtiyacını karşılamak üzere Ankara'da Fatih Ricalinden Mahmut Paşayı Veli'nin yaptırdığı, tarihî ve mimarî değeri olan bedesten Eti Müzesi olarak onarılmaktadır. Ekli olarak sunulan kadastro plânında 2 ila 11 numaralı dükkânlarla 14, 15, 16 numaralı binalar Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü emrindedir.

Prof. Yansen'in hazırladığı ve İmar Müdürlüğünün tasdik ettiği, bir kopyası sunulan projeye göre bu Eti Müzesinin etrafı park haline ifrağ olunacaktır. Bu projenin tehakkuku için Vakıflar idaresine ait olup hiç bir kiymeti olmiyan, içlerinden bazısı tehlikeli bir durumda bulunan yapıların temizlenmesi zarureti vardır. (Fotoğraf)

Bu binaların Vekilliğimize devri için İcra Vekilleri Heyetinden bir karar alınmasına yüksek müsaadelerini rica eder, en derin saygılarımı sunarım.

H. K. Ta. Vakıflar M. m. 3-5-939

Maarif Vekili
Yücel

5 Mayıs 1939 Gönderildi 5-5-939 J. Kopya

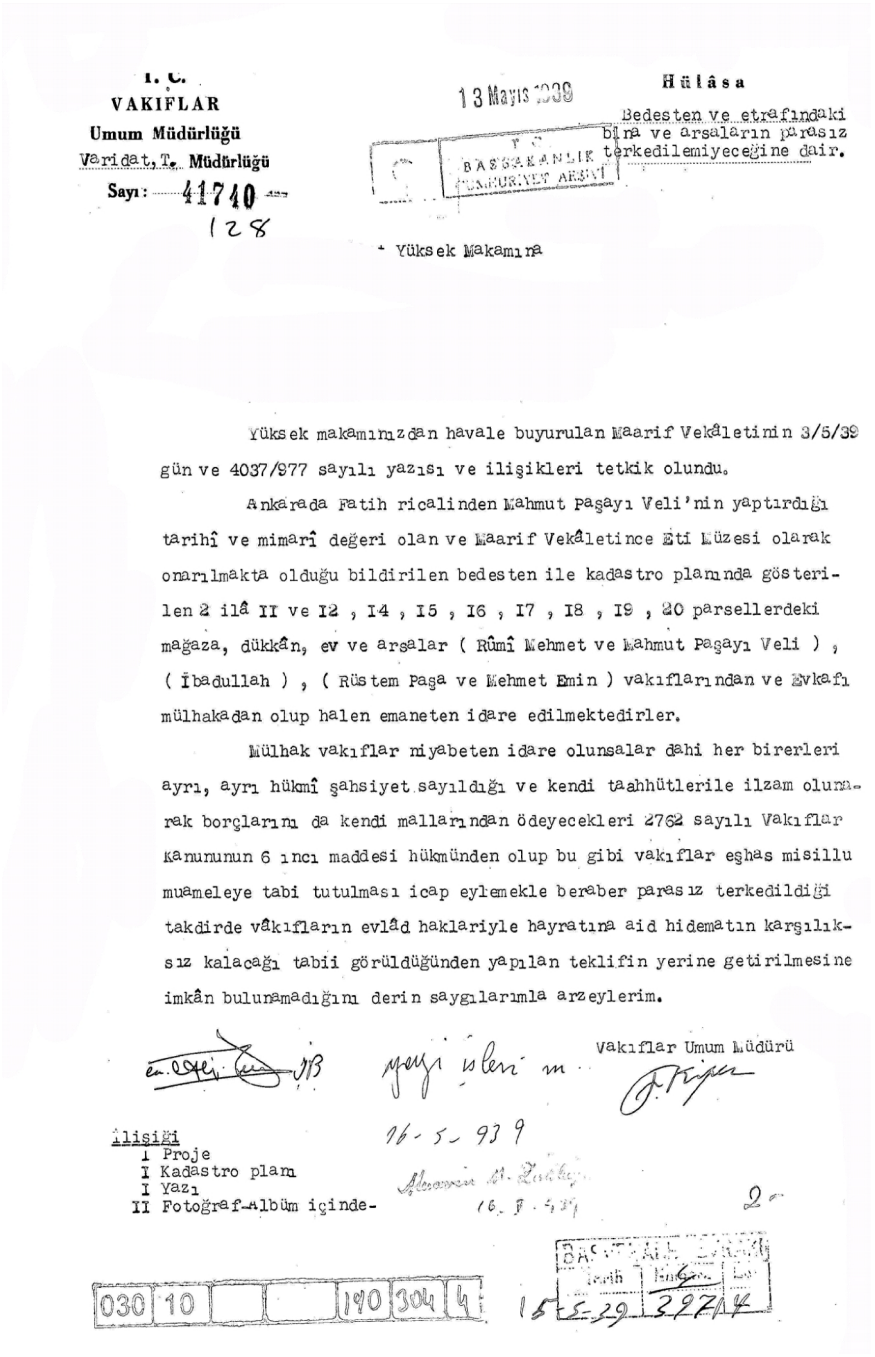
Kayıt 2026 Başyazı 5, 5, 939

3-5-939 BAŞBAKANLIK EVRAKI Numara 3505

N. 27/IV/1939

T.C. Başbakanlık State Archives General Directory, 4/3971, dated 16.05.1939, 030 01 10 000 000 190 304 4

Appendix P (continued)



T. C.
VAKIFLAR
Umum Müdürlüğü
Varidat, T. Müdürlüğü
Sayı: 41740
128

13 Mayıs 1939

Hülâsa
Bedesten ve etrafındaki bina ve arsaların parasız terkedilemiyeceğine dair.

T.C. BAŞBAKANLIK CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

+ Yüksek Makamına

Yüksek makamınızdan havale buyurulan Maarif Vekâletinin 3/5/39 gün ve 4037/977 sayılı yazısı ve ilişikleri tetkik olundu.

Ankarada Fatih ricalinden Mahmut Paşayı Veli'nin yaptırdığı tarihî ve mimarî değeri olan ve Maarif Vekâletince Eti Müzesi olarak onarılmakta olduğu bildirilen bedesten ile kadastro planında gösterilen 2 ilâ II ve I2 , I4 , I5 , I6 , I7 , I8 , I9 , 20 parsellerdeki mağaza, dükkân, ev ve arsalar (Rûmî Mehmet ve Mahmut Paşayı Veli) , (İbadullah) , (Rüstem Paşa ve Mehmet Emin) vakıflarından ve Evkafı mülhakadan olup halen emaneten idare edilmektedirler.

Mülhak vakıflar niyabeten idare olunsalar dahi her birerleri ayrı, ayrı hükmî şahsiyet sayıldığı ve kendi taahhütlerile ilzam olunmarak borçlarını da kendi mallarından ödeyecekleri 2762 sayılı Vakıflar Kanununun 6 ıncı maddesi hükmünden olup bu gibi vakıflar eşhas misillu muameleye tabi tutulması icap eylemekle beraber parasız terkedildiği takdirde vâkıfların evlâd haklariyle hayratına aid hidematın karşılıksız kalacağı tabii görüldüğünden yapılan teklifin yerine getirilmesine imkân bulunamadığını derin saygılarımla arzeylerim.

Vakıflar Umum Müdürü

yazı işleri m.

16-5-939

İlişiği
1 Proje
1 Kadastro plan
1 Yazı
II Fotoğraf-albüm içinde-

030 10 140 304 4

15-5-39 22714

APPENDIX R

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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EDUCATION

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MA	METU Graduate Program in Architectural History	2003
BFA	Bilkent U. Interior Architecture and Environmental Design	2001
High School	TED Ankara College	1997

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2003 July-Present	American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) Ankara Branch	Administrative Assistant
2003 March	Türk Amerikan İlmi Araştırmalar Derneği, Ankara Branch	Research Librarian

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Beginner German and Italian

BOOKS

1. Gürol Öngören, Pelin. 2009. *Engendering Space for Education in Turkey: İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute in Ankara in the 1930's*. VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, Germany.

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HOBBIES

Photography, Travelling domestic and abroad, History

APPENDIX S

TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Modernitenin güçlü görsel araçları olan müzeler, modern dünyada politik ideolojilerin etkisi altında çeşitli anlatılarla kurgulanmışlardır. Bu türlü güçlü mekanizmaların denetimi altında müzeler çeşitlilik ve değişkenlik göstermişlerdir. Müzelerin temellerinin atıldığı Rönesans'daki "nadireler kabinesi" (*cabinet of curiosities*) ve entellektüel olarak kökenlerinin dayandığı Aydınlanma Çağı'ndan, 19. yüzyılda kurumsal şeklini aldığı Avrupa'daki müze modellerine geçiş sürecinde, tarih, sanat tarihi, arkeoloji, antropoloji ve etnoğrafya gibi bilim dallarının ortaya çıkmasının çok büyük etkisi olduğu söylenebilir. 19. yüzyılda müzeler artık halkın kültür seviyesini arttırmak için bir araç ve hatta devletlerin yeni güç göstergesi olma durumuna gelmiştir. 19. yüzyılın yarısından ve 20. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren mevcut sosyo-kültürel, politik sistemler ve etkili ideolojik yaklaşımlara paralel olarak, tarihin müzeler aracılığı ile -görsel ve metinsel olarak- temsiliyeti şekillendirilmeye, yeniden inşa edilmeye ve hatta siyasallaşmaya başlamıştır.

Bu ideolojik yaklaşımların başlıcaları milliyetçilik, emperyalizm, sömürgecilik ve orientalizm olarak sayılabilir. Bu bağlamda milliyetçilik kendi milli kimliğini köklü bir geçmişe dayandırırken, kurguladığı bu geçmişi içselleştirir, tarihselleştirir ve millileştirir. Bu durum "hayali cemaatlerin" "icat edilmiş gelenekleri" söylemleriyle açıklanabilir. 19. yüzyılın sonlarında Avrupa'da modern milli-devlet inşasında olan ülkeler için müzelerin araçsallaştırılması bu ülkelerde açılan milli müzelerle anlam kazanır.

Milliyetçilik gibi emperyalizm de 19. yüzyıl Batı Avrupa ülkelerinde benzer bir düzen içinde *kanon* haline gelmiş üst anlatılarla kimliğini kurmaya çalışmıştır. Bu

kurgu, kronolojik ve coğrafi olarak doğudan batıya giden ve aynı zamanda gelişen, medenileşen ve en son Aydınlanma seviyesine ulaşan bir tarih anlayışı üzerine oturmuştur. Bu bağlamda müzelerdeki koleksiyonlar da dünyanın dört bir yanındaki sömürgelerden gelen arkeolojik ve etnoğrafik eserlerle oluşturulmuştur.

Bu durum arkeolojinin bir bilim olarak nasıl bir araç konumuna geldiği ve yoruma göre uyarlanabildiğini işaret etmektedir. Arkeolojinin, millet ve milliyetçilikle yakın ilişkisi yanında, etnoğrafya ve de etnoloji de 19. yüzyılın sonlarında ve 20. yüzyılın başlarında bağımsızlıklarını ilan etmiş ya da edecek olan ülkelerin kimlik inşasında milli gelenekleri temsil edecek nesneleri ortaya koyan bir araç durumuna gelmiştir. Böylelikle arkeoloji ve etnoğrafya bir topluluğun kültürel mirasını oluşturan temel disiplinler haline gelmiştir. Müzeler bu disiplinler aracığıyla bilinçli olarak ortaya konan veya konmayan eserlerle kültür mirasınının yeniden inşa edildiği ve temsil edildiği platformlar olarak hizmet görmüştür.

Bu çerçevede mimari üretim önemli bir rol üstlenmiştir. Belirli bir geçmişin tarihselleştirilmesi ve bu tarihlerin somut veya soyut temsiliyetiyle imparatorluk veya milli-devletlerin kolektif kimliklerinin oluşması ve bütün bunların doğrultusunda maddi kültürün müzelerde sergilenmesiyle mimari üretimin oldukça bağlantılı hatta iç içe geçmiş olduğu söyleyenebilir.

Toplumlardaki üst anlatıların müzeler yoluyla nasıl görsel araçlara dönüştüğün görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda bu araştırma, müze binalarının, koleksiyonlarının ve eserleri sergileme yöntemlerinin, emperyalist, milliyetçi ve modernist ideolojilerin parçası olarak kolektif kimliklerin oluşturulmasında ne ölçüde kullanılmış olduğunu araştırarak, farklı sosyo-politik bağlamları olan Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet dönemlerinin müzelerini kıyaslamalı olarak incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın genel amacı, bu iki farklı tarihsel bağlamda müzelerdeki sergileme üzerine odaklanarak, ortak bir kimlik tanımı oluşturulabilmesinde tarihin ve kültürel

mirasın nasıl algılandığını ve nasıl işlendiğini incelemektir. Bu araştırma Türkiye'de arkeoloji ve etnoğrafya müzelerinin öncülleri olan Müze-i Hümayun (1887-1891), Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi (1914), Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesi (1925-1927, açılış:1930), Milli Müze ya da Hitit Müzesi olarak adlandırılan müzeyi içeren gerçekleştirilmemiş proje (1933) ve Hitit ya da Eti Müzesi olarak bilinen (ve daha sonra Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi olarak adlandırılan) (restorasyon başlangıcı:1938) müzeleri incelemektedir. Bu çalışma, eleştirel bir değerlendirme sunabilmek için, müzelerin oluşumunu kendi bağlamlarında incelerken, sadece mimarlık alanında değil, tarih, arkeoloji, etnoğrafya ve müzecilik alanlarında da üretilen bilgiyi kullanarak oluşturulan disiplinlerarası bir çerçeveden yararlanmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada, veri taraması sırasında birincil ve ikincil kaynaklardan yararlanılmış, ulaşılan orijinal yazışmalar, yayınlanmamış kayıtlar, gazeteler, dergiler, fotoğraflar, bilimsel yayınlar vb. bilimsel bir değerlendirme yapabilmek için olanak sağlamışlardır. Araştırılan müzeler, bağlamsal bir çerçevede ele alınmakta, tarihsel bilgilerle zenginleştirilmekte ve mimari açıdan değerlendirilmektedirler. Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet dönemleri müzeleri, farklı bağlamsal koşulları göz önünde bulundurularak, ayrı ayrı bölümlerde incelenmektedir. Dolayısıyla, araştırma konusu olan müzeler kronolojik bir şekilde incelenmekte ve koleksiyonların türlerine bağlı olarak arkeolojik ve etnoğrafik olarak kendi içinde gruplandırılmaktadır.

Birinci bölüm, temel bilgiler ve teorik yaklaşımları içermekte, miras ve kimlik konularınının müzelerle yakın ilişkisini ortaya koymakta, emperyalizm ve milliyetçilik etkisinde bu ilişkilerin tekrar tekrar nasıl şekillendiğini, imparatorluk ya da milli-devletlerde arkeoloji ve etnoğrafya alanlarında üretilen bilginin müzelerde ne dereceye kadar belirli geçmişlerin tarihselleştirilmesinde kullanıldığını sorarak konuya yaklaşmaktadır.

İkinci bölüm, 19. ve 20. yüzyılda Batı Avrupa ve Amerika'da tarihe ve tarih yazımına bakış açısını, müzelerin doğuşu ve gelişmesi bağlamında incelemektedir. Arkeoloji ve etnoğrafya müzelerinin ve müzelerin koleksiyonlarının bu dönemdeki imparatorluk ve milli-devletlerde nasıl kullanıldıkları ve şekillendirildikleri üzerinde durmaktadır. Bu bölüm, müzelerin ortaya çıkışından itibaren altın dönemlerini yaşadığı 19. yüzyıl halk müzelerine doğru gelişen süreçte ortaya çıkan ve yaygın biçimde ideal olarak kabul gören müze tipolojisi üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır. Batılı toplumlarda öncül modeller olan kabul edilen müzelerin mimari açıdan karşılaştırılması, Osmanlı ve Türkiye kıyaslamalarını yapabilmek için gerekli zemini hazırlaması yönünden önem teşkil etmektedir.

Üçüncü bölüm, 19. yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda arkeolojik çalışmalara ve müzelere duyulmaya başlanan ilgiyi bu dönemde geçirmiş olduğu genel dönüşüm bağlamında incelemektedir. Bu dönemin ilk müzeleri incelendikten sonra, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun müze amaçlı olarak yapılan ilk müzesi olan Müze-i Hümâyûn, sahip olduğu Yunan ve Roman dönemlerine ait arkeolojik koleksiyonlar bağlamında değerlendirmektedir. Neo-Klasik üslupta tasarlanmış olan bu müzenin, dönemin mimarlık uygulamalarıyla, müzede sergilenen antik mirasla ve Osmanlı toplumunun çok-kültürlü yapısıyla ilişkisi kolektif kimlik bağlamında incelenmiştir. Bir sonraki kısımda vakıf eserlerinin ilk kez toplanarak sergilendiği Süleymaniye Külliyesi içinde yer alan Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi, bu dönemde Batı Avrupa'da ve Amerika'daki müzelerde İslam bölümlerinin açılmaya başlaması, oryantalist imgelerin dünya fuarları yoluyla bu ülkelerde sergilenmeye başlanması, bunun yanında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son yıllarında artan İslamcılık ve Turancılık politikaları ve bu gelişmelerin etnoğrafik eserlere olan ilginin artmasındaki etkisi bağlamında değerlendirilecektir. Bu müze bu koşullar altında İslami geçmişin nesnelerine sahip çıkarak, ayrıca bu geçmişin şanlı dönemini ifade eden bir yapısında hizmet vermeye başlayarak, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun bu dönemde kültürel mirasa bakış açısını sergilemiştir. Daha önceki müze yapısında izlenen

metodolojik yaklaşımla aynı şekilde bu müze yapısı da mimari olarak incelenmiş, eski işlevi olan imaret halinden müze haline dönüştürülmesi ve böylece yapının korunması ve İslami geçmişe sahip çıkılması bağlamında müze değerlendirilmiştir.

Dördüncü bölüm, Cumhuriyet'in kurulmasıyla beraber müzeciliğin kurumsallaşmasını ve yayılmasınını bu dönemin devrimci programı bağlamında incelemektedir. Çalışma ilerleyen bölümde yeni devletin geçmişini tanımlamada etnoğrafik çalışmaların rolü ve Anadolu'nun milli serveti olan olarak maddi kültüre sahip çıkılmasını araştırmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Ankara'daki Etnoğrafya Müzesi Cumhuriyet döneminin ilk müzesi ve binası müze amaçlı olarak yapılmış ilk binası olmuştur. Müze yapısının mimari özellikleri ve milli bir kimlik oluşturmadaki katkısı bu bölümde değerlendirilmiştir.

Bu dönemin diğer bir müzesi ise Milli Akademi, Kütüphane ve Müze projesini kapsayan Milli ya da diğer adıyla Hitit Müzesi olan bilinen müzedir. Dönemin arkeolojik çalışmalara ve arkeolojik mirasa bakış açısı, milli sınırlar olarak kabul edilen Anadolu ve özellikle de Anadolu'nun ilk sahipleri olarak düşünülen Hitit medeniyeti üzerine odaklanmıştır. Alman arkeolog Eckhard Unger ve İsviçre-Avusturyalı mimar Ernst Egli bu üçlü bina projesi üzerine çalışmışlar, rapor ve plan hazırlamışlardır; ancak bu proje hayata geçirilememiştir.

Arkeoloji müzesi fikri yıllar sonra tekrar devletin gündemine gelmiş ve 15. yüzyıl Osmanlı dönemi ticari yapısı olan Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni ve yanındaki Kurşunlu Han, Hitit ya da Eti Müzesi olarak da bilinen arkeoloji müzesi için uygun görülmüşlerdir. Bu müzenin oluşturulmasında örneklenen eski bir yapının dönüştürülmesi konusu, Cumhuriyet'in bu konudaki politikaları ve Osmanlı döneminden bu yana korumacılık ve kültür mirasına bakış açısındaki değişiklikler bağlamında incelenmiştir. Osmanlı dönemi yapıları olan bu müzelerin mimari incelemesinden sonra, dönemin kimlik arayışında arkeolojinin güçlü etkisi,

geçmişin tarihselleştirilmesindeki müzenin –binasından, sergilediği nesneleri nasıl sergilediğine kadar- aracı rolü, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nin ideolojik yapısı ve milli bir kimlik oluşturma bağlamında değerlendirilmiştir.

Sonuç bölümünde, çalışma boyunca ortaya konan tartışmalar doğrultusunda, tarihsel ve teorik bilgiler ışığında karşılaştırmalı olarak genel bir yoruma varılmıştır. Mimarlık tarihi açısından çok önem teşkil eden ve araştırma yapılan dönemlerin ilk arkeoloji ve etnoğrafya müzeleri olan bu müzeler, dönemlerinin koşullarına paralel olarak farklı şekillerde kurgulanmışlardır. Ancak, dönem koşullarına göre farklılaşmalarına rağmen, temelde bu müzelerin kurgusunu oluşturan fikir kimlik oluşturma hedefi olmuştur.

Bu konuyu açıklayabilmek için bazı kıyaslamalar yapılabilir. Müze-i Hümayun ve Etnoğrafya Müzesi, söz konusu dönemlerin ilk müze yapılarıdır. 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Geç Osmanlı döneminde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Osmanlıcılık politikası egemen olmuştur. Bu ideolojik yaklaşım, Osmanlı toplumunun çok-kültürlü yapısını Osmanlı kimliği altında bir arada tutmayı ve bağımsızlığına kavuşmayı hedefleyen topluluklara birlik mesajı vermeyi amaçlamaktaydı. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu topraklarından çıkarılan arkeolojik eserler, özellikle de Yunan ve Roma dönemlerine ait nesneler, Osmanlı'nın ilk müzesinin yapı taşlarını oluşturuyordu. Yüzyıllardan beri aynı coğrafyada yaşanan birliktelik ve ortak bir antik geçmiş, bu müze ile Osmanlı toplulukları arasında bir bağ yaratmak için kullanılıyordu. Klasik döneme yapılan bu vurgu, 18. yüzyıldan beri Avrupa ülkelerinde başlayan arkeolojik çalışmalar ile örtüşüyordu.

Mimari açıdan bakıldığında, "batı" etkisi müzenin üslubunda görülebilir. Müzenin dışsal görünümü sahip olduğu Yunan-Roma koleksiyonlarının bir dışavurumudur. Müzelerdeki iç-dış bağlantısı 19. yüzyıl "batı" dünyasında da görülebilir. Bu üslupsal yaklaşımın arkasında müze mimarı Alexandre Vallaury'nin ve müzenin

beyni olarak görülebilecek Osman Hamdi Bey'in Avrupa'da eğitim görmüş kişiler olması yatabilir. Ancak, üslupsal tavrın sadece bu bağlantıyla ya da batıdan alınan direkt bir kopyalamayla açıklanması doğru değildir; bu durum o dönemin koşullarıyla yakından ilişkilidir. Müzede sergilenen eserler, Osmanlı'nın kendi topraklarından elde etttiği nesnelerdir; dolayısıyla, sergilenen klasik arkeoloji Osmanlı'nın kendi geçmişinde ve kültüründe var olanın yansımasıdır. Böylece, kolektif bir Osmanlı kimliği yaratılmak istenmektedir ve müze de bunun için çok güçlü bir araç olmuştur.

Öte taraftan, 20. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti'nin kurulmasıyla birlikte müzeler milliyetçilik ideolojinin ve Türk kimliğinin oluşturulmasında etkili araçlar olarak kullanılmışlardır. Bu dönemde kültürel miras "milli" olan veya Türk olanla özdeşleştirilmiştir. Bu görüşe bağlı olarak Türk milletinin tarihi geçmişi Türk kültürüne özdeş kabul edilen etnoğrafik nesnelerle, Anadolu sınırları dahilindeki Türk ve İslam geçmişini yansıtan objelerle oluşturulmuştur. Böylece çok-kültürlü Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda kolektif bir Osmanlı kimliği oluşturma amacının parçası olarak görülen kültürel mirasa bakış Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde milli bir kimlik tanımıyla sınırlandırılmış ve değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda Cumhuriyet döneminde devletin kurulması sırasında geçirdiği dönüşümleri halka anlatması üzerine planlanan ve aynı zamanda milli dayanışma kurmayı amaçlayan bir İnkilap Müzesi kurma girişimi de olmuş ancak planlandığı gibi hayata geçirilememiştir.

Milliyetçilik bağlamında Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesi'nde sergilenmesi öngörülen maddi kültürün yeni kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin başkentinde konumlanması, müze yapısının biçim ve üslubuyla tutarlılık göstermektedir. Cumhuriyet döneminin ilk müzesini Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu adında eski Türk eserlerine hakim olduğu düşünülen bir Türk mimar yapmıştır. Müze binası, Selçuklu ve Osmanlı biçim ve mimari elemanlarının kullanımıyla, mimaride Türk karakterini yansıttığı düşünülen ve "milli" diye tanımlanan üslupta yapılmıştır. Dönemin genel mimari anlayışını

gösteren bu "milli üslup", "milli" olanı yansıtması açısından tutarlıdır. Bu tutarlılık müzede sergilenen eserlerle müze yapısı arasında da görülebilir; böylece Türk kimliği oluşturma sürecine de katkı sağlaması planlanmıştır.

Geç Osmanlı dönemindeki ilk arkeoloji müzesi olan Müze-i Hümayun ile karşılaştırıldığında Cumhuriyet'in ilk arkeoloji müzesi toplumun faydasını gözeten ve bilimsel bir kurum olması düşünülen Milli Kütüphane, Akademi ve Müze projesinin bir parçası olarak planlanmıştır. Bu projenin amacı yeni kurulan milli-devletin bilgi üretimini sağlamak ve bu alanda milli gücü arttırmaktır. Kurulması planlanan arkeoloji müzesinin adı bazı kayıtlarda Milli Müze bazılarında ise Hitit Müzesi olarak geçmektedir. Bu müzede sergilenmesi planlanan nesneler o dönemde Türk Tarih Kurumu tarafından ve devlet teşvikiyle Türklerin kökenlerine dair araştırma yapmak amacıyla Anadolu'da yürütülen bilimsel kazılardan temin edilecekti. Anadolu'nun kültürel çoğulluğu içinde bu bölgede varlığını sürdürmüş olan ve o dönemde Türklerin atası olarak kabul edilen Hitit Medeniyetinin ayrı bir yeri olmuştur. Bu süreçte Hititlere ve eski Anadolu uygarlıklarına kıyasla klasik arkeolojiye yönelik çalışmalar ne tam olarak bir kenara bırakılmış ne de etkin bir şekilde sahiplenilmiştir. Hitit kültürünün Erken Cumhuriyet dönemindeki bu özerkliği, Türk milletinin geçmişi olma fikriyle kucaklanmış ve kültür mirasının temeli olarak görülmüştür.

Bu aşamada İstanbul'daki Müze-i Hümayun ile Ankara'daki Milli Müze'nin karşılaştırması yapıldığında önemli sonuçlar ortaya çıkmaktadır. Hitit kültürü Osmanlı müzesinin birinci katında çok fazla sayıda olmayan eserlerle temsil edilmiştir. Öte yandan, Milli Müze'nin asıl vurgusu Hititlerdir; öyle ki, müzenin adının bile Hitit Müzesi olması düşünülmüş ve iki ana sergi salonu da (Yazılıkaya Hitit Mabed Salonu ve II. Hitit Teşhir Salonu) Hititlere ait eserler için planlanmıştır. Bu örnekleme aynı türdeki nesnelerin Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet dönemlerinde nasıl farklı biçimlerde algılandığını ve değerlerinin nasıl değiştiğini göstermektedir. Genel bir ifadeyle, dönemlerin ilk arkeolojik müzeleri, Geç Osmanlı

döneminde öncelliğe sahip olan Greko-Romen kültür mirasından, Erken Cumhuriyet dönemindeki eski Anadolu medeniyetlerine ve özellikle de Hititlerin kültür mirasına dönüşümün ve kolektif bir Osmanlı kimliği oluşturma hedefinden milli bir Türk kimliği oluşturma fikrine geçişin görünen yüzleri olmuştur.

Erken Cumhuriyet döneminin ilk arkeoloji müzesi olan Milli Müze'nin mimarisindeki milli karakteri de içinde bulunan koşullara uyum göstermektedir. Hayata geçirilemeyen projenin planlaması Ernst Egli tarafından yapılmış; yapı hem batılı hem de yerel formları bütünleştirmek üzere tasarlanmıştır. 1930'ların mimari üretimine bakıldığında yabancı mimarların etkin rolü ortaya çıkmaktadır: devletin önemli yapılarını ve de şehir planlarını yapmak üzere yeni kurulan ülkeye devlet tarafından davet edilmişlerdir. Yabancı mimarların etkisi altında bu dönemin mimarlığına bakıldığında, batıdaki mimarlık üretiminde görülen biçim ve mimari elemanlar göze çarpmaktadır; bu nedenle, bu dönemin mimarlığı "uluslararası üslup" adıyla da anılmaktadır. Ancak, mimaride söz konusu bu batılı tavrın yanında bazı yabancı mimarlar yerel ve bölgesel faktörleri göz ardı etmemekte ve tasarımlarına yansıtmaktadırlar. Bu mimarların en önemlilerinden birisi de Egli'dir ve bu doğrultuda Egli'nin bu projenin mimarı olarak seçilmesinin de tutarlı bir yaklaşım olduğu söylenebilir. Klasik sütünlu cephenin, Hitit kültüründe de kullanılmış olduğu bilinen *Bit-Hilani* formuyla melezlenmesi, müzenin ortasındaki avlunun *Halk için İstirahat Havuzlu Türk Bahçesi* adıyla tanımlanması ve de projenin taslak aşamasında ünlü Türk büyüklerinin büstlerinin müze mekanlarını birbirine bağlayan mekanlarda teşhir edilmesi, yine taslaklarda Türk çinilerinin antik seramiklerin yanında sergilenme düşüncesi, milletin eskiyle yeni arasında kurmaya çalıştığı bağlantının ve sentezin göstergesi olmuştur.

Ancak, böylesine görkemli bir proje olan Milli Müze'nin kurulması fikri hayata geçirilememiş ve arkeoloji müzesi oluşturma teşebbüsü ancak 1930'ların sonuna doğru benzer bir anlatıyla yeniden ortaya çıkmıştır. Yeni kurulması planlanan

müzenin adı da sergilenecek eserlerin ağırlıklı olarak Hitit kültürüne ait olması sebebiyle Hitit Müzesi ya da – o dönemde Hititlere verilen adla – Eti Müzesi olarak belirlenmiştir. Yıllar geçtikçe müze koleksiyonu diğer Anadolu uygarlıklarının eserleriyle zenginleşse de, asıl koleksiyonu müze mekanının ortasındaki hierarşik konumuyla Hititler üzerine olmuştur. Devletin arkeolojik mirasa yönelik bakış açısında Hititler üzerine yapılan açık vurguya karşılık, sergi mekanı olarak 15. yüzyıl Osmanlı dönemi yapıları olan bedesten ve han seçilmiştir. Bu amaçla, önce bedestenin bir kısmı, sonra galeri bölümleri, daha sonra da han binası restore edilmiş ve Cumhuriyet'in ilk arkeoloji müzesi hizmet vermeye başlamıştır.

Bu büyük ölçekli restorasyon projesi Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde tarihi binalara gösterilen önemi örneklemektedir. Bunlar arasında Selçuklu ve Osmanlı dönemleri – Erken ve Klasik dönemler - önem kazanmaktadır. Bu durum, devletin Selçuklu ve Osmanlı mirasına olumlu bakış açısını ve Türk milletinin kültür mirası kapsamında yer aldıklarını göstermektedir. Bu doğrultuda Bakanlık, tarihi binaların restorasyon işleri için yabancı ve Türklerden oluşan bir komisyon kurdurmuştur. Bu komisyonda, Türk mimarlar Selçuklu ve Osmanlı yapılarıyla ilgili işleri yürütürken, yabancı uzmanlar da arkeolojik işleri idare edeceklerdi. Bu duruma paralel olarak, Hitit müzesinin restorasyon işlerini Türk mimarların konuya hakim olmaları nedeniyle Türk mimarlar üstlenmişlerdir.

Bu büyük restorasyon projesi Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde bir gurur kaynağı ve aynı zamanda modern devletin sembolü olmuştur. Bu durum aynı zamanda müzelerin kolektif bir kimlik oluşturmadaki etkin gücünü ortaya koymaktadır. Ancak, eski bir yapıya yeni bir işlev verme fikri müzeler için yeni bir uygulama değildir; Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemlerinde benzer bir uyarlama eski bir imaret yapısını müze olarak dönüştürülmesinde görülmüştürr. Bu uyarlama her ne kadar Cumhuriyet dönemindeki Hitit Müzesi'ne kıyasla daha küçük ölçekli bir proje olsa da, pek çok açıdan önem teşkil etmekteydi; seçilmiş olan yapı İslam kültüründe merkezi bir öneme sahip olan ve işlevselliğini hala koruyan külliyenin bir parçası

olan ve boş duran imaret binasıydı. Yapının müzeye dönüştürülmesiyle birlikte, bu çok işlevli yapı zincirine bir işlev daha eklenmiş oluyordu: maddi kültürü halka sergilemek. İslami yaşamın önemli bir parçası olan bu yapının, 15 yüzyıldan kalma ticari bir yapı olan ve atıl olarak duran Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni'nin Hitit Müzesi'ne dönüştürülmesiyle karşılaştırıldığında farklı bir tutum olduğu görülebilir.

Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi, arkeolojik kalıntıların ya da askeri amaçlarla kullanılan eşyaların dışındaki nesnelere karşı bir ilginin uyandığını ve bunların müzelerde sergilenmeye başladığını göstermektedir. Bu anlamda, çoğunlukla vakıflardan toplanan etnoğrafik eserler ilk kez burada sergilenmeye başlamıştı ve bu durum müzenin ismini belirlemiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemlerinde İslam'ın bağlarıyla Osmanlı kimliği oluşturma düşüncesi İslam geçmişini kültürel mirasa dahil etme ve İslam mirasını sergileme düşüncesiyle örtüşmektedir.

Önemli noktalardan bir diğeri ise, Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi ile Etnoğrafya Müzesi karşılaştırıldığında, sergilenen nesnelerin benzerliği ama farklı kurgular üzerine vurgu yapmalarıdır. Osmanlıdaki müzenin İslam mirasına vurgusu, Cumhuriyet dönemindeki müzede kaybolmuş, bunun yerine Etnoğrafya Müzesi Anadolu geleneklerini ön plana çıkaran fikir üzerine kurgulanmıştır. İslam eserleri Etnoğrafya Müzesi'nde Anadolu geçmişinin bir parçası olarak düşünüldüğü için sergilemede yer almıştır. Türbelerin kapanmasıyla müzede toplanmaya başlanan halılar, şamdanlar vb. eserler İslam sanatının örnekleri olmaktan ziyade *servet-i milliye* olarak görüldükleri için sergide yer almışlardır.

Farklı ideolojik sistemlerin etkisi altında kolektif bir kimlik oluşturma konusundaki ve kültürel mirasa bakış açısındaki dönüşümleri Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi müzelerinin isimlerindeki değişiklikler de çok açıkça ifade etmektedir. Müze-i Hümayun ismi Cumhuriyet'in kurulmasının ardından öncelikle devletin yapısındaki dönüşüm nedeniyle Asar-ı Atika Müzesi olarak değ,ştirilmiş; daha

sonra Erken Cumhuriyet dönemindeki dildeki sadeleşme ve sergilenen eserlerin içeriğinin arkeolojik nesneler olması sebebiyle, 1930'ların ortalarından itibaren İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi adını almıştır. Benzer şekilde, Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi'nin (CHP) altı temel prensibinden biri olan *laiklik* ilkesiyle, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son yıllarında kurulmuş olan Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi adını almış ve müze 1927 yılında Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'na bağlanmıştır.

Bunun birlikte, Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde kurulan müzelerin isimleri de Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde yaşanan dönüşümlerin etkisiyle değişmiştir. Bu doğrultuda en çarpıcı örnek Hitit Müzesi'dir. Ankara Kalesi'nin Akkale diye bilinen burcunda 1921 yılında müze-depo şeklinde kurulan Hars Müzesi'nin adı, 1930'larda arkeolojik eserlerin Hacıbayram Camii ve Augustus Tapınağı yanındaki alanda ve de Çankırıkapı'daki Roma Hamamı'nın bulunduğu yerde sergilenmesiyle birlikte, Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi olarak değiştirilmiştir. Bunun yanında, Cumhuriyet döneminin ilk arkeoloji müzesi olarak planlanan Milli Müze veya Hitit Müzesi diye de adlandırılan müze, Milli Akademi, Kütüphane, Müze projesinin bir parçası olarak tasarlanmışsa da hayata geçirilememiştir. Müzenin Hitit Müzesi olarak adlandırılması, Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde Hitit kültürünün yeni kurulan milletin antik tarihi olarak nasıl kabul gördüğünü işaret etmektedir. Hitit kültürü Ankara'da 1930'ların sonunda yapılması program dahiline alınan müze projesine de adını vermiştir. Hatta eski bedesten yapısının dönüştürülmesiyle oluşacak müzeye, Hititlere Türkçe verilmiş bir isim olan Eti Müzesi denmiştir. Müzenin bu ismi 1940'ların sonuna kadar kullanılmış, sonrasında müze Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi adını almıştır. 1970'lerde de müzenin adı günümüzde de kullanılan Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi olarak değiştirilmiştir.

Buraya kadar yapılan tartışmalar, Geç Osmanlı'dan Erken Cumhuriyet dönemine, ideolojik yaklaşımların etkisiyle kültürel mirasa bakışın ve kültürel mirasın

sergilenişinin müzelerde nasıl farklı biçimlerde kurgulandığını, kolektif bir kimlik oluşturmada söz konusu ideolojik yaklaşımların ne dereceye kadar etkin olduğunu, belirli geçmişlerin bu süreçlere müzeler yoluyla nasıl dahil edildiği ya da dışında tutulduğunu ve tüm bunların sergilenen maddi kültürü nasıl belirlemiş olduğunu sunmayı amaçlamıştır. Ancak burada değinilmesi gereken çok önemli bir nokta da anlatıların farklı bağlamlardaki çeşitli biçimlendirilişlerine rağmen, bu süreçte ortak kaygıların etkili olmasıdır. Farklı maddi kültürlerin sergilenmesine ve müze yapılarının farklı mimari üsluplar ve biçimlerle tasarlanmasına rağmen, Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet dönemlerinde anlaşılabilir ortak düşünceler söz konusudur.

Bunlardan ilki müze yapılarının sahip olduğu önemli konumlardır: bu yapılar sadece kent ölçeğindeki stratejik değeri olan yerlere yerleşmekle kalmamşı, aynı zamanda toplumun belleğinde önceden yer alan noktalarda konumlandırılmışlardır. İlk Osmanlı müzesi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son yüzyılına kadar kullandığı Topkapı Sarayı'nın bir parçası durumundaydı. Bu konum müzenin yakın ve çok katmanlı geçmişiyle bağlantı kurmasını kolaylaştırıyordu. Öte yandan, müzenin yerinin, tarihi yarımadanın üzerinde olması da dikkat çekilmesi gereken diğer bir noktadır. Osmanlı'nın müzesinin, başkent İstanbul'un yeni gelişmekte olan Pera, Galata ya da Karaköy gibi çoğunlukla Avrupalı ve Levanten nüfusun yaşadığı ve Batı tarzında yaşamın hakim olduğu bölgelerinde değil, tarihi ve yönetimsel önemi olan bir noktada konumlandırılmasının, Roma ve Bizans dönemleriyle bağlantıyı güçlendirdiği ve müzede sergilenen Roma ve Bizans dönemi eserlerinin de bu durumu pekiştirdiği ve katkı sağladığı söylenebilir.

Cumhuriyet döneminin ilk müzesi olan Etnoğrafya Müzesi de dini ve milli sembolik anlamlarla yüklü bir tepe üzerinde konumlandırılmıştır. Müze, aynı zamanda yeni ve eski şehrin kesişme noktalarından birinde yer almış ve tüm şehirden görülebilecek bir yerde inşa edilerek milli kimlik inşasına katkı sağlamıştır. Müze

yapısı, milletin eski anılarına sahip çıkarak, yeni ve modern devletin temsili olmuştur.

Bu doğrultuda, Ankarada yapılması düşünülen üçlü bina yapısı ve müze projesi de Ankara Kalesi'nin üzerinde konumlandırılmıştır. Müzenin böylesine tarihi öneme sahip bir noktada yer alması, Cumhuriyet programının fikirleriyle örtüşmektedir. Arkeolojik eserlerin kalede sergilenmesi düşüncesi Ankara'nın eski ve çok katmanlı geçmişine referans sağlıyordu. Tarihi bedesten yapısının müze için uygun yer olarak benimsenmesi de klasik Osmanlı dönemine referans vermekte ve böylece bu dönemin de milli mirasa dahil edildiğini göstermektedir.

Bu bağlantıya paralel olarak, Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi de Süleymaniye Külliyesi'nin bir parçası olarak oldukça önemli bir yerde Kanuni Sultan Süleyman döneminin şanlı geçmişiyle özdeşleşen bir noktada konumlandırılmıştır. Sahip olduğu sembolik anlamlar düşünüldüğünde, imaret yapısının müze olarak kullanılarak değerlendirilmek istenmesi önemli bir girişimdir. İslam mirasına verilen önem, İslam mimarisinin başlıca yapılarından olan görkemli külliye yapısının mütevazi imaret binasının seçilmesiyle anlam kazanmaktadır.

Müzelerin konumlarındaki bu benzerlikler, müze yapılarının planlarının temel ve akılcı müze tasarım prensiplerine dayanmasında da görülmektedir. Müze-i Hümayun'un uzun koridorları 18. yüzyılın son dönemlerinde ve 19. yüzyılda Avrupa müzelerinde görülen ve "dönem odaları" (*period rooms)* olarak ifade edilen düzenlemeyle uyum sağlamaktadır. Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde her ne kadar Osmanlı müzesi Avrupa'daki gibi antik uygarlıkların birbirini izleyen anlatıları üzerine kurgulanmamış olsa da, Osmanlı müzesindeki koleksiyonlar da hierarşik bir mekan planlaması dahilinde ve kendine özgü bir biçimde sınıflandırılarak sergilenmişlerdir.

Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesi'nin planı da Avrupada uygulanan müze planlarıyla benzerlikler göstermektedir. Müze üslupsal olarak Selçuklu ve Osmanlı mimarisinin özelliklerini taşıyıp, mekansal olarak klasik dönem Osmanlı medrese planına benzese de, müze tipolojisiyle özdeşleşen F. Schinkel'in Berlin'deki Altes Müzesi'ne olan benzerliği dikkat çekmektedir. Köşeli ya da yuvarlak avlu etrafında etrafında konumlanan sergi mekanları bu yüzyıllarda ideal müze planı olarak görülmüş ve Avrupa ve Amerika'da pek çok müze binasında uygulanmıştır.

Yapılmamış üçlü bina yapısının da benzer bir planlamaya sahip olduğu görülmektedir. Büyük ölçekli müze projesinde yükseltilmiş bir platform üzerine konumlandırılan sütünlu giriş, sütunlarla çevrili büyük bir avlu etrafında konumlanan ve Hitit kültürüne ait tarihi eserlerin sergilendiği mekanlar ve uzun koridorlar, Batı Avrupa'daki 19. yüzyıl müzeleriyle benzerlikler göstermektedir. Bu üçlü bina yapısındaki genel anlayış, müze yapısının avlular etrafında planlanan sergi alanlarında da görülmektedir. Burada dikkat çekici nokta, iç avlunun ortasında havuzlu Osmanlı medrese planına benzerliği ve istirahat amacıyla yapılan ve Türk bahçesi diye adlandırılan alandır. Projenin taslak aşamasında *Bit-Hilani*'ye -iki köşesinde kulelerin olduğu sütünlu girişe- verilen direkt referans, son projede büyük ölçüde kaybolmuş olsa da, söz konusu Hitit biçimlerinin Cumhuriyet dönemindeki modern mimariye, Batı müze formlarının da Osmanlı medreselerinin avlulu planlarına uyarlanmasıyla bir melezleme olduğu söylenebilir. Böylece genelde üçlü bina yapısı, özelde de müzenin mimari özelliklerinin Hitit kültürüne yapılan vurguyu güçlendirdiği, bu durumun da etkileyici ve görkemli olması planlanan bu yapıların Cumhuriyet'in milli ve modern olma misyonlarıyla örtüştüğü söylenebilir.

Hitit Müzesi'nin eski bedesten yapısında hizmete girmesi düşüncesinin de mekansal planlama açısından akılcı bir çözüm olduğu söylenebilir. Bedestenin merkezi bir alan etrafında planlanan galerileri, müzenin sergileme fonksiyonuna olduça uygundur. Bu kurgu müzede dolaşım için elverişli olduğu gibi, farklı dönemlere ve coğrafyalara göre eserlerin sınıflandırılması için de uygun bir mekansal program

sunmuştur. Hierarşik olarak merkezde konumlanan Hitit kültürü eserlerinin öne çıkartılması ve diğer Anadolu uygarlıklarına ait eserlerin de galerilerde sergilenmesi, mekansal planlama ve sergilenen eserlerin ilişkisi göz önünde bulundurulduğunda berraklaşmaktadır.

Eski binaya yeni işlev verme durumu Evkaf-ı İslamiye Müzesi'nde de görülmektedir. Bu yapının da plansal kurgusu müze planı için oldukça elverişlidir. Avlu etrafında konumlandırılan odalar, 19. yüzyıl Avrupa müzelerinde görülen müze tipolojisinin ana hatlarına, olduça basit de olsa, sahiptir. Bu mekansal kurgu göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bu yapının müze işlevi verilmek üzere uygun bir seçim olduğu düşünülebilir.

Bu tez çalışmasında yapılan karşılaştırmalar, Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet dönemlerinin bağlamsal çerçevesinde maddi kültüre yüklenen anlamlardaki çeşitliliği, kültürel mirasın sergilenmesinde kullanılan arkeolojik ve etnoğrafik eserlerin seçimindeki ve kolektif kimliğin tanımlanmasındaki esnekliği ve müzelerdeki anlatıların farklı biçimlerini ortaya koymak amacıyla yapılmıştır. Bu süreçte, müze amacıyla yapılmış veya restore edilmiş olan müze yapıları bu fikirsel düzlemlerin ve bilinçli yaklaşımların mimari yansımaları olarak görülebilir. Müzeler ideolojik anlamlarla yüklü olan politik sistemlerin güçlü ve görsel araçları olmuşlardır. Farklı bağlamların değişken bakış açılarıyla üretilen müzelerin mekansal organizasyonları, sergiledikleri eserler ve bunların sergilenme biçimleri güncel politik yaklaşımların etkisi altında şekillenmekle kalmamış; belirli bir kültürel mirası sergileyen müzeler, dönemlerinin kimlik inşasında da etkin rol oynamışlardır.

APPENDIX T

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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YAZARIN

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Adı : Pelin
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