

MAKING ART IN THE EARLY TURKISH REPUBLIC:  
THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS IN ISTANBUL AND  
THE ART-CRAFT DEPARTMENT IN ANKARA

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **MAKING ART IN THE EARLY TURKISH REPUBLIC: THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS IN ISTANBUL AND THE ART-CRAFT DEPARTMENT IN ANKARA**

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This dissertation studies creative practices in the early Turkish Republic alongside their conceptualisation as art, as a means of transcending the epistemic confines of traditional art historiography while addressing phenomena that themselves had little agency in establishing those confines. The study centres on the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul and Art-Craft Department at the Gazi Institute of Education in Ankara. The two schools were not the exclusive sites of creative practices in Turkey, yet, as the only public institutions of professional artistic training, they absorbed and trained many of the practitioners in the country. In the wake of the institutionalisation of art education after the foundation of the Republic, both schools underwent crucial transformations between 1925 and 1934. This was a period of tangible change, of composition and recomposition of the spatial and material conditions of making art. To date, scholarship has addressed these institutions in reference to the conceptual

framework of traditional art historiography. This dissertation offers supplementary perspectives by drawing on social-historical and trans-local approaches as well as on Actor-Network-Theory. The investigation follows selected objectual, spatial, and human actors which engendered the work at the Academy of Fine Arts and the Art-Craft Department. Making art implies not only the creation of a work but also the conception of it as art. In the making, abstract ideas were confronted with matter and space, and vice versa. It is this coalescence of practice, conceptualisation, and empirical conditions that facilitates the study of art with the epistemic tools that emerged in its making.

Keywords: Art, Turkey, early Republican Period, Actor-Network-Theory, Global Art History

## ÖZ

### ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE SANAT YAPMAK: İSTANBUL'DA GÜZEL SANATLAR AKADEMİSİ VE ANKARA'DA RESİM-İŞ BÖLÜMÜ

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Bu tez, geleneksel sanat tarihi yaklaşımının epistemik sınırlarını aşan erken Cumhuriyet dönemi sanat oluşumlarını, sanatın kavramsallaştırılması doğrultusunda inceler ve bu sınırları oluşturan farklı karşılaşmaları ortaya çıkarır. Çalışmanın odağını İstanbul'daki Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi ve Ankara'daki Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü Resim-İş Bölümü oluşturur. O dönemde var olan sanat uygulamaları yalnızca bu iki okulla sınırlı olmamakla birlikte bu okullar profesyonel sanat eğitiminin kurumsallaştığı ve dönemin bir çok sanatçısının yetiştiği ilk kuruluşlardır. Okullar, Cumhuriyet'in ilanının akabinde, sanat eğitimlerinin kurumsallaşması sürecinde 1925-34 yılları arasında önemli değişimler geçirir. O dönem, sanat faaliyetlerinin maddi ve mekansal koşullarının yeniden oluşturulduğu ve somut dönüşümlerin yaşandığı bir süreçtir. Bugüne kadar yapılmış akademik çalışmalar, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi ve Resim-İş Bölümü mensuplarını ve eserlerini geleneksel sanat tarihi anlayışıyla ele almıştır.

Bu çalışma da, toplumsal tarih (social history), yerellikler-arası yaklaşımlar (trans-local approaches) ve Aktör-Ağ Teorisi (Actor-Network-Theory) üzerinde durarak, bu bağlamda tamamlayıcı kavramlar öne sürer. Araştırma, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi ve Resim-İş Bölümü'nü şekillendiren belirli maddi, mekansal ve kişisel aktörleri inceler. Sanat faaliyetleri yalnızca üretim yapmak değil sanatın kavramsallaştırılması anlamına da gelmektedir. Bu faaliyetler süresince soyut düşünceler, madde ve mekan ile -veya bunun tam tersi bir biçimde- karşı karşıya gelmekteydi. Sanat çalışmalarını bu kavramsal ve ampirik koşullar ile üretim koşullarının birlikteği ve sanatın üretimi sırasında ortaya çıkan epistemik araçlar sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Sanat, Türkiye, erken Cumhuriyet dönemi, Aktör-Ağ-Teorisi, Küresel Sanat Tarihi

To Carlos



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## NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION AND NOMENCLATURE

### **The names of the Academy of Fine Arts and the Art-Craft Department**

Until 1927, every official document regarding the Academy carried its Ottoman name, referring to it as a School of Fine Arts [*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi Âlisi*]. In the following months, it is referred to as an Academy of Fine Arts in Ottoman script [*Sanayi-i Nefise Akademisi*]. With the Turkish language reform the Academy is renamed the ‘Academy of Fine Arts’ [*Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi*] in Latin script.

The name of the Art-Craft Department [*Resim-İş Bölümü*] was definitely established only in 1934. I was tempted to translate the name into ‘Arts-Craft Department’, thus using a plural instead of the singular in which the Turkish term is kept, because the term *resim* encompasses a variety of visual arts. However, it is not my intention nor role to intervene in past decisions. A document of 1929, directly relates the Turkish term *resim* of the Art-Craft Department’s educational programme to the German word *Kunst* and *iş* to *Werk*.<sup>1</sup> The German terms are both in singular and are easily and clearly translatable into Art and Craft. I kept the hyphen of the Turkish name.

Even though the changes of the names of the institutions is a significant process, I use throughout the dissertation the names that the art schools had at the end of the period I am analysing, that is around 1934: ‘Academy of Fine Arts’ and ‘Art-Craft Department’.

## **Surnames**

If the time addressed refers to the time before the introduction of surnames in June 1934, I have indicated the Surnames in brackets [...] when first mentioning them in a chapter. On the second mentioning, the names appear without their second name. When the time addressed in the text is the period after 1934, the full name is indicated without brackets. In the case of three individuals, İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu], İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç], and İsmail Hakkı [Oygar] the surnames shall appear throughout the text to avoid confusion.

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **I.1 Topic and Aim**

This dissertation studies creative practices in the early Turkish Republic alongside their conceptualisation as art as a means of transcending the epistemic confines of traditional art historiography, while addressing phenomena that themselves had little agency in establishing those confines. The study centres on the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul and the Art-Craft Department at the Gazi Institute of Education in Ankara. The two art schools were not the exclusive sites of creative practices in Turkey, yet, as the only public institutions of professional artistic training, they absorbed and trained many of the practitioners in the country at the time. In the wake of the institutionalisation of art education after the foundation of the Republic, both schools underwent a crucial transformation between 1925 and 1934. In this period, the Academy of Fine Arts was resuming its activities in its first permanent location for years, and the Art-Craft Department was just about to be opened in the new building of the Gazi Institute of Education. This was thus a period of tangible change, of composition and recomposition of the spatial and material conditions of making art. Making art implies not only the creation of a work but also the conception of it as art. In the making, abstract ideas were confronted with matter and space, and vice versa. It is this coalescence of practice, conceptualisation, and empirical conditions that facilitates the study of art with the epistemic tools that emerged in its making.

## I.2 Secondary Literature and Sources

To date, scholarship has addressed the Academy of Fine Arts, the Art-Craft Department, and the individuals and works related with them, in reference to the conceptual framework of traditional art historiography. With the adjective ‘traditional’ I refer to the long-lasting self-referentiality that shaped art-historical precepts along the lines of the reciprocal relationship between art history as an academic discipline and the works it subsumed, and which eventually turned into its canon. Since its entrance into academia in the eighteenth century, Art History has maintained categories that once may have secured its acceptance as a scientific method. Artistic practices in the twentieth century have acted against these knowledge structures, as they have questioned the values and hierarchies of areas of knowledge or practice that are upheld especially through art institutions.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, it continues to be ubiquitous practice to distinguish painting from sculpture, the visual from the spatial, the utilitarian from supposedly disinterested practices, the humanities from the natural sciences and so forth, and all this within the national and other centred geographical or cultural orders.

Wendy Shaw’s interpretation of the history of painting in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic in the nineteenth and early twentieth century is the

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1 Circulating under the label of ‘institutional critique’, the artists’ critique of the normative impact of institutions on practice and reception of art deals rather with uneven knowledge production and inequalities within a certain location and not between geographically more or less distant regions. Yet their general questioning of how art is perceived, selected, ignored, contextualised, etc., has been crucial for the development of the topic of this dissertation. Of the art-historical engagement with this artistic practice the following need to be highlighted: Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson, *Institutional Critique: An Anthology of Artists’s Writings* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2009), apart from the numerous text by the artists who received most attention in regard to this practice of institutional critique, Alberro and Stimson supplemented the publication with a critical review of the artistic approach. Further publications on the topic are: Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, and Sandy Naine, eds., *Thinking about Exhibitions* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996); Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, “From the Aesthetics of Administration to Institutional Critique,” in *L’art conceptuel, une perspective: exposition au Musée d’art modern de la Ville de Paris* 22 November—18 February 1990 (Paris: 1990); Frazer Ward, “The Haunted Museum: Institutional Critique and Publicity,” *October* 95 (Winter 20): 71 – 89; Julia Bryan-Wilson, “A Curriculum of Institutional Critique,” in *New Institutionalism* edited by Jonas Ekeberg, 89–109 (Oslo: OCA/verksted 2003); Andrea Fraser, “From the Critique of Institutions to an Institution of Critique,” *Artforum* XLIV/1 (September 2005): 278–283.

study that has offered most in regard of information on which I could base the further research for this dissertation, and regarding my quest for an exit out of art historiography's self-referentiality.<sup>2</sup> Yet it has also demonstrated that the major challenges of this quest remain unresolved. The study is the most comprehensive so far on painting in this period and region. It channels an otherwise disperse secondary literature of minor scope into a concise history of late Ottoman painting. Shaw critically addresses the history with the question about the translation process within the adaption of 'Western art' and its consequences in regard to meaning and effect. The author includes references to the work and biography of many practitioners who painted in the 'Western modality' as she calls the work with canvas, oil paint, and a figurative approach to visual representation.

Shaw makes the important and rare move to consider the agency and resources of the Ottoman painters.<sup>3</sup> However, the constant reference point in her study is a West which reads in her study as if it had only one single approach to art that had been oblivious to any global interaction. Even though Shaw introduces a turn of perspective with her study of the Ottoman actors, she does not resolve the unsustainable implications of "cultural comparativism", namely the "[...] concepts of homogenous national cultures, the consensual or contiguous transmission of historical traditions or "organic" ethnic communities [...]" which Homi Bhabha, an author who Shaw herself repeatedly refers to, has pointed out.<sup>4</sup> While Shaw reiterates the dichotomy between 'Western art' and 'Ottoman art', this dissertation puts into question the existence of such homogeneous entities with a rigid, impermeable border between them, and intends to study creative practices without superimposing pre-established categories.

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2 Wendy M. K., Shaw, *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic* (London: Tauris, 2011).

3 See also Shaw's article "Where Did the Women Go? Female Artists from the Ottoman Empire to the Early Years of Turkish Republic." *Journal of Women's History* 23/1 (2011): 13-37.

4 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 5.

In general, the extant literature on art in the early Turkish Republic may not have been a contribution to my underlying intention to question my instruments of investigation, but often the publications comprise pioneering research and tend to reproduce primary sources and works of practitioners and have thereby contributed significantly to an understanding of the artistic domain at the time.<sup>5</sup> While some of these publications document exhibition activities and the formation of associations outside of the Academy of Fine Arts, all of them focus on actors that are linked in one way or another to this institution, mostly either as faculty member, student or graduate. The same is true for the publications that centre on art education in Turkey.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, when it comes to the subject of art,

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- 5 Aslier, Mustafa, Turan Erol, Kaya Özsezgin, Günsel Renda and Adnan Turani, eds. *Die Geschichte der Türkischen Malerei* [The History of Turkish Painting] (Genf: Palasar, 1989); Seyfi Başkan, *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti* (Ankara: Çardaş Yayınları, 1994); the same author: *Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıldan Günümüze Türk Ressamları/Contemporary Painters in Turkey* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991); Mustafa Cezar, “Türkiye’de İlk Resim Sergisi,” in *1. Osman Hamdi Bey Kongresi: Bildiriler 2 – 5 Ekim 1990* [First Congress on Osman Hamdi Bey: Proceedings 2—5 October 1990] edited by Zeynep Rona, 43-52 (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1992); İpek Duben, *Türk Resmi ve Eleştirisi* (1850–1950) (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007). Turan Erol, “Türkische Maleri im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert [Turkish painting in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century],” in *Die Geschichte der Türkischen Malerei* [The History of Turkish Painting], edited by Mustafa Aslier, Turan Erol, Kaya Özsezgin, Günsel Renda and Adnan Turani, 87-236 (Genf: Palasar, 1989); Kıymet Giray, *Müstakil Ressamlar ve Heykeltıraşlar Birliği* (Istanbul: Akbank Yayınları, 1997); again Giray, *Çallı ve Atölyesi* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1997); Ahmet Kamil Gören, *Türk Resim Sanatında Şişli Atölyesi ve Viyana Sergisi* (Istanbul: İstanbul Resim Heykel Müzeleri Derneği, 1997); Abdullah Sinan Güler, “İkinci Meşrutiyet Ortamında Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti ve Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi” (PhD diss., Mimar Sinan University Istanbul, 1994). İsmail Safa Günay, *Büyük Türk Sanatkarı Namık İsmailin Hayatı ve Eserleri* (Istanbul: M. Babok Basımevi, 1937); Duygu Köksal, “The Role of Culture and Art in Early Republican Modernization in Turkey” in *La multiplication des images en pays d’Islam: De l’estampe à la télévision (17e – 21e siècle)*, edited by Bernard Heyberger und Silvia Naef (Würzburg: Ergon, 2003); Kaya Özsezgin, ed, *İbrahim Çallı* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1993); Burcu Pelvanoğlu, *Hale Asaf: Türk Resim Sanatında Bir Dönüm Noktası* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007) Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu, ed., *Galatasaray Sergileri 1916-1951*. Catalogue of exhibition 16 May—14 June 2003 at Yapı Kredi Kazım Taşkent Sanat Galerisi (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2003).
- 6 Deniz Artun, *Paris’ten Modernlik Tercümelere. Académie Julian’da İmparatorluk ve Cumhuriyet Öğrencileri* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007); Aydın Ayan, *Canlı Modelin Sanat Eğitimindeki Yeri: Panelleri ve Sergisi* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006); Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı’ya açılış ve Osman Hamdi* (Istanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık vakfı yayını, 1995); Ataman Demir, *Arşivdeki belgeler ışığında Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi’nde yabancı hocalar: Philipp Gintner’den Kurt Edman’a kadar* (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2008); Muhteşem Giray (ed.), *Güzel sanatlar eğitiminde 100 yıl* (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1983). In addition, the monograph on the Turkish painter Hale Asaf by Pelvanoğlu includes documentation about her training which provides a very rich complement to the official



the research has almost exclusively focused on painting. One notable exception is the publication edited by Ali Artun and Esra Aliçavuşoğlu that comprises articles which study institutions of training in design mainly in the period following the years address in this dissertation.<sup>7</sup> Luckily, however, it contains also an article on the Art-Craft Department by Hasan Penkmezci.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, at least in regard to the Art-Craft Department, the reference to Bauhaus, certainly one of the most studied institutions of art education in art history, is misleading. Given the dearth of knowledge about the Art-Craft Department in Ankara, especially in comparison to the Academy of Fine Arts, it will receive special attention in this dissertation.

Neither creative work, artistic training nor the conceptualisation of art in the early Turkish Republic have been studied in regard to the linkages between these different facets of making art; nor have they been studied in relation to their empirical conditions. For this reason, I decided to take my research question as the starting point of supplementary readings, and to collect information from publications that address particular aspects of my topic. These publications may be summarised under four different headings. First, there are publications that include primary sources that relate to the art schools but do not analyse them at all, or at least not in relation to questions that are relevant for the study of art-making. These publications comprise my archives in book form. Nizayi Altunya has collected together a huge number of sources on the Gazi Institute. Yıldırım Yavuz has published the letters of the architect of the building of the Gazi Institute, Kemalettin, which offer insights into the commissioning process and also about the living conditions in Ankara as experienced by someone who was directly linked with the Gazi Institute and the design of the Art-Craft

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documentation on the institutions and shows to what extent they really reflect the actual situation of the individual student of that time: Pelvanoğlu, *Hale Asaf*.

- 7 Ali Artun and Esra Aliçavuşoğlu, eds., *Bauhaus: Modernleşmenin Tasarımı: Türkiye’de Mimarlık, Sanat, Tasarım Eğitimi ve Bauhaus*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009.
- 8 Hasan Penkmezci, “Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü Resim-İş Bölümü ve Bauhaus (Yeni İnsanın Tasarımı-Yeni Bir Toplumun Tasarımı),” in Artun and Aliçavuşoğlu, eds., *Bauhaus*, 277-303.

Department's setting.<sup>9</sup> In the same publication, Yavuz includes also the ground plans of the building and provides raw data that has been central for this study. Beşir Ayvazoğlu has combined and re-edited with annotations the writings of one of the central actors in my study, Malik Aksel, and facilitated access to these texts. While he focuses on the text production, I pay particular attention to Malik Aksel's visual works and photo archive, which I also contrast with the text, often arriving at an understanding of them that differs from Ayvazoğlu's.<sup>10</sup>

The second group of books comprises studies on the built environment with a special focus on Ankara and the circumstances leading to and consequences following the relocation of the Republican capital to this city in 1923. The scholarly attention dedicated to this processes allows us to contrast different perspectives. By addressing not only political-historical but also social-historical aspects, Zeynep Kezer's thorough research at times radically counters views on Ankara which are couched only in terms of Republican accomplishments.<sup>11</sup> Sibel Bozdoğan has provided a more balanced approach in this regard, although, due to its focus on issues of social engineering imposed on the citizens by the state, it includes less the reverse perspective of the resources of individuals. Bozdoğan's

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9 Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin, 1870-1927* (Ankara: Mimarlar Odası/Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Ortak Yayını, 2009); Ali Cengizkan, (ed.), *Mimar Kemalettin ve Çağı: Mimarlık, Toplumsal Yaşam, Politika* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası/Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009); Batur, Afife. *Mimar Kemaleddin: Proje Kataloğu* (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009).

10 Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *Sanat ve Folklor* [Art and Folklore] (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011); *Malik Aksel: Evimizin Ressamı* (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011); Malik Aksel, *İstanbul'un Ortası*, edited by Beşir Ayvazoğlu (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011), Malik Aksel. *Sanat Hayatı: Resim Sergisinde Otuz Gün* [Art Life: Thirty Days at the Art Exhibition] edited by Beşir Ayvazoğlu, 123-146 (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2010).

11 Zeynep Kezer, "Of Forgotten People and Forgotten Places: Nation-Building and Dismantling of Ankara's Non-Muslim Landscapes," in *On Location: Heritage Cities and Sites* edited by D. Fairchild Ruggles, 169-191 (New York et. al.: Springer, 2012.); "The Making of Early Republican Ankara," *Architectural Design* 80/1 (January/February 2010): 40-45; "An Imaginable Community: The Material Culture of Nation-Building in Early Republican Turkey," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27/3 (June 2009): 508-530; "Contesting Urban Space in Early Republican Ankara," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52/1 (September 1998): 11-19; "The Making of a National Capital: Ideology and Socio-Spatial Practices in Early Republican Ankara" (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1999).

inclusion of a chapter on the so-called First National Style has been notably helpful, this being a rare contribution to the understanding of this architecture that has otherwise not yet received much scholarly attention, and is of signal importance for this project.<sup>12</sup> On the categorisation of the style, and subsequent ones, as ‘national’ Elvan Altan Ergut’s dissertation is significant because she considers not only the architectural discourse but also the architectural works and conditions of architectural practice as active components in the process.<sup>13</sup> Ali Cengizkan has also contributed a great many primary sources which further our understanding of early Republican Ankara and allow us to differentiate between various interpretations.<sup>14</sup> These publications have been contrasted with studies on architecture of this period beyond Ankara in Istanbul or in Turkey in general.<sup>15</sup>

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- 12 Among the other publications on architecture in Turkey that deal with architecture that conspicuously features historicising elements are: Suha Özkan and Yıldırım Yavuz. “The Final Years of the Ottoman Empire.” In *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Ahmet Evin, Renata Holod, and Suha Özkan (Ankara: Chamber of Architects, 2005). Ali Cengizkan, “Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık, “Savunma Hattı”nda,” in the publication of the same author: *Modernin saati: 20 Yüzyılda Modernleşme ve Demokratikleşme Pratiğinde Mimarlar, Kamusal Mekan ve Konut Mimarlığı* [The Hour of the Modern: Architects, Public Space, and Housing in Modernization and Democratization Practices of the Twentieth Century] (Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği and Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2002). Monographs on the architects that are commonly held to belong to what is considered a common style, such as Vedat (Tek), Giulio Mongeri, or Arif Hikmet (Koyunoğlu), have not yet been consulted but will certainly provide for further important studies.
  - 13 Elvan Altan Ergut. “Making a National Architecture: Architecture and the Nation-State in Early Republican Turkey” (PhD diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, 1999). Regarding the architectural works of the 1920s in particular see pages 121-127.
  - 14 Ali Cengizkan, *Ankara’nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı, Kentsel Mekan Özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı’na* (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 2004). Ali Cengizkan, *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri: Savaş Yıkımının, İç Göçünün ve Mübadelenin Doğurduğu Konut Sorununun Çözümünde* (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, Arkadaş, 2004).
  - 15 İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, Ankara, ODTÜ Yayınları, 2001. The same author also studied the formal developments from the angle of the building industry in Turkey at the time: “Evaluation of Architectural Developments in Turkey within the Socio-Economic and Cultural Framework of the 1923-38 Period,” *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 7, no. 2 (1986): 15-41; Afife Batur, *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey during the 20th Century* (Ankara: Mimarlar Odası, 2005). Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin eds., *Modern Turkish Architecture*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984). Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, “The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1989), Reşat Kasaba, ed., *The Cambridge Turkey in the Modern World*, History of Turkey Vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Uğur Tanyeli, *İstanbul 1900-2000: Konutu ve Modernleşmeyi Metropolden Okumak* (İstanbul: Akın Nalça, 2004), and by the same author: *Mimarlığın Aktörleri* (İstanbul: Garanti Galerî Yayınları, 2007).

The work of foreign and especially German-speaking architects in Turkey has been the focus of many studies which have broached the question of cultural transfer while remaining to great extent focused on a unilateral perspective.<sup>16</sup> In contrast, Esra Akcan's study *Modernity in Translation* provides a multi-perspectival investigation whose material is not only helpful for the understanding of the conditions of urbanism and construction in the early Turkish period, but also instructive in that she elaborates the different modes and currents of knowledge and cultural transfer and translation.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, her study of the sources is closer to the level of individual agency and opens up a range of insights into a nation-building or so-called Westernisation process which is often otherwise dealt with via a rather generic approach.

A further group of studies concerns the understanding of art in the sphere of cultural policies. These studies are relevant for the present purposes because the cultural-political domain allocated the financial means for the institutions and the inclusion of art education in the general education system. Here, Altan Ergut's research has to be highlighted again for her analysis of the role in the nation-building process with which art and education were invested.<sup>18</sup> Nilüfer Öndin's

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16 Burcu Dogramaci, "Kollegen und Konkurrenten. Deutschsprachige Architekten und Künstler an der Akademie der schönen Künste in Istanbul [Colleagues and competitors: German-speaking architects and artists at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul]" in: *Deutsche Wissenschaftler im türkischen Exil: Die Wissenschaftsemigration in die Türkei 1933–1945* [German scientists in exile: The emigration of science into Turkey 1933-1945], ed. Christopher Kubaseck und Günter Seufert (Würzburg: Ergon 2008), 135-156; Burcu Dogramaci, *Kulturtransfer und nationale Identität. Deutschsprachige Architekten, Stadtplaner und Bildhauer nach 1927* [Cultural transfer and national identity: German-speaking architects, urban planners and sculptors after 1927] (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2008); Bernd Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil. Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei 1925 – 1955* [Modernity and Exile: German-Speaking Architects in Turkey 1925 - 1955] (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1998).

17 Esra Akcan, *Modernity in Translation: Early Twentieth Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land Settlement and Residential Culture*, unpublished dissertation (New York: Columbia University: 2005). See also the publication of this dissertation: *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (Durham : Duke University Press, 2012).

18 Altan Ergut, "Making a National Architecture." See also her article "The Exhibition House in Ankara: Building (up) the 'National' and the 'Modern'," *Journal of Architecture* 16/6 (2011): 855-884. In this article Altan Ergut expands on the topic of exhibitions as a tool to foster the unity between the people and the state.

dissertation directly addresses the topic of cultural policies and painting.<sup>19</sup> Despite her focus on the relationship to just one artistic discipline it is a very important contribution that provides a plethora of information, including primary sources in original and transliterated form on the key individuals and the instruments of cultural policies they deployed. A more general introduction to cultural policies in Turkey, which is less profound but still helpful in that it touches on various aspects of cultural policies, consists in the publication edited by Serhan Ada and Ayça İnce.<sup>20</sup> Notably indispensable here are the publications on Mustafa Necati, as he was particularly significant in the promotion of the arts in Turkey.<sup>21</sup> Research has also underscored the close link between art historiography and cultural policies.<sup>22</sup> The studies further provide information about what knowledge about art and which conceptions of it were available to inform cultural political decisions. The study of Ahmet Ersoy on the Ottoman contribution to the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna sparked the recognition of some meaningful parallels with German cultural policies and the linkages to the institutionalisation of art

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- 19 Nilüfer Öndin, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi (1923-1950) Kültür Politikalarının Türk Resim Sanatı Üzerindeki Yansımaları* (PhD diss., Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Sanat Tarihi Anabilim Dalı, Batı Sanatı ve Çağdaş Sanat Programı, İstanbul, 2002).
- 20 Serhan Ada and H. Ayça İnce, *Introduction to Cultural Policy in Turkey* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2009).
- 21 Notably indispensable here are the publications on Mustafa Necati, as he was particularly significant in the promotion of the arts in Turkey: Hülya Argunşah (ed.), *Mustafa Necati Sepetçioğlu* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2007); *The proceedings of the Mustafa Necati Sempozyumu: Kastamonu*, 9-11 Mayıs 1991 (Ankara, Kastamonu Eğitim Yüksekokulu, 1991); M. Rauf İnan, *Mustafa Necati* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1980). A number of further publications offer insights into the actual government projects and related actors, most importantly the publication by the former Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel, *Milli Eğitimle İlgili Söylev ve Demeçler* (İstanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993); Nuran Dağlı and Belma Aktürk, *Hükümetler ve Programları* [Governments and Programmes] (Ankara: TBMM, 1988). The programmes and minutes of meetings of the government are currently all available online, also transliterated and translated into modern Turkish.
- 22 Sibel Bozdoğan, "Reading Ottoman Architecture through Modernist Lenses: Nationalist Historiography and the 'New Architecture' in the early Republic," *Muqarnas* 24, 2007, 199–221. The following accounts on art historiography consider further articles in the mentioned issue of *Muqarnas*: Oya Pancaroğlu, "Formalism and the Academic Foundation of Turkish Art in the early Twentieth Century," 67–78; Scott Redford, "What Have You Done for Anatolia Today?: Islamic Archaeology in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic," 243–52; Gülru Necipoğlu, "Creation of a National Genius: Sinan and the Historiography of 'Classical' Ottoman Architecture," 142–83.

education in Turkey.<sup>23</sup> Political motives behind public funding of art education in European countries have been studied due to the direct linkages to Turkey that became apparent during the research.<sup>24</sup> Further studies have evidenced the role of art historiography in the cultural-political decision-making processes.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, I supplemented the publication on artistic training in Turkey with studies on art education abroad. I have consulted particularly those works which pay attention to the significance of the educational settings both as bodies of representation and as practice-shaping entities.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, there are a number of studies that follow the connections between the institutional model and practice of art education and the development of the understandings of art and

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- 23 Ahmet Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance': Architectural Revival and its Discourse during the Abdülaziz Era (1861-76)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000). Ersoy has also contributed to the *Muqarnas* edition on art historiography in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, see Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 117-139.
  - 24 Rüdiger vom Bruch, *Weltpolitik als Kulturmission: Auswärtige Kulturpolitik und Bildungsbürgertum in Deutschland am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges* [World Policy as Cultural Mission: Foreign Cultural Policy and the *Bildungsbürgertum*] (Paderborn u. a. 1982).
  - 25 Hannelore Schlaffer and Heinz Schlaffer, *Studien zum ästhetischen Historismus* [Studies on the Aesthetic Historism] (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1975). Artists themselves actively promoted their role in the nation-building process and positioned themselves favourably for possible funding, as has been demonstrated in the following publications: Ekkehard Mai, ed., *Historienmalerei in Europa. Paradigmen in Form, Funktion, und Ideologie* [History Painting in Europe: Paradigms in Form, Function and Ideology] (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1990); Stefan Germer and Michael F. Zimmernann, eds., *Bilder der Macht – Macht in Bildern: Zeitgeschichte in Darstellungen des 19. Jahrhunderts* [Images of Power – Power of Images: *Zeitgeschichte* in Representations of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century] (Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1997). Bülent Tanju, ed., *Tereddüd ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler: 1873-1960* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2007).
  - 26 Angela Windholz, *Et in academia ego: Ausländische Akademien in Rom zwischen künstlerischer Standortbestimmung und nationaler Repräsentation (1750—1914)* [*Et in academia ego: Foreign academies in Rom between artistic positioning and national representation (1750—1914)*] (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2008); Winfried Nerdinger, "Fatale Kontinuität: Akademiegeschichte von den zwanziger bis zu den fünfziger Jahren [Fatal continuity: The history of the academy from the twenties to the fifties]," in *Tradition und Widerspruch: 175 Jahre Kunstakademie München* [Tradition and Contradiction: 175 years Art Academy Munich] edited by Thomas Zacharias, 179-203. München: Prestel Verlag, 1985. Ute Camphausen, ed. *Die Leipziger Kunstgewerbeschule: Eine Dokumentation zu Geschichte und Wirkung der Kunstgewerbeschule der Stadt Leipzig und ihrer Vorgänger- und Nachfolgeeinrichtungen* [The school of applied arts of Leipzig: A documentation about the history and resonance of the school of applied arts of the city of Leipzig and its previous and subsequent institutions] (Leipzig: Faber & Faber, 1996).

authorship.<sup>27</sup> Although the publications focus on institutions outside the Ottoman or Turkish confines, this project benefits from the insights they provide into the interdependence between the educational setting, the orientation of artistic curricula, the ideologies of art historiography, and the cultural political expectancies. Also, they point to the formative role of these aspects in the development of values, the habitus of artists, and the conception of art works. It is important to note, however, that their approaches, which draw heavily on the work of Pierre Bourdieu, imply that every art student reacts in the same way to the educational environment.<sup>28</sup> This dissertation does not aim at such a general picture. Right the contrary. It seeks to explore the specificities of each experience.

This dissertation builds on this extant scholarship, which has at times guided my search for primary sources, while also helping to make associations and to provide contrasting perspectives which beneficially complicate my own point of view. This dissertation seeks to add to this scholarship, first by combining the different facets addressed in them, pointing to interconnections between the different scholarly domains, and making them useful for the study of creative practices. My main contribution, however, lies in the inclusion of a considerable

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27 Howard Singerman's study on the training of artists and its implications and consequences is still the most insightful: Howard Singerman, *Art Subjects: Making Artists in the American University*, Berkeley, 1999. Most of the following publications draw heavily on Singerman's theses, but through the inclusion of further contexts and types of educational settings they offer a fruitful and considerable extension of this research topic: Wolfgang Brückle and Peter J. Schneemann (eds.), *Kunstausbildung: Aneignung und Vermittlung künstlerischer Kompetenz*, München 2008; Thierry de Duve, "Das Ende des Bauhaus-Modells," in Denys Zacharopoulos (ed.), *Akademie zwischen Kunst und Lehre: Künstlerische Praxis und Ausbildung – eine kritische Untersuchung*, Vienna: Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien, 1992; James Elkins, *Why Art Cannot Be Taught: A Handbook for Art Students*, Urbana, 2001; Christian Fuhrmeister and Wolfgang Ruppert (eds.), *Zwischen Deutscher Kunst und internationaler Modernität: Formen der Künstlerausbildung 1918 bis 1968*, Weimar: VDG, 2007; Ute Meta Bauer, *Education, Information, Entertainment: Aktuelle Ansätze künstlerischer Hochschulbildung* (Wien, 2001); Stefan Römer, "Von der Kritik an der Kunstakademie zum Coding im Kunststudium," in Hans Dieter Huber, Bettina Lockemann, and Michal Scheibel (eds.), *Bild, Medien, Wissen. Visuelle Kompetenz im Medienzeitalter* (München, 2002), 123–43; Hans Maria Wingler (ed.), *Kunstschulreform 1900–1933: Fünf Beispiele ihrer Verwirklichung* (Berlin, 1977).

28 Pierre Bourdieu, *Die Regeln der Kunst: Genese und Struktur des literarischen Feldes* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001) [Original edition: *Les règles de l'art: Genèse et structure du champ littéraire*, Paris: Du Seuil, 1992]; Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction: Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: De Minuit, 1979).

amount of primary sources, the close observation and description of visual and spatial material and, on that basis, the initiation of the questioning of the tools of art-historical knowledge production themselves. As mentioned, these sources have generally already been published, yet they have not been analysed for the purposes addressed in this thesis—namely their agency in the art practice and conception. We have not yet mentioned the interior photographs published by Kemal Fırat.<sup>29</sup> Further, I have gathered photographs from a number of not-yet-organised archives, both at the Art-Craft Department today and in the legacy of one of the actors on which this dissertation reiteratively focuses: Malik Aksel. His private documents are currently in Bursa, where I also studied his book collection in the Şehbenderler Konağı Kütüphanesi as well as his paintings and drawings. Further photographs have been found in the Archive of the German Archeological Institute in Istanbul. I include primary texts from the journals *Mimar*, *La Turquie Kemaliste*, and *Ülkü*, from the daily newspaper *Cumhuriyet* and diverse written and visual documents in the *Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü B.C.A.* in Ankara. Finally, I have conducted research in the University Archive of the University of Art in Berlin [Universitt der Knste Berlin, Universittsarchiv], and the Archive of the Academy of the Arts [Archiv der Akademie der Knste], also in Berlin, where I found training programmes, plans, personal notes and certificates of the State Art School at which Malik studied. I also photographed the school building in order to illustrate here its spatial aspects.

### I.3 Approaches

The dissertation draws on several approaches, especially on Social History with its emphasis on individual experience and agency, and on New Area and Transnational Studies with their performative conception of geographical boundaries, which I apply to any kind of epistemic or social delineations. Most

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29 Kamil Fırat, ed., *Gemiř Zaman: Mimar Sinan Gzel Sanatlar niversitesi'nin 125. Yılına Armaėan Fotografları* (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Gzel Sanatlar niversitesi, 2008).



decisive during the course of research and study of the sources, however, has been the Actor-Network-Theory as conceived by Bruno Latour in his book *Reassembling the Social*.<sup>30</sup>

The social-historical approach has been adopted by a slowly growing body of literature on the early Republican Period and opens a complementary view to the prevailing political narrative of modern Turkey. These studies promise to break open the national paradigm and temporal framework that dominates the scholarship, and supplement the recurring refrain of dates and legislative reforms with the history of the people who reacted to and experienced them. This, and the threshold of 1923 that separated the historiography of the Republic from that of the Ottoman Empire, has fostered the assumption of a total transformation through the successful implementation of a parade of reforms. This tendency to essentialise and homogenise the individual's lived experience contrasts with the research of historians like Şerif Mardin, Michael Meeker, Gavin D. Brockett, and Benjamin Fortna, who have followed a social-historical perspective.<sup>31</sup> The authors propose to go further than the confines defined and regulated by the state, despite the fact that the richness of the state archives may appear more convenient than the slow and less effective search for popular and private sources. They demonstrate that the same body of sources may indeed suggest those transformations which are usually linked with the period, such as secularisation, nationalisation or Westernisation. However, as Fortna comments, a

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30 Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

31 Şerif Mardin, "Projects as Methodology: Some Thoughts on Modern Turkish Social Science." in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, edited by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 64-80 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997); Şerif Mardin, "Power, Civil Society and Culture in the Ottoman Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11 (1969): 258-281. Michael Meeker, *A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002); Gavin D. Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk: Provincial Newspapers and the Negotiation of a Muslim National Identity* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011); Gavin D. Brockett, "Collective Action and the Turkish Revolution: Towards a Framework for the Social History of the Atatürk Era, 1923-38." *Middle Eastern Studies* 34/ 4, *Special Issue: Turkey before and after Atatürk* (1998): 44-66; Fortna, Benjamin C., *Learning to Read in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic*, New York: Palgrave, 2011.

“more careful examination [...] suggests a much broader spectrum of beliefs, tendencies and approaches.”<sup>32</sup> It is this diversification and complication of the generic picture that this dissertation is seeking as well. But it has to be underlined that this expansion and diversification of knowledge should also include reflections on epistemic categories in order to re-compose instead of just reproduce them.

The ongoing methodological discussions on global history also contribute to this goal. During the last two decades, historians have engaged in a reflexive study concerning History’s adoption of a global perspective in order to counter unbalanced knowledge production, and so consider, explicitly or implicitly, humanity at large.<sup>33</sup> This endeavour is currently at the stage of recognising the problems of traditional historical narratives, such as national, religious and cultural divides, and “constricted chronologies and confined spatial parameters.”<sup>34</sup> It further becomes apparent that received conceptual and methodological parameters require adjustment and pluralisation. Recently, Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann have stepped forward to identify practical consequences and propose viable approaches in response to the debates over the

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32 Fortna, *Learning to Read*, 17.

33 During a workshop in Bellagio in 1989, Bruce Mazlish and Ralph Buultjens started to find a new label for a new approach in world-history studies. This was the first time “global history” was appealed to in order to replace the previous notion of “world history”, with its complicated Euro-centric history. See Matthias Middell, “Universalgeschichte, Weltgeschichte, Globalgeschichte, Geschichte der Globalisierung – ein Streit um Worte? [Universal history, world history, global history, history of globalisation: A dispute about words?], in *Globalisierung und Globalgeschichte [Globalisation and Global History]*, edited by Margarete Grandner, Dietmar Rothermund, and Wolfgang Schwentker, 60-82 (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2005). Studies on today’s practice of global history—such as this article by Middell or the recent publication by Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global Perspectives on Global History: Theories and Approaches in a Connected World* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011)—have shown that various terms like world history, global history, and transnational history are frequently used for the same approach, but that there is no consistent use nor any term that has not been perceived in some countries as imperialist or less Euro-centric than the other.

34 A summary of the historic precedents of global history, and its current trials and challenges, has been presented by O’Brien, “Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History”.

pitfalls of traditional historiography.<sup>35</sup> Their proposal draws upon the spatial turn, that is to say, the rejection of national (or otherwise “-centric”) approaches to history, the recognition of space as constructed, and the coexistence of various spatial frameworks, while acknowledging the role of historical actors as well as of historians in delineating spatial orders. Moreover, Middell and Naumann argue that especially transnational studies, with its poststructuralist emphasis on agency, as well as the problematisation of the implications of comparative approaches, has further added to the shift from the primary concern about time towards a concern about space.<sup>36</sup> Out of these concerns, the authors raise the question of how the linkages between the spatial frameworks were acted out historically.<sup>37</sup> A potential solution may be provided, they suggest, by narratives that emphasize historical agency, recognise the enmeshed and shifting spatial references, and the tension with which these references were sought to be established in history.<sup>38</sup>

It is especially the emphasis on agency, and the recognition of the instability of borders, that shall be highlighted here, because this is not specific to spatiality alone and concerns space in all its forms—“as geography, social action, identity, political decision, and economic entanglement.”<sup>39</sup> In either way it helps, as metaphor or in its wider conception, to expose the same performative nature in other spheres of cognition and knowledge. Michel Serres, with his philosophy of communication, has worked on the fluidity which characterises disciplines of knowledge, and the fluid nature of the boundaries between them, and, as in the case of the establishments of spatial references or borders, the constructed

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35 Here ‘traditional’ can probably be used in a global sense: according to O’Brien, historiography has been practiced in a manner that was very—at least for times previous to nation states—inward-looking in scope. See Brien, ‘Historiographical Traditions,’ 25-32; Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann, “Global History and the Spatial Turn: From the Impact of Area Studies to the Study of Critical Junctures of Globalization,” *Journal of Global History* (2010/5): 149-170.

36 Middell and Naumann, ‘Gobal History and the Spatial Turn,’ 155.

37 Middell and Naumann, ‘Gobal History and the Spatial Turn,’ 153.

38 Middell and Naumann, ‘Gobal History and the Spatial Turn,’ 161.

39 Middell and Naumann, ‘Gobal History and the Spatial Turn,’ 165.

character of disciplinary delineations especially in academia.<sup>40</sup> Serres's philosophy of communication also connects with spatial references through its parallels with Arjun Appadurai's understanding of 'translocal' processes and 'process geographies' for dealing with the fluidity of the notion of territories while not neglecting the power structures of these flows.<sup>41</sup>

As for agency, John Dewey's pragmatist philosophy, especially as outlined in his *The Public and Its Problems*, reveals the role and the complexity of human agency in the development of theories and facts, as well as the values attributed to them.<sup>42</sup> His scope has been broadened to include the agency of things and spaces, and its relation with human action, especially through works such as Ludwik Fleck's *Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact*, Hans-Jörg Rheinberger's *Toward a History of Epistemic Things*, Alfred Gell's *Art and Agency*, and the works of Bruno Latour. Latour's particular conception of the Actor-Network-Theory is explained in *Reassembling the Social*.<sup>43</sup>

Paradoxically, one of the main uncertainties under discussion regarding the practice of global history consists of the lack of established categories, values and concepts. The turn to agency and instability allows us to take precisely those uncertainties as the main virtue. In this regard, Actor-Network-Theory, even though it was initially conceived for anthropology, promises to be particularly fruitful for historical enquiries. This is because its basic premise is that very uncertainty about the nature of things, groups, action or facts, and consequently that an explanation cannot rely on the deployment of pre-given definitions, rules or concepts. Instead, the enquiry resorts to the close observation of the actors

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40 Exemplary for his philosophy of communication is Serres' work *Hermes*, in which this mythical figure stands as a representative for the messenger and guide between and along the lands of knowledge.

41 Appadurai, 'Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination', and *Modernity at Large*.

42 Dewey, *The Public and its Problems*.

43 Fleck, *Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact*; Rheinberger, *Experimentalsysteme und epistemische Dinge*; Gell, *Art and Agency*; Latour, *Reassembling the Social*.

involved, the survey of their practices, the setting of their actions, and the physical manifestations of their activities and the materials, tools, and things involved in the performance. This shall be explained in more detail.

In his book, Latour seeks to redress a substantialist understanding of the word *social*. He devises an alternative definition of *sociology* not as the “science of the social”, but as the “tracing of associations.” He understands the social as “collective”, stressing the meaning of this word as “collective action”—that is, “action that collects.”<sup>44</sup> “Collective” is not the agency of a homogeneous group but the force of assembling different agencies. Collective is the project of assembling new entities not yet gathered. The formation of the social is a continual performance. Every action, object and individual participates in this performance. The social is not the backdrop or context that could explain a specific act; to the contrary, the social is explained by the acts because minute elementary acts assemble the social.<sup>45</sup>

This conception applied to art history revokes the prevailing practice of considering the social as a separate domain or context which frames an artwork.<sup>46</sup> The aim of the Actor-Network-Theory is to provide the means to explain the collective “resemblances of the whole” by tracing the accumulation of acts. The traditional separation between nature and society is replaced by a performative

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44 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 74.

45 The tradition behind this approach is relatively thin. Latour highlights Gabriel Tarde (1843-1904) as an early critic of the use of an entirely unspecified notion of the social as an explanation for human interaction. Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 13. Curiously, the most influential Ottoman intellectual for the early Republican years, Mehmed Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), was versed in Tarde’s approach to sociology and drew many conclusions from it. See Niyazi Berkes, ed., *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 71-76.

46 Arjun Appadurai argued in a comparable way that “even though from a *theoretical* point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a *methodological* point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context.” That is to say, he also argues that we should ‘flip’ the process and explain the whole by means of the parts. See Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 5. Latour, however, is much more specific in accrediting things’ potential roles as actors in the course of an action.

understanding of the whole. In this lies the political relevance of this theory especially as it seeks to overcome binary divides, a further reason why it is so instrumental for this dissertation that is situated within discussions fixated on dichotomies like East and West. The Actor-Network-Theory aims at renewing the “sense of being in the same collective.”<sup>47</sup> Difference is not a divide. Any action makes a contribution to the process of assembling the common world. The common world is in a state of progressive composition. This conception of the social shall be explained in more detail by outlining the nature of the acts, the nature of their participants, and the nature of the location of these acts.

The domain of the Actor-Network-Theory is the moment of change. Due to its performative understanding of the social, change becomes only traceable when new associations are being made. Latour underscores that it is easier to observe groups in formation than already established entities, but, as he argues, the maintenance of the established boundaries of a group also requires constant action. Performance is the rule, and stability an exception. An explanation is required for the activities of both the creation and the upkeep of boundaries. The making, stabilisation, modification, and dissolution of a group leaves many traces that allow the researcher to follow the processes of group formation. What is more, any group formation constitutes a demarcation from other entities. Through this friction between the inside and the outside, the process of group formation itself accounts for its “context.”

The Actor-Network-Theory traces the trails of action where every act may turn into a furcation. A stable frame of reference, a “field,” or any type of confined area of study, established a priori, does not provide the flexible perspective that the observation of the actions requires. Action is agile and “dislocated,” meaning that action is not the result of the actor’s intention alone.<sup>48</sup> Actors provide the

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47 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 249.

48 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 46. Latour refers here to the notion of “dislocal” as proposed by François Cooren, who argued that action is “borrowed, distributed, suggested, influenced, dominated, betrayed, translated.” François Cooren, *The Organizing Property of*

figurations of agencies in their accounts about what makes them act. If the researcher includes the existence of agency in his or her argumentation, he or she has to provide the account of the action. Without any figuration, or anything that would indicate agency, the existence of agency cannot be claimed.

Agencies are represented in an account as doing something, as making a difference in a state of affairs, as provoking a change. Furthermore, the actors themselves may discuss or even theorise about the different figurations that make them do something or prevent them from doing something. The figurations are not only human, nor do they merely consist of text or speech but include non-human matters as well. According to the definition provided by the Actor-Network-Theory, everything that makes a difference in the course of an action or modifies a situation is an actor. It is important to emphasise the difference between the figuration in the account—that is, the representation of the actor—and agency. As stated above, the actor is not the sole source of the impulse to act but receives the agency through the confrontation or interaction with other entities. Agency is not the transmission of full causality. Causality and intention are altered by a process of translation. Translation occurs between two “mediators” and experiences interference on the way. The clarification of the notion of the mediator shall open the section on the nature of the participants of an action.

Latour introduces a distinction between mediator and “intermediary.” According to Latour’s definition, a mediator transforms, modifies, or translates the meaning or element it is carrying or receiving. Actors are mediators. The “intermediary,” in contrast, transports meaning without translation. It is through the concatenations of mediators that the social is traceable, hence the ‘slogan’ of the theory: “follow the actors themselves.” They constitute the nodes in a network of

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*Communication* (New York: John Benjamins Pub C8, 2001). Latour further facilitates an understanding of this conception by illustrating it with the literal meaning of the “actor” as someone who carries out the actions under the direction of someone else, thus embodying another character than him- or herself.

flows of translations. In contrast to other theories, such as for instance structuralism, where it is argued that within a given structure each individual acts the same way, according to this theory the actor is not substitutable.<sup>49</sup> The actor is not “in” a system, but the system is made up of interacting actors.

It is critical to emphasise that the Actor-Network-Theory considers all the means deployed in the action, as said above, from human to non-human. The inclusion of objects within the notion of actor differentiates this theory from others. Traditionally, objects were either treated as “determining” human action or they figured as the mirror or background of human behaviour. The theory does not directly question these approaches but proposes a supplementation and looks at the full range of agencies of objects between full determination and sheer non-existence. It has been clarified so far that the actor is not the source of action but rather a kind of receiver of agency. Thus, even the human actor is not considered to be completely in control of his or her intentions or a possessor of a pure free will. Everything, as stated above, that makes a difference in a state of affairs is an actor. It is critical, however, to differentiate the specific notion of the object in the Actor-Network-Theory from a positivistic understanding of objects. Latour shares the understanding that facts are fabricated. For this reason, he replaces the notion of “matters of fact,” which implies something indisputable or real, with the notion of “matters of concern” to highlight the inherent uncertain and unstable character of facts and objects.

Having clarified the notions that help to diversify and describe the participants in a course of an action, their heterogeneous and unstable nature, and the transformative character of their connections, the nature of the location of action

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49 Within the literature on the period addressed in this thesis, Benjamin Fortna is the only one who shares this understanding. He explicitly made this clear in his study on reading in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. He emphasises that reading was not only to be understood in the way Arjun Appadurai or Benedict Anderson put it, that is as a force that creates a “community of sentiment.” Fortna writes that “not everyone read the same texts or if they did, they read them in very different ways and contexts. These varied readings frequently served to further individualization and not collectivization.” Fortna, *Learning to Read*, 211.



as defined by Latour shall be explained. In social sciences, the terms global and local appear more often than not as two spatial categories entirely separated from each other and calling for different approaches altogether. Thus, global history or macro history appears to be conceived differently from a micro-historical approach. Certainly, at first sight, the distances crossed in one and the other differ significantly. However, understanding the local as a category with no ties whatsoever to the global is contradicted, as Latour argues, by the elements that constitute the local and the interaction that takes place in it—something which is generally called local interaction.

Latour's argument is as follows: Observing the objects and subjects of a local interaction, one is led immediately in many directions out of the time and place of the interaction, precisely because the place has been made the place it is by the design and fabrication of its material constituents in many other places at different times and by different people. The subjects interacting in the place, are also interacting with the place and with the objects gathered in it and constituting it. So the place and its objects are not a scenography alone but contribute to the way the interaction is carried out. They make a difference in the course of action. Thus, the interaction is not merely inter-subjective. The subjects also come from different places and received the impulses for their actions from other individuals, things and affairs that took place elsewhere. This is important to keep in mind in order to treat each actor as a fully individualised subject that, for different reasons, acts and reacts differently than others to the situation. Latour emphasises the necessity to redistribute the local and understand action as dislocated, being tied all the time to the agency brought into the place from the outside. Latour illustrates this redistribution of the local with a starlike constellation and uses the term "site" for this specific understanding of an assembled local.

By what means, then, can the local be redistributed; or, to invert the direction, how can the global be localised? To answer this question, the Actor-Network-Theory suggests we consider the "physical transporters of knowledge" and the

“practical ways” through which the knowledge of action is generated.<sup>50</sup> Knowledge never circulates without a carrier. Providing information involves giving form to the knowledge in order to transfer it. Forms embody translation. The carrier constitutes the pathfinder that helps to discover the connections between the global and the local. As a general idea, this understanding can be applied to many different layers, for instance as connections between words and things, between the world of ideas and the material world, and so forth. They demonstrate that these worlds are not detached from each other. Arjun Appadurai argued that “we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories.”<sup>51</sup> Latour goes a step further by considering the agency of things. When confronted with an object, he holds, it is not only necessary to unravel the “associations” that put it together but also to enquire how the object itself effects the unfolding of further action and events.

#### **I.4 Chapter Overview**

The structure of the dissertation responds to the understanding of the Art-Craft Department and the Academy of Fine Arts not as self-contained bodies but as assemblages in the Latourian sense. Thus, the structure deviates from a chronological, geographical, or any other rigid epistemic order and opens avenues through which to follow the trails of and the intersections between the tangible and abstract components that constituted the educational places. Each chapter investigates the individuals, things, and spaces that generated the institutions and how they affected the process of making art in these schools. The unifying characteristic of the chapters is the insistence on the specific. This has required detailed observations, and explains the selective choice of specific incidents. The fragmentary and disparate nature of the remnants of history is only partially

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50 Arjun Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” In *The Social Life of Things*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 3-63, 1986. Reprint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 4.

51 Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” 4.

bridged, and deliberately so. Loose ends are connected with informed speculations rather than with assertive narrative. The structuring criteria of the investigation are the three different angles from which I observe the institutions: Their exteriority in Chapter II, in Chapter III their interiority, and in Chapter IV their trans-local nature.

Chapter II addresses the agency of the institutions' exteriority within the process of making art. Exteriority is meant here in a literal sense, namely what occurred and existed outside of the physical boundaries of the school buildings. The porosity of the physical boundaries that allowed an intimate connection of the art schools to the outside is meant figuratively. This chapter is based on the premise that it is impossible to make general assertions about which external factors made an impact on the work inside of the buildings. The assumption is rather that it depended on each actor in how far and by what specific empirical or theoretical bodies the working process was affected. This chapter aims to trace the connections between the inside to the outside. The first part addresses the relationship between Ankara and the Art-Craft Department. The second part investigates the conceptions of art that shaped the institutionalisation of art education and, thus, the organisation and teaching at the Academy of Fine Arts and the Art-Craft Department.

Chapter III explores the spatial organisation and the educational means at the two art schools. While the previous chapter incorporated conceptions of art shaped not only by the contemporary conditions but also brought about through history and developed in view of arts' expected agency, Chapter III chapter focuses on the actual implementation of those concepts in the given conditions, and how art adapted through practice to the spaces and materials, and how it in turn adapted them to its ends.

Both chapters shall provide evidence of the assembled nature of the Art-Craft Department and the Academy of Fine Arts. Given the fact that assemblages are

composed by parts that derive from different places and times, the previous chapters shall, thus, provide already an idea of the translocality of the art schools. Chapter IV explores how those parts were collected. In order to do so it focuses on one actor, namely Malik Aksel who prior to becoming the first art teacher at the Art-Craft Department studied four years in Germany. The aim of this concentrated focus is to depart from generic assumptions about cultural transfer and to elicit what specific experiences he collected and would bring back to his work in Ankara.

The findings of the dissertation shall be summarised in the conclusion in order to reflect on the potentials which the empirical orientation of the approaches taken here may have to offer to global art historiography.

## CHAPTER II

### THE INSTITUTIONS' INTIMATE EXTERIORITY



Figure 1: Building of School of Fine Arts between 1916 and 1919, and 1921 and 1926 in the Istanbul neighbourhood of Cağaloğlu (Reproduction from Fırat 2008, 23).

In July 1925, Nazmi Ziya [Güran] (1881-1937), now in his new role as director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, took a sheet of the school's official stationery and wrote a letter to the minister of education.<sup>52</sup> He probably sat in the

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52 Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü 180.09.85.414. Nazmi Ziya was director of the art school between March 1925 and June 1927. A list of the directors of the institution

office behind one of the windows of the anything-but-small school building in the neighbourhood of Cağaloğlu (Figs. 1 and 2), and he set out to explain to the minister of education that the art school would need a more spacious setting.



Figure 2: Entrance of the Building of School of Fine Arts between 1916 and 1919, and 1921 and 1926 in the Istanbul neighbourhood of Cağaloğlu (Photo by the author, May 2013).

Nazmi Ziya's request was successful. The northern sector of the Istanbul map that was surveyed and drawn by the cartographer Jacques Pervititch (1877-1945)

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throughout its history is included in Muhteşem Giray, ed., *Güzel Sanatlar Eğitiminde 100 yıl* (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1983), 53.



between 1926 and 27 already shows the school's new location (Fig. 3).<sup>53</sup> Zooming in on the yellow section marked with the number 31, the symmetrical ground plan of a building of considerable size dominates half of the strip of land between a major street and the Bosphorus (Fig. 4). Latin letters transcribe the Ottoman street name with French phonetics into “FOUNDOKLI DJADESSI”. The Bosphorus appears in fine blue lines. “*Ecole Turque des Beaux-Arts*” is written inside the right—as seen from the Bosphorus—part of the structure, which consisted of two buildings of equal size that defined its name Twin Palaces [*Çifte Saraylar*].<sup>54</sup>



Figure 3: Jacques Pervititch, Constantinople Plan Immobilier Triangle: Index Du Secteur “Nord”.

53 Jacques Pervititch, *Sigorta Haritalarında İstanbul/Istanbul in Insurance Maps*, Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2000. For more biographical information about the cartographer see Müsemma Sabancıoğlu, “Jacques Pervititch and His Insurance Maps of Istanbul,” *Dubrovnik Annals* 7 (2003): 89-98.

54 The literal translation of *çifte* is “double”, yet the palaces were of equal shape and stood in close proximity to each other, thus justifying the use of the term “twin”, which is used for architecture with those characteristics.

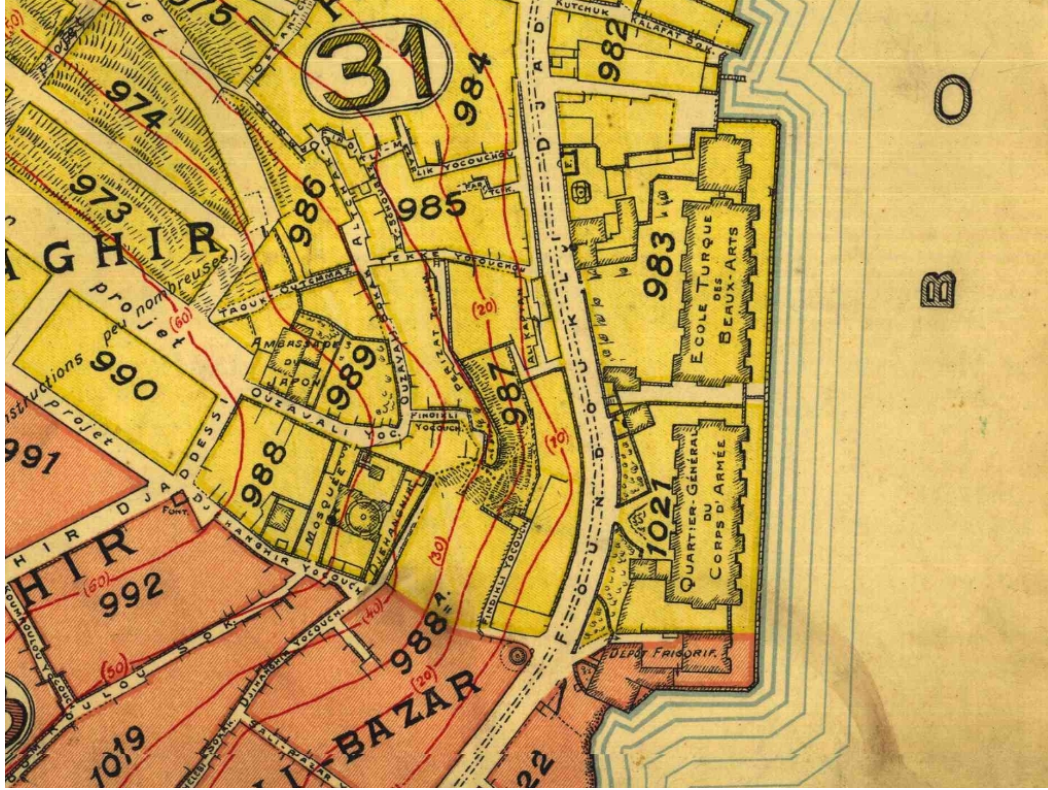


Figure 4: Jacques Pervititch, Constantinople Plan Immobilier Triangule: Index Du Secteur “Nord”, detail.

In Ankara, in the meantime, the minister of education, Mustafa Necati (1894-1929), engaged the architect Kemalettin (1870-1927) in an informal talk about “a big school project [büyük bir mektep projesi].”<sup>55</sup> In a letter from 24 August 1926 to his wife in Istanbul, Kemalettin proudly tells her that it was him alone who the minister wanted for this project.<sup>56</sup> The same year, Kemalettin set water colours on paper and defined the future appearance of the building (Fig. 5). The ground plan swiftly followed, and on 8 August 1927, the foundation stone was sunk into the still-empty field about four kilometres outside of Ankara’s urbanised area.<sup>57</sup>

55 Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluk’tan Cumhuriyet’e Mimar Kemalettin, 1870–1927*, Ankara: Mimarlar Odası ve Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Ortak Yayını, 2009, 493.

56 For transcription of letter into Latin letters see Yavuz, *İmparatorluk’tan Cumhuriyet’e Mimar Kemalettin*, 493.

57 Niyazi Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü: Gazi Orta Öğretmen Okulu ve Eğitim Enstitüsü 1926-1980*. Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Yayını, 2006, 75.



Photographs document the ceremonious act with garlands, floral wreaths and the presence of Mustafa Necati and other state officials.<sup>58</sup> The document they signed and added to the foundation stone declared the project an indication of the importance the Republican government was giving to education.<sup>59</sup> The building would accommodate the Gazi Teacher Training and Education Institute and, as part of this institution, the Art-Craft Department.

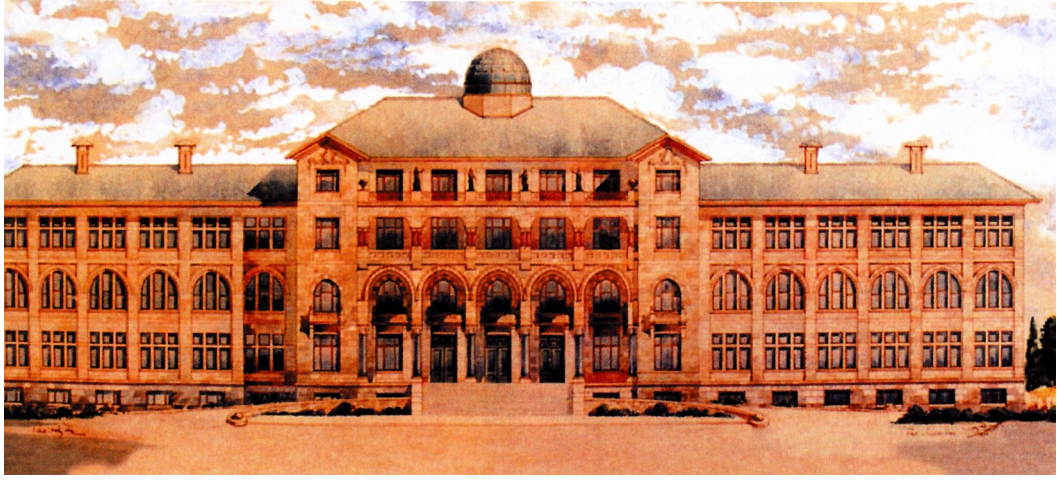


Figure 5: Kemalettin, water colour of the north-east façade, 1926 (Reproduction from Yavuz 2009, 414).

The Art-Craft Department and the Academy of Fine Arts were taking their place in their respective urban environments and the cultural-political domain. Their status as public institutions inevitably connected them to the governmental sphere while their material and spatial needs bound any decision-making process to available means and sites. The two examples above are merely fragments of the complex relationships that constituted the situatedness of the institutions within the cities and cultural policies. Nonetheless, the examples illustrate the linkages and the different currents of exchange between tangible and abstract aggregates

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58 See photographs in Altunya. *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 80-81.

59 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 75.

of this situatedness. In the first example of the petition letter for a larger building for the Academy of Fine Arts, the impulse for change derived from the empirical conditions, mingled with the intended function of the institution, and reached, with the desired effect, the Ministry of Education. In the second example, the minister of education had a plan, and took, it appears, rather informal approaches to its execution; and, if we understand the message in the foundation stone literally, the planned physical outcome was meant to embody something immaterial, in this case the value of education.

Even as loose fragments, and even if we read only their explicit layers, these examples justify the speculation that the institutions were not hermetic, self-sustainable systems but porous entities affected by their exterior and affecting it in turn. Neither do I claim that the exteriority completely determined the action inside the institutional buildings, nor do I picture it as an uninvolved, indifferent backdrop. And I certainly do not conceive of it as a unified, homogeneous block standing on the front stairs of the Academy of Fine Arts or the Art-Craft Department. Instead, the exteriority presents itself as composed of infinite minor acts and objects. As such it maintained multifarious ties with the two institutions, which themselves were not monolithic either. It was an intimate exteriority that interfered in varying degrees with the making of art at the Academy of Fine Arts and the Art-Craft Department. This interference makes the exteriority relevant for this study and shall be addressed in this chapter.

The chapter is organised in two parts. The first part clarifies addresses the physical location of the Art-Craft Department. The second inquires where the two art schools were conceptually positioned.

## II.1 The Relationship between Ankara and the Art-Craft Department

### *A Backstage Perspective*

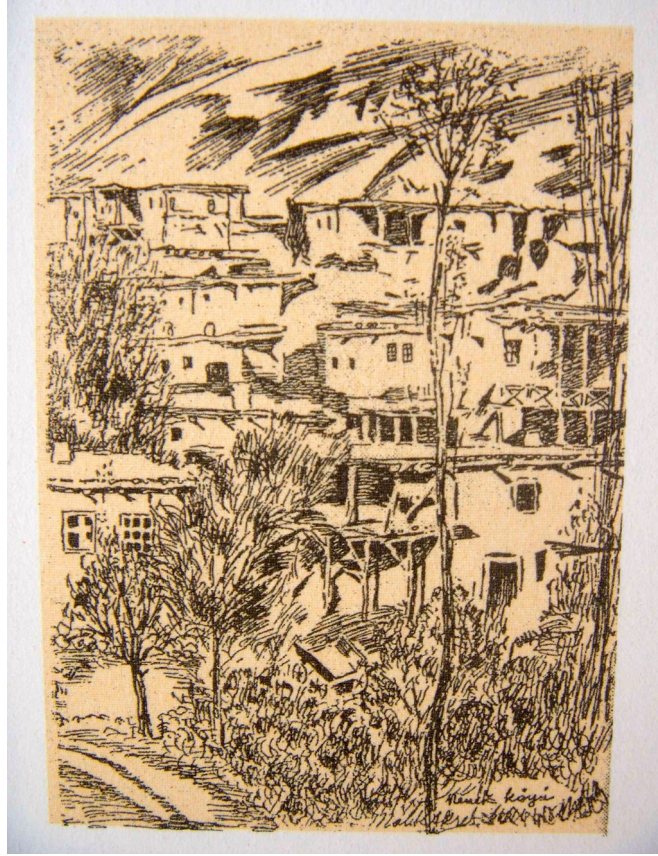


Figure 6: Malik Aksel, *Nenek Köyü*, etching approximately 1936 (Malik Aksel Archive).

The etching *Nenek Köyü* is an oddity (Fig. 6). Its medium and execution already make it a rarity among visual works of the early Republican period. The motif, however, is unique: Self-built houses cower on the slope under a dramatic sky. The settlement is irregular. Uncultivated greenery claims the space between the uneven shacks. The framing of the motif seems arbitrary or casual. No building stands out, no monument guides the view, and the settlement may have continued well outside the picture as the houses cropped by the left and right edge of the

print adumbrate. This etching may be an oddity among the representation of early Republican settlements but corresponds, most likely, with the built environment that most of the people in and around the new capital inhabited at the time.

The signature at the bottom right of the paper is readable and identifies its author as Malik Aksel (1903-1987). Something that looks like figures disappears underneath other lines and curves of black ink, and the date of this print remains uncertain. Nenek Köyü is the former name of Gökçeyurt, a village about twenty kilometres to the east outside of Ankara, and thus I assume that Malik Aksel made the print between 1932, when he came to Ankara as the first teacher of visual arts at the Art-Craft Department, and 1954, when he left.<sup>60</sup> This is quite a large geographical and chronological radius within which to relate the etching to the immediate surroundings of the Art-Craft Department. Still, it documents a perspective on the environment that is, through Malik Aksel, directly linked with the teaching at the department. I propose to follow this trail in order to gain insight into the actors' context, instead of drawing a general picture of the situation in Ankara without knowing what was effectively of concern for the workings of the Art-Craft Department.

In 1956, the journal *Yeni İstanbul* [New Istanbul] published Malik Aksel's article "How did the *Gecekondu* begin?"<sup>61</sup> He himself defines the term *gecekondu* (plural: *gecekondu*) in the article as it is understood today as the informal overnight constructions. To use the term "informal" here is anachronistic as the urban concept of "informal sector" emerged only in the early 1970s and defined the economies and settlements that thrived outside the regulatory frameworks of a country.<sup>62</sup> But the term is evidently a latecomer in comparison to the phenomenon

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60 Altunya. *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 558.

61 Malik Aksel, "Gecekondu Nasıl Başladı? [How did the *Gecekondu* begin?]" *Yeni İstanbul* [New Istanbul] 2203 (5 January 1956): 2. Reproduced in Malik Aksel, *Sanat ve Folklor* [Art and Folklore] edited by Beşir Ayvazoğlu (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011), 216-219.

62 Nezar AlSayyad, "Urban Informality as a 'New' Way of Life," in *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America and South Asia* edited by

it describes, and this matches Aksel's account in his article of the 1950s. He describes how Ankara burst under the influx of people after it became the capital of the Republic. The area of the refugee camps behind the old parliament building

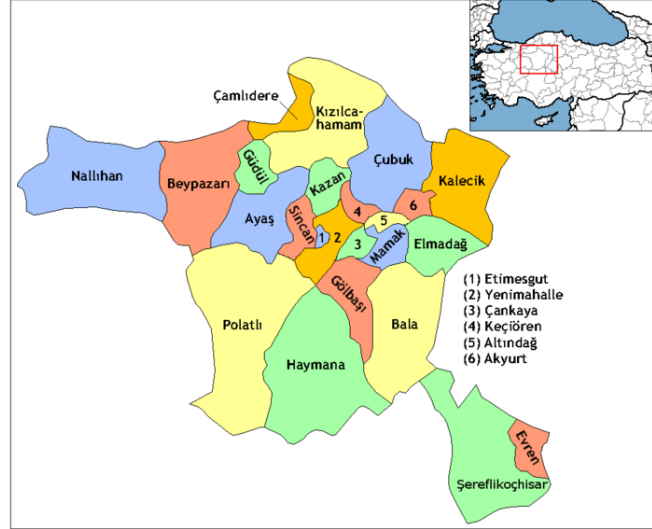


Figure 7: Ankara districts 2012 (from [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ankara\\_districts.png](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ankara_districts.png) 31 May 2013)

spread from Akköprü to Soğukkuyu in Ankara's far-west district Nallıhan, and also covered the hills to the east as far as to Mamak, the district that included Nenek Köyü (Fig. 7).<sup>63</sup> Aksel contrasts the housing shortage with the construction of generous parks and avenues, which expelled residents from their grounds for a

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Ananya Roy and Nezar AlSayyad (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2004), 10. I mention here only the most general definition of "informal." For the substance of different understandings of the concept see Alfredo Brillembourg, Kristin Feireiss and Hubert Klumpner, eds., *Informal City* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 2005). Aksel himself refers to the poverty and the housing as ignoring building regulations: "imar mevzuatına uymayan [not following the building regulations]". Malik Aksel, "Gecekondu Nasıl Başladı?", 217.

63 This map is from 2012. The districts' boundaries might have shifted slightly over time but the map still provides a general orientation.

meagre compensation and gave them no alternative place to settle.<sup>64</sup> He concluded that the unpreparedness to give a timely answer to the city's necessities had turned Ankara into a "bad example for Turkey".<sup>65</sup>

### *Capital Choice*

Aksel's critique flipped the image of a bright Ankara that was deployed in the early Republican years as the ultimate example for other cities of the young nation-state if not for the spirit of the Republic in general. It appears that spirits needed to be high as the physical conditions themselves did not lend much if anything to hope and vision. A decade-long string of wars had been draining the human and material resources of the region. After the Tripoli Campaign in 1911 and the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913, World War One ended for the Ottoman Empire with its unconditional surrender in 1918 and the occupation of most of its territories by the Allies. The war against that foreign occupation began in 1920 and came officially to an end with the truce of 30 September 1922 between the nationalist independence movement and the Allies.<sup>66</sup> Yet, as Kezer elaborates, the internal tensions were not appeased at once. The unclear geo- and sociopolitical situation was further aggravated by the prolonged and arduous negotiations at the Conference of Lausanne and were not less nebulous after the anything-but-unanimous abolition of the sultanate in November 1922. Disparate political views, diverse religious and ethnic alliances, and the chaos, crime and depredations that outlasted the war created a precarious situation and challenged

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64 Regarding the extensive rights of the Ankara Master Plan Bureau to expropriate without compensation any property that it considered necessary for urban development projects see also Zeynep Kezer, "The Making of a National Capital: Ideology and Socio-Spatial Practices in Early Republican Ankara" (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1999), 202.

65 "... ihtiyaçları vaktinde düşünmemek [...] Ankara'yı Türkiye'ye kötü bir örnek haline soktu" Malik Aksel, "Gecekondular Nasıl Başladı?," 219.

66 Zeynep Kezer, "The Making of a National Capital: Ideology and Socio-Spatial Practices in Early Republican Ankara" (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1999), 26.

the national movement to reinstall martial law.<sup>67</sup> It was under these circumstances that the Grand National Assembly passed the constitutional amendments that decided the relocation of the capital from Istanbul to Ankara on 13 October 1923 and the proclamation of the Republic as the new government on 29 October.<sup>68</sup>

Ankara had been already the base of the nationalist movement during the War of Independence. Even today Ankara commemorates the 27 December 1919 as the day the nationalists, headed by Mustafa Kemal, arrived in the city, and the cabinet set up the headquarters there to coordinate the war. Although of moderate size, Ankara answered the strategic needs with its location at safe distance from the battlefronts yet relatively well connected to them by railroad, road and telecommunications.<sup>69</sup> In March 1920, the Allies sacked Istanbul and raided the key institutions of the Ottoman government, most importantly the Twin Palaces, the seat of the Ottoman Assembly.<sup>70</sup> The parliamentarians who had been able to escape joined the cabinet in Ankara. On 23 April 1920, they formed the first Grand National Assembly and thus made Ankara *de facto* the capital of the envisioned nation.<sup>71</sup> This central role in the Independence War sparked Ankara's mythical aura and many are the indications that this symbolic power was recognised as a tool to build the nation whose borders and the sovereignty therein were finally established with the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne on 24 July 1923.<sup>72</sup>

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67 Kezer, "The Making of a National Capital," 23-28.

68 Kezer, "The Making of a National Capital," 28.

69 Kezer, "The Making of a National Capital," 13.

70 Nur Bilge Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation 1918-1923* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

71 Kezer, "The Making of a National Capital," 14.

72 [http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty\\_of\\_Lausanne](http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Lausanne), accessed 2 June 2013. Ankara's mythical aura was exploited and developed in many metaphorical terms, visually and literally, see Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001), 68-70.

While Ankara was bestowed with symbolic greatness, its physical dimensions were, speaking from an architectural point of view alone, simply too small to house a complete state apparatus. This disadvantage, however, made the changes that the city underwent in an extremely short period of time even more astonishing. Until that moment, however, some had remained incredulous of the permanence of Ankara's status as the capital of the Turkish Republic.<sup>73</sup> If we interpret this reaction not only as a romantic affection for the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, it might as well reflect a probably quite realistic estimation of Ankara's insufficiency for such a task in spatial terms. A map of 1924 documents the size of the city (Fig. 8). The main urban area, marked by the red areas and cut through by narrow, irregular streets, consisted mainly of two-story houses constructed on the slope of the castle. To the left of the castle there is a glaring and enormous gap. A fire had erased the entire neighbourhood with the name Hisarönü in 1917. The map also allows us to count almost with the fingers of one hand the few larger buildings marked in the shape of their ground plans in darker red.

Particularly the educational buildings were, relatively speaking, of prominent size. They were among the last additions to Ankara's built environment before the Republican period. They offer a reference point to understand the change in the city's urban body in general, and to the building of the Gazi Teacher Training and Education Institute in particular. For this reason, they deserve more detailed observations here. The buildings in question comprise the high school [*idadi*], the Teacher Training School [*dar'ül muallimîn*] that opened around 1897, and the School of Industry [*mekteb-i sanayi*], founded approximately in 1905.

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73 Zeynep Kezer, "The Making of a National Capital," 91.



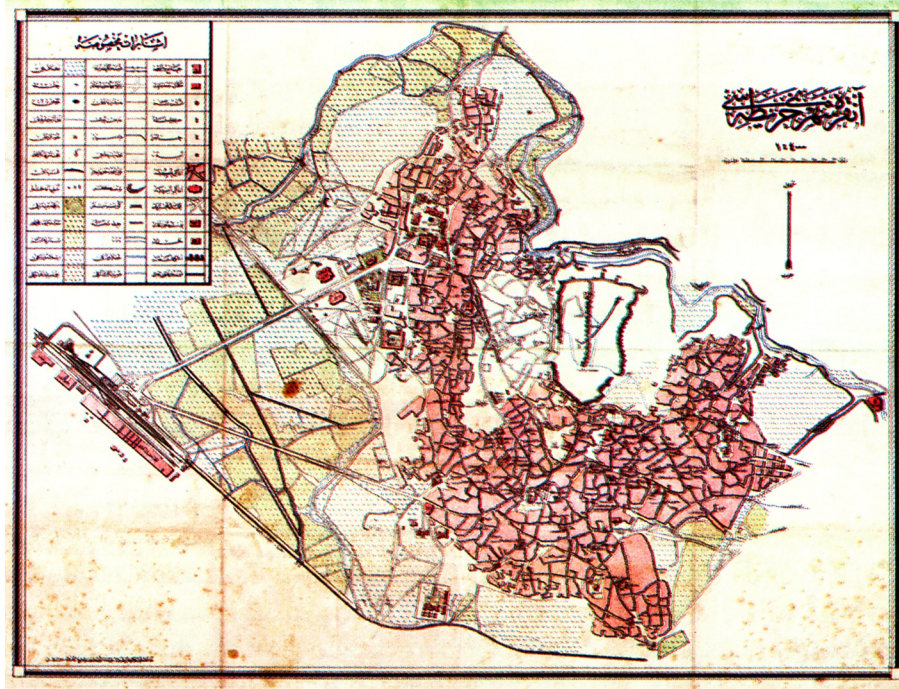


Figure 8: Citymap Ankara, 1924 (Reproduction from Günel and Kılıcı 2008, 37).



Figure 9: Opening ceremony of the Taş Mektep, Ankara, 1887 (date on postcard: 1308/1893) is probably incorrect).

The opening ceremony of the high school, the first in Ankara, took place on a rainy day in 1887 (Fig. 9).<sup>74</sup> Notwithstanding the weather, the people came in their hundreds to attend the opening of the new school building, which was situated at quite some distance from the city centre (Fig. 10); not all of the visitors were lucky to have an umbrella with them. Forming a densely packed row, the visitors seem to press forward to enter the building, maybe to find shelter from the rain, but certainly also driven by quite some curiosity. Apparently, the opening ceremony was a major event for the citizens of Ankara, and a photographer was present to commemorate the day.



Figure 10: Taş Mektep, Ankara (Reproduction from Günel and Kılıcı 2008, 78)

Indeed, in Ankara at that time, this school building was unprecedented in its size and architectural form. Due to its isolated position outside of the urbanised area,

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74 The postcard indicates another year for the opening ceremony: 1308 (1891). However, here we follow the information about the year of the opening provided in Suavi Aydın, et al. *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost 2005), 211. Reproduction from: <http://www.hurriyetegitim.com/haberler/22.05.2011/tas-mektepten-ankara-ataturk-lisesine.aspx>, 2 June 2011.

the size might have been particularly impressive. The building material was probably fairly exceptional, too, as the school immediately took on the nick-name “*Taş Mektep*—Stone School.”<sup>75</sup> Ten years after its opening, a second large building for educational purposes, the Teacher Training School, was constructed, and after only six further years, the third, the School of Industry.<sup>76</sup> These schools represent moments of educational and architectural leaps, outstanding features of the organic growth of the city. This points to some changes that are not merely local in nature, but a local manifestation of a larger phenomenon. They are witnesses of the education and administration reforms of the Hamidian period (1876–1909).

Of the three school buildings, the only still existing one is the School of Industry. The other two have not been preserved. There exist, however, a number of photographs of the *taş mektep*. Together with the accounts of Turan Tanyer it is possible to get at least an idea of this building constructed in stone masonry. The structure of the building was symmetrical both in elevation and plan. The plan consisted of a long rectangle with strongly articulated corners, almost like wings, but the photos and a map from the year 1924, when the building still existed show that there was a gap on the side facades between the two corner protrusions. The building consisted of a ground floor and a first floor. The facade of reddish andesite featured undecorated cornices that run around the building between the ground and the upper floor, and below and above the windows of the upper floor.<sup>77</sup> All arched windows had the same shape. They are relatively high but narrow. Slightly smaller in size are the four windows that flank the entrance on each floor. In fact, the building had two entrances, one above the other, at the centre of the front facade. To each side of the ground-floor entrance a stairway

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75 I cannot confirm that the nick-name is really based on the building material; it is merely a speculation.

76 The school buildings in Ankara that are the central subject of this paper have not yet been studied. However, for some remarks about the emergence of new schooling types different from the *medrese* and the changes of the architectural form of the corresponding buildings see Alidost Ertuğul, “XIX. Yüzyılda Osmanlı’da Ortaya Çıkan Farklı Yapı Tipleri,” in *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 7 (2009): 293-312.

77 For the material and its colour see Tanyer, *Taş Mektep*, 20.



led to the entrance right above it. These staircases were torn down in 1925, and gave way to a balcony and a new entrance front (Fig. 11).<sup>78</sup>



Figure 11: Taş Mektep, 1938 (Reproduction from Tanyer 2005, 160).

The main entrance opened to a relatively big hall.<sup>79</sup> The ground floor had six classrooms and a long corridor. The upper floor had exactly the same outline with its six classrooms, a long corridor and a hall. The director's room was also on the upper floor, but was probably used as a dormitory. The school stood in the middle of a big garden with a long way leading to the main entrance. The garden was planted with fruit trees in front of the school building. At the rear were small and simple rectangular facility buildings and toilets. Two fountains were also installed there. In 1917, the *taş mektep* was converted into a *sultanî* school. In 1926, its technical equipment was brought to a contemporary level, and the classrooms

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78 Turan Tanyer, *Taş Mektep*, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005. Tanyer does not follow a scholarly approach, and therefore does not offer verifiable information. Yet, his is the only account on the Taş Mektep and has therefore been fully considered, while I wish to suggest here to receive his information with particular caution.

79 Tanyer, *Taş Mektep*, 20. All the indoor description is taken from Tanyer's book who himself took it from literature, for instance, from writings by Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar who worked as a teacher in the *Taş Mektep* in the Republican period, see Tanyer, *Taş Mektep*, 75.

adapted to changed standards in teaching. Notably, ranked auditoriums were created. Shortly after, extra dormitories were built under the direction of Ernst Egli.<sup>80</sup> In 1939, the school moved to its new building in Ulus where it continued since then as the *Ankara Atatürk Lisesi*. At the building's site today, there is the *Yüksek İhtisas Hastanesi*.

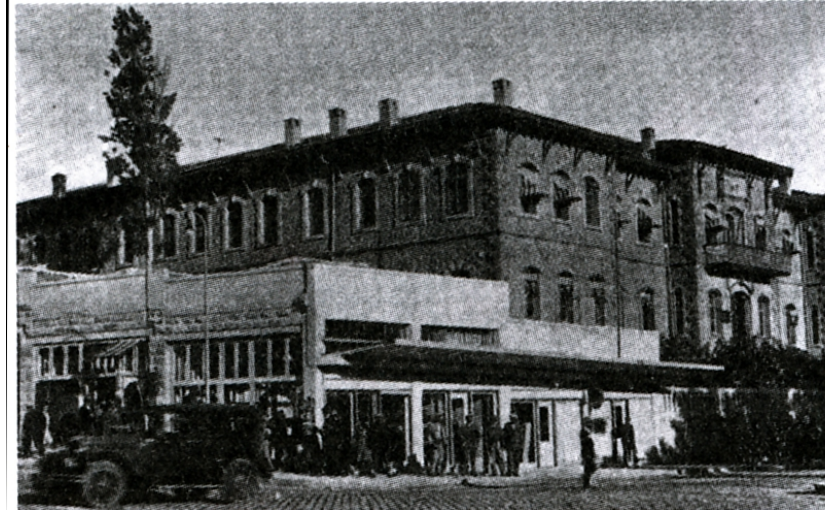


Figure 12: dar'ül muallimîn, Ankara (Reproduction from Günel and Kılıcı 2006, 54).

The Teacher Training School was opened in 1899. Its building had four wings, forming a square around an inner courtyard (Fig. 12). The symmetry was only axial as the front facade was altered by three protrusions, two at the north and south corners, and one at what seems to have been the main entrance. On the back of the facade towards the inner court there was one protrusion in the centre, too. However, the protrusions were not as pronounced as at the *taş mektep*. The building had three floors with a single, unadorned cornice running between each floor. It had rectangular windows on the ground floor, and on the first and second arched windows framed by a mould that was further emphasised by its white

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80 Tanyer, *Taş Mektep*, 57.

colour or white stone that differentiated it from the facade that was made, like the *taş mektep*, of reddish andesite.<sup>81</sup>

In terms of formal features, Teacher Training School was fairly different from the *taş mektep*, probably because of the eaves that were to become standard in the so-called First National Style. However, this movement of architectural renaissance was not in full swing at that time; and even less so, one might expect, in Ankara where the local urban architecture was, it seems, too alive to be reborn. Nonetheless, the school building's eaves with the supporting baulks is one indicator that a local feature was included in the otherwise newly imported building type. In order to understand the reason behind this choice—was it a deliberate choice? Is it merely a reflection that local manpower was employed?—it would be interesting to determine the architect or *kalfa* of this building who, unfortunately, could not be identified at this stage of research. During the Independence War, the building was used as a dormitory for the army.<sup>82</sup> In the Republican period, it served as the building for the Ministry of Education.<sup>83</sup> In the 1950s, the building was destroyed by a fire. In its place the *Ulus Şehir Çarşısı* was constructed.

The School of Industry is the only remaining of the three school buildings, and continues to serve its initial purpose even though the school has changed its name to today's Ulus Technical and Industrial Professional Training School [*Ulus Teknik ve Endüstri Meslek Lisesi*] (Fig. 13). The exterior appearance has been maintained to a very high degree, while the interior was modified a number of times during the active history of the building. Like the Teacher Training School the building consists of four wings enclosing a courtyard. The part facing the street, today's *Atatürk Bulvarı*, is higher than the three adjunct wings. The building's structure is also of an axial symmetry and features protruding north

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81 Tanyer, *Taş Mektep*, 20.

82 Günel and Kılıcı, 2008, 55.

83 Günel and Kılıcı, 2008, 55.



Figure 13: School of Industry (Reproduction from Tanyer 2005, 161).

and south corners. The main entrance is emphasised by a protrusion as well. The appearance of this building is, however, more elongated than the Teacher Training School. It seems to be wider than the other was, and it only has two floors, the ground and first floor, also visually separated on the facade by a plain cornice. The facade of the main building was, in contrast to the other buildings, built of dressed stone. Today, the inner courtyards walls are all of dressed stone, while on the outside the three wings show uncovered natural stone. Due to the lack of further images nothing can be said about the initial state of the wing facades. The corner stones and window cornices were left in the colour of the natural stone.

The city map from 1924 (Fig. 14) allows the exact locations of the three school buildings: Green circle: Taş Mektep; blue circle: dar'ül muallimîn; yellow circle: mektebi-i sanayi. They were opened in 1887, 1899 and 1905 respectively. Even though it dates from over twenty years after the construction of the *taş mektep*, it appears that the general urban settlement of Ankara did not alter significantly in



this period. A clear exception is the huge fire of 1917.<sup>84</sup> The school buildings, however, were not directly affected by the fire. All of them were constructed at the edge of the dense city structure.

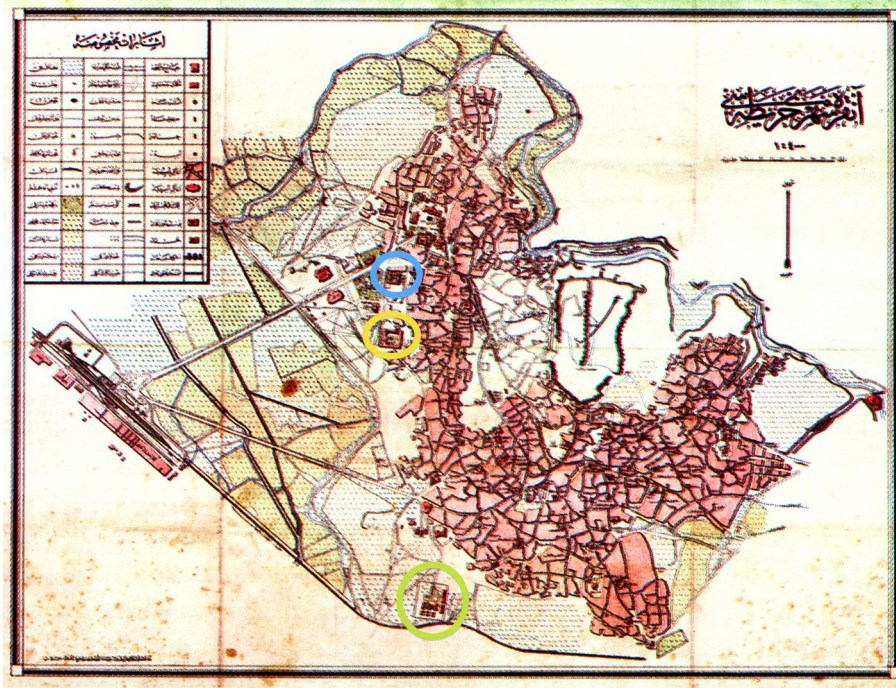


Figure 14: Citymap Ankara, 1924, marks by the author (Reproduction from Günel and Kılıcı 2008, 37).

The location of the *Taş Mektep*, as the first to be built, is particularly interesting in the sense that it is entirely disconnected from the rest of the city, especially given that one might speculate that the infrastructure indicated on the map of 1924 that connected the school was not yet established. This speculation is based on the fact that the works on the railway that was to reach from Istanbul to Ankara were not completed before 1892, while the school opened, if the date mentioned above is correct, in 1887.<sup>85</sup> Nonetheless, the constructions on the

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84 Aktüre, “1830’dan 1930’a Ankara’da Günlük Yaşam,” 56.

85 Aktüre, “1830’dan 1930’a Ankara’da Günlük Yaşam,” 53.



railway were probably already ongoing. Was it expected that the school would take on a pioneering role for further urban development or was its isolation programmatic? In any case it appears to have been an autonomous entity with dormitories, and probably facilities for cooking, etc. in the buildings behind the main building. Despite having an unknown source, a photograph (Fig. 15) shall be used here to visualise the conspicuous position of the school, as can be seen, despite the poor resolution, on the small mount left to the castle. The size of the building, in addition to its outstanding exposure to the view, bestowed the school with a considerable amount of importance as given to education, if not a clear message of power and prestige if one considers that the palace of the local paşa was not as exalting as the *taş mektep* (Fig. 16).



Figure 15: Ankara city view from the south.



Figure 16: Paşa sarayı behind the Kızılbey Cami, medrese and tomb (Reproduction from Günel and Kılıcı, 2008, 58).

A further sign of the arrival of a kind of new order in the realm of education is the absence of a mosque in the vicinity of the school. Up until the *taş mektep*, the education was mainly provided in medreses (literally, "school"; typically, one delivering Islamic religious education). The *taş mektep* constitutes the first example of a dissociation of religion and school. It has to be taken into consideration that inside the building there might have been a space reserved for worshipping.<sup>86</sup> But even if so, a visual demonstration of the link of religion and education was eliminated. Other schools disconnected from Islamic religions were the missionary schools and schools of minority groups. The French School St. Clément (Fig. 17), for example, also had a representative building based on the symmetrical Beaux-Arts model and with dressed stone facade. But it seems that it was constructed some years after the *taş mektep*.<sup>87</sup>

Fortner contends that the centralisation of the Ottoman school system was in large part addressed at the growing political and religious power that those

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86 This is suggested by Fortna about the new school buildings in Turkey in general, as the "[m]oral education, with an overtly Islamic flavor, occupied a prominent place in the new schools' curriculum."

87 Aydın, et al. *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü*, 213.



Figure 17: St. Clement, French school, Ankara (Reproduction from Aydın 2005, 213).

schools exercised within the empire.<sup>88</sup> At the same time, the reformation of the Ottoman education system appropriated many of the patterns applied in the missionary schools, not least the creation of visual presence in the public sphere via the construction of representative school buildings. Fortna refers to an anecdote according to which plans from France were imported and distributed to the local *kalfas*: “Eighty sets of plans, placed in protective cases, for the first- and second-class *idadî* schools to accommodate 300 and 200 students that were to be newly established in the provincial and sub-provincial centres were sent to the districts.”<sup>89</sup> Is it possible also that trained stone masons or building masters were brought into the empire to train the local workers? Or may even those who built

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88 Fortner, *Imperial Classroom*, 87-129.

89 Fortner, *Imperial Classroom*, 139, quoting Mehmed Said.

the missionary schools have been influential in this process? That these buildings required training which exceeded that of the local builders can be seen in the example of the *taş mektep*. Sırrı Paşa, Vali in Ankara from 1884 to 1886 and initiator of the *taş mektep*, could not find the appropriate *kalfas* in Ankara, so he brought those people from Trabzon—the city of his previous position—who had participated in the construction of the *idadî* building there (Fig. 18).<sup>90</sup>



Figure 18: The *idadî* in Trabzon (Reproduction from Fortna 2002, 135).

The Teacher Training School and the School of Industry were built almost next to each other, but the Teacher Training School in particular seems to have been part of a number of new buildings that seem to have shifted the weight of the square where also the *Paşa sarayı*, the local governor's seat, was situated towards what today is the Ulus square, with the *Taşhan*, the main hotel in Ankara at the time (Fig. 19) built around the same time on the other side of the square.<sup>91</sup> In front of the school building was the *Belediye Gazinosu*, the municipal casino, (Fig. 20), a site for various cultural activities, maybe comparable with a civil centre that attracted many citizens for joint activities. The number of buildings around the

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90 Aydın, et al. *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü*, 203; Tanyer, *Taş Mektep*, 20.

91 Günel and Kılıcı, 2008, 55.



new square was still limited. What unites the buildings was a use that was not related to religion or governmental centres, but to commerce, leisure and education.



Figure 19: Taşhan, Ankara (Reproduction from Günel and Kılıcı, 2008, 54).



Figure 20: Belediye Gazinosu, Ankara (Reproduction from Günel and Kılıcı, 2008, 57).

The view down the street, today's Atatürk Bulvarı, shows that the Teacher Training School was a large building joined only by a number of smaller buildings, but also that the street was already planted with trees. According to the map, in 1924 it was still one of the major streets of the city, yet was anything but a boulevard. Along with the School of Industry, another building of large scale was constructed just a few metres down the street. The large size of the buildings was not yet an answer to a high number of students. In fact, they were brought from other regions to study in Ankara, as there was a dearth of local students to enjoy the formative opportunities.<sup>92</sup> But it is likely that both the necessity of graduates as well as the expectancy of further urban growth was anticipated at the time when the school buildings were conceived.

What further supports this speculation is the railway, which brought with it a steep economic growth,<sup>93</sup> but also a change in professional profiles to which, then, the School of Industry would provide graduates trained in a number of branches required by increasing industrialisation. Another aspect is the reformation of the state apparatus during the Hamidian period, which brought with it a more complex bureaucratic structure and, hence, an increasing need for civil servants able to successfully fill the new positions. In 1882, the construction of a new government building [*Hükümet Konağı*] with forty rooms was completed, and by 1907 it must have been very crowded in there as the number of civil servants working there had grown to 440.<sup>94</sup>

### *Impoverishment*

And then there is the enduring gap in the map of Ankara. The neighbourhood Hisarönü disappeared in the fire of 1917. No one settled in the area for several

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92 Aydın, et al. *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü*, 213.

93 Aktüre, "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," 53.

94 Aktüre, "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," 53.

years. It appears like a negative image of the impoverishment and demographic disaster people suffered and inflicted upon each other during the war. It had mainly been Ottomans of Greek or Armenian ethnicity who had been living in Hisarönü.<sup>95</sup> Ottoman non-Muslims had dominated foreign trade and banking and were the major beneficiaries of the improved infrastructure and commercial-administrative reforms.<sup>96</sup> In Ankara, the wealthier strata of the population had consisted mainly of non-Muslims and Hisarönü became most elegant part of the town.<sup>97</sup> Looking with today's eyes at photographs of the neighbourhood, it still seems of a very modest comfort and elegance. The two- or three-story houses of this neighbourhood featured decorative elements, yet they were not particularly extravagant nor excessive in size, and were lined along a narrow, unpaved lane (Fig. 21).

The vineyard estates that many Ankara upper-class families had maintained at the city's periphery were not luxurious caprices either but two-story stone or brick masonry houses, some with a small marble fountain in the garden. Yet this relative wealth reflects a strengthened presence of non-Muslims in the Ottoman social life in the period before the World War. While around 1910, an Armenian family chose to be portrayed in a garden-leisure moment, even by 1915 nothing of this was left.

By that time, Turkish nationalism had radicalised to a fatal extreme. Albeit of deeper structural and historical roots, it was further spurred by the wars, the food shortage, spiralling inflation, and the massive influx of refugees from the lost Balkan provinces that further strained the scarce resources. The activities of Armenian nationalists were the official legitimisation of the deportation of all

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95 Aktüre, "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam," 56.

96 Kezer recalls the structural reasons behind these issues in "Of Forgotten People and Forgotten Places: Nation-Building and Dismantling of Ankara's Non-Muslim Landscapes," in *On Location: Heritage Cities and Sites* edited by D. Fairchild Ruggles, 169-191 (New York et. al.: Springer, 2012).

97 Kezer, "Of Forgotten People and Forgotten Places."

Anatolian Armenians to the southeastern provinces of the Empire. Those who survived the hardship imposed on them by Ottoman officials or the journey itself stumbled right into the centre of the voracious famine that haunted the region between 1915 and 1918.<sup>98</sup>



Figure 21: Hisarönü, Ankara (Reproduction from Kezer 2012, 176).

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98 On the famine that hit the region see Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 19-30.



Kezer situates the “mysterious fire”, as she names the fire in Hisarönü, in relation with the process of the removal of the Armenians from Ankara.<sup>99</sup> She also refers to accounts of a witness whose description of the fast-spreading fire setting off at several points almost at once, and consuming the entire neighbourhood within two days, conveys the impression of arson. The fire started on 13 September 1917, two years after the deportation had started.<sup>100</sup> Kezer notes as well that it was illegal to shelter fleeing Armenians, and on this basis I suppose that Ankara’s Ottoman Armenian population had completely left—that is, had been forced to leave—the city before the date of the fire. It raises suspicion, evidently, that only the non-Muslim neighbourhoods were ablaze. Yet, given the ease with which their property was taken over after their departure, it seems more plausible—though the use of the term “plausible” seems incongruous regarding the unfathomable character of the events—that Ankara’s remaining population and the arriving refugees would have appropriated the direly needed houses instead of setting them on fire. In any case, the architectural gap remained until the early years of the Republic as a witness of Ankara’s economic, ethnic, and ethnic impoverishment.

### *Complicated Change*

In 1934, the photographer Cemal [İşksel] (1905-?) turned his back to Ankara’s old town and history when he was standing on the *place de la Souveraineté Nationale* in Ankara in order to take this photograph of the avenue leading towards the train station (Fig. 22).<sup>101</sup> The equestrian statue on the photograph,

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99 Zeynep Kezer, “Of Forgotten People and Forgotten Places: Nation-Building and Dismantling of Ankara’s Non-Muslim Landscapes,” in *On Location: Heritage Cities and Sites*, edited by D. Fairchild Ruggles (New York et. al.: Springer, 2012), 179.

100 Mehmet Tunçer, *Ankara (Angora) Şehri Merkez Gelişimi (14. - 20. YY)* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001).

101 At the end of the article is a note indicating that the photographs reproduced in the article were taken by “l’atelier Cemal.” There were only a few photographers active in Ankara at the time and only one of them was called Cemal. There is no information that other photographers worked in his “atelier” and so I assume that he took the photos.



was itself a state-of-the-art product. The main target group was the European audience. It contains countless references to a generic “Europe”, without further differentiation or specification. The articles were published in French, and at times also in English or German. In his article on Ankara, Falih Rıfkı [Atay] (1894-1971), a journalist and head of the Building Administration Commission [*İmar İdare Heyeti*] in Ankara, invites the reader to visit the capital and experience the “spectacle” of the “renaissance of a nation.” The angle of Cemal’s photos, which complement the text, indeed offers an astonishing view of a city that seemed to have nothing in common with what it had been only ten years before. No historical building or street penetrates the framing of numerous new constructions and broad avenues under a wide sky.

The eight photographs support Falih Rıfkı’s words, who stylised Ankara as the “future [*avenir*]” in contrast to Istanbul that the author does not denigrate but paints in orientalist topoi.<sup>104</sup> The contrast between the image of a progressive Ankara and historical Istanbul is further enhanced by the following article “From The Old to The New Turkey [*De la vieille à la nouvelle Turquie*].” This article is a reproduction of the speech given by the French Minister of State, Édouard Herriot (1872-1957), at a conference on the Turkish Revolution that took place in Paris in 1933.<sup>105</sup> Herriot opens his talk with a short historical sketch of the

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an der Etablierung und Selbstdarstellung der Türkischen Republik nach 1933 [State representation by emigrants: The contribution of German-speaking architects and sculptors to the establishment and self-representation of the Turkish Republic after 1933],” in: *Neue Staaten – neue Bilder?*, Visuelle Kultur im Dienst staatlicher Selbstdarstellung in Zentral- und Osteuropa seit 1918 [New states—new images? Visual culture in the service of state self-representation in Central and East Europe since 1918], edited by Arnold Bartetzky und Marina Dmitrieva, 61-74 (Köln: Böhlau 2005).

104 12 “N’est-il pas plus doux de s’abandonner quelques jours de plus aux beautés d’Istanbul, de subir la magie de ses vieux palais et de ses murs? Mais, si vous venez à Ankara, vous verrez une chose unique. La renaissance national est un spectacle auquel on assiste partout [...]”

105 Herriot was three times President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of France. He was a controversial politician. He was an advocate of human rights and disarmament. During his tenure, France diplomatically acknowledge the Soviet Union. Around the time of the conference, he visited the Ukraine and denied the famine in the region, thus supporting Soviet propaganda of its economic upswing. He would become a fierce opponent of the Vichy Regime, for which he endured house arrest and internment until the end of World War II.

Ottoman Empire with references to orientalist authors and artists like Pierre Loti (1850-1923) and Claude Farrère (1867-1957) and picturesque descriptions of Istanbul. A photographic *veduta* of the city's historical skyline lying dark between the evening sky and its reflection on the Bosphorus (Fig. 23 illustrates the account. Harriot's speech outlines a history of the Ottoman Empire, its decline, and total transformation after the War of Independence through the reforms implemented by Mustafa Kemal during the first decade after the foundation of the Republic in 1923.

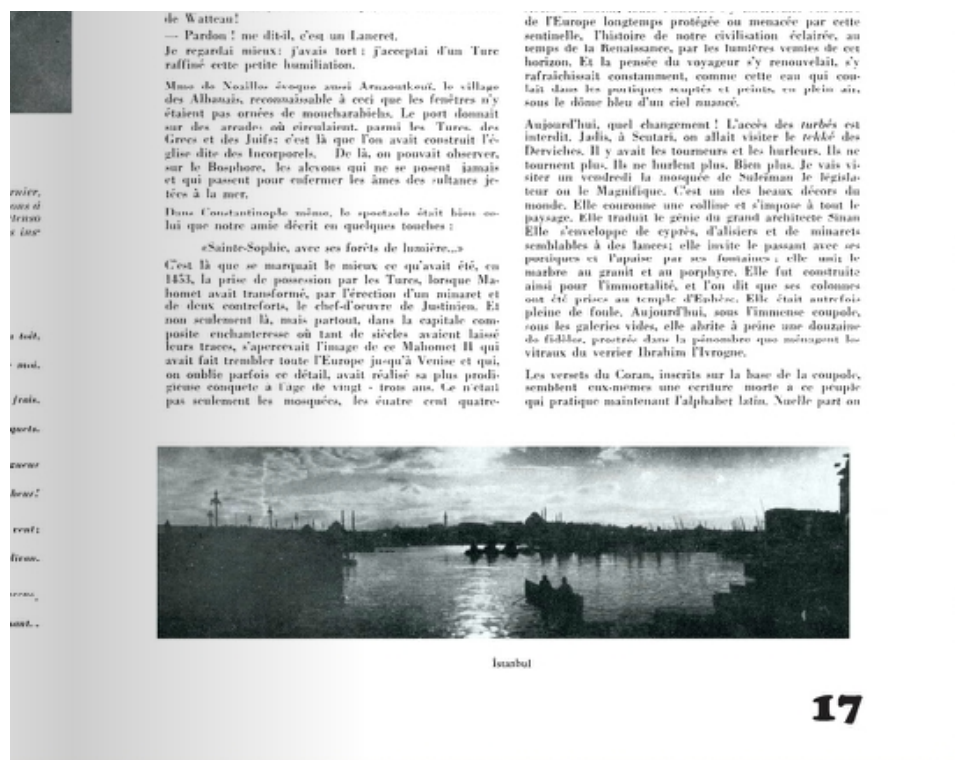


Figure 23: Partial view of a page in *La Turquie Kemaliste 1* (1934):17.

Herriot highlights the French, Italian and Swiss references of the new Turkish constitution, penal and civil code respectively, praises the relocation of the capital “at the heart of the country”, and throws glimpses into the Kurdish insurrection and the resistance of religious leaders to bestowing the reforms, which reinforce

“with all possible means [*par tous les moyens possibles*]” a national consciousness, with an air of legitimacy. He explicitly refers to the language reform that “suppresses every distinction between the idiom of the intellectuals and the one of the people [*supprimer toute différence entre l’idiome des intellectuels et l’idiome du peuple*],” the change from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet, the Turkification of the Greek and Armenian names, the dress reforms directed against any group-specific garment, especially turban, fez and scarf, and the unification of education under the direction of one single secular institution. The French Minister of State repeatedly underlines that Mustafa Kemal was, despite his pivotal role in the radical transformation of the country, not a dictator and that the changes were unanimously approved by the Grand National Assembly, without further elaborating the constitution and workings of this particular parliament. Finally, he enlaces his historical discourse with a grand gesture that connects contemporary Turkish society with the Hittites, “this people [that] were certainly Arian and not Semitic [*Ce peuple était sûrement aryen, non sémite*],” and from whom the first known Indo-European language derived. In total, Herriot concludes, the Turkish ardour for progress and science deserves to be recognised, and ties between Turkey and Europe, France in particular, should be renewed.

As Gavin Brockett has pointed out, the “topos of total transformation” in historical accounts on Turkey by foreign authors manifests an uncritical reception of official Turkish historiography.<sup>106</sup> On the basis of texts like Mustafa Kemal’s speeches, in particular the *Nutuk* (1927), or the four-volume textbook *Tarih* (1931), scholars reproduced the modernist stance inherent in the Kemalist narrative. Brockett further elaborates that this literature was complemented by the various travelogues of authors from various European countries and the US, who replicated the official tenor and celebrated Mustafa Kemal as the unique master

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106 Gavin D. Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk: Provincial Newspapers and the Negotiation of a Muslim National Identity* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011), 13-16.

of a transcendental change in Turkey.<sup>107</sup> Subsequently, this perspective was extended, most notably by Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975), by establishing the teleological paradigm of the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of the modern state liberated from religious conservatism. Brockett's observations can also be applied to Herriot's conference contribution, which already contains the "almost continuous refrain of dates and reform legislations" that runs, as Brockett rightly observes, through the most canonic books on Turkish history and induces the impression of a holistic social change.<sup>108</sup> In the 1930s, the journal *La Turquie Kemaliste* was one of the instruments to spread this impression.

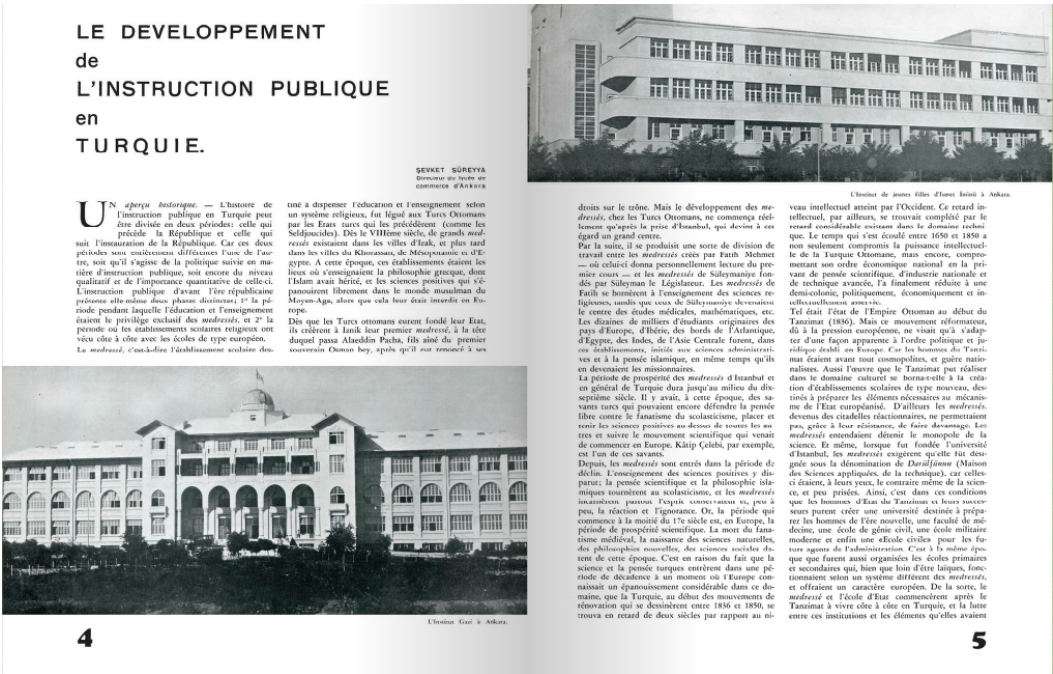


Figure 24: Double page in *La Turquie Kemaliste* 1 (1934): 4-5.

107 Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk*, 15.

108 Brockett refers particularly to Goeffrey Lewis' *Turkey* (1955), Bernard Lewis' *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (1961) and Lord Kinross (Patrick Balfour)'s *Atatürk: A Biography of Mustafa Kemal, Father of Modern Turkey* (1964). Brockett, *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk*, 17.



The Gazi Teacher Training and Education Institute participated in this official narrative. The same issue of *La Turquie Kemaliste* features an article on public education in Turkey. Photographs of the buildings of five new institutions in Ankara illustrate the article, right on the first page the Gazi Teacher Training and Education Institute (Fig. 24). The other institutions are the Ismet İnönü Girls Institute, the Conservatory, the Business School and the Agricultural Institute. They belong to the first new constructions in Ankara. The photos frame the buildings and isolate them from their environment (Fig. 25).



L'école normale de musique d'Ankara.



Le lycée de Commerce d'Ankara.



Un des bâtiments de l'Institut Agronomique d'Ankara.

préparés dura sans interruption jusqu'à l'instauration de la République. *La nouvelle Turquie à l'œuvre*. — Tel était l'état des choses dans le domaine de l'instruction publique lors de la fondation du nouvel Etat turc [1]. Les *medreses* se trouvaient dans un état de dégénérescence complète. Quant à l'école, elle ne répondait ni quantitativement ni qualitativement aux exigences de la vie nouvelle qui commençait dans le pays.

Il est vrai que des établissements d'enseignement supérieur comme l'Ecole militaire, l'Ecole civile ou l'Ecole de Médecine rendaient les services spéciaux qu'on attendait d'eux, et que les écoles secondaires converties après la Révolution jeune-turque en lycées de type français préparaient pour l'université d'Istanbul des éléments mieux formés. Mais la majorité quasi absolue des écoles primaires se trouvaient entre les mains d'anciens élèves des *medreses*, mal instruits et sans idéal aucun. L'enseignement hors de l'école était, lui, presque inexistant.

Ainsi, le gouvernement de la République avait, d'une part, à réorganiser les cadres de l'instruction publique et d'autre part, à appliquer les principes avancés qui sont aujourd'hui la caractéristique de notre po-

[1] On sait comment s'est fondé le nouvel Etat turc.

L'armistice qui mettait pratiquement fin à la guerre générale fut signé à la fin d'octobre 1918 à Mondros entre les représentants de l'Entente et le gouvernement Ottoman. Mais les Alliés, violant les clauses dites avec bon-foi du traité d'Armistice, occupèrent les zones les plus importantes de la Turquie Ottomane. Ils procédaient ainsi, en mai 1919, l'occupation d'Istanbul par les Grecs. Les événements menèrent à son comble l'insécurité du pays. Le 19 mai 1919, Mustafa Kemal débarqua à Samsun, et commençait à enrayer, à stimuler partout la résistance nationale, qui s'organisa particulièrement dans la région d'Izmir. Le congrès d'Ezrenoum près Mustafâ Kemal à la tête des organisations de la Défense des droits nationaux (23 juillet 1919), auxquelles le congrès de Sivas donna plus d'extension et de force. Le 27 décembre 1919, Mustafa Kemal se rendit à Ankara dont il fit le centre de la lutte nationale. La Grande Assemblée Nationale, qui y fut inaugurée le 23 avril 1920, prit en main les destinées de l'Anatolie turque occupée. Le gouvernement issu de la Grande Assemblée Nationale commença par la lutte contre les forces d'occupation. La période qui s'écoula depuis cette date jusqu'au 9 septembre 1922 est celle de la lutte pour l'indépendance sur le terrain militaire et sur le terrain politique. Mais lorsque, le 9 septembre, les Hellènes furent chassés à la mer, la Turquie retrouva au moins entier sa vitalité et sa puissance. Son indépendance politique et économique fut consacrée par le traité de Lausanne signé le 24 juillet 1923 avec toutes les puissances alliées. Le nouvel Etat turc naquit. Le 29 octobre 1923, la République fut créée dans l'histoire du monde nouveau comme un élément de progrès jeune, victorieux et indépendant.

Figure 25: Page in *La Turquie Kemaliste* 1 (1934): 6.

Yet considering Ankara's urban environment, and in particular the school buildings of the late Ottoman period that I described above, the new buildings were outstanding indeed. As the article addresses the education reforms and efforts concerning the entire country, one might ask why all the new educational buildings in the article's photographs were in Ankara. It implies that no school building of comparable size was constructed elsewhere, and, it appears, only new constructions—in contrast to adaptations of extant buildings—were deemed the right illustration of an article that would characterise the Republican efforts as unprecedented.

Ankara was the main motif of the representations of Republican Turkey probably not least because it was the only place in the first decade of the Republic that substantially changed in a way that was considered presentable.<sup>109</sup> Change is not a miracle but a resource-consuming endeavour, and the few resources that still remained after the wars were channelled to create the capital of the new nation-state.<sup>110</sup> The fact of the concentration of means in Ankara demonstrates how important it was for the decision makers to develop the Republican capital.<sup>111</sup> Ankara's role as object of representation is entwined with its role as a model to be followed throughout the country. The notion of the model implies two things: first that it is made for reception, otherwise it could not be taken as an example and be implemented elsewhere; and second, that it is a unique case, different from other places which it is meant to lend the impulse for change according to the model. If all places had been already like Ankara was envisioned to be, it would not have been necessary to create an example.

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109 The dissociation of the Republic from the Ottoman past is defined as one of the major ideological motivations of the modernist movement in Turkey.

110 Kezer has shown that the absorption of disproportionate means by Ankara was not without opposition, but that that opposition was ineffective, Kezer, "The Making of a National Capital," 43.

111 Kezer argues that the making of a new capital was regarded as an important act to symbolise the transition from the empire into a modern nation-state.



It is very likely that Malik Aksel, in his above-mentioned essay on the *Gecekondular*, deliberately used the term “example” because it was intimately linked with the role with which Ankara was invested. In playing with the notion of example, he showed not only that he was aware of this role, but that he assumed that his reader was aware of it, too. As Kezer has demonstrated, the nationalist leaders saw Ankara as model site.<sup>112</sup> The Building Administration Commission, a subdivision of the Municipality founded on 17 October 1923—thus only four days after Ankara was proclaimed the capital city—was not only meant to coordinate the building activities in Ankara.<sup>113</sup> Its decisions regarding Ankara were directly taken as guidelines for other cities in Turkey. With the prolific writer Falih Rıfkı as its director, the same person who authored the above-presented article on Ankara in *La Turquie Kemaliste*, the Commission also promoted the idea of the modern city in practical terms.

A similar function was attached to the Gazi Institute as well. At the moment of the commission of its building, Mustafa Necati promised to promote an “exemplary building [*örnek bir bina*]”.<sup>114</sup> The Gazi Institute was effectively situated within Ankara as city and as role model. It is difficult to find sources that do not reflect a total affirmative identification with this role and vision. The absence of a public debate may simply reflect the reality, or reflect the impossibility of dissent—especially not while working or studying at an institution that plays the role of a model—, or be the result of a historiographical blind angle. Again Malik Aksel provides insights into the actual experience of change, and even the participation in the fabrication of the representation of change, and, I argue, the experience directly affected his work. Two instances shall illustrate my argument.

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112 Kezer, “The Making of a National Capital,” 42.

113 Ali Cengizkan, “Türkiye için Modern ve Planlı bir Başkent kurmak: Ankara 1920-1950 [Found a Modern and Planned Capital for Turkey: Ankara 1920-1950] [www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sta/trindex.htm](http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sta/trindex.htm), accessed 13 June 2013.

114 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 74.

Upon coming to Ankara as the painting teacher of the Art-Craft Department in 1932, one of Malik's first tasks was to prepare, together with his colleagues and students, the enormous comparative exhibition that contrasted the new/Republican with the old/Ottoman culture on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Republic. Thus, Aksel participated in the dissemination—if not the invention—of this theme of binary oppositions of the official discourse that gained notoriety in Turkey in the 1930s.<sup>115</sup> According to Malik Aksel, “Ankara turned into an open air museum [açık hava müzesi hâline giriyordu]”, with boards lined up along the avenue leading from the Grand National Assembly building at Ulus square to the train station, the same street on the photograph in *La Turquie Kemaliste* (Fig. II.27), featuring statistics and images comparing the Republic with the Ottoman Empire.<sup>116</sup> The classrooms of the Girls Institute, one of the five new school buildings, became exhibition halls for installations of comparative themes.<sup>117</sup>

The exhibition was commissioned by the Minister of Education and organised by the faculty members and students of the Art-Craft Department and the Girls Institute.<sup>118</sup> Thus, the conception of the comparative theme did not lie in Aksel's hands. In an account of this event, he even demonstrates a certain disagreement with the way it is rendered. The anecdote belongs to what I call the ‘genre of Atatürk Anecdotes’. It seems for every aspect of early Republican life there exists a quote of what Mustafa Kemal Atatürk allegedly said about it. The use of these anecdotes does not appear to be driven by an interest in the veracity of the quote, but in the importance and legitimacy it lends to a specific subject matter. In the case of Malik Aksel's account it refers to Mustafa Kemal's visit to the

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115 Ankara's mythical aura was exploited and developed in many metaphorical terms, visually and literally. For an analysis of this theme, see Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 62-79.

116 Malik Aksel, “Cumhuriyet'in Onuncu Yılı [The Republic's Tenth Anniversary],” *Türk Edebiyatı* 18 (June 1973): 13-15. Reproduced in Malik Aksel, *Sanat ve Folklor*, edited by Beşir Ayvazoğlu, 185-190 (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011), 185.

117 Aksel, “Cumhuriyet'in Onuncu Yılı,” 185.

118 Aksel, “Cumhuriyet'in Onuncu Yılı,” 185.

comparative exhibition in the company of İhsan [Sungu] (1881-1946), the president of the Education Board [Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu], and the director of the Art-Craft Department, İsmail Hakkı [Tungu] (1893-1960). According to Malik Aksel, Mustafa Kemal wandered among and contemplated with attention the different rooms that the students and faculty members had decorated. First he entered the “modern Turkish room [*modern Türk odası*] with furniture “with foreign names [*yabancı adlı*]” meaning all the furniture that was not used in common Ottoman households and that derived, judging from the etymology of the Turkish names “*komodin, gardırop, etajer*”, from France. Then, the president was led to the “old Turkish room [*eski Türk odası*] with objects and furniture from the Ottoman period, and he said: “Our old houses were not ugly at all” [Eski evlerimiz hiç de çirkin değil].” After the president had left, İhsan [Sungu] rushed back into the room scolding İsmail Hakkı [Tungu] for having decorated the “old room” too much.<sup>119</sup> This anecdote demonstrates that Aksel was not in conformity with the rejection of the Ottoman cultural heritage and the adaption of foreign lifestyle. It also demonstrates his awareness of the role that perspective and representation played in elevating or degrading the value of one culture in relation to the other.

It has to be kept in mind that Malik Aksel’s account was published only in 1973, and it is uncertain if he wrote this text long before that year. Yet his paintings of the early 1930s similarly bear the ambiguity of a complicated cultural change. They demonstrate that he was already incorporating his nuanced observations in his works in the first years in Ankara. This watercolour (Fig. 26) of the year 1935, for instance, includes elements that could have been in the “new Turkish room” and that Malik Aksel might have labelled “foreign.” It depicts a girl sitting on a chair made of, it seems, tubular steel. Before Marcel Breuer’s *Wassily Chair* that he designed at Bauhaus in Dessau, Germany, in 1926, there was no chair made of tubular steel. If the represented chair is not merely an invention in reference to

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119 Malik Aksel, “Cumhuriyet’in Onuncu Yılı,” *Türk Edebiyatı* 18 (June 1973): 13-15. Reproduced in Malik Aksel, *Sanat ve Folklor*, edited by Beşir Ayvazoğlu, Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011, 185-190.

modernist furniture, the painting shows either an importation or a local experiment with that style and material. The primary colours blue and red and the straight lines in the background further stress the modernist look of the represented setting. The girl wears a lofty summer blouse with short sleeves and a skirt short enough to expose up to above her knees her legs in dark stockings. The girl's face and body expression, however, do not reflect the lightness of furniture, colour and summer blouse, and none of the liberation that was promised to come with modernisation. On the contrary, she is sitting as one would sit in an unfamiliar environment: she looks shy if not intimidated and seems to feel awkward and uncomfortable on the piece of "foreign" furniture.



Figure 26: Malik Aksel, Water colour, Malik Aksel Archive.

The second illustrative incident refers to an exhibition at the Art-Craft Department in 1934. That year, Malik Aksel initiated the exhibition of works of students and faculty members that would take place on a regular basis on the top floor of the building of the Gazi Institute. In his position as director of the Art-Craft Department, İsmail Hakkı [Tungu] reviewed the first exhibition for the journal *Ülkü* [Ideal].<sup>120</sup> *Ülkü* was the periodical of the People’s Houses [Halk Evleri]. It is comparable with *La Turquie Kemalist* in the sense that it pursued similar ends on a national level. It informed readers about activities in the country in the field of education, language, social sciences, the arts, and the economy, situating the Republican service to the people and their reciprocal participation exclusively in a favourable light. In his review, İsmail Hakkı [Tungu] celebrates the exhibition and Malik [Aksel]’s efforts as truly Republican spirit.

The student works that were chosen to illustrate the review include linocuts, one representing Ankara’s iconic rock, another with the Atatürk equestrian statue in front of the of first People’s House in Ankara (Fig. 27), the same motive that formed part of the above-mentioned issue of *La Turquie Kemalist* (Fig. 28), which came out the same month. The style in language and visuals appears in these two journals as almost interchangeable. Again it is Malik Aksel who refrains from the seemingly widely shared glorification of the Republic. He himself had a number of works in this first exhibition. A reproduction of these works, let alone the works themselves, could not be traced. But the titles such as “Poor children” [*Fakir Çocuklar*] and “Village Street” and short descriptions about the disconcerting effect of the paintings have been preserved, and suggest that there existed a sharp contrast between İsmail Hakkı [Tungu]’s celebratory language, and Aksel’s works which likely referred to the harsh conditions of the time.<sup>121</sup> Malik Aksel’s figurations originate in his individual perspective and experience. I do not claim that this could be extrapolated and be shown to be

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120 İsmail Hakkı [Tungu], “Malik Bey ve Talebesinin Resim Sergisi [Malik [Aksel] and his students’ Visual-Arts Exhibition],” *Ülkü* [Ideal] 3/16 (June 1934): 299-303.

121 İsmail Hakkı [Tungu], “Malik Bey ve Talebesinin Resim Sergisi,” 299-303.

representative of the overall popular experience. However, the existence of this individual view suffices to complicate the idealised picture of change of the official discourse.

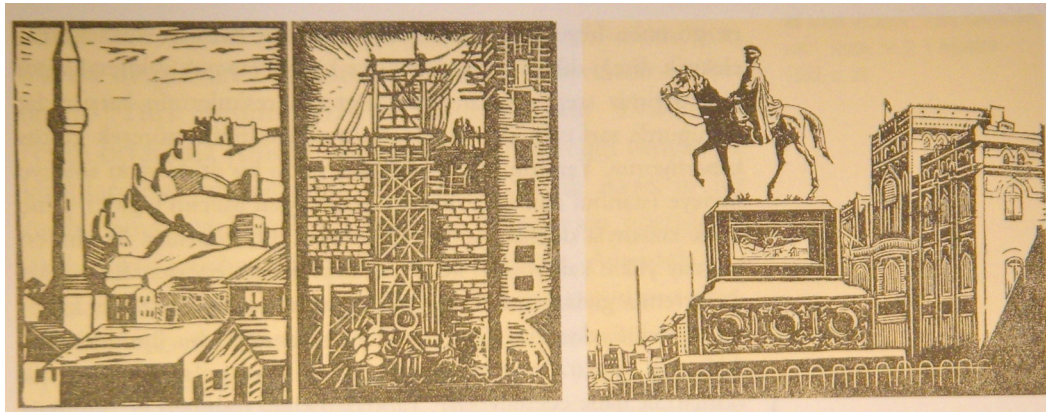


Figure 27: Works from students of the Art-Craft Department, exhibition of 1934 (Reproduction from Ayvazoğlu 2011, 49).

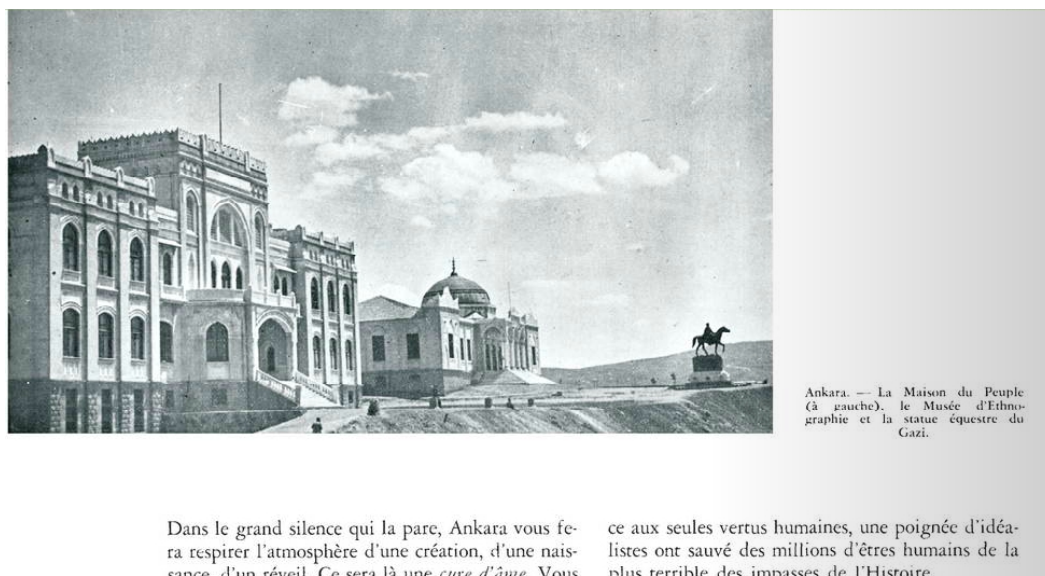


Figure 28: Ethnographic Museum, Ankara (Reproduction from La Turquie Kemaliste 1 (1934): 14).

## *Blank Spaces on the Map*

Malik Aksel dated the emergence of *Gecekondu* to the mid 1930s. By 1935, this had indeed become a topic of newspaper articles, satires, and even a speech by the Minister of the Interior Şükrü Kaya, as we learn from Kezer's article on the informal settlements and the way their inhabitants dealt with and, in part, subverted the official plans for the "model" city.<sup>122</sup> Yet numbers suggest that the issue arose well before Malik Aksel arrived in Ankara and the opening of the Art-Craft Department. In 1928, the total number of houses built in the entire country was 7,279.<sup>123</sup> By that time, Ankara's population alone had grown from approximately 20,000/30,000 in 1920 to 107,641.<sup>124</sup>

Accounts of individuals who were in one way or another related to the Academy of Arts in Istanbul or the Art-Craft Department further demonstrate that the housing issue was latent even for those in relatively privileged positions already in the 1920s. Kemalettin, the architect of the building of the Gazi Institute, could not find a place to rent for himself and his family during the whole time between his arrival in Ankara in August 1925 and the day of his death in July 1927. His family had to stay in Istanbul. In various letters to his wife he describes the decrepit and unhygienic conditions of the room he rented for himself and his desperation at not finding an adequate place to settle with his family.<sup>125</sup> On 1 October 1925, he wrote that the prices for food were comparable to Istanbul but that the rents for a bearable place were exceedingly high and affordable shelter was barely better than "homelessness".<sup>126</sup> Thus, even higher officials like

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122 Zeynep Kezer, "Contesting Urban Space in Early Republican Ankara," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52/1 (September 1998): 11-19.

123 Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press), 2001.

124 Cengizkan, "Türkiye için Modern ve Planlı bir Başkent Kurmak."

125 The letters are reproduced and transcribed in Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Mimar Kemalettin, 1870-1927* (Ankara: Mimarlar Odası ve Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü ortak yayını, 2009). See especially the letters on the pages 421, 436 and 438.

126 See letter in Yavuz, *İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Mimar Kemalettin*, 436.

Kemalettin could not manage to find an affordable house, and stayed in small rental rooms, sometimes even shared, with poor hygiene. How, then, must the other tens of thousands less privileged refugees and migrants have lived, those from other regions who arrived in Ankara after the end of the War of Independence?

In 1926, the year Kemalettin designed the building for the Gazi Institute, the young architecture student and later well-known architect Sedad Hakkı [Eldem] (1908-1988) spent three months in Ankara assisting his professor Giulio Mongeri (1873-1953) from the Academy of Fine Arts at the construction site of the Bank of Agriculture [Ziraat Bankası]. His experiences shaped his interest in social housing during his student residences abroad a couple of years later. While in Munich in 1929, he writes in his notebook: “Our country needs great number of houses [...] The important thing is to construct as economically as possible. The only solution is to standardize and use local materials. Local labor.”<sup>127</sup>

Prior to the Republican period, the majority of the people working in the construction business were non-Muslims. Most of them had already been forced out of the territory or killed during the war, others were subjected to the Republican population exchange programmes.<sup>128</sup> Consequently, skilled workers were lacking and construction costs rose in great part because of the dependence on immigrant workers.<sup>129</sup> The construction also depended on imported materials.<sup>130</sup> The building industry in Turkey was practically nonexistent. The few

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127 Quote from Esra Akcan, “Modernity in Translation: Early Twentieth Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land Settlement and Residential Culture” (PhD diss., Columbia University, New York: 2005), 364.

128 Oya Şenyurt, *Osmanlı Mimarlık Örgütlenmesinde Değişim ve Dönüşüm* [Change and Transformation in the Organisation of Ottoman Architecture] (Istanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2011), 259 and 269.

129 Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 189-190.

130 The absence of the necessary material to realise the numerous building projects led to the issue of a law in 1927 which encouraged investment in the building industry and guaranteed the tax-free importation of foreign construction materials. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 187.



cement factories could not satisfy the demand for concrete, and domestic production of iron and steel did not exist at all until 1937.<sup>131</sup> Likewise imported were construction machinery, equipment for the kitchen, laundry rooms, lavatories, pipes, boilers, and electrical fixtures. The building of the Gazi Institute incorporated all these materials and components. Malik Aksel refers in a text to the equipment of the school building. As if parodying the celebratory style of *La-Turquie-Kemalist* texts, he concludes a laudatory enumeration of all the modern equipment the building had with the sentence: “In this immense building resting on the rocks there is plenty of everything, yet the water is scarce [Kayalar üzerine oturtulmuş bu koca yapıda her şey bol, yalnız su kıt].”<sup>132</sup> I interpret this as a telling image of the contrast between construction activities and the basic needs of the people that remained unanswered.

The building of the Gazi Institute was the biggest building constructed in Ankara at the time. It is situated on the west side of the Mevlana Bulvarı (Ankara-Konya yolu), at the beginning of the Gazi mahallesi, according to the announcement of the foundation-stone-laying celebration, just behind the railway station and the airport.<sup>133</sup> The airport was, back then, about one and a half kilometres west from the railway station; the Jansen plan indicates its location (Fig. 29). Even though Jansen’s plan is from 1932, that is, when the school was already open, the plan does not even include the site of the Gazi Institute. The Lörcher Plan of 1924-1925 leaves the area to the west entirely blank (Fig. 30).

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131 İnci Aslanoğlu, Evaluation of Architectural Developments in Turkey within the Socio-Economic and Cultural Framework of the 1923-38 Period, in: *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, 7, 2, 1986, 15-41.

132 Malik Aksel, “Zihni Hoca” in *Sanat ve Folklor* [Art and Folklore] edited by Beşir Ayvazoğlu, (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011), 180.

133 Niyazi Altunya. *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü: Gazi Orta Öğretmen Okulu ve Eğitim Enstitüsü 1926-1980*. Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Yayını, 2006, 67.



Figure 29: Jansen Plan, Ankara

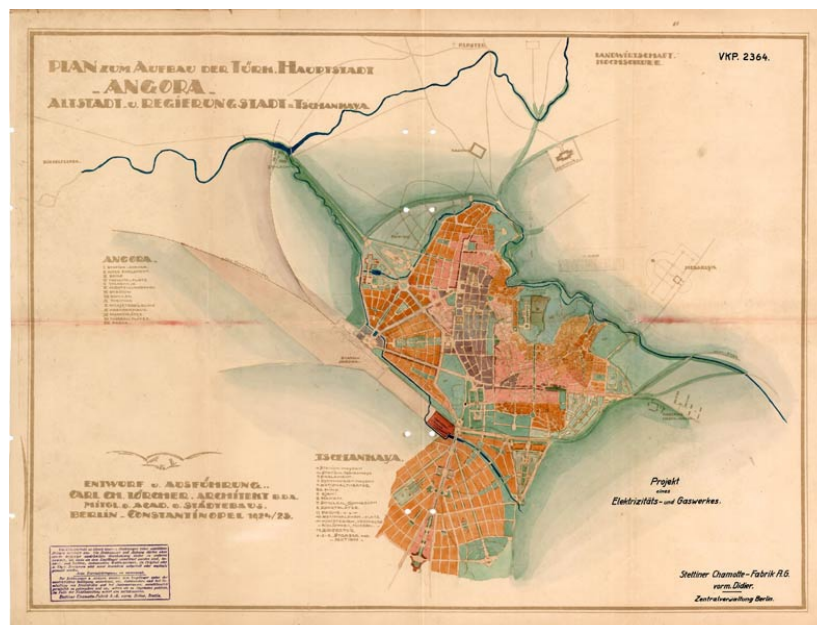


Figure 30: Lörcher Plan, Ankara

In fact, officially at least, there was no estate registered there. Yet it was here, in 1925, that Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] established his private farm, which at that point comprised 80km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>134</sup> The Ministry of Education bought the farm's southeastern corner directly from Mustafa Kemal.<sup>135</sup> It was located roughly two kilometres away from the railway station and four from Ulus Square. An early picture of the Gazi Institute in Ankara shows an isolated building in the middle of an almost empty field (Fig. 31).



Figure 31: Building of Gazi Institute, photography of about 1930, taken from the east (Reproduction from Altunya 2006, 90).

Hardly any neighbouring buildings are to be seen, only the beginnings of planting, and no streets. The photograph must have been taken shortly after the completion of the construction in 1929.<sup>136</sup> There are only anecdotal references to

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134 Ayşe Duygu Kaçar, "Cultivating a Nation: Atatürk's Experimental Farm as an Agent of Social and Cultural Transformation" (PhD diss., Middle East Technical University Ankara, 2010), 19-23. Atatürk donated the farm to the state in 1937. It is known today as the Atatürk Forest Farm [Atatürk Orman Çiftliği].

135 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 67.

136 The photo probably dates from 1930, after the construction of building of the Beden Enstitüsü designed by Egli, which can be seen at the right side of the photo. Until the

how it was decided to build the immense building on such a remote site, entirely disconnected from any of the sparse existing infrastructure, and thus certainly increasing the construction cost and hindering the water supply. According to his own account, it was Cevat [Dursunoğlu] (1892-1970) who suggested buying that site. He was working back then for the Ministry of Education, which was struggling to find a construction plot terrain to build the Ankara Male Teacher School [*Ankara Erkek Muallim Mektebi*], the school that was turned into the Gazi Institute.<sup>137</sup>

On 1 May 1925, the Grand National Assembly had just passed the law that nationalised, that is expropriated, 400 hectares of land south of the railway tracks for the further development of the City.<sup>138</sup> The argument that the Ministry of Education struggled to find a construction plot for the Gazi Institute does not appear very congruous, but in the first years of the Republic, Ankara's city development was not very congruous in general. Given the conditions of the time, the dimension of the project to relocate and develop the capital city constituted an overwhelming task. The very early creation of the Municipality, with its subdivisions like the Building Administration Commission in 1923, and the commissioning of foreign professionals in the face of the perceived dearth of local expertise, demonstrate a visionary awareness of the challenges appearing on the horizon, even if they were still underestimated and the government and municipal commission did not succeed in their intention to implement a coordinated pattern for city growth.<sup>139</sup>

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construction of the building for the Music Department in 1938, it would remain the single addition to the main building on the campus. See Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 93.

137 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 67. Cevat [Dursunoğlu] became the General Director of Higher Education and Fine Arts [Yüksek Öğretim ve Güzel Sanatlar Umum Müdürlüğü] in the 1930s .

138 Tekeli, İlhan, "Türkiye'de Kent Planlamasının Tarihsel Kökleri," in *Türkiye'de İmar Planlaması edited by Tamer Gök* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1980): 55; Tankut, Gönül, "Ankara'nın Başkent Olma Süreci," *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 8, 2 (1988): 100–102; Kezer, "Contesting Urban Space in Early Republican Ankara," 45–46.

139 Kezer, "Contesting Urban Space in Early Republican Ankara," 46.

That not all issues were solved at once does not mean that nothing was happening. The construction activity in Ankara at that period was enormous. From early on, not later than 1926, it was worked on the solution of the issues of infrastructure. The entire electric network and power plants were installed in various steps between 1926 and 1927 by the German companies Deutz, than Siemens and eventually by the German syndicate Didier.<sup>140</sup> Water supply and canalisation was commissioned to an US American company called Ulien. The first automatic telephone central started to work in Ankara in 1926, and was able to establish intercity phone calls in 1929.<sup>141</sup>



Figure 32: Malik Aksel with students on an excursion around Ankara, 1930s (Malik Aksel Archive)

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140 Aydın, Suavi, et al. *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara*. Ankara: Dost 2005, 386.

141 Suavi, et al. *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü*, 386.





Figure 33: Malik Aksel with students on an excursion around Ankara, 1930s  
(Malik Aksel Archive)

But Ankara was, as has been clarified, more than what appeared on the maps. What is of interest here, too, are the blank spaces on the maps and in written history alike. The sources suggest that they were explored by Malik Aksel and his students. The observation of the buildings and the maps alone tends to make us forget the space in between, the unmapped history of the city. In spite of the uncertain date of the etching *Nenek Köyü*, the numbers leave no doubt that the *gecekondu* already existed in the 1920s. Further sources demonstrate that Malik Aksel went on day-long excursions with his students from the very beginning of his teaching in Ankara, and thus I assume that they were well aware of the socioeconomic conditions of their time (Figs. 32 and 33). And they cannot but have been very conscious about their privileged situations. The Gazi Institute was a boarding school,<sup>142</sup> and the faculty members also stayed within the Institute's

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142 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 191.

building. Even though the building was, at least initially, distanced from the city, the excursions connected them with their surrounding. Finally, in a way, the poor and unrepresented people of the city came into the classroom as well, thus constituting a further connection between the schools workings and its exterior. Two drawings are contemporary to an etching that Ayvazoğlu included in his publication with the title “Ankara’s first models” [*Ankara’nın İlk Modelleri*] (Fig. 34) refers to the introduction of drawing classes with life models.<sup>143</sup> Two further drawings from that period are in the Malik Aksel archive and depict probably as well the early years of working with life models (Fig. 35 and 36). The Department was employing the very poor because other people in Ankara were not willing to do something like posing in front of others. Malik Aksel reflects this complexity. He captures it respectfully, in its integrity. The vague implied criticism lies in the choice of his motifs and his look at the circumstances outside the representative frame.



Figure 34: Malik Aksel, “Ankara's first models.”

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143 Ayvazoğlu, *Sanat ve Folklor*, 152. Reproduction also from this publication.





Figure 35: Malik Aksel, Drawing, 1936 (Malik Aksel Archive).



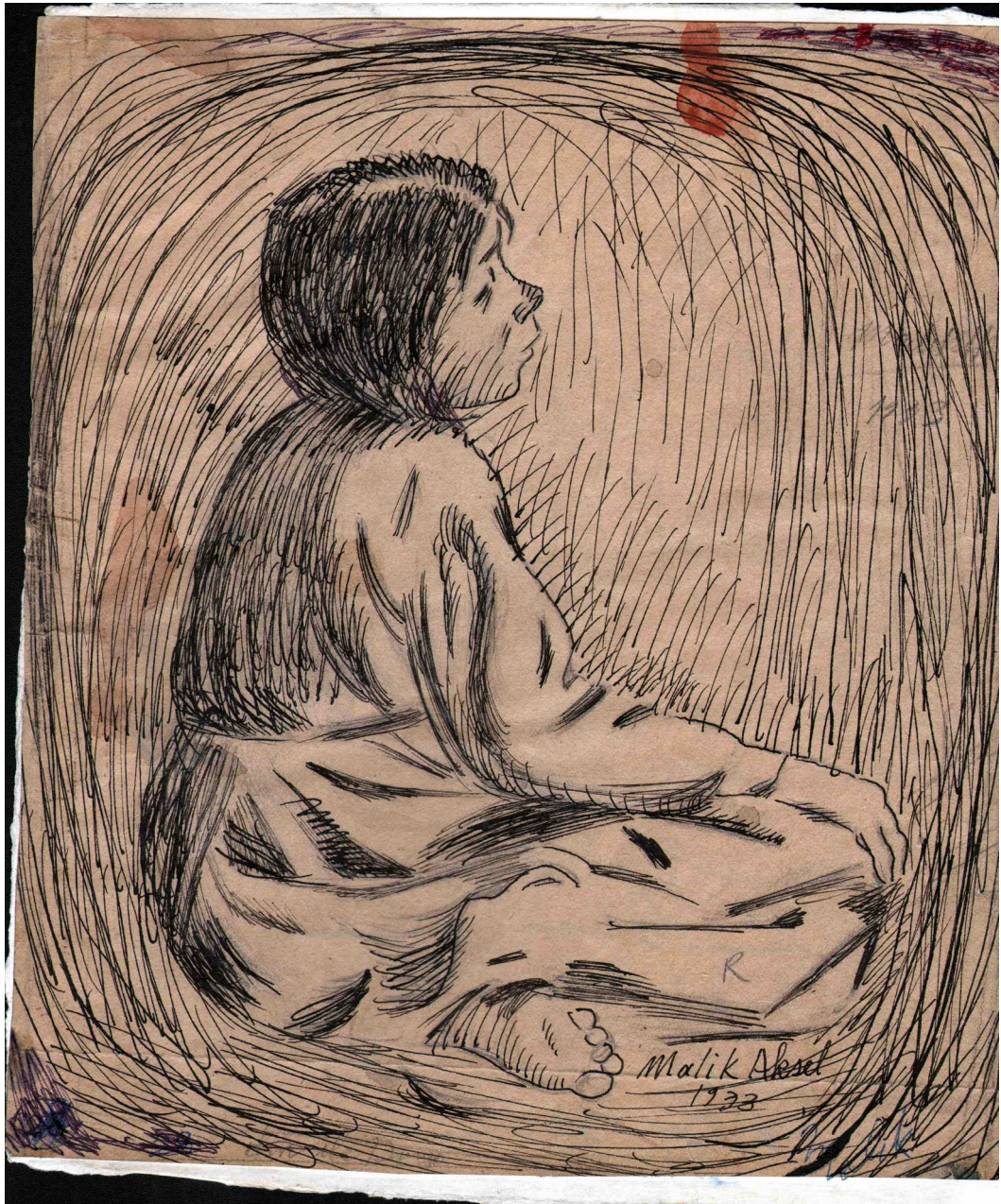


Figure 36: Malik Aksel, Drawing, 1933 (Malik Aksel Archive).

## II.2 The Relationship between Conceptions of Art and the Institutionalisation of Art Education: The Academy of Fine Arts and the Art-Craft Department

### *Cultural Political Positions to Art Education*

Art education was the first dimension of contemporary artistic practices that became effectively institutionalised after the foundation of the Republic. Education in general was from the start a central preoccupation of the government, centralised and unified under the auspices of the Ministry of Education since 1924.<sup>144</sup> Since Mustafa Necati had become the head of this ministry on 20 December 1925, art education was officially and notably integrated into the education system and funds were made available accordingly.<sup>145</sup> The understanding of art which motivated this favourable stance towards its institutionalisation, in spite of the strained economic situation, shall be the focus of enquiry in this section.

Upon his return from his two-month journey to Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy and England, Mustafa Necati held a press conference on 3 February 1927.<sup>146</sup> In his presentation, Mustafa Necati reminds his audience that

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144 The law for the unification of education [*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*] was ratified on 3 March 1924. Henceforth all schools were under the control of the Ministry of Education [*Maarif Vekaleti*]. The aims of this law are explained in the government programme of 22 November 1924 for uniform education to develop a uniform society. It gives special importance to the organisation national [*milli*] culture and a modern civilisation [*asri medeniyet*]. See Nilüfer Öndin, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi (1923–1950) Kültür Politikalarının Türk Resim Sanatı Üzerindeki Yansımaları.” PhD diss. (Mimar Sinan University, Istanbul: 2002), 52-53.

145 Mustafa Necati, “1927’de Milli Eğitimin genel durumu,” in M. Rauf İnan, *Mustafa Necati*, 127-151 (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1980).

146 Mustafa Necati, “Uygulamalı eğitim, beden eğitimi ve güzel sanatlar,” transcribed, translated into modern Turkish, and reproduced in M. Rauf İnan, *Mustafa Necati*, 115-125, Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1980. Nilüfer Öndin refers in her dissertation on cultural policies in the early Turkish Republic to documents that confirm Mustafa Necati’s journey. However the documents date from 5 January 1927, thus only one month before the press conference, and thus it is unclear if the journey took really two months.

research on new approaches to education had been the purpose of his journey. In very general terms he summarises the impressions of the journey and some aspects that he envisions to implement in the Turkish education system. He also refers to art education and asserts: “Fine arts are not only an adornment but a necessity [Güzel sanatlar yalnız bir süs değil, bir gereksinimdir].”<sup>147</sup>

Mustafa Necati’s vocabulary might be accidental and without further relation to a broader meaning. Yet, as he had just returned from Europe, some associations cannot be ignored. Since the eighteenth century, the term ‘necessity’ had gained some notoriety in art discourses especially in those European cities, in which the change of regime had derailed the traditional patron–artist relationship, and large numbers of artists had to redefine the legitimacy of their profession in order to tap new income sources. The independence from their former patrons, the church and the court, had not provided the desired autonomy, but subjected them to the diktat of the erratic art market and the emergence of a relentless art public.<sup>148</sup> Parallel to these developments, one may observe a rise in artists’ calls for public art funding that draws intensely on the vocabulary of German idealism, especially Friedrich Schiller’s (1759-185) claim regarding the civilising and moralising powers of aesthetic activity, and Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s (1717-1768) idea of a correlation between aesthetic formation and state formation in antiquity.<sup>149</sup>

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147 Mustafa Necati, “Uygulamalı eğitim, beden eğitimi ve güzel sanatlar,” transcribed, translated into modern Turkish, and reproduced in M. Rauf İnan, *Mustafa Necati*, 115-125, Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1980, 121.

148 The most exhaustive study of the emergence of the art public in France and the troubled relationship of artists to their new audience is: Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986). On the development of the artistic profile along the changes of their art markets, see Oskar Bätschmann, *Ausstellungskünstler. Kult und Karriere im modernen Kunstsystem* [The artist in the modern world: The conflict between market and self-expression] (Köln: Dumont, 1997). Recent studies on the audience and its positions in the artistic domain are: Eva Kernbauer, *Der Platz des Publikums: Modelle für Kunstöffentlichkeit im 18. Jahrhundert* [The place of the audience: models for art public in the eighteenth century] (Studien zur Kunst; 19) (Köln, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2011) and Dietmar Kammerer, ed., *Vom Publicum: Das Öffentliche in der Kunst* [About publicum: The public in the arts] (Bielefeld: transcript, 2012).

149 Ekkehard Mai, ed., *Historienmalerei in Europa. Paradigmen in Form, Funktion, und Ideologie* [History Painting in Europe: Paradigms in Form, Function and Ideology] (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1990), Stefan Germer und Michael F. Zimmermann, eds., *Bilder der*

History painting as *exemplum* received new attention and appreciation as high art for the representation of the ideals and virtues of the modern bourgeoisie and nation state.<sup>150</sup>

Most favoured and sponsored, history painting defined the training at the European academies throughout the nineteenth century. Especially after the Napoleonic Wars, the genre and the agency ascribed to it proved to be particularly successful when the turn towards the history of the origins of a nation was meant to contribute to the liberation of foreign dominance not only in military but also in a cultural sense. Especially Prussia, and even more so Imperial Germany after 1871, systematically and substantially funded the arts not only for the moral education of the people but especially to create a distinctive national art that would represent the country's strength and relate the people to the nation and territory.<sup>151</sup> At the same time, the concept of cultural underdevelopment as justification for foreign domination inherent in the interpretation of the Napoleonic occupation was not abandoned but swiftly adopted for the legitimisation of their own expansionary aspirations.<sup>152</sup>

What further spurred investment into the arts was the economic competition between the nation states. The competitive world expositions of the later

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*Macht – Macht in Bildern: Zeitgeschichte in Darstellungen des 19. Jahrhunderts* [Images of Power – Power of Images: Zeitgeschichte in Representations of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century] (Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1997).

150 Peter Schneemann, *Geschichte als Vorbild. Die Modelle der französischen Historienmalerei 1747-1789* [History as Example: The Types of French History Painting 1747-1798] (Acta humaniora. Schriften zur Kunstwissenschaft und Philosophie) (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994).

151 On the significant role of art and art history in the development of the modern understanding of national history see Hannelore Schlaffer and Heinz Schlaffer, *Studien zum ästhetischen Historismus* [Studies on the Aesthetic Historism] (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1975).

152 Rüdiger vom Bruch, *Weltpolitik als Kulturmission: Auswärtige Kulturpolitik und Bildungsbürgertum in Deutschland am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges* [World Policy as Cultural Mission: Foreign Cultural Policy and the *Bildungsbürgertum*] (Paderborn u. a. 1982), 101; Angela Windholz, *Et in academia ego: Ausländische Akademien in Rom zwischen künstlerischer Standortbestimmung und nationaler Repräsentation (1750–1914)* [*Et in academia ego: Foreign academies in Rome between artistic positioning and national representation (1750–1914)*] (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2008), 77.

nineteenth century drastically changed art education in the participating countries and the dominance of the concept of high art as promoted by the European academies started to crumble towards the end of the nineteenth century because of its uselessness for the design and promotion of everyday objects of national industrial and semi-industrial production. The World Exposition in Vienna in 1873, and the exquisite industrial designs of Austria and England, put the other participating nations on alert and triggered numerous foundations or reformations of arts-and-crafts schools.

In this regard, the public funding of art and its education might have had many attractions to offer for a country that had just defended its sovereignty against colonial powers, and for a government that struggled with strong interior conflicts and oppositions against its nationalist movement. Since an explicit expression or clearly articulated cultural-political programme has not been found until this point of research, those comparisons invite speculation about the motivations of art funding in Turkey. As will become clearer below, the comparisons with cultural-political decisions elsewhere bear justification beyond the mere stipulation that Mustafa Necati had travelled through those regions. Yet it is necessary to trace the tangible ties between the two or multiple ends of the comparisons. Otherwise, they would remain, as Mustafa Necati's ungrounded assertion that art was a necessity, too vague to understand the way in which art was conceptualised that it justified its funding by public money. What is more, those comparisons would remain unilateral and, thus, would confine the study of the conceptions deployed at the outset of the institutionalisation processes in Turkey to the frames of enquiry defined by knowledge that was produced without taking the activities and conditions in Turkey into consideration. Two further source pools related to the Academy of Fine Arts and the Art-Craft Department as the main beneficiaries of the cultural policies open alternative avenues to approach the concepts of art, their historical development and translocal linkages: One is the discussion about the training at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul between Namik İsmail and the art critic and painter Ali Sami [Boyar] (1880–



1967) held in the form of open letters published in the Turkish daily newspaper *Cumhuriyet* between 1931 and 1932; the other consists of the programme of the Art-Craft Department for training activities that were meant to take place and the understanding of creative practices that it reflects.

#### *A Controversy about Artistic Training at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul*

On his trip through Europe, Mustafa Necati was accompanied by Mehmed Emin, chair of the Education Board [Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu], an advisory board for questions regarding higher education that was founded in 1926 as a subdivision of Ministry of Education.<sup>153</sup> Another member of the legation was Namik İsmail, then in his function as “General Inspector of Education [Maarif Genel Müfettişi]”.<sup>154</sup> As I have indicated above, Namik İsmail became director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul in June 1927, thus only a few months after the trip through Europe. As the only member of the delegation with a background in the arts, it can be expected that it was he who organised the parts of the journey that studied the artistic domains abroad. Namik İsmail’s background is rather opaque, yet it appears that he had already been on cultural-political missions for the Ottoman government in Germany and Austria, which further enhances the possibility that he and his previously established contacts had been instrumental in the outline of the itinerary through Europe. Therefore, his approach to art provides insights into what at least partly guided the cultural political decisions, and the newspaper correspondence constitutes a unique document of his views.

Within two months, the heated newspaper debate between Namik İsmail and Ali Sami had swelled to twenty letters, each of the length of half a newspaper page,

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153 Mustafa Necati, “1927’de Milli Eğitim genel durumu,” transcribed, translated into modern Turkish, and reproduced in M. Rauf İnan, *Mustafa Necati*, 127-151 (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1980), 132.

154 Öndin, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi (1923–1950) Kültür Politikalarının Türk Resim Sanatı Üzerindeki Yansımaları,” 53.

when at the time the newspaper itself totalled only six to eight pages. This prominent placing indicates the importance afforded to the discussion. The newspaper controversy took place five years after the journey, and also after Mustafa Necati's death in 1929. Nonetheless, it constitutes a unique document of contemporary views on art by someone who was directly involved in cultural political affairs of the time.

"It's not modern, it's classical." With these words, Namık İsmail refers to the training at the Department of Painting at the Academy of Fine Arts. He was reacting to provocation by Ali Sami. The art critic had labelled the painting practices at the Academy 'modern,' and equated them with an art happening he said he had observed in Paris: an outrageous 'mob' dipping the tail of a 'mule' into a pot of paint, and pulling the animal with the paint dripping from its tail back and forth over the canvas on the ground.<sup>155</sup> This anecdote refers to an occurrence at the Salon des Indépendants in Paris in 1910. The show included a fauvesque seascape entitled *Et le soleil s'endormit sur l'Adriatique*; this was signed 'J. R. Boronali,' presumed to be an Italian artist, and the alleged author of the previously published manifesto of a new art movement, *l'Excessivisme*. After the exhibition opening and its coverage by the art critics in the daily press, a group of French classicist painters along with the writer Roland Dorgelès published documentation revealing that the painting, in fact, was executed by a mule, and the manifesto written by Dorgelès himself. Executed in the manner of the Futurists, the fraud was conceived of to ridicule modern art by exposing its similarity to a painting made by an animal. The event became famous and was often drawn upon in discussions about artistic tradition and the avant-garde. In his newspaper article, Ali Sami creatively developed this anecdote into an anarchic happening he claimed to have witnessed in persona. In doing so, he not

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155 Ali Sami, "Yeni resmin iç yüzü" [The true colours (lit.: inner face) of new painting], in *Cumhuriyet*, 24 December, 1931, 4. Daniel Grojnowski offers an interpretation of the event with the donkey, that indeed took place. See his publication *Aux commencements du rire moderne: L'esprit fumiste* (Paris: José Corti, 1997).

only conveyed that what he called ‘modern art’ was lacking any rule and mastery: he also discredited the modern artist as an irresponsible individual.

Namık İsmail did not want the Department of Painting to be seen as having any connection with such activities. It was during his directorship that the bylaw of the Academy was effectively implemented, most likely, he had even been involved in outline of the bylaw in 1924. The bylaw marked the Academy’s official designation as an institution of higher education by the Republican government.<sup>156</sup> It was designed to raise the educational level, and was essentially concerned with the formalisation of its structure and programme. The three already existing departments—of painting, sculpture, and architecture—were complemented by two new departments. The Department of Decorative Arts, and the Teacher Training Department.<sup>157</sup> Although the Department of Decorative Arts had already been informally founded the year before, its official recognition and integration into the education system only entered into force with the bylaw of 1924.<sup>158</sup> The prolongation of the study period and requirements regarding entrance qualifications evidence the general objective of raising standards. It was an integral part of the government programme of 1924 to strengthen, formalise and unify the education system in order to create an united society that would strengthen the continuity of the state.<sup>159</sup>

In the early years, however, the entrance qualification criteria was constantly lowered. The Academy was not receiving enough applications. The number of school children was already relatively low, and the devastating demographic and

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156 Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekaleti, *Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Âlisi Talimatnamesi*, edited by Caner Karavit and the Publishing Commission of the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, translated by Sahaf Turkuaz. (Istanbul: M.S.G.S.Ü. Matbaası, 2011). Originally published in Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire 1340/1924.

157 Mustafa Cezar, “Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi’nden 100. Yılda Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi’ne,” in Muhteşem Giray (ed.), *Güzel sanatlar eğitiminde 100 yıl*, Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1983, 5–84, 22.

158 Cezar, “Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi’nden 100. Yılda Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi’ne,” 22.

159 Nuran Dağlı and Belma Aktürk, *Hükümetler ve Programları* [Governments and Programmes], Ankara: TBMM, 1988, 29.



economic effects of the decade of almost continuous warfare, as well as large-scale migration and deportation, certainly played out on the level of registration. Although there may be several other explanations, it demonstrates that the reconstitution of an institution for training in art to be upgraded to an institution of higher education was the deliberate decision of the government and not the result of a general demand in society. For the years 1926 and 1927, the academic status was suspended for all departments except architecture.<sup>160</sup>

The situation was to improve when Namık İsmail took up the office of director in 1927. Moreover, the relocation of the Academy in the building of the former Parliament as its first permanent location for years, along with the necessary funds to adapt the building to its new purpose was a significant step, as the new building not only provided adequate space for training, but was also a substantial symbolic confirmation of the Academy's status within the education system. Against all the difficulties in a precarious time, fine arts were established as an active component of the nation-building process. It is reasonable to assume that this entailed, in return, increased expectations regarding the outcome of the Academy's activities. This, then, underscores the fact that the discussion between Namık İsmail and Ali Sami took place during a period of tightening of state control over education institutions and a general tendency to measure education standards by rational parameters.<sup>161</sup>

What did Namık İsmail mean when he claimed it was 'classical'? In 1924, training with a life model was introduced and, according to the 1934 examination

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160 Mustafa Cezar, "Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'nden 100. Yılda Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi'ne," in Muhteşem Giray (ed.), *Güzel sanatlar eğitiminde 100 yıl*, Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1983, 5–84, 22.

161 For instance, the Darülfünun, the future University of Istanbul, was subjected to scrutiny by the Swiss pedagogue Prof. Dr. Albert Malche under the commission of the Ministry of Education—at exactly the time when Namık İsmail and Ali Sami's discussion was ongoing. See Walter Rüegg (ed.), *Universities in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (1800–1945)*, vol. 3, *A History of the University in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 44. The tighter state control over social and economic aspects was to become inscribed in the party programme from 1931. This programme laid down the basic principles of Kemalism, among which statism figures prominently.

regulations, the core requirement for the final examination was a full-length portrait in oil. What further adds to Namık İsmail's conception of its being 'classical' is, as he points out in one of his letters to Ali Sami, that the drawing and painting of the nude was accompanied by the teaching of Greek mythology.<sup>162</sup> This indicates an orientation along the precepts of academic painting, which had defined the painting classes in Istanbul ever since the foundation of the institution as the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts [Sanay-i Nefise Mekteb-i Âlisi] in 1883.

Although training in front of a nude model was not, in the Ottoman period, practised in Istanbul itself, selected students received a grant to address this aspect of their academic training at the *Académie Julien* in Paris.<sup>163</sup> This was, for instance, the case for İbrahim Feyhaman [Duran] and Hikmet [Onat].<sup>164</sup> It is also true that Nazmi Ziya [Güran] as well as Namık İsmail received some of their training at the *Académie Julien*.<sup>165</sup> Alongside other Ottoman artists, they all spent a major part of the years between 1910 and 1914 in Paris, as did İbrahim Çallı.<sup>166</sup> All became professors of painting at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts soon after they returned to Istanbul at the beginning of World War I, and all remained in their positions during the early Republican period with the exception of Namık İsmail.<sup>167</sup> He had not been a member of staff at the Academy prior to taking up the office of director in 1927.<sup>168</sup>

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162 Namık İsmail, "Akademi ve Ressamlık münakaşası: Namık İsmail Beyin cevabı," in *Cumhuriyet*, 23 February 1932, 4.

163 Deniz Artun, *Paris'ten Modernlik Tercümeleri. Académie Julian'da İmparatorluk ve Cumhuriyet Öğrencileri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 9.

164 The grant was awarded as the first prize of a competition organised by the Ministry of Education. İbrahim Feyhaman won it in 1909 and Hikmet Onat in 1910. Deniz Artun, *Paris'ten Modernlik Tercümeleri. Académie Julian'da İmparatorluk ve Cumhuriyet Öğrencileri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 159–60.

165 Artun, *Paris'ten Modernlik Tercümeleri*, 160.

166 Artun, *Paris'ten Modernlik Tercümeleri*, 160.

167 Giray, ed., *Güzel sanatlar eğitiminde 100 yıl*, 54–5.

168 Giray ed., *Güzel sanatlar eğitiminde 100 yıl*, 55.

Is it possible that Namık İsmail was also using the term ‘classical’ to counter the negative, chaotic, and unreasonable image that Ali Sami tried to attach to the Academy? In the photograph of an exhibition by Namik Ismail’s students from the year of the controversy (Fig. 37), one gains an impression of the outcomes of his training. There are indeed a large number of nudes among the student works; nonetheless, these do not manifest the typical mimetic style of academic painting, nor a classic subject or a reference to written source.



Figure 37: Student exhibition at Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, 1933-34 (Demir 2008, 120).

Throughout the heated correspondence, the Parisian art institutions appear as the ultimate examples of the unquestionable ideal. This holds equally for Ali Sami: to an attempt by Namık İsmail to discredit him as an artist and thereby deflect his criticism, the art critic reacts with a long article about his merits as a painter,

sealed by his success on the French art market.<sup>169</sup> For Namık İsmail, the reference to the Parisian model apparently constituted sufficient legitimation by itself. Thus, in one letter he writes: “The educational system at the Department of Painting of the Academy today is the same as the painting system of the French schools, which is, without doubt, the most progressive. And all [our] teachers were trained in France as well.”<sup>170</sup> It certainly was important, here, to employ the term ‘progressive,’ although it clearly stands in some tension with the notion of being ‘classical.’

Throughout the years of Namık İsmail’s directorship, selected students continued to obtain public grants for a study visit to the *Académie Julien*.<sup>171</sup> The training at this private school, though, was only in its formal structure comparable to the classical training at the *École des Beaux Arts*. Students could paint and draw from a live model and ask for a weekly critique.<sup>172</sup> In general, they could use the school’s facilities and avail themselves of the nude models without being obliged to follow an artistic dogma. The school became especially popular among women and foreign students as the *École* became practically inaccessible to them following its reform in 1863.<sup>173</sup> Besides this, young French painters opted deliberately for this private school precisely because of their objection to the official school and its fixation with classicism.<sup>174</sup> Among this group of students was Henri Matisse, who was one of Namık İsmail’s idols. İsmail wrote: “It is our

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169 Ali Sami, “Resim ve Akademi Münakaşı... Gene başladı...: Ressam Alı Samı Bez Akademi müdürü Namık İsmail Beyin mektubuna cevap gönderdi,” in *Cumhuriyet*, 19 January 1932, 4.

170 “Akademi resim şubesi tedris sistemi bugün resmin hiç şüphesiz en müterakki olduğu fransa mektepleri resim sisteminin aynıdır. Ve Bütün hocalar da Fransa’da tahsil etmişlerdir.” Namık İsmail, “Ressamlık ve Akademi münakaşası: Namık İsmail Beyin cevabı,” in *Cumhuriyet*, 18 February 1932, 6.

171 Artun, *Paris’ten Modernlik Tercümeleri*, 196–268.

172 Horst Uhr, *Lovis Corinth*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, 28.

173 Deniz Artun, *Paris’ten Modernlik Tercümeleri. Académie Julian’da İmparatorluk ve Cumhuriyet Öğrencileri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 52.

174 Horst Uhr, *Lovis Corinth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 29.

mission to train artists like Cezanne and Henri Matisse.”<sup>175</sup> Therefore, he went on to explain, the training they offer at the Academy is classical in order to enable the ‘youth’ to think for themselves. The essential was not whether a painting was in an ‘old’ or ‘new’ style but whether it was ‘good’ art.<sup>176</sup> Ali Sami, however, was simply denying that the training at the Academy was producing ‘good’ artists.<sup>177</sup>

Their discussion on this matter—and, arising out of this problematic, their discussion of which criteria ultimately define a ‘good’ artist—offers insight into their understandings of the artistic profession. While Namık İsmail’s comments reveal a modern conception of ‘the artist,’ Ali Sami’s challenges, though anything but thoroughly elaborated, venture a distinct conception of authorship, which turned out to be more successful during the early Republic.

First, the director had to explain why instruction at the Academy in Istanbul was not provided in structured classes, as it was in other academic areas. Again with reference to a famous model—in this case the *Prix de Rome*—he claims that quality was enhanced in the form of competitions held inside the five different studios of the Academy. This was intended to enable an individual approach to subject matters.<sup>178</sup>

Second, he faced criticism regarding the low job expectancies for the graduates. Ali Sami argued that the art market in Istanbul was dominated by foreign artists who, in addition, achieved higher prices for their works.<sup>179</sup> The critic deemed

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175 “Sezanne [Cezanne] veya Hanri [Henri] Matisse gibi ressam yetiştirmek bizim idealimizdir.” Namık İsmail, “Akademi ve Ressamlık münakaşası: Namık İsmail Beyin cevabı,” in *Cumhuriyet*, 23 February 1932, 4.

176 Ibid.

177 Ali Sami, “Resim, ressamlık ve Akademi münakaşası: Ali Sami Beyin cevabı,” in *Cumhuriyet* 28 January 1932, 4.

178 Namık İsmail, “Akademi ve Ressamlık münakaşası: Namık İsmail Beyin cevabı,” in *Cumhuriyet*, 23 February 1932, 4.

179 Ali Sami, “Resim, ressamlık ve Akademi münakaşası: Ali Sami Beyin cevabı,” in *Cumhuriyet*, 28 January 1932, 4.

what he saw as deficient preparation by the Academy responsible for that problem. Namık İsmail, though, disclaims responsibility. The Academy was not an institution for trade, he countered. Its task was to preserve and stimulate the national cultural life.<sup>180</sup> He further argued that the best artist was not the one with the highest remuneration. After all, an institution such as the Academy could only provide the ground for the development of the born artist. Everything else depended on his/her vocation and talent. “For one Delacroix to come in one century, France had to train tens of thousands of students.”<sup>181</sup>

Namık İsmail’s argumentation follows the precepts of the modern concept of authorship. This turns on the special status of the artist, which was developed in the European courts and became even more accentuated after the 18th century due to the increase in autonomy of artistic creation (although the extent to which there was an increase in autonomy is often overstated).<sup>182</sup> This alleged autonomy supported the idea of the artist as the auctorial creator who, free of all rules and functions, was bearing art out of his inner self, his thoughts and emotions.<sup>183</sup> In this manner, the artist represented the prototypical subjectivity and the concept of the individual, and triggered the idea of the genius outstanding from the masses.<sup>184</sup>

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180 “Her devlet bu müesseseleri ticaret için değil, memleketin harsı için açar ve idame eder,” Namık İsmail, “Ressamlık ve Akademi münakaşası: Namık İsmail Beyin cevabı,” in *Cumhuriyet*, 18 February 1932, 6.

181 “Fransa bir asırda bir gelen delacroix [Delacroix] bulmak için on binleren telebe yetiştirmiştir.” Namık İsmail, “Akademi ve Ressamlık münakaşası: Namık İsmail Beyin cevabı,” in *Cumhuriyet*, 23 February 1932, 4.

182 Martin Warnke, *Hofkünstler* [The court artist] (Köln: DuMont, 1985), 12.

183 Michael Wetzel, “Autor/Künstler” [Author/artist], in Karlheinz Barck et al. (eds.), *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe* [Aesthetic concepts] vol. 1 (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2000–2005), 480. Regarding the relativity of this autonomy and the new constraints, dependencies and functions, see Oskar Bätschmann, *Ausstellungskünstler. Kult und Karriere im modernen Kunstsystem* [The artist in the modern world: The conflict between market and self-expression] (Köln: Dumont, 1997), especially chapter II on the artists’ freedom and social functions.

184 Sabine Kampmann, *Künstler sein. Systemtheoretische Beobachtungen von Autorschaft* [Being an artist: System-theoretical observations of authorship] (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2007), S. 57.

Consequently, Ali Sami is not completely mistaken when he defines the art practised at the Department of Painting as modern, even though for him this is simply equivalent to ‘new.’ He expresses his opposition to this individualistic conception of artistic practice and profession, considering it damaging for “a nation, which is only in its beginnings,” and called for people to work together in order to overcome the challenges of nation-building.<sup>185</sup> He dedicated a long letter to a detailed outline of the enormous means provided to the Academy that led, in his eyes, to no benefit for the nation.<sup>186</sup> He calls for the ‘nationalisation’ of art, and the creation of a ‘Turkish school’ and ‘Turkish artist.’<sup>187</sup> Instead of Greek mythology, the students should study and represent the national history—“For the nation.”<sup>188</sup> Namık İsmail consents in the sense that he sees art’s potential for social change but, to him, ‘producing’ national artists was a mistake.<sup>189</sup> “An art school that produces artists like industrial machines has never been seen by mankind.”<sup>190</sup> With these words he rejected the demands for the Academy, as a ‘producer’ of artists, to cater to the young nation-state and the formation of a modern society. While there is a remarkable difference in regard to the function of art and the role of the artists, both authors do not question the medium itself. Throughout the discussion they use the term art and painting interchangeably, a trait that still remains in the Turkish term *resim*. The work of the other departments at the Academy, like the one of Decorative Arts, does not appear in this discussion about art.

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185 Ali Sami, “Yeni resmin iç yüzü” [The true colours (lit.: inner face) of new painting], in *Cumhuriyet*, 24 December, 1931, 4.

186 Ali Sami, “Resim, ressamlık ve Akademi münakaşası: Ali Sami Beyin cevabı,” in *Cumhuriyet*, 28 January 1932, 4.

187 Ibid.

188 Ibid.

189 Namık İsmail, “Akademi ve Ressamlık münakaşası: Namık İsmail Beyin cevabı,” in *Cumhuriyet*, 23 February 1932, 4.

190 “[...] mamul eşya çıkaran makineler gibi san’atkar yetiştiren bir san’at mektebini henüz beşeriyet görmemiştir.” Namık İsmail, “Akademi ve Ressamlık Münakaşası,” in *Cumhuriyet*, 23 February 1932, 4.

The discussion takes place at the moment when the opening of the Art-Craft Department (1932) in Ankara is in full preparation.<sup>191</sup> For İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] who, as we will see, was the main actor in the setting up of the Department, art had to respond to the necessities of its social context.<sup>192</sup> He was promoting an art that would be more nationalised, popularised and vernacular.<sup>193</sup> To this end, the particularities of Turkish folk art should be studied and taught to adults and children alike.<sup>194</sup> To this end, art courses were also included in the education programme of the ‘People’s Houses’ [*Halkevleri*], and the Art-Craft Department would eventually provide most of their teachers.<sup>195</sup> The first of these community centres were also founded in 1932. At the same time that Namık İsmail and Ali Sami’s discussion was published, one finds the publication of the first by-laws governing the People’s Houses.<sup>196</sup>

### *The Programme of the Art-Craft Department*

The idea of a training school for teachers of art education had already been adopted during the expansion of centralised state education in the Ottoman Empire in the Hamidian period (1876–1909). Sultan Abdülhamid II’s officials recognised the potential for education to reach the empire’s populations, and to counter the disintegrative forces that haunted them. These forces included not

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191 Hasan Penkmezci, “Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü Resim-İş Bölümü ve Bauhaus (Yeni İnsanın Tasarımı-Yeni Bir Toplumun Tasarımı),” in Ali Artun and Esra Aliçavuşoğlu (eds.), *Bauhaus: Modernleşmenin Tasarımı: Türkiye’de Mimarlık, Sanat, Tasarım Eğitimi ve Bauhaus* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 277–302.

192 Duygu Köksal, “The Role of Culture and Art in Early Republican Modernization in Turkey,” in Bernard Heyberger and Silvia Naef (eds.), *La multiplication des images en pays d’Islam: De l’estampe à la télévision (17e–21e siècle)*, (Würzburg: Ergon, 2003), 209–27, 218.

193 Köksal, “The Role of Culture and Art,” 218

194 Köksal, “The Role of Culture and Art,” 219.

195 Hasan Penkmezci, “Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü Resim-İş Bölümü ve Bauhaus (Yeni İnsanın Tasarımı-Yeni Bir Toplumun Tasarımı),” in Ali Artun and Esra Aliçavuşoğlu (eds.), *Bauhaus: Modernleşmenin Tasarımı: Türkiye’de Mimarlık, Sanat, Tasarım Eğitimi ve Bauhaus* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 277–302.

196 “Halkevleri: Talimatname basılarak tevzi edildi”, in *Cumhuriyet*, 11 January 1932, 3.



only the powers who lay behind the shrinking imperial borders, but also their growing economic, cultural and missionary presence within the Empire. Substantial efforts had been invested in completing the centralisation of education envisioned in the *Tanzimat* era (1839–76); but in contrast to that agenda, which drew heavily on the French model,<sup>197</sup> Abdülhamid's later policy only adopted its formal characteristics while the operational aspects underwent major transformations that put strong emphasis on domestic concerns. As Benjamin Fortna has pointed out, this hybrid character has often been neglected by historiography that considers Western influence the single source for modernisation in the late Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic.<sup>198</sup> Although Western models and ideas were not eliminated, and the 'enlightenment notion of progress' did inform the Hamidian educational project, it maintained and developed Ottoman and Islamic elements and was aimed at 'fighting back' against external influence by cultivating political and confessional loyalty.<sup>199</sup>

One important Ottoman thinker who worked on the notion of nationhood, especially in terms of its linkages with language and culture, was Sati' [al-Husri] (1880–1968).<sup>200</sup> After working as a schoolteacher, and then as an Ottoman official in the western provinces of the Empire, he became the director of the Teacher Training College [Darülmua'llimin] in Istanbul, a post which he held between 1902 and 1912. The purpose of this institution was to train teachers for secondary school level. Under Sati's directorship, classes in art and handicrafts were given special importance. To him, art constituted an important tool to link mental and physical development.<sup>201</sup> He also attached importance to education about daily

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197 It was the French Ministry of Education that elaborated the report on which the Ottoman Education Regulation of 1869 was based. See Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Oxford, 2002, 15.

198 Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*.

199 Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*.

200 After the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, he would eventually become a prominent figure of the national cause in Iraq. For his biography, see William L. Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist*, Princeton, 1971.

201 Nur Balkir, "Visual Culture in the Context of Turkey: Perceptions of Visual Culture in

life itself, encouraging the students to study daily life and integrating this study into their training. He even opened a School of Practice [*Tatbikat Mektebi*] in 1909.<sup>202</sup> He saw the objective of education as the strengthening of individual faculties in order to create autonomous and self-reliant citizens, on which the social development of a nation would be based.<sup>203</sup> According to him, the appropriate way to reach this aim was through creative, inventive and active practices, rather than passive assimilation and learning by rote.<sup>204</sup>

Sati's efforts to introduce artistic practises to the public education system were followed by one of the future co-founders of the Art-Craft Department at the Gazi Institute, İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] (1887–1978), who worked under Sati's directorship as a teacher of calligraphy. In 1910 and 1911, both undertook extensive research trips to Europe to study recent developments in pedagogy. Before the First World War, the art classes at the Teacher Training College consisted of decorative calligraphy, marbling and miniatures. The intention was to open the curriculum for figurative and non-figurative drawings and copies from landscapes with the lithography technique (imaginary painting would remain excluded); Nur Balkir argues that these plans did not materialise during the wars, and indeed there was a lapse between 1915 and 1922 in the teaching of creative practices, even if at the Teacher Training College figurative visual arts were implemented before his graduation in 1921—that is, during the wars.<sup>205</sup>

Through İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu]'s initiative, art classes were resumed in 1922.<sup>206</sup> Their reintroduction allowed him to realise his new conception of

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Turkish Pre-Service Art Teacher Preparation, "Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Texas, 2009).

202 Balkir, *Visual Culture in the Context of Turkey*.

203 İlhan Başgöz, *Educational problems in Turkey 1920-1949*, Indiana, 1968.

204 Başgöz, *Educational problems in Turkey*, 28.

205 Balkir, *Visual Culture in the Context of Turkey*, 10. Regarding the implementation of arts and handicrafts classes in middle schools see Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 507.

206 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 507.

separating out the subjects of *Resim* and *Elişleri* [handicraft].<sup>207</sup> What was lacking, however, was the preparation of the teachers who were to offer those classes. According to İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu], it was not until the opening of the teacher-training department at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul in 1927 that there existed an institution which could supply training for the teachers who were going to impart the new subjects.<sup>208</sup>

In 1924, the US American educator and philosopher John Dewey (1859–1952) spent two months in Turkey. He was commissioned to write a report on the state of education in the country. His report is considered to have been decisive for the Turkish Charter of Education [*Maarif Misakı*] of 1924 that regulated the education system.<sup>209</sup> How this commission was established, and to what extent it played an important role, must be the subject of further discussion. What is certain is that Dewey met the American Ambassador to China, Charles R. Crane, during his two-year stay in Peking in 1921 and 22. Crane had close political ties to Turkey, and was the one who initiated and financed Dewey's trip there.<sup>210</sup> In fact, the report does not contain any notable impulses that would have seemed distinct from those already developed by Sati' [al-Husri] and İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu]: it appears that the pragmatist and reformist movements in education were well and 'globally' connected, such that the changes in the education systems occurred in parallel in several countries. Considering the diverse destinations of his numerous journeys, Dewey certainly contributed to the spread of these ideas;<sup>211</sup> and the journeys, in return, must have informed his ideas as well.

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207 Hasan-Ali Yücel, *Türkiye'de Orta Öğretim*, Istanbul, 1938, 152, 156, 162-164.

208 İsmail Hakkı (Baltacıoğlu), *Resim ve Terbiye* [Art and Education], Istanbul, 1931, 39. His account reveals that although this department was officially inaugurated in 1924, its actual beginning dates *from* three years later.

209 John P. Anton and Pınar Canevi (eds.), *Cumhuriyet, Eğitim Reformu ve Dewey*, Istanbul, 2007.

210 Anton and Canevi (eds.), *Cumhuriyet, Eğitim Reformu ve Dewey*, , 114.

211 Thomas S. Popkewitz (ed.), *Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Travelling of Pragmatism in Education*, New York, 2005.

Niyazi Altunya goes as far as to claim that Dewey had no impact on the Gazi Institute at all.<sup>212</sup> I agree partially, though I expect that the intellectual exchange was interesting enough since Dewey's thinking would be addressed in the classes on history and theory of pedagogy—at least, this is what is explicitly stated in the curriculum, as will be shown below. The interesting aspect in the whole constellation that has not been highlighted yet is that the knowledge of and interest in the progressive education movement was such as to recognise Dewey as an expert worth inviting and whose advice was to be valued; not yet as an expert whose evaluation would determine the orientation of the Gazi Institute, let alone the education system in Turkey, but as a supplementary opinion on matters that were the subject of intensive work at the time. Yet, most decisive were İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu]'s efforts, and with the appointment of Mustafa Necati as Minister of Education in 1926, they found the necessary support. İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] envisioned a proper training school for teachers that included the new subject. The draft of the programme of the Gazi Institute that he outlined in November 1929, emerged immediately after starting his short seven-month directorship of the Gazi Institute. According to the draft, the institute was meant to be structured into “houses [evler]”, of which one was the “idea house [fikir evi]” which in turn was thought to have six branches of which one was the “Visual Arts [Resim] and another “Handicrafts [Elişleri]”.<sup>213</sup>

One can only speak of the Art-Craft Department as existing after the *Elişleri* and the *Resim* teacher-training departments joined into one single department with the reformation of the programme in 1934.<sup>214</sup> Financial problems lay behind the

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212 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 45.

213 Ibid., 40-42. He had already tried to achieve the opening of a department for this purpose in the years 1913-1917, and had succeeded in winning over the then-minister of education; however, the First World War impeded the realisation of his plan. See İsmail Hakkı (Baltacıoğlu), *Terbiye* [Education], Istanbul, 1932, 205-206. The programme he drafted in 1929 is reproduced in Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 57-62.

214 Decree of the Maarif Vekaleti Talim ve Terbiye Dairesi (Ministry of Education), 12.08.1934, no. 184.

unification of the two branches;<sup>215</sup> they also required the reduction of the study period from four years to three<sup>216</sup> But, following İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç], there was also in a conceptual sense a deliberate reason for the unification of the departments as well as for the choice of the title of the department that arose from them. İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] was not involved in the art discourse of the time in the way that his colleague was, but he was participating actively in the planning of the new department, was one of its founders and first director, and in this manner contributed to the particular approach to art as it was to be practised at the Art-Craft Department. İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] presented a report of his research in Leipzig he undertook in 1922 and which contains tangible parallels to the later version of the programme that shall be presented below.<sup>217</sup> At the beginning of the 1920s, several institutions were engaged with either with the development of the arts and crafts or the progressive education movement. The most active pedagogue of this movement in Germany was Hugo Gaudig (1860–1923) who was teaching in Leipzig at the Teacher Training School that included training as teacher of handicraft classes. It deserves further investigation in future studies whether there was a mutual stimulating relationship between his educational approach that favoured creative practical work, the arts and crafts museum and the schools of applied art in Leipzig. In any case, the city invested immensely in the development of the crafts since 1873, specifically spurred by the World Exposition in Vienna of that year.

The Vienna World Exposition of 1873 has succeeded in opening the eyes of us Germans that our industry, even if it has great many advantages, stays in regard of taste and artful execution of its products far behind that of other nations. At the same time, with the display of the progress of the English and Austrian art industries, the exhibition has provided tangible evidence of the importance of arts-and-crafts museums and educational institutions ... [*Die Wiener Weltausstellung von 1873 hat das große Verdienst gehabt, uns Deutschen die Augen dafür zu öffnen, dass unsere Industrie, mag sie auch sonst mancherlei Vorzüge aufzuweisen haben,*

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215 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 517.

216 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 518.

217 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 513-514.

*doch in Hinsicht auf Geschmack und stilvolle Ausführung ihrer Erzeugnisse hinter denjenigen anderen Nationen zurückgeblieben ist. Sie hat uns zugleich in den Fortschritten, welche die englische und österreichische Kunstindustrie zeigten, einen handgreiflichen Beweis für die Wichtigkeit kunstgewerblicher Museen und Unterrichtsanstalten geliefert ...].*<sup>218</sup>

Starting with these lines, the report of 1875 about the first year of the Arts-and-Crafts Museum [*Kunst-Gewerbe-Museum*] in Leipzig called for new forms of education in the face of the new requirements of a new economic market and challenges created by it that traditional crafts and trades could no longer adequately address. The request was successful, and in the same year an Arts-and-Crafts school was opened under the same directorship as the Royal Academy of Art, Ludwig Nieper, with the—eventually futile—intention to create a closer link between the academic ‘high’ art and craft.<sup>219</sup> Since 1890, the Academy opened a Bookmaking Department that included design as well as the crafts involved in the production of print media. While bookmaking was becoming the main focus of the Academy, the Arts-and-Crafts School remains a separate institution yet connected to the Academy through the exchange of teaching staff. The speculation of a correlation also between the the arts-and-crafts training and progressive education movement is further nurtured by the developments of the 1920 when a teaching at the arts-and-crafts school is adopted “that promotes, next to its knowledge about the material and artesian and technical production, and above anything else the fulfilment of independent thinking and individual design capabilities [... *daß neben dem Wissen um das Material und seine handwerklich technische Formung eigenes Denken und individuelles Gestaltungsvermögen vor allem anderen gefördert wird und voll zur Entfaltung gelangt*].”<sup>220</sup>

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218 Quoted from Ute Camphausen, ed., *Die Leipziger Kunstgewerbeschule: Eine Dokumentation zu Geschichte und Wirkung der Kunstgewerbeschule der Stadt Leipzig und ihrer Vorgänger- und Nachfolgeeinrichtungen* [The school of applied arts of Leipzig: A documentation about the history and resonance of the school of applied arts of the city of Leipzig and its previous and subsequent institutions] (Leipzig: Faber & Faber, 1996), 27.

219 Camphausen, ed., *Die Leipziger Kunstgewerbeschule*, 28.

220 Erich Gruner, *Kunstgewerbe und Aufgaben der Kunstgewerbeschule in unserer Zeit*, *DGZ* 34/13 (1931): 127, quoted after Camphausen, *Die Leipziger Kunstgewerbeschule*, 84.

The programme of the Art-Craft Department in Ankara reflects a combination of artistic training, training in applied arts and crafts and progressive education with their inherent aims of enhancing creative, practical and social capabilities of the students. Unlike his former teacher İsmail Hakkı (Baltacıoğlu), İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] conceived of the unification of the departments as being the ideal form.<sup>221</sup> The list describing the curriculum of this single subject inside the general programme of the Art-Craft Department shows that the practical components were complemented by theoretical and historical contextualisations. This was in line with the progressive education movement, which considered the scientific foundations of teaching methods to be essential. Central importance was attached to the planning of education on a rational basis, and a sound theoretical training of teachers. The first four subjects, which are described in the programme of the Art-Craft Department of 1934, deal with the theory and history of art education. In those paragraphs, prominent exponents of progressive education, whose theories were included in the curriculum, are mentioned by name: ‘Pestalozzi [Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827), Swiss educator], Dövey [Dewey], Kerschsteiner [Georg Kerschsteiner 1854–1932, German educator], Blonski [Pavel Petrovich Blonsky (1884–1941), Soviet psychologist], Gaudig [Hugo Gaudig (1860–1923), German educator].’<sup>222</sup>

As mentioned before, the latter was a central and prominent figure of the movement in Germany after the First World War. As he was working in Leipzig he was possibly was personally known by İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç]. The single German institution mentioned in the documentation on the Gazi Institute consulted so far is the “Elişleri Muallim Mektebi” at the “Laipzig Pedagoji Enstitüsü” [Centre for Teachers of Manual Work at the Pedagogical Institute Leipzig], which both İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] and İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] visited to familiarise themselves with their teaching methods and contents. In

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221 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 518.

222 Decree of the Maarif Vekaleti Talim ve Terbiye Dairesi (Ministry of Education), 12.08.1934, no. 184.

spite of all the differences between the work of the mentioned pedagogues, a common denominator was the promotion of a holistic, practice-oriented education of the entire populace. Hierarchical structures and authoritarianism were considered constraining effective learning and the development of a self-determined and independent life in and for a democratic community. The aim of the Art-Craft Department was to train teachers to serve this purpose.

With seven hours weekly, Art [*Resim*] figures prominently among the other practical subjects listed in the programme. Other subjects, like carpentry, clay work and modelling, are represented with one or at most two hours in the curriculum. Art constitutes a subject on its own, separated from “Craft Art” [*İş Resmi*, tentative English translation] and also from Photography and Film. Art is subdivided into seven different fields: (i) analysis of art works and aesthetics, the function of art and differentiation between ‘good and bad works’; (ii) techniques of representation including various sorts of materials, like pencil, oil paint, pastel, or tempera; (iii) composition and genre, like landscape, flowers, fruits, animals or variations of portraits: young or old, and male or female figures drawn from a life model. Next to these aspects, there is also (iv) ‘Images related to industry’: advertisement and publicity for posters and billboards, as well as decoration of all sorts of stage design, installation sketches, and machine drawing; (v) graphic arts and the contemporary role of art; (vi) copying of representative works of art history; and finally, (vii) ‘children’s contemplation, thought and colours’ closes the manifold practical programme of this subject.

The programme also scheduled one hour per week on art history. The structure of this subject followed a chronological order with consecutive epochs. The only difference between this and the art-historical tradition was the inclusion of late Ottoman and modern Turkish art. This subject matter is referred to as *sanat* (art) and not as *resim*, while the actual making of visual representations in practical subjects like *Resim* or *Photography and Film* is exclusively referred to as *resim*.



The curriculum of the Art-Craft Department was not completely detached from the concept of academic art. Nevertheless, art was not the exclusive subject, nor was it the central one. The activities which are close to the field of fine arts—such as landscape painting or portraiture—do not stand out, but are incorporated into the overall programme of the *single* department. The processes of making, the praxis of visual or plastic creation, come to the fore. And, not least, the training was geared towards the formation of teachers, not the individual artist. The aim was to prepare the students to impart, as teachers, the creative activities themselves—instead of a mere receptive attitude—to the populace.

The initiation of the inclusion of creative practices in the education system and the corresponding plans for the foundation of training programmes for teachers in the late Ottoman Empire provide evidence that the programme of the Art-Craft Department was not designed on the basis of a single research visit to Leipzig, nor defined by visiting experts in Turkey, but was written and re-written during a long-winded development process with many participants, interruptions and interventions. Nonetheless, the concerns that sparked the investment of cultural policies in the domain of arts and crafts in Germany point to a further trail towards the understanding of the interests in art education in the late Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic. Trading with the European nations, and constituting a market for their products, the Ottoman Empire was involved in the competition between the nations. Ahmet Ersoy has outlined this scenario, drawing on the example of the Empire's participation in the Vienna Exposition of 1873.<sup>223</sup> In the immediately preceding years, the Empire had initiated measures to reform the traditional craft guilds and adapt them to the contemporary standards set by international trade, and so strengthen the Empire's position therein.<sup>224</sup> The opening of the Istanbul School of Industry [Mekteb-i Sanayi] in 1868 with its courses on architecture, drawing, printmaking, carpentry and costume-making

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223 Ahmet Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance': Architectural Revival and its Discourse during the Abdülaziz Era (1861-76)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000).

224 Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance'," 79.

catered to that end.<sup>225</sup> Ersoy points to the parallels to the *Kunstgewerbeschule* and the French equivalent *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*.<sup>226</sup> As we have seen in the first section of this chapter, another School of Industry opened in Ankara in 1905.

Apart from the apparent economic drive behind the foundation of the Schools of Industry, which very likely also motivated or at least legitimised the public funding of the Art-Craft Department in the Republican years, there appears to be another notion for which Ersoy's study may provide an answer or at least inspire further considerations; in his speech for the press conference in 1927, mentioned at the outset of this section, Mustafa Necati actually added a few significant statements that acquire further dimensions following the implications of the late Ottoman initiatives for the revival of the arts and crafts. The minister of education stated that special importance would be given to the decorative arts.<sup>227</sup> "Modernising [çağcılaştırılarak]" the old Turkish arts meant that they would be able to survive.<sup>228</sup> At first sight, it seems that the motivations he expresses are simply the same as those that had prevailed half a century earlier, and this might be true. However, as we have seen, the Ottoman Empire's contribution to the Vienna Exposition of 1873, with its elaborate display of magnificent ancient crafts and industries, had had a significant influence on art-historical discourse, and the question also arises of what impact this discourse had on Mustafa Necati's knowledge or understanding of the tradition of Turkish art and his appreciation of it.

Furthermore, as has been indicated, the arts and crafts thrived during those five decades of fierce national economic competition, and accompanied the pursuit of a national culture just as the colonial aspirations partially reflected the aim of

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225 Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance'," 81.

226 Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance'," 81.

227 Necati, "Uygulamalı eğitim, beden eğitimi ve güzel sanatlar," 122.

228 Necati, "Uygulamalı eğitim, beden eğitimi ve güzel sanatlar," 122.

cultural domination. Art historiography, involved as it was in these dynamics, began to transcend the traditional territorial confines. The most eloquent example here is the work of Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941), one of the few foreign art historians who worked on architecture and craft in the territory of the Turkish Republic, and who would have huge repercussions on the later establishment of Art History as an academic discipline in Turkey.<sup>229</sup> Yet, apart from the barely concealed cultural imperialism in his work,<sup>230</sup> it manifests another characteristic, namely that all cultural production outside the area that was at least remotely touched by classic art, is contemplated only in terms of folk art and craft or religious art. Therefore, any knowledge production that existed with respect to culture that could have been claimed to be Turkish was limited to architecture and handicrafts. Mustafa Necati thus could avail himself of no other sources in the decision-making processes.

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229 The Viennese School of Art History was among the most influential in shaping the methodological and ideological principles of Turkish national art historiography, as Oya Pancaroğlu has shown in her analysis of the academic conceptualisation of ‘Turkish Art.’ Oya Pancaroğlu, “Formalism and the Academic Foundation of Turkish Art in the early Twentieth Century,” in *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 67–78.

230 See, for instance, his text *Erworbene Rechte der österreichischen Kunstforschung im nahen Osten* of 1914, only one quote from which has to suffice here: “If someone by conquering new territory for the sciences earns the moral right for this territory, then, Austria can certainly claim Asia Minor and Syria’s *Hinterland* [...] [Wenn jemand dadurch, daß er Neuland für die Wissenschaft erobert, ein gewisses moralisches Anrecht auf die der Forschung neu erschlossenen Gebiete erwirbt, dann darf Österreich ruhig Kleinasien und das Hinterland von Syrien [...]” As quoted in Joseph Imorde. *Michelangelo Deutsch!* (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009).

### CHAPTER III

#### THE INSTITUTIONS' EMPIRICAL INTERIOR



Figure 38: View of a studio at the Academy of Fine Arts, 1927 (Reproduction from Firat 2008).

(Fig. 38) At the centre of this photograph there is nothing. That is, it shows an empty area of the wall that is otherwise covered with paintings. The paintings are mainly unframed and of moderate size, an arm's length at most. Some are simply leaning against the wall while standing on a plain timber flooring. A chair is pulled away from an easel to open the view of the landscape painting resting on it. To its left, a man in a smock is standing at a desk. He is looking down at the paper on the desk top. The position of his hand suggests that he is drawing. A curtain covers the lower part of the window-wall to his left, and prevents the sun from irritating the man's view with a cast shadow of his hand. The heat of a small radiator positioned right next to the desk may warm the hand on cold days, before

it rises to a ceiling that is so high that it escapes the photographic frame. The photograph conveys the impression of immediacy, as if we were standing—unnoticed by the craftsman—in the studio and observing a calm moment of concentrated work. Only very subtle details trigger suspicion of the authenticity of the studio scenery; the painting on the easel is framed already, painting materials are absent, and there is no unfinished work among the paintings.

This photograph is just one of a series of pictures that offer a visual tour through the facilities of the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul in 1927.<sup>231</sup> The main theme of this series is the spatial setting and its use. In some shots the furniture or architectural features convey the function of the spaces. For the studios the photographer or commissioner desired to show the students or faculty members at work.<sup>232</sup> Like in the above-mentioned photograph, the visual angle captures the space without focusing on the individuals. Individuals are neither at the centre of the photograph nor are they its main motif. The presence of individuals is not the only component that illustrates the use and function of a given room. They do inhabit the spaces, yet they do so together with paintings, sculptures, models, furniture and other equipment, architectural features and light. Likewise, the individuals appear as if oblivious of the presence of the camera, and proceed with the activities that seem to be habitual in the given room. Their activities connect them to the space and the objects therein. Not the space alone, not merely a single object, not only an individual person or group, but the conjugation of all entities is what counts in these photographs,

The photographs are characterised by a high degree of verisimilitude, an air of daily life at the school. Only now and then a detail, like the framed painting on the easel, reveals their fabrication. As the identity of the photographer and the

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231 These photographs have not yet received any critical analysis. Kamil Fırat has published them without further discussion and at times erroneous dates and labels. See Kamil Fırat, ed., *Geçmiş Zaman: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi'nin 125. Yılına Armağan Fotografları* (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2008).

232 The identity of the photographer and commissioner awaits further investigation.

objective of the series is unknown, the accidental revelations of the staging are a fortunate hint for the understanding of the nature of the photographs. The hints manifest intentionality.<sup>233</sup> On the one hand, this intentionality takes the photographs beyond the level of documentation to the level of representation. Given that the photos were taken only about a year after the Academy of Fine Arts obtained its new venue and that it is a whole series of interior shots, the commissioner was probably the school itself and the purpose of the series may not have been merely to document the facilities, but to convey the best impression possible. On the other hand, the strong verisimilitude nurtures the idea that, in spite of the intention to make a good impression, the representation stays close to what actually happened at the school or seemed to them the habitual situation. With these photos, the school—if it was indeed the commissioner—offers a self-portrait, it presents its self-understanding. It did not chose to do so only via the student works or the works of the faculty members, nor through the recently acquired educational space alone. Instead it opted for the whole compound of entities that constituted the institution, the objects, works, spaces and the activities that took place therein.

The series of photographs demonstrates that the act of transmitting and acquiring artistic capabilities and a professional self-understanding involved not merely an abstract idea of what art might be, but also very tangible, concrete matters. This chapter addresses the empirical conditions of the artistic formation at the Academy of Fine Arts and the Art-Craft Department. The photographic series of the Academy of Fine Arts is like an Open Day that I seek to attend, yet it is not an exhaustive source. The visual material about the school life at the Art-Craft Department in Ankara is even scarcer. Ground plans, exterior views of the buildings and written sources shall supplement the information. The first part of the chapter addresses the spatial order of the schools. My intent is to observe if

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233 Roland Barthes argued that the *punctum*, the accidental in a photograph, the detail that was not planned or intended by the photographer, connects the photograph to the reality that it represents, makes it a witness of something that indeed happened. In my argument here I freely adapt Barthes' *punctum* to the accidental features that prove intentionality and staging of the photographic scene. Roland Barthes, *La Chambre Claire*, Paris: Seuil, 1980.

the conception of the schools as defined in their respective programmes was reflected or modified by the organisation within the buildings, and how far the architectural form affected the implementation of the educational programmes. The second part concentrates on the material and tools available for teaching and studying in order to elicit the role of material in the creative processes, and their categorisation.

### **III.1 Spatial Organisation**

#### **III.1.1 The Academy of Fine Arts**



Figure 39: View of the Twin Palaces, 19th century (Reproduction from Tuğlacı 1981, 58).

Originally, the Twin Palaces [*Çifte Saraylar*] were known as the Cemile and Münire Sultan Waterfront Palaces (*Sahilsarayları* or *Yahılar*). Cemile and Münire were two of Sultan Abdülmecid's daughters for whom these palaces were



constructed between 1856 and 1859.<sup>234</sup> Authorship is credited to the architect Garabet Amira Balyan (1800–1866) who added with the Twin Palaces another piece of royal flair to the Bosphorus shore right after he had completed the new imperial palace, the *Dolmabahçe Sarayı*.<sup>235</sup> A nineteenth-century etching (Fig. 39) displays the sumptuousness of the architectural arrangement on the shore. However, in a photograph from the year 1900 these palaces no longer make a particularly radiant impression (Fig. III.3). They appear as if abandoned, and, a few years later, a series of different users occupied the buildings.



Figure 40: Photograph of Twin Palaces, approx. 1900, Studio Sébah and Joaillier (Photo Archive, German Archeological Institute Istanbul, T361 Repro R 24422).

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234 Pars Tuğlacı, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Batılılaşma Dönemi ve Balyan Ailesi*, İstanbul: İnkılâp ve Aka, 1981, 52.

235 Pars Tuğlacı, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında*, 52.



The Ottoman parliament, the *Meclis-i Mebusan*, moved into the palaces after a fire destroyed its previous seat, the *Çırağan Sarayı*, in 1913. This new function of the palaces was notorious enough to change the name of Fındıklı Caddesi—or Foundoukli Djaddressi in Pervititch’s map—to *Meclis-i Mebusan Caddesi*, as the street is called still today. A photograph with the inscription “The Allies’ fleet in front of the Parliament in Istanbul [İstanbul’da Meclisi Meb’usan önünde İtilâf Devletleri Donanması]” witnesses the deteriorated state of the building during this period (Fig. 41).<sup>236</sup>



Figure 41: Twin Palaces, approx. 1920.

As mentioned in the second chapter, the Allies raided and officially dismantled the Ottoman Parliament and occupied key buildings in Istanbul in March 1920. It cannot have been without the intention to send out a symbolic message that the Twin Palaces, that is the Parliament building, was henceforth used as army headquarters of the Allies who laid siege to Istanbul.<sup>237</sup>

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236 For further visual material and information on the history of the Ottoman Parliament see T. Cengiz Göncü, ed., *Belgeler ve Fotoğraflarla Meclis-i Mebûsân, 1877-1920* (Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2010).

237 Tuğlacı, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Batılılaşma Dönemi*, 58. For more information about

It is unclear whether both palaces of the ensemble served this purpose, but Pervititch's map indicates that the left building continued to be used as military headquarters until 1927, thus after the change of regime. The other part housed, according to Pars Tuğlacı and also to Sedad Hakkı Eldem, the Atatürk Girl's Highschool [*Atatürk Kız Lisesi*] before the Academy of Fine Arts obtained this part of the Twin Palaces in 1926.<sup>238</sup> At that point, the building was in a "very dilapidated condition [çok harap bir halde]", but it was spacious.<sup>239</sup>

In 1948 a fire gutted the palace, and today it is impossible to discern the original structure. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, who had signing responsibility for the design of the reconstruction, maintained many general features. For instance, the size of the rooms remained basically the same. Yet the merger of the central hall of the basement and the first floor, together with the modernist forms and materiality consisting predominantly of brut concrete, changed the spatial character of the palace.<sup>240</sup> Fortunately, together with the documentation of the reconstruction, Eldem published the original floor plan, which helps to orient us during the virtual visit in this chapter (Fig. 42, 43, and 44).<sup>241</sup>

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Istanbul under occupation see Nur Bilge Criss, *Istanbul under Allied Occupation 1918-1923*, Leiden: Brill, 1999. Reproduction from <http://www.kenthaber.com/marmara/istanbul/besiktas/Rehber/saraylar/cifte-saraylar>, 12 January 2013

238 Tuğlacı, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Batılılaşma Dönemi*, , 58; Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi 100. Yıldönümü Armağanı: 50 Yıllık Meslek Jübilesi*, Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 1983, 213. The name of such a school is anachronistic, as the Turkish president took on the name Atatürk only after 1934. It needs to be verified if indeed this part of the palaces was used by such a school.

239 Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi 100. Yıldönümü Armağanı: 50 Yıllık Meslek Jübilesi*, Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 1983, 213.

240 Documentation of the new design after reconstruction with exquisite photographs plus floorplans have been published in: Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Ali Handan, "Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi," *Arkitekt* 1-2 (1954): 5-17.

241 Eldem, *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi 100*, 213.

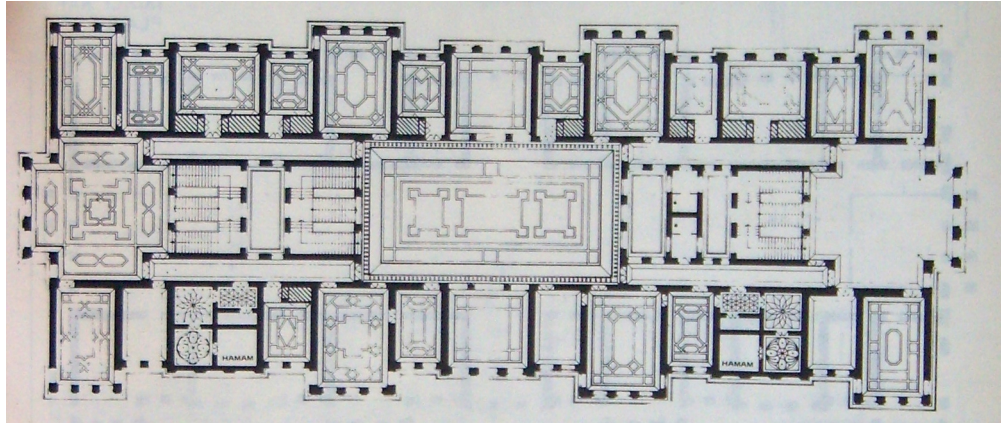


Figure 42: Twin Palace, ground plan second floor (Reproduction from Eldem 1983, 213).

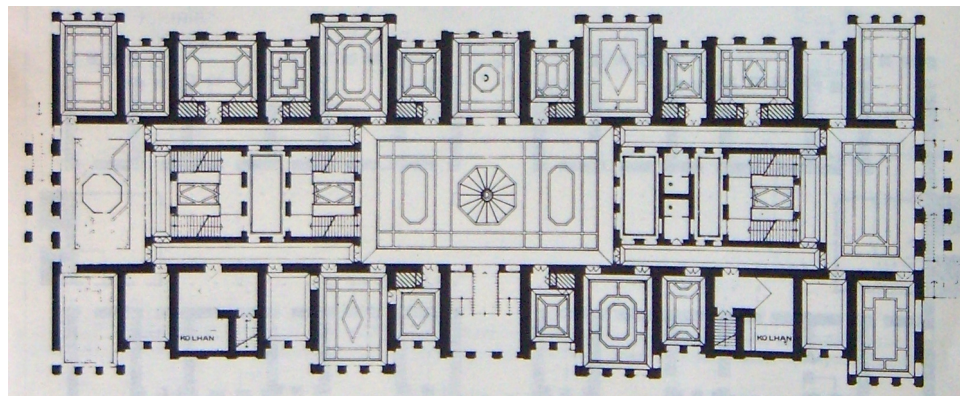


Figure 43: Twin Palace, ground plan first floor (Reproduction from Eldem 1983, 213).

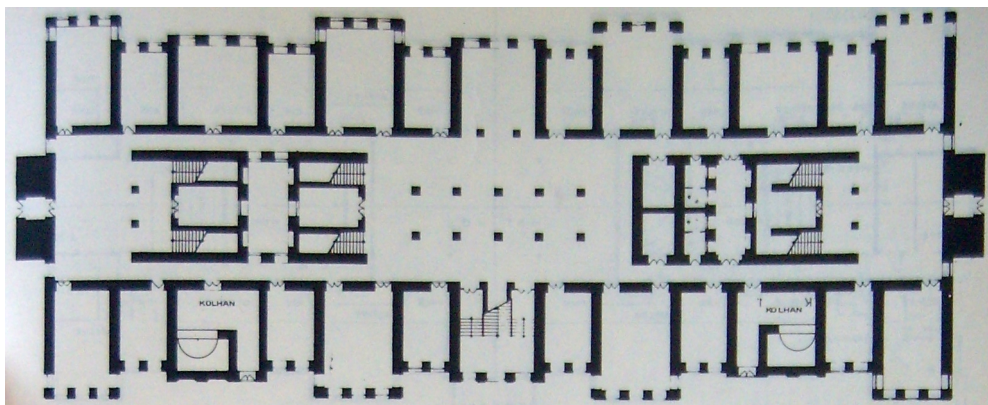


Figure 44: Twin Palace, ground plan basement (Reproduction from Eldem 1983, 213).



The symmetrical building was approximately 82 metres long and 30 metres wide, and featured three floors: an elevated basement, the first floor opening to the main entrance, and the second floor.<sup>242</sup> The façades of the two main floors were identical. The small rectangular openings in the plain wall of the elevated basement kept with the rhythm of the windows of the main floors. In the original plan, the bilateral symmetry also defined the spatial structure of the rectangular building.

Both the major and the minor axis mirrored the rhythmic enfilade of rooms of different sizes. Each projection and recess on the façade marked a different room on the inside. Four rooms, one at either end of the long sides and two in between, pushed the façade two metres to the outside. These projections featured five vertical rectangular windows, one on each side and three to the front, the central one topped with a pediment (Figs. 45 and 46).



Figure 45: Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).

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242 This is a rough estimation based on the scale that Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Ali Handan published in their article on the reconstruction of the academy building. Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Ali Handan, “Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi,” *Arkitekt* 1-2 (1954): 17.

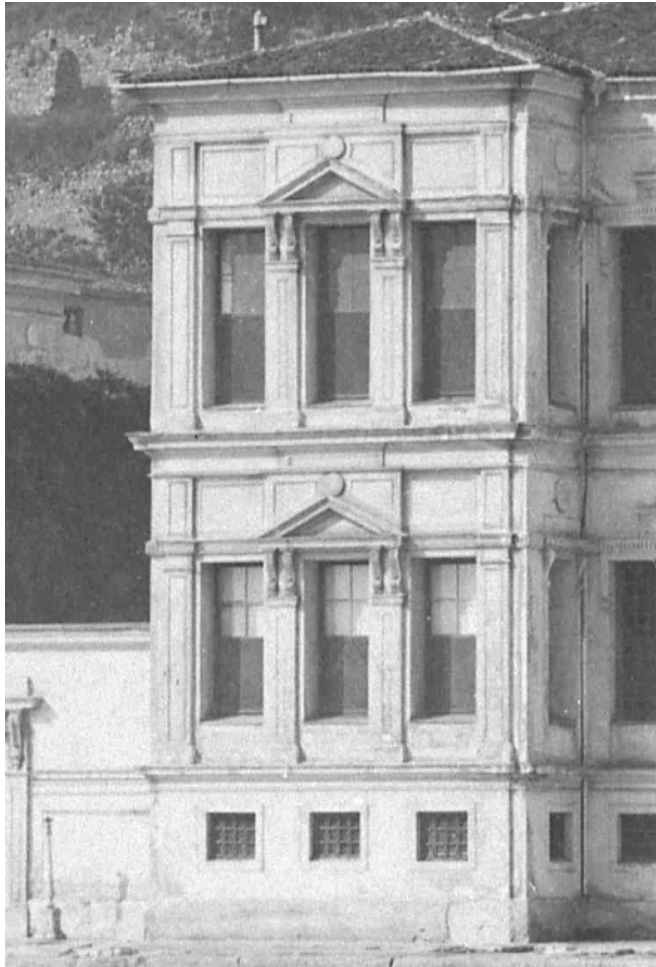


Figure 46: Twin Palaces, approx. 1900 (Detail of 40)

The space between these four projections contained three rooms, two small ones with two rectangular windows and a larger room in their centre which protruded the façade only slightly but acquired its own outstanding trait through three larger and round-arched windows (compare Fig. 40). Flat and plain elements like friezes, tablets, panels and pilasters framed the windows and articulated the façades. Each of the side façades featured at its centre two triple-opening loggias, one on top of the other.

An enormous space dominated the centre of the second floor (Fig. 42). It consisted of a central hall of 24 by 13 metres and the two lateral spaces of 8 by 8

metres. These three connected spaces formed together a cross-like shape. Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Ali Handan called this space “*sofa*” as it was reminiscent of this traditional feature of architecture in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>243</sup> Each end of the second floor featured another yet smaller *sofa*. Between these three *sofas*, staircases led down to the first floor, which was an almost exact copy of the second floor except that instead of the *sofas* at the two ends of the building there were only rectangular rooms, and one lateral space *sofa* the centre of the first floor was used for the stairs of the main entrance (Fig. 43). The same was true for the basement (Fig. 44).

The palace experienced its first modification when it was transformed to serve as the seat of the parliament in 1913. Eldem and Handan refer to changes to the three *sofas*, in which pillars were set to support the structure. “Works” were undertaken on the intermediate storey, yet what kind of works these were remains unelaborated.<sup>244</sup> The intermediate storey must have been what is referred to in this thesis as the first floor, as it was the only storey in between the two others. With the prospects of its new use by the Academy of Fine Arts, the building underwent further changes. The two lateral sofas on the second floor were split to accommodate a library on the one side, and several “painting studios [resim atölyeleri]” on the other.<sup>245</sup> The central sofa on the second floor was converted into a conference room “with a gallery [galerili].” It is not entirely clear whether he referred to an architectural feature like a portico or colonnade or to exhibition spaces.

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243 Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Ali Handan, “Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi,” *Arkitekt* 1-2 (1954): 8. The apparent hybridisation between classicist and Ottoman architecture can already be observed in Garabet Amira Balyan’s design of the Dolmabahçe Sarayı, as Alison Wharton has pointed out. Alyson Wharton, “The Identity of the Ottoman Architect in the Era of ‘Westernization’,” in *Batılılaşan İstanbul’un Ermeni Mimarları*, ed. Hasan Kuruyazıcı (Istanbul: Hrant Dink Vakfı Yayınları, 2010), 18-33.

244 Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Ali Handan, “Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi,” *Arkitekt* 1-2 (1954): 7.

245 In fact, Eldem and Handan twice use “On the right side... [Sağ taraftaki...]” but I assume this must be simply a mistake, which is unfortunate because otherwise it would have been possible to better reconstruct the use of the building after the Academy of Fine Arts moved in.

This information about the modifications and renovation is scarce and is based on the authors' memories of their student days, almost twenty years before they published these memories in an article. Fortunately, they can be contrasted and extended with series of interior photos that I have mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. They make it possible to assess the situation right after the institution started to work in its new location. In the following, the discussion of the interior unfolds according to the different functions of the spaces they depict. It is a long tour that seeks to determine the location of the different uses. At times it is possible to locate certain rooms with certainty, in other cases it remains an informed speculation. In any case, the possible layout of the spatial organisation of the Academy of Fine Arts will be summarised in a ground plan at the end of the tour. One further clarification is needed before the tour starts: The palaces are not oriented according to the cardinal directions. Their main axis runs from north-north-east to south-south-west in parallel to the waterside of the plot that was reclaimed from the Bosphorus. Given that the Bosphorus was the dominating force here, the description of the building indicates the directions as follows: "Bosphorus side", "street side", and, seen from the Bosphorus, "right" and "left".

### *Conference and Exhibition Hall*

The conference hall was indeed installed in the central *sofa* on the second floor. The photograph of this hall shows the long, rectangular space filled with lines of chairs, something that might have been a projector, a desk and a blackboard (Fig. 47). The dark curtains probably closed off the access to the stairs. To the left and right are the annex spaces that were part of the original, cross-shaped *sofa*. The *sofa* had been enlarged by the adjacent rooms that were formally separated by a wall. The wall of the room to the left was removed entirely from the floor to the beam. The lower half of the wall and the door of the adjacent room to the right were still in place, while the upper part of the wall featured two openings towards the central and lateral part of the hall. Apparently, the room was divided



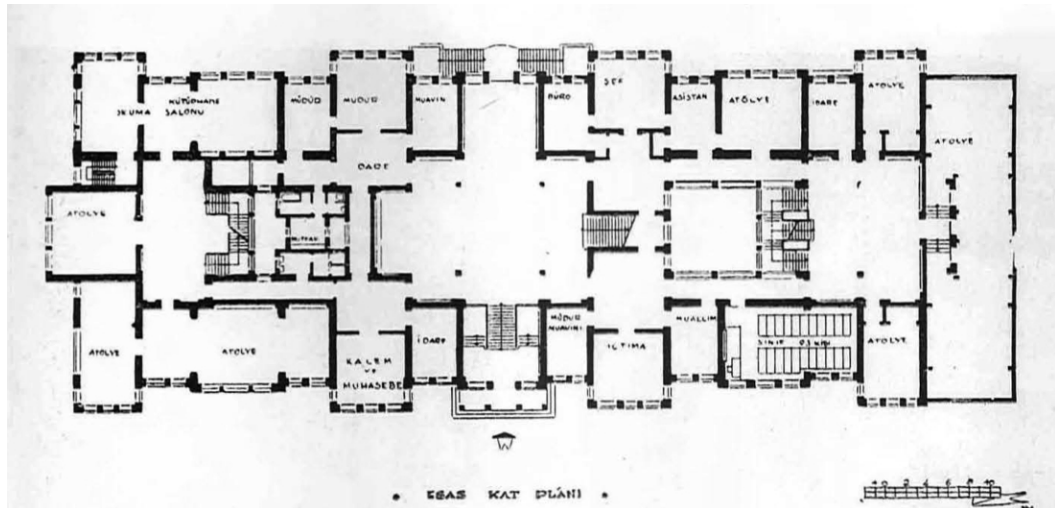
Figure 47: Conference and Exhibition Hall, Academy of Fine Arts, 1927  
(Reproduction from Fırat 2008).

into two storeys and an additional space for the audience was created on the upper story of this room. This space might have been the gallery that Eldem and Handan were writing about. At the same time, the photograph demonstrates that the conference hall, especially the side rooms, were used as a gallery in the sense of exhibition space as well, displaying, at the time, figurative paintings and sculptures. The walls and the ceiling shine in fresh white paint. Considering the pattern of the ceiling it can be assumed that it is the original one. The plain wooden planks, in contrast, seem to have replaced the original flooring. In his publication from 1983 Eldem mentioned that the wooden flooring had to be replaced and apparently his memory had not failed him.<sup>246</sup>

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246 Eldem, *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi* 100, 213.





## Studios

Another plan proposed for the reconstruction of the building after the fire in 1948 suggests the use of the bigger rooms as studios and the smaller as offices (Fig. 48). It is likely that the use was similarly distributed not least because studios required more space than the administrative tasks, at least as long these didn't fulfil representative functions. The location of one specific studio, probably the studio of Decorative Arts, can be located without doubt due to the rectangular window that was installed into the short right-side façade of the palace (Fig. 49). The photo of the studio (Fig. 50) shows this window from the inside plus the five windows of the projecting corner room. So we are still on the second floor. The ceiling is white, the walls feature a slightly darker colour. Curtains cover the view to the Bosphorus and shut out the sunlight. In the evenings, only a tiny lamp hanging from the roof illuminated the room, maybe accompanied by another one behind the camera that took this photo. The room is equipped with easels and a few desks, some with an inclined desktop. Students pose as diligently submerged in their work, of which a few samples are visible on the easels.



Figure 49: View of Twin Palace, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).



Figure 50: Decorative-Arts Studio, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).

Another of the larger, projecting rooms with five windows was occupied by another studio of the Department of Decorative Arts (Fig. 51).<sup>247</sup> Here, too, the students are represented as if observed in a moment of concentrated work at different types of desks loosely assembled in the room. Blazing sunlight penetrates the curtains that disperse the light and prevent the recognition of its incident angle. Is it streaming in from the southeast, the Bosphorus side of the palace, or is it the afternoon sun on the other side of the building? Due to the lack of any further reference points, this room cannot be precisely located.



Figure 51: View of a Decorative-Arts Studio, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).

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247 Here again, I follow Fırat's definition as expressed in the capture of this photograph in his publication. See Kamil Fırat: *Geçmiş Zaman: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi'nin 125. Yılına Armağan Fotoprafları* (İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2008), 67.



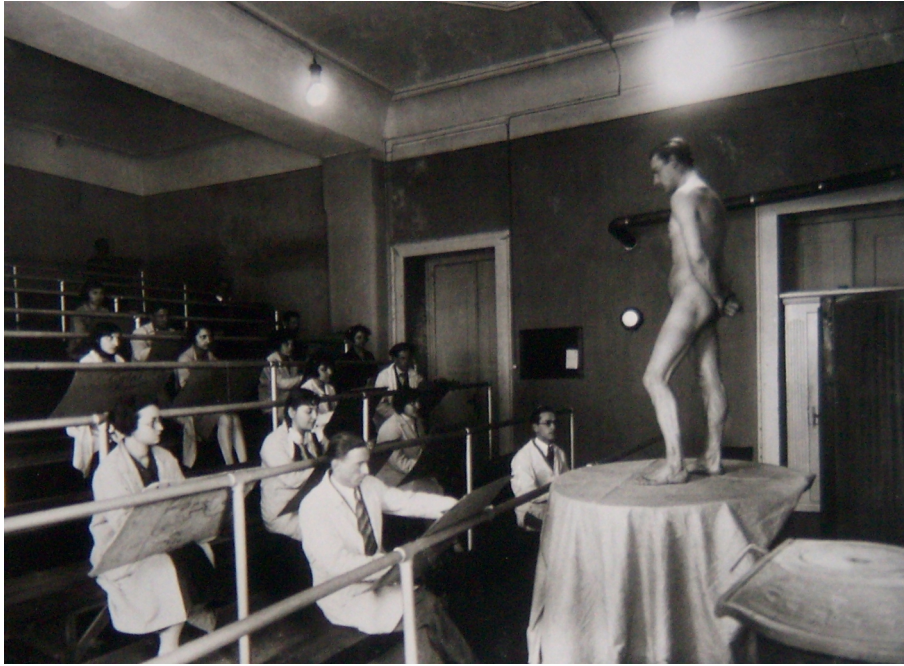


Figure 52: Classroom, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).



Figure 53: Classroom, approx. 1927 (Eldem/Tanju/Tanyeli 2008, 40).

The photographs of two different drawing rooms can be included in this virtual tour (Fig. 52 and 53).<sup>248</sup> The models evidence that the students were practicing nude drawing from a life model, a novelty introduced with the bylaw of 1924 and, according to these photographs, effectively implemented. The student sat on rudimentary tribunes of metal pipes and wooden planks and benches that facilitated the view of the model itself, elevated by a table-like furniture. Light bulbs hanging in an arbitrary order from the ceiling illuminate the rooms, and the presence of stovepipes gives us hope that the naked models weren't cold. One of the rooms was enlarged by merging two adjacent rooms. The other does not show any sign of a modification of the room size. Both rooms have two doors. According to the floor plans (Fig. 42-44), only the rooms at each corner of the central halls on each floor possessed two doors. From this point on, the precise location is mere speculation. In continuation, some of these rooms can be discarded as the possible location of the classrooms, and the quest to define their possible location shall be taken up later again.

Knowledge of the human body is critical for the ability to represent it mimetically. To this end, nude drawing was complemented with anatomy lessons (Fig. 54). Two skeletons assisted the teacher who stood in front of the blackboard, leaning his hands on the desk and facing the students who seemed to follow his lecture with concentration. They sit on a series of wooden benches with a corresponding inclined board to lay paper on and take notes, which one of the students actually was doing, if he was not more interested in the skeleton that looked out of the window. The room is crowded. Considering that the photographer probably wanted to capture as much of the room as possible, it is likely that he—I have no indication of any female photographer in the period and location—stood against the back wall, meaning that the room had place for four lines of benches plus some additional desks. The entire floor in front of the

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248 Reproductions from Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju and Uğur Tanyeli, eds., *Sedad Hakkı Eldem. Gençlik Yılları* [Sedad Hakkı Eldem: Early Years], Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi: 2008, 40, and Kamil Fırat: *Geçmiş Zaman: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi'nin 125. Yılına Armağan Fotografları* (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2008), 65, respectively.

teacher's elevated podium was thereby filled. Apart from the bigger door, which was probably the main entrance to the room, there was a smaller door in the corner. A doorframe decorates this little opening, and suggests that it was not a recent introduction. Assuming that it might figure even in the original floor plan of the palace, the location of this classroom must have been the former *hamam* on the southwestern part of the second floor. This was hardly was the first idea which came to my mind, because some water-related function seemed more likely. But this *hamam* is the only room in the palace that has the same door formation as in the room for the anatomy classes.



Figure 54: Classroom, anatomy lessons, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).



The next photograph (Fig. 55) leads us into the room that served as the studio for the Department of Sculpture. In Fırat's publication, the caption beneath this picture specifies this studio as the first class of the sculpture programme.<sup>249</sup> The students are engaged in clay works displayed in such a manner that small bas-relief tablets with leaf ornaments can be recognised. The room does not appear much renovated. The flooring consist of unpolished planks, and the ceiling seems damaged. But as the print itself is slightly corroded it is difficult to tell one imperfection from the other. In any case, the ceiling did not shine with white paint like many of the other rooms. There was electric light in this room, too, but only in form of two small lamps, with maybe a third outside of the frame of the picture, hanging from the ceiling. Daylight enters the room through the series of windows to the left.



Figure 55: Studio of Department of Sculpture, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).

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249 Kamil Fırat: *Geçmiş Zaman: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi'nin 125. Yılına Armağan Fotoprafları* (İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2008), 65.

Even though the exact number of windows cannot be determined because the row of windows continues outside of the frame of this picture, it is apparent that there are more than three. As has been explained above, the front façade was modulated. On a single projection or recess of the main façades were maximum of three windows; after that the wall produced an angle. However, the wall with the windows in the sculpture studio was straight. What is more, the rooms lining up along the long sides of the palace had each a maximum of three windows. More than three windows would indicate a merger of those rooms. But the ceiling of the sculpture studio evidences no such modification. Thus, it could be assumed that the openings were the five original windows of the large room with a loggia on the first floor (compare again floor plan in Fig. 43). In this case the sculpture studio must have been on the left end of the building because on the opposite façade the additional buildings, which Pervititch drew in his map (Fig. 56) and which are visible on the photo of the exterior of the palace (Fig. 49), must have dimmed the light penetrating the windows or blocked it out altogether.

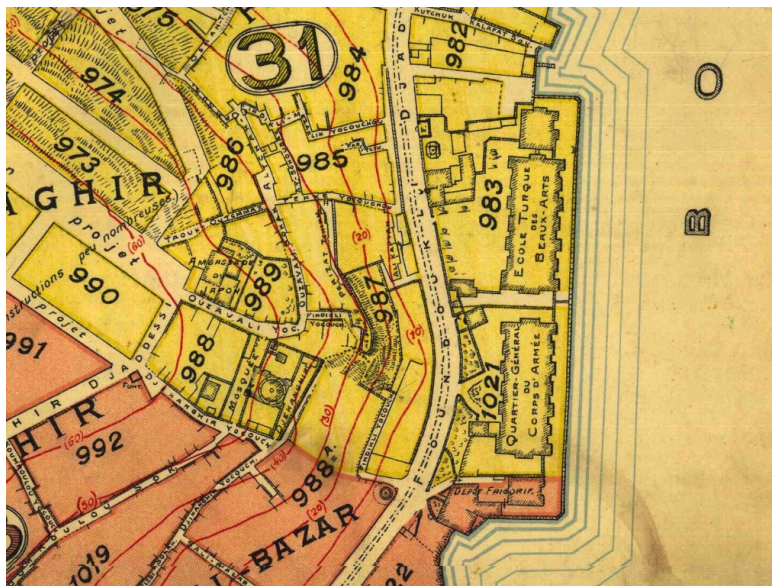


Figure 56: Jacques Pervititch, Constantinople Plan Immobilier Triangle: Index Du Secteur “Nord”, detail.



Yet the height of the room weakens this argument. Compared with the spaces discussed above, this sculpture studio is so narrow that the space does not really fit in any of the given spaces within the main palace building. For the sake of the determination of the location of this studio, I anticipate the presentation of the photograph of the academy canteen (Fig. 57). I do so because this dining hall also did not share any spatial characteristic with the rooms inside the palace, but its size, shape and the row of windows was identical with the sculpture studio. The camera that took these pictures was at the opposite end of these rooms, hence we see in one shot the windows on the left and in the other on the right. This leads to the assumption that they were in the same building, probably one in exactly the same position on a different storey. But which building could this have been? No documentation of the additional building mentioned above, that according to Pervititch's map was adjacent to the northeast façade of the palace and of considerable size, could be traced.



Figure 57: Canteen, Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, approx. 1927  
(Reproduction from Firat 2008).

A building that was in the garden of the Academy remains as another plausible location of the studio and the canteen. It is actually indicated on the map, too (Fig. 58). The photograph of the years of the occupation demonstrates that the lot between the palace and the street was packed with a cluster of buildings (Fig. 59). The red circle marks the building that remained.

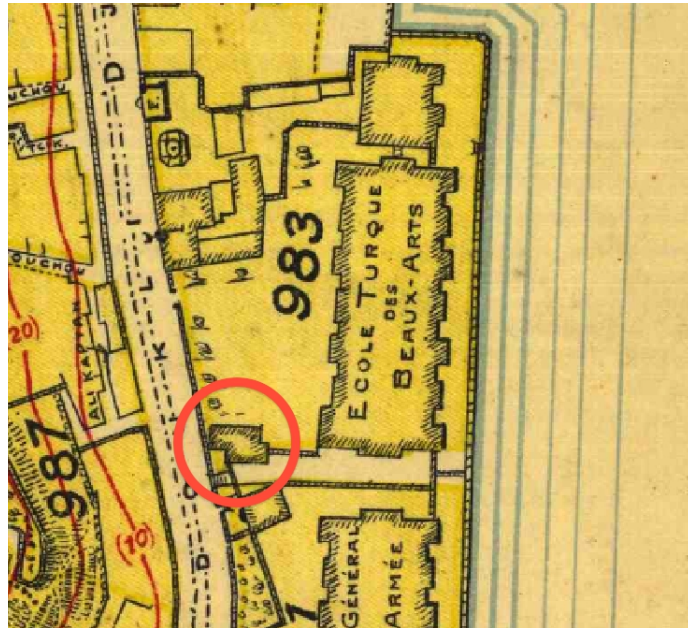


Figure 58: Pervititch, Constantinople Plan  
Immobilier Triangle (mark by the author).



Figure 59: Twin Palaces, approx. 1920 (Detail  
of Fig. 41, mark by the author)

This picture offers also the only extant view of the building from this perspective. When Pervititch drew the map, all other buildings had been already removed. The following picture of 1927 shows the same lot then turned already into a well-kept garden with the building in question at the other end (Fig. 60). I suspect that the canteen was on the first floor of this building, and that the three windows on the façade facing the Bosphorus, in this picture on the left, might have been, then, exactly the three windows that appear in the photo. The long row of windows on the adjacent wall would have been on the wall facing not the garden but in the opposite direction, thus out of our view. The sculpture studio may have been directly below on the first floor. The two large rectangular windows that face the garden belong to different rooms, possibly the studios of the two faculty members of the Department of Sculpture. More on this below in the section of the individual studios of the faculty members.



Figure 60: Garden, Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).





Figure 61: Studio of the Department of Architecture, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).

The architecture studios required more space than the given room size could provide and claimed the space of several merged rooms. Among the photographs, two document two different studios. To distinguish the two, I define them upfront as the students' architecture studio and the professional architecture studio. The explanation follows. The students' architecture studio covered the space from one side of the building to the other (Fig. 61), or, more precisely, from the street side to the Bosphorus side. This large space occupied the entire left end of the palace. Several indices support this assertion. The windows in the wall straight ahead belonged to originally two separate rooms. Their shape was identical with the windows of the projections on the Bosphorus façade and the two neighbouring

windows (Fig. 46). From behind the camera, light was falling in against the furniture, unfolding shadows and evidencing that the room occupied the entire perimeter of the building, thus reaching the windows of the street façade. Brighter was the light streaming in through the wide opening to the right. The floor plan suggests that this opening led to the loggia on the second floor (Fig. 42). There the loggia was an interior space forming an integral part of the *sofa*. The loggia on the first floor, in contrast, was an outdoor space separated from the interior by a series of five openings that would have been recognisable on this photo as they were in line with the main wall (Fig. 43). Thus assuming that this architecture studio was indeed on the second floor, it must have been on the left end of the building because on the other side, as explained above, the poster studio claimed one corner room. To the left, the doors in white lacquer led to the corridor and the glazed doors between them opened to the staircase. The enlarged space is far from oversized. About thirty students worked at their desks equipped with pen, paper and ruler.



Figure 62: Professional architecture studio, approx. 1927  
(Reproduction from Firat 2008).



To take the picture of the second architecture studio, it seems the photographer simply walked over to the end of the room and pointed the camera to the left (Fig. 62). The series of windows leaves only the option that it was a corner room at the left end where the camera was standing. Its angle excludes the five windows of the projection to the right, but allows us to recognise the adjacent pair of rectangular windows of the formerly small room and two of the triple-arched windows at the end. It is certain that the windows faced the Bosphorus because the street façade featured only rectangular windows save for the entrance and the conference and exhibition hall (Fig. 41 and 63). Yet the wall visible on the left side of the interior shot of this architecture studio does not appear on the photo of the other studio. They were two separate spaces. If, then, the first studio occupied the southern corner of the second floor, then the only remaining location for the second, the professional studio, was the first floor.



Figure 63: Street facade, Academy of Fine Arts (Reproduction from Demir 2008).

In Fırat's publication the legend defines it as "professional studio [*Mimari ihtisas (Uzmanlık) Atölyesi*]." <sup>250</sup> In the centre of the photograph two men are standing who appear as if discussing a matter in relation with a document on the desk in front of them. The one to the right could be the architect Ernst Egli (1893-1974) who indeed started to work in Turkey in 1927. The Ministry of Education hired him for the direction of its architectural office. <sup>251</sup> He was commissioned mainly for the design and direction of the construction of school and university buildings. Apparently he was not officially a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts before 1930, yet, as he was supposed to advance the professionalisation of young architects, for the first three years of his activities in Turkey Egli installed his professional design studio inside of the building of the Academy of Fine Arts. <sup>252</sup> The studio in the photograph could have been Egli's studio.

#### *Studios of the Faculty Members*

The studios of the faculty members literally revealed themselves in a different light. Enormous glass fronts replaced the original set of windows in at least five other rooms apart from the studio of the Department of Decorative Arts mentioned above. The window-walls are instrumental to locate the personal studios of some of the faculty members. All the interior photographs in which these huge windows appear depict a studio of a staff member. There are only three of these photographs but I speculate that behind all of these windows were studios of a similar kind. All these five rooms were on the right half of the palace.

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250 Kamil Fırat: *Geçmiş Zaman*, 57.

251 Burcu Dogramaci, *Kulturtransfer und nationale Identität. Deutschsprachige Architekten, Stadtplaner und Bildhauer nach 1927* [Cultural transfer and national identity: German-speaking architects, urban planners and sculptors after 1927], Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2008, 140.

252 Dogramaci, *Kulturtransfer und nationale Identität*, 140.





Figure 64: Studio view, Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, approx. 1927  
(Reproduction from Fırat 2008).



Figure 65: Namık İsmail in his studio.

One of the photographs depicts Namık İsmail's studio, assuming that the painting on the easel indicates the veritable user of the space (Fig. 64). İbrahim [Çallı] painted nudes with similar poses. As this exact painting has not been found yet among the extant works of these two painters, authorship cannot be asserted with full certainty. Nonetheless, I seek to uphold the assumption that this is Namık İsmail's studio because the arch in the wall of the studio appears also in the background of another photograph that shows Namık İsmail in front of the easel supposedly in his studio (Fig. 65). The angle of the sunlight streaming into the room indicates that the window is facing the Bosphorus. Three of the large windows faced the Bosphorus (Fig. 66). One of the two windows on the second floor was framed by the side windows of the projection, which was not the case for Namık İsmail's studio's window. The major bars of the other window on the second floor seem to have been made of steel, in any case they look different from the ones in Namık İsmail's window while the two bars of the window on the first floor were of the same material and structure as the ones inside the studio. Therefore I suggest that this was the location of Namık İsmail's studio. This speculation is relatively informed given the information provided by the photograph. The other studio shots are scantier in this regard.



Figure 66: Studio windows, facade of Twin Palace  
(Reproduction from Demir 2008, 12).



The following photograph is the one discussed in the introduction to this chapter. It was probably taken in Nazmi Ziya [Güran]'s studio (Fig. 67). The paintings on display in this studio are not among the extant works of this painter. It is also difficult to judge by the style or subject of the works as the faculty members addressed similar motives and with comparable styles. However there are some minor indications that justify the assumption, for instance, the way the trees and branches are treated. Further support of the idea that this is Nazmi Ziya's studio is the fact that he was the only one of the five painters working at that time at the Academy who shared the physical characteristics of the man drawing at the desk. The large rectangular window is only partially visible and the exact location within the palace is impossible to define. Yet it remains certain that it was on the right half of the building because, as observed above, all large windows were installed there.



Figure 67: Studio view, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Firat 2008).

When it comes to the photograph of the sculpture studio (Fig. 68), the large window is at first misleading. A closer look evidences that it cannot be one of the other five because the grid of glazing bars is much wider. Horizontally, it counted

twelve panes, while the others, in contrast, had eighteen. Also, the window seat was higher compared with the other five windows. Judging by the extant exterior photographs, there was no such window in the palace. Which building, then, accommodated this studio?



Figure 68: Studio view, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).

I already proposed above the building in the garden as one option. The garden building (Fig. 60) featured two large windows, one on each floor, that appear to have been of the size of the window in the interior photograph. Even though the exterior shot offers only a blurred view of these windows and frustrates a conclusive reconstruction I propose the garden building as the location of the studio of the faculty members. It appears reasonable that it was in immediate proximity to the classroom. Given the noise that sculpting produces it would not have been the worst choice to locate the sculpture studio at some distance from the other rooms of the Academy. In 1927, only two sculptors were working at the Academy, İhsan (Özsoy) (1867-...) and Mehmet Mahir (Tomruk) (1885-...),

possibly portrayed here standing in front of the window.<sup>253</sup> Did they share a studio, or was there a studio behind each of the two windows we see on the outside of the garden building? The given state of research offers no conclusive answer to this question.



Figure 69: Studio view, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).

The last studio of a faculty member of which a photograph has been preserved belonged to İbrahim (Fig. 69). The frame of the photograph excludes almost any spatial reference points except for the glass front in the back. Were these glazed doors closing off the dark interior of the building, or windows in front of the nocturnal exterior? Given the poor electric lighting in the building, and

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253 Muhteşem Giray, ed., *Güzel Sanatlar Eğitiminde 100 yıl* (İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1983), 67.



considering that all other photos were taken during the day, the possibility that this photo is a night shot is faint. What is more, almost all the windows of the palace are represented on the extant photographs discussed here. None of them is comparable with the glass front in this studio. The glazed doors in the students' architecture studio (Fig. 61), however, are comparable. It is not certain, but is possible, that İbrahim's studio was in the *sofa* at the other end of the building, that is on the right half of the building like all the other painting studios.

## Offices



Figure 70: Office, Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).

Among the interior photos, two more pictures represent designated faculty spaces. These were not studios for artistic practices but of an administrative and organisational nature: the director's office and a meeting room.<sup>254</sup> The director's office featured a neat arrangement of polished furniture with a large portrait of Mustafa Kemal hanging directly behind the director's chair (Fig. 70). The walls are freshly painted in a colour slightly darker than the white ceiling, which carries a large crystal chandelier. It is the only room in the building, as far as we can judge from the photographs, with a shining, renovated or replaced parquet.

The angle of the photograph exposes the similarities of this office to one of the nude-drawing classrooms mentioned above (Fig. 53). In fact, the rooms look identical except for their furnishing and maintenance. This helps to circumscribe the possibilities of its situation inside the palace. The nude-drawing room had two doors. It can be reasonably argued that the director's office possessed a second door, too, which simply remained outside the photographic frame. As explained regarding the nude-drawing room, all rooms with two doors were directly accessible from the central halls. I suspect that his office, as probably all undocumented spaces, were on the first floor, directly accessible after entering the building without further meandering through corridors and staircases. If I carry the speculation even further, I suggest that the director's office was next to the Namık İsmail's studio because he was the acting director at the time the photographs were taken.

The meeting room contained eight leather-upholstered chairs arranged around a table, which shared their ponderousness and décor. On the polished table, a folder lay neatly in front of each seat. Ink, pen and ink blotter were at hand. A crystal chandelier crowned the solemnity of this arrangement. The rest of the room is empty and plain. One painting decorated the wall. The white door contrasted the darkness of the wall paint. A beam of sunlight fell into the room. Its incidence

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254 Here again, we follow the Fırat's assessments, see Kamil Fırat: *Geçmiş Zaman: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi'nin 125. Yılına Armağan Fotoprafları* (İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2008), 47 and 49 respectively.



angle assures us this room was on the Bosphorus side (as the sun could not have shone in from the northwest into the other side of the building). The purpose of meeting and committee room that Firat ascribes to the room suggest internal use only. It could have been any of the small rooms on the Bosphorus side on the second and first floor that I have not yet associated with other uses. Yet the officialdom of its interior indicates some representational function, too. External guests might have joined the table at times, and thus I believe it was at some remove from the practical work in the studios but close to the director's office and easily accessible on the first floor, too. On the first floor, there were only two small rooms on the Bosphorus side that had their door in the same corner as in the meeting room, one next to the professional architecture studio, and one next to the director's office. So if it was on the first floor, then there is a fifty-percent chance that its door opened to the central hall.

#### *Entrance Areas*



Figure 71: Lateral Entrance, Academy of Fine Arts, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Firat).

Firat labels the next picture as “entrance [giriş]” (Fig. 71) This space matches the features not of the main but the lateral entrances of the first floor. It is impossible to define which of the two exactly. The actual entrance door was to the left, outside the photographic frame. The stairs in front of it led to the second floor. It shows that there was at least one lateral entrance that was fully functional and not converted into a studio space.



Figure 72: Central Hall, first floor, Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).

Entering through the main entrance at the centre of the street façade, going up a flight of stairs, faculty and staff, students and visitors arrived in the central hall of the first floor (Fig. 72). The columns and beams in the hall did not form part of the original plan and may be the supportive structure that Eldem and Handan claim was built in in 1913. Save this addition, the structure corresponds with the original floor plan. Nothing filled the large space but a crystal lustre, a sculpture,

and beneath the lustre a coffee table with a plant on top of it. It is the same as one that appears in the photograph of another part of this space and was probably only moved to the hall for the moment the picture was taken. Two original columns and a balustrade are the only elements that separated the central hall from the staircase leading down to the entrance from where the hall received part of its natural light.



Figure 73: Sitting area, first floor, Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Firat 2008).

Coming up the flight of stairs and looking straight ahead, the picture that offered itself is documented by the next photograph (Fig. 73). The lustre in the front is the same as in the other photograph, and the columns correspond with the ones framing the stairs leading to the entrance. A seating arrangement with the familiar coffee table and its plant stood at the centre of this lateral space of the central



hall. The walls to the left and right were almost entirely covered by large paintings in heavy frames. The other wall, opposite to the entrance, surprises with its exceptional décor. In 1910, nothing indicated the existence of windows with a pointed arch as the exterior photo demonstrates. Three round-arched windows of equal size were in their place. By 1927, the shape of the windows was transformed and the central one was covered by a structure that recalls a *mihrab* with stalactites. As one of the items of seating furniture is blocking the full view of this element, it cannot be excluded that it was simply an elaborate fireplace. But since the wall was oriented almost to the East it possessed the quality of a *qibla* wall. I suspect that the redecoration of this space took place before the Academy moved in. It might have served as a prayer room for the parliamentarians or previous users of the palace.



Figure 74: Stairs, first floor, Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).

The crystal lustre seems to have been the photographer's magnetic reference point. It appears again in the photograph that directly framed the main entrance (Fig. 74). This photo is rich with references and easy to locate. One of the massive high reliefs, a copy of the Gigantomachy frieze section of the Pergamon Altar (Fig. 75), is recognisable in the picture of the central hall discussed above (Fig. 72).<sup>255</sup> The same is true of the columns that in this direct view allow us to identify their shape as identical with the columns in front of the seating arrangement in the prayer-room-like lateral area of the central hall. The balustrade as well is familiar from the central-hall shot. And finally, we leave the building after this long tour through its interior and have a look at the entrance from the outside to check if this special order of three round-arched windows is the same. The central one was in fact a door that, even with the arched window on top, was shorter than the windows on both sides.



Figure 75: Pergamon Altar, Gigantomachy, frieze section 3,  
Photo by BrokenSphere.

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255 Reproduction of frieze from: [CC-BY-SA-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>) or GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>)], Wikimedia Commons, 28 January 2013.

### *The Main Entrance*

The portico precedes the entrance door. From a distance (Fig. III.26), the exact features of the windows are not distinguishable. Nonetheless, the photograph reveals that indeed only two of the three round-arched windows, which were visible from the inside, were high enough to emerge behind the roof of the portico. The portico roof had even special gaps for the two windows so that the light could shine through the rest of the window below the portico roof. A close-up of the entrance itself opens the view of the central, shorter window on top of the door (Fig. 76). The beginning of its arch is just recognisable before the ceiling of the portico cuts off the full view of the arch. On the interior picture of the entrance, a shadow lies on the top part of the central window, right at the beginning of the arch, matching the situation on the exterior shot. The door is comparable as well.



Figure 76: Entrance, Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, approx. 1927  
(Reproduction from Demir 2008).



The portico dominates and emphasises the entrance. Its reference to classical architecture was mild, its decorative elements plain, and yet, for the moment of the photography, and possibly for the time thereafter, a copy of the ancient Greek sculpture *Hermes of Praxiteles*, was standing next to the door (Fig. 77) and blew in an extra breeze of classical air.<sup>256</sup>



Figure 77: Hermes of Praxiteles.

With all these references to the classical tradition of art it is surprising that the neo-classical decorative elements of the façade, for example the pediments, had been removed (Fig. 63). Yet this transformation resulted from an intervention—if not an iconoclasm against “Western” styles—of the period when the building was used by the Ottoman parliament (Fig. 41). The Academy of Fine Arts seemed to continue its inclination towards classical art and, with the opening in this new place, changed its name from “School of Fine Arts [Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi]” to “Academy of Fine Arts [Sanayi-i Nefise Akademisi].” The inscription on the

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256 Reproduction from <http://www.tumblr.com/tagged/praxiteles>, 28 January 2013)

portico confirms this move (Fig. 78). The date below the inscription is not fully decipherable due to the low resolution of the photography. The last two digits, however, can be identified as “27”, from which I conclude that the full date was 1927, withholding a reference to the institution’s history and signalling a new start.

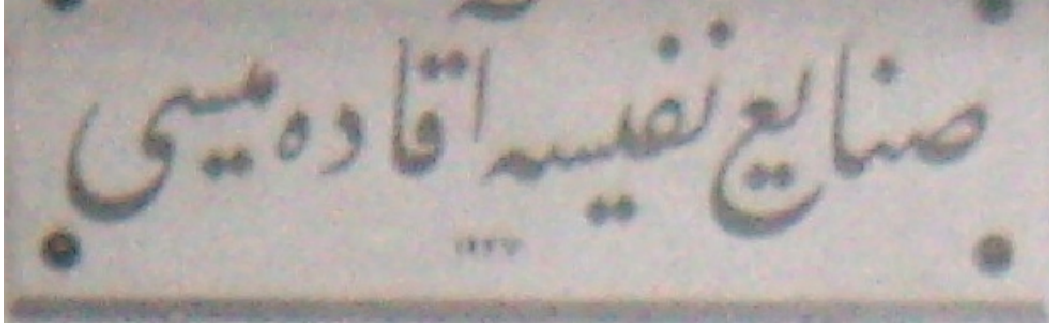


Figure 78: Inscription, Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, approx. 1927  
(Reproduction from Demir 2008, detail of 76)

### *The Studio Building*

The plot in front of the entrance had been cleaned of all the constructions except the building that probably, as I have proposed above, housed the canteen and the studios of the Department of Sculpture. In the remaining place, a garden was created, with a lawn, newly planted trees, curved paths and decorated with a sculpture. A low wall decoratively bordered this arrangement in a right-angled course, and separated it from the main pathways leading to the entrance, the garden house—and to the building from whose top floor this photo was taken.

This building has not yet received any attention in the literature on the Academy of Fine Arts, nor anywhere else. Only in Fırat’s publication does there appear for the first time a single photograph with an exterior view of it (Fig. 79). But he does not relate the extant interior photographs to this building, and does not expand on the astonishing style, which is even more surprising considering the

other well-known buildings by its architect. I come back to the architect after a discussion of the exact location of this studio building, its formal features, measures, and uses.



Figure 79: Studio Building, Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Demir 2008).

A distant view of Fındıklı, the Academy's new neighbourhood, that dates from the year 1937 (Fig. 80), offers a view of the Academy complex from some distance and reveals the position of the rectangular studio building. It stood in a perpendicular position to the front façade of the main building. Its long side with the large glazed openings that we can recognise from far formed a line with the short northeast façade of the palace. The studio building was not directly attached to the main building. There was space for a pathway between them.



Figure 80: View of Twin Palace, photo by Ekstein, 1937 (Photo archive, German Archeological Institute, KB 13.151)

The studio building had three storeys. The only long side visually documented is the symmetrical northeast façade (Fig. 79). It is dominated by four large windows, two on each level, that give the impression of a glasshouse. Another dominant feature are the successively receding storeys. Each level moved back a step allowing for the large glass window below to bend into a short glass roof, and the walls next to them to form ledges big enough to carry a balcony. That the ledges were used as balconies is indicated by the doors, and the individual standing on the central balcony of the upper floor, looking down at the photographer. The top floor featured a series of twelve rectangular windows. We can recognise three further windows on a otherwise windowless side façade. The façade is white and, on the photograph, the windows stand out very dark. They formed a very minimalist pattern that adds to the simplicity of the cubic façade that abstains from any non-functional element.

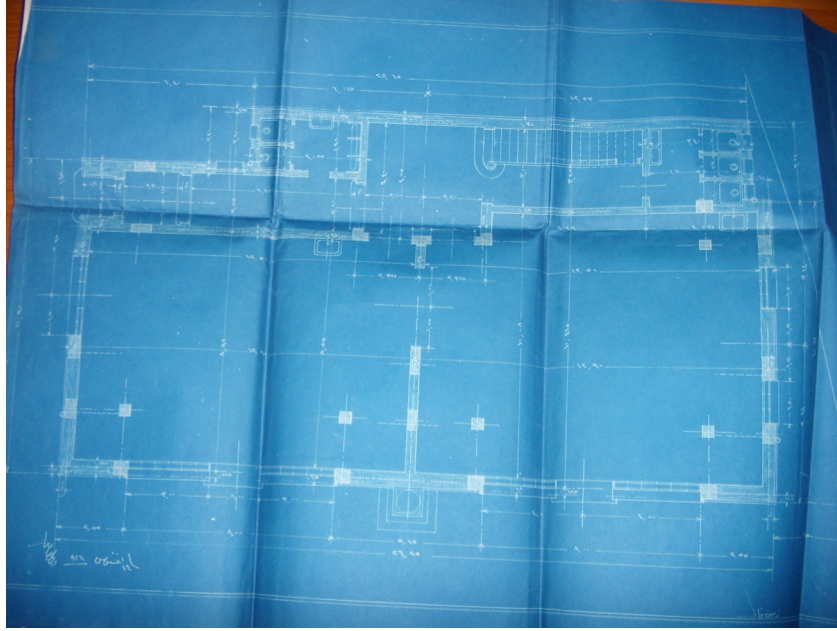


Figure 81: Ground plan, ground level, Studio Building, Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, 1926 (Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü B.C.A 180.9./85.415.1 page 40.) (photo of document by author)

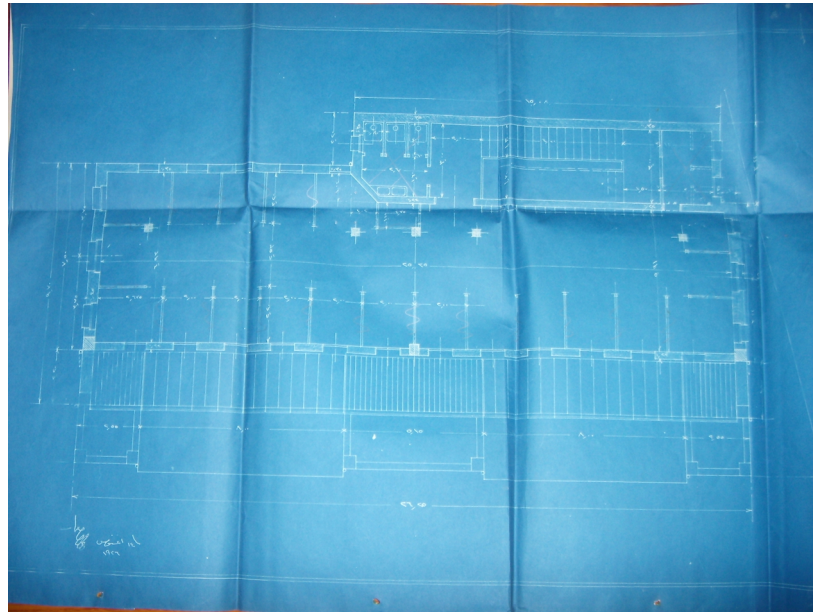


Figure 82: Ground plan, top level, Studio Building, Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, 1926 (Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü B.C.A 180.9./85.415.1 page 39.) (photo of document by author)



Two construction drawings of this building could be traced, one plan of the ground level (Fig. 81) and one of the top floor (Fig. 82).<sup>257</sup> The ground level envisaged two openings on the left that were not realised. But the outline of the two main halls can be confirmed later with the help of the interior photographs. The total length of the building was 26.25 metres (assuming the numbers on the plan indicate meters). On the ground level, the left wall, that was next to the Academy's main building, was 11.90 metres long, and the right wall 10.88 metres. This wall continued towards the garden after a short angle of 0.55 metres for another 3.22 metres to give the right façade the total length of 14.10 metres. The left façade did not continue. The garden façade started at its end and featured a length of 6.40 meters, before it turned for another 2.20 towards the garden, and then again towards the other end of the other side façade for the rest of 19.25 meters. Taking the longest length and width, this building sat on ground of 26.20 by 14.10 meters.

One of the two main spaces on the ground floor measured 8.55 by 12.50 metres, thus occupying the generous space of roughly 107 square meters, only interrupted by pillars in the front corners. The other space measured 10.08 by 12.50 meters, thus offering an even larger space of 135 square meters. The remaining space towards the garden wall contained the stairs to the upper floors and two restrooms, probably one for men and the other for women, now that the Academy was coeducational. The plan of the top floor contains the contours of the ground and first level and we can see, even though the number is a bit blurred, that each level recessed for 2.20 meters. The interior space on the top level was 25.35 meters long and on one half 6.93 and on the other half 5.91 wide, amounting roughly to 165 square meters. Something like niches are drawn into the space but later erased with a pen of a different colour. One restroom and the stairs are in the remaining part of this floor towards the garden wall.

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257 Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü B.C.A 180.9./85.415.1 page 39 (top floor) and 40 (ground level).



These plans are helpful to relate the interior photographs to the different spaces in the building. The left studio of the ground floor was used for painting large copies of classical Greek sculptures (Fig. 83). Four of them and a bust appear in the photo, surrounded by about eleven students at their easels. The painting ground on their easels looks very thin, and thus I suggest that they painted on cardboard. The interior is very plain and reveals the concrete structure of this building. The window is very high, the window sill even above the heads of the students. The pillar and the door in the window confirm with a look at the ground plan that it is the left studio on the first floor.



Figure 83: Painting studio in Studio Building, Academy of Fine Arts, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008).

Next to it was a sculpture studio (Fig. 84). Its size, the sink—hidden but probably back in the corner judging from the towel on the wall—and the pillar next to it, hardly visible because included into the wall of the space; these are the only characteristics that appear on the floor plan, too, and therefore support the

assumption that this is the studio on the right side of the ground floor. Certainty is not guaranteed, especially not because there was meant to be a free-standing pillar in the corner as well, and on the photo we see no trace of it. The nude model was resting for the moment the photograph was taken. The six students, however, show themselves engaged in sculpturing with clay a figurative representation of the male model in *contrapposto*, a notorious feature of the artistic tradition that is based on classical Greek sculpture. Copies of high reliefs of this ancient period decorate the walls of this studio.



Figure 84: Sculpture studio in Studio Building, Academy of Fine Arts, approx. 1927 (Reproduction from Firat 2008).

On the first were two painting studios. The studio on the left side, above the sculpture studio, gives a clear view of the sink in the corner, and a comparable towel next to it clarifies its location. Again the pillar emerges recognisable from the wall. In the other corner is the door that led to the right balcony. Eighteen students behind their easels surrounded a nude model and added the final touch to their study works. On the photo the works look like paintings, but the way the

students hold their utensils suggests that these were charcoal drawings. Besides, they are drawing on fine paper; this would have rippled if treated with oil paint or water colours, but we can see that it is even.

In the adjacent space, the left side of the first floor, some of the fifteen students were painting on canvas. Some hold the palette in their hands, an indicator that they were painting the nude model in front of them in oil. The balcony door in the corner was closed. Like in all studios of this building, large stove pipes crossed the room right beneath the ceiling. The flooring of untreated timber boards was the same in all studios as well. The window sills were high on the first floor, too. The students and their easels reached hardly one-third of the ceiling height. One might wonder what art works they were expecting the students to produce when this building was designed.<sup>258</sup>

According to the signature on the floor plan, the building was designed by a faculty member of the Department of Architecture: Vedat [Tek] (1873–1942).<sup>259</sup> He signed both plans with “vedat mimar” (Figs. 85 and 86).<sup>260</sup> This building does not figure in the catalogue raisonné elaborated and published in the major monograph on Vedat Tek edited by Afife Batur.<sup>261</sup> Among the numerous primary sources that have been assembled and are partly analysed in this publication, there is not even a passing note about this building. Yet the comparison with his

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258 One might wonder if they already envisioned the monumental sculptures that were later created, especially after the arrival and employment of Rudolf Belling at the Academy in 1937. Regarding Belling’s work at the Academy of Fine Arts see Burcu Dogramaci, *Kulturtransfer und nationale Identität. Deutschsprachige Architekten, Stadtplaner und Bildhauer nach 1927* [Cultural transfer and national identity: German-speaking architects, urban planners and sculptors after 1927] (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2008), 16; and “Im Dienste Atatürks. Deutschsprachige Architekten und Bildhauer in der Türkei [In the service of Atatürk: German-speaking architects and sculptors in Turkey],” in: *Politisches Gebaren und politische Gebärden* [Political attitudes and political behaviour] (Hamburger Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte, Bd. 3), edited by Martin Warnke, 97–120 (Berlin: Akademie 2004).

259 Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 180.9./85.415.1 page 39 and 40

260 I thank Mustafa Çakıcı for helping decipher the signature.

261 Afife Batur, ed., *M. Vedat Tek: Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2003), 323–382.

signature in his passport confirms that the transliteration of the signature offered here is correct, on which basis the authorship has to be granted to Vedat until documents emerge that challenge the claim (Fig. 87).

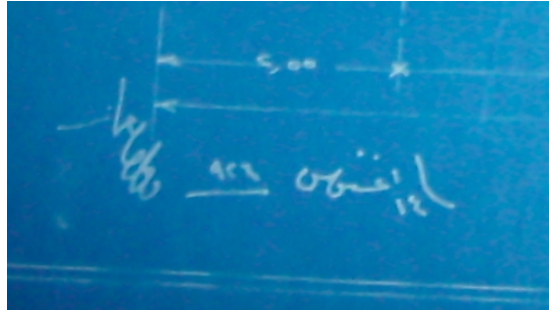


Figure 85: Signature on ground plan, detail.

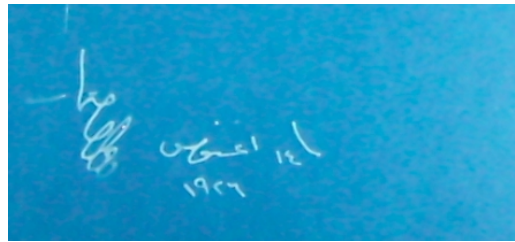


Figure 86: Signature on ground plan, detail.



Figure 87: Passport Vedat [Tek], detail.

I am cautious regarding the ascription of authorship not only because of the building's absence from the catalogue raisonn  . It is more for the formal characteristics that I am surprised and uncertain about this finding. Vedad's work opens the chapter on "The Legacy of Ottoman Revivalism" in Sibel BozdoĖan's *Modernism and Nation Building*. The studio building of the Academy of Fine Arts is the last that would prompt any association with that historicising style. The building is definitely a fascinating oddity, and not only with respect to Vedad Tek's   uvre. It was unprecedented in the Turkish Republic. The date on both plans is "14 August 1926". Was it functionalism or austerity that triggered the departure from his form language? In an interview over a decade after the design of the studio building, Vedat Tek explained that he was not troubled by the contrasts between architecture with visible historical references, for which he is known today, and the plain modernist formal repertoire. He considered the latter suitable for buildings like schools or barracks.<sup>262</sup> If that had been the case, why was he not designing a plain fa ade instead of bothering with the elaborate offsets? Besides, even functional buildings constructed in Turkey after the war, like, for example Vedad's KaraaĖa /S  tl  ce Mezbahası opened in 1923, did not break away from architecture's histories as did the Academy's studio building.<sup>263</sup>

After his inglorious work in Ankara between the years 1923 and 1925, Vedad [Tek] returned to Istanbul, and took up his teaching at the Academy of Fine Arts.<sup>264</sup> His professional relationship with the school was erratic. He started

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262 BozdoĖan refers to this interview in her book *Modernism and Nation Building*, 53. The interview appeared in Kandemir, "Metekli T  rk Mimarlarının Piri Mimar Vedat" [The master of schooled Turkish architects: Vedat Bey], *Yedig  n* 8/205 (1937): 16.

263 See Afife Batur, ed., *M. Vedad Tek: KimliĖinin   zinde Bir Mimar* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2003), 161-165.

264 Vedad (Tek) undertook works at the first presidential residence in   ankaya, which turned out unpractical, and even endangered the structure of the building to such an extent that the architects who were commissioned to assess the problems of the building in 1926 considered as "crazy" the architect responsible for the deficient interventions. See letter transliterated and published in Afife Batur, ed., *M. Vedad Tek: KimliĖinin   zinde Bir Mimar* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2003), 203-204. Also the commission of the *Ankara Palas Oteli* was withdrawn from him and continued by the *Vakıflar*. See Afife Batur, ed., *M. Vedad Tek: KimliĖinin   zinde Bir Mimar* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2003), 254.

teaching in 1899 and until his new employment in 1924 he had quit three times, once to protest against the reemployment of Alexandre Vallauray and Guilio Mongeri after the Italo-Turkish War.<sup>265</sup> In 1927, thus after designing the studio building, he wanted to leave the Academy again. Namık İsmail, in his new position as the director, asked him to stay in a letter that dates from 2 September 1927 and reveals that a quarrel about Vedad [Tek]'s salary was the cause of his notice.<sup>266</sup> Vedad [Tek] eventually stayed until 1930. He was a fierce opponent of Ernst Egli's appointment as the dean of the Department of Architecture that very year.<sup>267</sup> But there is no document that would confirm any link between his retirement and Egli's appointment. At the time he designed the studio building he was teaching theory and architecture at the Department of Architecture, but documentation about his teaching practice or his students that could be helpful to understand the sudden appearance of the style of the studio building could not be traced. No trace remains but the form itself, it seems, but the form is peculiar and surprising enough to deserve further investigation. Over a decade ago, for instance, Bozdoğan raised the question what became of the most representative architects of the "National Architecture Renaissance" when the modernism started to dominate the formal language of architects working in Turkey.<sup>268</sup> This building constitutes a rich source to follow her lead.

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265 This war is known in the different national historiographies with different names, Italo-Turco or Turco-Italian War, *Guerra di Libia* [Libyan War], or *Trablusgarp Savaşı* [Tripolitanian War]. This war between Italy and the Ottoman Empire lasted from 29 September 1911 to 18 October 1912. The provinces Tripolitania, Fezzan, and Cyrenaica ended up being dominated by Italy and constitute the territory of today's Libya. Afife Batur, ed., *M. Vedad Tek: Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2003), 233.

266 Afife Batur, ed., *M. Vedad Tek: Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2003), 242.

267 Marcel Weber-Egli, *Ernst Egli, 1893-1974 : Architekt, Stadtplaner, Städtebauhistoriker, Kunstgelehrter: Querschnitt durch sein Leben, Werk und Denken* [Ernst Egli, 1893-1974: Architect, Urban Planner, Urban Historian, Connoisseur of Art: A Cross Section through his Life, Work and Thinking] (Zürich : ETH-Bibliothek, 1994), 7. About Vedad (Tek)'s action against Egli's work at the Academy see Afife Batur, ed., *M. Vedad Tek: Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2003), 236.

268 Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 53.



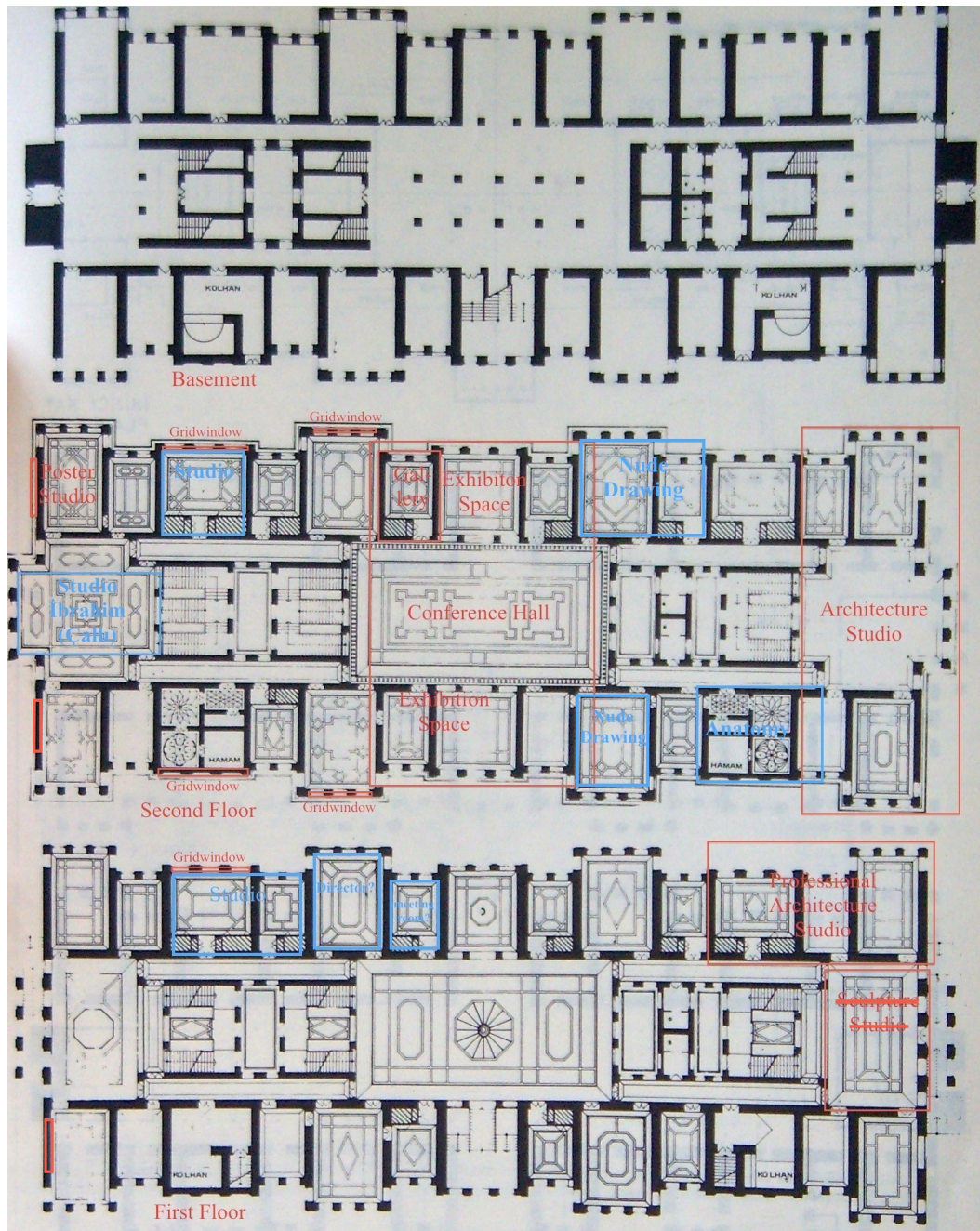


Figure 88: Ground plans, Twin Palaces (Reproduction from Eldem 1983, 213). (indications by author).

## *Reprise*

The considerations about the spatial situation of the class rooms, offices and studios elaborated so far are summarised in this plan (Fig. 88). The rooms whose use I could figure out with a considerable amount of certainty are labeled red. The location of studios and class rooms that is not a hundred percent certain but a proposition, a speculation of mine based on the information I could gather, are labeled in blue. The results of the spatial analysis are not definite or certain yet, leaving it on the level of speculation, the impression arises that the different Departments of the Academy of Fine Arts were not spatially precisely delineated from each other except the architecture studios that seemed to have claimed the left side of the building. The other studios occupied mainly the right side, yet were not grouped together. The Academy of Fine Arts moved into a given building that was constructed for different purposes, and had to adapt to the existing spatial order. While all but the architecture studios were close with the potential for frequent exchange between the students, the Painting and Sculpture Department used more and larger spaces. They occupied the entire Studio Building in the garden that was, it seems, constructed precisely for this purpose. The need of space depends also on the medium, and that might have directed the decisions as well, yet it also reflects a hierarchy within the Academy of Fine Arts in which the decorative arts ranked lower, yet not so low as the Teacher Training Department that was opened at the Academy also after 1924. No photograph, no document has yet been traced that would allow us insights into its spatial location or activities within the Twin Palace.

### **III.1.2      The Art-Craft Department**

The Art-Craft Department was part of the Gazi Institute of Education and shared its building in Ankara. This photograph offers a view of the corridor on the second floor in April 2013 (Fig. 89). The individuals at the end give an idea of the

dimension of the space, which has not changed in comparison with the original ground plan even if the interior design has been modified over the course of the almost ninety years of the building's history. The next photograph, also taken in April 2013 (Fig. 90), shows only as much as the amateur camera was able to capture of the enormous staircase connecting the four stories of the building.



Figure 89: View of the corridor of the Gazi Institute of Education in 2013 (photo by the author).





Figure 90: Staircase, Gazi Institute of Education in 2013 (photo by the author).

The shape of the staircase is the original one, yet I do not introduce these photos to observe details of the interior design but rather to discuss the dimension of this building, as it constitutes a radical contrast to Ankara's built environment of the 1920s. The contrast is even more drastic if we consider that the building was standing far outside of the city in the middle of the empty steppe.

It is necessary to drag these aspects of "intimate exteriority" into this chapter, as the visual and written material about the interior of the building of the Gazi Institute are limited. The exterior design and location shall help provide a sense of how the school was inside. I also will touch on the question of authorship. The

available information does not suffice for a complete insight into the design process. However, it offers a glimpse revealing enough to unsettle the idea of individual authorship or wholesome autonomy in the design process, and introduces other possible individuals involved in the decision-making process. These aspects are not only interesting in an architectural-historical perspective but also important to start to comprehend how far the building was tailored for the Gazi Institute, that is, how far the educational project shaped the architectural form before the architectural form could even start to shape the actual implementation of the project.

#### *An Exterior View*



Figure 91: View on Gazi Institute from Ulu (Resim-İş Arşivi).

Although the resolution of this photograph is very poor it allows us to estimate the distance between Ulu Square and the building of the Gazi Institute (Fig. 91). It also shows the empty land that surrounds the building. Not only was the building far away from the city, but also there was no substantial construction or settlement coming after it (Fig. 92).



Figure 92: Building of Gazi Institute, approx. 1929 (Resim-İş Arşivi).

On the next photograph, of the group of students in front of the huge columns of the building, I would like to direct attention to the background that loses itself in the waste and empty mounds of the Anatolian steppe (Fig. 93). Malik Aksel was portrayed in front of the columns, too (Fig. 94). His body evidences the immensity of the column, which allows us to fathom the size of the entire building. The photograph offers only a slice of the background on the left yet it suffices to see that it becomes equally lost in the far, empty land of the region. The clods of mud on the porch indicate that the huge building in all its elaborateness, stands in the middle of unmade ground.

It appears that the exterior impression indeed had an impact on the perception of the interior of the building, and that the sheer dimension plays a decisive role in this perception. In a retrospective text of 1976, Malik Aksel remembers how at the beginning of every summer holiday, everyone, “especially the teachers first



[Hele öğretmenler başta],” left Ankara and went to Istanbul for three months.<sup>269</sup> Returning after the long absence, the building in the steppe appeared to him like a “building of a fairytale [masal yapı]”, like a “Fata Morgana [serap]”.<sup>270</sup> In his room underneath the roof right next to the attic, he heard the winds hurling through the vast building.<sup>271</sup> For Malik, the building seemed to emit an ambivalent impression between fascination and intimidation.



Figure 93: Students in front of the Gazi Institute, approx. 1930 (Resim-İş Arşivi).

As mentioned in chapter II., Kemalettin designed this building precisely for the Gazi Institute of Education. As the water colour he executed in 1926 has been preserved (Fig. 5), it is possible to compare the design with the final appearance

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269 Malik Aksel, “Ankara’da İlk Resim Müzesi,” *Hisar* 151 (July 1976): 8-10. Reproduced in Malik Aksel, *Sanat ve Folklor* [Art and Folklore] edited by Beşir Ayvazoğlu (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011), 178.

270 Aksel, “Ankara’da İlk Resim Müzesi,” 178.

271 Aksel, “Ankara’da İlk Resim Müzesi,” 175.

of the building (Fig. 95). Kemalettin did not oversee the construction, as he passed away on 12 July 1927, even before the laying of the foundation stone on 8 August, 1927. Nonetheless, as for the external design and the outline of the ground plan, the initial project was retained even after Ernst Egli was commissioned to take over the direction.



Figure 94: Malik [Aksel] in front of the Gazi Institute, approx. 1932 (Malik Aksel Archive).



Figure 95: Building of the Gazi Institute, early 1930s (Malik Aksel Archive).

The main facade of the building is symmetrical. It consists of three parts, two equal wings, one on each side of a differently structured central entrance part. The reinforced concrete skeleton is disguised with cut stone. The wooden structure of the gabled roof was covered with tiles. The eaves are slightly overhanging. The central part of the building consists of four floors with an observatory on top of the roof in the shape of a dome sitting on an octagonal drum. The wings, in contrast, have only three storeys and are slightly recessed in comparison to the central part. Accordingly, the fenestration of the wings is structured into three rows of six large windows each, rectangular and of the same size at the ground and upper floor, and with almost round but still slightly pointed arches—less pointed than in the water colour, though—for the central floor. The windows are separated by pilasters. Plain mouldings frame the arched windows, and a horizontal, undecorated moulding is running between the pilasters along their tops. The water colour shows some perpendicular tracing of the windows in

the same colour as the wall itself. If this means that it was planned to include stone tracing, this plan was not realised. In any case, of all of Kemalettin's buildings, the Gazi Institute is the one with the largest windows.

The emphasised entrance part is framed by a four-storey-high structure on each side that look like towers attached to the facade. A colonnade of five arches spans between the two 'towers.' Together they create a portico of the height of two storeys. Right on the top of this portico there is a loggia that can be reached from the third floor, and above this loggia, on the level of the fourth floor, is a balcony. On the level of the first floor, the single columns of the arches of the portico are made of white marble. They are closed by capitals, which are decorated with projecting stalactites and niches. The arches bend down onto the capitals, and take the same shape and size of the windows of the same level on the wings. The roof of the loggia lies on six columns which themselves consist of four small columns. Their capitals are decorated with the *muqarnas*-like pattern as well. Unlike the water-colour design, the capitals carry cuboidal elements, that are repeated in the balustrade at the upper balcony. The sculptures represented in the water colour apparently have never been actualised.<sup>272</sup> The windows of the towers repeat the differentiation between arched and rectangular windows of the fenestration of the wings, so does the facade behind the portico, loggia and balcony. These windows are, however, smaller in size, and the arched windows carry slightly projecting balconies.

Niyazi Altunya is quoting various accounts by individuals "close" to Kemalettin regarding the architect's disappointment about the changes in design that were undertaken by his successor Egli.<sup>273</sup> An account, supposedly by Egli himself, can be found repeatedly in the literature. In this account Egli is retelling a meeting with Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] and the insistence of the latter that he, Egli, should continue the design of the building of the Gazi Institute to turn it into a modern

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272 Niyazi Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 83.

273 Ibid. 82-83.

building, and how he was sorry for Kemalettin that he had to take this project from him.<sup>274</sup> Malik Aksel supposedly recollected Kemalettin's desperation after he got the news that Egli would take over the direction of the school project.<sup>275</sup> Yet this account raises considerable doubts. It is hardly imaginable that Malik [Aksel] had any contact with Kemalettin before he died. Malik [Aksel] came to Ankara for the first time upon his appointment as a teacher in 1932, five years after Kemalettin's death. There could have been occasions for a meeting of the two, yet before Malik [Aksel] had any relation to the Gazi Institute, Kemalettin had already passed away. The dubious anachronisms here require us to re-examine the sources.

As mentioned in the introduction of Chapter II., minister of education Mustafa Necati approached Kemalettin regarding the school project, for the first time, shortly before 15 September, 1926.<sup>276</sup> As Kemalettin was finalising the design of this project in November 1926, that is to say, briefly after obtaining the commission,<sup>277</sup> it becomes unlikely that Egli had a say in it. Egli was appointed not before 25 July, 1927, most probably as a result of Kemalettin's death on 12 July, and the resulting vacancy of his position.<sup>278</sup> Beyond the design, Kemalettin could have hardly said anything as the construction did not begin, as said above,

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274 Ayvazoğlu has reproduced the account in his biography of Malik Aksel: Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *Malik Aksel: Evimizin Ressamı* (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011), 45-46.

275 Malik Aksel, "Malik Aksel'den Anılar Gazi Eğitim'in Kuruluş Yılları (Malik Aksel'in 1977 yılında Ahmet Köksal'a yazdığı notlardan)," *Sanat Çevresi* 112 (1988): 8-9.

276 Kemalettin writes about Mustafa Necati's proposal in a letter to his wife on 15 September, 1926. See transcript of the letter in Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin*, 497.

277 At least this is what he reports in a letter to his wife on 15 November, 1926. See transcript of the letter in Yıldırım Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin*, 514. In addition, as will be explained below, a ground plan with his signature dates from 10 November 1926. Ibid., 251.

278 Generally the publications date Egli's arrival in Turkey only to "July 1927." In her doctoral thesis, Leyla Alpagut refers to a talk given by Oya Atalay Franck at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, in which the speaker gave proof that Egli took over the direction of the Gazi Institute project on 25 July, 1927, is to say only after Kemalettin's death. See Leyla Alpagut, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Ankara'daki Eğitim Yapıları*, unpublished PhD thesis, Ankara: Hacetepe University, 2005, 182 (the page indication follows the Word document of the thesis, which Alpagut generously provided).



before August 1927. Finally, comparing the water colour with the actual facade, it is not entirely clear what the allegedly disappointing changes might have been, as the final result shows only minor changes. This counts for the external view at least, but most probably for the interior as well, as will be shown in the following description. The comments quoted by Altunya date from the years 1941 and 1944, more than a decade after the events, and in a period in which the work of foreign architects in general and that of Egli—who had left Turkey in 1940—in particular was probably no longer appreciated. Before they are considered in future studies of the Gazi Institute, these nevertheless important sources will have to be analysed in more depth.

### *Interior*

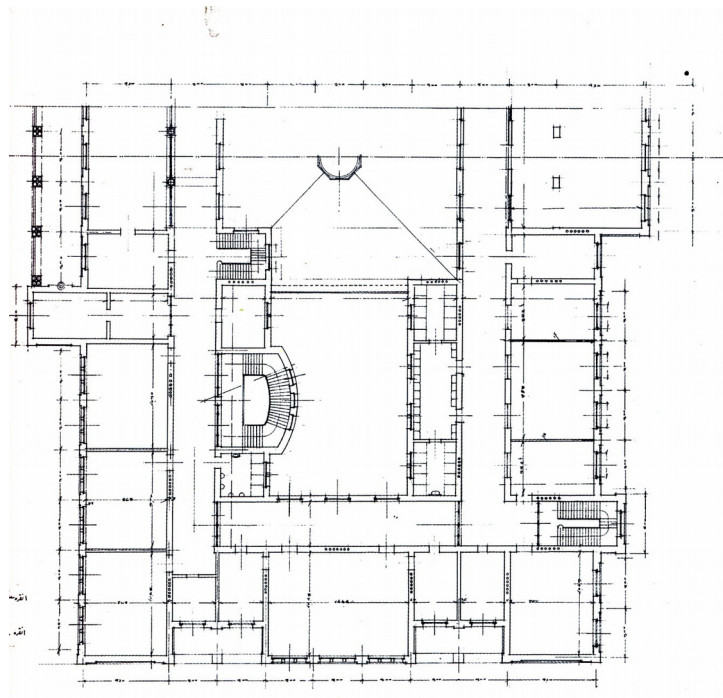


Figure 96: Gazi Institute, ground plan second floor, 10 November, 1926 (Reproduction from Yavuz 2009, 251).



The ground plan of the second floor of the Gazi Institute, and the oldest one that can be provided here, carries Kemalettin's signature, and dates from 10 November 1926 (Fig. 96).<sup>279</sup> Comparing this plan with the one of the ground floor (Fig. 97) dating from 23 September 27, is to say, after the start of construction, there are very few changes to be noted. Only the wall of the staircase towards the courtyard was turned from convex to straight. The spatial structure of the rooms and corridors remained, and is almost the same on all main floors, hence on the first floor, too (Fig. 98). The ground plan also adds figures to the aforementioned impressionistic account of the building's dimension. The size of the ground plan is 97.70 x 49.30 or 4826.61 square metres. The entire size of the indoor floor space is 19.266 square metres.<sup>280</sup> With this dimensions it was Ankara's biggest building at the time. It was conceived for 500 boarding students.

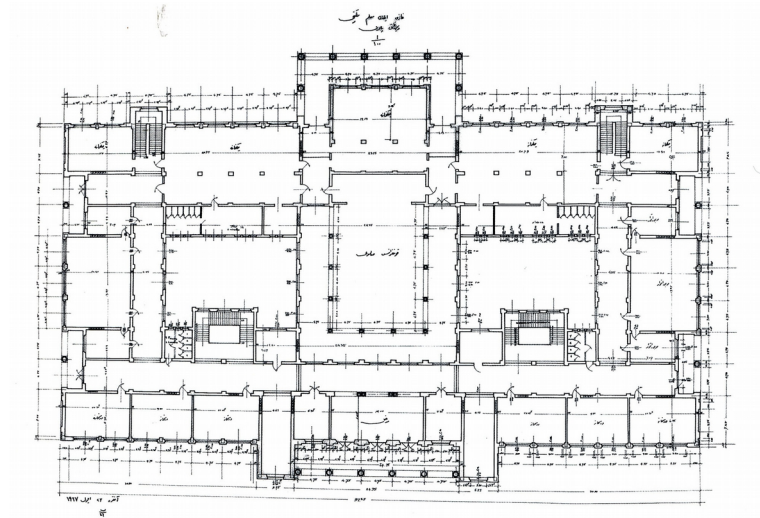


Figure 97: Gazi Institute, ground plan ground floor, 23 September 1927 (Reproduction from Yavuz 2009, 249).

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279 There is an indication that it is the plan of the third floor. In order to avoid incongruence about numbering the floors this paper adopts the following system: the ground floor counts as zero, and only the one above ground level is understood as first floor, and so on. Consequently the aforementioned plan can only be the second floor because the third floor is limited to the central part of the building.

280 Niyazi Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 86.

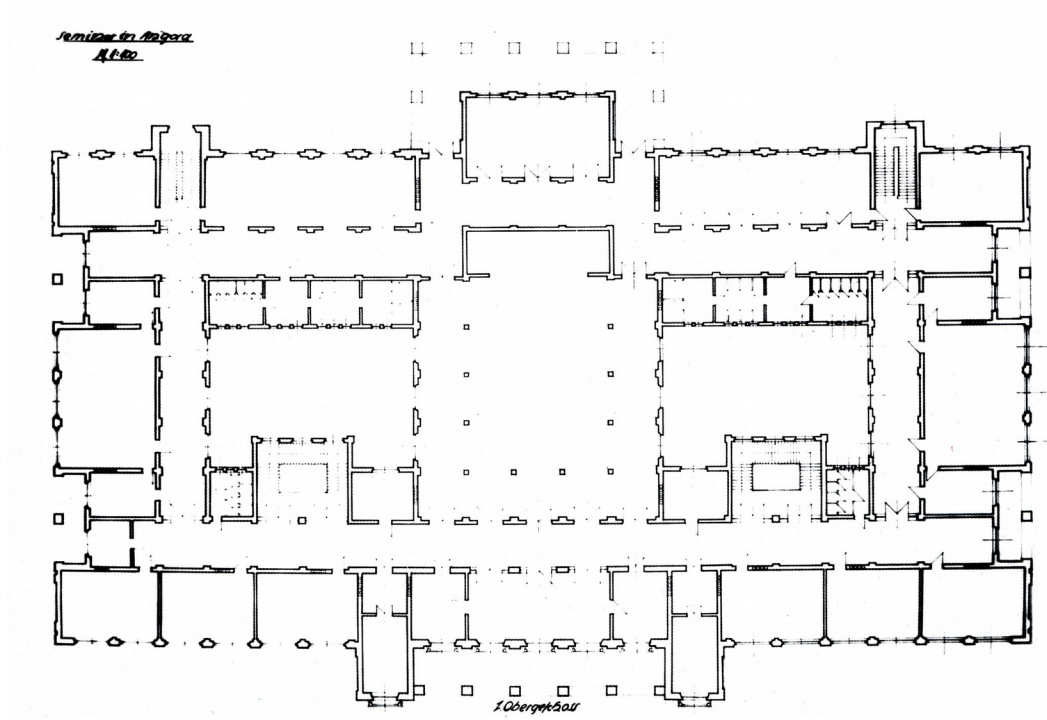


Figure 98: Gazi Institute, ground plan first floor (Reproduction from Yavuz 2009, 251).

The entrance to the building is reached via wide stairs in front of the building, passing through the high portico. The entrance hall is marked by columns with capitals, which are decorated with stalactites. In front of the entrance are the doors leading to a hall for various uses; as assembly hall, cinema, theatre and the like. It has the height of two floors. The parquet can be filled with 500 chairs, and without chairs it can take 1000 persons.<sup>281</sup> It has a stage opposite the entrance, and a gallery running around the other walls on the level of the first floor. To each side of this hall there are backyards surrounded by lavatories, shower and washing rooms. On the front side, to the left and right of the entrance, there are three classrooms in a row. On the back side, there are three refectories. Laboratories are situated at the extremes of the side wings.

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281 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 86.

The different floors are connected with four staircases, again in a symmetrical distribution: two on the backside of the building, and two adjoining the backyards, from which they get their light. On the first floor, there are further classrooms and laboratories, on the back side a library, the music studios, as well as the studios for the Art-Craft Department. On the front side above the entrance were the director's office and teachers' rooms. Yıldıırım Yavuz indicates that on the two remaining storeys there were the dormitories for the students.<sup>282</sup> However, the second floor has exactly the same room distribution as the ground and first floor (apart from the hall, that is). Is it possible that the third floor was also used for teaching? The observatory on the last level never obtained the necessary equipment, and was never used.<sup>283</sup> The rooms of the basement, as is indicated in German on the ground plan, were equipped for the different services like laundry, heating system and kitchen (Fig. 99).

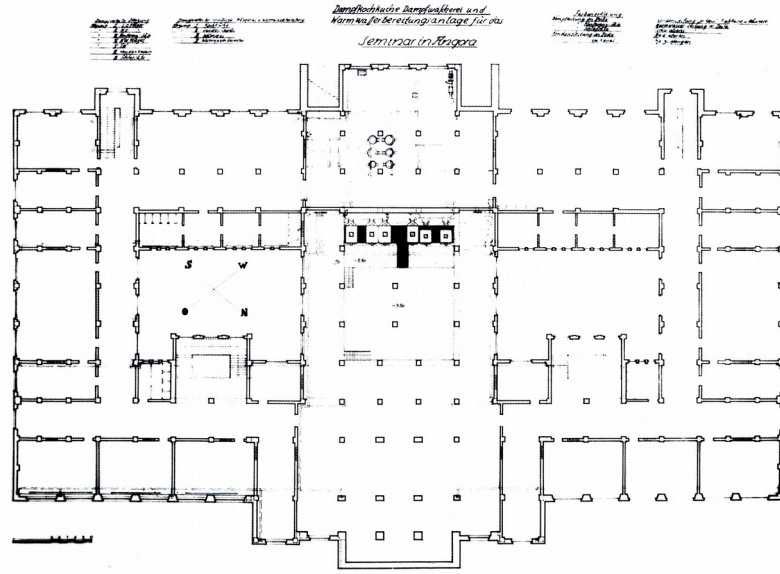


Figure 99: Gazi Institute, ground plan basement (Reproduction from Yavuz 2009, 249).

282 Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin*, 247.

283 Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin*, 247.

The German indications on the plans of the basement and the first floor may have been elaborated for German companies to which the technical equipment of the institution was commissioned. Most likely, however, the plans are in German because they were employed during Egli's directorship of the project, is to say, they were actually used for the construction. Consequently, the realisation of the building followed Kemalettin's first design very closely.

In historiography the building of the Gazi Institute has been considered one of the last examples of the 'First National Style'.<sup>284</sup> This categorisation has to be reconsidered taking into account the formal aspects and function of the building. The term 'First National Style' was chosen a posteriori by historiographers to denominate the revivalism of Ottoman architecture that dominated the discourse and practice in the first three decades of the twentieth century.<sup>285</sup> Contemporaries understood this activities as the 'National Architecture Renaissance'.<sup>286</sup> The main characteristics consist of Ottoman formal elements combined with a symmetrical and axial outline derived from the *Beaux-Arts* model, and the employment of new construction techniques. The larger public buildings of Istanbul and Ankara are constructed in this manner. Kemalettin numbers among the few architects who directed the major constructions of this period. However, comparing his civil buildings of the 1920s in Ankara, like the *Devlet Demir Yolları Genel Müdürlüğü* (Fig. 100) and especially the Gazi Institute, with those of his colleagues Vedat, Giulio Mongeri and Arif Hikmet [Koyunoğlu] (Figs. 101-103), one can observe a much lighter application of the stylistic features that characterise the First National Style.

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284 Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin*.

285 Suha Özkan and Yıldırım Yavuz, The Final Years of the Ottoman Empire, in: Ahmet Evin/Renata Holod/Suha Özkan, eds., *Modern Turkish Architecture*, Ankara, 2005, 45.

286 Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle/ London, 2001, 18.





Figure 100: Devlet Demir Yolları Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, north facade, photography of 1973. (Representation from Yavuz 2009, 303).



Figure 101: Vedat [Tek], Imperial Offices of Land Registry (Defter-i Hakani), Istanbul 1909. (Reproduction from Özkan/Yavuz 2005, 47).





Figure 102: Giulio Mongeri, Agricultural Bank, Ankara, 1926-1929.  
(Reproduction from Özkan/Yavuz 2005, 62).



Figure 103: Arif Hikmet (Koyunoğlu), The Turkish Hearth (Türk Ocağı)  
Ankara, 1927-1930 (Reproduction from Özkan/Yavuz 2005, 67).



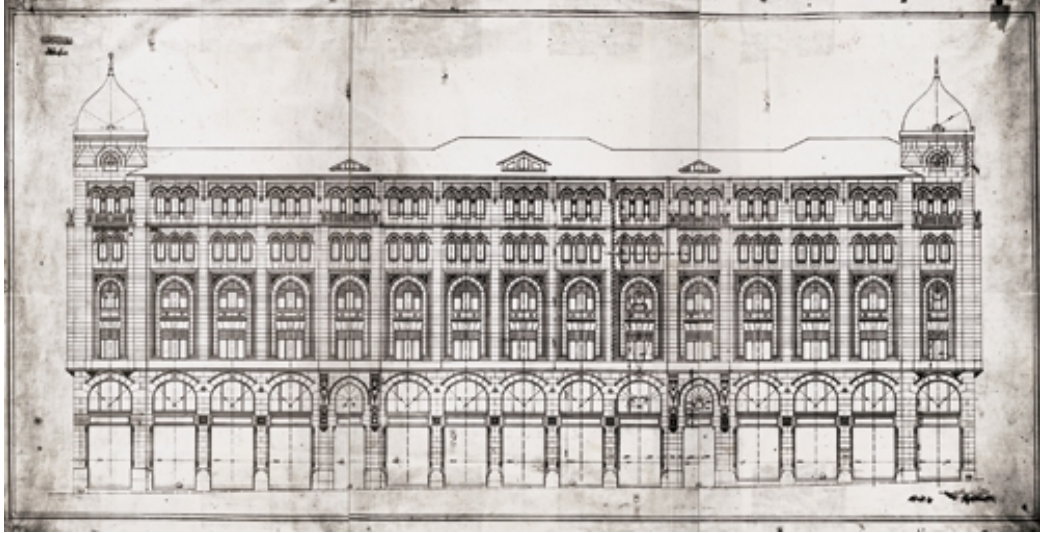


Figure 104: Kemalettin, Dördüncü Vakıf Hanı, design elevation, Istanbul, 1926. (Reproduction from <http://mo.org.tr/ulusalsergi/index.cfm?sayfa=AO-kemalettin-yapit>, 2 January 2011).

The façades of Vedat, Mongeri and Hikmet's buildings display a dense use of pointed arches, wide eaves with supporting brackets, and ornate decoration.<sup>287</sup> Even one of Kemalettin's own buildings, the *Dördüncü Vakıf Hanı* (Fig. 104), constructed in Istanbul only a few years earlier, is relatively speaking loaded with decorative elements and architectural references. In contrast, however, the façades of Kemalettin's buildings in Ankara have almost no additional decorative elements.<sup>288</sup>

At the Gazi Institute, the windows account for the major part of the surface. Apart from that, there are only minimally projecting pilasters, and equally inconspicuous horizontal mouldings. Part of the decoration that Kemalettin had wished to realise did not pertain to the Ottoman tradition, such as, for example,

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287 It should be recalled that Vedat (Tek)'s building was constructed twenty years before the Gazi Institute. Nonetheless it can be said that Vedat continued to densely and conspicuously apply the decorative features characteristic of the First National Style.

288 An exception here is the Ankara Palas building, but this was his first project in Ankara, and only the completion of a work that was initiated by Vedat (Tek). See Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin*, 109.

the sculptures on the upper balcony. Above the top windows of the ‘towers’ we see medallions with baroque ornamentation. The watercolour (Fig. III.53) already contains this detail. Certainly, baroque repertoire had pertained to Ottoman architecture since the eighteenth century, but they were not included in the form language of the First National Style. The eaves of the roof are not as conspicuous as to stand out as a pronounced reference to Ottoman architecture. The stalactites at the capitals, and the horizontal alternation between rectangular windows and those with pointed arches, are the most apparent remainders of the Ottoman architectural vocabulary that had been widely applied by Kemalettin in previous projects;<sup>289</sup> but is it not the absence—or the high-grade abstraction—of many of the stylistic elements upon which he once drew so intensively that is more surprising and noteworthy? Compared with the outstanding examples of the First National Style, the facade of the Gazi Institute is almost austere.

Kemalettin’s working conditions in Ankara seem to have been severe. In his letters to his wife, he repeatedly complains about the dust and noise penetrating the windows of his office. In 1926 there was even cholera in the town, and this was in addition to the housing issue mentioned in Chapter II.1 a further reason why his family did not join him in Ankara.<sup>290</sup> Moreover, the First National Style was increasingly criticised for its “unnecessary” and expensive opulence in decoration. For example, İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç], the educator who was as explained in II.2 intensively involved in setting up the Art-Crafts Department, and a close collaborator of Minister of Education Mustafa Necati, criticises even the few decorative elements in Kemalettin’s design, especially the sculptures and the expensive materials to be employed for the columns:<sup>291</sup> these were perceived as extravagances at a moment of a tight budgets.

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289 Compare illustrations in Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin*.

290 Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin*, 41-42.

291 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 83.

In the years of the construction of the Gazi Institute, the budget of the Ministry of Education, which covered the costs for the institute as well as its other duties, was as follows:

- 1927: 6,158,930 lira
- 1928: 6,585,804 lira                      Total almost 29,000,000 lira for three years
- 1929: 16,177,009 lira

It appears that the alienation from ornamentation and the inclination towards functional criteria in architectural designs arose in part because of sheer circumstantial factors.<sup>292</sup> In Chapter II.1 I referred to the building industry that could not yet answer to the needs of the massive construction activities in Ankara and made it necessary to import manpower, equipment and construction material and machinery. In any case, the construction and equipping of the Gazi Institute consumed around 1.8 million lira of the aforementioned budget, making it the most expensive public building built at that time.<sup>293</sup>

The relatively austere appearance of the Gazi Institute may be a result of the general atmosphere in Ankara. Yet accounts from former teachers and students reflect that the building and its facilities were indeed perceived as luxurious and progressive, and the atmosphere in the classrooms and studios full of daylight were experienced as highly stimulating.<sup>294</sup> As mentioned before, Mustafa Necati was eagerly promoting the development of the Turkish education system, and İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] and İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] worked in close relation with the Ministry of Education, and pursued the implementation of progressive education and reformist approaches in pedagogy. It is reasonable to assume a close relationship between these educators, politicians and Kemalettin during the

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292 In this I follow Sibel Bozdoğan's speculation about the structural and economic reasons behind the turn towards unornamented architectural forms. See Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 61.

293 See Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 73.

294 Ibid., 83.

years in Ankara. It is also proven by the many accounts of meetings, parties and the like, which Kemalettin gives in the letters to his wife.<sup>295</sup> Even if he does not directly mention discussing professional matters, it is unthinkable that discussion about the biggest and most expensive project of the time—the Gazi Institute—should not have taken place. I contend that there must have been interaction between the various actors involved in the setting up of the building of the Gazi Institute and the architect himself, and that concerns about the educational objectives affected the design of the educational setting, extending the architectural concerns far beyond the mere pursuit of reviving Ottoman architectural culture. In any case, when the Art-Craft Department opened within the Gazi Institute, Tonguç reported the building of the Gazi Institute was equipped with the studios, workshops and facilities that the new pedagogical practice required.<sup>296</sup>

### III.2 Matters of Artistic Training

(Fig. 105) The student exhibition could be visited at darkness. The bulb hanging from the centre of the ceiling indicates the availability of electric light. This photograph itself entered the circle of visibility within the modest historiography on the Academy of Fine Arts in the early Republican years. I have mentioned it already in relation with the painting discussion in Chapter II.2. The photograph was taken during the student exhibition of the academic year 1933-1934. Another room of the exhibition displays a label that presents the art as graduation works (Fig. 106). In an article in the journal *Mimar*, İsmail Hakkı [Oygar] (1907-1975) reproduces two of the student works that are among the paintings displayed in the exhibition photographs (Fig. 107). This confirms that both exhibition shots represent two different rooms of a single show that extends through various

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295 Yavuz, *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin*, 421-526.

296 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 93. Until 1980 the *Resim-İş* Department remains within the Gazi Institute. Ibid., 95.

rooms—at least three, as yet another view included in İsmail Hakkı’s article demonstrates (Fig. 108).<sup>297</sup> The photographs provide a unique chance to gain insight into the work at the Academy and the tools and materials involved.



Figure 105: Student exhibition at Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, 1933-34 (Demir 2008, 120).

One of the main materials used for the elaboration of the works visible in these photographs was the human body, predominantly female, and preferably naked. As the labels on each wall indicate, the students worked in four different studios. Each studio seemed to have been directed by only one painter, namely Namık İsmail, Feyhaman (1886-1970), Hikmet [Onat] (1882-1977), and İbrahim. The majority of the works appear to have been nude studies. The at-times repetitive posture, depicted from different angles, suggest that the works were painted in class in front of the life model. If the styles of teaching offered in the different studios were diverse and distinct from each other, it is not possible to perceive

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297 İsmail Hakkı [Oygar], “Güzel san’atlar akademisinde Seramik şubesi 1933-1934 senesi talebe eserleri,” *Mimar* 9-10/45-46 (1934): 282-286.



this from these photographs, except that İbrahim either had fewer students than Namık İsmail or was less supportive in getting their work into the student show, for the wall of his studio is relatively empty. Further, among Namık İsmail's students are a number of portraits that differ from the general nude studies in that they capture the particularity and individuality of the model, and of the moment of representation—such as the portrait that İsmail Hakkı [Oygar] or the editors of *Mimar* chose to reproduce in his article. Yet even if the majority of the student works represent a depersonalised version of a human figure, the nudes do not appear idealised. The *contraposto*, recurring in various studies, and the nudity of the models are the sole remaining reminders of the classic art at which the training had been oriented only three years earlier, at least according to Namık İsmail letters in the newspaper discussion mentioned in Chapter II.2.



Figure 106: Student exhibition at Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, 1933-34 (Reproduction from Fırat 2008, 93).





Figure 107: Student works in İsmail Hakkı [Oygur]'s article in Mimar 9-10/45-46 (1934): 282.



Figure 108: Student exhibition at Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, 1933-34 (Reproduction from İsmail Hakkı [Oygur], 1934, 282).

It is not possible to judge from these photographs alone, but it looks as if many of the paintings were indeed oil paintings. The size of the paintings is small. I suppose that the students or teachers chose the works that they considered most accomplished, and that they would not have chosen minor sketches for the annual show. I also assume that the choice of format was not a conceptual choice. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that the moderate size is related to economic considerations, which still called if not for restraint than at least to avoid wasting paint and painting materials. The graduation works are slightly larger, yet not at all of monumental size. The motif of these works seems to have been dictated by the qualification committee, as a group of people resting next to a carriage in a rural setting, perhaps the Anatolian steppe, appears in each of them, with slight modifications. As if Ali Sami [Boyar]'s views, heard so stridently in his debate with Namık İsmail as presented in the second chapter, were a reflection of a prevailing desire for local motifs, these paintings are not populated by Greek gods and goddesses but seem to address Turkish peasant life.

As paintings of a diploma exhibition, each of them is tagged with a label that indicates the rank of the laureates. The winning painting is outside the photographic frame, yet one is led ineluctably to assume that it would not have surprised us by its unique execution. Viewed in a black and white photograph, the similitude between the paintings is striking. Apart from the “İİİrd [İİİüncü]”, one would not necessarily assume they were by different painters. Competitions were praised by Namık İsmail on the grounds that they would enhance quality as much as foster an individual, distinct approach to subject matters;<sup>298</sup> yet the institutional structuring of the training, divided between the studios of the different faculty members, did not offer paths for distinct approaches to art, at least not in the student exhibition of 1933-1934, as is demonstrated by the interchangeability of the students' works. As became apparent in the discussion of the spatial distribution of the diverse spaces of the Academy, it was also not possible to

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298 Namık İsmail, “Akademi ve Ressamlık münakaşası: Namık İsmail Beyin cevabı,” in *Cumhuriyet*, 23 February 1932, 4.



the Department of Decorative Arts. Typographic banners, indicating the name of the department but also displaying at least one student's study of fonts, posters, furniture, carpentry, and ceramics display the variety and prolific activity at the department.



Figure 110: Student works exhibition at Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, 1933-34 (Reproduction from Oygar 1934, 283.)

in forms and materials between students across the different orientations has not yet received any scholarly attention. The best example of this is probably the scholarship on Hale Asaf's work. Like the work of the other graduates of the early Republican era, her life and work is addressed in monograph form and within studies on the artist group that the graduates formed in the late 1920s and early 1930s, each restricting the scope of its references to within the genre and medium of the artist's work itself. No one has yet studied her work in relation to that of her husband, despite the fact that both were part of the same circle of friends/artists. She was married, indeed, to İsmail Hakkı [Oygar], the author of the above-mentioned article. The proximity of the decorative arts and the possible exchange of ideas, interests İsmail Hakkı [Oygar] studied ceramics in Paris while

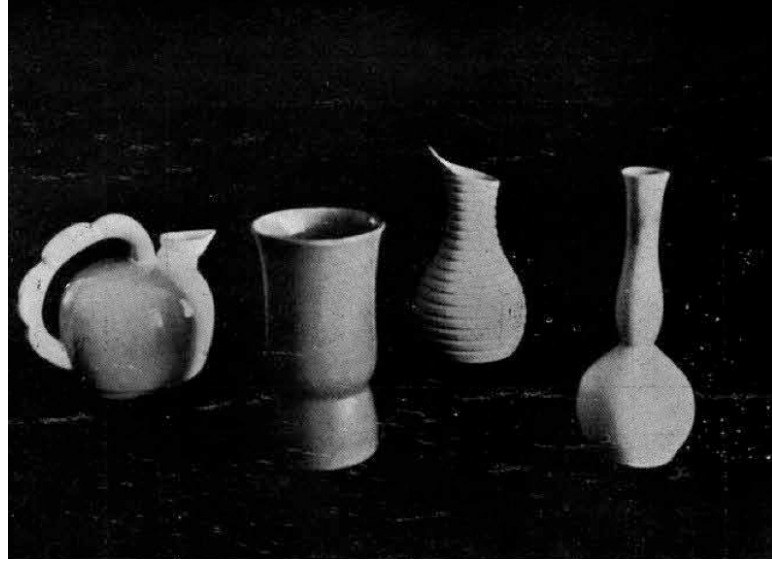


Figure 111: Student works exhibition at Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, 1933-34 (Reproduction from Oygur 1934, 283.)

Hale was there as well;<sup>299</sup> upon his return, he started teaching at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. He signed his article off as “Seramik muallimi: İsmail Hakkı [Ceramic teacher: İsmail Hakkı]”. It would be interesting to look at the colours, materiality and plasticity of figuration of Hale [Asaf]’s paintings against the backdrop of the actual three-dimensional work of İsmail Hakkı [Oygur]’s, and not only through Parisian cubism and their endless struggle to squeeze other

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299 Hale Asaf had started her studies in Istanbul, continued them at the art academies of Munich and Berlin in Germany during the years of war, and did not return to Istanbul before the foundation of the Republic. After graduating from the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul in 1925, she obtained a public grant to continue her training in Munich. In 1926, she left for Munich, only to join her friends in Paris soon after. These were Cevad (Dereli) (1900–1989), Muhiddin Sebati (1901–1932), Şeref Kamil (Akdik) (1899–1972), and Mahmud Cemaleddin (Cuda) (1904–1987). In 1924 they had obtained a grant from the Ministry of Education, which had organised a competition on the occasion of the celebrations of the first year of the Turkish Republic. They were followed by Ratip Aşır (Acudoğu) (1898–1957) and Ali Münip (Karsan) (1903–1994). Finally, Nurullah Cemal (Berk) (1906–1989) went to Paris at his own expense. In Paris, they studied at different private schools. Among these, the school which was frequented most was still the *Académie Julian*. Another important place was the art school which André Lhote opened in Montparnasse in 1922, and Fernand Léger’s studio (1881–1955) at the Académie Moderne, opened by Othon Friesz (1879–1949) in 1919. Burcu Pelvanoğlu, Hale Asaf: Türk Resim Sanatında Bir Dönüm Noktası (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), 79..

dimensions onto the flat canvas. It is remarkable that İsmail Hakkı [Oygar], in turn, included photographs of all the disciplines represented at the Academy—except for architecture—in an article that dealt only with the subject he was teaching.



Figure 112: Student exhibition at Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, 1933-34 (Reproduction from Demir 2008, 21).

In the press conference of 1917 that I referred to in Chapter II.2, Mustafa Necati underlined the promotion of training in decorative arts. The introduction of a Department of Decorative Arts was formalised in the bylaw of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1924. Among the extant interior photographs of 1927, two studios are in active use for what appears to be graphic design or illustration, in any case work on paper or thin cardboard. A picture of a ceramic studio is not included in Fırat's publication. It might be lost, or perhaps the absence is simply a matter of inattention. Or perhaps it was not considered suitably representative.



İsmail Hakkı [Oygar] described the neglected condition of the facilities of this branch of the Department of Decorative Arts when he returned from Paris in 1929 and was made an assistant to the only teacher with the name Weber (an individual whose identity cannot at this point be further elucidated).<sup>300</sup> According to İsmail Hakkı [Oygar], the branch was opened in 1926 on a direct order of the Ministry of Education; so when he was ordered to start working there directly upon his return to Istanbul, İsmail Hakkı [Oygar] reasonably expecting to find a fully functional studio. Yet what he found was merely a throwing lathe, an oven and a clay machine left on the floor of two dark rooms in the basement of the Twin Palace.

He described how for two years he and Weber tried to teach ceramics nonetheless, but the lack of proper instruments and materials precluded any good results. This changed, apparently again by order from the ministry, around 1931, when the branch obtained first a sound teaching programme, then the installations and materials it desired, and then moved into “large, bright [geniş, aydınlık]” studios within the Twin Palace. Until then they had worked with red clay, but now moved on to working with porcelain. The first results of the teaching performed under the new conditions were ready for presentation in the annual exhibition of 1932-33.

İsmail Hakkı [Oygar] highlights the importance of this branch at the Department of Decorative Arts by reference to its success on the local market—the students were able to sell all their works in a shop in Beyoğlu and were receiving further commissions—and to its benefits for the Turkish stoneware industry of the future. The brief article illustrates the link—and an awareness of the connection—between the material and spatial conditions and the making of art as perceived by a teacher of the early Republic. The article also demonstrates the apparent need to legitimise funding by appealing to the usefulness of this “new art [yeni san’at]”.

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300 İsmail Hakkı [Oygar], “Güzel san’atlar akademisinde Seramik şubesi 1933-1934 senesi talebe eserleri,” *Mimar* 9-10/45-46 (1934): 282.

The process of setting up, reforming or developing the Academy of Fine Arts and the Art-Craft Department was evidently accompanied by the refurbishment of the educational sites. Yet the contemporary sources reveal the significance it had for the individuals involved and their work. The most eloquent example here is the establishment of the Museum of Education in 1926. Its major objective was to demonstrate the tools deployed in education in order to explain their use and how they could be produced by provincial schools themselves. Thus tools were considered an integral part of teaching. The samples in the museum were not limited to but also concerned the Art-Craft Department as part of the “model school”, the Gazi institute, and with its future director İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] as its founding director.

A list assembled on 3 March 1929, a year before the opening of the Gazi Institute in the new building, specifies the equipment that the different educational spaces were meant to be furnished with.<sup>301</sup> It was again İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] who was commissioned to purchase the tools and furniture according to this list.<sup>302</sup> The list already refers to the Art-Craft Department, yet another proof that arrangements for the department were made long before its opening in 1932. According to this list the building had one “art classroom [*resim derslane*]” big enough for fifty students. The room would be equipped according to the German school type “Middle School [*Oberral Şube* (sic!)]”.<sup>303</sup> A number of studios [*Atölyeler*] were also planned: one for carpentry, one for metalworking, one for modelling, one for work with paper and cardboard and for graphic design. Twenty-five students were meant to work in each of these studios. “The studios will be equipped in reference to the *Laipzig El İşleri Muallim Mektebi* [*Atölyelerin tesisatı Leipzig El İşleri Muallim Mektebi tesisatı numune olduğuna nazaran yapılacaktır*].” I

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301 Niyazi Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü: Gazi Orta Öğretmen Okulu ve Eğitim Enstitüsü (1926-1980)* [Gazi Education Institute: Gazi Secondary School Teacher School and Education Institute] (Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Yayını, 2006), 175-177.

302 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 175.

303 The spelling in the Turkish sources comes close to the pronunciation of the German term *Oberrealschule*, and for this reason I assume that this is the schooling type meant in the list.

assume that İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] himself made these suggestions, for he knew the school in Leipzig and did not need any further specifications of the equipment, which was apparently characteristic for that school in Germany.

Unfortunately there are no photographs of the classrooms in the early years, nor do I have any visual material regarding the school in Leipzig. Yet assuming that the rooms, once they received their brand-new equipment, did not change drastically in the first decade, photographs that were taken around 1940 do at least give a vague impression of the working space and equipment (Fig. 113-110).



Figure 113: Students in the modelling studio, Art-Craft Department, approx. 1940 (Resim-İş Arşivi).



Figure 114: Students of the Art-Craft Department, with stools for modelling clay in the background, beginning 1930s (Resim-İş Arşivi).



Figure 115: Students of the Art-Craft Department, beginning 1930s (Resim-İş Arşivi).

The ‘shopping list’ with which İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] was entrusted constitutes an enormous task, nothing less than the complete equipment list for of all the rooms in the enormous building and for all the other Departments of the Gazi Institute. That a single person was made responsible for the equipment demonstrates a certain connectedness between the departments. As İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] was this person, and was later the director of the Art-Craft Department, this connectedness might have been particularly palpable for the soon-to-be art-craft teachers. Furthermore, the departments were not only under one roof, but the students also shared their sleeping and eating and indeed their entire living space with each other, and quite at some distance from the city, which certainly enhanced the depth of the exchanges among them. The other departments included music and foreign languages, as well as natural sciences such as physics, chemistry and geography. Accordingly, the library, which in the 1930s numbered 4,000 books, must have covered various knowledge areas. Conferences, concerts and movie projections in the large central hall put the common areas to use. Thus, the students of the Art-Craft Department were not trained in only one creative practice but in many, in contrast to the students at the Academy of Fine Arts, and were also in touch with many other modes of assimilating, generating and transmitting knowledge.

## CHAPTER IV

### TRANSLOCATION: MALİK [AKSEL]'S EXPERIENCE COLLECTION ABROAD



Figure 116: Malik, Drawing in his German textbook (photo by the author).

Looking at this drawing (Fig. 116), the scratches of the pen become almost audible again. Hard and quick the nib hit the dry resistance of the paper. The fibre absorbed more ink where the pen slowed down. Dark against the agitated drawing, the few careful lines assert the draftsman's recognisable features. Malik [Aksel] scribbled this self-portrait on the flyleaf of his German language textbook *Deutsch im Ausland: Unterstufe* [German abroad: elementary level] (Figs. 117



and 118).<sup>304</sup> Given the level of his language course, this drawing possibly dates from 1928, the year he moved to Berlin and started to learn German.

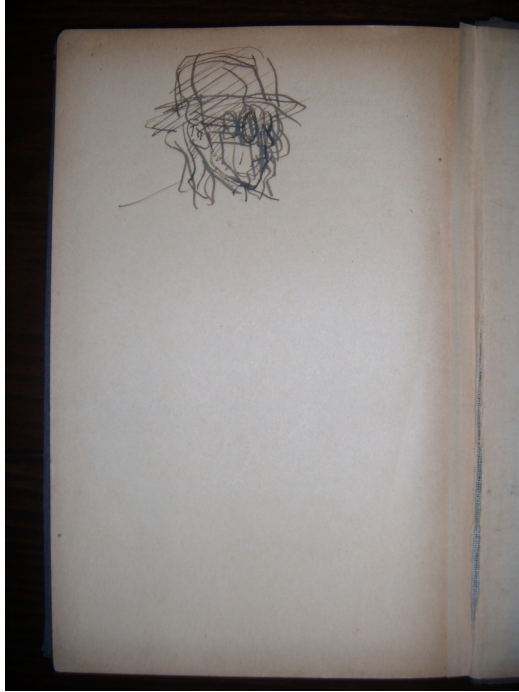


Figure 117: Flyleaf of Malik Aksel's German textbook (photo by the author).



Figure 118: Malik Aksel's textbook (photo by the author)

Everyone who once travelled to a place without knowing the language spoken there knows that the knowledge of the foreign language does not simply penetrate the brain in the moment of the arrival. Learning a language is matter of dedication, endurance and practice. Even if one loves learning languages the process has its tedious moments in which one might start doodling in the margins of the text book. Most likely, Malik drew the little ink portrait in such a moment of inattention, without any preconceived idea. After scribbling vaguely he decided to finish with some precise lines. The drawing is not a result of Malik's

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304 This book is at the Şehbenderler Konağı Kütüphanesi in Bursa, Turkey. The collection of Malik Aksel's books is stored at this library. When I visited the library in December 2012, the collection was not yet catalogued. Therefore I cannot indicate any signature or archive number.

intention, attention and skill alone. For brief the moment might was, for quick and insignificant his decision, the lines of this simple drawing visualise that the idea developed and transformed through the process of drawing. The drawing tool with its limited options, and the resistance of the drawing material, affected the execution of Malik's initial intention.

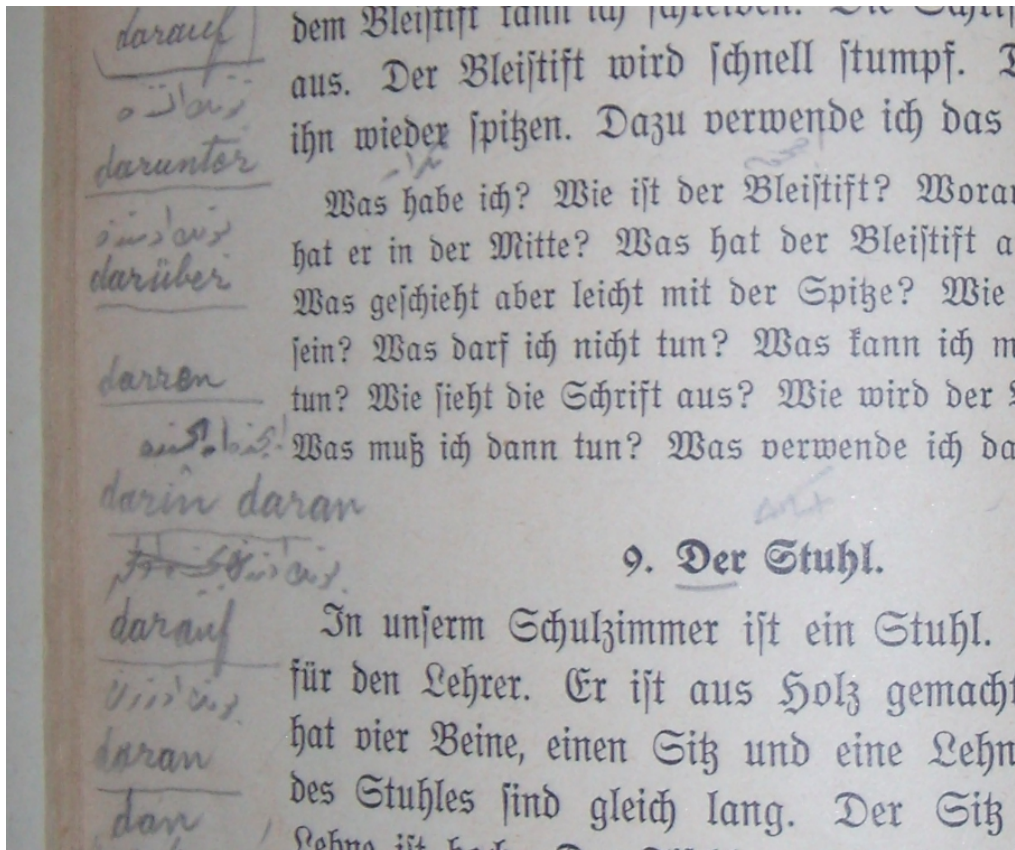


Figure 119: Page with notes in Malik Aksel's textbook (photo by the author).

In spite of moments of distraction, Malik used his textbook diligently, as the notes in German and Ottoman in the margin confirm (Fig. 119). This page in particular teaches the locative adverbs. After having studied them, Malik must have been able to say in German where he was. Maybe he once said: *Ich bin in Berlin* [I am in Berlin]. He spent four years there. This photograph (Fig. 120) shows him in the zoological garden in Berlin with a tiger cub on his lap.



Figure 120: Malik in the zoological garden in Berlin, approx. 1929 (Malik Aksel Archive).

In all their simplicity, these two portraits, the doodle and the tiger-cub photograph, possess in poetical condensation two interrelated traits of translocation: first, a foreign location does not offer a standardised knowledge package to a visitor, and second, the knowledge potentially available at a place is not assimilated simply by arriving there. The tiger cub is like a metaphorical prop that reminds us that Berlin, like any other place, has been visited and is inhabited and composed of by other things and individuals, and animals for that matter, coming from other places, each and every one bearing and transmitting their own

histories of their journeys and thereby contributing to the continuously evolving heterogeneity that constitutes a place. The specific encounter between place and visitor defines what knowledge is assimilated and generated. Like drawing tool and surface, countless tangible and abstract matters interfere with initial intentions and capabilities of the visitor, lead and mislead the course of the journey like ink lines and shape the identity as the lines form the profile. The contingencies render each journey unique. These observations motivate the choice of the focus of this chapter.

In the previous chapters I explored the exterior and interior, the empirical, envisioned and historical components that generated the Academy of Fine Arts and the Art-Craft Department. The sources are fragmentary and disparate. Nonetheless, they demonstrate the assembled nature of the two institutions. An assemblage is by default translocal in that its parts derive from many different places. On their respective paths towards the two institutions, the parts accumulated information or knowledge, took on a certain shape, or transformed in a way that was potentially meaningful for the work at the schools. For this reason, this chapter seeks to trace the trajectories of these parts. Assertions like '*Ich bin in Berlin* [I am in Berlin]' or 'He studied in Germany' are only the starting point for further investigation designed to transcend a stereotypical use of geographic categories and the generic cultural assumptions they tend to convey, and so penetrate to the specificity of the journey.

Opting for detailed investigation requires one to make a choice. Of the myriad of things and individuals that composed the institutions, I have chosen to follow Malik through his years in Germany. There are several reasons for this choice. The Art-Craft Department bears all the characteristic that makes it prone to a narrow national historiographical approach because it formed part of the Gazi Institute and was as such represented predominantly as one of the accomplishments of the Republic and in service of the national aims. The composite character of the Department is far less obvious than that of the



Academy of Fine Arts that, in turn, was and still seems to be associated almost exclusively with ‘foreign’ practices. The only study that made an effort to investigate how those foreign practices were actually acquired is Deniz Artun’s study of the Ottoman and Turkish students in Paris.<sup>305</sup> It would have been interesting to build on Artun’s study, but I was drawn to investigate the entirely unexplored foreign linkages of the Art-Craft Department. Furthermore, Malik undertook the journey and long stay in Berlin specifically to become a teacher at the Art-Craft Department. At the same time, he was one of the few actors who consistently reflected on the perceived Westernisation process with concrete and pointed critique, something which makes him an odd yet particularly interesting person to study during his stay in a region from which that rejected Westernisation process seemed partly to derive. Finally, his visit in Germany crosses a border that art historiography still perceives in a rigid way as reflected in the persistent use of binaries such as ‘East’ and ‘West’, ‘Western art’ and ‘non-Western art’, etc. Thus, this chapter does not merely constitute a start of an investigation of the provenance of the parts that constituted the Academy of Fine Arts and the Art-Craft Department, but also seeks to take the heuristic approach as a way to transcend the geographic and epistemic precepts of traditional art historiography.

#### IV.1 Departure

Four young men lean out of the window of the wooden train wagon, and blink against the sunlight at the photographer’s lens (Fig. 120). This photograph might very well document the young men’s departure from Istanbul to Berlin near the end of 1928. The picture is among Malik Aksel’s photographic and artistic remains that have not yet been systematically reviewed and organised. If Aksel himself left explanatory remarks they have not been preserved. Nonetheless it is

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305 Deniz Artun, *Paris’ten Modernlik Tercümeleri. Académie Julian’da İmparatorluk ve Cumhuriyet Öğrencileri* [Translations of Modernity from Paris: Ottoman and Republican Students at the Académie Julian], Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007.

possible to vaguely date the photograph and identify the passengers in the window. The wooden wagon suggests a date for the photograph not later than 1930. The wagon has the shape of the Orient-Express' varnished-teak cars that started to be replaced in 1922 by the metallic cars and their use ceased towards the end of the decade.<sup>306</sup>



Figure 121: On the train, from left: Hayrullah [Örs], unidentified, Malik, Şinasi [Barutçu]?, approx. 1928 (Malik Aksel Archive).

Throughout the previous chapters, we have encountered Malik in various photographs and can easily distinguish him here as the third from left. To his right is Şinasi [Barutçu] and on the far left Hayrullah [Örs]. The identity of the individual between Malik and Hayrullah is uncertain. Şinasi and Hayrullah are present in a couple of Malik Aksel's photographs. In one specifically they seem to have the same age as in the train picture (Fig. 122). Here, they are together with

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306 George Behrend, *Große Expresszüge Europas: Die Geschichte der Wagon-Lits* [Europe's Great Express Trains: The History of the *Wagon-Lits*] (Orell Füssli Verlag, Zürich 1967).



İsmail Hakkı [Uludağ] and another man of whom I do not have enough photographs to identify him with certainty, yet it might be Mehmet Ali [Akademir]. All of them went abroad in 1928 to complement their studies in art pedagogy with the specific objective to become the first teachers of the Art-Craft Department.



Figure 122: From left: İsmail Hakkı [Uludağ]?, Malik, Şinasi, Hayrullah, Mehmet Ali [Akademir]?, approx. 1928 (Malik Aksel Archive).

A resolution of the Turkish Education Board [Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu] from 27 June 1928 stipulates that for the “to-be-opened Handicraft and Art Teacher Schools [*Açılacak El İşleri ve Resim Muallim Mektepleri*]” four graduates of the Teacher School were to be sent on a public stipend to Europe at the beginning of the academic year, one to study “art pedagogy [*resim pedagojisi*]”, a second to study “craft pedagogy [*iş pedagojisi*]”, and the last two to study “art [*sanat*]” in

Sweden and Denmark respectively.<sup>307</sup> The resolution also allotted an additional year prior to the study period proper for courses in the required languages.<sup>308</sup> The four students would be selected by an exam in August 1928 in the Istanbul Male Teacher Training School.<sup>309</sup> A statement of the Education board issued four years later on 12 October 1932, ratifies the studies that the teachers “İsmail Hakkı, Şinasi, Hayrullah ve Mehmet Ali Beyler” completed in their respective field of expertise in Cologne, Bonn, and Nääs and that they would return to the Gazi Education Institute to open the “Arts-Handicrafts School [*Resim-Elişleri Mektebi*].<sup>310</sup> This statement reveals that the plan to send four students abroad for the specific purpose of studying subjects related to the envisioned Art-Craft Department did indeed come to pass, and that the four students who were selected by the exam were the young men who accompanied Malik in the photograph. The photograph could even be an official group photo taken to commemorate or announce the winners of the fellowships. However, Malik is not mentioned in any of the documents, nor is Berlin, the city in which he studied.

Later in his life Malik Aksel recalled that, thanks to the mediation of his former teacher Şevket Dağ, he participated in an exam at the above-mentioned teacher school in Istanbul in 1928, and succeeded in obtaining one of the grants to study in Germany.<sup>311</sup> Beşir Ayvazoğlu puts together another list of four students, partly coinciding with the group mentioned here but including Hakkı İzzet [İzet] instead of Şinasi [Barutçu].<sup>312</sup> It is not clear where Ayvazoğlu took his information from

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307 [http://ttkb.meb.gov.tr/kurulkararlari/fihristler/fihrist\\_1928.pdf](http://ttkb.meb.gov.tr/kurulkararlari/fihristler/fihrist_1928.pdf). For full text see Niyazi Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü: Gazi Orta Öğretmen Okulu ve Eğitim Enstitüsü (1926-1980)* [Gazi Education Institute: Gazi Secondary School Teacher School and Education Institute], (Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Yayını, 2006), 552-553.

308 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 552-553.

309 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 552-553.

310 For transcription of the whole document, see Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 553. The two documents of the Education Board also manifest the slow transition from the initially separate conception of “Arts and Handicraft [*El İşleri ve Resim*]” schools to the hyphenated form of “Art-Handicraft [*Resim-Elişleri*]”, which soon afterwards became Art-Craft.

311 Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *Malik Aksel: Evimizin Ressamı* (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011), 38.

312 Ayvazoğlu, *Malik Aksel*, 38.

but both Hakkı İzzet [İzet] and Malik indeed went to Germany in 1928 and would, like the others named in the statement of the Education Board, become teachers at the Art-Craft Department in Ankara upon their return to Turkey.<sup>313</sup> As demonstrated in Chapter II.2, the practice of sending teachers abroad on a public grant for complementary studies was not limited to the Art-Craft Department. There is no doubt that Malik studied in Germany, it is likely that he did so on a public grant, too, but no tangible proof of it has been traced yet. That some of the teachers who were selected for the Art-Craft Department appear together with him in the photographs might be simply explained by a previously established personal relationship, or a bond created through the shared experience of going abroad. Yet, as shall be elaborated in the sequel, Malik's study activities in Berlin suggest that it was planned from the outset that he too would join the faculty of the Art-Craft Department in Ankara.

## IV.2 Stopover

Malik's rather anecdotal or even fictitious texts about the period in Germany are also consistent with the resolution's provision for an extra year dedicated to the study of German. According to him, thirty-five of the Turkish students who went to Germany spent their first year in Potsdam, a small city near Berlin, and received German lessons before they went on to pursue their main studies in the respective institutions in different cities.<sup>314</sup> This group photo (Fig. 123) was taken in front of the Wrestler Colonnades [*Ringerkolonnaden*] (1745-1746) in front of the City Palace of Potsdam [*Potsdamer Stadtschloss*] (most decisive design and extensions 1744–1751). Malik and Hayrullah [Örs], the second and the fourth from left, are again easily recognisable. Ayvazoğlu, who included this photograph

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313 Altunya, *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 558.

314 Malik Aksel, "Eski bir Hatıra," *Hisar* 149 (May 1976): 13-15. Reproduced in *İstanbul'un Ortası* edited by Beşir Ayvazoğlu (Istanbul: Yapı Yayınları, 2011), 186. See also his text "Geçmiş Zaman Olur Ki," in *İstanbul'un Ortası* edited by Beşir Ayvazoğlu, 257-261 (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2011).

in his biography on Aksel, argued that the man without a hat was the writer Sabahattin Ali (1907-1948) who studied in Germany between 1928 and 1930.<sup>315</sup> Aksel would later write a text on Sabahattin Ali that includes anecdotes about the time in Potsdam so Ayvazoğlu's suggestion seems plausible.<sup>316</sup> Nevertheless, I am tempted instead to recognise in this group the five future teachers of the Art-Craft Department and so suggest that the man without the hat was Şinasi [Barutçu]. In any case, the photograph documents Malik's first winter in Germany—note the snow in the foreground—and the young men from Turkey do not look particularly excited.



Figure 123: Malik with a group of Turkish stipendiaries in Potsdam, 1928 (Malik Aksel Archive).

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315 Ayvazoğlu, *Malik Aksel*, 39.

316 Aksel, “Eski bir Hatıra.”

Another significant value of this photo consists in the background, and not only because it constitutes a rare photographic document of the City Palace (Figs. 124 and 125) and the drum of Karl Friedrich Schinkel's (1781-1841) St. Nicholas' Church [*St. Nikolaikirche*] which were destroyed in an air raid in 1945.<sup>317</sup>

The palace received its ultimate size and design when Friedrich II of Prussia relocated his residence to this palace and commissioned and partly dictated the extension and modification of the building complex. The palace served first as main residence and later as second residence of the successive monarchs of the House of Hohenzollern.<sup>318</sup> During the reign of Friedrich II (1740-1786), Prussia consolidated itself as the fifth great power next to Austria, France, Great Britain and Russia. That that power turned, during the reign of the last Hohenzollern Emperor Wilhelm II (1859-1941), into fatal hubris and became the main responsible party for World War One was anything but common sense at the time the teachers from Turkey gathered in front of the palace for a photograph.<sup>319</sup> However, the visitors were standing in front of a building that was then used by administrative and regional governmental bodies of the Weimar Republic. Parts of the spaces were also used by artists and the Postdam *Kunstverein* and were open to the public.<sup>320</sup> The reuse of the building appears to me like a metaphor for the time, that is of the very recent change of regime from Empire to Republic in midst of historical relics.

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317 Hans-Joachim Giersberg, *Das Stadtschloss zu Potsdam* [The City Palace of Potsdam], second revised and extended edition, Karwe: Rieger, 2008.

318 Giersberg, *Das Stadtschloss zu Potsdam*.

319 In fact, was not until the 1960s that the discussion about Germany's responsibility for the First World War even got started, and in spite of the strong evidence brought to light by the historian Fritz Fischer, whose work unleashed the discussion, it remains a highly controversial issue even today. Fritz Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht. Die Kriegszielpolitik des kaiserlichen Deutschland 1914/1918* [Grab at World Power: The Military-Aim Policy of Imperial Germany 1914/1918] (Droste: Düsseldorf, 1961). The book was published in English as *Germany's Aims in the First World War*, which, in my view, obscures the explosiveness of the original title.

320 Giersberg, *Das Stadtschloss zu Potsdam*.





Figure 124: City Palace Potsdam (Bundesarchiv Bild 170-184).



Figure 125: City Palace Potsdam (Bundesarchiv Bild 170-242).



Surprisingly, Malik's extant written and visual work contains no reference to the sociopolitical situation there, even though it bore quite a few parallels with Turkey at the time. He also did not dwell on the artistic scene in Potsdam. The retrospective remarks on Germany in his anecdotes about the time in Potsdam reflect only confrontation, and not engagement, with the foreign country. Encounters seemed to have been defined by stereotypical thinking on both sides. For instance, on an arranged meeting between the young students from Turkey and families from Potsdam, the visitors were, according to Malik Aksel, showered with a "rain of questions [*soru yağmuru*]" about polygamy, harems and the like, while Malik Aksel did not withhold remarks about his surprise about the ignorance of the people in "one of the world's most advanced countries [*dünyanın en ileri bir memleket*]." "Advanced" is a striking characterisation of a country that had just lost the devastating war it itself had provoked, and that was struggling—and about to fail—to cope with the political, social and economic challenges of the time.<sup>321</sup> It appears that the absence of any reference in Aksel's works to the connections between the two countries, the Weimar and the Turkish Republic, reflects his perception of the two as totally different and unrelated entities.

### IV.3 One of Many Destinations

"Mr. Vicdani Malik, born 1 March 1903 in Salonica, studied at the State Art School in Berlin between Easter 1929 and autumn 1932 (7 terms)."<sup>322</sup> This

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321 Aksel, "Eski bir Hatıra," 187.

322 Translated from German. The original sentence is as follows: "*Herr Vicdani Malik, geboren am 1ten März 1903 in Saloniki, studierte von Ostern 1929 – Herbst 1932 (7 Halbjahre) an der Staatlichen Kunstschule in Berlin.*" Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, 1089. The indicated timespan from Spring 1929 to Fall 1932 comprises eight not seven terms, yet the exam was in June 1932. The handwriting of the draft of the certificate is not easy to decipher. Even though I am relatively sure that I transcribed the text correctly there remains a slight possibility that I have misread "Herbst 1932". I stick to the given transcription and leave the incongruence as for the argument here it is not significant if he stayed eight or seven semesters.

remark in the draft of Malik's certificate from the State Art School [*Staatliche Kunstschule*] in Berlin confirms that he studied at this institution, informs us about the duration of his studies there, and proves his successful graduation, albeit with a somewhat mediocre result.<sup>323</sup> As the previously mentioned resolution of the Education Board of 1928 already indicates and the follow-up statement of 1932 confirms, the four teachers pre-selected for the Art-Craft Department went all to different institutions. Within the general aim of this chapter to look into the specificity of Malik's journey, a few observations about the other institutions shall serve to contrast and compare them with the State Art School in Berlin.

Bonn, Cologne and Nääs were the other destinations that are directly named by the Education Board. Nääs was an estate located about 30 kilometres from Göteborg in Sweden. The name of this estate does not appear in any other document I could trace so far, save a single remark by one student of the first Art-Craft-Department teachers in Ankara, Hidayet Telli (1925-2008). She remembered that her teachers spent the summer holidays of the study period in Germany at "Naos [sic!] August Abrahamson".<sup>324</sup> Telli's remark provides the link that connects Nääs with the Normal School for Teachers of Sloyd [*Nääs Slöjdlärare Seminarium*] founded on the estate by its owner, the entrepreneur August Abrahamson (1817-1898) and his nephew Otto Salomon (1849-1907) in 1875. The school concentrated on bloc seminars during the winter and summer months in order to enable teachers, who could only absent their schools during holidays, to attend the courses.<sup>325</sup> The programme did not run throughout the year.

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323 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, 1089. Malik [Aksel] got the grade "3," which was the minimum grade necessary for passing the exam. The single documents in the folder with the number 1089 are not numbered, but the folder contains numerous documents. This is why I am indicating the inventory [Bestand] 9, number 1089 for several documents to which I refer here.

324 Hidayet Telli, "Cumhuriyetimizin Bir Anıt Kurumu: Karanlıktan Aydınlığa [A Memorial Institution of Our Republic: From Darkness to Light]," in *Üç Kuşak Gazi Eğitimli Sanatçılar* [Three Generations of Artists trained at the Gazi University] edited by Güler Akalan (Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), 27.

325 Otto Salomon, *The August Abrahamson Foundation Nääs* (Göteborg: Wald. Zachrissons Boktryckeri: 1904), 14. This booklet is a self-representation of the educational institution in which it presents its history, aims, workings and the facilities.

It offered supplementary training for active teachers. Thus, Telli's account, that the teachers from Turkey attended the school only during the summers and not for the entire period of four years, is most likely correct.

The Normal School for Teachers of Sloyd was not merely a school hidden in a Swedish village, but an institution that had achieved considerable and global notoriety very soon after its foundation in 1875: Torino, Zagreb, Rio de Janeiro, London, Boston, Java, Bucharest, Copenhagen, Cape Town, Brussels, Madrid, Amsterdam, Warsaw, Cairo, Rome, and St. Petersburg are the cities in which articles and books about the "Sloyd Method" were published in the respective languages of the cities mainly before 1900.<sup>326</sup> Sloyd is in fact a Swedish term whose spelling was simply adapted to English. Often the publications in other languages kept the term in its Swedish spelling *slöjd*, which further underlines its almost world-wide popularity in educational circles at the time, even more so as *slöjd* is easily translated literally into 'handicraft'.<sup>327</sup> The teachers who studied at the school came from Germany, France, Belgium, Russia, Italy, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Croatia, Romania, the Netherlands, Hungary, Bulgaria, Ireland, Serbia, Egypt and Greece.<sup>328</sup> I do not relegate these impressive lists to the footnotes as I wish to highlight the far-reaching reverberations of this school: until 1903, 3,909 students from 35 different countries attended its programme.<sup>329</sup>

As Hans Thorbjörnsson elaborates, Abraham and Solomon had the financial means and business contacts to promote their school and did so very actively.<sup>330</sup> They were fluent in German, English, French, and travelled each year abroad for several weeks. They distributed samples of their education tools and results in

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326 See bibliography assembled by Hans Thorbjörnsson in his article "Otto Salomon (1849-1907)" *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* XXIV/3 (1994): 471-485.

327 Thorbjörnsson, "Otto Salomon," 471.

328 Salomon, *The August Abrahamson Foundation Nääs*, 16.

329 Salomon, *The August Abrahamson Foundation Nääs*, 16.

330 Thorbjörnsson, "Otto Salomon," 478.

Germany, Switzerland, Brazil, the United Kingdom and the United States. The Swedish embassies in the European countries got involved and invited civil servants from all levels of public education to visit Nääs. They represented the school at the world fairs in Philadelphia (1876), Paris (1878), Chicago (1893), Paris (1900), St. Louis (1904), as well as at other international exhibitions in North Africa and South America. In the 1880s and 1890s official delegations from virtually all the aforementioned countries plus Japan were received in Nääs, and subsequently sent their students there.

This immense resonance has to be seen in relation with the rising importance given to the training in crafts, which must in turn be seen as connected to the fierce competition between countries to which I referred in Chapter II.2. But to frame the school merely within the topic of economic and political power relations would fall short of the inherent aim of developing a new approach in education that would enhance the capacities, independence and self-reliance of individuals through craft, and promote the respect for the work of every individual across the classes.<sup>331</sup> Salomon refers explicitly to the authors who constitute the main sources of the progressive education movement:

“Resigned to, and received by the schools, the sloyd question remained no longer a political-economical, but rather a *pedagogical one* [emphasis by Salomon] [...] Comenius, Francke, Locke, Rousseau, Basedow, Salzmann, Pestalozzi, Fröbel, are as we know, stars of the first magnitude in the art of education and all of them have, though maybe in different ways and from somewhat varying points of view, given expression to the opinion that the training of the hand should proceed simultaneously with that of the head and the heart.”<sup>332</sup>

The sloyd school thus already had a long tradition in its implementation and dissemination of progressive education when the Turkish teachers spent at least

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331 Thorbjörnsson, “Otto Salomon,” 474-476.

332 Salomon, *The August Abrahamson Foundation Nääs*, 10.

one of their summers there between 1929 and 1932. Salomon died in 1907 but instruction continued at the same site until 1966.<sup>333</sup> The programme that centred on the work with wood but also comprised physical education like dance and gymnastics, as well as lectures and discussions of progressive education. The school included boarding and was free of charge. The balance between the practical and theoretical parts of the programme bears striking similarities with the programme and its implementation at the Art-Craft Department in Ankara, although the latter included a greater variety of creative practices.

The brochure of the teacher-training school in Nääs advertises the facilities with small photographs of the interior and exterior of the buildings and gardens.<sup>334</sup> The buildings of the school complex in Nääs were modest in size, maintaining the appearance of village architecture apart from the so-called castle, the main mansion, that was used for meetings and festivities and provided rooms for prominent guests. The other buildings contained lecture rooms, three “sloyd rooms”, that is workshops for the work with wood, a model room, dwelling-rooms, and further bed-rooms. There was also a gymnasium. The outdoor space included a park in the immediacy of the castle and playgrounds for out-door sports. An outdoor pavilion housed a library for the use of the students. In addition to this, there was a small factory where furniture and tools for schools in Sweden and abroad were produced. The whole estate was detached from other settlements and situated by a lake. I have no proof, and it is a very far-reaching speculation, but the location and arrangement of the Nääs estate inspire the thought that the location of the Gazi Institute at relative remove from the urbanised area of Ankara, and in the direct vicinity of Mustafa Kemal’s model farm, might have been intended to create a similarly secluded pedagogical island as in Nääs.

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333 Thorbjörnsson, “Otto Salomon,” 479.

334 Salomon, *The August Abrahamson Foundation Nääs*, 30-33.

The impact of progressive education on German pedagogues becomes apparent in the approach to art and craft education that is articulated in numerous books on the subject in the 1920s. Malik bought some of these books and brought them to Turkey.<sup>335</sup> This approach is the basis for numerous pedagogical academies [*Pädagogische Akademien*] and teacher schools for “craft pedagogy [*Werkpädagogik*]” and “art pedagogy [*Kunstpädagogik*]” that were opened in the Weimar Republic in 1925 in order to counter the lack of teachers in general and teachers of this approach to education in particular.<sup>336</sup> Bonn and Cologne belonged to the cities in which the new teacher-training institutions were opened. Şinasi Barutçu and Hayrulla Örs studied at both the Craft Pedagogy Institute Cologne [*Institut für Werkpädagogik Köln*] and the Academy of Pedagogy [*Pädagogische Akademie*] in Bonn. It remains to be clarified by future studies if Mehmet Ali [Akademir] and İsmail Hakkı [Uludağ] also studied there. The programmes of the new teacher-training institutions reflect the idea of education through creative practices. The main motivation behind that approach consisted in the conviction that it was enhancing the capabilities and self-reliance of the individual to take individual decisions in and for a democratic society instead of submitting to and relying on a strict hierarchical order, and such individuals were considered the foundation of the new republican era. That there existed—beyond

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335 These books are also at the Şehbenderler Konağı Kütüphanesi in Bursa, Turkey. As I remarked in the first footnote to this chapter but should repeat here, the collection of Malik Aksel's books at this library was not catalogued when I visited the library in December 2012, and this is the reason for the lack of any signatures or numbers. The books on art education in this collection are: Paul Brandt, *Sehen und Erkennen: Eine Anleitung zu vergleichender Kunstbetrachtung*, siebente neu durchgearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage, mit 838 Abbildungen und 19 Farbentafeln (Leipzig: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1929); Hans Cornelius, *Elementargesetze der Bildenden Kunst* [Basic laws of plastic art], 3rd expanded edition (Leipzig: Teubner, 1921); Erna Dreiaek, *Ein Weg zum zeitgemäßen Zeichenunterricht* (Goslar: Lattmann, 1927); Philipp Franck, *Zeichen- und Kunstunterricht* (Frankfurt am Main: Moritz Diesterweg, 1928); Philipp Franck, *Das Schaffende Kind* (Berlin: Otto Stollbergverlag, 1929); “Werden – Geist – Form des Kunstunterrichtes im bildhaften Gestalten,” *Mitteilungen der Pelikan-Werke Günther Wagner Hannover und Wien* with contributions by J. F. Vydra for Czechoslovakia, Gustav Kolb for Germany and Richard Rothe for Austria, (Hannover und Wien: Günther Wagner 1928); Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht, ed., *Museum und Schule* (Berlin: Reimar Hobbing, 1930); Karl Scheffler, *Talente* (Berlin: Verlag Bruno Cassirer, 1919).

336 Wolfgang A. Reiss, *Die Kunsterziehung in der Weimarer Republik: Geschichte und Ideologie* [The Art Education in the Weimar Republic: History and Ideology] (Weinheim: Beltz, 1981).



potential commercial interests in this approach—a strong sociopolitical commitment becomes apparent by the fact that the majority of the pedagogues who developed and implemented this approach lost their positions due to their republican ideals right after Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) took power in 1933.<sup>337</sup>

One of the most influential art educators of the time in Germany was Philipp Franck (1860-1944). Two of the books on art education that Malik acquired in Germany are authored by Franck.<sup>338</sup> He was the director of the State Art School, the institution at which Malik studied in Berlin, until his retirement on 31 December 1929.<sup>339</sup> Even though Franck left his position two semesters after Malik began studying there, the former director maintained professional connections to the institution. Franck was also a member of Malik's exam committee, as the minutes of the Public Arts Examination Office [*Staatliches Künstlerisches Prüfungsamt*] from 22 June 1932 and the signature on Malik's certificate demonstrate.<sup>340</sup>

The close adherence to one educational ideal of the institutions at which the Turkish students studied suggests that they were deliberate choices of the Turkish Education Board. Due to Sedad Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] and Sedad Hakkı [Tonguç]'s engagement with the progressive education movement and their contacts with German educational institutions suggests that they were the driving forces behind those choices. Yet progressive education or art education was not merely a German phenomenon, as has been exemplified by the case of Nääs. The reasons for the concentration on institutions in Germany deserve further investigation in future studies, and here I can only speculate that they might have been related to

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337 Alex Diel, *Die Kunsterziehung im III. Reich: Geschichte und Analyse* [The Art Education in the Third Reich: History and Analysis] (München: Uni-Druck, 1969).

338 Philipp Franck, *Zeichen- und Kunstunterricht* (Frankfurt am Main: Moritz Diesterweg, 1928) and *Das Schaffende Kind* (Berlin: Otto Stollbergverlag, 1929).

339 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 165.

340 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 1089. Both documents are in the folder with this number.

Germany's diplomatic efforts and economic interests, which motivated a strengthening of the relationship between the two countries. The interest here now is to go beyond the educational ideals and investigate Malik's actual study experience. A closer look at the State Art School, its educational setting and its approach to art and teaching, shall elucidate his study environment and practices in Berlin.

## **IV.4 The State Art School in Berlin**

### **IV.4.1 Educational Setting**

Malik's ordinary day started with his leaving his home at "Berlin W. 30, Habsburgerstra. 4 [Habsburgerstraße 4, 10781 Berlin]" (Fig. 126), and walking down the street to the point where I took this photograph in April 2013 (Fig. 127).<sup>341</sup> The houses in this street have evidently been renovated a couple of times since Malik lived there, yet the main building structure has remained the same and gives an impression of the dimensions and the character of the young teacher's temporary neighbourhood, Schöneberg. Schöneberg obtained its status as a city only in 1898 and was independent from Berlin until 1912. Before World War One, the part in which Malik would live attracted the affluent upper class and was called the Bavarian Quarter [*Bayrisches Viertel*] because of the Northern-Alpine Neo-Renaissance style of the facades, or Jewish Switzerland [*Jüdische Schweiz*] because of its predominantly Jewish population. The State Art School was in the same neighbourhood in the Grunewaldstraße 2-5, at walking distance from Malik's house (Fig. 128).

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341 Malik [Aksel]'s address is mentioned in his graduation certificate. Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12.



Figure 126: The house in Berlin in which Malik lived (photo by the author).



Figure 127: Habsburgerstraße Berlin (photo by author).



the director included a detailed list of the required improvements, which offers insights into the contemporary understandings of the spatial necessities of such an institution. I include a detailed account of his list here as they were the starting point for the conception of the building in which Malik studied.

9 teaching halls facing North, of these 4 painting halls for the two preparatory courses, 23 halls for the evening courses, 2 for special courses [...] 6 teaching halls at East, 2 of them for Methodology and Board Drawing and Evening Courses, [...] 2 teaching halls facing South for Nude Drawing, 1 room for Linear Drawing for the Ladies' Courses, [...] 1 hall for temporary exhibitions of copies of master pieces for the study of art history, and, adjacent, the art library, [...] 4 recreation rooms for the 4 courses of the students [...] larger canteen with dining hall, [...] 1 director's office with waiting room, [...] larger offices and rooms for events, [...] larger lavatories, [...] 1 large storing room for the teaching materials.<sup>345</sup>

Mohn underlines his request by reference to the large number of applicants that had to be rejected simply for lack of space. In the academic year 1904/05, 82 of 362 applications could be accepted and the following year 81 of 381. The relation of male and female applicants and students was almost equal even though it remains unclear to what degree the school was coeducational.

The next document about the school building is a letter from 5 December 1914 by Philipp Franck, who was by then provisional, and starting from the following year official, director of the school.<sup>346</sup> In the time gap that lies between the two letters, a new building for the school had been designed and construction was

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Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12.

345 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12. The original text in German is: "9 Lehrsäle nach Norden, davon 4 malsäle für die beiden Unterkurse, 23 Säle für Abendklassen, 2 für Sonderkurse, [...] 6 Lehrsäle nach Osten, davon 2 für Methodik und Tafelzeichnen und für Abendsonderkurse, 4 für die zwei internen Übungsschulen, [...] 2 Lehrsäle nach Süden als Aktsäle, [...] 1 Linearzeichensaal für die Damenkurse, [...] 1 Saal für wechselnde Ausstellung von Reproduktionen nach Kunstwerken zum Studium für Kunstgeschichte, im Anschluß an die Kunst Bibliothek, [...] 4 Aufenthaltsräume für die 4 Kurse der Studierenden, [...] 1 grössere Kantine mit Esszimmer, [...] 1 Direktorzimmer mit Wartezimmer, [...] Grössere Bureaus und Veranstaltungsräume, [...] Grössere Klosetanlagen, [...] 1 großes Lehrmittelmagazin."

346 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12.

already well under way. The letter contains Franck's decisions about the distribution of the rooms in the new building. He included hand drawings of the ground plan, which is roughly identical with the building in which Malik studied (Figs. 129 and 130).

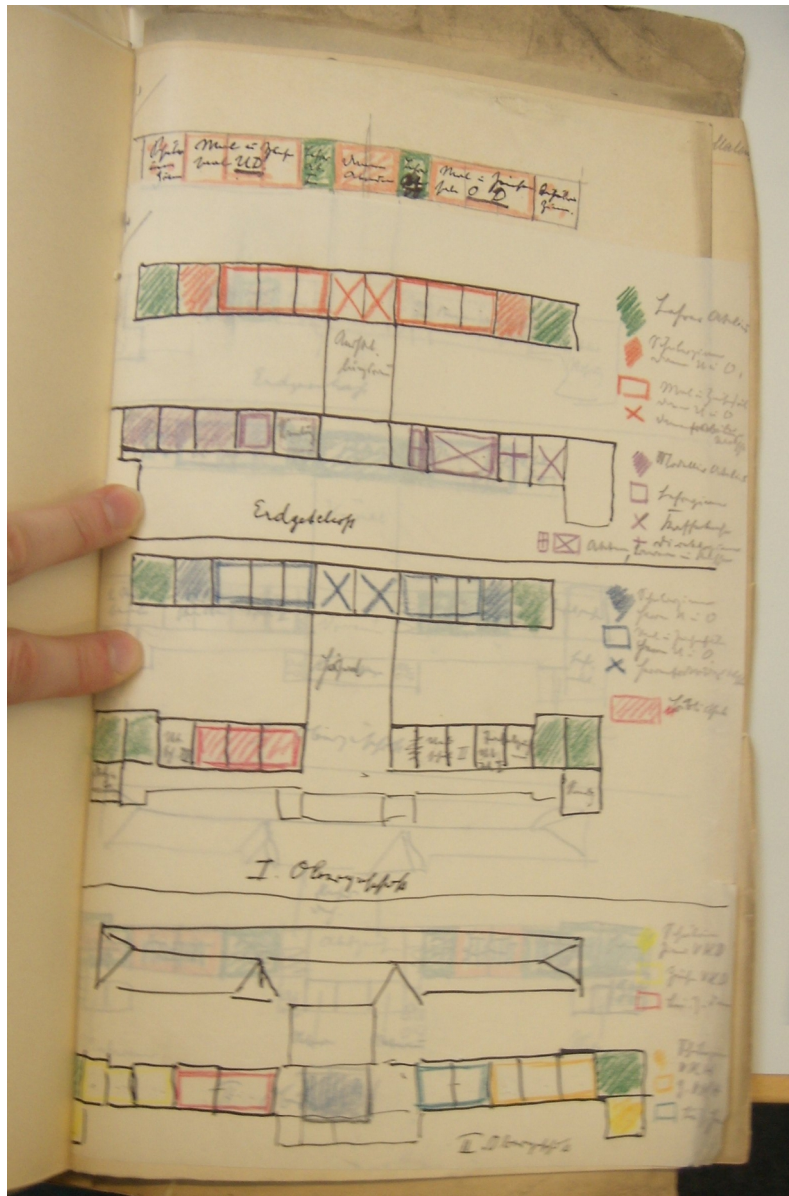


Figure 129: Sketch of ground plan of building of State Art School Berlin, 1914 (Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12.)



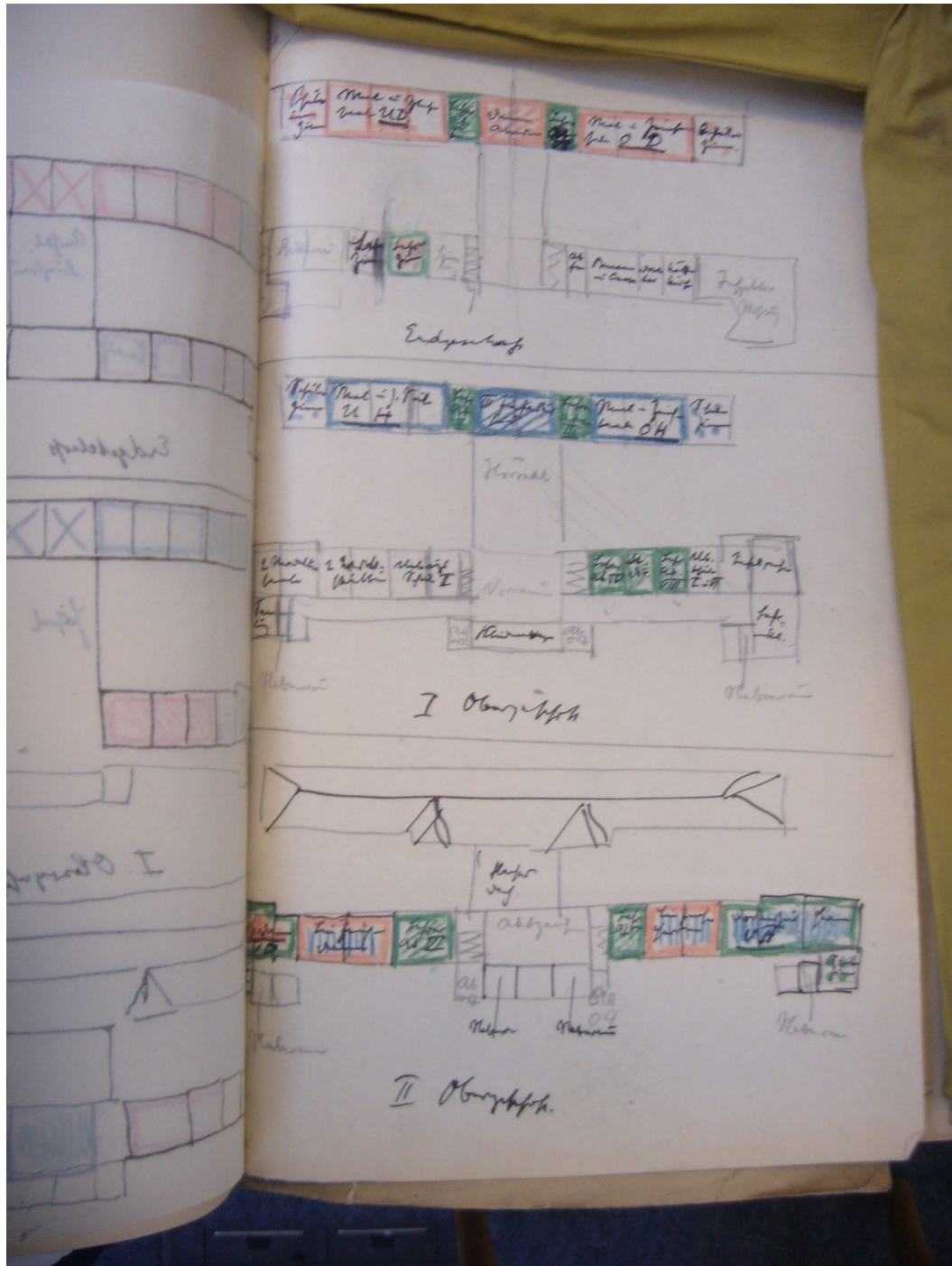


Figure 130: Sketch of ground plan of building of State Art School Berlin, 1914 (Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12.)

Unfortunately the handwriting is unintelligible in most parts, yet the drawings still help to illustrate the following summary of Franck's letter. His decisions appear to directly intervene with apparently previously agreed spatial distributions and at times even with the building structure itself. The main reason for these interventions are related mainly to daylight and the size of the spaces. For instance, some teachers had wished not only to have windows facing north but also gave other directions, including that the director replace the rooms of those teachers situated at the end of the wings and break holes into those facades that were it seems not originally intended to have windows. He continues with a list of walls that have to be broken down in order to enlarge rooms and adapt them to multiple uses which are determined to count on specific occasions with a larger number of students than on other occasions. For the interventions in the building structure he included a ministerial decree that confirmed that the implementation of the suggested changes were approved.

The letter conveys a rather chaotic construction process in which wishes for changes come up while the building was being constructed, which must have increased the expenses considerably. The letter is interesting for the purposes of this study, because it demonstrates that the spatial conditions of the school building were important for those who were going to use it, and that their interference had an impact on the final shape especially of the interior and the distribution of the different rooms. In the letter Franck explicitly states that his remarks were a summary of the wishes expressed by the faculty members. Indeed, the same archival folder contains numerous letters of the faculty members that answer to Franck's invitation to express their individual wishes for their respective class rooms and studios. If Franck's letter seemed chaotic, the letters by the faculty members with their disparate and detailed wishes appear at first sight to border the absurd. They do not document a particularly efficient approach to the process of equipping the new school building. However, they show what was important to the teachers and how individual and different their necessities were. It also demonstrates that each teacher had his or her own room for teaching.

The letters provide an impression of how the spaces and utensils affected the daily work in a school building and that the teachers were aware of this fact and used the opportunity to create conditions that they deemed favourable or necessary for their teaching.

For instance, one teacher wishes for his teaching room a “wall paint in delicate grey (not white) [Anstrich feines grau (nicht weiss)]”, linoleum for the floor, better light, adjustable drawing supports, vertical easels, and different seats and standing posts for the models. For his own studio he wants the same equipment as he saw in other schools that he visited, especially in Hamburg, without providing further details. The teacher for art history and director of the library asks for a dark room and corresponding equipment, a room with daylight from the south and the north, curtains, etc. Another teacher asks for water basins for water plants, a garden, a green house, a bird cage, a stable for “quadrupeds [Vierfüßler]”. Yet another teacher asks for “only one large window opening [nur eine grosse Fensteröffnung]” with the window sill high enough that the students can work close to the window while being protected against draughts during the winter months. He adds that for the free hand drawing a light angle from below was not very useful anyway. A document that dates from the following spring asks for the relocation of the conference hall in the first floor between the front and the rear building in order to improve its position in relation to the exhibition hall.

A year later, on 16 November 1916, the construction of the building, which must have been very advanced at that point, came to a sudden halt. The Minister of Spiritual and Education Affairs [Minister der geistlichen und Unterrichts-Angelegenheiten] informs that in order “to save labour [Zur Ersparung von Arbeitskräften]” those constructions of public buildings that had no direct or indirect war purposes had to stop.<sup>347</sup> After that, a time gap yawns in the archival folder until a petition letter of November 1919: the Housing Office of the City of

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347 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12.

Berlin [Wohnungsamt der Stadt Berlin] observed that the new building of the Art School would be completed within the following two months.<sup>348</sup> The Office requests that the spaces of the building, upon completion, would be given to the Central Offices [*Zentralbehörden*], and that the Art School should continue in the building it was using at the time. The justification for the requests follows a description of the drastic housing shortage, which was estimated to get even worse due to the immense influx of refugees. The request was going to be denied by the Minister of Science, Art and Popular Education [*Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung*], who orders the Central Offices to use the old school building instead.<sup>349</sup>

The new building was handed over to the State Art School on 16 November 1920.<sup>350</sup> The minutes of the official act show that the Public Construction Authority [*Staatliches Hochbauamt*] had signing responsibility for the construction at least for the period after the war. A local senior civil servant [*örtlicher Baubeamte Regierungs- und Baurat*] with the name Biermann directed the handover and signed the minutes. According to this document, Franck represented the school at the meeting and apparently did not miss the chance to bring forward further requests for modifications at the building. Biermann adds a comment to the minutes reminding the construction authorities that the costs had already overspent the budget and that no means should be made available for further changes. Biermann suggests it would be more efficient to first gather the numerous wishes for modifications and only then discuss whether further finances should be granted. Biermann's palpably unnerved comments read as if he had been the one who had to deal with the disparate and unorganised demands of the faculty of the school for the entire duration of the course of the construction of the building.

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348 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12.

349 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12.

350 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12.





Figure 131: State Art School in Berlin, front building (photo by the author).



Figure 132: State Art School in Berlin, West wing of rear building (photo by the author).



Figure 133: State Art School in Berlin, central building (photo by the author).



Figure 134: State Art School in Berlin, conference hall (photo by the author).





Figure 135: State Art School in Berlin, corridor front building, west wing (photo by the author).



Figure 136: State Art School in Berlin, corridor rear building, west wing (photo by the author).



Figure 137: State Art School in Berlin, studio (photo by the author).



Figure 138: State Art School in Berlin, windows of the studios (photo by the author).



Figure 139: State Art School in Berlin, studio (photo by the author).



Figure 140: State Art School in Berlin, studio window exterior (photo by the author).

The school building was not destroyed during World War Two and its original appearance is preserved to great extent. As contemporary visual documentation could not yet be traced, photographs taken in April 2013 shall provide an impression of the building. The hand-drawn ground plans (Figs. 129 and 130) show that the building consisted of a front building (Fig. 131) and rear building (Fig. 132). A central structure connected the two wings (Fig. 133). The front building consisted of three stories, including the ground floor. The central structure as well as the rear building had two stories. The conference hall is still located on the first floor of the central building where it was planned to be after Franck submitted his requests in 1916 (Figs. 134). In both the front and the rear building the corridor is located on the Southern front (Figs. 135 front and 136 rear). The class rooms are thus protected from direct sunlight, yet the very high, vertical windows in close succession create very bright rooms (Figs. 137 and 138). At the ends of the front building are large studios with immense windows, just one per room in fact (Figs. 139 and 140). This recalls one of the wishes brought forward by a teacher for his class room, but that might be simply a coincidence. The person in the photograph puts the size of the window in perspective and demonstrates that the windowsill was very high—yet another coincidence?

In the very first paragraph of his inauguration speech, Franck characterises the building as more practical, spacious and brighter than the former building.<sup>351</sup> He also recalls the hard times that defined the construction and the eventual equipment of the facilities—“responding to the penury of the time [*der Not der Zeit gehorchend*]”—with the furniture from the former building. The school thus made a new start after the war in a building that was new but conceived in times in which Schöneberg was investing in its growth and attraction of wealthy citizens. Schöneberg’s City Hall was constructed in 1914, the date that the building of the Art School was probably designed, and the quarter also received several school buildings, a hospital and administrative buildings before the war,

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351 20 November 1920. Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12.

reflecting the growth of the prosperous city at the centre of a self-confident imperial Germany. The conception of architecture that was favoured at those times and its location in Schöneberg defined the final form of the building of the Art School, but it was also affected by the war and subsequent poverty, as well as the numerous teachers working at the school. Moreover, Ministers and public servants ensured its completion as well as the definite use by the school and not by any other institution as it was temporarily requested. The research so far has demonstrated how uneven the construction process was and how many factors and actors intervened in it. This assembled building was Malik's daily study place. And just as the building was not a design that emerged out of the most advanced approaches to art education but was a compound of different times, conceptions and means, neither did the school's programme consist of only one single conception of art education but was the result of at least as much history and as many actors, and carried into a different era in art education as was the building in which the programme was implemented. The continuation of Franck's inauguration speech provides insights into the mix of approaches which were coming together. It shall introduce the next section about educational practices at the State Art School.

#### **IV.4.2 Approach to Art Education**

Before anything else, Philipp Franck recalls the historical relation of the State Art School to the Royal Academy of Fine Arts [Königliche Akademie der Künste].<sup>352</sup> The school merged in 1969 with the Academy and the Arts and Crafts School [Kunst- und Gewerbeschule] and changed its name, as mentioned above, from General Drawing School to Art School. The school's purpose was to train artisans in drawing, painting and modelling. It also prepared students for their studies at the Academy.<sup>353</sup> The main function of the Art School, however, was the training

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352 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12.

353 Michael Bollé, ed., *Der Campus: Ein Architekturführer durch das Gelände der Hochschule*



of art teachers. In German in the 1920s and 1930s the profession was still called ‘Drawing Teacher [*Zeichenlehrer*]’ but it comprised not only drawing but all sorts of visual arts and, at times, even sculpture. The first director of the Art School was the architect and avid promoter of the arts and crafts Martin Gropius (1824-1880). Thus, the Art School’s link to the Arts and Crafts movement was probably stronger than the connection to the Academy, a significant detail that finds no place in Franck’s speech. That the School even shared the same building as the Arts and Crafts School he dismisses as an unfortunate accident and not a deliberate and conceptual decision. Instead, he emphasises the long tradition of preparing artists for the Academy and the equal standards that were applied in the training. A slight air of inferiority complex towards the Academy appears to pervade his words.

When he speaks about the difficult task to combine the artist and the teacher in one personality, his conception of the artist becomes clear: “The strengths and force of the great artist is based on acting out his personality. In the most relentless egoism lies his strength. [*Die Kraft und die Wirkung des grossen Künstlers ruht in dem schrankenlosen Ausleben seiner Persönlichkeit. In dem unerbittlichsten Egoismus liegt seine Stärke*].” I have shown in Chapter II that this conception of the artistic profession was immensely challenged in Turkey. The same was true in Germany, as is often emphasised through the example of the Bauhaus. Yet what is often represented in art historiography as an overall tendency was not a particularly debated topic, and especially not in circles close to the traditional art academies, and the individualistic approach was still very prominent, especially as early as 1920, the year of Franck’s speech.

The opposite of the nature of the artist is, as Franck continues, the teacher who needs a great deal of empathy to perceive the student’s thinking and creativity. The art teacher should not follow the fashions in art, and should not understand

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*der Künste und der Technischen Universität Berlin* [The campus: an architectural guide through the grounds of the University of the arts and the Technical University Berlin] (Berlin: Willmuth Arenhövel, 1994), 39.



the students as “Ists [*Isten*]” but as individual personalities. Franck considers most significant the capability to promote the freedom of the student. “To suppress with police power something that the teacher does not appreciate is in my opinion the worst pedagogical mistake. [*Mit Polizeigewalt etwa das dem eher nicht Sympathische unterdruecken zu wollen, waere nach meiner Meinung der schwerste paedagogische Missgriff.*]” Franck continues: “No state, no art pope can dictate your feelings, look inside of you and dominate you arbitrarily, nor impose any artistic orientation [*Kein Staat, kein Kunstpapst kann Euch Eure Empfindungen vorschreiben, kann in Euer Inneres gucken und es willkuerlich lenken oder Euch eine Kunstrichtung aufzwingen.*]” These lines against authoritarianism are the first signs of a slight break with traditional academic training, as well as of the republican spirit that defines the books on art education that he would publish at the end of the 1920. The real task of the teacher is, he concludes, to open the eyes of the children so that they can see on their own. Franck must have promoted this spirit during his directorship until 1929, and the faculty apparently kept it alive thereafter, since in 1933 uniformed SA students stormed the State Art School, after their leader, Otto-Andreas Schreiber, who was an assistant at the Art School, had written a denunciatory letter accusing numerous professors of “cultural bolshevism [*Kulturbolschewismus*]”.<sup>354</sup>

The Nazis were already the strongest party in the elections of 1932, the year up until which Malik studied at the Art School. Yet before the *Reichstag* conferred totalitarian power to Hitler in March 1933, there is no sign of a change to the liberal atmosphere at the school. Malik did not leave any documents about the impact of the political situation on the workings at the school. All that can be said about his study experience at the school itself has to be deduced from the two subjects he chose and the rather vague descriptions of the requirements of his graduation exam.

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354 Bollé, *Der Campus*, 42.

Malik's main subject was "Drawing [*Zeichnen*]." <sup>355</sup> The examination regulations demonstrate that "drawing" is used here with the general connotation as in 'drawing teacher' and included various types of visual arts. <sup>356</sup> Paragraph 10 of the regulations defines "Drawing" as the compulsory subject for all students. Each student had to choose two subjects. Malik's second, elective subject was "Graphic Techniques [*Graphische Techniken*]." <sup>357</sup> The exams consisted of tasks that spanned several days. All together, the exam period lasted from 6 to 20 June 1932. For the main subject he had to either draw or paint objects, animals or a portrait first from memory and, second, after a life model or a still life assembled by himself. Other requirements were drawing with drawing tools like rulers, etc., the writing of a text in a specific font, and an oral exam in Art History, which were to be supplemented by drawings on the board, and an exam in pedagogy. For Graphic Techniques he received the task of producing an etching, a lithography or a woodcarving, and he was tested about one of the techniques that he did not choose in an oral exam. The time he had for the different tasks was twenty-four hours for the painting or drawing, six hours for the drawing with drawing tools, eight hours for the composition of the text. The oral exam in Art History was fifteen minutes, and in Pedagogy half an hour. For the print he got sixteen hours.

According to Malik, his teacher at the Art School was Rudolf Großmann (1882-1941). <sup>358</sup> Großmann had indeed been employed at this institution since 1 May 1929 as drawing teacher. <sup>359</sup> He was, however, not a "famous [ünlü]" painter as Ayvazoğlu claims. <sup>360</sup> According to the short, handwritten curriculum vitae by Großmann himself, which is among the documents in his personnel records of the

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355 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 1089.

356 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 1080.

357 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 1089.

358 Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *Malik Aksel: Evimizin Ressamı* (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 201), 41-42.

359 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 179.

360 Ayvazoğlu, *Malik Aksel*, 41.

State Art School, he studied ten years at the *Académie Julian* in the studio of “Lucien Limon”.<sup>361</sup> I have not yet been able to find any information about Lucien Limon. In the beginning of the 1920s, Großmann moved back to Berlin and worked predominantly as book illustrator. Also in his independent work he focussed on print making and drawing. He got peripherally involved in the circle around the editor and gallery owner Paul Cassirer (1871-1926) and exhibited his work in Cassirer’s gallery once in 1925.<sup>362</sup> However, he did not manage to gain the full recognition of the other artists represented by Cassirer nor could he support himself from his art alone, this probably being the reason why he applied for the position at the Art School.<sup>363</sup> Großmann certainly knew Franck, who had signed responsible for his employment. Franck was, like Cassirer, a founding member of the Berlin Secession (1898), and Cassirer’s gallery became the focal point of the secession artists.<sup>364</sup>

Großmann’s work is characterised by relentless observation of social life in the streets of Berlin. In his drawings, water colours and prints he depicted the other side of the Golden Twenties in Berlin, that of the war invalids, refugees in the streets, that of inflation and unemployment. His figures are rendered in a sketchy manner, the faces only adumbrated or blurred, a feature that increasingly characterises Malik’s watercolours of the 1930s. The young Turkish teacher arrived in the Berlin in the year of the Great Depression, thus stumbling right into the next Metropolis in poverty. He might have felt sympathy with Großmann’s way of approaching daily life around him and converting the observations in small, quickly executed works.

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361 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 179, Blatt 2.

362 Rudolf Großmann, *Sonderausstellung Berlin* [Special Exhibition], catalogue of the exhibition at the gallery of Paul Cassirer, Berlin, December 1925.

363 Großmann tried eagerly to network with artists of the Secession but his expressed appreciation for their work was not mutual. For instance, in 1923, Lovis Corinth (1858-1925), a friend of Franck’s and, also founding member of the Berlin Secession, too, cynically and with condescending disinterest rejected Großmann’s offer to exchange prints and drawings. Akademie der Künste, Berlin, George-Grosz-Archiv, Nr. 295.

364 The Berlin Secession was founded in 1898. It was an art association that sought to open alternatives to the domination of the artistic domain by the academic artists.

Until now, I have only been able to find two works that Aksel made during his time in Berlin, two etchings (Figs. 141 and 142). In the latter, he depicts the building of the Academy of Fine Arts (Fig. 143) in the Prinz-Albrecht-Straße in Berlin Charlottenburg. The most remarkable feature of these etchings is their perspective.



Figure 141: Malik, etching, between 1929-1932 (Malik Aksel Archive).





Figure 142: Malik, etching, between 1929-32 (Malik Aksel Archive).



Figure 143: Building of Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin (Bollé 1994, 21).

On the basis of the observations of Malik's work throughout this thesis, I interpret the angle of the view of the buildings, that is, depicting the backyard instead of the representative facades, as a deliberate choice. But the etchings also possess a value as historical documents, because they confirm that Malik also worked inside the Academy building. Until 15 January 1931, Großmann had rented an extra studio in the building.<sup>365</sup> It is remarkable that Großmann paid "39 RM (*Reichsmark*)" for a studio while he certainly had one in the building of the State Art School.<sup>366</sup> In any case, he might also have given classes in the Academy building, as his studio, at 36m<sup>2</sup>, was big enough to invite students over.<sup>367</sup> Moreover, among Malik Aksel's text in which he pretended to transcribe conversations and observations he made during the Third State Painting and Sculpture Exhibition in Ankara in 1941, is a very detailed description of the process how the nude models for the drawing classes at the Academy were selected on the "Stein-Platz", the place right in front of the main entrance of the Academy building.<sup>368</sup> Even though written as if simply overhearing the account of a third person, I agree with Ayvazoğlu that the described experiences of the practices at the Academy in Berlin had been his own, and that he frequented the Academy building and the drawing classes there on a regular basis. Given the dynamics and diversity of the artists, teachers and students at both the State Art School and the Academy, it would be ludicrous to limit Malik's artistic development in Berlin to the 'influence' of Großmann alone.

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365 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 8, Nr. 229, Blatt 3.

366 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 8, Nr. 229, Blatt 5.

367 Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 8, Nr. 229, Blatt 5.

368 Malik Aksel, "XXIII: 20 Sontışrın 1941 [XXIII: 20 November 1941]," in Malik Aksel, *Sanat Hayatı: Resim Sergisinde Otuz Gün* [Art Life: Thirty Days at the Art Exhibition], edited by Beşir Ayvazoğlu (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2010), 123-146.



## IV.5 Discovery of World Art History

The most eloquent manifestation of Malik's engagement with the diversity of Berlin's artistic domain and its knowledge production is his collection of books on art history that he purchased during his years in Germany.<sup>369</sup>

It comprises a number of conventional art historical studies that centre on the European canon, Italian renaissance and deploy the categorisation according to standardised epochs and artistic disciplines, but it also holds as many publications on contemporary art, mainly on expressionism and cubism, that are adventurous in their choice of subject though still defined by traditional art-historical precepts. A third type of book within his collection is a reminder of the growing interest in art that was practised outside of the hitherto dominant focus of art historiography. Malik bought seventeen books—twice as many as on contemporary art or European art history—about modern and ancient world art history, published in Germany between 1910 and 1931. This profusion of books is the result of an intensified research activity on world art history at the beginning of the twentieth century that has not yet received any consistent scholarly attention, with the exception of the work of the art historians Ernst Diez and Josef Strzygowski who I referred to in Chapter II.2 and who authored some of the publications in Malik Aksel's collection.<sup>370</sup>

A remark in a source already used in this chapter sparks speculation about a correlation between these research activities and the emergence of ethnographic museums [*Völkerkunde Museen*] in the late nineteenth century; in the letter of

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369 These books are also at the *Şehbenderler Konağı Kütüphanesi* in Bursa, Turkey. The complete list of the over 50 books follows the general bibliography of this thesis. I structured the book list into five categories: 1) World Art History, 2) Contemporary Art, 3) Art History, 4) Art Education, and 5) Miscellaneous.

370 The only article on World Art Historiography in Germany that I have been able to trace so far was published decades ago and is on East Asian art history alone. Eleanor von Erdberg, "Die Anfänge der ostasiatischen Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland [The beginnings of the East-Asian art history in Germany]," in *Kategorien und Methoden der deutschen Kunstgeschichte 1900-1930* [Categories and Methods of German Art History 1900 – 1930] edited by Lorenz Dittmann, 185-206. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1985.

1916 that orders the cessation of the construction of all public buildings that had no direct involvement in the purposes of the war, the list of buildings also included “the new building of the Asian Museum in Dahlem [... 3. *der Neubau des Asiatischen Museums in Dahlem*]”.<sup>371</sup> Because of its growing collection, the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin planned to structure the collection according to the world regions Africa, Asia, Oceania, and America and construct a new building ensemble consisting of four separate buildings in the West of the city, in Dahlem. The architect Bruno Paul (1874-1968) was commissioned and initiated the construction of the building for the Asian collection in 1914. As we have seen, constructions were discontinued, but eventually completed in 1921, yet the financial means did not suffice for the realisation of the entire four-building complex. During Malik’s stay in Berlin, the exhibitions were still displayed in the Ethnographic Museum in the centre of Berlin, a kilometre south of the Brandenburg Gate, and Malik was an ardent visitor.<sup>372</sup>

The foundation of an independent ethnographic museum was the initiative of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Antiquity [*Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*], yet it was supported by the imperial government, received a newly constructed representative building and was opened in 1886. The imperialist power aspirations that dominated cultural-political decisions and actively employed art and cultural activities to its ends certainly led to the Society’s success in receiving public funding.<sup>373</sup> In fact, the museum foundations in Europe and the United States in general were a direct result of a fierce competition between the nations about not only political but also cultural hegemony.<sup>374</sup> Yet, as Angela Windholz elaborates, once initiated, and

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371 Letter from the Minister of Spiritual and Education Affairs [Minister der geistlichen und Unterrichts-Angelegenheiten] 16 November 1916. Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv, Bestand 9, Nr. 12.

372 Malik Aksel, “Gurbette Fakir Bir Genç,” *Türk Edebiyatı* 30 (June 1974): 12-15. Reproduced in *İstanbul’un Ortası* edited by Beşir Ayvazoğlu, 262-269. (Istanbul: Yapı Yayınları, 2011), 265.

373 Windholz, *Et in academia ego*, 77.

374 Joseph Imorde, *Michelangelo Deutsch!* (Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009),

especially in the explosive political situation on the verge of World War One, the founders of the new concept of foreign cultural policy [*auswärtige Kulturpolitik*], especially Karl Lamprecht (1856-1915), further refined their approach and sought to enhance its potentials to improve international communication and understanding on the basis of long-term analysis of world-historical developments.<sup>375</sup> Whatever the motivation behind the research on world art history, the books in Malik's collection partly include initial thoughts that depart from universalist claims and orientalist clichés and venture a rethinking of the conceptual framework of world art history distinct from the one developed in relation with the masterpieces of European artists of the academic triad architecture, sculpture and painting.<sup>376</sup> With the renewed interest in world art history, re-named global art history in its search for a non-Eurocentric perspective today, those initial steps in that direction are worth attention in future studies.

The broad thematic sweep of the book collection demonstrates that Malik was not merely aiming at studying 'German art', whatever that could have been during his years in Berlin, nor did he limit himself to the official task of studying art pedagogy in a narrow sense. Rather it appears that in Berlin he discovered his interest in underrepresented cultural and artistic artefacts and practices far outside of the German territory, and would, not long after his return, himself undertake and promote the study of folk culture in the Turkish provinces. What is more, Malik was not a naïve and uncritical recipient of the arts' and art history's interests in the cultures and cultural production overseas. It appears that he was aware and critical of unequal power relations and issues of domination inherent in the prevailing even if slightly shuffled Euro-centric perspective; I mentioned above his reference to the model market on the Stein-Platz in front of the main entrance of the Academy building in Berlin. In fact, the language that he used to describe the model-selection process is much harsher. The market reminded him

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375 Windholz, *Et in academia ego*, 77.

376 von Erdberg, "Die Anfänge der ostasiatischen Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland," 196-197.

of “slave markets [*esir pazarları*],” the models were treated in his view like pieces of furniture, and when it was his turn to hire a model for the next drawing class, he had to select a “black and gipsy [*zenci ve çingene*]” model according to the “Gauguin fashion [*Gauguin modası*]” of the time.<sup>377</sup> The portraits that Malik was going to paint in the future appear to guard the model’s integrity, the portraits are not voyeuristic, and he refrains from objectifying the individuals that he studied in his paintings.

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377 Malik Aksel, “XXIII: 20 Sontışrın 1941 [XXIII: 20 November 1941],” in Malik Aksel, *Sanat Hayatı: Resim Sergisinde Otuz Gün* [Art Life: Thirty Days at the Art Exhibition], edited by Beşir Ayvazoğlu, 123-146 (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2010), 126-127.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The research for this dissertation ended in a small library in Bursa, Turkey, in front of a pile of books on world art history in German predominantly from the 1920s. This is a peculiar coincidence, it seems to me, for a German-speaking historian, interested in elaborating global-art-historical approaches. The serendipitous course of the investigation, planned and then distracted by unexpected sources and information appears like an illustrative, first-hand case for the importance of studying the specific precisely because each journey has its own meaningful and meaning-generating turns.

The significance of the strong empirical orientation of the approach that defined the previous chapters lies in its ability to acknowledge and work across different epistemic zones. The authors of the books on world art history in Malik Aksel's legacy were certainly not all troubled by the fact that they imposed their universalist outlook on creative practices and their physical outcome in the world. Yet, as mentioned before, some of them were realising the limitations such an outlook brings about because it misses out and misunderstands everything that does not bend into a pre-established knowledge order. Such a stance was not further developed and was soon, it seems, entirely forgotten by art historians, especially in German academia, and only became popular again with Michel Foucault's enthusiasm for Jorge Luis Borges' "certain Chinese encyclopedia [*certaine encyclopédie chinoise*]", or Gayatri Spivak's notion of "epistemic violence," with which, not least in reference to Foucault, she describes the hegemony of "Western" ways of knowing.<sup>378</sup>

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378 Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1966), 7. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman

In current global-art-historical discussions seek to remedy the unsustainable universalism of the conceptual and terminological framework in use, yet it remains an unsolved issue.<sup>379</sup> The question, which arises with the observations undertaken in the previous chapters, is whether a rigid framework or any stabilised body of reference is beneficial or even possible. Even if a researcher makes the study of her home village the centre of her professional life, she would still be a traveller, first in time and second as only resting point in a probably changing environment—as we learn not least through Arjun Appadurai. It seems that the discussions in global art history put in question the assumption of any stable entity, no matter where one might rest or travel. The summary of the previous chapters shall revisit the main observations and provide some extra guidance as to the points of interconnection within this broad discussion, while also reflecting on the limits and potentials of the approaches taken in this dissertation for global-art-historical studies.

The introduction to this dissertation provided details of the theoretical reference points which underpin the research overall. It was necessary to begin with these as they shaped the wider methodological strategy, which is an integral part of the study. In order to elicit the way in which creative practice, conceptualisation, and empirical conditions all coalesce, the investigation looked closely at selected objectual, spatial, and human actors that both engendered and shaped the work at the Academy of Fine Arts and the Art-Craft Department. Approaches developed in Social History had significant influence on the decision here to adopt this mobile perspective, particularly because of their emphasis on individual experience and agency. In addition, New Area and Transnational Studies have inspired me to apply their performative conception of geographical boundaries to epistemic and social delineations. The most formative influence for the approach

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(eds), *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press: 1994): 66–111.

379 See a recent review of the state of the art in global art history by Monica Juneja, “Global Art History and the ‘Burden of Representation’”, in *Global Studies: Mapping Contemporary Art and Culture*, edited by Hans Belting, Jakob Birken, and Andrea Buddensieg, 274–297 (Stuttgart: Hantje Cantz: 2011).



adopted in this dissertation, however, has been the Actor-Network-Theory as conceived by Bruno Latour. Three notions derived from this theory have been particularly useful: ‘actor’, ‘agency’, and ‘dislocality’. A brief description of these notions is provided here, followed by a summary of the chapters.

‘Actor’ refers to anything that makes a difference in the course of an action or modifies a situation. The term covers not only human individuals but also things or spaces. In contrast to the ‘intermediary’, who transports meaning without translation, the actor is a mediator who transforms, modifies, or translates the meaning or element it is carrying or receiving. Actors constitute the nodes in a network of flows of translations. In contrast to other theories where it is argued that within a given structure each individual acts in the same way, the actor according to Latour’s conception is not substitutable because the actor is not ‘in’ a structure; rather, the structure is made up of interacting actors.

Agency, the impulse to act, does not originate in one actor alone. The actor is not the sole source of the impulse to act but receives the agency through confrontation or interaction with other entities. Thus agency is not the transmission of full causality. Causality and intention are altered by a process of translation that occurs between actors, and the translation experiences interferences throughout the process.

It is also for this reason that action is dislocated, meaning that it is tied all the time to the agency which is brought into the place from the outside. Observing the objects and subjects of a local interaction, one is led immediately in many directions out of the time and place of the interaction. The subjects and objects come from different places and have received the impulses for their actions from other individuals, things, and events that took place elsewhere. The subjects interacting in the place are interacting with the place and with the objects gathered in and constituting it. Thus the place and its objects are not a scenography alone but contribute to the way the interaction is carried out. In the

dissertation I have opted to employ the notion of translocality instead of dislocality because it better expresses the performativity at play, and also because it is a notion that has already been used in historical studies.

Chapter II addressed the agency of the institutions' exteriority within the creative processes. This agency is observable in the interferences with the workings of the schools as well as in the work of individual members. The interferences have proved to be direct links between the historical actors and their specific contexts. The intent of observing the immediate context or intimate exteriority was to restrain myself from imposing a perspective defined by later historiographical frames or unrelated knowledge categories. The chapter was addressed primarily to those interferences for which a tangible, empirical source could be traced. Comparisons and references that appeared reasonable but vague are highlighted as such. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first deals with the interferences by the actual tangible environment, which for the Art-Craft Department in Ankara was its physical location; the second part deals with the conceptions of art that played out on the institutionalisation of art education.

The etching *Nenek Köyü*, an unimposing yet also unvarnished depiction of an informal settlement in Ankara's vicinity, was the entry point to the first part of Chapter II, and this was for several reasons: It is a work by Malik Aksel, the first art teacher of the Art-Craft Department, and thus, through the author, was directly connected to the institution. It is the only view of Ankara's built environment among Malik Aksel's extant works. The peculiar and uncommon motif contrasts with the Republican constructions that were the focus of contemporary photographs, and which have been disseminated to an incomparably higher degree. The tension between the two perspectives was directly addressed by the author of the etching in an article, and this tension triggered the further investigation included in this section.

To enquire how Malik Aksel's perspective was even possible, the sections addressed the selection of Ankara as the capital of the Turkish Republic. This change in designation was the main reason for the city's unprecedented growth, which even by 1928 had quadrupled the population to more than one hundred thousand people. In continuation, the section studied Ankara's extant building structure. Ankara presented itself as insufficient to house the requisite people and institutions, inevitably leading to the spread of informal settlements but also to massive construction activities on behalf of the government. Given the limited availability of structural, material, and human resources after a decade of almost continuous warfare, these activities concentrated on administrative and educational buildings.

Among the first major projects was the building of the Gazi Institute of Education, which was completed in 1929 and in which the Art-Craft Department opened in 1932. As part of the development of the new capital, the Gazi Institute of Education was assigned a role as setting an example, and the faculty members and students of the Art-Craft Department actively participated in framing the Republic as progressive and modern, especially in binary comparisons with an Ottoman past rendered as backward and bygone.

The section has demonstrated that the change from what was then marked as old towards the Republican model was perceived as conflictual. The sources also suggest that, at least in the case of Malik, there was an awareness of the mechanisms of representation, and that the marginal and non-represented spaces formed part of the general consciousness as well as of ordinary experience. As regards the example of the Art-Craft Department in general and its first art teacher Malik in particular, the investigations within this section have led to the interpretation that the exteriority particularly affected Malik's work precisely because of its ambiguity. It appears that Malik perceived and visualised the tension between the affirmative image of the official representation and the complementary picture of the strained social conditions.

The conceptions of art that shaped the institutionalisation of art education in Turkey are more elusive than the empirical exteriority. The strategy of the second section of Chapter II, namely to trace connections between them nonetheless, is twofold. First it outlines comparative points of reference to cultural policies in Europe. This is motivated by a journey through Europe undertaken in 1927 by the Minister of Education, Mustafa Necati, accompanied by the future director of the Academy of Fine Arts, Namik Ismail, with the expressed objective to study approaches to education, including art education. Mustafa Necati did refer to the impact of his observations abroad on his cultural political decisions, yet he left those remarks without further specification. Consequently, the references remain as general as those remarks. Therefore, in continuation, this section contrasted those observations with conceptions of the Academy of Fine Arts that were expressed by Namik Ismail in an open discussion on artistic training, and other conceptions which underlie the foundation process and the programme of the Art-Craft Department.

The section outlined two outstanding traits of the cultural political motivations for public funding of artistic training in Europe, and particularly in Germany: one motivation relies on the assumptions of a moralising and civilising agency of high art in the formation of a national sentiment and aesthetic state formation. The underlying aim was to create a distinctively national culture as defence against foreign expansionary aspirations and for deployment for imperialist ends. The other was triggered not least by the world exhibitions and relies on the importance assigned to arts and crafts in rendering the national industrial and manufactured production competitive on the international market. While this general outline points to potential and plausible parallels to Turkish cultural-political objectives, the section has also underlined that at this stage the outline still draws upon a unilateral or Euro-centric perspective, which the dissertation seeks to redress. Hence the continuation of the section via the examination of supplementary sources.

The first main source body is the heated two-month-long discussion in the form of open letters published in the new Turkish daily *Cumhuriyet* in 1931 and 1932, in which Namik Ismail as the director of the Academy of Fine Arts defends his institution against the critique by the painter and art critic Ali Sami [Boyar]. Through the framework of this dispute, it has been shown that the Academy of Fine Arts sought to adhere against all odds to the academic model on which it had been based since its foundation in 1883, at least as far as the training practices were concerned. However, Namik Ismail's references to modern artists and certain other explicit statements also bring to the fore that the school was less dogmatic about the eventual outcome of the training. This assumption is further supported by the fact that all painting teachers at the Academy of Fine Arts were trained at the Academy Julian in Paris. This art school imparted the main training practices of the *École des Beaux-Arts*, yet departed from the *École's* fixation with classicism. Nonetheless, the modern idea of the autonomy of the arts and the artist, and the belief in high art and its potential to elevate the national culture, permeate all of Namik Ismail's arguments, and were at the same time the main reason for Ali Sami's critique. Ali Sami considered the distance from local culture inadequate for the nation-building process. The analysis of this discussion closed by observing the absence of any remark on the other disciplines taught at the academy, for instance decorative arts, something which suggests that both authors did agree on one point: namely that art was painting.

The second main source body is related to the historical development and the programme of the Art-Craft Department. The study of this material has demonstrated that the approach to art at this school differed from that of the Academy not only in the variety of media employed but also in the emphasis on practice instead of on the tangible outcome of art-making. The study has observed that, paralleling the trends in Europe, handicrafts as a school subject were institutionalised and Schools of Industry opened in the late Ottoman Empire to raise production standards. Yet the investigation has encountered an additional characteristic, which was introduced mainly by the Ottoman pedagogue Sati' [al-

Husri] and then included in the programme of the Art-Craft Department by his student and later colleague İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] and İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç]. Beyond any commercial interests in skilled labour, Sati' promoted what he thought was the ability of creative practices to engage with and learn from life in order to enhance independent thinking and engender self-reliant members of an envisioned democratic society. This inclination most likely motivated the engagement of İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] and İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] with the progressive education movement, and the teaching of its principles at the Art-Craft Department as explicitly stated in the programme. Even though painting – or what we may call today visual arts – assumed an important role in the department, it appears that the primordial aim of the training was not the painting as object, but rather the creative practice in itself as an epistemic tool and a link to everyday life. This is an artistic approach that has not yet been studied in relation with the Arts-and-Crafts movement, nor in relation to any other aspect of the early Republican artistic field. It further raises the question of whether Malik's excursions with his students did not indeed pursue that very aim to engage with the daily life around them.

The section closed by raising questions about the impact of contemporary historiography on the importance that Mustafa Necati was ascribing to the development of decorative arts and handicrafts in Turkey. Contemporary historiography of non-European art is characterised by focus on only two areas: applied arts and architecture. But, at the same time, the handicrafts practiced within the Turkish territory were conceived of as a typical national art. The correlation between this interpretation of the history of art and the selective study of cultural production in the region deserves further investigation because there are indications that it directly motivated the foundation of the Art-Craft Department and the opening of the new Department of Decorative Arts at the Academy of Fine Arts.



Chapter III explored the empirical conditions of the training practices at the Art-Craft Department and the Academy of Fine Arts. The intent was to observe how the spaces, materials, and tools of daily practice enabled, constrained, or enhanced the process of making art. The observations suggest that instead of being defined by the pre-existing building that it started to use, the Academy of Fine Arts to great extent assimilated its setting to its educational practices; whereas the new building of the Gazi Institute of Education, in which the Art-Craft Department was opened, had a powerful and perhaps at times even overwhelming effect on its creative work.

With the Twin Palace, the Academy of Fine Arts obtained a building with a significant legacy. A water-front palace build next to the Dolmabahçe Palace for the daughters of the sultan, and designed by the same architect, Garabet Amira Balyan, it had served as the last seat of the Ottoman Parliament. However, references to the meaning of the building's history by the members of the Academy of Fine Arts or in their work have not been traced so far. Moreover, the research has shown that the building was in a deteriorated state when the Academy of Fine Arts obtained it. Insights into the renovated spaces soon after the school resumed its activities there in 1926 have been gained through the interior photographs that were taken around 1927. They show that the buildings' renovation and refurbishment did not exceed the functional level. There is no sign of an interest in the preservation or restitution of the building's historical features, or in displaying its freighted past. The spaces seem entirely occupied by their new uses, which required yet-further-alienating interventions such as the introduction of large window-walls in the studios, or the merger of several rooms for large studio spaces. The additional studio building by Vedat [Tek] that has been discovered in the course of the research for this dissertation is retained in an entirely ahistorical style. The only historical references that appear in the photographs are the copies of Greek sculptures that occupy several transitory spaces, as well being present in studios. The photographs, interpreted in this

section as a self-portrait of the Academy of Fine Arts, place emphasis on the spaces as they were actually being used by the Academy.

The tentative reconstruction of the use and spatial organisation of this building in this chapter indeed suggests an academic pattern in which there existed a clear delineation between the artistic disciplines. The Department of Architecture occupied the left side of the palace, and the other departments, those of Painting, Sculpture, and Decorative Arts, were distributed on the other part and in the Studio Building. The Department of Teacher Training, which was at least according to the programme opened within the Academy of Fine Arts in 1924, could not be identified due to the complete lack of sources pertaining to it. The interpretation of the use of the building has further led to the assumption that there existed a hierarchical ordering of the arts. The special status of the Department of Architecture has been noted already in Chapter II and the location of its studios within the building provides further support for this argument. The Department of Sculpture and particularly the Department of Painting occupy more and larger spaces than the Department of Decorative Arts. Thus while there was an intention, as mentioned in the previous chapter, to promote the decorative arts, and even though such a department was indeed opened within the Academy, a certain discrepancy in the allocation of spaces cannot be denied. Either their activities did not receive comparable means of support back then, or not they do not receive the same scholarly attention today. Or both.

The investigation of the educational material and tools leads to the same interpretation. It has brought to the fore that Ceramics was a further section of the Department of Decorative Arts. It occupied two additional rooms that are not among the interior photographs mentioned above. These rooms were neglected as regards equipment, and until the beginning of the 1930s were located in the barely illuminated basement. This slow start possibly reflects that priorities were given to the other departments at the beginning of the reactivation of the school. Student works from the painting department demonstrate austerity too, especially

in their size. On the other hand they mirror Namık İsmail's approach to artistic training and overwhelmingly emphasize nude painting. At this point of the investigation, the implementation of artistic training at the Academy of Fine Arts conveys the impression that the efforts were geared towards the re-establishment or continuation of its interpretation of academic training. It was implemented even though the means at this institution were also notably limited. The Academy of Fine Arts adapted the given educational setting as far as possible to its own ends. It appears as if its approach to art was superimposed on the spatial and material conditions.

In contrast, the Art-Craft Department was opened in a new building, that of the Gazi Institute of Education. The planning of the department was already set in motion during the construction process of the building between 1927 and 1929. The examination of the authorship of the design of this building has identified Kemalettin as the architect; however, it also suggests that İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] and İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] intervened in the planning of the school building, which was the biggest and most expensive construction project in Ankara at the time. Further sources which detail the careful preparation of the equipment of the school building, for which İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] was commissioned, have revealed the importance with which the educational material and spaces were indeed invested. Thus it is most likely that the educational approach considerably shaped the architectural form and the choice of the equipment. The ensemble appears as if tailored for the needs of the department.

At the same time, however, the study of the interior has evidenced an even distribution of spaces, which comprised different room sizes yet still provided the same spatial conditions for the different subjects taught at the school, from natural sciences to art studios, from foreign languages to craft workshops. While the different subjects of the Art-Craft Department were assigned specific rooms, the students of the department studied all of the subjects, thus frequented all those rooms. The proximity between the different practices exercised in the different

subjects, and also the spatial proximity to the other departments, was enhanced through the rather isolated location of the school building, the common leisure and training activities, and the fact that the institute was a boarding school. As a new and expensive building, and against the backdrop of the observations regarding the Academy building in Istanbul, the question arises whether students and teachers were authorised to intervene in and adapt the building to their needs and make individual choices, or whether the building imposed a rigidity on the activities and remained itself untouchable. According to Malik's description, the Institute's building had an air of otherworldliness to it, particularly due to its sheer immensity in the middle of the steppe. Thus, while the spatial organisation and use may have facilitated exchange and non-hierarchical conditions as envisioned in the programme, it concentrated the training and life of the students in the building and on the grounds of the Gazi Institute of Education, instead of facilitating the engagement with daily life.

Chapter II and III dealt with the situational correlation between the actors, and the way in which this correlation defined the workings at the Academy of Fine Arts and the Art-Craft Department. The investigations have evidenced the 'assembled' nature of the art schools with the focus on the localised interaction around and within them. In order to counter any interpretation of the schools as static bodies, it has been necessary to add a translocal point of view and follow the actors on their paths prior to forming part of the art schools. These trajectories are meaningful for the understanding of the making of art at these schools, because along their course knowledge and skills, information and values transformed the actors and, consequently, their contribution to the institutions. Scholarship has addressed cultural transfer as an integral part of the formation processes of the art schools. They deploy, however, many categories whose complexity or even adequacy remains unexplored. Particularly persistent are the binaries of 'Western art' and 'non-Western art' or 'East' and 'West'. This is an issue that haunts art historiography beyond the European territory in general and requires further scrutiny.

Chapter IV aimed at complicating the geographic dichotomies. To this end, the choice of a specific case fell upon Malik's period of training abroad between 1928 and 1932. He was an astute critique of a perceived Westernisation process, and for this reason a particularly interesting guide to the individual experience and perception of the life and work in the very region from which the undesired change supposedly derived. The detailed focus allowed me to unearth primary sources whose analysis has revealed the different agencies at play, and the specific encounters that rendered the experiences unique. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first looked into the circumstances of Malik's departure. The following continued with observations of his stay at his first destination, Potsdam, where he learned German together with other teachers from Turkey. The third section is an interlude that introduced the destinations of other students of art pedagogy from Turkey. The aim was to contrast their training institutions with the place at which Malik studied until 1932, the State Art School in Berlin. The educational setting and approach of the State Art School is then the object of study of the fourth section. The chapter closes with Malik's engagement with the heterogeneous information at his disposal in Berlin by focusing on his interest in world art history.

The investigation has demonstrated that the implementation of the theoretical approaches to creative practices at the Art-Craft Department had already started to be prepared in 1928. The Turkish Education Board selected four teachers who would be sent on a public stipend for further studies abroad. The receiving institutions in Germany and Sweden had already been defined. While the school in Sweden was active and had been attracting students literally from around the globe since the late nineteenth century, the art schools in Germany were recent foundations or experienced a significant reorientation in the 1920s. The schools appear to have been deliberately and carefully chosen because they shared the aim to train teachers according to the principles of the progressive education movement or pragmatist approach to art. Even though not named in the extant sources that document the student-selection and funding process, Malik's

photographs and retrospective accounts, as well as the approach to art practiced at the State Art School in Berlin, and his employment at the Art-Craft Department right after his return, justify the assumption that his studies abroad were also part of the preparation for his position in Ankara.

The closer look at the educational setting and programme of the State Art School has revealed the diverse or even disparate forces that acted on its architectural form and artistic leanings throughout changing sociopolitical and economic conditions. In spite of its director's strong character and his significance for the progressive education movement, there is nothing that points to a coherent or single understanding of art at the school. Any generalisation would be misleading. In addition to this, as shown in the last section, Malik was evidently not confined to the school itself, yet engaged with the diversity of Berlin's artistic domain and its processes of knowledge production. The specificity of his interests demonstrates how little of his Berlin experience would become clear by leaving it to abstract geographic or artistic categories and the generic cultural assumptions they tend to convey. His critique of a perceived exoticism fashionable among art students in Berlin, his collection of world-art-history books, and his visits to the Ethnographic Museum demonstrate that his interest went beyond an art that at the time may have been categorised as German. The findings suggest that he was aware of stereotyping, uneven knowledge production, and problems of underrepresentation. This may have contributed to his later interests in non-canonic art forms and marginalised individuals and neighbourhoods, which appear as motifs in his art works.

This dissertation has demonstrated that the close observation of the actors against the backdrop of the understanding of them as parts of a larger, ever-evolving assemblage, and the tracing of their trajectories allows us to cross epistemic and geographical confines, and observe historical and present connections between different locations. It also allows us to recognise different conceptions of art and study the process of concept formation. A pre-established set of knowledge



categories would have prevented the access to all those various ambits. The strong empirical orientation of the research has brought to the fore that creative practices do not rest in a single epistemic or geographical zone; that objects and spaces are assembled by material, knowledge, and activities that derive from many places; and that their agency reaches out far beyond their physical boundaries.

In order to make these observations useful for a global-art-historical approach, their practical implementation needs further elaboration in future studies. It appears to me that a global approach to art requires more than the resources of a single researcher may provide already in terms of mobility or multi-linguism. The question arises if the individual authorship that defines the professional profile of the historian—a profile, not least, that was developed within the epistemic confines under revision here—can be sustained in the face of the challenges of a global approach. More collaborative research processes certainly would enhance the abilities brought to a project, diversify the perspectives and counter epistemic universalism.

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Yücel, Hasan Ali. *Milli Eğitimle İlgili Söylev ve Demeçler*. İstanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993.

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## APPENDIX A

### MALİK AKSEL BOOKCOLLECTION

#### 1) World Art History

Burger, Fritz. *Weltanschauungsprobleme und Lebenssysteme in der Kunst der Vergangenheit* [Problems of *Weltanschauung*/worldview and life systems in the art of the past]. München: Delphin-Verlag, 1918.

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Kühnel, Ernst. *Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient*. Berlin: Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1923. Mit 154 Tafeln und fünf Textabbildungen.

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Sydow, Eckart von. *Exotische Kunst: Afrika und Ozeanien*. Mit 45 Abbildungen und einer Tafel. Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1921.

Westheim, Paul, ed. *Indische Miniaturen der Islamischen Zeit*. Orbis Pictus/Weltkunst-Bücherei Vol. 6, Mit einer Einleitung von Prof. Sattar Kheiri M. A. Verlag Ernst Wasmuth A. G. Berlin.

Westheim, Paul, ed. *Islamische Architecture*. Orbis Pictus/Weltkunst-Bücherei Vol. 14, Mit einer Einleitung von Prof. Sattar Kheiri M. A. Verlag Ernst Wasmuth A. G. Berlin.

Thalasso, Adolphe. *Die Orientalischen Maler der Türkei*. Berlin: Internationale Verlagsanstalt für Kunst und Literatur, 1910.

Wasmuth, Ernst. *Islamische Kunstwerke: Keramik, Gewebe, Teppiche in farbiger Wiedergabe auf 100 Tafeln*. Mit einer Einleitung und Bilderläuterungen von Raymond Koechlin und Gaston Migeon. Berlin: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1928.

Weber, Otto. *Assyrische Kunst*. (Orbis Pictus/weltkunst-Bücherei. herausgegeben von Paul Westheim, Band 19). Berlin: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth A. G.

Woermann, Karl. *Die Kunst der neuesten Zeit: Auszug aus der Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker*. Mit 45 Abbildungen im Text und 4 Tafeln mit 7 Abbildungen in Tonätzung. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1923.

## 2) Contemporary Art

Breysig, Kurt. *Eindruckskunst und Ausdruckskunst. Ein Blick auf die Entwicklung des Zeitgenössischen Kunstgeistes von Millet bis zu Marc*. Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1927. (Emil Nolde gewidmet.)

Hausenstein, Wilhelm. *Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart: Malerei, Plastik, Zeichnung*. Dritte, um ein Nachwort vermehrte Auflage. Stuttgart, Berlin und Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1914.

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Pfister, Kurt. *Cézanne. Gestalt/ Werk/ Mythos*. Potsdam: Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1927.

Speneder, Leopold. *Die Kunst in unserer Zeit. Eine Einführung*. Mit 126 Bildern auf 65 Tafeln. Wien: Reinhold Verlag, 1931.

Walden, Herwarth. *Einblick in Kunst: Expressionismus, Futurismus, Kubismus*. (8. Auflage). Berlin: Verlag Der Sturm. 1924

### 3) Art History

*Bruckmann- und Medici-Drucke*. Grosse Farbenlichtdrucke nach Originalen berühmter Meister. Mit 80 Abbildungen und 16 Farbtafeln. F. Bruckmann Ag., München.

Graul, Richard. *Einführung in die Kunstgeschichte*. Siebente, umgearbeitete Auflage mit 1022 Abbildungen. Leipzig: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1916.

Hamann, Richard O.. *Geschichte der Kunst von der Altchristlichen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*. 1110 Abbildungen, 12 farbige Tafel. Berlin: Verlag von TH. Knaur Nachf. 1933.

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Osborn, Max. *Geschichte der Kunst. Eine kurzgefaßte Darstellung ihrer Hauptepochen*. Berlin: Verlag Ullstein, 1909, dritte Auflage 1924.

Ferdinand, Paul. *Die sechs Bücher der Kunst. Sechstes Buch. Gegenwart*. Berlin-Neubabelsberg: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion m. b. H.

Hausenstein, Wilhelm. *Der nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten*. Sechste Durchgesehene Auflage. München: Piper, 1924.

*Le Nu au Salon par Armand Silvestre*. Paris E. Bernard et Cie, Imprimeurs-Editeurs, 53, Quai des Grands-Augustins, 53, 1889.

Singer, Hans W., ed. *Michelangelo*. Mit 64 Abbildungen, mit Gedichten und mit Briefen des Künstlers. München, Hugo Schmidt Verlag.

Wickenhagens, Ernst. *Geschichte der Kunst*. Bearbeitet von Hermann Uhde-Bernans. Mit 19 Kunstbeilagen und 379 Abbildungen im Text. Siebenzehnte Auflage. Stuttgart: Paul Neß Verlag, 1928.

*Die Malerei von Menzel bis zur Gegenwart*. Im Selbstverlag A. Zuntz Sel. WWE.

#### 4) Art Education

Brandt, Paul. *Sehen und Erkennen. Eine Anleitung zu vergleichender Kunstbetrachtung*. Siebente neu durchgearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage, mit 838 Abbildungen und 19 Farbentafeln. Leipzig: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1929.

Cornelius, Hans. *Elementargesetze der Bildenden Kunst* [Basic laws of plastic art]. 3<sup>rd</sup> expended edition. Leipzig: Teubner, 1921. (Elementargesetze der Bildenden Kunst von Hans Cornelius. Dritte vermehrte Auflage, mit 247 Abbildungen im Text und 11 Tafeln. Verlag und Druck von B. G. Teubner, Leipzig, 1921.)

Drejack, Erna. *Ein Weg zum zeitgemäßen Zeichenunterricht*. Druck und Verlag von Lattmann, Goslar am Harz, 1927.

Franck, Philipp. *Zeichen- und Kunstunterricht*. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, 1928.

Franck, Philipp. *Das Schaffende Kind*. Berlin: Otto Stollbergverlag, 1929.

Raphael, Max. *Idee und Gestalt. Ein Führer zum Wesen der Kunst*. München: Delphin-Verlag, 1921.

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Mitteilungen der Pelikan-Werke Günther Wagner Hannover und Wien. Sondernummer. *Werden – Geist – Form des Kunstunterrichtes im bildhaften Gestalten. Es berichten über die Tschechoslowakei: Professor J. F. Vydra, Bratislava; Deutschland: Professor Gustav Kolb, Stuttgart; Österreich: Dozent Richard Rothe, Wien*. Hannover und Wien: Günther Wagner, 1928.

*Museum und Schule*. Herausgegeben vom Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht. Verlag von Reimar Hobbing in Berlin, 1930.

Scheffler, Karl. *Talente*. Berlin: Verlag Bruno Cassirer, 1919.

#### 5) Miscellaneous

Kunst und Rasse, von Paul Schultze Naumburg. München, Lehmanns Verlag, 1928.

Hirth, Georg. Dreitausend Kunstblätter der Münchner “Jugend”, Ausgewählt aus den Jahrgängen 1896—1908. München: Verlag der “Jugend”, 1908.

Müller-Preußner. *Deutsch im Ausland- Unterstufe*. Leipzig: Leubner Berlin.

Shaw, Bernard. *Künstlerliebe*. Roman Deutsch von Wilhelm Cremer und Alfred Brieger. Potsdam: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1928.

*Ankara Şehrinin*. Professör M. Jausseley, Jansen ve Brix taraflarından yapılan plan ve projelerine ait izahnameler. Hakimiyeti Milliye Matbaası, 1929.

Wolf, Georg Jacob. *Deutsche Maler und Poeten*. München: F. Bruckmann A. G., 1923.

## **APPENDIX B**

### **ARCHIVES**

#### **Archives in Germany**

Universität der Künste Berlin, Universitätsarchiv [University of Art, University Archive], Berlin.

Archiv der Akademie der Künste [Archive of the Academy of the Arts], Berlin.

Note on signatures in German: In the footnotes I provide the indications as they are used in the German Archives in order to facilitate the location of the documents for potential future research by other scholars. This means, the indications are in German. Usually, the signatures consist of a number for the inventory [Bestand], and a number [usually abbreviated in German as Nr.] for a folder with documents. Often, these folders contain numerous, at times hundreds of single papers that do not have a number on their own. Therefore, several documents that I refer to in the chapters possess the same signature.

#### **Archives in Turkey**

Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü B.C.A., Ankara

Milli Kütüphane, Ankara

Resim-İş Arşivi, Ankara (not a structured archive)

Şehbenderler Konağı Kütüphanesi, Bursa

Malik Aksel Archive, Bursa (private archive)

Fotoarchive Deutsches Archeologisches Institut, Istanbul [Foto Archive, German Archeological Institute]



## APPENDIX C

### TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

#### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

#### YAZARIN

Soyadı : Becker  
Adı : Martina  
Bölümü : Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

#### TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

Making Art in the Early Turkish Republic:  
The Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul and the Art-Craft Department in Ankara

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

#### TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:

## APPENDIX D

### CURRICULUM VITAE

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION

Martina Becker  
Born 12 July 1973, Bad Segeberg, Germany  
1 Son, born 4 April 1995

#### EDUCATION

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 2013      | Visiting Scholar, Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Columbia University, New York City, USA. |
| 2010—2013 | Ph.D. student, Department of History of Architecture, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.                |
| 2009—2010 | Ph.D. student, Faculty of Arab Studies, University of Geneva, Switzerland.   |
| 2008      | MA., Art History with special qualifications in Curatorial Studies and Museology, University of Bern, Switzerland.     |
| 2006      | Licentiate degree (300 ECTS), Art History, University of Barcelona, Spain.   |
| 2001      | <i>Grundstudium</i> (~ B.A.), Art History, University of Hamburg, Germany.   |

#### GRANTS AND AWARDS

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 2012      | METU Graduate Courses Performance Award  |
| 2010—2013 | Marie Curie Fellowship, 7 <sup>th</sup> Framework People Programme<br>ENGLOBE—Enlightenment and Global History |
| 2009      | Research travel grant, University of Geneva  |
| 2006—2008 | Master Grant, University of Bern   |

## CONFERENCE PAPERS AND LECTURES

- 2012 "Contingencies of Concept Formation: Meanings of Art in the Early Turkish Republic" at *Jornada Theoria Cum Praxi: Enlightenment, Philosophy of History and Values*, ENGLOBE and CSIC Madrid, Spain, 30 November.
- 2012 "The Institutionalisation of Popular Art in Republican Ankara" at *The Making of Modern Ankara: Space, Politics, Representation*, University of Westminster in conjunction with SOAS, London, United Kingdom, 23 November.
- 2012 "A Long Journey: The Turn towards Regional Art in the Early Turkish Republic." at *Area Studies and Globalization*, X., Leipzig, Germany, 17 – 20 September.
- 2012 "Delineation by the Architecture Office: The Directorate for Construction and Restoration in the Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic" at 9<sup>th</sup> ESSHC, Glasgow, United Kingdom, 11 – 14 April.
- 2012 "Shifting Frames: Art History on the Move" Lecture at the Department of Fine Arts and Sciences, American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon, 28 March 2012.
- 2011 "The Agency of the City: Ankara and the *İnşaat ve Tamirat Müdürlüğü* in the 1920s" at *METU Architectural History Graduate research symposium*, Ankara, Turkey, 1 – 2 December.
- 2011 "Art's Pedagogical Vocation for a New Citizenship: The Resim-İş Department in Ankara" at *Simposio Internacional ENGLOBE, ITN-Marie Curie: Nuevas Perspectivas sobre Historia Global*, session of ENGLOBE Workgroup 3 (Values): Education Values and Globalisation, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 10 – 12 March 2011.
- 2010 "Conceptualisation of 'Art' and the Artistic Profession in the Early Turkish Republic" at *WOCMES—World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies*, Barcelona, Spain, 19 – 24 July.
- 2010 "Nationale Bedingungen als Forschungsgegenstand einer globalen Kunstgeschichte" at *6. Schweizerische Nachwuchstagung der Asienwissenschaften, Schweizerische Gesellschaft Mittlerer Osten und Islamische Kulturen*, Monte Verità, Switzerland, 2 – 5 May.
- 2010 "Considering Conceptualisation: The Reformation of Art Education in the Early Turkish Republic" at *AAH Annual Conference*, session: New Perspectives on the Art of the Middle East, Glasgow, UK, 15– 17 April.

## PUBLICATIONS

- 2012 “Art’s Pedagogical Vocation for a New Citizenship: The *Resim-İş* Department in Ankara.” In *New Perspectives on Global History*, edited by Daniel Brauer, Iwan D’Aprile, Günther Lottes and Concha Roldan. Hannover: Wehrhahn Verlag.
- 2011 “The Institutionalisation of Art Education and Its Implications for the Conceptualisation of Art and the Artistic Profession in the Early Turkish Republic.” *Quaderns de la Mediterrània* 15.

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2012 Internship, *Goethe-Institut Beirut*, Lebanon, January—March.
- 2008—2009 Assistant Curator, *Sommerakademie im Zentrum Paul Klee*, Bern, Switzerland.
- 2007 Assistant Curator for the exhibition “Vito Acconci and René Bauermeister”, *Kunstmuseum Luzern*, Lucerne, Switzerland.
- 2007 Assistant, *Kunsthalle Bern*, Switzerland.
- 2006—2007 Gallery assistant, *Museum Franz Gertsch*, Burgdorf, Switzerland.
- 1995—2005 Freelance illustrator and graphic designer.

## LANGUAGES

German, native speaker

Catalan, fluent

English, fluent

Spanish, fluent

French, very good reading and listening comprehension, intermediate speaking

Turkish, good reading and listening comprehension, intermediate speaking

## APPENDIX E

### TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu tez, geleneksel sanat tarihi yaklaşımının epistemik sınırlarını aşan erken Cumhuriyet dönemi sanat oluşumlarını, sanatın kavramsallaştırılması doğrultusunda inceler ve bu sınırları oluşturan farklı karşılaşmaları ortaya çıkarır. Çalışmanın odağını, İstanbul'daki Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi ve Ankara'daki Gazi Üniversitesi Resim-İş Bölümü oluşturur. O dönemde var olan sanat uygulamaları yalnızca bu iki okulla sınırlı olmamakla birlikte bu okullar profesyonel sanat eğitiminin kurumsallaştığı ve dönemin bir çok sanatçısının yetiştiği ilk kuruluşlardır. Okullar, Cumhuriyet'in ilanının akabinde, sanat eğitimlerinin kurumsallaşması sürecinde 1925-34 yılları arasında önemli değişimler geçirir. Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi uzun yıllardan beri eğitimine devam ettiği binasında, Resim-İş Bölümü ise yeni açılacak Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü binasında faaliyetlerini sürdürmüştür. O dönem, sanat faaliyetlerinin maddi ve mekansal koşullarının yeniden oluşturulduğu ve somut dönüşümlerin yaşandığı bir süreçtir. Sanat faaliyetleri yalnızca üretim yapmak değil sanatın kavramsallaştırılması anlamına da gelmektedir. Bu faaliyetler süresince soyut düşünceler, madde ve mekan ile -veya bunun tam tersi bir biçimde- karşı karşıya gelmekteydi. Sanat çalışmalarını bu kavramsal ve ampirik koşullar ile üretim koşullarının birliğe ve sanatın üretimi sırasında ortaya çıkan epistemik araçlar sağlamıştır.

Bugüne kadar yapılmış akademik çalışmalar, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi ve Resim-İş Bölümü mensuplarını ve eserlerini geleneksel sanat tarihi anlayışıyla ele almıştır. Sanat tarihi “geleneksel” olarak nitelendirilirken; sanat ürünleri ve -akademik bir disiplin olarak- sanat tarihi arasındaki, kendine referanslı ve değişmez ilişki ve bu ilişkinin kendi kanonunu yaratması durumu kastedilmektedir. Sanat tarihi 18. yy.'da akademik camiaya girdiğinden bu yana,

bilimsel bir yöntem olarak kabul görmek üzere belirlediği kategorilerini muhafaza eder. 20. yy. sanat uygulamaları ise özellikle akademik kurumlar aracılığıyla desteklenen bilgi ve sanat alanları arasındaki hiyerarşi ve kalıpları sorgular. Buna rağmen, geleneksel sanat tarihi çeşitli coğrafi, tarihsel ve kültürel kalıplar çerçevesinde heykel ve resim, görsel ve mekansal, yararcı yahut yaracı olmayan, beşeri bilimler ve fen bilimleri gibi ayrıştırmalar yapmaya devam eder. Güncel global sanat tarihi yaklaşımları ise, Gayatri Spivak'ın Batılı bilme şekli diyerek tariflediği, tüm dünyaya dayatılan “epistemik şiddet”i kırmaya yönelir. Bu çalışma da toplumsal tarih (social history), yerellikler-arası yaklaşımlar (trans-local approaches) ve Aktör-Ağ Teorisi (Actor-Network-Theory) üzerinde durarak, bu bağlamda tamamlayıcı kavramlar öne sürer.

Tezin giriş bölümünde, çalışmanın yöntemini belirleyen teorik kaynaklar detaylandırılır. Yaratıcı uygulama, kavramsallaştırma, ve ampirik koşulların bir araya gelme yöntemlerini ortaya koymak üzere, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi ve Resim-İş Bölümü'nü şekillendiren belirli maddi, mekansal ve kişisel faktörler araştırılır. Özellikle bireysel deneyim ve öznenin etkinliği kavramlarına önem veren Toplumsal Tarih yöntemleri çalışmanın hareketli bakış açısını şekillendirmiştir. Bununla birlikte, Alan Çalışmaları (Area Studies) ve Uluslararası Çalışmalar (Transnational Studies) edimsel coğrafi sınır anlayışlarının tüm epistemik ve sosyal tariflemeler bağlamında uygulanması konusunda teze ilham vermiştir. Fakat en belirleyici yöntem Bruno Latour'un Aktör-Ağ Teorisi (Actor-Network-Theory) olmuştur. Özellikle “aktör (actor)”, “etkinlik (agency)” ve “yerel dışı (dislocality)” kavramlarından yararlanılmıştır. Bu nedenle tezin bölümleri özetlenmeden önce bu kavramların kısaca açıklanması gerekir.

Bir eylemin gerçekleştiği esnada tüm değişikliklere sebep olan veya durumu farklılaştıran aktördür. Aktör terimi yalnızca özneyi değil mekan ve nesne boyutlarını da kapsar. Bir bilgiyi değiştirmeden taşıyan “aracı” olmanın aksine aktör, anlamı değiştiren, dönüştüren ve tercüme eden aktif bir arabulucudur.



Aktör, bilginin çevirisi sırasında oluşacak ilişkileri tayin eder. Belirli bir yapı içerisindeki tüm bireylerin benzer hareket edeceği fikri Latouryen aktör kavramına uygun değildir. Aktör, bir yapının içerisinde bulunmaz; yapı aktörlerin etkileşiminden meydana gelir.

Etkinliğin harekete geçme dürtüsünün kaynağı tek bir aktör değildir. Aynı zamanda aktör de harekete geçme itkisinin tek kaynağı değildir ve aktörlüğünü başkalarıyla çatışarak veya etkileşerek gerçekleştirir. Bu nedenle, öznenin etkinliği yalnızca nedenlere bağlı değildir. Aktörün niyeti ve nedenselliği aktörler arasındaki tercüme ve bu süreçte karşılaştıkları müdaheler sırasında değişir.

Eylem kavramının yerinden edilmesinin nedeni bu durumdur. Eylem, dışarıdan gelen öznenin etkinliği ile mütemadiyen ilişkilendirilir. Etkileşim içindeki yerel nesne ve bireylerin gözlemlenmesi, etkileşimden uzak görünen ve farklı zamanlar içeren yönler olduğunu ortaya çıkarır. Özne ve nesneler farklı yerlerden gelir ve harekete geçme dürtülerini yine farklı yerlerde gerçekleşen değişik kişi, nesne ve birlikteliklerden alır. Bir yerde etkileşime geçen öznelere, yerin kendisiyle birlikte orada bulunan ve orayı oluşturan nesnelerle de etkileşime girer. Bu nedenle mekan ve mekanın öğeleri yalnızca bir sahne değil ilişkileri etkileyen birer unsurdur. Bu tez boyunca yereller-arası kavramı yerine, tarih çalışmalarında kullanılan ve rolünün aktifliğini daha iyi yansıtan yerel-üstü kavramı tercih edilmiştir.

Tezin yapısı, Gazi Üniversitesi Resim-İş Bölümü ve Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'ni bağımsız birimler olarak değil, Latouryen bir *assemblaj* (assemblage) olarak tanımlayan bir kurguya sahiptir. Bu nedenle yapı kronolojik, coğrafi ya da diğer değişmez epistemik düzenlerin dışına çıkar ve eğitim alanlarını oluşturan izler ile somut ve soyut bileşenler arasındaki kesişim noktalarını takip etmek üzere yollar açar. Tezin her bölümü kurumları oluşturan birimleri ve bu birimlerin okullardaki sanat üretim sürecini nasıl etkilediğini inceler. Bölümleri birleştiren özellik ise istikrarlı bir şekilde karşılaşılan betonarme yapılarıdır. Tezin bu anlayışı detaylı bir

gözlem gerektirir ve belirli seçimlerin nasıl yapıldığını açıklar. Tez, parçalar halinde ve birbiriyle benzeşmeyen tarihin kalıntıları bilinçli olarak kısmen birbirine bağlanmıştır. Ucu açık sonuçlar, iddialı ve zorlayıcı anlatılar yerine, dayanak sahibi yorumlarla bağlanır. Kurumları gözlemlemek için kullandığım üç ayrı bakış açısı ve bu araştırmanın yapısını oluşturan ölçütler şunlardır: II. Bölüm’de kurumların dışsallığı, III. Bölüm’de kurumların içselliği ve IV. Bölüm’de kurumların yerel-üstü nitelikleri.

II. Bölüm, yaratıcı süreçler dahilinde kurumların dışsallığının etkinliğine değinir. Bu etkinlik, okullardaki işleyişler arasında yahut mensuplarının bireysel olarak etkileşimlerinde gözlemlenir. Bu etkileşimler tarihsel özneler ve içinde bulundukları bağlam arasında varolan doğrudan bağlantıyı gösterir. Yakın bağlam veya yakın dışsalık unsurlarını gözlemlemenin amacı sonradan dayatılmış tarih yazımı çerçeveleri veya ilgisiz kategorilerden kaçınmaktır. Bölüm boyunca ağırlıklı olarak somut ve ampirik bir kaynağa sahip etkileşimler ortaya konur. Bununla birlikte, kaynakların ve karşılaştırmaların makul fakat muğlak olduğu durumlar da özellikle vurgulanır. II. Bölüm iki ana kısımdan oluşur. İlk kısım, Ankara’daki Resim-İş Bölümü’nün somut çevre ile etkileşimi üzerinde dururken ikinci kısımda sanat eğitiminin kurumsallaşmasında rol oynayan anlayışlar üzerinde durulur.

II. Bölüm’ün ikinci kısmının girişi, Ankara’nın yakın çevresindeki plansız bir yerleşimi, gösterişsiz ve yalın bir dille tasvir eden *Nenek Köyü* gravürü ile yapılır. Bu seçimin birçok sebebi vardır. *Nenek Köyü*, Resim-İş Bölümü’nün ilk resim öğretmeni olan Malik Aksel’in eseridir; ki bu nedenle doğrudan kurumla bağlantılıdır. Gravür, sanatçının mevcut çalışmaları arasında Ankara’nın yapılı çevresini resmeden tek eserdir. Eserin kendine has ve alışılmamış öğeleri, görelilik olarak çok daha yaygın olan çağdaş fotoğrafın odak noktası olan Cumhuriyet Dönemi yapılarıyla tezat oluşturur. İki bakış açısı arasındaki gerilim eserin yaratıcısı tarafından kaleme alınmış bir makalede açıkça ortaya konmuştur. Bu gerilim, ikinci bölümde de yer alan farklı incelemeleri tetiklemiştir.

Bu kısımda Ankara'nın Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin başkenti seçilmesi ve bu nedenle nüfusunu benzeri görülmemiş bir biçimde dörde katlanarak, henüz 1928'de yüz bine ulaşması üzerinde durulmuştur, ki ancak bu şekilde Malik Aksel'in bakış açısını sorgulamak mümkün olur. Devamında ise Ankara'nın mevcut kentsel yapısı incelenir. Yapılı çevre, kişi ve kurumlara yeterli gelmeyerek kaçınılmaz bir şekilde plansız yerleşimin yayılmasına yol açmış ve bunun yanı sıra devlet eliyle üretilen büyük inşaat projelerine olanak sağlamış bir nitelik taşır. Neredeyse sürekli savaş halinde geçen on yılın ardından kısıtlı malzeme ve insan kaynakları da göz önüne alınarak, dönemin yapı faaliyetleri idari ve eğitim binaları üzerinde yoğunlaşmıştır.

Bu dönemde gerçekleştirilen ilk büyük projelerden biri 1929 yılında tamamlanmış ve 1932 yılında Resim-İş Bölümü'nün açıldığı Gazi Orta Muallim Mektebi binasıdır. Yeni başkentin yatırımlarının ve sermayesinin bir parçası olan Gazi Enstitüsü, örnek teşkil etmek üzere tasarlanır. Resim-İş Bölümü öğretim üyeleri ve öğrencileri de aktif olarak özellikle gerici ve miadını doldurmuş şeklinde nitelendirilen Osmanlı geçmişine karşı Cumhuriyet'i ilerici ve modern olarak tarifleme rolünü üstlenmişlerdir.

Bu kısım, o zamanlar Osmanlı dönemini Cumhuriyet modeli karşısında, 'eski' olarak nitlendirecek algı değişiminin çelişkili bir süreç olduğunu gösterir. En azından Malik ile ilgili kaynaklar, temsil mekanizmaları ile, marjinal ve temsil edilmeyen mekanların, bilincin ve sıradan deneyimlerin bir parçası olmasıyla ilgili bir farkındalık olduğunu gösterir. Resim-İş Bölümü örneğinde ve okulun ilk resim öğretmetni Malik özelinde bakılarak yürütülen araştırmalar sonunda Malik'in çalışmalarındaki belirsizliğin dış etmenlerin etkisi ile oluştuğu yorumu yapılır. Görülmüştür ki, Malik, resmi temsilin olumlayıcı görselliği ve bunun bütünleyicisi olan zoraki sosyal koşulların gerilimini algılamış ve görselleştirmiştir.

Türkiye’deki sanat eğitiminin kurumsallaşmasını şekillendiren kavramlar, ampirik dış etmenlerden daha zor anlaşılır haldedir. II. Bölüm’ün ikinci kısmı bir takım bağlantıların izini sürmek üzere iki katmanlı olarak kurgulanır. Birinci kısımda, Avrupa kültür politikalarına atıflar karşılaştırmalı olarak ortaya konur. Bunların gerekçesi, Milli Eğitim Bakanı Mustafa Necati ile Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi’nin daha sonra yöneticisi olacak olan Namık İsmail’in 1927 yılında, sanat eğitimi de dahil, genel eğitim yaklaşımları alanında araştırma yapmak üzere çıktıkları Avrupa seyahatidir. Mustafa Necati, yurtdışı gözlemlerinin kültürel kararları üzerinde etkisi olduğunu belirtmiş fakat bu etkileri örneklendirmemiştir. Bu nedenle atıflar Namık İsmail’in bir sanat eğitimi tartışmasında belirttiği Güzel Sanatlar ile ilgili ve Resim-İş Bölümü’nün kuruluş süreci ve programını temellendiren görüşleri ile tezat oluşturur.

Bu kısım, Avrupa’daki sanatsal eğitim alanında kamu kaynakları yaratmak için kültürel politikanın sahip olduğu motivasyonun iki önemli kaynağını açıklar. Özellikle Almanya’da ortaya çıkan motivasyonlardan biri, sanatın milli duygu ve milli estetik kavramlarının oluşmasında ahlaki ve uygarlaştırıcı bir etkisinin olduğu varsayımdır. Temel amaç ise kendi emperyalist hedeflerin yerleşmesi ve yayılma eğilimi içindeki yabancı uluslara karşı savuma mekanizması olarak milli bir kültür yaratmaktır. Diğer motivasyon kaynağı ise yalnızca dünya fuarları ile sınırlı değildir. Uluslararası pazarın rekabetçi üretim ortamında sanatın ve zanaatın ulusal sanayi ve üretim biçimlerini canlandırmasına verilen önem diğer tetikleyici unsurdur. Tezin bu kısmında ana hatları çizilen amaçlar Türk kültürel politikasının da sahip olduğu potansiyel ve makul paralellikleri ortaya koysa dahi tez bu aşamada hala taraflı ve Avrupa merkezli bir bakış açısının hakim olduğunu göstermeyi ve bunu yıkmayı hedefler. Bu kısmın destekleyici kaynaklar ile sürdürülmesinin nedeni de budur.

İlk ana kaynak Namık İsmail’in Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi yöneticisi olarak, kurumu ressam ve sanat eleştirmeni Ali Sami [Boyar]’nin eleştirilerine karşı savunduğu; 1931-32 yıllarında açık mektuplar şeklinde *Cumhuriyet* gazetesinde

yayınlanan hararetli tartışmalardır. Bu anlaşmazlık çerçevesinde görülmektedir ki, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi eğitim uygulamaları ile ilgili 1883 yılında kurulmasından bu yana sahip olduğu akademik modeli herşeye rağmen sürdürme çabasıdadır. Ancak, Namık İsmail'in modern sanatçılara atıfları ve açık ifadeleri eğitimin nihai sonucu olarak okulun daha az dogmatik olduğunu öne çıkarır. Bu varsayım Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'nde görev alan tüm resim öğretmenlerinin Paris Akademi Julian'de eğitim gördüğü gerçeği ile desteklenir.

Akademi Ecole des Beaux-Arts'ın temel eğitim uygulamalarını almış fakat klasisizme olan bağlılığı noktasında École'den ayrılmıştır. Bununla birlikte, modern sanatın ve sanatçının özerkliği, yüksek sanata olan inanç ve sanatın milli kültürü pekiştirme potansiyeli Namık İsmail'in tüm savlarında okunur. Bu görüşler Ali Sami'nin eleştirilerinin temel nedenidir. Ali Sami, ulus-kurma sürecinde yerel kültüre mesafeli durmanın uygunsuz olduğunu düşünür. Bu tartışmanın incelenmesi, akademideki diğer disiplinler üzerine hiçbir görüş belirtilmediği gözlemi ile sonlanır. Örneğin, sanatın 'resim' olduğu fikrinde birleşen bu iki sanat eleştirmeni de dekoratif sanatlar alanında hiç bir görüş belirtmemiştir.

İkinci temel kaynak Resim-İş Bölümü'nün tarihsel gelişimi ve müfredatı ile ilgilidir. Bu konudaki çalışmalar, bölümün sanata yaklaşımının Akademi'den ayrı düştüğü noktanın yalnızca farklı araçlar kullanması değil sanat üretiminde somut üründen çok uygulamaya önem vermesi olduğunu gösterir. Çalışma sırasında Avrupa'daki eğilimlere paralel olarak el sanatlarının okul müfredatlarında dahil edilip kurumsallaştırıldığı ve Osmanlı'nın son dönemlerinde üretim standartlarını yükseltmek için Sanayi Mektepleri'nin kurulduğu gözlemlenir. Ayrıca, Osmanlı eğitim bilimcisi Sati '[el-Husri]'nin ortaya koyduğu ve öğrencisi ve meslektaşı İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] ve İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] tarafından Resim-İş Bölümü programına ilave edilen çeşitli özelliklere de rastlanır. Sati, el sanatları eğitimi alan öğrencilerin ticari ilgilerinin ötesinde kendi düşüncesini yaymaya çalışır. Sati, demokratikleşme yolundaki toplumların bağımsız düşünebilme yetisi

ve bireylerin kendine güvenlerinin gelişmesi için yaratıcı uygulamaların hayattan beslenebilme ve onunla içi içe olabilme becerisine inanır. Bu eğilim büyük oranla İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] ve İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç] tarafından benimsenen ilerici bir eğitim hareketi ve Resim-İş Bölümü müfredatında açıkca belirtilen ilkeler sayesinde teşvik edilir. Resim ya da bugünkü adı ile görsel sanatlar, bölümdeki en önemli rolü üstlenmesine rağmen eğitiminin temel amacı ürün değil epidemik bir araç olan ve günlük hayatla ilişki kurmayı sağlayan yaratıcı uygulamadır. Bu yaklaşım, ne Art&Craft Hareketi bağlamında ne de başka yönleri açısından henüz araştırılmamıştır. Bu kısımda Malik'in öğrencileriyle yaptığı gezilerde etrafındaki günlük hayatla ilişki kurma amacını sürdürüp sürdürmediği konusunu da sorgulanır.

Bu kısım, Mustafa Necati'ye atfedilmiş olan, çağdaş tarih yazımının Türkiye'deki süsleme sanatının gelişmesine etkisi üzerine sorulan sorularla sonlanır. O dönemde, Avrupa odaklı olmayan çalışmaların hepsi uygulamalı sanatlar ve mimarlık alanlarıyla sınırlıdır. Aynı zamanda, Türkiye'deki sanat ve zanaat uygulamaları ulusal sanatın bir parçası olarak değerlendirilir. Sanat tarihinin bu yorumu ve Türkiye'deki kültürel eserler üzerine yapılmış seçici çalışmalar arasındaki ilişki daha fazla araştırma gerektirir. Zira çeşitli bulgular Resim-İş ve Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'nde sonradan açılan Süsleme Sanatları (Sanayi-i Tezyiniye/Tezyini Sanatlar) Bölümü'nün bu ilişkiden hareketle kurulduğunu işaret eder.

III. Bölüm'de Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi ve Resim-İş Bölümü'ndeki eğitim uygulamaları ve ampirik koşullar araştırılır. Amaç, günlük uygulama alanlarının, malzeme ve araçların sanat üretimi sürecini nasıl etkinleştirdiği, kısıtladığı veya geliştirdiğini gözlemlemektir. Yapılan gözlemler var olan yapının Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'ni sınırlamadığını, aksine eğitim uygulamaları için mevcut koşullardan en üst düzeyde yararlanıldığını gösterir. Fakat, Resim-İş Bölümü'nün bulunduğu Gazi Üniversite'sinin yeni binasının, sanatsal çalışmalara kuvvetli ve zaman zaman baskın bir etkisi olduğu anlaşılır.



Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, İkiz Saray binasına yerleşmesi ile önemli bir mirası sahiplenmiştir. Osmanlı Meclisi'nin son makamı olarak kullanılan bina, Sultan'ın kızları için Garabet Amira Balyan tarafından Dolmabahçe Sarayı'nın yanında denize nazır tasarlanmıştır. Bu binanın tarihinin Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi mensupları ve uygulamaları açısından ne ifade ettiği henüz açıklığa kavuşmamıştır. Buna ek olarak araştırmalar, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'nin eline geçtiğinde binanın kötü durumda olduğunu gösterir. Renove edilmiş mekanların durumu, okul 1926 yılında binada faaliyetlerine yeniden başladıktan hemen sonra çekilmiş fotoğraflarda görülür. Yenileme ve tadilat işlevselliğin ötesine geçmez. Binanın tarihi özelliklerinin korunması veya iyileştirilmesi ya da taşıdığı geçmişini sergileme niyetine rastlanmaz. Mekanların tamamen farklı işlevler yüklenmesi sonucu stüdyolara eklenen büyük cam bölmeler veya geniş alanlar yaratmak için odaların birleştirilmesi gibi bir çok farklılaştırıcı müdahale yapılır. Bu tez kapsamında yapılan araştırmalar sırasında keşfedilen Vedat [Tek] tarafından tasarlanmış ek stüdyo binası ise tarihsel bağlamdan tamamen bağımsız bir tarza sahiptir. Fotoğraflarda gözüken tek tarihsel referans ise birçok geçiş alanında bulunan Yunan heykelleri kopyalarıdır. Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'nin bir otoportresi olarak yorumlanan bu fotoğraflar, özellikle mekanların Akademi tarafından nasıl kullanıldığını vurgular niteliktedir.

Bu bölümde ortaya konan mekansal organizasyonun tanımsızlığı, farklı sanat disiplinleri arasında varolan bir akademik model ileri sürer. Mimarlık Bölümü sarayın sol tarafında konumlanırken; Resim, Heykel ve Süsleme Sanatları (Sanayi-i Tezyiniye/Tezyini Sanatlar) Bölümleri ise Stüdyo Binası'na ve diğer kısımlara dağılır. Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi programında 1924 yılında açıldığı belirtilen Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü'nün konumu ise kaynak yetersizliği nedeniyle açıklanamamıştır. Binanın kullanımı sanat alanları arasında hiyerarşik bir düzen olduğunu işaret eder. II. Bölüm'de açıklanan Mimarlık Bölümü stüdyolarının özel konumları da bu yorumu destekler. Resim ve Heykel Bölümleri Süsleme Sanatları Bölümü'nden daha geniş bir alan kaplamaktadır. Bu nedenle, Akademi süsleme sanatlarını teşvik etmek niyetiyle kendi bünyesinde bu bölümü açmış

olsa da mekan paylaşımının bu fikri yansıtmadığı yadsınamaz. Bunun sebebi, o dönemde süsleme sanatı faaliyetlerinin bugünkü anlamını ifade etmemesi, akademinin bu alana az ilgi göstermesi ve ya her ikisi de olabilir.

Eğitim araçlarının ve malzemelerinin incelenmesi benzer çıkarımlara sebep olur. Seramik Bölümü sonradan açılan bir bölüm olarak öne çıkar. Bölüm binaya ilave edilen ve daha önce bahsedilen fotoğraflarda gözükmeyen iki odaya yerleştirilir. Bu odalar 1930'ların başına kadar, az ışık alan bodrum katında bırakılır ve ekipman açısından ihmal edilir. Bu ağır kalmış başlangıç okulun yeniden etkinleştirildiği sırada diğer bölümlere öncelik verildiğini ortaya koyar. Resim bölümü öğrencileri de bölüm binasının boyutları konusundaki tepkilerini ortaya koymuşlardır. Öte yandan, öğrenciler Namık İsmail'in sanat eğitimi anlayışını yansıtır ve nü resime büyük ilgi gösterir. Araştırmanın bu aşaması, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'nin sanat eğitimi uygulamasını tekrar kurgulamaya yöneldiği veya akademik eğitimi yorumlamayı sürdürdüğü izlenimini taşır. İmkanlar sınırlı olmasına rağmen yeni yorumlamalar uygulamaya çalışılır. Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi mevcut eğitim sistemini mümkün olduğunca kendi amaçlarına göre adapte eder. Okulun sanat anlayışı mekansal ve maddi koşullar üzerine eklemlenmiş gibi görünür.

Resim-İş Bölümü, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'nin aksine, Gazi Enstitüsü için yapılan yeni bir binada açılır. Bölüm 1927-29 yılları arasında binanın inşaat sürecinde tasarlanır. Tasarımın mimar Kemalettin'e ait olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Fakat araştırmalar, dönemin Ankara'daki en büyük ve pahalı inşaat projesi olan okulun tasarımında İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu] ve İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç]'un da müdahaleleri olduğunu gösterir. İsmail Hakkı [Tonguç]'un görevlendirilmiş olduğu, bölüm için eğitim ekipmanlarının seçilmesi işine gösterilen özen, eğitim mekanları ve araçlarına verilen önemi ortaya koyar. Bu bağlamda, eğitim anlayışının mimari biçim ve ekipman seçimi tarafından şekillendiği düşünülebilir. Bu birlikteliğin bölümün ihtiyaçlarına uygun olduğu görülür.

Ancak, iç mekanla ilgili yapılan çalışmalar, fen bilimlerinden sanat stüdyolarına kadar, okulda öğretilen çeşitli alanlara, farklı boyutlarda olsa da, benzer mekansal koşulların sağlandığını gösterir. Belirli faaliyetlerin kendine özgü mekanları olmasına rağmen öğrencilerinin hepsi aynı sınıflarda ders alır. Farklı uygulamaların ilişkisi ve mekansal yakınlığı okulun kentten uzak konumu, yatılı olması, spor ve boş zamanlarda yapılan faaliyetler göz önünde tutularak geliştirilir. Bu kısımda, Akademi'nin İstanbul'daki yeni ve pahalı binasına dair yapılan araştırmaların sunduğu zemine dayanarak çeşitli sorular sorulur. Bunlar: Resim İş Bölümü öğrenci ve öğretmenleri ihtiyaçlarına göre binaya müdahale edebilmişler midir? Okul mensupları bireysel seçimler yapabilmiş midir? Binanın yapısı faaliyetlere göre adapte edilebilmiş midir? Aksine, yapının değişmezliğinin uygulamaları sınırlandırıcı bir etkisi mi olmuştur? Malik'in tarifine göre Akademi binasının bozkırın ortasındaki uçsuz bucaksız yapısı ona ruhani bir hava verir. Her ne kadar, programda da öngörüldüğü üzere, mekansal organizasyon ve onun kullanımı, etkileşimli ve kuramsal-olmayan ilişkilere olanak sağlamış olsa da, aynı olanaklar, eğitimi ve öğrencilerin günlük yaşamını, fakülte binası ve kampüs alanına sıkıştırmış, dışarıdaki hayat ile olan ilişkiyi koparmıştır.

II. ve III. Bölüm, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi ve Resim-İş Bölümü'nün aktörleri arasındaki ilişkiyi ve bu ilişkilerin okulların işleyişini nasıl etkilediğini ele alır. Yapılan araştırmalar, sanat okulları arasında, çevreleri ve birbirleriyle yerel düzeyde ilişki kurma odaklı bir etkileşim olduğunu gösterir. Okulların değişmez yapılar olduğu yorumuna karşı aktörlerin, sanat okullarına dahil olmadan geçirdikleri süreçleri ve değişen bakış açılarını da incelemek gerekmiştir. Bu araştırma okullardaki sanat üretimini anlamak adına anlamlıdır. Okullardaki aktörlerin verdikleri dersler doğrultusundaki bilgi ve becerileri, donanım ve değerlerini dönüştürür ve nihayetinde kurumlara olan katkılarını da değiştirir. Sanat okullarının kuruluş sürecinin parçası olan burslar bir kültür aktarımı anlamına gelir. Bu burslar, henüz ne düzeyde olduğu bilinmese de, birçok alana dağılır. Sürekli karşılaşılan nokta ise “Batı ve Doğu Sanatı” yahut “Doğu-Batı”

ikilemidir. Sanat tarihi tarafından Avrupa sınırları ötesinde de mütemediyen tartışılan bu konu daha fazla araştırma gerektirir.

Bu ihtiyaca cevaben IV. Bölüm özellikle bu noktaya odaklanır. Malik'in 1928-32 yılları arasında yurt dışında gördüğü eğitim, coğrafi ayrılıkları anlayabilmek adına detaylı bir şekilde ele alınır. Malik'in kişisel deneyimi, hayat algısı ve iş anlayışını incelemek Batılılaşma algısını eleştiren ve bu değişime öneyak olduğuna inanılan önemli bir kişi olması itibariyle ilginçtir. Yapılan ayrıntılı araştırmalar, farklı etkinlikleri ve birtakım benzersiz deneyimleri ortaya koyan birincil kaynakların gün yüzüne çıkmasını sağlar. Bölüm beş kısma ayrılır. İlk kısımda Malik'in yolculuğunun koşulları araştırılır. İkinci kısımda Malik'in Türkiye'den başka öğretmenlerle birlikte Almanca öğrendiği, ilk durağı olan, Postdam'daki süreç incelenir. Üçüncü kısım ise Avrupa'ya gitmiş diğer Türk sanat eğitimi bilimcilerinin duraklarını anlatır. Bu geçiş kısmının amacı, diğer okulların Malik'in 1932 yılına kadar eğitim gördüğü Berlin Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Resim Bölümü'nden nasıl farklılaştığını ortaya koymaktır. Dördüncü kısımda Berlin Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'nin yaklaşımı ve işleyişi ele alınır. Bu bölüm Malik'in Berlin'de karşılaştığı farklı bilgilere dayanarak dünya sanat tarihine olan ilgisine odaklanarak sonlanır.

Araştırmalar Resim-İş Bölümü'nün sanat uygulamalarına teorik yaklaşımının 1928 yılında hazır olduğunu gösterir. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı yurtdışında eğitim bursu alacak dört öğretmen seçmiştir. Almanya ve İsveç'te olmak üzere eğitim görülecek kurumlar da belirlenir. İsveç'teki okul 19.yy'dan bu yana dünyanın dört bir yanından öğrencilerin ilgisini çekerken, Almanya'da 1920'lerde önemli değişimler geçirmiş yeni kuruluşlar seçilir. Okullar öğretmenleri yenilikçi eğitim hareketine veya pragmatist sanat anlayışına göre yetiştirmek amacıyla özenle belirlenir. Burs ve öğrenci seçimi ile ilgili mevcut dökümanlarda açıkça belirtilmemiş olsa da Malik'in fotoğraflarının, retrospektifindeki belgelerin ve Berlin Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'ndeki uygulamalara yaklaşımının

seyehatinin ardından başlayacak Resim-İş Bölümün'deki görevinin hazırlıklarının bir parçası olduğu anlaşılır.

Berlin Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi programı ve eğitim ortamı üzerine yapılan detaylı incelemeler, okulun mimari biçimini ve farklı sosyo-politik ve ekonomik koşullar sürecince oluşan sanatsal eğilimlerini etkileyen çok çeşitli unsurlar olduğunu gösterir. Okul yöneticisinin karalı duruşu ve okulun yenilikçi eğitim hareketi için önemine rağmen, tek ve tutarlı bir sanat anlayışının olmadığı görülür. Daha önce belirtildiği üzere Malik, Berlin'deki ilişkilerini yalnızca okulla sınırlı tutmayıp çeşitlili bilgi üretimi ve sanat ortamları ile bağlantı kurmuştur. Malik'in kişisel ilgisi olmasa, soyut coğrafi ve sanat kategorileri ve genel kültürel varsayımlar ile Berlin'de edinmeye çalışacağı deneyimin eksik kalacağını görülür. Berlin'deki sanat öğrencileri arasında yaygın olan egzotizm algısı konusundaki eleştiriler, kişisel sanat tarihi kitapları koleksiyonu ve Etnografya Müzesi'ne yaptığı ziyaretler Malik'in ilgi alanlarının o sıralar 'Alman' olarak nitelendirilen, zamanın sanat anlayışının ötesine geçtiğini gösterir. Bulgular onun önyargılar, değişken bilgi üretimi ve yetersiz temsil sorunlarından haberdar olduğunu ortaya koyar. Bu farkındalık kanon dışı sanat formlarının, ötekileştirilmiş birey ve çevrelerin Malik'in sanat eserlerinin öğeleri arasında olmasının nedenidir.

Bu tezde yapılan gözlemler, değişken ve geniş bir zemin üzerindeki aktörleri ve geçirdikleri süreçleri incelemenin epidemik ve coğrafi sınırları aşmayı ve farklı bölgelerdeki tarihi ve güncel ilişkileri görmeyi sağlamıştır. Çalışma, sanatın farklı kavramsallaştırma yöntemlerini ve kavramsallaştırma sürecini ortaya koyar. Tezde önceden belirlenmiş çerçevelerin kullanılması bu çeşitli alanlara girmeyi engelleyebilirdi. Araştırmanın güçlü ampirik yönü yaratıcı aktivitelerin tek bir epidemik ve coğrafi zeminde ortaya çıkmadığını, nesne ve mekanların farklı yerlerdeki malzeme, bilgi ve etkinlikler çerçevesinde bağlantılı olduğunu ve bu unsurların etkinliklerinin fiziksel sınırları aştığını gösterir.