

A RESEARCH ON THE
REPRESENTATION OF TURKISH NATIONAL IDENTITY:
BUILDINGS ABROAD

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ABSTRACT

A RESEARCH ON THE REPRESENTATION OF TURKISH IDENTITY BUILDINGS ABROAD

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This thesis is the result of an attempt to record, classify and develop an understanding of the motivations and dynamics in the design and realization of the buildings that explicitly or implicitly represent the Turkish identity abroad. In the meantime it is aimed to reflect on and identify the function of architecture and buildings in the formulation and representation of national identity. Besides the analysis of the meanings assigned to the architectural forms, one underlying intention was to clarify how different aspects of architecture and building processes could play roles in the construction and representation of national identity within the context of the embassies, monuments, exhibition pavilions and centers for cultural and religious purposes.

During the analysis of these architectural works, basic mechanisms of the concept of “identity” and its repercussions in relation to physical milieus -i.e. its comparative nature, its reception by the others- are tried to be elaborated. Cases other than the Turkish case are referred to when necessary. Viewpoints of variety of actors in the realization of these works -i.e. architects, diplomats, statesmen and contractors- are analyzed to elucidate the similarities and differences of approaches.

Besides the role of international relations, the dominant social, political and economic characteristics in different historical periods of Turkey and their implications on the buildings abroad are exposed by this study. Reactions of the architectural discourse in Turkey to those characteristics concerning the national identity, i.e. foreign architects, globalization, and promotion of architects by the state, are elaborated. While some themes are perennial at the discursive and formal level, variations of attitudes regarding the host context are observed in the study.

Keywords: identity, image, difference, “others”, national identity, world fair pavilions, embassy, “cultural center”.

ÖZ

TÜRK MİLLİ KİMLİĞİNİN TEMSİLİYETİ ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA: YURTDIŞINDAKİ YAPILAR

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Bu tez yurtdışında Türk kimliğini doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak temsil etmek için tasarlanan yapıların belgelenmesi, sınıflandırılması ve bu yapıların gerçekleştirilme süreçlerindeki motivasyon ve dinamiklerin anlaşılması hedefiyle başlanmış bir çalışmadır. Aynı zamanda genelde mimarlık, özelde ise çalışma kapsamında incelenen yapıların ulusal kimliğin temsiliyetinde oynadıkları rolün çözümlenmesini amaçlar. Bu bağlamda mimari biçimlenmenin anlam boyutunun irdelenmesi yanı sıra, mimarlığın bina üretimini de içeren farklı boyutlarının ulusal kimliğin kurgulanması ve temsiliyetindeki rolü, elçilikler, anıtlar, uluslararası sergi yapıları, kültürel ve dinsel işlevli yapılar çerçevesinde ele alınmıştır.

Bu araştırmada farklı disiplinlerde “kimlik” kavramı incelenirken ortaya konan temel mekanizmalar –kimliğin karşılaştırılmalı niteliği, farklı kimlik düzlemlerinin ilişkileri, ulusal kimliğin oluşturulması yanında algılanması ve anlaşılmasındaki farklılaşmalar- fiziksel çevredeki yansımalarına odaklanılmıştır. Örneklem grubunu Türkiye’yi temsil etmekte olan yapılar oluşturmakla birlikte gerektiğinde diğer ulusların yapılarına referanslar verilerek çalışma geliştirilmiştir. Bu yapıların oluşturulmasında rol oynayan farklı birey ve kurumların yanında, farklı mesleki ve

sosyal grupların –mimarlar, diplomatlar, devlet adamları, inşaatçılar vb.- bakış açıları da aralarındaki benzerlik ve ayrılıkların sergilenmesi amacıyla göz önünde tutulmuştur.

Araştırmada Türkiye’nin farklı tarihsel dönemlerdeki uluslararası ilişkilerinin değişimi yanısıra, baskın sosyal, politik ve ekonomik faktörlerin bu yapıların oluşturulmasına etkileri gözlenmiştir. Türkiye’deki mimarlık söyleminde ulusal kimlik sorunsalı ile ilgili bu dinamiklere –mimarlık hizmeti ithali ve ihracı, inşaat sektöründeki küreselleşme, devletin ve inşaat şirketlerinin mimarlıkla ilişkilerindeki sorunlara- bağlı bakış açıları irdelenmiş ve tepkilerin yurtdışındaki temsil yapıları özelinde belirginleştiğine dikkat çekilmiştir. Söylemsel ve biçimsel boyutlarda birbirine yakın tutumların yıllar içinde sürekliliğini koruduğu gözlenirse de, farklı dönemlerde ve farklı yapı grupları içindeki tutarlılıkların daha belirgin olduğuna işaret edilmiş, bazı durumlarda ise yapının gerçekleştirileceği kültürel ve çevresel bağlamlar ile ilişki kurma gayesinin ağırlık kazandığı görülmüştür.

Anahtar sözcükler: kimlik, imge, farklılık, “diğer”, ulusal kimlik, temsiliyet, sergi pavyonları, diplomatik temsil yapıları, kültürel merkezler ve dinsel yapılar.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Themes

Today globalization has become a term used by many to refer to a process of unification of the world with a global market economy and consumer culture. The characteristics of this process have brought about a homogenization which is considered to be flattening out the differences in the cultural and physical environment. However, while there is this homogenization, dialectically there is an emphasis on the particularities of the locality, local culture, nation, and alike. In other terms, as the interdependence between the different parts of the world characterizes this situation, exacerbation of cultural, societal and ethnic self-consciousness, to attain a unique identity, accompanies the globalization process. While nation-state seems to be losing its priority in continuing as a framework for the citizens to identify with, in the age of the transnationalization of economic and cultural life, there is still the ambition for many to found a nation-state and establish its unique characteristics

1.1.1 National Identity

Nation-states are considered by some of the scholars as the offspring of the intellectual heritage of modernity.¹ Nineteenth century was the period of the establishment of the nation-states as the ideal model of governments and this ideal had been disseminated to different parts of the world later on. Scholars like Gellner note the intrinsic relation between the modern, industrial, capitalist society and the birth of nationalism². This is an instrumental viewpoint regarding nationalism as a means to construct modern nations. Nations are not considered as dormant phenomena awakening by themselves. As it is studied by scholars like Breuilly, state is the main agent in this construction process.³ Conscious efforts are behind this process, which is characterized as “imagination” or “invention” of the factors pertaining to the characteristics of the nations⁴. While such factors are designated as embedded in history, i.e. ancestors, traditions, home country and language, they include constructions about the desirable futures.

Nation-state system is considered to carry itself out into a foreseeable future⁵, with new states emerging as members of the world community having their own projections for the future. Besides new states, the older ones keep the discourse on nationalism alive at a different level⁶, although its being an ideal economic or political unit is challenged.

¹ Kedourie, E. (1996) *Nationalism*, Blackwell, Oxford.

² Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London.

³ Breuilly, J. (1993) *Nationalism and the State*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

⁴ Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso. London and Hobsbawm E.J. and T Ranger (1983)(eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge are the seminal works emphasizing this aspect.

⁵ There is a common consent amongst researchers on this issue. For example, Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso. London p.3, Similarly, Smith states that, though there are recent trends of forming new collective identities beyond nationalism in a prospective “post-nationalist” age, national identity is still a global phenomenon itself. Smith, A. (1991) *National Identity*, University of Nevada Press, Reno. Especially after the independence of nation states from the former Yugoslavia and USSR, interest on the topic alleviated.

⁶ For example, Billig points out that nationalism and rhetoric of nationhood has not been superseded in the globalized world, though it is no longer a major force. Nationhood discourse is still being reproduced not only in the radical peripheral countries or the countries in their foundation period, but also in the western countries epitomized in the US. It is implicitly maintained through mechanisms of daily life, named by Billig as the “Banal” version, which keeps the categories “us”

Although “nationalism” as an intellectual or political framework is contested since its beginning, criticisms of nationalism and modernity are greater than before. The main point in these criticisms is the deficiency or rather oppression in the acknowledgement of other forms of identities. It is possible to discern two critical positions. One is the pre-modern one questioning national identities from the vantage point of religious communities and dynastic realms of empires. The second comes from “post-modern” positions questioning the oppressiveness and resistance to the plurality in modernity and nation-states. One main argument discussed within the framework of postmodernity discourse related to “identity” is that the modernity discourse⁷ is “ethnocentric” or Eurocentric and as constructing the difference of the “other” cultures to justify the priority, power and dominance of the west⁸. On the other hand, emphasis by the non-west on “difference” (i.e., in traditional, pre-industrial cultural identity), while constructing a national identity, is used as a strategy to confront the problems of modernity. National identity likewise is blamed for its dominance or insufficiency to acknowledge the plurality of the identities inside or traversing the nation-states.

Identity discourse is based upon a duality, which is embedded in the meaning of the word itself. Many researchers point at the etymology of identity to articulate this duality: while it refers to “sameness”, “likeness” and “oneness”, it is the outcome of “difference” from similar entities.⁹ Therefore, identity requires what is left outside. In other words, identity has a relational logic between the “self” and

and “them” on the basis of nations alive. Billig, M. (1995) *Banal Nationalism*, Sage Publications, London.

⁷ “Modernity” here refers to the Enlightenment ideals of critical reasoning and emancipated subject. Modernization on the other hand is to be considered as a process, dissociating modernity from the “western” origins and reshaping it as a spatio-temporally neutral model for social development and rationalization. Postmodernity in this text will be used in two senses; first is in reference to the discussions questioning the fulfillment of the presumed ideals of modernity in the context of the terms introduced i.e. meta-narratives, domination and oppression in philosophy and social sciences exemplified in the works of Foucault and Derrida. A second usage of the term, not totally distinct from the first, is its use as a postmodern condition as seen in Llyotard and Baudrillard, shaped as a consequence of the cultural logic of late capitalism, consumerism, simulations etc. that lead to the homogeneity of culture and physical environment. A third usage of the term postmodern is in relation to the works in art and particularly architecture reacting to the modernist aesthetics substantiated by the “international style” in the realm of architecture.

⁸ One such justification is against the Islamic orient, which is studied in the well-known book “Orientalism” by Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism*, Penguin Books, London.

⁹ Alsayyad, N. (2001) “Hybrid Culture/Hybrid Urbanism”. In *Hybrid Urbanism*, ed. N. Alsayyad, 1-18, Praeger, London.

“other”, where other is the constitutive outside to consolidate the process of construction of the “self”.¹⁰ This process reconsiders the essentialist viewpoint and asks whether these categories are fixed, essential, and fundamental or transhistorical or relational, fluid, plural, and contingent. Probing into identities discloses that they, including the national identity, are produced in specific historical and institutional contexts. It is also necessary to note that identities are constituted within representation, not outside or prior to it, as Hall suggests.¹¹ Representation in this sense refers to the reformulation of the constituents of the identity, i.e. history and culture, for national identity, in different occasions and in different periods within an inventive or imaginative dimension.

In the construction of identity similar mechanisms are displayed at different levels. As Güvenç analyses the Turkish case, national identity is based on the fundamental principle of creating its “other” to find, define and protect its own¹². In this sense identity is not the opposite of, but depends on difference. Güvenç refers to Levi-Strauss to justify the universality of this thesis at the level of individual personal identity.¹³ Harbsmeier’s analysis discusses identity issue at the socio-cultural level beyond the individual and concludes with the theme that “every culture has its other” creating a binary opposition “between us and them (to) serve the dual purpose of reinforcing and defining group identity while simultaneously ordering complex difference into a simpler, homogeneous entity which is more easily

¹⁰ Hall, S. (1996) “Who needs identity”. In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Sage Publications, eds. S.Hall and P.Du Gay, London, 1-18, 3.

¹¹ Ibid., 4.

¹² Güvenç, B. (2000) *Türk Kimliği*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul.

This contrasting framework constructs different “others” which enables to identify five approaches in the definition of the Turkish cultural identity. Güvenç regards these attempts which are based on different constitutive factors or historical ancestors as exclusionary and favors pluralist understanding.

The “other” is taken as an absolute category for some writers to explain the interaction between “Turkish identity” with other nationalities. Although some “others” keep this stance for longer periods for large part of the population, its nature is contingent.

One issue that attracts the attention of the general public and researchers is where Turkish identity stands within the scope of the established dualities like the “east” and the “west”. This last affirmation is contested in the thesis. “Other” is a relative category and a tentatively constructed concept.

¹³ Ibid., 7. The book Güvenç refers to is Levi-Strauss, C. (1967) *L’Identité*, Presses Universitaires de Paris, Paris.

appropriated”¹⁴. Lofgren points to the general validity of this contrasting attitude in identity construction, especially in the nation-building process of 19th and 20th centuries. He states that nations tried to satisfy the norms of being a proper state, but also aimed to be different than the others to form a unique identity, since there is “a belief in comparability and symmetry.”¹⁵ Bloom aims to analyze the formation of individual identity in relation with national identity in reference to the identification theory in social psychology. He aims to explain how the international politics become relations amongst nations not between the states. National identity in that sense describes the identification of the mass of people with the symbols of nation and state. Such symbols can mobilize this group in case of possibility of enhancement or protection of a national identity. International politics has an inherent dynamic to create oppositions, like us/them and ingroup / outgroup perceptions and attitudes in terms of domestic national citizens versus international aliens¹⁶

“Nationalist ideology” is inherent to “nation states”, despite the fact that its effects through politics are experienced more overtly in the totalitarian states. Although scholars state that the core argument of this political doctrine rests on the assumption of a nation with “explicit and peculiar character”¹⁷, “Nationalism” needs to be seen as an ideological rather than an essentialist concept in this respect. It has a history, with diversifications in various time periods and geographies, like the “identity” concept¹⁸. An important point is that ‘nation-state’ can only exist as a

¹⁴ Harbsmeier quoted in Duncan (1993) “Sites of representation”. In *Place/Culture/Representation*, eds. Duncan, J.S and D.Ley, London and New York, Routledge, 44.

¹⁵ Lofgren quoted in Harvey, P. (1996) *Anthropology, the Nation State and the Universal Exhibition*, Routledge, London and New York.

¹⁶ Bloom, W. (1990) *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 74.

¹⁷ Kedorie E. (1996) *Nationalism*, Hutchinson University Library, London. 1.
Breuilly identifies three basic assertions a-) There exists a nation with an explicit and peculiar character b-) The interests and values of this nation take priority over all other interests and values c-) The nation must be as independent as possible. This usually requires at least the political sovereignty Breuilly (1993) *Nationalism and the State*, 2.

¹⁸ Studies analyzed in the course of this thesis point at the difficulty in clarification of the term ‘nationalism’. One common attitude amongst the authorities in the field, like Anderson, Gellner, Hobsbawm and Ranger is the constructionist analyses where nations are not predetermined entities, but communities constructed through a process in which selection, invention, imagination and fabrication play important roles. Smith regards these attitudes as instrumentalist and criticizes the aforementioned authors as well as Kedorie, Nairn and Breuilly for putting the emphasis on the civic components of the nation, like the efforts in creation of equal subjects through legal,

part of the international system and relations, hence international recognition is deemed necessary for the becoming of a nation and a nation-state. National identity is something to be acknowledged by the international audience.

1.1.2 Formal Representation of National Identity by Buildings Abroad

Architecture as a discipline and buildings in particular are intended to take part in the construction of national identity and its representation. This identity is an overtly stated concern for the buildings having an explicit representative function. Capitols representing the “centers” of the nation-state constitute a category of buildings, which are means to inculcate the consciousness of national identity in the citizens¹⁹. Nation-state is also represented, not only in the capital by capitol, but throughout the country by buildings, accommodating many administrative, cultural, educational, etc. functions. Buildings having display functions, like museums, also serve the purpose of establishing a national culture through processes of classification and objectification of the contents.²⁰ Besides these buildings having such explicit administrative and display functions, with an implicit emphasis on the representation and construction of a national culture at home, there are also buildings representing the nation-state abroad that constitute obvious means to focus on the issue of representation in general and in architecture.

Buildings realized abroad with an explicit representational function of the state (or nation) include permanent structures like diplomatic legations (i.e. embassies, consulates etc.), monuments, cultural or religious complexes besides the transient

educational measures. These instrumentalist approaches, as Smith claims, regard “nation as a modern and therefore a temporary phenomenon, an attribute of particular industrial, capitalist or modern phase of history” which will wither away. He argues that, though his conception of the term is not atavistic, a theory of nationalism should replace the ethnic dimension as a founding factor and should not dismiss nationalistic claims as totally illusory. Smith, A (1988) “The Myth of the Modern Nation and the Myth of Nations”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 11, No. 1, 1-26.

¹⁹Vale discusses the issue in relation with the construction of capitals and capitols in Vale, L. (1992) *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London.

²⁰ For a recent study on the relationship between the display and construction of a national identity see: Boswell, D. and J. Evans (eds.) (1999) *Representing the Nation: A Reader Histories, Heritage, Museums*, Routledge, London and New York. For a study of the topic in a non-western context see Kaplan, F. (1994) *Museums and the Making of “Ourselves” The Role of Objects in National Identity*, Leicester University Press, London and New York.

structures built for temporary events like World Fairs. A study on similarities and differences of these different types from each other, as well as comparison with examples from different periods, gives an opportunity to elaborate their relevance for representing national identity.

One such building type is the embassy, by means of which the nation-state enjoys an official presence abroad. As a building category it is intriguing because of several factors. Embassy office buildings or chanceries have many utilitarian functions. Most of the multifarious functions in this building type are not public in nature. They are closed to the people in the street and offer limited access to the bureaucrats and the elite of the host country. Amongst its many diverse utilitarian functions, their representational role is predominant.²¹ Applicability of the term “embassy” to “nation’s overall representation, to its ambassador’s residence, to the ambassador’s offices and also to the ambassador” implies this characteristic.²²

There are three factors observed that make the embassy a relevant subject for research on representation of national identity. Physical context of the building is one of them. As the seat of government the capital city is the focus of a nation-state practically and symbolically, promoting a sense of national identity on the part of the host country²³. Similarly, an embassy is significant for the highly symbolic nature it has for expressing national identity at the hearth of the foreign country. The piece of land that accommodates the building is considered as “homeland” belonging to the guest and as surrounded by the “foreign soil”²⁴. Embassy buildings are also important elements in the morphology of the city attesting to the

²¹ This point can be illustrated in the words of an American diplomat who drew parallels between a monument and an embassy. “Both (embassy buildings) were marvelously non-functional but so is the Taj Mahal. And to be non-functional is greatly appropriate for an embassy, for so are many of its functions” US Ambassador Galbraith to New Delhi Quoted in Loeffler, J. (1998) *The Architecture of Diplomacy*, Princeton Press, New York, 195.

²² Ibid., 4. Other languages also have such multiplicity of meanings. ‘Botschaft’, German term used for ‘embassy’, points at this predominant representative function more explicitly; it also means “message” in German.

²³ Vale, L. (1992) *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 15. King points to the symbolic nature of capital in “new nations” that are seeking to escape from the colonial past expressing “modernity”. King, A. (1990) “Architecture, Capital and the Globalization of Culture”. In *Global Culture, Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, ed. M. Featherstone, Sage Publications, London.

²⁴ They can be considered as veritable islands and places of shelter endowed with privileges and protected by international law based on the Vienna Agreement of 8 April 1961 regarding diplomatic relations.

presence of other cultures within the cityscape²⁵. Their location in high-profile downtown sites of the capital, in close proximity to significant historical or governmental buildings, natural sites and other embassies, is a matter of prestige for the guest country.²⁶ The establishment of embassies in capital cities is also a way of endorsement of the host nation-state's sovereignty and politics²⁷. Representation of the multifarious nation-states with their embassies contributes to the "cosmopolitan" character of the capital city. However, embassy buildings may also be the target of hatred, envy, admiration, etc in the course of relationships between countries. In this sense they may be seen as the symbols of "otherness".

A second factor is the prediction that the nation-state system is considered to carry itself out into a foreseeable future, with new states emerging as equal members of the world community. These states are in need of constructing their political and cultural identities. In the course of consolidating their sovereignty, they open new embassies in other countries. These diplomatic missions are accommodated either in new buildings designed for them or in existing buildings.

The third factor is the similarity shared with the exhibition pavilions of the international fairs due to their representative functions. Both are similar in having a representative function. Nation state has been the central politico-economic and cultural entity through which the exhibitions have produced an image of global community, where individualities of the nation states are displayed in an identifiable way and as comparable to the others.²⁸ Embassies, though more insular, display a parallel with the world fairs, especially in the diplomatic districts

²⁵ Even the streets bearing the names of other countries, capitals and also prominent persons from these countries –for instance, exceeding twenty in Ankara- give a 'cosmopolitan' characteristic to the city. Likewise, Turkish embassies are also situated on streets named after them; Tehran is on Istanbul, Paris on Ankara, and Islamabad on Atatürk streets.

²⁶ For a recent study on the selection of such sites for the U.S and Canadian embassies reciprocally on each other's capital, that are having panoramic vistas and close to the key legislative buildings as well as the tourist attractions that help not only to inculcate an identity in the eye of the residents of the city but also to the other foreigners in the city see Gournay, I and J. Loeffler (2002) "Washington and Ottawa: A Tale of Two Embassies", *JSAH* No. 61:4 December, 480-507.

²⁷ For the disputes related with Ankara, see Şimşir, B. (1988) *Ankara... Ankara Bir Başkent'in Doğuşu*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara. Related with the Jerusalem case, see Khadidi, W. (2000) "The Ownership of the US Embassy Site in Jerusalem", *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol.XXIX, No. Summer, 80-101.

²⁸ Harvey, P. (1996) *Anthropology, the Nation State and the Universal Exhibition*, Routledge, London and New York, 51.

of the new capital cities, like Brasilia (1955) and Islamabad (1959), where individual embassies are represented and contrasted with other similar units in close proximity. Concentration of embassies at certain districts, that makes such a comparative analysis relevant, can be seen also in cities like Washington, Berlin and Ankara.²⁹ The similarity between the embassies and world exhibitions can be missed, if the diplomatic representation by the former is understood solely in terms of bilateral relationships between two countries. Representation can better be handled in a wider sense; the co-presence of other countries' legations, even though they may not be located within the same district, should be considered³⁰.

Considerations regarding bilateral relationships make the issue of physical aspects of representation a matter for concern about how the guest country will be perceived by the residents of the host country. This may make some qualities like modesty a favorable characteristic for an embassy. On the other hand, modesty may also be seen as a negative attitude, if it turns into an architectural understatement that may seem as a sign of disregard. Such a variation calls attention to another dimension within the scope of the thesis. "Identity" refers to the conscious efforts in the creation of a building belonging to a particular nation. In other words, it refers to how the people creating it conceive and construct the notion of that nation through the building. On the other hand, "image" refers to the perception of the characteristics of the nation by the people of the host country or other diplomats through buildings. Stereotypes about the images of that country can manipulate that

²⁹ After Berlin's designation as the capital again, new embassies were constructed in close proximity. Commentators like Bartels and Gönül regard these as architectural ID cards of different countries. They also draw a similar analogy between the visitors' impressions during touristic bus tours to embassies in Berlin on "open to public" days with the impressions of people in the world expositions. Bartels, O. and Gönül, P (2001) "Berlin'deki Diplomatiik Semtler", *XXI* Sept-Oct, 88-101. U. Meyer similarly refers to the parallels between the embassies in Berlin and the pavilions in Hannover. Symposium "Architecture and Identity", 18.06.2001.

³⁰Various accounts of diplomats starting with those of Gerede, who initiated the Turkish embassy in Teheran, include comparisons, especially with the more prosperous western countries. For the cultural, economic and ideological struggles confronted in establishing a US embassy, see Isenstadt, S. (1997) "Faith in a better future: Josep Lluís Sert's American Embassy in Baghdad", *Journal of Architectural Education*, Feb. Vol.50 No.3, 172-188. The author narrates the history of the embassy, as if it was a power struggle between US, Britain and the Soviets. This was the case for earlier periods as well. For example German embassy built in 1877 in Istanbul was regarded to be the reflection of the desired world order, dominated by Germany; "The Huge Allemania Serail is...larger than the English or the Russian embassy, larger than the Yğldyz kiosk and rises above the other palaces of the Sultan" *Neue Preußische Zeitung* 4.December.1877 quoted in Niederwöhrmeier, H., 19.

perception. Therefore, modesty in this sense may be considered as a characteristic which the representatives and architects identify with. However, it may not be considered as the “true” national characteristics or its display in that particular capital is regarded inappropriate.

While similarity between world fair pavilions and embassies may be pointed out, there are differences between them too. While diplomatic buildings are built in countries all over the world, world exhibitions have so far been almost solely organized in the first world. Diplomatic buildings in this regard raises questions about the role of the particular context and provide much richer case studies, concerning the stance of the external factors in the assertion of identity through buildings. However exhibition pavilions are advantageous in terms of their relative freedom from the social and institutional context like the building codes, as well as from the functional and structural requirements. Therefore the exhibition pavilions as cultural objects themselves, or as built environments to display artifacts of the “other”, have been a viable topic for researchers who have dwelt on the representation of the “self” and the “other”.³¹ Through these exhibition buildings,

³¹ There is a growing literature on the world exhibitions, i.e., Findling, J.E. (ed.) (1990) *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions 1851-1988*, Greenwood Press, New York and London; Rydell, W (1993) *World of Fairs. The Century of Progress Expositions*, The University of Chicago Press; Rydell, W. (1984) *All the World's a Fair*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London. There are more specific studies in relation to the context and the participating country. For example, display of the American Modernism as a model to the rest of the world in the cold-war era is studied in Haddow, R. (1997) *Pavilions of Plenty / Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950's.*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington and London. Role of the exhibition pavilions to display modernity of the nation is studied for other contexts as well. These pavilions were amongst the focal points in the studies on periphery countries' strife for the establishment of a unique national identity in their nation building processes, alongside their involvement with modernization. Polish context is analyzed in Crowley, D. (1992) *National Style and Nation State*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, for Finland, see Taisto, M. (1991) *Imagined Affinities: Architectural representation and the rhetoric of nationalism in Finland at the turn of the century*, Unpublished Ph.D diss., Princeton University. Romania in the fairs is studied in Machedon, L and E. Scoffham (1999) *Romanian Modernism*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 296-309.

Participation of the non-european countries brought forth similar academic studies. Tenario-Trillo, M. (1996) *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation*, University of California Press, Berkeley is focused on Mexican pavilions. Changing manifestations of national identity and expression of national character in the exhibition pavilions for Mexico is studied also in Fernandez, M. (1994) "In the Image of the Other: A Call for Rethinking National Identity," *Design Book Review*, Spring/Summer 1994 No.32/33, 50-54.

“Eastern” sections of the 19th century World Fairs are analyzed within the framework of colonization. In his theoretically sophisticated book, Mitchell regards these fairs as models of the colonization processes where the possibility of “representation” is probed. This intention serves to the imposition of the western modes of understanding and displaying of Egypt that leads to political and economic dominance. Mitchell, M. (1991) *Colonizing Egypt*, University of California Press,

certain identities have been attributed to the cultures represented, to maintain their differences from those of the west. This has especially been the case when these pavilions were produced by the organizers of exhibitions. Most telling examples have been the exhibitions of colonies whereby colonies have been introduced to the metropole³².

1.1.3 “Identity” and “Otherness” in Foreign Affairs

Buildings representing the nation-state abroad offer an opportunity to discuss the phenomenon of the “other”, which was conceptualized in the academic field of “International Relations” while questioning its paradigms after “post-modernism”. Keyman points at the issues of preponderance in the area: “identity” and “otherness”. He points to the inextricability between foreign policy and national identity and states that the former is not external to the latter, but actually assures it. Another explanation he makes is about the nature of international relations, claiming that its cultural foundation is “otherness”. By creating various “others” like the east through colonization, third world by imperialism and Soviets by the

Berkeley. For the general representation of Ottoman Empire and other Islamic countries in the 19th century fairs see Çelik Z. (1992) *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World Fairs*, University of California Press, Berkeley. As Broudehoux mentions construction and diffusion of stereotypes about faraway peoples cover Far East regarding the people as cunning and uncivilized, frozen in an ancient past. Broudehoux A.M. (2001) “Learning from ChinaTown: The Search for a Modern Chinese Architectural Identity 1911-1998”. In *Hybrid Urbanism*, ed. AlSayyad, N. Praeger, London, 156-180. Role of the 19th century world fairs in consolidating of the term “non-historical” architectural styles, in contradistinction to the western culture is studied by focusing on a Japanese pavilion by Walker in “The Invisible ‘East’” *Oriental-Occidental 2001 ACSA International Conference*, 172-175. The distinction of Bannister Fletcher is a major theme as a hidden premise of architectural history, and recent studies on his works are seminal in the field of “post-colonialism. Topic of Exhibitions also gains wider popularity beyond the academic interest. Besides the multiplicity of internet sites publications also abound. Even reprints of the original exhibition books or new books on past exhibitions are published; for example, Appelbaum, S. (1977) *The New York World’s Fair 1939/1940*, Dover Publications Inc., New York.

³² One comprehensive study of such a milieu is ‘L’Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris’. The author develops many themes regarding how the colonies are represented as well as the hybridities generated between the Metropole and the colonies. Morton, P. (2000) *Hybrid Modernities*, MIT Press, Cambridge.

Cold War, he refers to international relations as a discourse embedded in the modernity project.³³

National identity and its manifestation in the foreign policy are assumed to assign a role to architecture. This role had already been evident by the nineteenth century. Crinson's study dwells on Britain's foreign policy in the Near-East which he calls as the informal imperial context outside the formal Empire. It was a premise of the period that "to build was to create meaning: architecture was phonetic, it had expressional character and it exhibited particular moral or political ideas."³⁴ Style, therefore had a central role in the selection of a design for a variety of buildings to be built abroad, to establish an identity in the land of the other. While architectural discourse tried to evade the notion of style as a pivotal point in the twentieth century, buildings realized abroad were expected to convey a "meaning" through their form. This is a major premise of Loeffler's book on the building of American embassies, where creation of "others" through architecture is one of the sub-themes. She gives ample evidence that the new buildings constructed by the US were conceived through comparisons with the Russian embassies in most of the instances, as a reflection of cold war power politics. One particular theme in the early 1950s, especially in Europe, was that the buildings were in the manner of a glass box modernism to convey a message of "democracy" against the totalitarian communism. The other theme, mostly utilized in the third world, was in accord with the objectives of the foreign policy to create the image of a friendly and inviting ally together with the "foreignness" of faraway places which in turn would "please its foreign hosts"³⁵ This attitude demanded the use of various local

³³Keyman, F. (1996) "Eleştirel Düşünce: İletişim, Hegemonya, Kimlik/ Fark". In *Devlet, Sistem ve Kimlik*, ed. Eralp, A., İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 227-260. Likewise, Alpkaya notes that the vocabulary of "Foreign Affairs" and "International Relations", even the names of these fields indicate "otherness", which consequently turns the field into a ground for the institution of a nationalist discourse. Alpkaya, G. (2002) "'Türk Dış Politikası'nda Milliyetçilik". In *Milliyetçilik*, eds. Bora and Gültekinil, İletişim, İstanbul, 155-167.

³⁴ Crinson, M. (1996) *Empire Building*, Routledge, New York, 9.

³⁵ Loeffler, J. (1998) *Architecture of Diplomacy, Building American Embassies*, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 168. Her book is basically an historical account of the building of American embassies and includes examples of positive reactions from the host country to these buildings. Similar attempts seem to be common also in the architecture of the Soviet embassies. They also acted as means of exportation of ideological and stylistic positions. For example, as Gutierrez notes, Soviet Embassy in East Germany was received with appreciation and shaped the "1950's East-German architectonic taste" Gutierrez, J.J.G. (1999) "Building Homes, Building

architectural form characteristics and materials. Robin adds a third theme employed in the design of the US embassies in the 1930's in Central America which is regarded as the traditional sphere of influence. Replicas of Southern plantation manor houses that represent paternalism and master-subject relationship were adopted.³⁶

Different morphologies homologous with other building types are seen in the evolution of embassy designs for different contexts. For example, Therrien identifies three homologies among Canadian embassies: 1-) Bourgeois residence, 2-) The fortress edifice (introvert) and 3-) "Cultural center-embassy", in which architecture, art and landscape combine to create a distinct identity. This latter type is extrovert, serving the city with its cultural functions and promoting the Canadian culture abroad.³⁷ This type merges the cultural center, which is usually located at another plot in the city, with the administrative center of the embassy. Hence "cultural centers" established to propagate national culture abroad are considered as a component of the representation of the countries abroad, whether they are conceived with the embassy together or not.³⁸

1.1.4 Identity and Architecture

In the context of this thesis it is relevant to cite two frameworks where "identity" debates can be of use. One context where identity issue in architecture and urban

Politics", *Central European Review*, Vol.1, No.21, [data-base online] at <http://www.ce.review.org/99/21/gomez21.html>. That building even acted as the litmus test for the East German architects in expressing their position in terms of "Functionalism" and "Realism". For example, after his assessment of the building in a dubious manner, Henselmann was called upon to "mend his ways politically and professionally" Aman, A. (1992) *Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe During the Stalin Era*, The Architectural History Foundation, New York, 175.

³⁶ Robin, R. (1992) *Enclaves of America-The Rhetoric of American Political Architecture Abroad 1900-1965*, Princeton Press, New Jersey.

³⁷ Therrien Marie-Josée (1999) "Canada's Embassies : A Brief History", *Canadian Architect*, No.44, December, 18-19. These types were originally developed in Therrien Marie-Josée (1998) *Au-delà frontières: L'architecture des ambassades Canadiennes 1930-1990*, Unpublished Doctoral diss., Université Laval.

³⁸ It is not a coincidence to see institutes and schools abroad in an exhibition and a book on German embassies, which are considered as an extension of the representative function of the diplomatic building types. Asendorf O. and Voigt. W. (2000) *50 years of Federal German Buildings abroad: Embassies*, Wasmuth Verlag, Berlin.

settings become central is the “post-colonial studies”. This framework covers the records of the physical milieus of the colonies, where the buildings inserted and new planning schemes of the colonizers have played a role in the definition of the identity of the “colonizer” and “colonized” in these countries.³⁹ Thus building a representation in these countries is also an occasion to interact not only with the identity of the country itself, but also with the identity defined by the colonizer. Consequently, the attempt to display the identity of oneself in these places is also a means of constructing a self-image in comparison with the “west”.

Other framework of studying identity through architecture is the conscious efforts of the nations when they face modernity. “Identity” is usually regarded as an issue of modernity. Identity issue has a peculiar significance in the countries undergoing the modernization process while trying to preserve some characteristic features of their own. Especially during the nation building processes, this individuality is formulated as national identity and “national styles” of architecture became a central concern of the authorities and architects.

It has been one of the central discussions on culture in general as well as on architecture in Turkey. Tanyeli uses the term regionalism⁴⁰ to refer to all

³⁹ There is a growing literature in this theme. One can cite Alsayyad, N., (ed). (1992) *Forms of Dominance*, Avebury; Aldershot and Brookfield Vermont, including valuable articles, particularly Fuller, M, “Building Power Italian Architecture in Libya and Ethiopia”, 211-239. Çelik, Z. (1997) *Urban Forms and Colonial confrontations: Algiers under French Rule*. Çelik, Z. (1992) "Le Corbusier, Orientalism, Colonialism," *Assemblage 17*, (April 1992), 59-77. Wright, G. (1991) *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London.

“Post-colonial” studies with the emphasis on the key concept “other”, have further repercussions in architecture. See Nalbantoğlu G., Thai, W.C. (eds.) (1997) *Post Colonial Space(s)*, Princeton Press, New York.

The role of the “west” in the definition of the Turkish national identity in architecture is questioned in the Turkish context as well. For example in a recent commentary it is noted that Turkish society is not the “other” ascribed by the West but another “other”. Corollary to this, traditionalism is assumed to be appropriate for “us” by the West since “we” are categorized by “them” with the “others” in architecture as well. Authors suggested that unlike west “we” do not look upon other peoples as the “others”. Yürekli, H. and Yürekli, F. (2001) “Looking from the other side” *Yapı* no: 232, March, 45-49.

⁴⁰The term ‘regionalism’ is used by different authors with variations. Frampton K. (1992) “Critical Regionalism: Modern Architecture and Cultural Identity”. In *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, Thames and Hudson, London, 314-327 or Colquhoun, A. (1997) “The Concept of Regionalism”. In *Post Colonial Space(s)*, eds. Nalbantoğlu G. and Thai, W.C., Princeton Press, New York, 13-25.

architectural discourse centering upon the problem of identity⁴¹. This generalized and rather fuzzy field covers all the varied reactions to “internationalism”, variously labeled as nationalism, regionalism, traditionalism, vernacularism etc., and the works of almost all of the significant names in the Turkish architecture including Eldem, Bektaş and Vanlı, who have designed buildings abroad. For Tanyeli, regionalism has gained the status of being the sole discourse in the architectural circles, which was legitimized by the general public after the 1980s. This wide acceptance has encouraged the architects to make use of it in a rather pragmatic manner. In some building types, like buildings for tourism or for residential buildings, it has been used more commonly. Tanyeli makes this point for a quite recent period in Turkish history, yet it is a point which may be relevant for even an earlier period.

When discussed in terms of this pragmatic understanding, there are two factors that make ‘regionalist discourse’ relevant in the design of an embassy: One being the representation of a nation (country, culture etc.) and the other is the specificity of the function. Since it is the “house” of the representative of the state, this discourse can be pragmatically employed for this function as incorporated within the program of the embassy. Residence of the ambassador is usually the core of the representative function, especially in the Turkish practice of ceremonies being organized in the halls of the residence.

Another point raised by Tanyeli is about the difference in adoption of regionalism by the “center” countries and the “peripheral” countries. While adoption by the “periphery” serves the internalization of the modernization process, it is used by the “center” to classify the architecture in the “non-west” as regional, to reinstate the centrality of the “west” and underline the discourse on the “other”. Regional identity becomes an issue for the “center” countries as well. For example, Forty concludes his discussion of nationalism in architecture based on the analysis of two

⁴¹ Tanyeli, U. (1998) “1950’lerden bu yana Mimari Paradigmaların Değişimi ve ‘Reel’ Mimarlık”. In *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, ed. Y. Sey, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 235-255. Priority of the terms of identity and national architecture in the architectural discourse can be observed in the publications and conferences on the issue. As examples see: *Mimaride Türk Milli Üslubu*, Seminar organized by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 1984 and *Kimlik, Meşruiyet, Etik*, Symposium organized by TMMOB in 1993.

nineteenth century buildings in Oxford, by reflecting on the unification of Europe and the British position in the late twentieth century⁴². He reiterates an Enlightenment motto stated by Montesquieu: “Europe is no more than a nation made up of several others. France and England need the richness of Poland and Muscovy as one of their provinces needs the others”⁴³

This understanding contrasts with the “Volkgeist” theory of nations stressing the separation and singularity fed by hostility. For Forty, it is equally an alternative to the “mythically universal” world culture. Forty’s quotation finds an echo in the recent architectural competition named Yourope: Design of a European Embassy. The competition brief starts with one more quotation: “The day will come when you, France, you, Russia, you, Germany, all you Nations of this part of the world will unite to form a higher entity without losing any of your uniqueness.” Here the words of Victor Hugo are used to make the students of architecture of Europe to reflect on the identity of Europe as well as on the future of the individual states.

These quotations and Forty’s analysis refer to another aspect of the “national identity” discourse. There is a basic classification in the literature related to the construction of nations. The first is the aforementioned German “Volkgeist” theory, emphasizing fundamental, unchanging features binding people around the notion of nation, the other is called as the French model emphasizing the contractual characteristics emphasizing the citizenship, i.e., free will of the people to constitute the nations.⁴⁴ Repercussions of this second understanding in architecture will put the emphasis on the citizenship of the personalities, rather than on the “national” qualities of the works. In other words, rather than the aspects referring to the essential aspects that cultivate national identity, the citizenship of the agent realizing the work, i.e., architects become the focal point. Thus, when the practice of the architects abroad is concerned, their personal identities as fellow

⁴² Forty, A. (1996) “Thoughts on Architecture and Nationality”, *AA Files*, No.32, Autumn, 26-37.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁴⁴ Forty uses the analysis done by J. Kristeva on Montesquieu in order to highlight the cosmopolitan, contractual, transitional and cultural aspects of the French model which can be taken as a model for the recent East-European nationalisms. Kristeva, J. (1993) *Nations without Nationalism*, Columbia University Press, New York.

citizens attract the attention in the popular, professional or academic discourses, beyond the national identity of their architecture.

1.1.5 Identity and Architects

Though this study aimed to deal with representational buildings abroad, analysis did not depend solely on formal aspects. Formal aspects of buildings were held in focus in analyzing the discussions against “internationalism”. However, building environment does not represent an identity through formal characteristics only; classifications based on formal aspects are not adequate.⁴⁵ This study engaged itself with a variety of issues, including the design phase as well as the construction, site designation and confrontation with new building regulations or professional codes in other countries. It also aimed to show how the role of architecture as a discipline and the status of architects were recognized by the patronage (i.e. related authorities of the state) which overruled the establishment of diplomatic missions and acquisition of embassy buildings.

Architecture is essentially a collaborative art and, as Larson notes, authorship is contested by the patrons above and also by the people carrying out the construction below leading to subordinating roles and heteronomy in the realization of buildings⁴⁶. Such a heteronomy necessitates a distinction between ordinary clients and patrons. Patrons are clients conceiving architecture as art and interested in

⁴⁵ The basic model, pertinent to this reductive method in the history of the Turkish Architecture categorizes the buildings from the beginning of the twentieth century with binary terms of nationalism and internationalism based largely on formal-stylistic differentiation. These history books usually regard the architectural developments from the 1950s onwards as the outcome of internationalism that changes into pluralism in the 1980s. As it is also noted by other historians the standard English text *Modern Turkish Architecture* (eds. R.Holod and A. Evin, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania), utilizes this binary terminology, which is useful but having a potential of rigid totality. Nalbantoğlu points to the inadequacy of the model in understanding the complex role of the vernacular architecture in late 1920s discourse. Nalbantoğlu, G. (1993) “Between Civilization and Culture: Appropriation of Traditional Dwelling Forms in Early Republican Turkey”, *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol.2, No.47, 66-73. Ergut also points to the continuity of the underlying nationalist ideology from the foundation of the Republic to the end of the WWII, while the architectural products considerably differed in terms of stylistic aspects Ergut E. (1998) *Making a National Architecture*, Unpublished Ph.D diss., Binghamton University.

⁴⁶ Larson, M.S. (1996) ‘Patronage and Power’. In *Reflections on Architectural Practice in the Nineties*, ed. W. Saunders, Princeton Architectural Press, New York. 130-143.

being involved in the creation of an artistic work. So the relation between the architects and such clients is formed historically by the roles assigned to institutions or individuals who exercise power on behalf of the general term of the state. This interaction is also dependent on the roles assigned to the architect as a professional and a cultural agent, giving him/her a certain field of autonomy.

Consequently, one of the latent themes pursued throughout this study has been the struggle of architects for acceptance by the state. In different decades of the history of Turkish architecture during the Republic, Turkish architects were faced with the issue of ascertaining a socially credible profession as well as maintaining a national market for their services against rival agents like foreign architects or the building construction sector. They demanded acknowledgment by the state as an empowered agent of the construction activity within the country as well as for being the designer of the state buildings. Different institutions and tactics were tried to be put into practice in order to ascertain power, like the founding of the chamber of architects and establishment of competitions. Competition system for the procurement of the design of significant buildings was proposed against the dominance of the foreign architects practicing architecture in Turkey during the 1930s.⁴⁷ However, Turkish architects' struggle to prove themselves against their foreign counterparts and asserting their identity have also been valid in later periods. This topic is still a viable one within the ever-expanding process of globalization, whereby "local" architects try to infiltrate into the competitive transnational markets dominated by the architects of the "center" countries.⁴⁸ On the other hand, Turkish architects have found a chance to work abroad in the last thirty years, especially with the development of the construction sector searching for new markets outside the national borders.

Hence, one subordinate theme in the thesis is the Turkish architects who practiced abroad. The significance in the careers of architects of design and construction of buildings abroad representing Turkey was tried to be acknowledged. The cases

⁴⁷ For an analysis of the 1930's context in Turkey and architect's professional identity in reference to the nationalist discourse see Ergut, E. (1998) *Making a National Architecture*, Unpublished Ph.D diss., Binghamton University.

⁴⁸ For example, it was recently discussed in the meeting "Globalization and Architecture" organized by the Turkish Chamber of Architects in November 28th 2000.

covered in the thesis have worked as a springboard for new ideas by the Turkish architects, since they have provided a first hand experience of building abroad. This experience has enabled the architects to have a comparative vision to assess “us” and “them”.

At this point it is helpful to elucidate the double meaning of the term “national identity”. Verdery succinctly puts it as follows: “national identity thus exists at two levels: the individual’s sense of self as national and the identity of the collective whole in relation to others of like kind”.⁴⁹ In the scope of this thesis the first meaning refers to individual identities of the architects or other agents in the building process, in relation to the collective “Turkish identity”. The “other” in this sense denotes the architects as well as citizens of other nationalities. The second sense pertains to the means, i.e. formal characteristics, building methods etc., to substantiate the difference of this collective identity from the architectural identities of other nations. While the first meaning of the term does not bear any conscious effort in the output, the second one tries to figure out a relation between this collective identity and the work.

“National identity” in the sense of individual’s association with the collective identity, considering himself/herself a representative of it, provides the nationals a specific moral agenda as Poole notes.⁵⁰ This agenda legitimizes and necessitates a special involvement in what the fellow co-nationals do, as manifested most evidently in the sense of pride or embarrassment felt in the achievements in different fields, especially in popular realms. Architecture may be such a popular field in some instances, especially when the achievement is attained abroad, in the presence of the “others”.

Historians of Turkish architecture have been interested in the international achievements of the Turkish architects in different fields of the discipline and profession.⁵¹ However, this interest is mostly directed to their accomplishments in

⁴⁹ Verdery, K. (1996) “Whither Nation and Nationalism”. In *Mapping the Nation*, ed. G.Balakrishnan, Verso, London and New York, 226-233.

⁵⁰ Poole, R. (2003) “National Identity and Citizenship” In *Identities*, eds. Alcoff, M. and Mendieta E., Blackwell Publishing, London, 271-280.

⁵¹ This seems to be a common phenomenon for the architects of the peripheral countries. For example, an exhibition catalog accompanying the traveling exhibition titled “20th century

the western countries in order to assess these architects' competency and approbation by the center countries. For example, Bozdoğan mentions Turkish architects' implicit longing to be a part of the international community of architects, which in turn would bring national pride. However, as she notes, architects of the 1930s had restricted exposure to the discourse of the "modern" architecture in Europe and found very limited opportunities to be published amongst the European architects. According to Bozdoğan, the main reason for the negligence of the Turkish architects in European media is the intrinsic nature of the "international style", which was in fact a European discourse exported to non-European contexts by European architects.⁵² Similarly Alsaç points out the moments of the Turkish architects' encounters with the international community of architects in his chronology of Turkish architecture. Based on this survey spanning a wide time interval, he concludes that Turkish architecture started to become an 'exporter' rather than being a mere 'importer', as was the case during the 19th century and in the early years of the Republic.⁵³

Buildings designed to be built abroad were usually considered by architects as occasions to feel themselves in the world arena, which provided them with a self confidence unrelated to the scale of the enterprise. Keeping in mind that the German embassy in Brasilia designed by Hans Scharoun was unusual for being his only realized building abroad, let alone being the only embassy accomplished by an architect of his reputation, it would not be difficult to notice how extraordinary such instances were for Turkish architects. Commenting on Scharoun, Spring noted that "even three decades after WW2 the globalization of architecture had not reached the scale we are familiar with in today's star system"⁵⁴.

Architecture in Greece" has a chapter "Greek architects abroad". Petridou, V (1999) "The wanderings of an Odyssey: Traces and Works of Greek Architects Abroad". In *20th Century Architecture in Greece*, eds. Condaratos, S and W. Wang Prestel Verlag, Frankfurt, 109-113.

⁵² Bozdoğan, S. (2000) *Modernism and Nation Building*, 155.

⁵³ Alsaç, Ü. (1976) *Türkiye'deki Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi*, KTÜ Yayınları.

⁵⁴ Spring, E. (2000) "A Break with Outmoded Ideas of Representation- Scharoun's Embassy in Brasilia". In *Embassies*, eds. O.Asendorf and W. Voight., 34-37. As a comparison see Koolhaas, R. (1996) "Architecture and Globalization", *Reflections on Architectural Practices in the Nineties*, ed. William S. Saunders, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 232- 239.

Whether it be an embassy or a world fair pavilion, partaking in international contexts were highly esteemed by the Turkish architects for representing their architectural competence as well as that of fellow Turkish architects. In such occasions Turkish architects could find themselves in the same milieu with the prominent architects of the period, as was the case with the Turkish embassy in Brasilia.⁵⁵ Therefore, to be a Turkish architect whose design for the embassies quarter stood “next to Scharoun’s”, together with designs of Fumihiko Maki and Studio Nervi, was considered as important as designing in this city designed by Oscar Niemeyer and Lucio Costa. Similar sentiments existed in other occasions like the 1958 Expo in Brussels, where Turkish architects designed a pavilion in the same environment with Le Corbusier’s pavilion for the Philips Company. The Turkish pavilion in the Hannover Fair enabled the Tabanlıoğlu Architects to take a place next to world-wide stars like Peter Zumthor or Shigeru Ban, in the fair grounds as well as in the international architectural magazines. These occasions helped the Turkish architects to feel themselves as equally respectful members of the international community of architects.

Architects involved in the design and construction of buildings abroad are not always the prominent names of the Turkish architectural scene. If the buildings abroad are “proper” buildings realized through “acceptable” methods, architectural circles show more interest. In other words, if the building is designed by “architects” from scratch and is not a refurbishment or interior design or an addition to an existing one, and if especially it is acquired by architectural competitions, it finds its way into the architectural media.

1.2 Objectives and the Method of the Thesis

This study has been done with the aim to reflect on, and identify the role of the buildings in the formulation and representation of identity. Buildings built abroad

⁵⁵ Independent professional practices by Turkish architects who migrated abroad particularly to European countries or other ways of practicing abroad were limited and did not find much echo in Turkey. For an statistical research on the topic see Aybars, O. et al. (1971) “Yurtdışına Mimar Göçü”, *Mimarlık*, July, No.92-93, 35-41.

with the purpose of representing the home country have been focused on with a particular emphasis on those used by the diplomatic representatives. Regarding both Turkey and other countries this subject is not studied much. In this attempt besides the representation of Turkey abroad, representation of other countries in Turkey and elsewhere were covered with reference to different building types, in so far as they were found relevant.

Representation of the “national identity” as a factor informing the design and construction of the buildings abroad has been studied. Post-occupancy evaluation of the buildings can indicate how far the design intentions have been realized and shared by the representatives and the Turkish colony abroad. Recipients of the buildings other than their residents are the people of the host countries. What are intended to be displayed and how these are perceived by those people have a semantic importance in identity studies which distinguish “identity” from “image”.⁵⁶ In most of the cases identities and images may not be congruent.

Surveys were done on both the theoretical issues of identity and the practices in representation of national identity through buildings. Articles in the architectural journals and interviews with the architects constituted a major material to investigate the attitudes towards the problem of representation of national identity abroad. These, together with the diplomats’ memoirs and the documents found in relevant archives shed light on how the issue was considered by the users of buildings concerned, i.e. governmental bodies as well as the diplomats themselves. Interviews and correspondence with the diplomats, architects, constructors and Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials supplied significant amount of materials undocumented so far. Since the term “user” encompasses a wider group than these, comments of the members of the Turkish communities abroad were tried to be reached. The last group of materials utilized in the thesis is the popular press, i.e. newspapers and magazines published in the host country or in Turkey. For those buildings, especially the world fair pavilions and the cultural centers which have stimulated wide interest, it has become easier to come across with commentaries and news both abroad and at home. This wider media coverage helped to identify

⁵⁶ Güvenç, B. *Türk Kimliği*, Remzi Yayınevi, İstanbul., 9.

different reactions to these buildings based on different ideological grounds. In general the scarcity of available material made it difficult for the research to be systematic and comprehensive and to cover all presented dimensions of the representation of the national identity in a comparably similar depth.

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

The chapters of the text are based on a chronological order to make visible how in certain periods the basic issues discussed are intertwined in different ways. Each chapter focuses on particular themes, though it does not mean that the guiding theme of one chapter loses its relevance in another one.

First chapter outlines the theoretical framework. It defines the scope of the thesis, elaborates the methodology and presents the objectives.

Second chapter starts with the foundation years of the new Turkish Republic with its new capital, Ankara, and questions the role of particular buildings, especially the embassies built in this capital, as an interface of “self” and “other”. Media of the period and relevant subjects studied in the architectural school are surveyed to disclose the attempts made for the representation and propaganda of Turkey and its architecture abroad. Then, two built examples from the 1930s constitute the major case studies to dwell on the display of “national identity” by the modern Republic in different contexts. The first built example of the Turkish embassies, namely Tehran Embassy, and the exhibition pavilions of Turkey in the contemporaneous New York Fair are comparatively analyzed. To elaborate the analysis, participation of Turkey in the different exhibitions abroad, before the New York Fair, is narrated.

Third chapter dwells upon the buildings designed to be built and represent the state abroad, i.e. monuments, World Fair pavilions, and embassies of the post war period until the 1980s. Architectural competitions were the principal procurement method for these buildings in the 1960s, hence, this period evinces the role played not only by architects, but also by the institution of architecture to represent the nation

abroad. Common major themes by the entrants of these competitions, where a diversity of approaches to the question of “national identity” existed, especially their references to traditional architecture, are included in the study. Beirut Embassy by Eldem and Şensoy is one of those buildings where the concept of the “Turkish House” became a theme in the representation of national identity. These competitions also brought forth the problems of representation of the profession in the eyes of the patron (the state). Another procurement method, especially for embassy buildings to be built in the first world countries, was commissioning the designs to foreign architects. Such occasions, including Tange’s Turkish Embassy in Tokyo, created the opportunity to consider the issues of representation or constitution of the national identity by a “foreigner”. Washington Embassy is a later controversial case in this regard.

Fourth chapter analyses the expansion of the Turkish construction sector abroad and its role in representation of the state after the 1980s. Architect’s relationship with the contractors broadening the construction sector and architectural services to other countries are discussed. Another theme of the chapter is the analysis of the works designed by the Turkish architects for the local people, hence, facing the issue of “other” through building for the “other”. The embassies covered in this chapter are located in the capitals of Arab nations, like the ones in Tripoli and Riyadh which were ruled by the Ottomans in the past. This offers an opportunity to study how these nations are considered as the “other” of the Republican regime of Turkey and how architects as well as diplomats regard these buildings as reflection of the historical bonds between “us” and “them”. Though the core of the chapter is focused on the 1980s, role of the construction sector in the realization of the legations abroad in the 1990s in the new states of Caucasia and Central Asia is also mentioned to understand the role and scope of the contractors in establishing a national identity.

In the fifth chapter, the period after the 1990s and buildings built to represent Turkey are covered. Besides embassies, distinctive characteristic of the period is the emergence of new building types, i.e. cultural centers and religious buildings, which are highly charged with symbolic meanings. Their different locations enable

us to read the variation of meanings into these buildings. One case study is in Cyprus and it avails the analysis of constructing the “other” by considering architecture as the manifestation of national rhetoric against a community with whom a military confrontation had occurred. A second group of these buildings has been realized in the neophyte Central Asian countries, which gained independence in the 1990s. Besides these new buildings, historical structures were also renovated as a further step to inculcate the presence of Turkish identity in counterposition with other political and economic actors in this geography. A third type of location where such buildings were constructed is capitals of the developed countries. Such analyses help to dwell on the other manifestations of “globalization” as perceived in metropolitan cities like London, Paris, New York etc. Such cities called as global cities or world cities are gaining priority beyond the nation-states in terms of economics and culture. As Sassen notes, immigration and guest workers contribute to the constitutive processes of globalization and create large concentrations of “others”, i.e. other cultures and identities, in these locations.⁵⁷ Rooted in other territories, the migrants or guest-workers are now de-territorialized and re-territorialized in these global cities.⁵⁸ In the Tokyo case, the role of the escalating numbers of Muslim people in Japan and their interaction with the mosque, founded by the people who have emigrated from Asia, are studied. This historical and social framework enabled the analysis of the role of architecture in building a cultural center in a non-muslim society. More controversial case is the one in Berlin which is highly populated with the Turkish community. These studies displayed the variation of identities leading to different viewpoints on the architecture of these cultural/religious centers. By focusing on these examples this chapter points out the shifts in the projected “identity” of Turkey and the threat of Islamic fundamentalism which is attempting to replace the national identity with a religious one. How architecture and the built environment enhance this new identity by positioning itself counter to different “others” is the question explored in each case study.

⁵⁷ Sassen, S. (1998) *Globalization and its Discontents*, New Press, New York.

⁵⁸ This is becoming a focus for the urban studies as well. Identity and hybridity is discussed via different case studies on different urban contexts in a recent book. AlSayyad, N. (ed.) (2001) *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*, Praeger, London.

To conclude the thesis, the sixth chapter recapitulates the theoretical and the historical materials displayed in the preceding chapters. Concluding remarks are elaborated with the introduction of the embassies built in Berlin and an architectural competition for the embassy of a united Europe (E.U.) as two recent instances of globalization. This discussion questions the categories of “nation-state”, “border”, “capital”, etc. in order to focus on the present state of “identity”. While doing that it analyzes the consequences for the profession of architecture and related discussions in the architectural circles, especially ones on integration with the European Union. Finally the conclusion also enables us to speculate for the further consequences of identity discourse in architecture.

CHAPTER 2

FORMATION OF THE IDENTITY OF MODERN TURKEY ABROAD IN THE 1930S

2.1 Encounters with “Others” at Home – Embassies in Ankara

Beside the endeavors to create a symbolic universe for forming a national identity, through such explicit means as the national anthem, national days, heraldic signs⁵⁹, etc, there were other more implicit means like architecture to symbolize the new regime in Turkey. State buildings, from the times of the foundation of the Turkish Republic, are indicative of a social modernization program. Governmental buildings, hospitals, schools, transportation facilities, factories and alike were very common building types covered in the press, which played an indirect role as a medium to disseminate the idea of nation. Besides the means of these media, this idea was assumed to be conveyed to the general public more directly by particular

⁵⁹ In 1925 a competition was organized to determine a heraldic sign to be potentially used on the representative buildings including embassies. However, such an iconography was not designated at that time. For a review of the competition see Başaran, M. (1997) “Türkiye’nin arması ne olmalıdır”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, September, No.165, 150-155. The use of national symbols like the eagle and the seal is an important subject in the design history of the American embassies. Currently a board in predetermined dimensions including crescent and star is used to denote such representative buildings of Turkey abroad.

building types inculcating national identity across the country. Commentators point out the propaganda role of particular buildings, especially in the 1930s, not only with the social role they played but also with their architecture which was unprecedented and modern, like the schools, “Halkevleri” and exhibition buildings (e.g. the Ankara Exhibition Hall; İzmir International Fair pavilions).⁶⁰ This propaganda also addressed the rest of the world, with the publication and distribution of special magazines abroad like *La Turquie Kemaliste*⁶¹.

One peculiar missing building category, that might have played a role for the recognition of a national identity world-wide, beyond the borders of this new nation-state, was the embassy buildings, or in other terms “architecture of diplomacy”. It is interesting not to see much example or literature in this field at a time when “national identity” was such an important issue in politics, culture and architecture, and especially when state had a central role as the patron leading the building activity⁶²

Another possible instance where national identity could be propagated by architecture beyond the borders of the new state was reorganization and renovation of built environments remaining from the bygone period of the Ottoman Empire. Attempts to renovate such environments, especially during the formation of the new nation, could also shed light on the construction of national identity and the role of the Ottoman heritage on this identity. This heritage includes the representation of the military presence abroad.⁶³

⁶⁰Bozdoğan, S. (1998) “Türk Mimari Kültüründe Modernizm”. In *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, eds. S.Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 118-135.

⁶¹ Other than this official publicity, architectural magazine *Mimar (Arkitekt)* also assigned itself and the Turkish architects for this propaganda mission. In 1936 it is stated that “ Arkitekt dünyanın her köşesinde meslekdaşlar arasında büyük alaka görüyor. Kendi varlığını memlekete ve dünyaya isbat için Arkitekt’e eser, etüd göndermek her Türk mimarının görevidir.”

⁶² One basic nationalist theme in the articles in magazines like *Arkitekt* was the pride emanating from the presence of many architectural edifices done by the Turks in a wide geography. “We are the sons of a generation who introduced and endorsed their history and presence through the buildings made, from the Central Asia to India, China, Iran, Central Europe” (Uçar 1944). Embassies could be one of the few instances to build abroad again. However, even the only built example, Tehran Embassy, did not get any feedback in the architectural press.

⁶³ For example Robin conjoins the US legations and embassies with the US monuments of war abroad, for their politically representative ambitions and points out the state authorities and financial structure behind them that are in common. “These buildings needed to look like “oases of American Soil” in alien surrounding” Robin, R. *Enclaves of America, -The Rhetoric of American Political Architecture Abroad 1900-1965*, Princeton, New Jersey, 4.

Possible index of an interest in the representation of the State in the architectural circles of the period may be an attempt made to develop a “type” project⁶⁴. One such instance was Sedat Hakkı Eldem’s hypothetical study for an embassy residence done in Paris and exhibited there in 1929. (Fig. 2.1) Occurrence of studio exercises in architectural schools with this subject was another indication of the significance of the representation of the “new” Turkish state abroad. For example, the diploma project in DGSA (Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi) in 1934 was the Turkish Embassy in Baghdad, after Iraq’s independence in June 1930⁶⁵. (Fig. 2.2) It is worth mentioning that the foundation period evinced the replacement of the foreign diplomatic missions in Istanbul by those in Ankara, which were mostly built anew and some by the period’s prominent architects. In the new capital Ankara, parcels along the main axis from the Ministries Zone to the Presidential House at Çankaya were allocated for the embassies and these buildings were

Cemeteries built abroad for martyrs can be introduced into the scope of representation of Turkey abroad as well. In October 1924, “Şehitlikleri İmar Komisyonu” was founded to be in charge of the martyrdoms abroad too. Even in the early years of the Republic there were some attempts largely initiated by diplomats abroad. One example is the cemetery built in Bucharest in 1935 for the victims of WWI, while H.S.Tanrıöver was ambassador there. A more interesting example is the memorial erected in Japan to commemorate the Ertuğrul Ship accident at a time when Hüsrev Gerede was the ambassador in Tokyo. During the mid 1960s (1964-65), Fifth Office in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in charge of military cemeteries and pious foundations abroad. Girgin Kemal (1994) *Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Hariciye Tarihimiz*, TTK, Ankara. Currently they are within the responsibility of ‘GenelKurmay Başkanlığı’. Brief information concerning the physical conditions can be found in *Yurtdışındaki Türk Şehitlikleri* (1969) T.C Dışişleri Azem Dairesi, Ankara.

Such war memorials can be considered as serving the same purpose with the diplomatic missions in representing the guest country. This is the case for Turkey as well. It is not mere coincidence to see both, comments about a new embassy and an Ottoman cemetery even in short travel notes in a daily paper. Özkök, E. (2001) “Mezar Taşlarından Bir Harita”, *Hürriyet*, 9.September.2001.

⁶⁴“Prototype” was an important topic in the architectural agenda of 1930’s. It is regarded both as means to attain constructional quality as well as a desired formal expression. A discussion on the different positions of the architects regarding the topic at that time and state’s role concerning these types can be found in Aslanoğlu, İ. (1980) *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, Ankara, 43-46.

⁶⁵ This project was one of the most thoroughly published studio exercises in the magazine *Arkitekt*. Diplomatic Architecture still seems to be a perennial subject in the architectural schools as a conspicuous project brief for the “encounters of cultures” and to display Turkey abroad. A recent case is a masters degree given to a study named as “Intermediary of opposites: Turkish Embassy at Washington D.C.” submitted to Virginia State University in 2000.

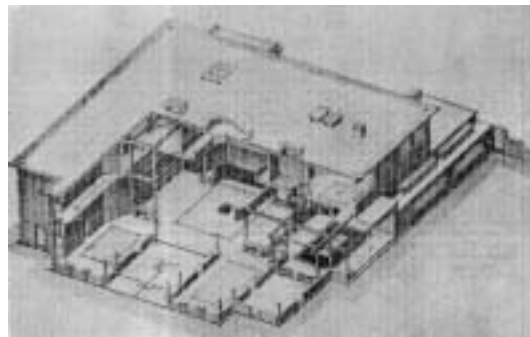
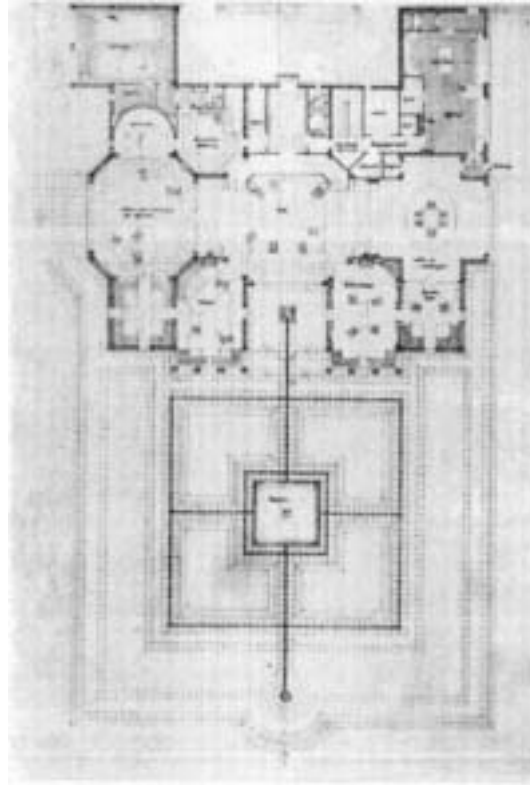


Fig 2.1 Sedat Hakkı Eldem's Design of a Turkish Embassy Residence (1929)

amongst the important constructions of their time.⁶⁶ A contemporaneous publicity magazine *La Turquie Kemaliste* published these buildings with exquisite photographs as means of ascertaining the status of Ankara as the new capital and also as representations of a variety of national architectural styles that counteracted the examples of the new “modern” buildings in Ankara.⁶⁷

The difference in architectural styles employed in these new embassies was not the only dimension that raised the question concerning their “otherness” in the context of Ankara. Their location and the interactions amongst themselves as well as with the built environment seem to have been concerns of the foundation period. Establishment of embassies in the new capital was considered as positive, confirming the determination of the new Republic to differentiate itself from the previous regime having the capital Istanbul. However, the political and diplomatic relations with the “others” in the new capital were not to repeat the patterns that had existed in Istanbul. This appears to be the main factor behind the ambivalent

⁶⁶ Embassies of Iraq and Switzerland were designed by E. Egli, the French Embassy by H. Laprade and the Austrian Embassy by C. Holzmeister. This last architect would make an unrealized design for the Embassy of Egypt in Ankara after the World War II. Swedish Embassy in Ankara, as narrated from the ambassador at that time by Theolin, was commissioned to an Austrian architect, most probably to Holzmeister. Theolin, S. (2000) *İstanbul’da bir İsveç Sarayı*, YKY Yayınları, İstanbul, 121.

While such embassy commissions of the western countries were mostly given to their own citizen architects whether practicing in Turkey or in their home-countries, embassies of eastern countries are largely designed by these well-known western architects in Turkey. There are also lesser-known foreign architects of other nations designing their embassies like, Listman of Germany, Paolo Caccia Dominioni of Italia and an anonymous Russian architect of the Soviets.

Buildings of foreign missions in Istanbul were also realized by prominent foreign architects. For example Italian embassy in Maçka was designed by Mongeri. Some of them were cases of architectural innovations in Istanbul like D’Aronco’s Art Nouveau Italian Embassy on the Bosphorus. Embassies in Pera also seem to be influential in the formation of the architectural taste in their time. For the impact and the documentation of them see Altıntaş, Z. (1987) *Pera’daki Elçiliklerin Oluşumu ve Mimari Biçimlenmesi*, Unpublished Ph.D diss., Hacettepe University.

Robert Coe’s report of Ankara submitted to the American Embassy in Istanbul (dated 1934) gives a detailed account of the German, Soviet, Belgian, Hungarian, Swedish, British, Persian and Polish embassies informing his own embassy about their architects and costs.

⁶⁷ Waldapfel, A. (1937) “Die Gesandtschaftsbauten in Ankara”, *La Turquie Kemaliste*, No.17, 8-14. The Polish embassy was reported to be in “Poland Renaissance” French was in “Modernized Renaissance” Hungary’s in “Tuscan” style. Design of the Soviet Embassy was regarded as (*sic.*) “Russian Constructivist” style. In another article in the same magazine, a further reference given to this latter embassy was pointing to its being named as “dreadnought” by Atatürk. Likewise Tanpınar was designating these embassies as one of the causes for amplifying the variation of architectural styles in the city. He also indicated that the Soviet Embassy was the “most radical” experiment in modern architecture, and found it resembling a big ship. Tanpınar, A. H. (1999) (first ed. 1946) *Beş Şehir*, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, 196. The Soviet embassy was also shown in the documentary “Ankara” filmed by the Soviets in 1933 as a sign of the importance given to Turkey. This building would be demolished in early seventies and a new structure was erected in the same plot.

attitude towards these embassies. While on the one hand these countries, especially the western powers, were encouraged by the Turkish government to erect their embassies in Ankara, by being donated the plots they found appropriate, on the other hand their embassies were thought to be located in a way not to dominate the cityscape, socially as well as physically and not to constitute a powerful symbol of “otherness”, particularly of the imperialists.⁶⁸

While there were such reservations about the new legations in Ankara, no rigid planning measures were enforced upon their construction. This permissive attitude may have stemmed from the preeminent policy to make and sustain Ankara as the new Capital of the Turkish Republic, which was expressed by measures and incentives like land bequests to promote the establishment of the embassies permanently. As Şimşir notes, contrary to the international custom, the status of these plots was not clarified, i.e. whether these were free of charge donations, or whether any reciprocal donation was expected from these countries⁶⁹. Such complementary land acquisition was not even possible in some cases (due to the lack of reciprocal donation, construction permits on the land allotted to the Greek Embassy was rejected by the Turkish authorities’) or was realized in the long run (the complementary land for the Canadian embassy was acquired very recently)⁷⁰.

⁶⁸For example in January 1925 Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Şükrü Kaya stated that “In order to impede the creation of another Beyoğlu district in Ankara and the (social) environment it involves, the plots to be given to the embassies should be as remote as possible from each other and dispersed to the different districts of the city”. Cited in Şimşir, B. (1988) *Ankara... Ankara*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 288. The otherness represented by Beyoğlu in Istanbul was not an uncommon theme of the period. For example in an editorial of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (Oct.18, 1923) on Capital of Government noted that “Istanbul is too cosmopolitan...I always have felt that I am getting into a foreign and hostile environment when crossing the bridge (from historic peninsula to Galata). Quoted in Ibid., 247. A quotation from a 19th century novel puts this “otherness”, and the cosmopolitanism that creates nationalist reaction, into words succinctly. “Pera and Galata the only busy quarters of Constantinople are of no land and of all lands, each country administrating its *own* laws, exercising its *own* religion, circulating its *own* money, distributing its *own* letters. Here are the various banks, consulates and embassies, bazaars, churches and chapels...” (emphasis mine) Elliot, F. (1893) *Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople* quoted in Bartu, A. (2001) “Rethinking Heritage Politics”. In *Hybrid Urbanism*, 131-155.

⁶⁹ Şimşir, B. (1988) *Ankara...Ankara Bir Başkentin Doğuşu*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara.

⁷⁰ Interview with Mürüvvet Alp, Oct 11th 2000.

Building activity of embassies in Ankara starting in 1925⁷¹ could possibly have brought to the minds of the politicians as well as of the architects a reciprocal building activity abroad to house the representatives of the new “Turkish Republic”. However, it seems that there was no such plan of a comprehensive building program by the Turkish Foreign Office. Turkish ambassadors were housed in buildings appropriated from the preceding Ottoman regime, as well as in temporarily rented buildings.⁷² Another factor limiting the establishment of new missions abroad and construction of new buildings for them was the lack of funds.

However, such financial shortages could have interesting consequences in international relationships of the new Republic, as well as interesting architectural commissions. One such case was the possibility of a collaboration of the Turkish diplomats with their counterparts of Greece in the 1930s. Caglayangil quotes Greek Foreign Minister Pippinellis’ account of a dialogue between Atatürk and Venizelos. Atatürk stated,

Neither Turkey nor Greece is a prosperous country... If you establish a new embassy in a distant country you pursue our interests there; if we do have one, we will watch yours so that you will not need to establish one.⁷³

Such an embassy would be representing both countries which were recuperating from their hostilities and trying to set up friendly bilateral relationships. This

⁷¹ Soviet Embassy building was finished on April 1926 and in the following 5 or 6 years the new embassies of Germany, Poland, Italy, France and lastly the British were erected. Şimşir, B. (1988) *Ankara ...Ankara Bir Başkent'in Doğuşu*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 295.

⁷² Until World War II, buildings were bought in Bucharest, Cairo and Washington. Documents, related to the purchase of embassy in The Hague in 1937, and buildings to be used by the representatives of Republic of Turkey in Thessalonike and Sofia is found in the archive of Prime Ministry.

Memoirs of the Diplomats in the Republican era give clues about the importance given to the ownership of diplomatic buildings abroad. Diplomats themselves were personally involved with the acquisition process. Gürün mentions the acquisition processes of buildings in Aleppo and Damascus (1961) Buenos Aires, Mexico City (1962). Erner tells about the purchase of chancery building in Oslo (1977). Sav cites his experience in Lagos (1968), Helsinki (1975) and Kalsruhe. There are different motives and criteria in the selection. A main motive is to have a resident, unchanging address that gives a permanency to the legation. Permanency, as it is cited in Melek’s memoirs related to the Paris embassy, which is an 18th century aristocratic manor, is accentuated, when the building purchased is of historical importance to be ranked as an historical monument. This historical rootedness provides a prestige to the guest country. Impermanency is also regarded as a handicap for the daily routine of the embassy functions. Purchasing is regarded to be more economical in the long run compared to rentals. It is also possible to make alterations and additions in the longer prospect when the premises are owned.

⁷³ Cılızoğlu (2000), *Kader Bizi Una Değil Üne İtti*, Buke Yayınları, İstanbul, 411.

intention was also a part of the larger project of creating a mutual defense against possible aggressions from the west, which culminated with the pact among the Balkan countries (Yugoslavia, Greece, Rumania) established in the 1930s. An interesting point about this interaction with these independent Balkan States was the explanation and legitimization of this current need by history. However, this history was not the history of the Ottoman times that gathered them under the rule of the empire, but rather a “distant” and “deep” history. Atatürk stated “they are the descendants of close lineages and common blood, coming from Central Asia”⁷⁴. This theme of Central Asia as the source of the humanity, which constituted basically the fundamental argument of the “Turkish History Thesis” served not only to establish the position of the Turks within the European culture, but also to establish “brotherhood” with the people of the neighboring states, who are “in reality coming from the same cradle and having the same blood circulating in their veins”. As will be discussed in the section 2.2, Turkish Embassy in Tehran, “brotherhood” was a common theme in the international relationships and its representation through architecture is interesting; however a joint-embassy with Greece in a third country could have caused more interesting questions.

Though it is not within the scope of this thesis, conversion of the diplomatic buildings used in the Ottoman period can be an interesting topic of research. In 1922, remaining Ottoman embassies in Madrid, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Lahey, Brussels and Bern were relegated as the adjunct representative offices of Ankara Government’s Paris mission.⁷⁵ During 1923 this Paris office led the inventory survey related to the existing personnel, buildings and equipment. After the new Foreign Office was established and Lausanne Treaty was signed, new diplomatic relations were established with the allied powers. Whatever it was that happened to the existing personnel in this transition period was studied;⁷⁶ however, following questions related to the physical aspects are still unanswered. How many of the

⁷⁴ Speech made in the last session of the Balkan Conference on October 25, 1931. Reprinted in Girgin, K. (1994) *Hariciye Tarihimiz*, TTK Basımevi, Ankara, 112.

⁷⁵ Şimşir, B. (1996) *Bizim Diplomatlar*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara.

⁷⁶ Ibid. About one third of the “new ambassadors” were employed in the foreign office of the preceding Ottoman era, two of them were even “ex-ambassadors”. 24-25.

buildings used by the Ottomans were appropriated by the new regime?⁷⁷ Was there any reluctance in that appropriation concerning this historical rupture? The capacity of architecture or even mere buildings to evoke the memory of a bygone historical and political period might not have been totally set aside, even though relocating the legation could have been a problem. As the use of some historically significant buildings, like the house in which Mustafa Kemal was born in Thessaloniki, or the building, where he served as a military attaché in Sofia, as components of the consular diplomatic missions is being considered, “memory” seems to be a relevant issue today. In these examples architecture plays a mnemonic role, signifying the bygone presence of the Ottoman Empire in those lands.

The following questions invigorate more specific issues related to the appropriation of the buildings inherited from the preceding Ottoman period. Though interest in the western countries and settling resident ambassadorial relations were considered as an inherent part of the Empire’s westernization or modernization process, the Turkish Republic’s radical social transformations might have found echoes in its representation abroad. What sort of changes, if any, occurred in the life and spaces of these structures related to laicism as a constitutional principle of the new Republic? Gender issue related to these buildings may again be interesting, when

⁷⁷ Girgin notes that most of the first legations, 16 embassies and 16 consulates, of the young Turkish Republic were adopted from the buildings abroad used by the diplomats of Ottoman Empire. Girgin, K. (1999) “Dışişleri Örgütünün Gelişmesi”. In Sosyal, İ. (1999) *Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi: 200 Yıllık Süreç*, TTKYayınları, VII Dizi, Sayı 188. 711

Some Turkish embassy buildings used then were properties of some Ottoman elite during the Ottoman rule, like the one in Cairo. There were few diplomatic mission buildings purchased in the Ottoman era and inherited by the new Turkish Republic. There are also some buildings that started to be used prior to the foundation of the new Republic, and are still in use. London Embassy is such an example, as indicated in the memoirs of Esat Cemal Paker. It was moved to the Portland Place – Mansion of Lord Goşer – just before the Second Constitution in 1908. Paker gives some clue about the nature of the accommodation politics of the Ottoman diplomatic missions. He emphasizes that the new ambassador Rıfat Pasha’s personal decision related to this change of premises rather than that of the Foreign Office’s political decision. Claiming that prior ambassador Muzurus was rather a parsimonious and selfish personality, his choice was a modest building and furniture was in need of repair. So the fact that this building was not used for the official receptions, because of these factors, hampered the country’s image. Paker E.C. (2000) *Siyasi Tarihimizde Kırk Yıllık Hariciye Hatıraları*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul.

Taner Timur’s analysis of the previous ten chancery buildings used by the Ottoman diplomats in Paris points at two factors effective in the choice of buildings. One was the Ottoman’s primary concern of sumptuousness that reflected in these buildings. Other was the role of the bilateral relations. He claims that diplomats were possibly removed from one of them as a consequence of French government’s loss of priority in the trade relations in 1838. “1798’den Günümüze Paris’te Osmanlı Elçilikleri”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, 158-161.

the new roles of the women in the social modernization process in Turkey are taken into consideration.⁷⁸ Also representations of the state in the new independent nations, which were offsprings of the great empires, like Austrian-Hungarian or Russia after the WW1, created the opportunity to rethink the representation of the new Republic.

2.2 “West” in the “East” - Embassy in Tehran

In the Republican period –till 1938- there were about 40 independent states in the world and Turkey established diplomatic relations with 31, of which 26 were at ambassadorial level. A number of examples of this enterprise, like Rio de Janeiro (1929) or Tokyo (1929) were founded totally anew. One interesting point about the first generation of diplomats is that they could be amongst those who had served as the members of the parliament and even as ministers. Some of the ambassadors had been ministers of Public Works in governments. However, architectural aspect of this diplomatic program does not seem to have been a major concern. While it may be questionable to talk about a “program”⁷⁹, a handful of buildings were

⁷⁸ As Kunalalp notes, there was a religious and ethnic diversity amongst the ambassadors, which might have brought diversification, related to use of spaces in the Ottoman period. The issue of gender seems also interesting; till second constitution (1908) spouses were not allowed to accompany the ambassadors. After that, as a part of the westernization process, they started to go to the foreign missions with their husbands. Wives were even present without headscarves in the official receptions. Kunalalp, S. (1997) “Tanzimat Sonrası Osmanlı Sefirleri”. In *Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi*, TTK Ankara. 113-126. Embassies also acted as the milieu for some new social activities appropriated from the west. For example the first new-year party organized by the Ottomans took place in the compounds of the Paris Embassy.

Not only the women but the family and the domestic life gained a public and representative role for the nation. This is also valid for the embassies in the Republican period. In that respect the photo in the jacket of Gerede’s autobiographical book is exemplary. It is the photo of his late son, for whom that book was dedicated, dressed in the manner of Mozart with the wig. The caption reads that it was taken in memory of his debut giving a concert in the Tehran Embassy. Such an occasion can be considered a sign of the westernization politics of Turkey.

⁷⁹ A similar research related to the American embassies indicates that there is a quite established building program, -141 new buildings from 1930’s onwards- which culminated in 1950’s and utilized the basic tenets of Modernism i.e. transparency to underline the democratic ideals during years of Cold War. This program comprised many well-known architects like Harrison Abramowitz, R.Rapson, G.Bunshaft, E. Saarinen, E.D. Stone, M. Breuer, W. Gropius, R. Neutra, Mies, L. Kahn, F. Gehry etc. Loeffler, J. (1998) *Architecture of Diplomacy: Building American Embassies*, Princeton Architectural Press, New York. Originally a doctoral dissertation “Architecture of Diplomacy: The United States Builds Embassies Abroad, 1926-1964” submitted to Columbian School of Arts and Sciences, George Washington University in 1996.

constructed prior to the World War II. The first building to be used by the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs was the Ministry building itself, designed by A.H. Koyunoğlu and built in 1927. Its representative character is evident both in its reflection of the nationalist style and its ostentatious façade treatment. Yavuz and Özkan consider this “sumptuous” front elevation as a “most prominent welcome for the eminent diplomatic visitors of the state”.⁸⁰

Other buildings to be used by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs comprised the new House of Ministry of Foreign Office at Çankaya (1933-1934) and Winter and the Summer embassies in Tehran and Şimran (1937-38) all designed by Seyfi Arkan within an idiom of “modern” style. However, since a new nation-state was founded and its architecture was a prominent debate, one rightfully expects a more vivid discussion on its representation in other countries. Assignment of Arkan, who was

Comparison with USA may not be fair in terms of the weight of the American foreign policy and so far as the resources of the Foreign Service Building Commission of USA are concerned. A survey of Turkish embassies abroad indicates that, out of 102 embassy buildings, 28 are new designs, additionally there are 2 consulates built anew. Placing these figures side by side with other nations may give more relevant criteria in terms of the significance of new constructions.

A recent exhibition on German embassies included 24 new embassy buildings. See Asendorf, O. and W. Voight eds. *Embassies* (2000), Wasmuth Verlag, Berlin. An academic research on Canadian embassies indicated 14 new constructions. However, American Government’s program constituted a model of inspiration for other countries having much less world power and producing far less number of buildings. For example, its bureaucratic mechanism, selection methods etc. were adopted by Canada. Therrien, M.J. (1999) “Canada’s Embassies: A Brief History”, *Canadian Architect*, June, Vol.44, 18-19.

Although it is not particularly an architectural survey, embassy buildings are regarded as a means of representing the Italian identity around the world. Accompanied by the images of the host countries, seven volumes of pictures and the histories of these buildings serve to the propagandist aims through employing architects and architecturally significant structures like the ones in Brasilia and Ankara. Fanfani, M. (1984) *Le Ambasciate d’Italia nel Mondo*, Philip Morris, Milan.

⁸⁰Yavuz, Y. and Özkan, S. (1984) “Finding a National Idiom: The First National Style”. In *Modern Turkish Architecture* Holod, eds. R. and A. Evin, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 51-67, 63. Though the building designed by A. H. Koyunoğlu was originally intended for the Ministry of Education, the criteria cited above might have been considered at that time for its appropriation by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs besides the lack of office buildings in the city to house the ministry. Due to architect’s account, the Foreign Minister, T.R. Aras applied for the adoption of that building to Atatürk claiming that “we are feeling shame to the foreigners, when we welcome an ambassador in rooms without a wooden floor” “Mimar Arif Koyunoğlu ile bir söyleşi” *Mimarlık* 77/1, 8-16. A later account of a diplomat is similar. Referring to the building designed by Koyunoğlu, Ambassador Melek states that, the Ministry was located in an “embellished and ornate” building in 1946, when he started his career. Foreign diplomats and delegations considered that “the aura of the building had a dignity, proper for diplomacy. Actually the Ministry was regarded by the government as the visiting card (read it as identification card) representing the Turkish Republic abroad.” For him this building, as well as the residence next to the Presidential palace was signs of high esteem regarding the Ministry. He also added that the new building in Balgat next to gecekondus exposing their “newly washed garments hung to dry” to the foreign ministers ambassadors and diplomats was a disgrace. Melek, F. (1994) “*Hepsi Geldi Geçti, Dışışlerinde 43 yıl.*”, Milliyet Yayınları, İstanbul. 27.

unofficially the principal architect of the government and Atatürk, to this task insinuates embassy buildings in Iran were not ordinary buildings when the intensity of the diplomatic relations of Ankara and Tehran then are taken into account.⁸¹

History of the embassy buildings in Tehran displays the problematic nature of representation of a nation through a building. After his appointment there in 1930, the Ambassador Hüsrev Gerede wrote letters to different authorities, i.e. the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prime Minister İnönü and President Atatürk to express the need to build a new embassy that would be “suitable to civilized characteristics, and national pride of Mustafa Kemal’s Turkey, clean, modern and proportional with our wealth”⁸². He also noted that this country of the orient had already built its embassy in Ankara.

However, the first design made by the architect Arkan – who was regarded as young and inexperienced - was considered as “ultramodern and a clumsy imitation”

⁸¹ Iran looks like an exceptional case for its fruitfulness in terms of employment of architecture in diplomatic relations. The first instance was in 1934 during Shah’s visit to Turkey. Commemorative transient structures were erected to welcome the royal visitor throughout his route starting from the Gürbulak border. Two of them are more significant, one of which was in Ankara, the other in Istanbul. A competition for a triumphal arch over Galata Bridge was held and winner was Orhan Safa, a student of architecture at that time. A second instance was the embassy buildings. First building constructed as an embassy of Turkish Republic was in Iran, which was the first Muslim country that Ottomans exchanged permanent diplomatic missions. It may well be an outcome of Turkish foreign policy, which culminated in the diplomatic field with the Treaty of Sadabat, established between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan in 1937. Hence the first occasion organized in the new embassy building was a dinner for the representatives of these countries. It is also interesting to note that Prime Minister İnönü broke the ground of the Iran Embassy in Ankara. Şimşir, B. (1988) *Ankara... Ankara, Bir Başkent’in Doğuşu*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 295.

In the same time period Iran was also represented in the International İzmir Fair. This country participated in the 1935, 1938 and 1939 fairs. Embassy building in Iran gave way to another episode in the 1970’s. “As a part of the establishment of new diplomatic relations in 1973-74, İ. Sabri Çağlayangil, then the Minister of Foreign Affairs, assigned D. Tekeli to design a new embassy building in Tehran. Tekeli interpreted this commission as arrangement of a national competition and went to the site to make some research and documentation. Neither the competition nor a new building was realized”. Interview with D. Tekeli.

Another instance was the cultural center of Iran in Ankara built by prominent Turkish architects by Aptullah Kuran and Behruz Cinci. This latter work, housing a cultural center and a primary school was counted amongst the first examples of post-modern design in Turkey. Sözen, M. (1984) *Türk Mimarlığı*, 283.

Seyfi Arkan’s preliminary proposal was chosen amongst some Turkish and foreign architects’ schemes ‘Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Sefarethanesi (Tahran)’ *Arkitekt*, No. 7-8, 1939.

⁸² Mustafa Kemal Türkiye’si’nin medeni şiar ve düveli şerefine layık, temiz, modern, servetimizle mütenasip” Rıdvanbeyoğlu Hüsrev Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım 1: İran 1930-34*, İstanbul, 1952, 52 Complaints about the embassy buildings in Tehran can also be seen in the memoirs of Gerede’s predecessor, ambassador M. Şevket Esendal, who he was there in 1925-1930 “However our embassy is a little awkward. It looks like a madrasah... Old and a bit Iranesque place” Esendal (1999) *Tahran Anıları ve Düşsel Yazılar*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara.

by Gerede⁸³. Şimşir insinuates that the need for a new building basically and implicitly stemmed from the old buildings' incongruity with the aristocratic family background of the Ambassador rather than the aforementioned explicit statements.

Tehran Embassy was opened in April 20th, 1939 with a ceremony. Issues of the daily newspapers Akşam, Tan and Son Posta of the following day informed their readers about this opening ceremony with the presence of Turkish officials headed by the Minister, Rana Tarhan, and the Iranian delegation. News in the Turkish media nominated the building as “one of the most beautiful” buildings of Tehran and noted that it was designed by “young and distinguished Turkish architect Seyfi Arkan”. Though the architectural press, namely the *Arkitekt* magazine, recognized the architect also for the design of the interiors, popular press credited Ambassador Enis Akaygen's “refined taste”.

Arkan's design may be better understood in terms of reciprocal diplomatic relations between the two states⁸⁴. Iran had built an embassy in 1930 in Ankara with its overt form vocabulary (Fig. 2.3) and façade treatment referring to a “national” architecture. Cox reported that, M.J. Aggiman, a local architect-contractor, who was educated abroad, designed this building.⁸⁵ Design was the outcome of “adapt(ation of the) architect's ideas to the wishes of his employer”. Within this framework of influences, it is worth reflecting on the role of the employer in the design of the Tehran Embassy. Turkish representation in Tehran, though having a formal layout with a symmetrical plan, is basically modern with covert references to the traditional use of brick.

⁸³ Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım I: İran 1930-34*, 54.

⁸⁴ It may well be considered within the context of Turkey's relationship with the countries in her south-west which led to the Sadabad pact signed in 1937 amongst Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. Another pact with the Balkan countries (Yugoslavia, Greece and Rumania) was also signed in 1930's. The latter provided another occasion for the architects. A competition was organized for the refurbishment of the Yıldız Palace, which was under the directorship of National Palaces, for a Balkan conference. See *Arkitekt* No.8, 1933 and *Arkitekt* No.2, 1934, 8-13.

⁸⁵ Cox describes the building as having “oriental figures in the central mass of the façade and in the many pointed arches on the sides”. Cox, *report*. 77-79. That building seems to have aroused interest in the contemporaries of the city. For Tanpınar, Iranian Embassy, which is one of the embassies diversifying the repertoire of styles in the city, was the result of a search for an “oriental style reminiscent of the old Sasanid palaces” Tanpınar, A. H. (1999) *Beş Şehir*, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul, 197 The Embassy was also cited amongst the buildings in Ankara that impressed the next generation of architects as seen in Maruf Önal's memoirs. *Anılarda Mimarlık*, (1995) Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, İstanbul, 62 . Iranian Embassy also appeared on the postcards of the period. See *Ankara Posta Kartları ve Belge Fotoğrafları Arşivi*, 247.

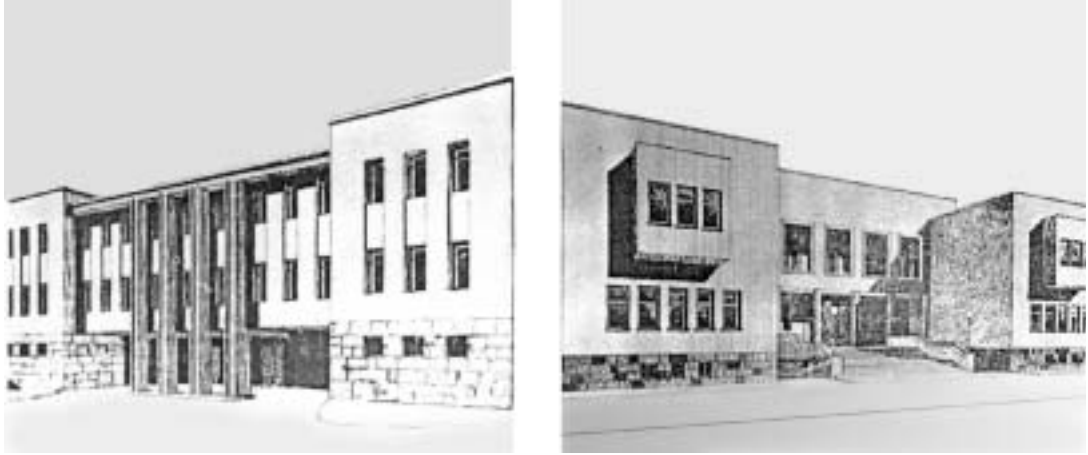


Fig 2.2 Turkish Embassy in Baghdad (DGSA Graduation Projects, 1934)

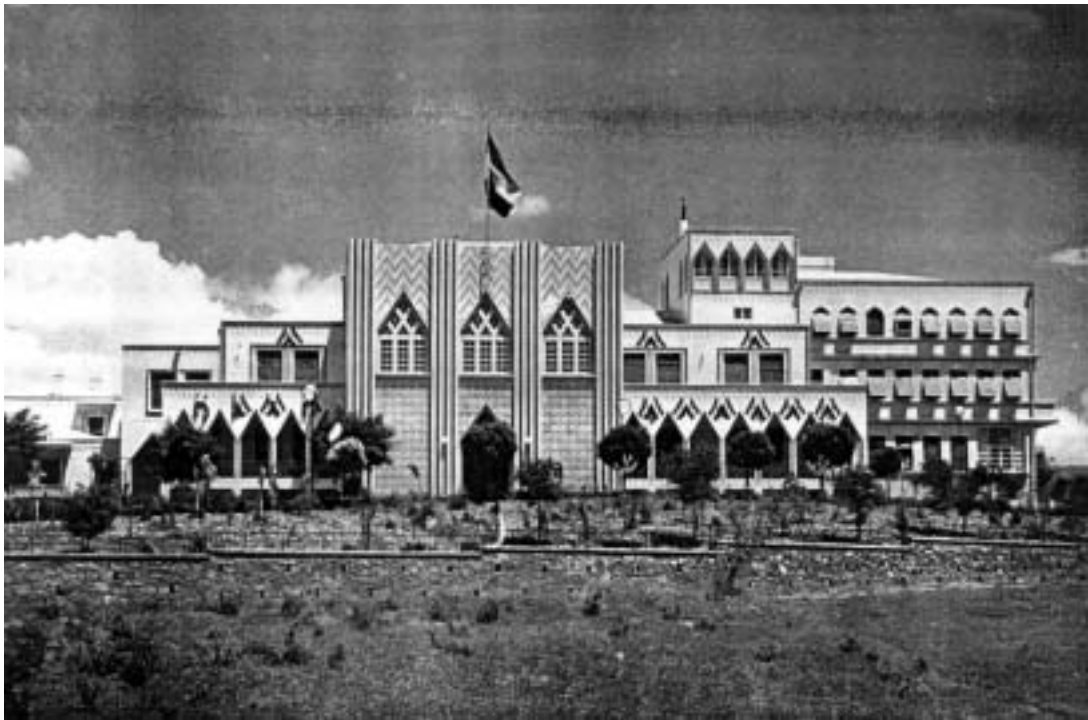


Fig. 2.3 Iranian Embassy in Ankara (1930). Architect M.J.Aggiman.

Another comparison can be done with the Austrian Embassy in Ankara designed by Holzmeister. While Holzmeister was designing it, unlike his public buildings, his references to the Austrian architecture with the steeply sloping roof or even the yellow color were quite apparent, reminding the commentators of the Schönbrunn or Hietzing palaces⁸⁶. However, the diploma projects in DGSA in 1934 having as subject the “Turkish Embassy” in Baghdad⁸⁷, indicate the growing influence of Holzmeister, not due to such overt references to the cultural prototypes of the national architecture, but rather to his formalist, internationalist attitude. While the language of his “modern” architecture constitutes a model for the new generation of architects, his approach to the representation of his home country in Turkey is not indifferent to his national building culture⁸⁸.

Seyfi Arkan’s first proposal for the embassy in Tehran in 1934 (Fig. 2.4a) has many formal similarities with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ankara built in the same year. (Fig. 2.4c) The latter as explicated in the period’s media⁸⁹ has affinities with the “old Ankara houses” with its wide eaves. Though there are controversies about the sources of the design features in the building⁹⁰, Tanyeli points at the fact that the explanations in the magazine were provided by the architect and the text accompanying the project indicates Arkan’s intention of synthesis of “local and

⁸⁶ Waldapfel, A. (1937) “Die Gesandtschaftsbauten in Ankara” *La Turquie Kemaliste* No.17, 12. Waldapfel was Holzmeister’s colleague in Turkey.

⁸⁷ Aslanoğlu, İ. (1980) *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, ODTU Yayınları, Ankara, 45. Bozdoğan refers to Egli who was the studio master, for the formal influence behind the studio works. According to her these projects indicate that introduction of modern architecture in the public buildings was not radical; a complimentary “spatial thinking” did not follow the stylistic changes on the outside. Classical patterns like symmetry, axuality, loggias and colonnades persist, but now in modern guise. Bozdoğan, S. (2001) *Modernism and Nation Building*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 163.

⁸⁸ Holzmeister himself also pointed at the nationalist tones in the architecture of the Austrian Embassy. He claimed that “It had become a custom to construct the buildings representing their respective states to reflect some characteristics of their own country. The German, the English, the Polish, the Swedish, the Iraqi and the Russian Embassies demonstrated such characteristics. Austrian Embassy could not to stay behind.” Some of the characteristics to be employed in the building to accentuate the Austrian building tradition are the Schoenbrunn-yellow paint used on the masonry and the gray slate roof. He also added that the functionality of the interior is also a reflection of Austrian spirituality. Holzmeister, C (1937) *Clemens Holzmeister: Bauten, Entwürfe und Handzeichnungen*, Verlag Anton Pustet, Salzburg-Leipzig.

⁸⁹ “Hariciye Köşkü”, *Arkitekt*, No.10-11 (1935), 311-315.

⁹⁰ Aslanoğlu points at the familiarity between this work and F. L. Wright’s buildings. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı* , 393.



Fig. 2.4a Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Tehran (first proposal, 1934).
Architect: S. Arkan

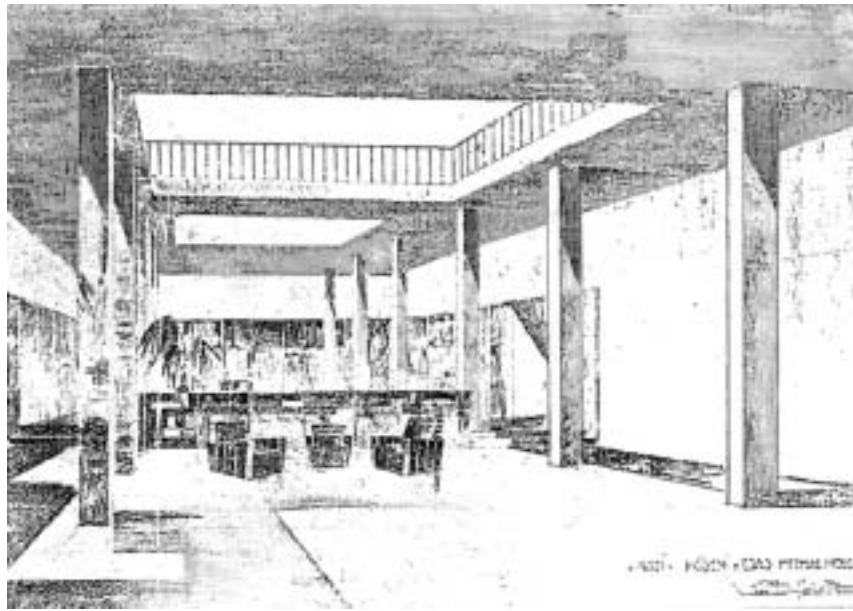


Fig. 2.4b Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Tehran.
(interior of the first proposal “Gazi Köşesi + Esas Methal Holü”)



Fig. 2.4c Residence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (1933-1934).
Architect: S. Arkan

modernist discourses”⁹¹, evident in the “slightly pitched roof, eaves and rectangular sash windows with the proportions of 1:2”. Such comments stemming from the architect’s own notes point at the architect’s legitimization of the formal aspects not solely via functional considerations, but rather with their representational potential. Primacy of such a potential is also evident in the architect’s unbuilt embassy proposal. The first paragraph of the text in the magazine *Arkitekt*, related to the building, notes that the building was “pulled forward”, and placed aside the main street, which seems to emanate from a criterion of giving precedence to its exposition to the public as a face of the nation.

The built scheme, which is quite different than this first proposal is devoid of such overt traditional attributes. (Fig. 2.8) However, its placement again close to the street seems to follow the similar intention to display the building as a representation of modern Turkey. Though Ambassador Gerede points at the practical problems of placing the building close to the street, like over exposure to sun, dust and mud, the choice of location is an indication of the value of propagandist nature of the building itself. While he is critical of Arkan’s positioning of the building inside the plot, he also refers to the context that legitimized the scheme “...in this country of the orient, the best propaganda of our Republic’s talents and progress undoubtedly will start from an embassy building, where the public will always walk by and the dignitaries will experience Turkish hospitality”

Through Ambassador Gerede’s memoirs, other themes that refer to the national identity and the role of a new embassy building in reflecting this can be observed⁹².

⁹¹ Tanyeli, U. (1992) “ Seyfi Arkan: Bir Direnme Öyküsü”, *Arredamento Dekorasyon* Vol.3 March, No.35, 88-94, 90.

⁹² Gerede who initiated the building of embassies allocated a whole chapter in his memoirs on the acquisition of the new embassy and pointed out all the spatial programming, cost analysis, searching of alternative designs, criticizing the initial proposals with a consciousness of what the representative characteristics of such a building should be.

These representational buildings were also mentioned in the accounts of the other ambassadors to Tehran. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, who was a prominent man of letters, a firsthand eyewitness of the Turkish modernization –founder of the “Kadro” magazine- and an ‘involuntary’ ambassador in Tehran between 1949-51 points again at the building’s historical significance. “Our building in Tehran is a palace built with extreme care during the honeymoon of the sincere friendship between Atatürk and Rıza Pehlevi with the expense of hundreds of thousands of Turkish Lira”. Though he describes the spatial organization, his main focus is on building’s pomposity and

One theme he suggested is comparison of the “Old Ottoman rule” with the “new Republic”. He designates the previous structure as an embodiment of the Ottoman regime, and refers to an earlier diplomat Münif Paşa, who described the living conditions as “not an embassy, but misery”. For Gerede this situation is a pertinent example of the “bad policy of appeasement, misconceived protection of public treasury, resignation and lack of spirit, negligence and indolence that kills the feeling of pride in the late phase of the perished Ottoman Empire”; what the new Turkish Republic inherited from the Ottomans is “mere dirt”⁹³. Assigning all these malaises, symptomatic of the cultural framework in assessing the Ottoman past in the 1930s Turkey, to the building, the Ambassador claims that he suffers shame while regarding “Turkey of Atatürk and honor of the historical nation having noble traditions”⁹⁴. He notes the necessary components of modern life lacking in the

monumentality besides the furnitures, which was turned to be in a derelict condition. His narration about the interior design, however, does not match with the projects as explained in the building’s coverage in “Arkitekt” in 1939. Contrary to the “Gesamtkunstwerk” approach of Arkan as asserted in the article, Karaosmanoğlu claims that furniture was “ordered from the most fashionable furniture shops in Paris”. Missing out of the name of the architect and his being Turkish is noteworthy. Karaosmanoğlu Y.K. (1998) *Zoraki Diplomat*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul. 295-302. However, a much later ambassador in Tehran, Tanşuğ Bleda was neither acquainted with the history of the building nor architect Arkan. He assumed that the building was bought for Atatürk’s visit there. Turkish entrepreneurs were esteemed in his accounts for their efforts in renovating the building and bringing it into its “perfect” condition after his leave. Bleda, T. (2000) *Maskeli Balo* Doğan Kitap, İstanbul, 104. Renovations were done when İsmet Birsel was the ambassador, who claimed that sale of the premises were on the agenda previously. *Interview with Birsel*.

Bleda’s predecessor Tülümen was more informed about the buildings there. “Turkish Embassy is always amongst the top five in Tehran. Two pompous buildings built in the Republic era is a sign of the importance given to Iran”. (p.29) His memoirs are also interesting due to description of these buildings during the Islamic Revolution. Life within the compound was narrated in military terms, as if it was a trench and all these halls, which made him describe the building as a small palace (saray yavrusu), were assessed as extremely disadvantageous in case of a lack in fuel. Tülümen, T. (1998) *İran Devrimi Hatıraları*, Bogaziçi Yayınları, İstanbul. Likewise, Bleda’s accounts include anecdotes of anxiety during the upheavals with Arkan’s building as the backdrop. He mentions the horizontal strips of brick on the façade as “protruding stones” that enabled terrorists to climb up to the roof and enter from a window there in 1981. One night both of the gardens of chancery and the embassy were dug for trenches where machine guns were placed to protect the compound. 120, 122.

⁹³ Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım*, 34, 44.

⁹⁴ Gerede’s initiative to build an embassy was not only for Tehran but also for his later service in Tokyo. He informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after his arrival there in 1935, about the unfavorable conditions of the building hired. These notifications also included his wish to own a new building in “conformity with the honor and pride” of the Turkish State. It is interesting to see that such a wish was repeated in the telegram concerning the memorial services held in Tokyo after Atatürk’s death. Reprinted in Şimşir, B. (1999) *Doğunun Kahramanı Atatürk*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 421. Though he could not realize this wish, Gerede, as mentioned, initiated the construction of a memorial in Japan in 1936, commemorating the sailors who died in the Ertuğrul Ship accident. His legitimization of this monument follows similar reasoning. He states that the absence of any commemorative edifice, of our own, the “real owner” of this “sacred” site, is the sign of indifference and disrespect to the late phase of the Ottoman rule that was fortunately not inherited

building. Dancing platform, piano, sanitary measures for the extermination of typhoid, running water, water pump and telephone, all items that were needed not only for an embassy, but for modern life, were absent; so important demands for the new building seemed to promise the modernization of infrastructure as well as the superstructure.

Gerede's memoirs have a second ramification when read in relation with the Tehran context, which was going to host the embassy. He states that deficiency in terms of the physical aspects of representation is a more important issue especially in such an "oriental country" where appearance is of crucial importance⁹⁵. When his impressions of Tehran is read, one can figure out that he was expecting the new building to surpass the standards of the city, in keeping with Turkey's model status for Iran in modernization.⁹⁶ These commentaries remind well-known texts by the

by the modern and young Republic. The new structure was expected to represent the appreciation for the deceased of our nation and the civilized character of Atatürk's Turkey. Gerede, R. H. (1956) *Mübarek Ertuğrul Şehitlerimiz ve Muhteşem Anıtları*, T.C. Deniz Basımevi, İstanbul, 14-15.

⁹⁵ Gerede's memoirs display an ambivalent attitude in terms of the parallelism between Iran and Turkey of the period. While he states that he does not feel foreigner in that country, his use of the term 'oriental' in such phrases insinuates that he sought out for a Turkish identity which was to be 'western' placed in contradistinction to the Persian. Some articles in the magazine *Arkitekt* imply the need of an identity invested with distancing from "Arabian" or "Persian" architectural identities. For example, in the article "Mimarlık Türklük", Behçet and Bedrettin were claiming that "in history Turkish architects elevated the Turkish architecture, amongst the other neighboring oriental arts, to the summits of spirit and meaning, logic and form. Tomorrow's Turkish architects will do the same in the west" *Arkitekt* 1934, 17-20. Bozdoğan refers to another text by Behçet Ünsal where Persian and Arab characteristics were compared to the Turkish; the latter having "modest harmonious proportions" is regarded to be superior to the "disproportion" of Persian or "irregular proportion" of Arab architecture. Conception is "simple and clear" in comparison to the "intricate geometrical conception of Arab" and "fantastic and poetical conception of Persia". Bozdoğan summarizes the point: "Turkish architecture already possessed many qualities exalted by the modern architects in the west, whereas other Islamic architectures were oriental". Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 248. References to Arabian architecture are made by Holzmeister as well in order to construct it as the other of authentic Turkish architecture and to indicate the will of Atatürk towards modern architecture. "Sinan is recalled when Turkish architecture is pronounced. Later on architecture was not paid due attention and moved backward. Authentic values are put aside... the effect of Arabian architecture was increased and Turkish architecture entered into its line. This is what Atatürk did not want...Atatürk wanted the contemporary architecture to exist together with the old Turkish architecture instead of the Arabian one. As he discarded the Arabic words in language he wanted to do the same in architecture" Kal, N. (2001) *Atatürk'le Yaşadıklarını Anlattılar*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 74.

⁹⁶ Model character of Turkey was most importantly in the political and social field. Commentators point at the parallelism of the new regimes in both countries. Likewise, Turkey and Iran aimed at "modern, fully independent nation-state, with western institutions and norms". However, for some social and historical factors hurdles on the way of Iran were bigger, and revolutions in Turkey were important supports for the regime in Iran. "Intelligentsia of Iran that may be called Kemalists, were propagating the imitation of the Turkish model". After solving the disputes over the borders in 1932, bilateral relations entered a "golden phase". Akdevelioğlu, A.

Turkish intelligentsia like Falih Rıfkı Atay and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, about Ankara. Like the early 1920's Ankara, there are passages in Gerede's memoirs defining Tehran as a city "devoid of hotels to reside", "dark, without electricity resembling a large Anatolian town", having "dusty streets" etc. He noted that let alone resembling a European city, Tehran was not even Ankara. So, as Bozdoğan claims that in Ankara, foreign embassy residences built in prime locations defined the ideals of modern residential architecture of the time, Gerede seems to have been expecting a similar function from the new Turkish Embassy in Tehran⁹⁷. Not only constituting a model for modern living by its physical aspects, Turkish embassy could be an active agent to exercise its modernization. For example Gerede suggested providing a space next to the entrance to the embassy compound to examine the local patients as the British embassy had been doing.

However, not only the material aspects of Turkish modernization, but also its reflection on the cultural sphere was propagated to the Shah. A product of western modernization in the field of culture, the famous "Özsoy Opera" was performed to pay homage to his visit in Ankara, the new Capital, which was the showcase of this modernization process.⁹⁸

Before elaborating on the opera, details of this visit are worth to be considered. Like the earlier visit of the King of Afghanistan in 1928 and King of Iraq in 1931, this visit of Iranian Shah would be the third "eastern" monarch hosted in

Kürkçüoğlu, Ö. (2001) "Ortadoğuyla İlişkiler" ed. B. Oran, *Türk Dış Politikası Vol.1*, İletişim Yayınları, 648-652. The whole history of the embassy can be read under the light of this context.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 225. Modernization in the context of Tehran is analyzed in Marefat, M. (1988) *The Formation of Modern Tehran 1921-1941* Unpublished Ph.D. diss. submitted to MIT. The important issue at stake was what was expected from the building, or how the new building was legitimized by the ambassador. It is interesting to read the comments on the modernization process by the reporters who had been there in 1939 to follow the wedding ceremony. "Siyah çarşafının içinde mahluk mu, cadı mı, hortlak mı, yoksa bir venüs mü olduğunu tahmin edemediğiniz o kadın bugün bir *Ankaralıdan* bir *Parisliden* tamamıyla farksızdır"(emphasis mine) Fenik, M. "İran Kadını", *Ulus*, 20.May.1939, 5.

⁹⁸ For a comprehensive analysis of "Özsoy" opera and its revolutionary role in the westernization of music in Turkey see Aracı, E. (2001) *Ahmed Adnan Saygun, Doğu Batı Arası Müzik Köprüsü*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 68. Accounts of composer Saygun and singer Berksoy emphasize the pioneering status of "Özsoy" in Turkish opera and polyphonic music. Kal, N. (2001) *Atatürk'le Yaşadıklarını Anlattılar*, Bilgi Yayınları, Ankara, 52-59, 205-207. This musical piece was also mentioned with nationalist overtones underlining Atatürk's accent on the nationality of the people involved Derin, H. (1995) *Çankaya Özel Kalemimi Hatırlarken*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul.

“westernizing” Turkey.⁹⁹ Turkish Hearth Building designed by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu and built between 1927 and 1930 was reserved for the Shah during his stay in Ankara. This building, though equipped with the modern comforts of the daily life, was built within a particular form vocabulary, as usually named as the First National Architecture Style, which had lost favor during the mid-thirties. That building could no longer be considered as a representation of modern Turkey and

⁹⁹ In these late years of 1920s social modernization was introduced through new institutions housed in new buildings. Two important buildings were opened for the occasion of the visit of King. One was the Ankara Palace hotel. The second was the Ethnography Museum, opened fifteen months earlier than its official opening. (p.23) Fırat, N. (1998) *Etnografya Müzesi ve Eski Türk Ocağı Merkez Binası*, TTK, Ankara. For the role of this museum on the modernization of Turkey see Kezer, Z. (2000) “Familiar things in Strange places: Ankara’s Ethnography museum and the legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey”. In *People Power Places*, eds. McMurtry, S and A., Adams University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

As the British ambassador of those times indicated, it is significant to note that during the visit Atatürk pointed out that Afghanistan was “Asian” but Turkey was “European”, though they were brothers. (174) Turkey intended to represent herself as the modernizing elder brother to the younger Asian brother and impress him. The stage set of this representation was Ankara. One of the gifts presented to the King was an Album of Ankara. The King stated that they “were building Kabul like Ankara from scratch” (184) and demanded a plan of the Turkish capital. (180)

Those years were the construction period of his summer capital at Paghman as well as establishing a new capital city named Darulaman laid out 10 km south of Kabul. It is very interesting to note that there were some architects from Turkey around the King and practicing in these new construction sites along with European experts. Dupree notes that Tefik Bey was such a figure who was also an advisor to the King. Abdul-Khalik and Ali were other architects and the latter built a theater in Paghman. Dupree, N. (1980) “A building boom in the Hindukush”, *Lotus International*, No.26, 115-121.

Architecture seems to be a concern of Amanullah Khan when he went to see İstanbul after Ankara where he visited DGSA and examined the works done in the department of architecture with much interest. (p.196) Other modernization attempts in İstanbul seemed to be influential on the King as well. For example Şimşir notes that he examined Atatürk monument at Sarayburnu, which is the first of its kind in Turkey (1926) and sculpted by Krippel, and probably “thought about opening the age of sculptures in Afghanistan”. Şimşir, B. (2002) *Atatürk ve Afganistan*, Asam Yayınları, Ankara. (preceding page numbers are from the same work) King was also given the bust of Atatürk sculpted by Canonica during this visit.

King of Iraq, Faisal’s visit also seemed to have architectural repercussions. He commissioned Holzmeister for an Imperial palace. Canonica was also commissioned for a sculpture of Faisal very similar to the one in front of the Ethnography Museum in Ankara.

A more interesting case occurred during the Shah’s visit to Ankara. He was very much appealed to the İsmet Paşa Girls institute designed by Ernst A. Egli and completed in 1930. He ordered another one to be built in Tehran and its replica named “Hüneristan-I Duhtera” was opened in 1938.

Though it is rather scarce to find Turkish architects and artists working abroad for these monarchs, Europeans seemed to employ the works they completed in Ankara for their own promotion for further works in these countries. This is an aspect of globalization of architectural services.

A peculiar demand, contrasting to the interest of these monarchs in the modernizing physical milieu of Ankara, came from King of Jordan Abdullah. He asked for the plans and architects for a Mosque which would be a replication Ağa Mosque in Istanbul during his visit in 1937. (TCBCA. 30.10.0.0. 263.775..16.)

the “new architecture”.¹⁰⁰ Dissatisfied with Vedat Tek’s alterations and Mongeri’s proposal for the extension to the previous one, Atatürk had already moved to the new presidential house designed by Holzmeister. This choice captured the attention of the establishment, of architectural circles as well as of foreign representatives in Ankara. Bischoff notes that Atatürk was the only one among the contemporary leaders residing in a modern building representing his own personality as well as setting a model for the entire nation.¹⁰¹ It is also interesting to note the modifications realized in the Turkish Hearth Building by its own architect. According to Koyunoğlu’s account,¹⁰² he was invited to Ankara to modify the toilets of the building to suit to the visitors’ wishes and daily practices. The originals were “alla franca” and were asked to be converted to “alla turca”.¹⁰³ This seemingly insignificant detail has actually the potential to raise questions about the

¹⁰⁰ Residential building for the Minister of Foreign Affairs designed by Seyfi Arkan that was just finished in the year of the visit 1934 was a pertinent example of the new architecture. That structure, which would accommodate state dignitaries visiting Turkey in the following years might have been an equally valid alternative in terms of the comfort it could provide. The choice of the “Turkish Hearth” (Türkocağı) building is a meaningful and successful choice, when Shah’s comments are considered. Choices to satisfy foreign visitor’s aesthetic tastes have examples in the history of diplomacy. For example as Saude mentions that Yirmisekiz Çelebizade Mehmet Said Paşa and the envoy were housed in Hotel des Ambassadeurs and the building was decorated in the manner of a-la-Turque for this occasion. Saude, B (1999) “Ambassade” in *Topkapı a Versailles* Edition de Reunion des Museés Natinaux, 316-332.

Another reason of the choice of this building can be pointed out in the memoirs of Hassan Arfa, who was in the delegation accompanying Shah. He refers to this location of accommodation of Shah as if it is a staging of modernity of the new republic. “Looking from the terrace of Halk Evi one could see the new town and part of the old Ankara”. So Shah like Arfa could make a comparison and regarded this new town as “the symbol of the new Turkey, uncompromisingly patriotic and resolutely progressive”. Arfa, H. (1964) *Under Five Shah’s* J.Murray, London. 247-248. This progress seems to be influential on Shah. Marefat notes that “he was envious of the advanced ways of other nations and refused to visit any country after his visit to Turkey”. Oberling points at the new institutions and constructions after his visit to Turkey, to emphasize the impact of this trip on shah, like the opera house, a model farm like the Gazi farm in Ankara and aforementioned Girl’s institute. Oberling, P. (1994) “Atatürk ve Rıza Şah”. In *I.Uluslararası Atatürk Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Ankara, 211.

¹⁰¹ Bischoff, N.Von (1936) *Ankara: Türkiye’deki Yeni Oluşun bir İzahı*, (trans. B. Belge), Ulus Basımevi, Ankara, 138.

¹⁰² Koyunoğlu, A. H. (1991) “Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu’nun Kendi Kaleminden”, *Arkitekt* , No.4, 39-50, 48.

¹⁰³ Interestingly this alteration from one type to another is still a sign of westernization in Turkey. Various examples of this are seen after the change of parties in the different governmental posts, and these are reflected to the media with such culturalist overtones. Alla turca toilet fixtures is considered as an indicator of the relative inflexibility of habits; for example, in a research done in 1998 by Piar-Gallup 63.1% of the Turkish population is reported to use them *Hürriyet* 10.June.1998.

meaning of “modernization”, “national culture” and references of this culture¹⁰⁴. This point related to the toilets was also a topic analyzed in detail by Ambassador Gereede for the new Turkish embassy in Tehran. He noted that “in modern buildings closets are always detached from bathrooms. They should be placed in a separate place having a door of its own”. This ideal modern toilet was considered as the best for the use of the modern Turkish diplomats. Interestingly he describes the toilet of the “others”. “...alla Turca toilets should never be installed [in the embassy]. However since the servants in Tehran are local creatures (yerli mahluklar) it is admissible to built one, only for them in the basement”.¹⁰⁵ It is worth speculating on the repercussions of such a choice in relation to the dichotomous framework in the formulation of “national identity” during 1920s, aimed at synthesizing a national “culture” and a universal “civilization”. Even an institution like “Turkish Hearth”, having the principle aim of rejuvenating a national identity, had already adapted the bodily practices of everyday life of western culture¹⁰⁶. It is also interesting to question the boundaries of a “national” culture, when labeling such a

¹⁰⁴ It is interesting to note another instance of discussion based on alla-turca toilets within the context of architecture of diplomacy. Isenstadt points at the designation of “Turkish toilets” for the servants and flush toilets for the ambassador and staff in the building of American Embassy in Baghdad. Author concludes that “the issue at stake is less a matter of hygienic conventions, however, than of representation” of cultural difference. Isenstadt, S. (1997) “Faith in a better future Josep Lluís Sert’s American Embassy in Baghdad”, *Journal of Architectural Education*, Feb. Vol.50, No.3, 172-188, 177. Likewise, Craig Zimring of Georgia Institute of Technology who has created a database for the U.S State Department notes the toilets as an example of cultural differences. “The American habit of placing the doors on bathroom stalls a few inches above the ground is not always acceptable. In many countries even exposed feet are regarded as an invasion of privacy” <http://www.arch.gatech.edu/outreach/nletter/releases/10-1-97.html>.

¹⁰⁵ Prime Minister’s Archive of the Turkish Republic (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi : TCBCA) 030.10.129.926.12

¹⁰⁶ Dichotomy is used in reference to the well-known pair of “hars” and “medeniyet” in Ziya Gökalp’s formulation, who was in the jury of the selection of the design of this building. Toilet habits can be grouped under “culture” (hars), referring to the particular society rather than the international “civilization”. It is also questionable whether Atatürk himself, who was immersed with the realization of the building, was influential in the choice of this fixture type. This might be a very probable speculation, also for Yavuz, when both of the presidential structures at Çankaya, his suit in the State Guest House, and resort pavilion at Florya, all have “alla franca” type in their bathrooms. (conversation with Yıldırım Yavuz 2/12/2001) Likewise Arkan’s designs including the “Hariciye köşkü”, initial design for Tehran Embassy and the final design employ “alla franca” fixtures. It seems to be an interesting point to search for discussions on this matter on the media of the period, where different dimensions of sanitation were covered as a consequence of modernization.

Toilets and “Hamams” are also used frequently to construct an identity as distinct from Europe. There are often comparative references to the historical modes of these functions to emphasize that Turkey has a “tradition” superior to its contemporaneous western body culture. For an example see Koyunoğlu’s comments in Anon. (1977) “Mimar Arif Koyunoğlu ile bir söyleşi”, *Mimarlık*, No.1, 8-16.

fixture after a nation as “alla turca” is taken into account. This particular toilet type is formed rather according to the religious codes applicable to communities beyond the national boundary.

This last question is also valid for the totality of this building. Koyunoğlu states that the Shah called the architect to the visitors’ quarter assigned to him in the Turkish Hearth and said that “he appreciated this palace very much and like to have a similar one in Tehran”¹⁰⁷ and invited him and the craftsmen to Iran. It seems that the structure appealed another leader, besides Atatürk, but with an interval of one decade, who was similarly aiming to modernize his country again with nationalist motives. The architectural style, with its sumptuousness, ornate front façade, variety of materials might also have been in tune with the aesthetic preferences of the visitor irrespective of any ideological background. There is another significant point in these recollections. It is quite important to note that this is one of the first instances when a Turkish architect was asked to practice outside the country¹⁰⁸. So, while western architects were employed and forms of a “küçük” style were dominating the buildings in Turkey, a building, described as one of the pertinent examples of the First National Architecture Movement, and its Turkish architect, were adopted by an eastern leader. Appropriateness of this national style for countries other than modern Turkey is not an uncommon theme in the architectural discourse starting from 1930 onwards. An evidence to substantiate this discourse is the review of Mehmet Nihat’s design of a hotel building in Jerusalem¹⁰⁹. The architect states that critics were rightful in regarding the “façade ornamentation carved in the stones “as already an issue of the past; however, he says he was compelled to do it, since the city housed the historical past of the ancestors, and this past attracted international tourism. It is clear that even followers of the “First

¹⁰⁷ Koyunoğlu, A. H. (1991) “Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu’nun Kendi Kaleminden”, *Arkitekt* , No.4, 39-50, 48.

¹⁰⁸ There are rare cases where Turkish architects found a chance to practice abroad in the early years of the Republican era. Other than the embassies and fairs only case in the magazine *Arkitekt* is Mehmet Nihat’s hotel in Jerusalem. A lesser known example is the design of a Synagogue in Mannheim for a Jewish community by Vedat Tek in 1925. There were also architects working in Afghanistan in that period as well. (see footnote 76) The practice of Turkish architects for the later periods abroad will be covered in the later chapters. A later case, similar to Koyunoğlu’s, where “Turkish” architectural style was found appropriate for another eastern country was the tomb for Ali Jinnah for which Vasfi Egeci proposed a design during the mid 1950s.

¹⁰⁹ Mehmet Nihat (Nigizberk) (1931) *Mimar*, No.3, 75-81.

National Architecture Movement” were feeling that this formal vocabulary was becoming far from representing the westernization and modernization ideals of Turkey. Likewise, institutions like the Turkish Hearth Society were closed due to a similar incongruity and its headquarters building, which hosted the Shah, had been converted to “House of the People” (Halkevi). This building was also the stage where the aforementioned “Özsoy” opera was performed.

We can read into a common concern in different cases whether it is the opera or other artifacts realized for the Shah: How to represent the affinities and differences of both nations. The subject of the opera, which is a paragon of westernization, was emphasizing the brotherhood and the common roots of the two countries. On the other hand, in Istanbul a commemorative arch was built in honor of the visitor by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹¹⁰ It was modeled after a triumphal arch with a big central pointed arch in the center for vehicular traffic and two smaller ones flanking it for pedestrians. There was an inscription in Arabic script at the top commemorating and welcoming the majesty. (Fig. 2.5) When compared with the other transitory commemorative structures built and documented in the architectural press with their decisive use of the modern abstract forms and Latin scripts, having an ideological/symbolic value¹¹¹, this transitory structure can be interpreted as the “other” of the modernized Turkey, belonging both to the outsider as well as to its own past. (Fig. 2.6)

Similarities between the two nations were asserted when history is concerned as much as the differences in the present times. Elaborating the same roots of both nations in the mythical times, opera addresses a fundamental theme of the “nation building” literature focusing on the role of past i.e. embeddedness into the depths of history in the creation of a national identity. As Silberman quotes Benjamin Thorpe in the analysis of this phenomenon in Middle East including Turkey, “no

¹¹⁰ Safa, O. (1995) *Anılarda Mimarlık*, Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, İstanbul. 78-99. Safa was commissioned after the competition organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was a student in DGSA at that time like the aforementioned group which had made a project for the Turkish Embassy in Iraq, within a “modern” form language.

¹¹¹ For an analysis of these transitory structures see Yürekli, Z. (1995) *Modernleştirici Devrimlerde Geçici Mimarlık ve 1930’larda Türkiye Örneği*, Unpublished Master’s thesis, İstanbul Technical University.



Fig. 2.5 Commemorative Arch in İstanbul for Reza Pehlevi (1934).
Architect: O. Safa



Fig. 2.6 Commemorative Arch in Sivas for the Republican Day (1936).
Architect: N. Uzman

people on earth is indifferent to the fancied honor of being able to trace its origins to the gods and of being ruled by an ancient race". Mythological theme of the opera testifies this need¹¹²

Resemblance between the two nations, in other words the issue of "sameness" discussed within the context of the opera, can be related to the choice of the materials in the construction of the embassy in Tehran. The main façade element is brick and not unfamiliar to Arkan from his years with Poelzig.¹¹³ However, in the descriptive article related to the building, it is stated that the architect had gone to Tehran and made this selection after seeing the construction technology in Iran¹¹⁴. Whitish brick outside is designated as "a beautiful material of Iran" and its use in cladding in aligned rows is "inspired from the old Turkish patterns" which makes the "exterior character of both of the buildings (in Tehran and Şimran) as the harmonized synthesis of old Turkish architecture and modern technology"¹¹⁵. Two points are interesting; brick is both a product of the other –Arkan does not use it in his works in Turkey- but also a product of the old Turkish culture, which is the "other" of the new republic. This past is not the recent past, but is assumed to be part of an idealized one, which forms the base of the civilization that consequently legitimizes modernization in Turkey. However, one can infer a reservation towards the ideology of nationalism that has ethnical overtones. This ethnicist attitude, which formed the outline of the First National Architecture Movement, found an expression in Kemalettin's views on brick. Tekeli and İlkin comment on the latter's

¹¹² Silberman, N.A. (1989) *Between Past and Present: Archaeology, Ideology and Nationalism in the Modern Middle East*, Henry Holt & Co. New York, 1.

¹¹³ Tanyeli points to the influence of Mendelsohn's expressionist formal vocabulary and Poelzig's palette of materials rather than the white and astute geometry of International Style. Tanyeli, U. (1992) "Seyfi Arkan Bir Direnme Öyküsü", *Arredamento-Dekorasyon*, No.35 March. Tanyeli refers to Tehran embassy as one of the unique buildings in the early modern period in Turkey in its extensive use of brick. The colonnade outside the Tahran building and symmetrical configuration of the plan indicate also the influence of the stripped classical architecture.

¹¹⁴ Seyfi Arkan was sent to Tehran in 1936, accompanied with permanent undersecretary of ministry of foreign affairs to investigate the site and make necessary arrangements (order no 2/4984) TCBCA 030.18.61.66.59.8). Although the latter and other bureaucrats visited the site to review the building process there are no record of architects' supervision of the construction phase.

However this visit does not seem to be the sole reason for such local material choices. Even the material designations, like Iranian tiles for the roof, in the first scheme that was done in 1934 and abandoned later on before the Trip to Iran, implies a will to adapt to the local conditions in terms of practical and economic concerns.

¹¹⁵ Anon. (1939) "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Sefarethanesi (Tahran)", *Arkitekt*, No.7-8, 1939. 148.

conclusions that Turkish architecture can be understood via brick and this material enables him the Central-Asia connection.¹¹⁶

So far Ambassador Gerede's memoirs were often referred to set up a framework to elaborate the meanings assigned to the prospective embassy structure. One important theme in his accounts is his initiative role in the process. It was actually not uncommon to see the pervasive role of the diplomats in leading the design and the construction of embassies. For example Austrian embassy in Ankara attests the contribution of Ambassador Bischoff. German Embassy in Ankara, finished in 1928, is a more illustrative case. In the design of the complex, as it is noted, the architects of the Reich's building administration was under the decisive influence of the "aristocratic diplomat" Rudolph Nadolny. Nadolny's proposition was to use "Gut Neudeck", back then residence of President Hindenburg, as a basis for the new embassy; the outcome is a revival of Prussian building traditions.¹¹⁷ Niederwöhrmeier concludes that this embassy is "detached from the architectural trends of the twenties" in the Weimer Republic and employs a style dating back to nineteenth century, as a consequence of the "German diplomat's socio-political way of thinking, which was still rooted in pre-war elitism.

Gerede was considered as an aristocrat too¹¹⁸, and his memoirs insinuate his intentions to play a role similar to Nadolny's. Though, having searched an architect in Iran, he was not able to commission one and to design according to his instructions.¹¹⁹ Arkan's design was chosen in Ankara amongst the proposals of foreign and Turkish architects. It is highly possible that as Gerede himself

¹¹⁶ Tekeli, İ. And S. İlkin (1997) *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*, Şevki Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı, Ankara, 15.

¹¹⁷ Reference to the German Embassy in Ankara is meaningful for two reasons. Gerede refers to other nations' embassies in Tehran to contextualize the prospective design, especially to that of Germany. Ankara legation of this country was exemplary and not far from the legations in Bern and Tehran built in late 20s and 30s in terms of architectural form and its procurement Niederwöhrmeier, H. (2000) "The Development of Embassy Buildings from the Founding Days of the German Reich until the End of the Second World War". In *Embassies*, eds. Asendorf, O. and W. Voigt Wasmuth Verlag, Berlin, 19.

¹¹⁸ Şimşir, B. (1996) *Bizim Diplomatlar*. Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 346. He refers to the English head of mission in Sofia regarding the Turkish ambassador as "...clean shaven, of sprightly appearance and does his utmost to appear ultra-European".

¹¹⁹ He made contacts with the architect Billenstein working for a Swedish-Danish construction company practicing in Iran and also with the architect-engineer Markoff as a construction consultant. Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım*, 55. The Ambassador also made a building program as well as cost analyses.

suggested, projects were presented to the judgments of the President and Prime Minister and selection was done accordingly. While there might have been additional economic or practical reasons of this decision made in Ankara, it seems that the issue at stake was less a matter of these reasons than of the representation of a national identity. Ambassador's letter to the Ministry asking if one of the primary motivations behind this building was to give the impression of "our own" construction in Iran implies this concern.¹²⁰ This model would be similar to the construction of German Embassy in Ankara by the Philipp Holzmann AG. Although Ambassador Gerede suggested the authorities to negotiate with Turkish contractors as a measure to imprint a national identity, designating Arkan's project might have been seen as another means to attain a similar end, despite the Ambassador's objections. Gerede's objection was not to the design proposed by Arkan –he was not content with none of the eight proposals- but also to the "identity" of the architect. He stated that:

...it might be right and natural to employ Turkish architects and protect them inside the country. However here (abroad) the first goal is to create a permanent edifice representing Turkish state and nation eternally (in Tehran). Hence it is not admissible to commission a novice architect who might not been inside an embassy building in his life. Embassy buildings constitute an area of expertise in architecture so as it was done for the ministry buildings in Ankara, a prevalent European architect should be commissioned for this task.¹²¹

However, as noted before, Arkan's nationality was considered as a point of self-respect in the news of the daily papers informing the readers about the opening of this building.

For the German embassy buildings prior to the WWII Niederwöhrmeier concludes that embassy architecture is not a field for innovative architectural concepts but rather a repetition of prototypes unlike young Arkan's design. He also notes that whatever the style of the exterior, design of the interiors of the German examples is

¹²⁰ Quoted in Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıralarım*, 57. This seems to have been an important issue in 1980's and Bleda notes with satisfaction that Turkish entrepreneurs renovated the structure. Bleda, T. (2000) *Maskeli Balı*, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul, 104.

¹²¹ Gerede's letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. August 21, 1933. TCBCA 030.10.129.926.12

constantly “baroque”.¹²² Arkan’s Tehran embassy is interesting in terms of the interiors as well. As the design of the residence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Arkan’s design of the buildings in Tehran includes the interiors as well.¹²³ These interiors are also “modern” and an outcome of an architect’s design, rather than a selection from a furniture catalogue.¹²⁴ In this context another possible furniture source for the interiors was the governmental body of “National Palaces” which is in charge of the supervision of the buildings of the Ottoman court, as it had been the case for the other Turkish embassies¹²⁵. Commissioning of the interiors of such important buildings to an architect is also significant when compared to the other Turkish embassies built in the later periods. Accounts of architects, such as Eldem for Beirut, Şensoy and colleagues for Lisbon and even Tange for Tokyo had complaints about the interiors of the embassies, which were not designed according to the designs of the architects.

A formal comparison again with German examples may also shed light on comprehending the Turkish embassy in Tehran. Arkan’s realized design, though symmetrically and axially organized and close to the neoclassical vocabulary in its use of a colonnaded entrance is to be considered as modern with its abstract mass articulation, side facades and rounded corners of the loggia reminding the formal repertoire of Mendelsohn. When compared with the Nadolyn’s design in 1928, it is resolutely anti-traditional and modern. (Fig. 2.7a) Arkan’s embassy is also contrasting with the addition to the German Embassy to be built in Ankara in

¹²² Niederwöhrmeier, H (2000) “The development of Embassy buildings from the founding days of the German Reich until the end of the second world war” in *Embassies* 23.

¹²³ These buildings designed for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are also significant for the role of the architect in the representation of a nation through architecture. It is noted that “Turkish architect found a chance to work on the totality of the building for the first time. Hence building, garden and furniture were realized according to the project of the architect at once “Anon. (1935) “Hariciye Köşkü”, *Arkitekt*, No.10-11, 311-315.

¹²⁴ This total design attitude of Arkan, resembling the architects of the western countries, is found to be very significant for historians of the period like Aslanoglu *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, 86.

¹²⁵ In 1925 and 1926 there were decisions taken to decorate the interiors of the embassies in general, (30.18.1.1./14.39.1) and particularly for the embassies in Athens (30.18.1.1./22.78.16) and Belgrade (30.18.1.1./16.77..3) by the furniture in the “National Palaces”. A similar decision was taken to decorate the Diplomats Club. (30.18.1.1./22.78..16)



Fig. 2.7a German Embassy in Ankara (1927-1928).
Architects: Listmann and Nadolyn



Fig. 2.7b Design for Residence of German Embassy in Ankara (1937).
Architect: K. Gutschow

1937¹²⁶. (Fig. 2.7b) Turkish representation in Tehran was far less conservative when compared to both of them.

These aforementioned German embassy buildings also display an interesting case for developing the discussion on representation of identity by the buildings abroad on a comparative basis. Formal characteristics of such buildings, their contexts and the significance of the different representational functions they serve for the Turkish case can be elaborated with reference to the German examples of that period as well. The aforementioned compound in Ankara is extremely conservative when compared to its contemporary, well-known German pavilion in the 1929 world fair, i.e. Mies van der Rohe's design in the Barcelona International Exposition having the theme of "Industry, Art and Sport". German participation 1937 in the Paris exposition with the vocabulary of neo-classical architecture is very much in tune with the extension to the embassy compound in Ankara. On the other hand, Turkish representation in late thirties, too, offered two contrasting cases, whereby an embassy was designed with a modern sense, while a world fair pavilion, which might be more experimental, followed a more conservative path with "traditionalist" and "historicist" attitudes.

2.3 "East" in the "West" - Pavilion in the New York World Fair

Selection of Arkan and his design for the Turkish Embassy in Tehran conceived in a contemporary modern manner (Fig. 2.8) seems even more interesting when considered in comparison with another contemporaneous representative building: the Turkish Pavilion at the 1939 New York World's Fair.¹²⁷ (Fig. 2.9a) While the

¹²⁶ Konstanty Gütschow's design was selected through a competition. It is noted that Hitler himself was decisive in the selection of the design. Modern architecture would be used in the foreign legations only after the WWII. Asendorf, O. and W. Voight (eds.) (2000), *Embassies*, 82.

¹²⁷ Motto of the fair was "Building the World of Tomorrow". Though most of the pavilions in the foreign section had references to the traditional cultural heritage, some of them like Brazilian, Finnish, Polish, British and Swedish ones were more conducive to the future oriented spirit of the fair. In a contemporaneous review of the exhibition Swedish pavilion was highly regarded for being a sample of modern architecture. Polish was the most interesting, and Swiss and Norwegian were successful in synthesizing modern and traditional. Brazilian pavilion of Niemeyer, Costa and Wiener and Finnish pavilion of Aalto were briefly mentioned without emphasis. Anon. (1939) "1939 New-York Sergisi" *Arkitekt*, No.7-8, 174-180.

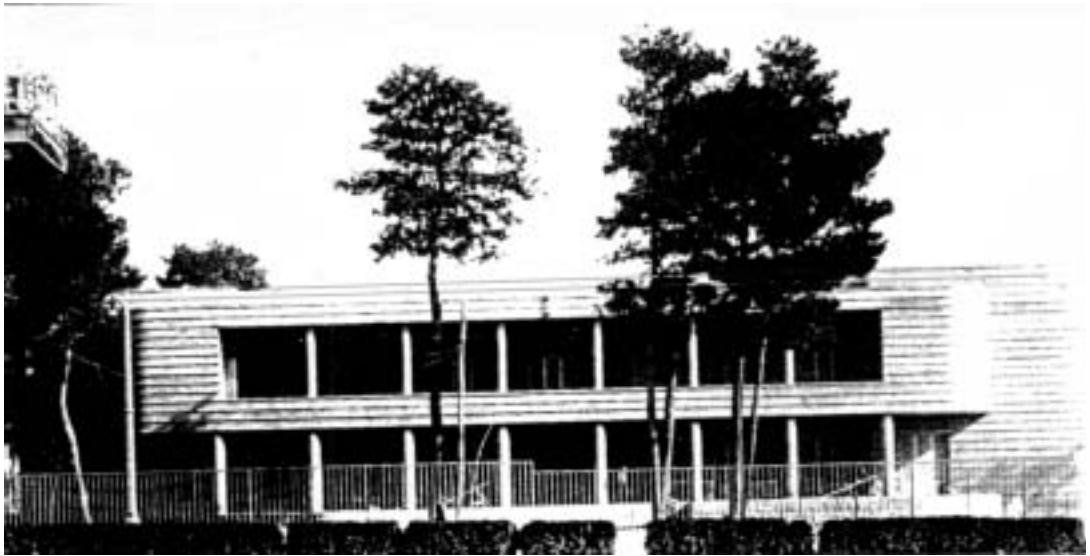


Fig. 2.8 Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Tehran (1937-1939).
Architect: S. Arkan



Fig. 2.9a Turkish Pavilion in New York Exhibition (1939).
Architect: S.H. Eldem

identity of the Turkish Republic was represented in a “modern” building in its eastern neighbor Iran, its representation in the west was “oriental”.

As the preceding fairs in the 19th century where Ottoman Empire had previously participated, Republic of Turkey can also be regarded as enthusiastic to represent its national identity through exhibitions abroad.¹²⁸ Coverage of the pavilions in the 1931 Pest Exhibition and 1939 New York World Exhibitions, in the former with a ‘modern’ style (Fig. 2.10a) and in the latter with an Ottoman style, both designed by Sedat Hakkı Eldem¹²⁹, in the architectural press indicate that neither the government nor the architectural circles were indifferent to the representation of the Turkish State abroad. Since there is limited study on this topic Turkish participation to other exhibitions, the physical layout in these events, and how these events played a role in the representation of Turkey can be elucidated by dwelling also upon the less known examples.

In the early years of the foundation period Republic of Turkey participated in the 1925 Paris Expo with a pavilion designed by a French architect, Maurice Fildier. According to an article in the Turkish architectural journal “Mimar” the pavilion was in the manner of a mosque. It was regarded as causing harm “to the representation of the idea of a new Turkey”¹³⁰. Interestingly, there is no reference to a mosque in the exhibition report, but to a secular structure i.e. Ahmed III Fountain in Istanbul.¹³¹ An ambiguous language was used in the description of the Turkish pavilion in that report. Amongst the other western states Turkey was the only “eastern” country represented in the exhibition; however, this representation was considered as the “eastern vision, however a modernized east...without any

¹²⁸ With reference to the “Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları”, Ergut points out ten exhibitions abroad on specific subjects, in which Turkey participated between 1926 and 1937. Ergut, E. *Making a National Architecture*, 88.

¹²⁹ In some sources Sedat Zincirkıran is also mentioned as a joint designer of the pavilion in the New York exhibition e.g. Pulhan (1939), Appelbaum (1977).

¹³⁰ Anon. (1931) “Peste Sergisinde Türk Pavyonu”, *Mimar*, 6:194-199.

¹³¹ This fountain had been a major reference for the Ottoman pavilions in the 1873 Vienna, 1889 Paris and 1893 Chicago exhibitions as well. However Çelik notes that form of the fountain is “a sign of newness”, “a fresh interpretation of Ottoman forms under European influences” and its interpretation in the 1893 exhibition “was almost a modern building”. Çelik, Z. *Displaying the Orient* 107-109. In contradistinction, references to the Ahmed III fountain for the representation of the neophyte Turkish Republic was regarded equally inappropriate and seem to connote “oldness” for the Mimar magazine.

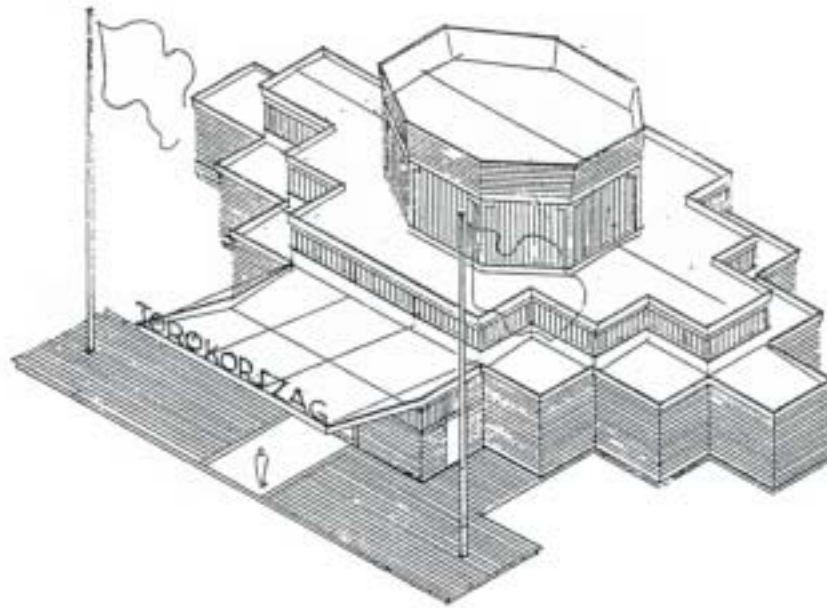


Fig. 2.10a Turkish Pavilion in Pest Exhibition (1931). Architect: S.H. Eldem

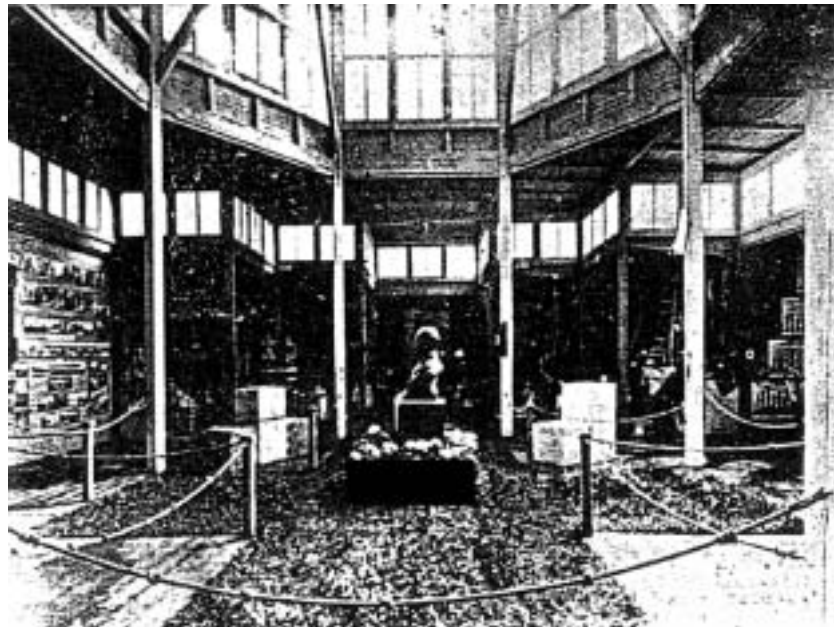


Fig. 2.10b Turkish Pavilion in Pest Exhibition (interior). Architect: S.H. Eldem

reference to the European architecture”.¹³² Hence this concise review of the pavilion in the “Mimar” magazine insinuates that representation of Turkey should be by the works of Turkish architects, and in a style that has no affiliation with past and religion. Next year in 1926 a traveling exhibition was organized in a liner making a tour in the Mediterranean, in which Presidential Band was also giving concerts.¹³³ Hence rather than a transitory pavilion which looked like a permanent building, an inherently transitory, mobile environment i.e. ship was preferred. When the frequent analogies and parallels between the “international style” and liners are taken into account it is worth to think if the form vocabularies of the pavilions in the 1930s’ exhibitions have any implicit reference to such events or the idea of temporariness.

In the early 1930s Turkey participated in many exhibitions like the 1932 Leipzig, 1934 Thessalonike and the 1935 Brussels, besides the aforementioned 1931 Pest Exhibition. Turkish participation to these exhibitions was primarily motivated by the potential economic gains.¹³⁴ In these exhibitions the Turkish state monopolies displayed their products, which consequently became a display of the “national

¹³² *Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriel Modernes*, Paris 1925 (1928) Librairie Larousse, 77.

¹³³ Cited in Aracı, E. *Ahmed Adnan Saygun*, 68.

¹³⁴ A main classification criterion to group these exhibitions is their orientation. As Etem sorted them in the 1930s, some exhibitions like, have themes and aimed at the education and enlightening the public (âlf gayeli), and endures for longer periods whereas other fairs have primarily commercial objectives, (gayrı âlf gayeli) and lasts for shorter periods. Etem, M (1931) *Sergi ve Panayır*, Cumhuriyet Matbaası, İstanbul. The exhibition in Paris 1937 or the one in New York 1939 can be mentioned in the first group. However it is not possible to differentiate these groups very distinctly. Commercial motivations interested Turkish authorities and Turkey tried to pursue commercial goals in the exhibitions in the first group. Participated to the fairs in the second group was more frequent. Examples of such occasions can be dated to 1920s like the Liege exhibition for the centennial of Belgium in 1929. However even in the late 1930s, on the eve of WW II, when funds were curtailed and only one international fair was deliberated to participate, Turkey decided to take part in fairs in Thessaloniki (1938), Belgrade (1938), Milan (1939 and 1940) and Peşte, where a pavilion was also constructed (1940).(TCBCA 030.18/01.02.90.24.9)

An interesting point to note is that in the 1930s Turkish private sector also participated in the international fairs. Vedat Nedim Tör, who was the president of the National Economy and Savings Society, stated that the Pest Fair was exemplary as an occasion where the success depended upon its organization and control by a state institution. Tör V. N. (1999) *Yıllar Böyle Geçti*,Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 19. Those years were characterized by economic étatism. In 1934 an institution, called as Türkofis was established to organize the participation of Turkey and Turkish companies to the international fairs, and to facilitate export of Turkish goods. In the contemporaneous media many fairs were mentioned, in which this office planned to take part. For example in 1935 International fairs in Bari, Paris and Brussels were such occasions. The difference of this with the construction of the Tripoli Embassy in the following chapters, where official representation of the state was via the private enterprise is notable.

economy”, a constitutive component of the national identity in that period. The common architectural characteristic of all these pavilions is their modern form vocabulary. In Leipzig interior of an existing building was designed in a manner without historical references. Pavilion in 1934 Thessalonike exhibition was a composition of abstract masses employing a tall turret like rectangular prism similar to the one in Brussels and the state pavilion in New York, to place the name of the country (Fig. 2.11a). While the Turkish pavilion in the Brussels fair included a gigantic cigar outside to inform the visitors about the contents, and correlating the export item with the country, Thessalonike pavilion displayed the ideological iconography i.e. “Six arrows” on its facade. Although this fair is primarily a commercial event, political identity might equally be seen as important as the commercial one.

While modern forms were preferred to represent Turkey in these years, other nations favored “traditional” buildings and such preferences raised interesting questions to discuss the issue of national identity. This was the case in Brussels 1935 exhibition, where Turkey participated with a pavilion, designed by Robert Puttemans and a young Turkish architect Hüsni (Fig. 2.11b). While this pavilion had a modernist guise, the neighboring Bulgarian pavilion was a replica of a house in Philippopoli, resembling the traditional houses in Turkey, which would become the centerpiece of the nationalist discourse, i.e. “Turkish House”, and form vocabulary in 1940s Turkey.¹³⁵ Traditional forms would dominate the design of the Turkish pavilion in the 1939 New York Exhibition.

1939 New York Exhibition was two years after the International Exposition in Paris. Since it was a worldwide event with a scope beyond mere economic and commercial gains, approach of the Turkish government to this event is notable.

¹³⁵ Official publications of the exhibition (Livre d’or de l’exposition Universelle et Internationale de Bruxelles) stated that this house representing Bulgaria was called as the Lamartine House. “Historical Heritage” constituted a means to inculcate and convey a national identity by the Bulgarians as well. However who are the inheritors was a question to create controversy. It is interesting to note how such houses in Philippopoli (Filibe) have been considered by the Turkish researchers. For example Ayverdi claims that they are “totally Ottoman”. There is no hesitation to name them as Ottoman, without any exception, though their later owners were Bulgarians. These houses were “baptized” and Bulgarians found “ridiculous pretexts” to assimilate them as Bulgarian houses. Ayverdi, E.H. (1982) *Avrupa’da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri*, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, İstanbul. 43. Ottoman in these sentences are to be read as Turkish. Bulgarian pavilion in 1937 Paris exhibition was also designed with references to traditional residential architecture.

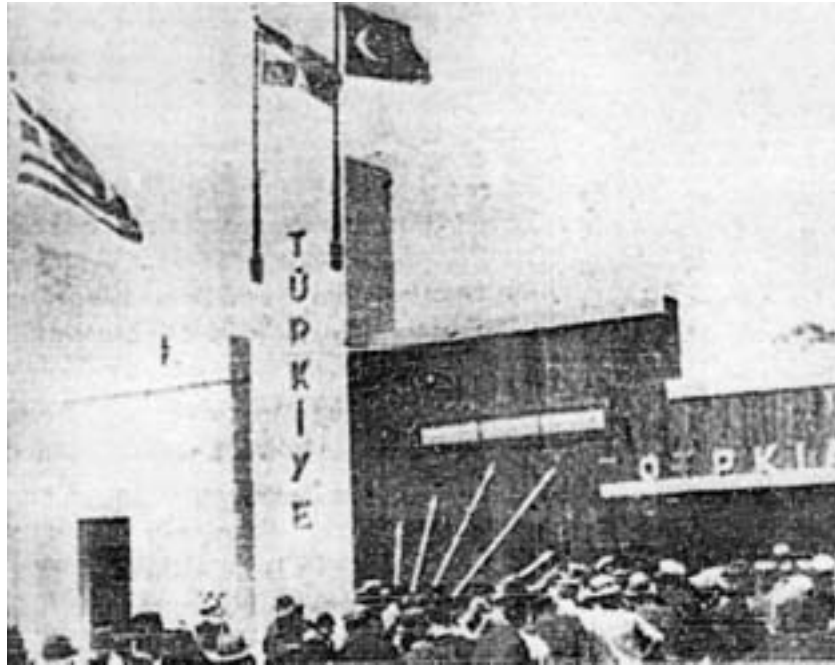


Fig 2.11a Turkish Pavilion in the Thessaloníki International Fair (1934)



Fig. 2.11b Turkish Pavilion in the Brussels Fair (1935).
Architects: Puttemans and Hüsnü

1937 Paris International Exhibition “Arts and Technics in Modern Life” is amongst the first group of exhibitions having a theme and an educative purpose. Turkey was invited and willing to participate to this event till mid 1936. In the preliminary studies ministries emphasized the propaganda value of such an exhibition to display products of modern Turkey in the realms of art and technics.¹³⁶ Ideologically this would be a chance to display Modern Turkey and revolutions to the Western World. Turkish Ambassador to Paris wrote to the government to underline the need to take action immediately to select a plot in the exhibition area in order not to be grouped with the “second or even third class” countries in the event.¹³⁷ However participation to this exhibition was resigned for economic reasons. Economy was considered important in two senses. The prevalent economic reason was the expenditures to construct the national pavilion and to make ready the displays inside. Secondly, this exhibition was not regarded as a rewarding occasion to raise the shrinking volume of export of goods to France¹³⁸. Primacy of this economic motive was criticized by the Turkish artists at that time for missing an opportunity to represent the modern art of Turkey abroad¹³⁹.

In order to encourage Turkish participation, exhibition committee offered to subsidize the cost of pavilion construction and submitted a design by Albert

¹³⁶ Document related to presentation of the exhibition by the Ministry of Culture to the Prime Ministry. 26/9/1935 TCBCA 030.10/173.194.6

¹³⁷ Letter from Suad Davaz -Turkish Ambassador to Paris- to Ministry of Economy 23/5/1936 TCBCA 030.10/173.194.6

¹³⁸ Document concerning the vision of Ministry of Economy (Türkofis) about 1937 exhibition, written to the Prime Ministry. 12/5/1936 TCBCA 030.10/173.194.6. Primacy of economic concerns and being late and disorganized in such occasions are not uncommon for other cases as well. 1939 New York exhibition is not an exception. Last minute decisions caused the placement of the pavilion outside the Nations Zone. It is worth noting that despite such problems, the new regime was claimed to be much faster and more willful compared to the previous Ottoman regime in the organization of the Turkish participation.

¹³⁹ In the art magazine “AR” there were articles reflecting the dismay stemming from Turkey’s unwillingness to take part in the Paris international exhibition, while there were participation of countries *especially* like that of Balkans as well as Middle East countries like Iraq, Palestine and Egypt. This exhibition was considered as an invaluable occasion to represent the fine arts of the past as well as the contemporary accomplishments in different spheres of culture. These articles in the magazine also insinuate that Turkey was more willing to be represented in the industrial exhibitions and international fairs but less in the cultural and artistic exhibitions. Anon. (1937) “Beynelmilel Paris Sergisine dair” *AR*, March, 15 and “Enternasyonal Paris Sergisi”, 10-12.

For an assessment of the period Germaner notes seven international exhibitions particularly on art which took great efforts and expenditure for Turkey to participate. “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Resim Sanatı”, 25.

Laprade (Fig. 2.12a, Fig. 12b). Laprade is a significant architect in the context of this dissertation. He is the architect of the French Embassy in Ankara and submitted proposals for other buildings, like the House of the Parliament in 1937, which gave him opportunity to get introduced to the Turkish context. His background was also interesting for the high number of buildings he designed for the “others” as well as to represent “others” to the western audience. After working in the North Africa for the French Government he also took part in the design of the pavilions of the colonies in the “1931 Colonial Exposition in Paris”. Laprade was a Beaux-Art educated architect and this training was evident in his design of the Embassy in Ankara. However the design of the Turkish pavilion did not display such a form vocabulary, which was dominant in the pavilions of many countries in the 1937 exhibition, like Italy, Germany and Soviet Union. His design neither shows any attempt to sympathize with the “Turkish identity” by resorting to national architectural characteristics. Local architecture was adopted in the design of the colony pavilions as well as what he designed in North Africa under the French Protectorate. Unlike the aforementioned Turkish pavilion in 1925 –again in Paris- which was designed by Fildier in a Turkish manner and heavily criticized by the “Mimar” magazine, Laprade chose to be neutral and minimally intrusive to the displayed items inside the pavilion. Pavilion was a double story glass display box of 17x26m. Transparency of the outer skin was to emphasize the contents of the exhibition. Laprade was observant and careful enough to place the most significant iconography of the New Republic to his drawing: A huge bust of Atatürk on a high pedestal. Atatürk busts had also significant positions in the other Turkish pavilions as well like the 1931 Pest (Fig. 2.10b), 1939 New York (Fig. 2.14b) and 1958 Brussels exhibitions (Fig. 3.1d)¹⁴⁰. However neither the modernity of this glass

¹⁴⁰ Like all official buldings at home, buildings abroad display Atatürk busts as a constitutive item in the exhibition of national identity. They seem to arouse curiosity of the visitors to these buildings. For example a critic notes that “There is a huge, somewhat frightening bust of Atatürk, modern Turkey’s founding father, at the end of a sequence of stairs” in the Washington embassy. Forgey, B (1999) “Embassy Row’s Modern Turkish Delight”, *Washington Post*, 30.October.1999.

Besides sculptures of founding fathers another iconographic tool was the map to visualize the identity of the nation-state like a “logo”. In the foundation period, maps were displayed in the fair pavilions of Turkey, like the 1935 Brussels and 1939 NewYork, not only to indicate the natural resources or productions but to inculcate the boundaries of the sovereign state. One interesting point to note is that the 1935 map was excluding Hatay and 1939 was the year of the annexation of this region and alteration of the previous map (Fig. 2.17d).



Fig. 2.12a Turkish Pavilion in the Paris Exposition (1937)
Perspective of Laprade's proposal

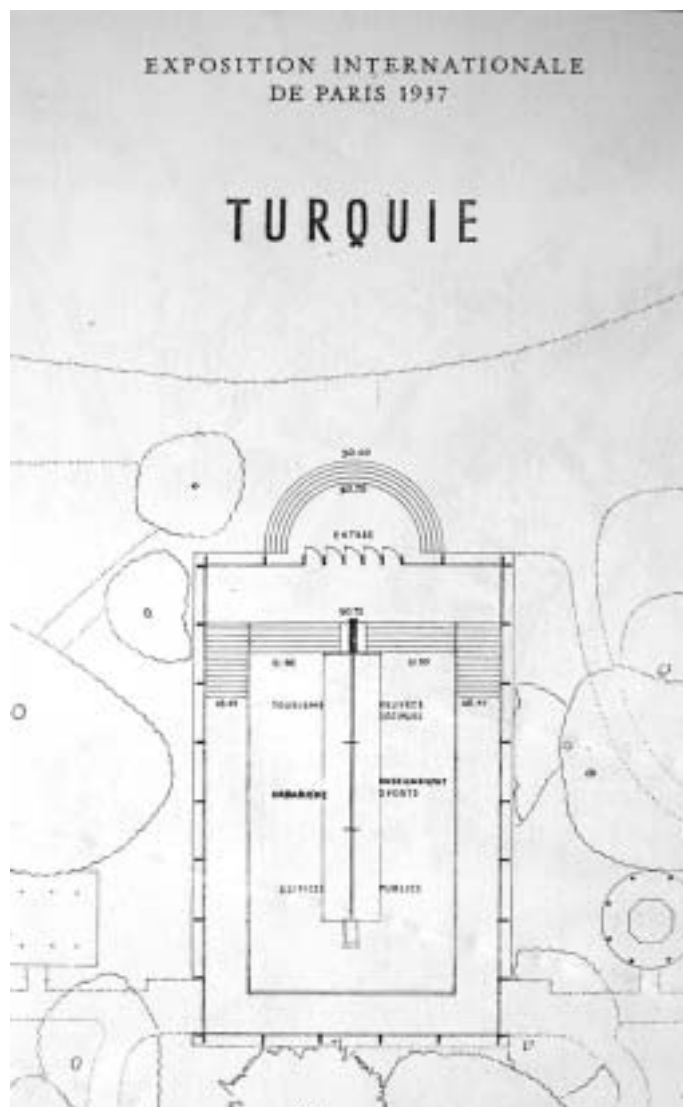


Fig. 2.12b Turkish Pavilion in the Paris Exposition (1937)
Plan of Laprade's proposal

box, and its potential to display national exhibits inside to the visitors from afar nor the French sponsorship did not convince the authorities in Ankara and Turkey refrained from taking part in 1937 exhibition. Turkey would be more determined for the 1939 New York World's Fair and built a much larger and much pretentious pavilion, displaying contrasting architectural characteristics compared to Laprade's proposal.

Turkish pavilion in New York Exhibition is usually considered as a cornerstone signifying the shift to the dominance of the "nationalist" themes in architecture despite the fact that its architect, Sedat Hakkı Eldem regarded it more revivalist than originally intended¹⁴¹. In a later analysis of the architect, Baydar even quoted him saying that he was opposed to this building and did not even consider it as a work of architecture.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹Özer regards the pavilion as the "victory" of the national architecture that entered into a new phase of development, expansion and dissemination all over the country. Özer, B. (1964) *Rejyonizm, Universalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine bir Deneme*, İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, İstanbul, 65.

There is a consensus amongst the historians. Aslanoğlu regards Sedat Hakkı Eldem's pavilion as the epitome of the Second Nationalist Architecture at its start. Aslanoğlu, İ (1984) "Birinci ve İkinci Milli Mimarlık Akımları Üzerine Düşünceler". In *Mimaride Türk Milli Üslubu Semineri*, İstanbul, 41-53. Similarly Tansuğ regards the building as the "conclusive record" of the movement. Tansuğ, S. (1986) *Çağdaş Türk Sanatı*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 202. Likewise Batur also considers it as a keystone starting the movement. However, she indicates that the building is a new example of Ottoman revivalism showing the difficulty of attaining a synthesis of the nostalgic attitude to the past with the academic methods in the analysis of the Istanbul houses. Batur, A. (1998) "1925-1950 Döneminde Türkiye Mimarlığı". In *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 209-234, 231. This building is still being used in historical researches as well as in polemical articles as a milestone in the history of architecture in the Republican Era. For example, it was regarded as the "most regrettable" building of the 20th century of Turkish Architecture, for its being the epitome of the "irrational" approaches, realized just after Atatürk's death. For the authors the search for "local identity" is possible only through irrationality. Yürekli, H, Yürekli (2002) "'Sınır Tanımayan Mimarlar ya da 'Buruna Halka Takmak'", *Yapı*, No.249, 16-17. None of these sources take the Eldem's first scheme into consideration.

It seems that the importance of this building, besides being designed by Eldem, partially stems from its representation of the Nation abroad in traditionalist vocabulary. However its contemporary, the pavilion for the endowments in the İzmir Fair in 1939, (Fig. 2.9c) was not mentioned in the later historical accounts, though it was similar in terms of eclecticism and revivalism and a nostalgic attitude reminiscent of the vocabulary of the First National Architecture movement, as Tanju points out. Tanju, B. (2000) "1939 New York Dünya Fuarı Üzerine Notlar", *Arredamento-Mimarlık*, Ekim, 94-105. This similarity is more evident in the first proposal having a colonnaded first floor (Fig. 2.9b). Emphasis on New York is because of its representation of the modernizing nation, whereas the silence about the other may be partially because of its representation of a traditional institution.

¹⁴²Baydar, L.(1982) *Sedat Hakkı Eldem: Büyük Konutlar*,Yaprak Kitabevi, Ankara, 7.

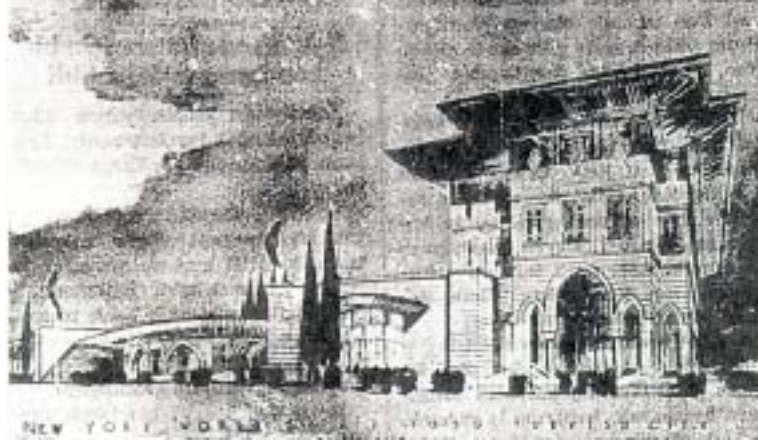


Fig. 2.9b Turkish Pavilion in the New York Exhibition (1939).



Fig. 2.9c Pavilion of the Ministry of Endowments in the İzmir International Fair (1938).

According to a later account by Eldem himself, this building was basically guided in the design process by officials of that time, who instigated the representation of Turkey with fake “authentic” elements. Though the basic plan layout was kept, many elements like the fountains (sebils) were added or not carried out according to the original scheme, like the ornamentation in the ceramics. Rather than application of historic motifs, Eldem claimed that the latter was intended to be “modern” Turkish tiles as the ones he would be using in the Hilton Hotel in early 1950s. Proposed scheme, with its distinct sun shades mentioned as vertical eaves, utilizing an abstract grid on the elevation, flat roofs, purist lines, is far different than the executed one (Fig. 2.13)¹⁴³. It is interesting to note that the design of the 1939 pavilion started from an experimental and modern scheme and ended up with a conservative revivalist scheme, whereas the first scheme of the Turkish embassy in Tehran was more conservative, but ended up with a more experimental and modern design.

Whether the role of the “patronage” in the design process has been acknowledged or not, this pavilion building for the New York Exposition has also been criticized by historians, since then, for its indifference to the main theme of the exhibition which was “Building the World of Tomorrow”, as well.¹⁴⁴ Zeynep Çelik regards this pavilion as the best illustration of the non-colonial Islamic countries’ inheritance of the many traits from the 19th century expositions, where the “tension between modernization and a historically defined cultural image” was significant.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³This preliminary proposal was dated 1938, but did not appear in the period’s media. It was published in a later catalogue dated 1983. *Sedat Hakkı Eldem: Elli Yıllık Meslek Jübilei* (1983). The officials who affected Eldem on the design process were not identified in these notes. Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, İstanbul. It seems that the dispute was not so significant as to cause a disengagement of the architect, and Sedat Hakkı participated from the design to the construction phases.

¹⁴⁴ For example Bülent Tanju points at the utopian character of the theme of the fair “Building the World of Tomorrow”, and the glorification of values like scientific planning, positivism, technological progressivism and consumption. Contrary to this, futuristic world pavilions of the other nations are considered as remnants of the “end of the nineteenth century nationalism” having almost no contribution to the life of the new world. Tanju, B. “1939 New York Dünya Fuarı Üzerine Notlar”.

¹⁴⁵ Çelik, Z. (1992) *Displaying the Orient*, 185.

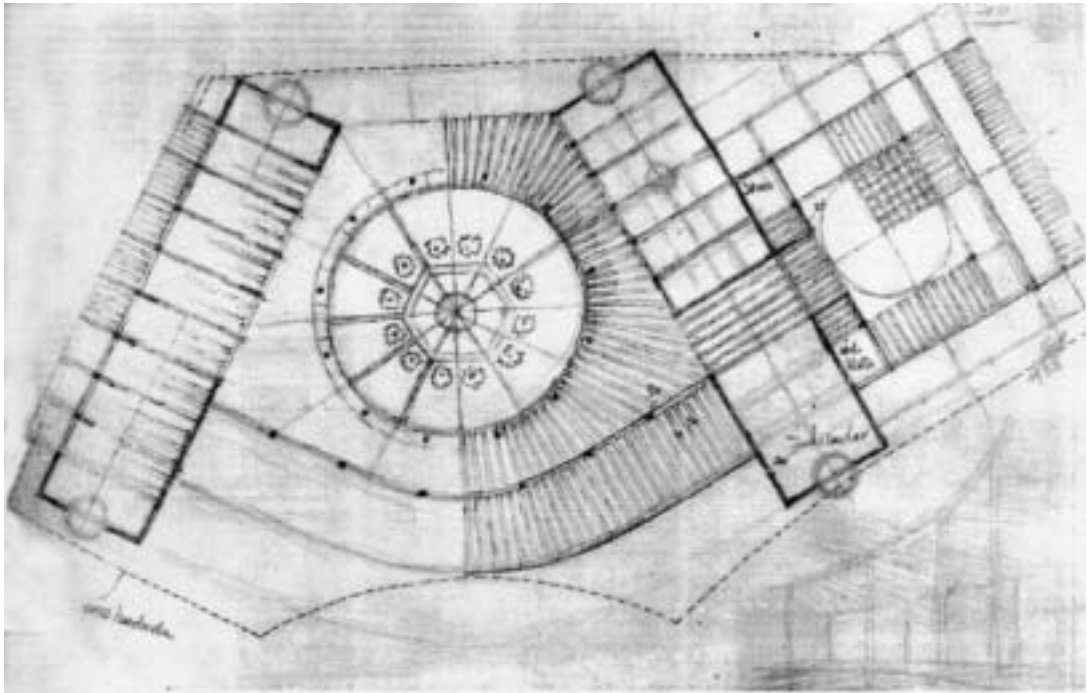
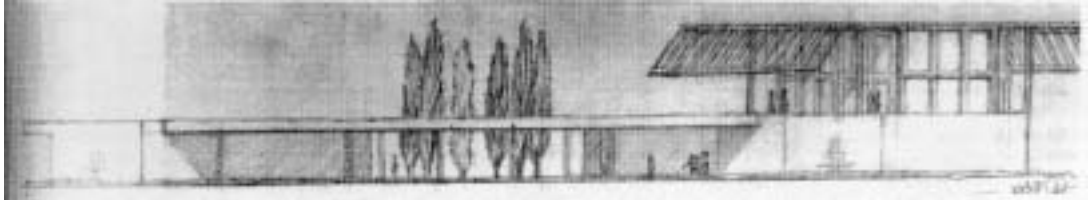


Fig. 2.13 NewYork Turkish Pavilion : Initial design (1938). Architect: S.H.Eldem

There are many factors, like the difference between the architects, patrons, location and function, that may offer sound reasons for the different formal characteristics of the representation of the nation-state in the Tehran Embassy Building and the Turkish pavilion in New York Exhibition. First is the individuality of the architects who represented the two extremes of the architectural scene in Turkey. Second factor to rationalize this formal diversity is the nature of their functions; significance of the official characteristics of the embassy in Tehran can be considered dissimilar to the New York pavilion, which was a temporary structure oriented to a more leisurely function. However, when the previous 1931 Budapest pavilion designed again by Sedat Hakkı Eldem is taken into account, these factors lose their explanatory power.¹⁴⁶ There is another explanation that may be helpful to understand the difference of the formal characteristics of both. A historicist explanation, as suggested by historians like Özer, points at the distinctive status of the New York Pavilion, which is regarded as the culmination of the nationalist discourse in architecture, some sort of victory of the locality against the universalist claims of new architecture. However, one other explanation can be suggested by pointing at the similarity of their function to create the architecture of the Republic irrespective of the vocabulary of architectural forms. Both of them can be considered as “national”, since they are addressing the construction of an identity of the national culture via architecture. This identity was displayed through architecture in the presence of the international audience.

In-depth analyses of the discourses on both buildings, the Tehran Embassy and the World Fair Pavilion, reveal many dimensions and themes of creating a national identity as well as modernization process. Such an analysis also enables one to think about the dichotomous categorization of architecture as national and

¹⁴⁶ That pavilion received praiseworthy commentary in the media. For example Falih Rıfkı Atay noted that “Turkish pavilion in the Budapest Fair can be considered as the most successful one amongst the ones in the past or contemporary exhibitions ... There was no hint of orient or bazaar (Kapalıçarşı) in the Turkish pavilion. Architecture, decoration and organization of the exhibits were European.” *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* reprinted in Tör, V. N. (1999) *Yıllar Böyle Geçti*, Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 18-19. It is also interesting to note that deputy commissioner of both exhibitions was Vedat Nedim Tör.

international¹⁴⁷, and expands the framework of discussion on the national architecture beyond formal and stylistic analysis. The artifacts, products, artworks, subjects and alike should be taken into account to figure out the different dimensions of a national identity displayed abroad.

Eldem's realized design of the exhibition pavilion, as well as the fountain placed in neighboring square, refers to historical types that were expected to display a "distinct national character"¹⁴⁸ Search for a national architecture was a common theme in his position in the late 1930s and after. He also claimed that the society could be inculcated with the same ideal of attaining a national architecture through the leadership of the architects.¹⁴⁹ Not only the architect, but also the people involved with the building process of the exhibition pavilion seem to have shared similar feelings. This building abroad was celebrated by some contemporaneous commentators as a model for constructions at home. Ahmet Emin Yalman, a columnist in the newspaper *Akşam*, regretfully claimed, "this building showed... and all the while we had such a treasury that we were not aware of and had not yet found a way to embellish ourselves spiritually and fill our lives with them"¹⁵⁰. Pointing at the pavilion's contrast with the other buildings in the Fair, labeling those as cubic, he drew a parallel with the buildings in Ankara. Cubic, as Bozdoğan elaborates, is a negative adjective representing "alienated, unpatriotic and foreign

¹⁴⁷ The insufficiency of a dichotomous scheme in explicating the history of "modern" architecture in Turkey according to a scheme of a pendulum swinging between national and international has been put to test for a while. One pioneering analysis scrutinizing the appropriateness of labeling the early years of the Turkish Republic and the 1940s as national due to dominance of nationalist ideology and the 1930s as international is Ural, S. (1974) "Türkiye'nin Sosyal Ekonomisi ve Mimarlık", *Mimarlık*, No.1-2, 5-51. A recent example alongside the same theme is Bozdoğan, S. (2001) *Modernism and Nation Building*, University of Washington Press, Seattle. Ergut also provides insights to the same question within the context of Sedat Hakkı's pavilion building. "Thinking beyond the dualities of National Architecture: Turkish Pavilions at International Exhibitions" Unpublished paper.

¹⁴⁸ Anon. (1939) "1939 Nev-York Sergisinde Türk Pavyonu Projesi", *Arkitekt*, No.7-8, 153-155. Sedat Hakkı refers to "Hünkâr Köşkleri" as the model for the two floor structure. For Yalman structure resembled old caravanserais. There are also references to the Grand Bazaar in other articles about the project. These analogies are used to characterize different sections of the pavilion. "Köşk" refers to the two floor high structure; reference to grand bazaar was made to describe the lower sections. Caravanserai seems to be mentioned in relation to the open courtyard with a fountain.

¹⁴⁹ Eldem, S. H (1939) "Milli Mimari Meselesi", *Arkitekt*, No.9-10. Tanju emphasizes the authoritarian tone of the architect. Tanju, B. "1939 New York Dünya Fuarı Üzerine Notlar", 104.

¹⁵⁰ *Akşam* May 1, 1939 p.4 Yalman was also the director of press to the Turkish Commissioner of the New York Exhibition. He spent two years in United States at this post.

lifestyles in that period- the despised ‘other’ of the simplicity (and) nationalism”.¹⁵¹ Yalman stated that a chance was missed to represent our “own” artistic assets and to give “our own cultural color and aura” in the capital which was built through imitation of foreign models. He extended his criticism to the cultural life: “every rejuvenating nation has a children’s disease of negating her past totally”. However, for him it seems that Turkey was recuperating and starting to “understand, boast and identify itself with” the “pleasant things in the past”.

News from New-York Fair in the Turkish newspapers included further comparisons of the Turkish Pavilion with the other national pavilions. Being different from the latter as well as from the streamline modern architecture of the Fair was regarded as a value. “Evading the effects of the ordinary catalog architecture, this building is a rare example having a national style”¹⁵² A similar theme was elaborated in another column; “In the New York Exhibition, our pavilion is the symbol of the rich history and high artistic capital of the Turk amongst other pavilions, most of which are excessively cubic in form”¹⁵³ However, how this difference was conceived by the American media did not go undisputed. While the Turkish press quoted the articles praising the architecture of the pavilion in conjunction with references to the social modernization¹⁵⁴, an impression of it as “oriental” viewpoint seemed to be equally pertinent. For a later catalogue of the fair, the tiled fountain patio “certainly had an Arabian Nights flavor”¹⁵⁵

While “nationalist” and “orientalist” themes were reiterated to assign uniqueness to the Turkish pavilion, statements referring to the similarity rather than the difference of the characteristics of the nation-state with the other nations, i.e. western countries, especially the United States, were equally a common theme in the media.

¹⁵¹ Bozdoğan, S. (2001) *Modernism and Nation Building*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 234-239.

¹⁵² Anon. (1939) “Nevyork Dünya Sergisinde Türk Sitesi”, *Ulus*, 4.July.1939, 6.

¹⁵³ Anon. (1939) “Nevyorkta Türklere Hayranlık”, *Tan*, 18.April.1939, 10.

¹⁵⁴ *Ulus* quotes the *World Telegram* “with its walls, spacious courtyard, ponds and cypresses, this pavilion is the most beautiful building of the exhibition”; *New York Times* “Turkish pavilion is a pertinent example of the synthesis of the centuries long history of Turkish culture and the dynamism of the west. It is one of the most noticeable buildings with its façade cladded with tiles and beautiful courtyard” and *Cue* magazine “Turkish exhibition will catch you. Once entering it you will not wish to go elsewhere” *Ulus*, 29.June.1939,5. In Tör’s memoirs *News Record* was also mentioned: “The Turkish pavilion, which is captivatingly beautiful, is instructive in terms of architecture” Tör. (1999) *Yıllar Böyle Geçti*, Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 45.

¹⁵⁵ Appelbaum S. (1977) *The New York World’s Fair*, Dover Pub, New York, 77.

It was not only the subject of the display items that had references to the western facet of the nation state, but also the physical setting and display methods. This was especially evident in the “state pavilion” representing Turkey simultaneously with the one designed by Eldem, which was known as “Türk sitesi”.

Though it was mentioned in the media at the time, and even emphasized more than the pavilion designed by Eldem, the existence of the “state pavilion” was overlooked after the Fair. For example, an article in a daily paper “Nevyork Dünya Sergisinde Türk Sitesi” starts as such: “It is known that, in the Nevyork exhibition we have also another pavilion (the one designed by Sedat Hakkı) other than the state pavilion”¹⁵⁶ State pavilion was even on the front page of the newspaper “Yeni Sabah” to inform the readers about the opening of the international exhibition (Fig. 2.14a) It seems that this pavilion was equally a possible design for the representation of modern Turkey. Photographs of the interiors placed next to the “oriental” interiors of the state pavilion imply their equivalent role in forming the identity of the nation-state (Fig.2.14b). A more interesting combination is seen on the front page of the newspaper “Vakit”, where the interior courtyard of the Sedat Hakkı pavilion is named as the interior and a photo of the state pavilion as the exterior of the Turkish pavilion¹⁵⁷.

Vedat Nedim Tör, the commissioner of the Turkish exhibition states that display in the state pavilion was not only “destined to conform to the motto of the fair (Building the World of Tomorrow) but also to have an “ideological nature to alleviate national interests”¹⁵⁸. There were basically two objectives of this display; to emphasize that Turkey was a part of the western civilization, but also to indicate that it had a “sympathetic regime”. This term, on the verge of the World War II referred to the “democratic” regimes in contradistinction to the authoritarian ones

¹⁵⁶Anon. (1939) “Nevyork Dünya Sergisinde Türk Sitesi”, *Ulus*, 4.June.1939, 6.

Likewise, in the *Ulus* issue of 29.June.1939 states that “the *actual* exhibition of the government was in the courtyard of Nations, in front of the Peace Palace”. It was one of the pavilions on both sides of the Court of Peace, submitted to the countries by the exhibition administration. Articles informing the Turkish readers about the fair before its opening in 1939, point out the plot in the courtyard of nations as the prospective site for the Turkish pavilion, without mentioning anything about the possibility of the prospective pavilion to be designed by Sedat Hakkı.

¹⁵⁷*Vakit*, 16.May.1939 the same photos also appeared in 29.May.1939.

¹⁵⁸Tör, V. N. (1939) “Nevyork Sergisinde Yarının Dünyasında”, *Ulus*, 1.July.1939,6.

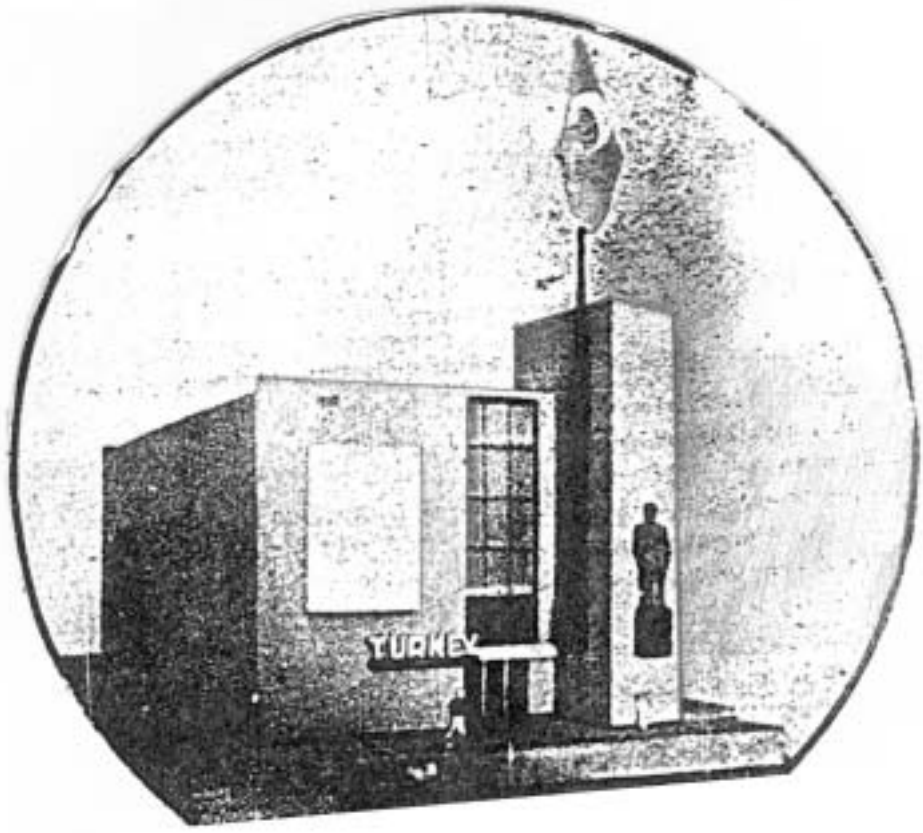


Fig. 2.14a “Nevyork sergisinde Türk Pavyonunun Kapısı



Fig. 2.14b “Nevyork sergisindeki pavyonlarımızdan birisinin görünüşü”



Fig. 2.14c Detail of the panel : “Modern Women”. In Turkish Pavilion

like German and Italian.¹⁵⁹ Ideology of the Turkish revolutions was represented through the display panels. Four photo-murals referring to the regime emphasized different aspects. One was named “towards democracy”, second one “towards peace”, third one “tolerance”, indicating the multi-ethnic nature of the society¹⁶⁰, and a fourth one “cultural and economic progress”. The most popular and manifest subject of the revolutions “modern women” was the theme of another panel. The contents of this panel include photographs of the new active role of the modern women in the Turkish Republic, like women doctors, collaged from the pictures already published in the “La Turquie Kemaliste”, which is the propaganda publication distributed abroad (Fig. 2.14c). The techniques utilized, like the aforementioned photomurals of 3.5x 2.5 meters, another of 13x2 meters and slogans on the walls were close to the techniques of the avant-garde and parallel to the progressivist content when compared to the wall paintings done in the other pavilion. The designer of the interior of the state pavilion and placement of the sculptures was not clear. Though Abidin Dino was commissioned for this task, Sedat Hakkı Eldem might also have had a role¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Germany, not represented at the exhibition, had already occupied Czechoslovakia and Italy occupied Albania on the day exhibition opened. Positive comments on the Italian pavilion by the Turkish press were regarded as a support for the regime there.

¹⁶⁰ Multi-ethnic society basically referred to the existence of the “non-Muslim” minorities and pictures of the Chief Rabbi, patriarchs of Armenians and Greeks, and samples from the newspapers of these communities were displayed. It seems that the motive for this was to emphasize the difference from the Fascist regimes in Europe having the claim of ethnic superiority. While multi-ethnicity in Turkey was mentioned –though Anatolia is much more uniform in the Republican period- to illustrate tolerance, Turkish government was careful not to cause a dissident perspective in the exhibition. Secular and Ethnic structure of the state is to be underlined, so Prime Minister wrote to the exhibition commissioner to be attentive to the possible Armenian or religious propaganda in the publication displayed in the Turkish pavilion. TCBCA 030 01 33 195 6.

It is interesting to note that the architectural style becomes a crucial issue in some multi-ethnic countries, since it may be appropriated by a particular group. As Pantelic notes it was the case for Yugoslavia, where the sensitive ethnic balances enforced the state to have all the subsequent national pavilions in the International Fairs after 1925 designed in a neutral Modernist Style after a series of pavilions in the style of Serbian-Byzantine religious architecture. Pantelic (1997) “Nationalism and Architecture”, *JSAH*, March 56:1, 32.

¹⁶¹ Despite Dino’s contribution he was not brought to New York and this caused questioning the correspondence of the individual identity of the designers with the identity of the state. Fikret Adil suggested the inquisition of the people who brought “German factors” to America, in order to represent Turkey when there was fierce antagonism against Germany. *Vakit*, 26.June.1939, 3.

“Germanic factors”, though not clarified in his article, seemed to be the architect Sedat Hakkı, as well as the sculptures. Abidin Dino asked Fikret Mualla to make paintings of Istanbul to be displayed in the pavilions.

Representation of the citizens of the Turkish Republic in both of the representational buildings, namely the embassy in Tehran and the exhibition pavilions in New York are noteworthy. As photographs in the memoirs of Gerede who started the building process in Tehran testify, the diplomat of modern Turkey was a person playing tennis, riding horse, and fencing with other diplomats¹⁶². More interesting picture is his late son's, on the day of his debut, giving a concert in the Embassy dressed up as Mozart (Fig. 2.15). This westernized musician figure is a stark contrast to the women figures, with the so-called traditional costumes, as a part of the display in Eldem's pavilion. There is such a dichotomy between some of the items displayed in the pavilion stressing the social modernization, and the architectural idiom, which is traditionalist¹⁶³. They accentuate the atmosphere having "certainly...an Arabian Nights flavor" as a later catalogue of the fair described¹⁶⁴ (Fig. 2.16).

Representation of the Turkish citizen through the personalities making up the staff in the New York Fair also seems to have been important for the problem of identity in the eyes of the Turkish visitors to the exhibition. In his travel accounts, Sünnetçioğlu noted that the women staffs were employees hired from New York, since no Turkish girl accepted to be employed¹⁶⁵. He added that though American female students often perform such small, part-time jobs, it could not be "yet within the morality of a Turkish girl". Her acceptance of such employment with nationalist motives needed a "realist" point of view for the author, which was not yet conforming to "our family notions". The author's narration reflects ambivalence towards such values; while he was defending the progressivist social

¹⁶² The ambassadors and other people are assigned to the posts not just for particular functions but as representative subjects. It is still the case today; for example, Hilal Başkal's appointment as the ambassador to Bahrain is considered as a "radical change" in the policy of such appointments which "substantiates the gender equality of Turkey which is a "secular but a Islamic country" to the Arab world. *Hürriyet*, 2.May.2001, 21.

¹⁶³ The commissioner insists on the similarity, but the report signed by him also insinuates the expectation of displaying the difference in the public, which seems to have everlasting orientalist sentiments. "You go to the Turkish pavilion with the idea of getting a glimpse of a world very different from the one you are used to" *Going to the Fair: A Preview of the New York World's Fair 1939*, The Sun Dial Press, New York, 33. Quoted in Ergut, E (1998) *Making a National Architecture*, Unpublished Ph.D diss., Binghamton University.

¹⁶⁴ Appelbaum S. (1977) *The New York World's Fair*, Dover Publications, New York.

¹⁶⁵ Sünnetçioğlu, K. (1944) *1939 New York Dünya Sergisi Seyahat Hatıraları*, Güven Basımevi, İstanbul, 48.



Fig. 2.15 “Rıdvanbeyoğlu Faruk at the age of ten”



Fig. 2.16 Courtyard of the Turkish Pavilion in New York Exhibition (1939).
Architect: S.H.Eldem

modernization, including women's participation in the public realm, he was also trying to figure out the boundaries of this modernization peculiar for the nation¹⁶⁶. These comments cannot be considered as subjective, but rather as reflecting a common sensitivity. For him representation of the modern Turkish women there would have been such an opportunity for propaganda of the nation having the "highest human virtues like the Americans".¹⁶⁷ It is interesting to note that wearing an old traditional costume to serve as a waiter was regarded as a very sign of modernity.

Identity of the personnel participating in the exhibition pavilion became an important subject for discussion at the time. Daily newspapers of 1939, informing their readers about the fair, mentioned the involvement of twenty Turkish students residing there.¹⁶⁸ Newspaper claimed that these pupils would "represent the true identity of the Turks to the Europeans and American, who presumed them as backward, primitive and having scimitars at hand"¹⁶⁹. This latter statement cited in a column "Issues of the Day", was actually a reply to the concern of a reader, questioning the appropriateness of the folkloric costumes of zeybeks in the opening ceremony of the fair. The columnist tried to assure the reader that these costumes are to be used just to add "color" and "charm" to the parade. He wrote that these would not be assumed to be the daily garments of the people, and would not be taken into account as the medium through which the nations were to be judged.¹⁷⁰ However, he defended the national characteristics reflected in these costumes "hundred percent male, colorful and beautiful". While these folkloric costumes were colorful, the citizens of the country were represented to be "white". In the opening ceremony the parading group was selected according to their complexion.

¹⁶⁶ It is extremely interesting to see minute details about the personnel of the Turkish pavilion in the Turkish press of the time. They were again made a case study by one of the columnists in reporting his readers about the nudity and sexual habits of the American Public. "Three of the girls in our exhibition were women and two of them were divorced widows" "Amerika'nın sergiden görünüşü: Sergide Çıplaklar", *Ulus*, 1.August.1939, 5.

¹⁶⁷ In the interior, there were statements by Atatürk on the display panels regarding the active role of the Turkish women in the social life, like "Kadın varlığı ulusun binbir noktadan temelidir. Artık kadını süs tanımak fikrini tazelemek doğru değil".

¹⁶⁸ *Tan* 2.May.1939, 7.

¹⁶⁹ *Tan* 29.April.1939, 5.

¹⁷⁰ Though laws, concerning the reformation of the daily garments were issued in 1925, the issue was still sensitive and another law that brought positive measures to the dissidents was issued in 1939.

“Only those with fair complexion were included, since we wanted to show to the American public that we were not even dark colored, people let alone being black”

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Not only the people but other living things also had representative functions. Somewhat like the donkeys and camels in the nineteenth century world fairs, which were a part of the display in the oriental pavilions giving the visitor a sense of “reality” of the physical setting, cypresses in the courtyard and pigeons were authenticating the Turkish Pavilion in the 1939 Exhibition. In contrast to the inherently, transient character of such a pavilion, partially built with prefabricated components sent from Turkey¹⁷², six full-grown cypress trees were replanted to reinforce the age-old character of the building. Likewise, pigeons, which were housed in birdhouses similar to the ones in the traditional Ottoman architecture, were incorporated into the ceremonies in the building. These are selected white doves partially to underline Turkey’s stance in support of peace considering the oncoming war, but also as an idealization of national characteristics as mentioned in relation to the complexion of the people involved in the opening parade of the pavilion. Press director of the Turkish exhibit, Ahmet Emin Yalman, tells how difficult it was to find, domesticate and make the birds fly to particular points¹⁷³. It is provoking to refer to Ahmet Haşım’s use of pigeons in his criticism of the “Turkish Renaissance Style”. For him, these birds were quite perceptive in differentiating the authentic historical architecture from the fake and imitative style

¹⁷¹ Atay, N. H. *Ulus*, 5.June.1939, 8. These people paraded in their everyday clothes to correct the Americans’ “wrong presumptions about us”.

¹⁷² The tiles were prepared in Kütahya, plastered window panels, ceiling decoration, pool marbles, bronze balustrades of the pavilion and again bronze pinnacle and marble of the fountain were made ready in İstanbul. Eldem, S. H. (1939) “1939 Nev-York Dünya Sergisinde Türk Pavyonu Projesi”, *Arkitekt*, No.7-8, 154. The main structure was commissioned to an American firm called George & Fuller Construction company, which adapted some common finishing materials in the American practice for the unseen parts of the pavilion, like the roof shingles.

One interesting note mentioned in the media of the period is that tiles were appreciated and demanded by an expatriate architect from Turkey practicing in US. Though unlikely to be realized, tile as a building material was considered as an export item besides being a handcraft, conveying national culture.

¹⁷³ Yalman, A. E. (1997) (1st ed. 1970) *Yakın Tarihte Gördüklerim ve Geçirdiklerim*, Pera Turizm ve Tic Yayınları, İstanbul, 1099. After all these efforts of making the pavilion a longstanding building, Yalman's account reflects a disappointment after hearing that all the temporary structures, even including the fountain, would be demolished.

called as the First National Style¹⁷⁴. However, foreign birds as well as foreign visitors were attracted to them through these authenticating devices. Pavilion, though usually conceived as the precursor of a new interpretation of national architecture, was close to the examples built from the early twentieth century till 1920s.

Authenticity of the pavilion was intended to be reinforced with the artifacts and cultural products displayed in the building. The building included a restaurant, - named as “Star and Crescent”- (Fig. 2.17a) Turkish Coffee House, bar, state monopolies exhibits (Fig. 2.17b), shops, library and displays of Sümerbank (Fig. 2.17c) and Etibank (Fig. 2.17d). Turkish food, souvenirs like the Hacı Bekir Turkish delights and coffee were already commonplace items in the Turkish pavilions of the 19th century world fairs. However, in this fair, production, management and institutionalization of such items gave clues about the identity of the nation-state with particular ramifications to the physical organization of the pavilion. One distinctive item was the bar. Bar was the nearest space to the entrance, replacing the priority of the symbolic status of the Turkish coffee. Alcoholic beverages, though consumed and produced within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, were not a display item in the nineteenth century fairs. This symbolic status assigned to alcoholic beverages could also be observed in the world fairs, which the new republic participated in its early foundation years. In 1930 Leipzig Fair, like the other fairs in the 1930s, liquors produced in the new factory of the State Monopolies were displayed, as accounted by Vedat Nedim Tör.¹⁷⁵ In this exhibition “rakı” had a prominent role. In other fairs like 1935 Brussels, 1934 Thessalonike, similarly, along with fruit extracts, rock-salt and tobacco, spirits were displayed as export items of Turkey. This represented both the admissible policy of the new regime as well as the central role of the state in the

¹⁷⁴ “Are these horrible piles of stone really the Turkish Architecture? So why do not pigeons like them?” “Pigeons, as the tiles, are supplementary of the oriental architecture” in “Pigeon” *Akşam*, 31.May.1926 reprinted in Ahmet Haşım (1991) *Gurabahane-i Laklakan*, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul.

¹⁷⁵ Tör, V. N. *Yıllar Böyle Geçti*, 46-47. It is most probably the factory built in Mecidiyeköy İstanbul by the French. It was designed by Robert Mallet-Stevens and constitutes his only work in Turkey. See Erginoğlu, K. and Çalışlar, H. (1999) “Mallet-Stevens İstanbul’da”, *Arredamento-Mimarlık*, No.100+11, 74-81.

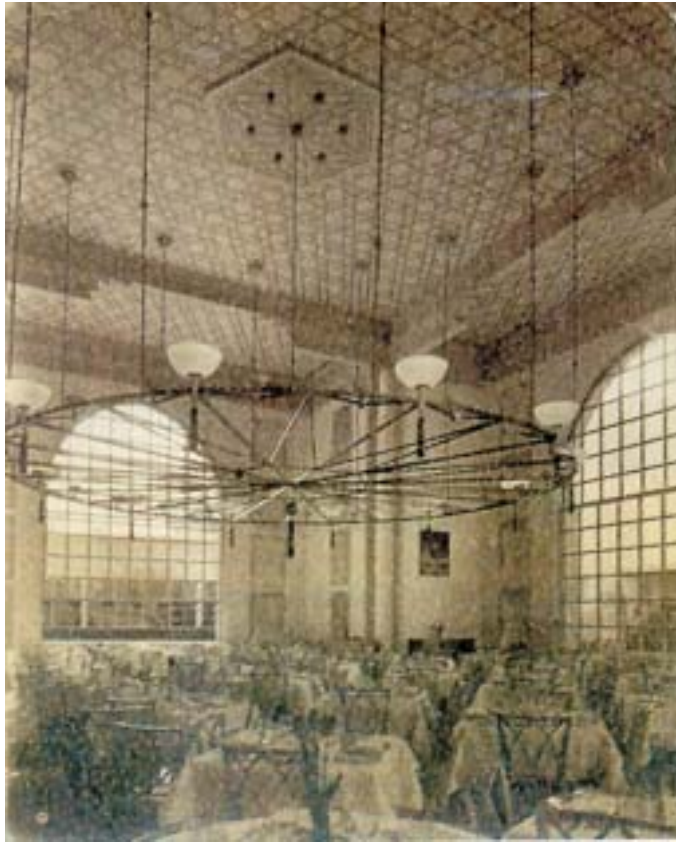


Fig. 2.17a Interior of the Turkish Pavilion: Restaurant

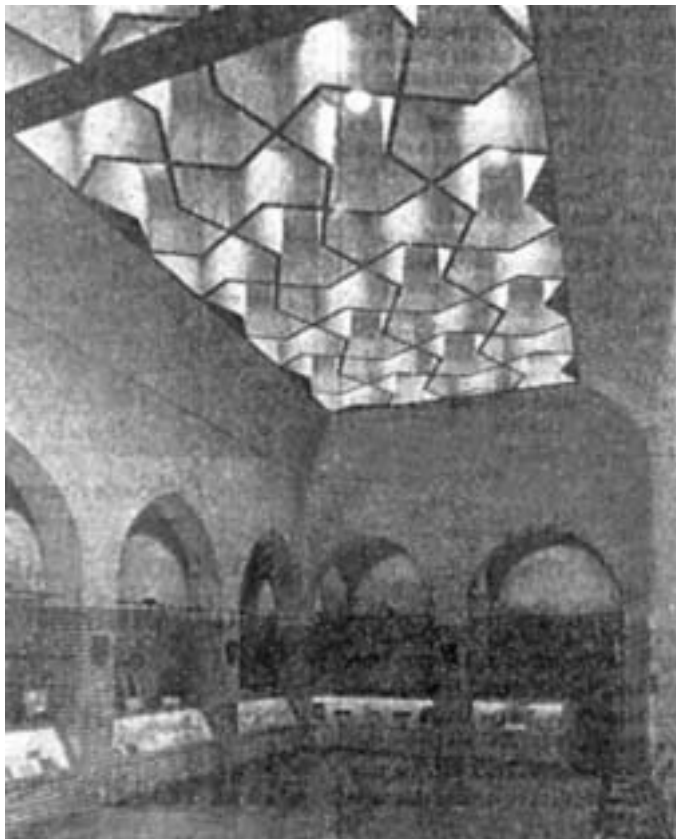


Fig. 2.17b Interior of the Turkish Pavilion: State Monopolies

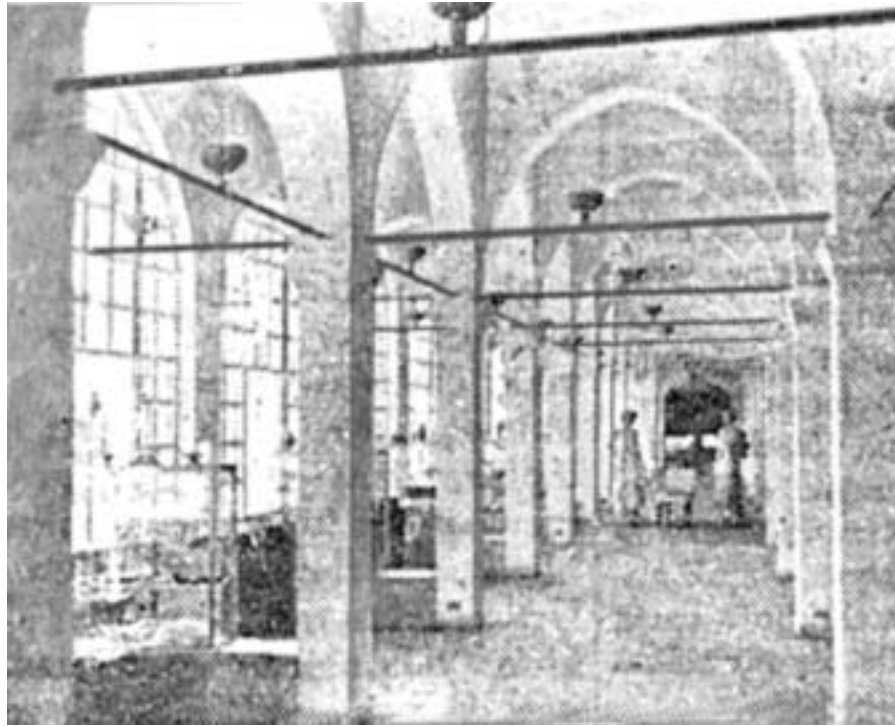


Fig. 2.17c Interior of the Turkish Pavilion: Displays of Sümerbank

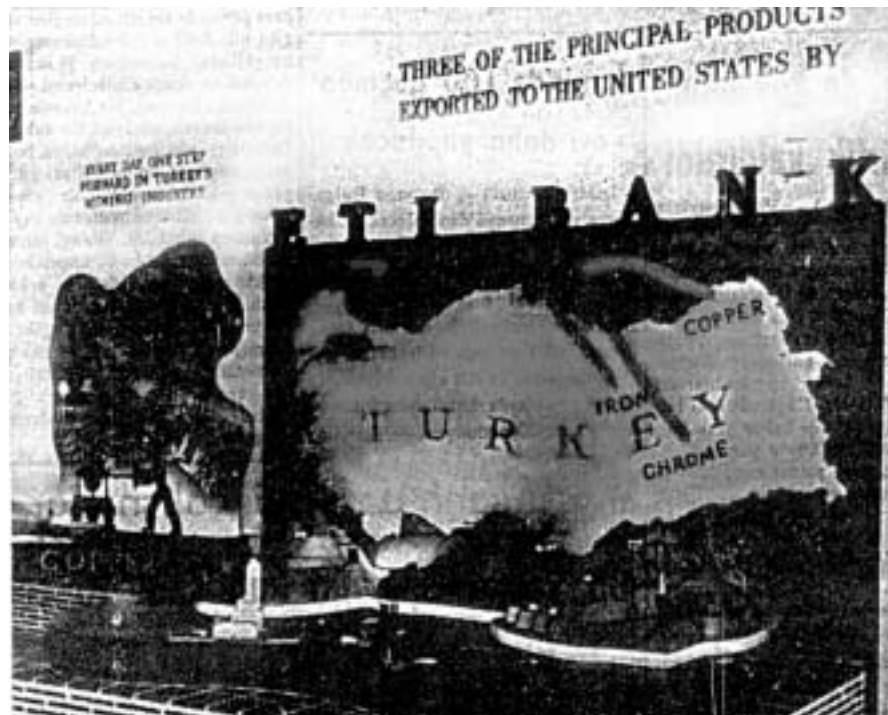


Fig. 2.17c Interior of the Turkish Pavilion: Displays of Etibank

economy and modernization process in Turkey¹⁷⁶. It is therefore legitimate to ask whether the pavilions in these fairs were principally aimed to serve the purpose of exportation of goods, which were mainly of state monopolies, to get foreign currency.¹⁷⁷ In fact while “rakı” was considered an authentic national export item in fairs abroad, other beverages challenged it inside the country on hygienic grounds.¹⁷⁸

Speculations about the pavilion in the 1939 New York Fair and its representation of a national culture in the media of its time also had the traces of the problem of how to describe the uniqueness of national characteristics, or in other words, designation of nationality to cultural artifacts. In a brief paragraph in Sünnetçioğlu’s memoirs of the fair, he stated, in a tenor of disapproval, that there was a bar serving “rakı” in the pavilion. For him this drink, wrongly assumed to be national, was equally applicable to all the middle-eastern countries.¹⁷⁹ However, he had no ambivalence about the nationality of the architecture of the pavilion. “Our pavilion having a blue tiled band circumscribing it under the eaves and utilizing many elegant Turkish

¹⁷⁶ In the special issue of *Hakimiyeti Milliye* on the 10th anniversary of the new regime, there was a section for the State monopolies. It is stated that for financial, economic, social and sanitary reasons in 1927 state monopolies were established. There were no factories of wine and liqueur; rakı was produced in small workshops with very primitive means before the Republic. In 1930 s there were also discussions to make rakı a healthier beverage.

¹⁷⁷ In 1935 Brussels pavilion for example a gigantic cigarette was crowning the pavilion. “Eastern” appearance of the pavilion in 1939 might be considered as an alternative strategy, to create a decorum for the export of goods associated with “east”, i.e. carpets, spirits and cigarette. Such a possibility for exportation in the fair was among the important discussions in the media of its time. Keeping in mind that American market had already been introduced to the “Turkish tobacco” since the early 20th century via brands with oriental names like Fatima, Omar, Zubeida and especially Camel, having a marketing strategy via stereotypical, exotic oriental imagery, a typical Turkish appearance might have been considered as an effectual marketing by the Turkish organizers.

¹⁷⁸ Government was trying to discourage the consummation of beverages with high-alcohol content. Rakı was planned to be reformed, to have a lower alcohol ratio, and its use was discouraged through different measures. Beer and Wine were to be propagated instead. *Ulus*, 11.May.1939 Such a preference was reflected in the realm of architecture, as the existence of an individual pavilion for Ankara Beers in the İzmir Fair attests. This counter propaganda to such a “national” drink seems to have been put into operation earlier “For the right of life and especially for the honor of the country, Republic should forbid only rakı amongst the other beverages” Haşim, A. “Rakı”, *Akşam*, 24.October.1924 reprinted in *Gurabahane-i Laklakan*.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 49 A parallel discussion was made in Vedat Nedim Tör’s memoirs. The origins of the carpets were a matter of debate. He emphasized the importance of displaying authentic Turkish carpet types, though Persian types were prepared for the exhibition. Tör, V. N. (1999) *Yıllar Böyle Geçti*, 46.

arches is really beautiful and is reflecting the authentic Turkish Style”.¹⁸⁰ This comment is outlining and summing up the reviews in the media of the period. However, two questions arise from identifying the architecture of the pavilion with Turkish Style. One is related to why a particular period of Ottoman past was chosen for this representative structure. This question seems to be meaningful especially when the historical display items include artifacts from other periods like Hittites. The second question is why the formal vocabulary was regarded as purely national one, especially when the earlier version of the pavilion designed by Sedat Hakkı is taken into account with its colonnaded substructure, which may well have affinities with an orientalist vocabulary. Sünnetçioğlu’s formulation used in distancing the national culture from a malady (rakı in that case) by attributing it to “other” countries in the same geography seemed to be a widely shared strategy. This attitude, however did not question the existence or contribution of the “other” in the production of cultural artifacts.

Similarly, the dominance of the bar in the unrealized first scheme of Tehran Embassy by Seyfettin Arkan can also be interpreted under the light of the modernization process. Though it was lamented, heavily criticized by Ambassador Gerede and considered as an outcome of the inexperienced young architect, it could also be seen as a symptom of the westernization process of the early years of the Republic¹⁸¹ (Fig. 2.4b). Hence, what was objected was the naming of the bar after Atatürk rather than its installment in the embassy. This bar and the celebration of the alcoholic beverages was a sign of the freedom of the individual as well as the secularism of the new Republic and toppling of the order of the Ottoman rule.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.,47.

¹⁸¹ Gerede *Siyasi Hatıralarım*, 54. It is interesting to note a recent case for the symbolic role of the use of liquors within the compounds of an embassy. Hussain Khan, chairman of Pakistan Association and Japan & Pakistan Association complains about its usage in an Islamic country. He argues that life styles of representatives of the country, including the habit of drinking, are taken as a model by our children and also by some mature Pakistanis as well. His other complaint is (possibly) about the fashion expositions in the embassy. “I found that Pakistani Embassy used to hold semi-nude shows of foreign girls to exhibit Pakistani dresses.” He mentions that after a protest campaign liquors were banned from all their embassies in the world.

Another interesting point in his comments, in the context of the fifth chapter of this thesis, is related to the Turkish Embassy in Tokyo. “We launched a movement for Tokyo mosque and the secular Turkish government had to bow to our demands which resulted in an over 12 million dollar, one of the most beautiful mosques in the world in design and Islamic architecture, instead of building diplomatic quarters of the Turkish Embassy at the premises of the present mosque” <http://www.Hussainkhan.com/drunwards.html>

Turkey could then be considered as part of the western world through this symbolism. This was also why ambassador Gerede emphasized the need to provide a cellar to keep the annual consumption in the design of the new embassy building in Tehran¹⁸². One can even infer a similar tendency in the recent times, as the memoirs of the ambassador to Iran, Tanşuğ Bleda, attests. He states that the production of wine was a common practice in the cellars of the embassies of western countries like Germany, Spain and Italy, and the Turkish embassy was the one specialized in red wine¹⁸³.

During this search for the national culture in the New York Exhibition, Europe also constituted the “other” to illustrate the superiority of the nation. Sünnetçioğlu noted the sculpture in the pavilion depicting a statue of a male figure stepping on two lands, named as Asia and Europe (Fig. 2.18a). For him this was not just pointing at the geographic location but rather to a satisfactory symbolism representing Turks who “started off from Asia like an avalanche thousands of years ago, jumped to Europe, which was suffering from barbarism, anarchy and tyranny and brought her discipline, energy and knowledge. This fact had not been appraised or acknowledged and it was suppressed till the last decades”¹⁸⁴ However, sculptures placed in the state pavilion were illustrative of the more comprehensive attitude towards history in the construction of a national identity rather than of chauvinism.

Sedat Hakkı Eldem’s pavilion referred to the Ottoman past, although sculptures and the displays suggested a more complex approach as the bronze sculpture in front of the state pavilion implied. Similar to the sculpture mentioned above, it was again made by sculptor Zühtü (Müridoğlu). This sculpture seemingly was representative of the artworks on display, including contemporary ones like the busts of İnönü and Atatürk one of which was made by sculptor Canonica, as its use on the cover of the brochure for the Turkish exhibits in the Fair shows.

¹⁸² Letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 21/8/1933 TCBCA 03.10/10.129.926.12

¹⁸³ Bleda, T. (2000) *Maskeli Balo*, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul, 143.

¹⁸⁴ Sünnetçioğlu (1939) *New York Dünya Sergisi Seyahat Hatıraları*, 50. Central Asia was an often referred theme, also for the organizers of the temporary displays. For example Halim Baki Kunter drew the basic framework of the “History of the Turkish Sport”: “Appreciation of Sport is usually acknowledged to Iranians and Greeks, however long before them, Turks in the central Asia and proto-Asia placed sport in individuals and nations lives. Sports had been disseminated to the other places via Turks emigrating from Central Asia. Sports is the cause and a means to attain national sovereignty and salvation”. TCBCA 030.10.145.37.14

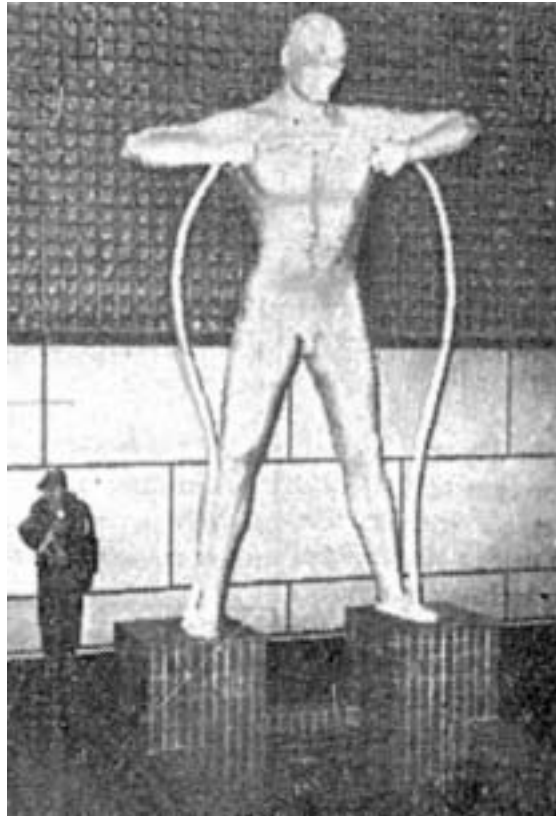


Fig. 2.18a Statue Symbolizing “Turkey Connecting Europe and Asia in Peace”



Fig. 2.18b Statue Symbolizing “Rise of the Youth Towards Humanistic Ideals”

It was conceived as a youngster holding a figure reminiscent of pre-historic sun to symbolize the “rise of the youth towards the humanistic ideals” (Fig. 2.18b). Besides being similar to the displays¹⁸⁵ that were intended to link the Turkish Republic to pre-historic cultures, this sculpture also served the purpose of connecting the current state with the history of the bygone ages and indirectly with an international culture as it had been formulated in the early thirties, with the thesis of Turkish History and the Sun-Language Theory. These theories provided a sense of pride in the formation of a new national identity not with recourse to Ottomans, but rather to an extensive basis encompassing a much longer historical time period that enabled mediation between “past” and “future”, and “east” and “west”.¹⁸⁶ In Tör’s report of the exhibition, displays in the state pavilion were considered as the sign of the fact that Turkey is one of the nations proving “today’s civilization to be the accumulation of consecutive endeavors of all the bygone ages”¹⁸⁷ President of the Fair, Whalen’s opening speech of the pavilion as quoted in the media reveals that this construction of a historical lineage for the new nation was successful: “These artworks indicate that Turkish civilization has a powerful

¹⁸⁵ There were museum items from different periods like Hittite, Greek, Roman, Byzantine as well as Ottoman and Seljukid periods. Founding of museums and their contents in the initial phase of the republic and its role in the configuration of a national identity in the nation building process in contradistinction to the past Ottoman regime is interesting and is questioned by researchers like Bozdoğan and Ergut. In New York exhibition, there were also instances where such controversy was evident. N. Atay answered an Indian woman who asked about the potential collaboration between Islamic countries on the basis of Islamic culture “Cultural system is totally secular in my country” and advised her “Do it like us...detach religion from culture”. “Hem sergiyi Hem bizi batırmağa Çalışan Provokatörler”, *Ulus*, 19.July.1939, 5.

It is also interesting to note how “Turkish” culture and art could be displayed and the role of the Ottomans in its exposition to the world was questioned contemporaneously. For example Celal Esat Arseven’s book *Türk Sanatı Tarihi* was promoted to the public in *Ulus* with such statements “The worst malignance of the Ottoman regimes against the Turk was their unwillingness to promote it to the world.... because of this, one of the most important duties of the Kemalist Regime is to promote Turkish art and the artistic potential of the Turk ...” Arseven himself was doubtful about the role of architecture in the exhibitions, if these pavilions were to be built by foreigners, since “in their imagination there is an imaginary orient composed of Iranian minaret, Syrian dome, Magreb arch and Egyptian ornament”. Arseven, C .E. (1956) *Türk Sanatı Tarihi*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 5. One of his main objectives was to sort out the eternal characteristics of the “Turkish art” that are “authentic”, i.e. different than the oriental arts as well as the Byzantine ones that could be pursued back to their origins in Central Asia. Ibid., 10.

¹⁸⁶ The names of the national banks to representing the mining and weaving industries, i.e. Etibank and Sümerbank, are another sign of this attitude. While these banks were named after these pre-historic civilizations, especially the mining industry is an important factor in the then current state of the international relations. While stands of Etibank exhibited some items like chrome as an export to US, chrome was also an export item to Nazi Germany especially in the late 1930s, as a critical raw material for the weapon industry.

¹⁸⁷ Tör, V. N. (1939) “Newyork Dünya Sergisinde Devlet Pavyonumuz”, *Ulus*, 2.July.1939, 2

root connected to the long history of culture; hands which made these artworks will help the Building of the World of Tomorrow”...”The future of a nation, having an history of seven thousand years, is ascertained”¹⁸⁸

Representation of Turkey in New York was also considered as an occasion for the representation of Turkey in Turkey. In the newspaper *Son Posta*¹⁸⁹ it was stated that propaganda would be done in order to attract American visitors to the İzmir Fair, which had been organized since 1930 and had become an international event since 1933. Thirty thousand brochures were sent to New York to be distributed to promote this rather local fair, in addition to the efforts of the Turkish consulate which gave information about the historical sites and discounts in travel expenses, and also free visa. Also the theme of the temporary exhibition held in the pavilion in July of 1939 was “tourism”.¹⁹⁰ It seems that despite the signs of the forthcoming war, a latent motive in representation was to attract visitors.

The commissar of the Turkish exhibition in New York, Vedat Nedim Tör, was also the director of the Tourism Directorate. It is worth to think about the impact of such world fairs, like New York in 1939 and Paris in 1937 on the organizers of the İzmir Fair, as well as the architects in charge of the design of the various structures in the fairground. For example, articles reviewing this event organized in İzmir in the magazine *Arkitekt* state that some pavilions were designed under the influences of the pavilions in the world fairs; there was incompetence in terms of display techniques. Another equally important issue was the limited participation by the foreign countries.¹⁹¹ An article suggests that especially oriental countries should be

¹⁸⁸ Anon. (1939)“Birleşik Amerika’da Demokrasi Sergisi ve Türkiye Pavyonu”, *Ulus*, 6.June.1939, 5.

¹⁸⁹ *Son Posta*, 22.April.1939.

¹⁹⁰ Other temporary exhibitions planned during the New York Fair were: Old Turkish Arts and Museum Items, Turkish Architecture, Tile and Turkey of Tomorrow. In a preliminary report on a planned temporary exhibition “History of Turkish Sport”, Halil Baki Kunter noted 6 periodic exhibitions, one for each month of the duration of the New York World’s Fair: Two of them were to be museums; others were Resources of Turkey, Children and Women, Atatürk and Revolutions. The last one was mentioned as “Tourism by the architectural works” (Mimari eserlerle turizm). The emphasis on the museums and tourism raises the question if this pavilion itself was considered as a part of stimulating the potential tourists’ gaze. TCBCA 030.10/145.37.14

¹⁹¹ İzmir fair and the fairs organized in other countries seem to have an interaction similar to the reciprocity of the diplomatic representatives. Turkey decided to take part in some fairs in order to facilitate the counterpart nation’s participation to İzmir fair. For example fair in Thessalonike was corresponding to the İzmir fair and Turkey and Greece took part in each others fairs. Even in 1940 a lot was reserved for Turkey to build a pavilion. Though WWII was very close or even started such

encouraged to participate, because this would give a unique characteristic to this event as an important market place of the east.¹⁹² Being a regional center was also a theme in a review of the previous year which pointed at the capacity of being superior to the fairs organized in the Balkans and even to some in central Europe¹⁹³. Such a pretension of being inferior to the west but superior to the Middle East and the neighboring geography may give us a clue as to the use of “architecture” in the İzmir Fair as a component of constructing a relative identity. The modernist language of architecture in the pavilions of the state institutions and local companies as well as the overall organization and technologies utilized are to be conceived as a part of the propagandist nature of the Fair.¹⁹⁴ This may explain the marginal use of traditional architectural in the Pious Foundations pavilion in the 1939 İzmir Fair. This represented the marginality of the religious institutions in the national identity of a westernizing country at home, while a similar physical set up was used in a fair organized in the west to indicate a difference from the other countries, by emphasizing its “eastern” characteristics (Fig.2.9b and Fig. 2.9c).

With the outbreak up of WW II in September 1939, occasions for representation of Turkey abroad through architecture came to an end. After Arkan’s and Eldem’s buildings in the late 1930s, no new constructions would be realized till 1960s. However it is worth to note two exceptions. One was the consulates to be built in the State of Hatay in Antakya and İskenderun. It was noted that these buildings were designated to be used as “Peoples Houses” after the joining of State of Hatay to Turkish Republic, so the plans were to be modified accordingly¹⁹⁵. A Building

bilateral relations were intended to continue for political reasons beyond commercial ones. For example in 1940 Ministry of Foreign affairs declared the need to take part in the fair of Philippopoli which is similar to the other fairs in the Balkans i.e. Belgrade and Peste. To enable Germany’s involvement to Izmir fair in 1939 Turkish participation to either Konigsberg or Breslau was suggested. Similarly to reciprocate Italian pavilion in 1939 Turkey decided to participate to the fair in Milan.

¹⁹² Anon. (1938) “1938 Izmir Enternasyonal Fuarı”, *Arkitekt*, No.9, 243-252.

¹⁹³ Tansu, M. (1937) “1937 İzmir Fuarı”, *Arkitekt*, No.12, 325-329. The theme of being superior to the fairs in the Middle East and central Europe is reiterated by the Ministry of Commerce in 1939, as well. Sönmez, S. (1939) “Ticaret Vekili İntibalarını Anlatıyor”, *Ulus* , 21.July,1939, 8.

¹⁹⁴ “(İzmir) International Fair is the most appropriate center to propagate the national maturity as well as the economic advances of the Young Turkish republic beyond particular trade relations” *“İzmir ArasıUlusal İzmir Fuarı” brochure*.

¹⁹⁵ TCBCA 30.10.0.0. 225.515.12. For an extensive study on Peoples house and the use of architecture as means of propaganda see Yeşilkaya, N. (1999) *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*,

with a role of propaganda beyond the national borders would be a means of propaganda of the state to its own citizens. Other exception was again a consulate to be built in Thessalonike. This project appeared in the architectural magazine *Arkitekt* in 1944 and encapsulated the fundamental issues in the representation of the state abroad and the role of the architect as its agent.¹⁹⁶ Publishing three photographs of a model, the critique pointed out that these were not of an ordinary summer residence, and asked if the reader was able to regard the “architecture of this building as a manifestation of a state, representing it in a foreign country”. Giving a negative answer to his own question, he argued that “state buildings are to be in harmony with the authority of the state”, even if the scale and function of such a building reminded one of a residential structure. For Sayar, this deficiency in representing the authority of the state was also evident in most of the buildings constructed in the country. It is possible to see the effects of the architecture in authoritarian and totalitarian states of the period in Sayar’s comments, which were shared by other figures of the architectural scene in Turkey.¹⁹⁷ He pointed at the need for a “search for a style that conforms to the architectural principles inspired from the present epoch”, and is to be used for the state buildings, which were totally “styleless” and “casual”.

While the denigration is directed primarily towards the formal aspects of this consulate design, implicit agenda is criticism about the procurement of the state buildings. One latent motive behind the latter was to provide buildings designed specially for designated purposes, among which is proper expression of the state rather than adoption of already existing structures through renting.¹⁹⁸ According to

İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul. An interesting case related to the Peoples Houses was that a branch of it was opened abroad in London in 1942. See Demirel, M. (2003) “*Vanguard ve Cephe*’de Londra Halkevi”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, Vol.39, No.232, 27-32.

¹⁹⁶Sayar, Z. (1944) “Resmi Binalarda Otorite İfadesi”, *Arkitekt*, No.5-6,126. This consulate was designed by architect Gros in late 1937 and constructed in 1939. In the same period Turkey also realized the restoration of Atatürk house in Thessalonike. Both of these buildings were displayed in the 1944 Ministry of Public Works exhibition. This exhibition explains the unexpected appearance of such a diplomatic building in the *Arkitekt* during the WWII years.

¹⁹⁷ As Aslanoğlu quotes A. Ziya states that “Though it is a little bit late, a new art is born, and is moving ahead with giant steps in the hands of young Italian artists who are supported by the government” and in an other article “ In a period where, even, Italian and Russian artists are creating the art of Fascism and Socialism having special characteristics, Turkish artists will form the art of Turkish Revolution” *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, 68 .

¹⁹⁸ Sayar, Z. (1938) “Kıracı Devlet Müesseseleri”, *Arkitekt*, No.1, 30.

Sayar, the main and explicit problematic is who would be in charge of the design of such buildings. He wrongly assumed that construction office in the Ministry of the Public Works designed the consulate. However Sayar, as he would criticize in the next issue of the magazine¹⁹⁹, was doubtful about the quality of the staff in this office. A step to attain quality in the designs realized by this governmental office was to employ more architects and to give more “authority and opportunity” to these professionals. While reinforcement of the Ministry of the Public Works was considered to be a means of improving the architectural quality of the state buildings, another more preferable method, as the editorial of the same magazine attested, were architectural competitions.²⁰⁰ Architectural competitions would be the principal method of procurement of buildings to be built abroad after the 1950s till the 1980s.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter covered buildings designed to represent Turkey abroad in the nation building period of the New Republic. Though, applicability of the term “nation building” only for a clearly demarcated period may be questioned, this period (1923-1948) corresponds to radical transformations in the society. Architecture of the period had tried to cope with these transformations, as evident even in the handful of buildings analyzed. These buildings were intended to stand for the constructed identity of the new, modern nation-state. During this period, it is observed in the statements related with these buildings that “others” were also constructed (imagined) to form its own position. One underlying theme was that these buildings were expected to be built in order to “correct” the Turkish image in the eye of the observers.

In order to understand the Turkish buildings abroad, foreign representations in the new capital were also studied as a point of reference. Debates on the locations of these embassies and their architecture and the responses to them in the Turkish

¹⁹⁹ Sayar, Z. (1944) “Resmi Yapılarımızın Hali”, *Arkitekt*, No.7/8, 162

²⁰⁰ Mortaş, A. (1944) “Proje Müsabakaları”, *Arkitekt*, No.1-2, 1-2, 13.

milieu showed that they represented “foreignness”, “otherness” and the presence of other nations. This is the case even though most of them were designed by the architects practicing in Turkey and designing buildings of the Turkish State. More interesting response concerning their “otherness” was whether their locations in the city and their proximity to each other would aggravate their foreignness. In case of their concentration in the cityscape, it would look like Galata and act as the manifestation of the “Imperialist other” in the new capital for some authorities.

In that period, the buildings constructed abroad were limited in number due to many factors; amongst them financial shortage being of primary importance. One building category even within these limitations was commemorative structures, like the memorial built in Japan for those who died when the frigate “Ertuğrul” sank in the Pacific. Though it is not particularly significant in terms of architecture, realization of this enterprise but disregarding the construction of the mosque in the same years in Tokyo imply a preference for some functions and their connotations over others. When the reactions to the Turkish pavilion at the 1925 Paris Fair due to its affiliation with the religious architecture of the Ottoman times are considered, it is possible to infer that not only the religious function but also the architecture of these monuments are considered far from representing modern Turkey abroad.

More significant buildings to be built abroad in this period were the exhibition pavilions and diplomatic complexes. Embassy in Tehran and the World Fair Pavilion in New York were the major ones analyzed in depth in this chapter. How the national identity was manifested in these buildings was not confined to their stylistic aspects. During the research, it was observed that many factors including functions, like the consideration of a clinic unit to serve local patients in the Tehran embassy, or everyday activities -even the toilet types-, materials used, items displayed and Turkish personalities seen in these buildings by the foreigners were matters of concern in the formulation and exhibition of the “national identity”. As a corollary, identities of the “others”, which performed as a reference for distinguishing the Turkish identity, were created. Both buildings of the late 1930s were seen as a response to the same question of representation through architecture, though realized in different contexts. Iran, as a country at the initial stages of

modernization of the “east”, seemed to call for a “modern” idiom, within the conditions available. The display items underline the modernization of the Turkish identity to associate with the theme of the World Fair in US: “Building the world of Tomorrow”. This occasion, unlike the previous fairs, called for a search for “uniqueness”, i.e. to be different than other nations. Being different than the “cubic” pavilions of the companies was also considered desirable and led to the utilization of historical motives and images even beyond the architect’s control. Another supplementary reason for this stylistic choice might be to help the exportation of “national goods” to the foreign markets, as is the case for the previous fairs.

These representational buildings reflect the pivotal role of “history” as a means of ascertaining a genealogy, which would underline both the uniqueness as well as the common history of modern Turkey with the “west”. These intentions are more evident when the historical items on display and the inspirations of the modern artworks are examined. They include items that enable affiliation with Hittite, Greek, Roman and Byzantine civilizations of Anatolia and aimed to display the continuum of the “seven thousand years” of history. This past would consecutively legitimize a future together with the “west”. Nevertheless Seljukid and Ottoman periods (specifically the classical era) seem to be more favored and their dominance in the architectural forms as well as the statements of the architects and other officials of both the fair pavilion and the embassy building are observable.

CHAPTER 3

“DESIGN” OF THE IDENTITY: BUILDINGS ABROAD / 1950 ONWARDS

Analogies of international exhibitions and embassies representing nations are popularly used in many instances to describe other functions as well. This popular analogy was cited in an interesting context in the early 1950s. In a newspaper news analyzing Cité Universitaire in Paris, it is mentioned that even though there are many pavilions (of student dormitories) of different nations making the campus a milieu similar to the ones mentioned above, there is no Turkish pavilion.²⁰¹ This absence was considered as quite “sad” when the politically absent Armenia, Tunisia and Monaco had theirs. In another article R. Nuri Güntekin, a prominent literary figure was asked by the director of that university if he was in charge of the enterprise to build one in a place specifically reserved for Turkey. Director told him that he wondered “how interesting will your pavilion be, when your (national) style and history are taken into account.”²⁰²

1950s limited financial means made such offers, which would enable Turkey’s academic presence abroad, unrealizable and seemingly unimaginable. So when

²⁰¹ Balkan, A. (1952) “Universite Sitesi ve Talebe Pavyonları”, *Cumhuriyet*, 27.April.1952, 3.

²⁰² Güntekin, R.N. (1952) “İstanbul’un ve Paris’in Üniversite Siteleri”, *Cumhuriyet*, 20.March.1952, 2. Güntekin’s comments echo Yalman’s regretful tone: “I kept myself saying that we are busy in expelling our own style from our country”.

compared with the examples in the later periods like the joint universities built in Central Asia after 1990s, this period attests the realization of formal international relationships which bore architectural examples serving the aforementioned functions, i.e. embassies and international fair pavilions. However, the first case where the Turkish identity was planned to be displayed after WWII was the “monument of martyrs” indicating a military presence beyond the boundaries.

One can take into account the architectural competition for the prototype of “memorial for the martyrs abroad” in 1951 as a precursor of representative buildings. This date is a milestone in the foreign policy, whence Turkey was involved in the Korean War, and consequently was admitted to NATO²⁰³. This is considered to be a turning point in the unification with the west, but also for the country’s becoming a part of the international cold-war politics. When this particular historical context and the objectives of the competition are taken into account, this memorial seems to have had a double role. On the one hand, its possible use to commemorate the losses in Korea or even in prospective wars was aimed to reinforce the identity of the NATO ally westernized Turkey. Regarding its being a prototype to be built in different localities, its possible use to commemorate the martyrs before the Republic would make references to the imperial past. Morphology of the prize winning projects was rather abstract organization of masses and platforms, using a palette of materials, i.e. stone, similar to the Çanakkale War Memorial and the Anıtkabir, which was on its way to completion in those days. Iconography of the proposals were criticized on the basis of two factors; while being “alien” was used as a negative characteristic to be avoided, those with explicit or implicit references to the “local” “traditional” or “religious” forms were dismissed. Reason for dismissal of some proposals was their resemblance to a tomb (türbe) or a coffin on funeral stone (musalla taşı). The only example with an explicit reference to such symbolism was the 3rd prize winner, which utilized cypress as the focal point of the monument. Keeping in mind that

²⁰³ Involvement in the Korean War (July 1950) and the patriotism that followed may be an important factor in accounting for the high number of the participants in the competition. One hundred competitors were almost three times the average number in other contemporaneous competitions. Anon. (1951) “Dış Memleketlerde Yapılacak Şehitlikler Anıtı Proje Müsabakası Jüri Raporu”, *Mimar*, 9-13, 37-38.

“cypress” was also among the primary elements in the New York Fair pavilion, its usage in the monument refers more to its representation of a national characteristic rather than an Islamic symbolism. The rather iconoclastic attitude in selecting the winning design for this military monument can still be regarded as the prevalent attitude, as can be seen in a later cemetery and memorial built almost fifty years later in Baku which was acknowledged as such even by the media.²⁰⁴

3.1 Architectural Competitions and Reflections on National Identity

3.1.1 World Fair Pavilions

After WWII Turkey participated in 1958 Brussels, 1970 Osaka, 1985 Tsukuba, 1992 Sevilla, 1998 Lisbon and 2000 Hannover World Fairs, which were to be named as Expo's after the one in 1958. Within the context of this thesis, some of the pavilions designed for these occasions have been covered in more detail. These particular examples are interesting cases by themselves in terms of the questions they evoke related to “national identity”. However, common themes amongst them as well as the shared attitudes with other representative structures, i.e. embassies, are equally relevant for this research.

These exhibition pavilions were also important for the architectural circles especially during the period till 1980s. Architectural critics like Kortan, Özer and Alsaç have pointed at the principal role of the national pavilion competitions for the World Expositions and the significance of the winning proposals for architecture in Turkey. This building type is advantageous in comparison to the other representational buildings constructed abroad, i.e. embassies. With regard to their variety and relatively less determined spatial requirements such pavilions are challenging to architects. Consequently, the competitions are a test bed that encourages experimentation with new materials, new spatial organizations, and

²⁰⁴ This recently built cemetery “resembles the American military cemetery in Arlington rather than a cemetery of a Muslim country”, as simple and pure but as evocative as the former. Özkök, E. (2001) “Mezar Taşlarından Bir Harita”, *Hürriyet*, 9.September.2001.

new forms as well as new interpretations for the concepts of locality or nationality in architecture.

Brussels 1958

After 1939 New York Pavilion till 1980 there were two more world fairs, where Turkey participated. One was the Expo 1958 in Brussels where a pavilion was built (Fig. 3.1a, Fig. 3.1b) and the other was the Expo 1964 in New York, for which a pavilion was designed, but not implemented (Fig. 3.2).

Utarit İzgi, one of the authors of the winner of the 1957 competition for the Brussels Expo, notes that a design had already been proposed before the competition; however, it neither satisfied the authorities in Turkey, nor the organizers of the exposition because of its retrospective attitude, resorting to historicist forms.²⁰⁵ The winning proposal, in contradistinction to some of the national pavilions, like Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia or Thailand, had no explicit resemblance to historical forms. With its formal affinity to the European pavilions like the German, Austrian or Yugoslavian with its transparent skins, thin structural members and refined detailing, Turkish pavilion did not display the “other” for the Belgians or Europeans.

This attitude made the commentator Andre Falk warn the average spectator in the official publication of the Expo, who had been in search for stereotypical imagery, for a possible disappointment.

Turkish style? If this is a question of Architecture these words irresistibly bring to the mind loaded and curiously effeminate ornamentation that affects Ottomans of the past. Turkish Style? One thinks, of palaces of wood and tiles, of decoration for bakeries and baths, of harems where beauties sequestered in their secret gardens sigh, of decorators of the past who bequeathed us kiosks- the word and the thing.²⁰⁶

The contrasting imagery of the pavilion is its resolutely modern form. It was basically a composition of two transparent cubes. The smaller two story one served

²⁰⁵ Interview with Utarit İzgi. No drawing or documents related to this proposal has been reached

²⁰⁶ Falk, A. (1958) “Journée officielle Turquie”, *Cette Semaine*, No.16 , 3-4.

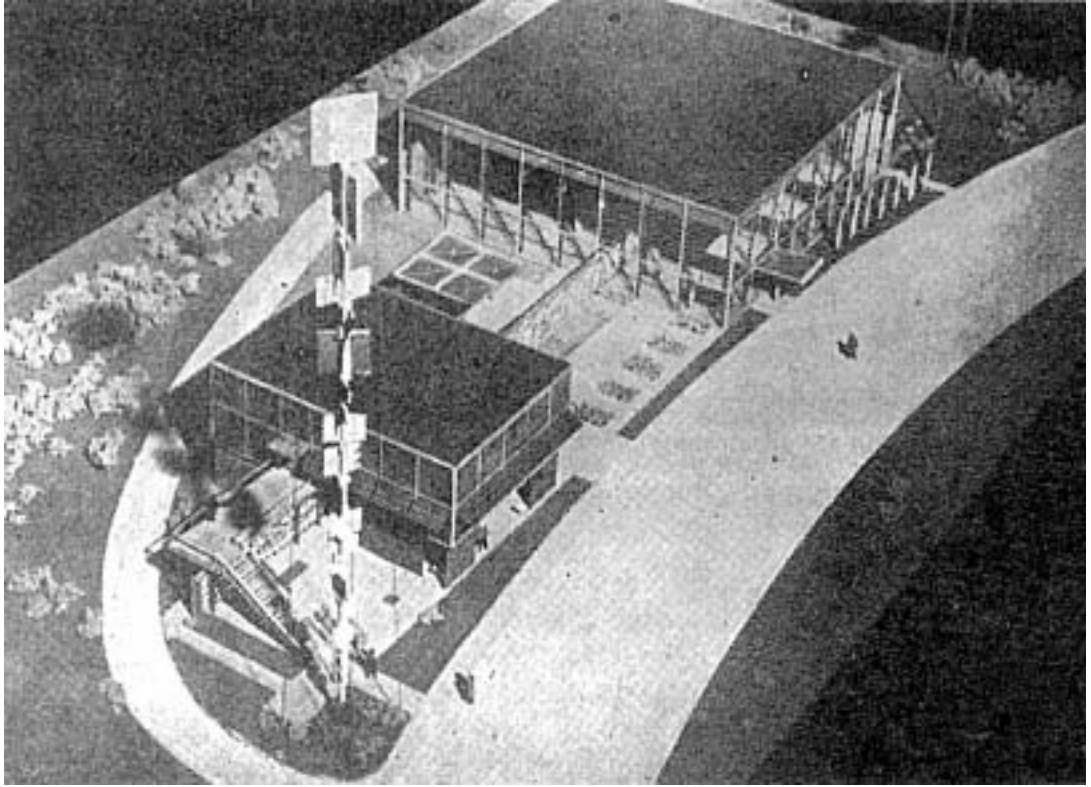


Fig 3.1a Turkish Pavilion in the Brussels Expo (1958), model
Architects: İzgi, Türkmen, Şensoy, Türegün



Fig 3.1a Turkish Pavilion in the Brussels Expo (1958)
Architects: İzgi, Türkmen, Şensoy, Türegün

for a café and restaurant, the larger one housed display areas for images and objects, and sale of traditional as well as contemporary artifacts. This dichotomy was to be seen not only in the functions but also in the symbolic meanings assigned to them. The smaller one stood for the “traditional” “historical” facet, whereas the large one symbolized “modern” Turkey. These two epochs were linked by a wall, on which a mosaic work by Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu was placed (Fig. 3.1c).

When the publications and the comments on the Turkish press are examined, one theme related to the national identity appears to be the “similarity” and “difference” of the national pavilions in comparison to the Turkish pavilion. Appreciation or denigration of different pavilions by the architects, artists as well as the organizers, or journalists has occurred according to this perspective. This comparative perspective is a means of construction of national identity. Besides architecture, the display objects and the display methods have also been means of drawing parallels with the others.

Architects of the Turkish pavilion have emphasized the pavilions having pretentious structural systems by prominent architects, like the national pavilions of U.S and Brazil, or Philips pavilion of Le Corbusier. İzgi’s account includes Japanese, Yugoslavian, French, Austrian and German pavilions as important as well.²⁰⁷ In his assessment of the Turkish pavilion Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu notes that 99% of all the pavilions made extensive use of glass and drew parallels with U.S., Soviet, French and Czechoslovakia.²⁰⁸ According to his assistant Ivy Stangali, pavilions of Finland, Norway, Japan, West Germany, Yugoslavia and US were the best amongst the national pavilions.²⁰⁹ In the same commentary the only “poor” pavilions are told to be the Arabian pavilions. In the 1939 New York exhibition there were only three pavilions (Palestine, Iraq and Lebanon) from the Middle East and no pavilions from the other Islamic countries and commentaries do not refer to these. However, in the 1958 exhibition there were newly founded nations participating and comparative comments distinguishing the Turkish identity from

²⁰⁷ İzgi, U. (2000) “Expo ’58 pavilion was a synthesis of arts”, *Domus*, 75

²⁰⁸ Eyüboğlu, B. R. (1958) “Cam Pazarı”, *Cumhuriyet*, 24.March1958, 3

²⁰⁹ Letter to Turan Erol published in Erol, T. (1984) *Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu*, Cem Yayınevi, İstanbul, 114

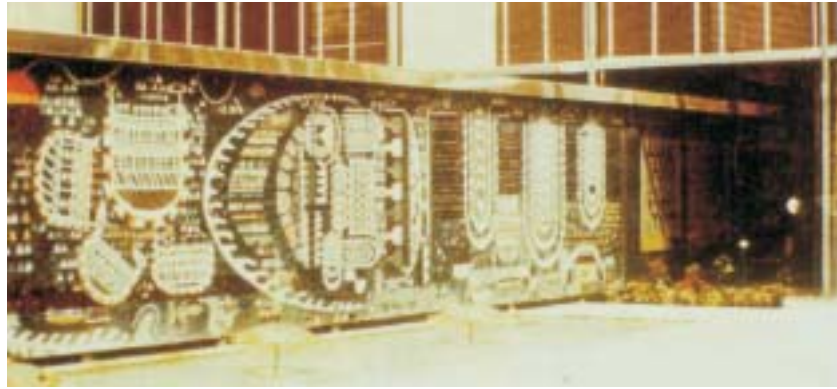


Fig. 3.1c Mosaic Work in the Turkish Pavilion in Brussels Expo (1958).
Artist : Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu

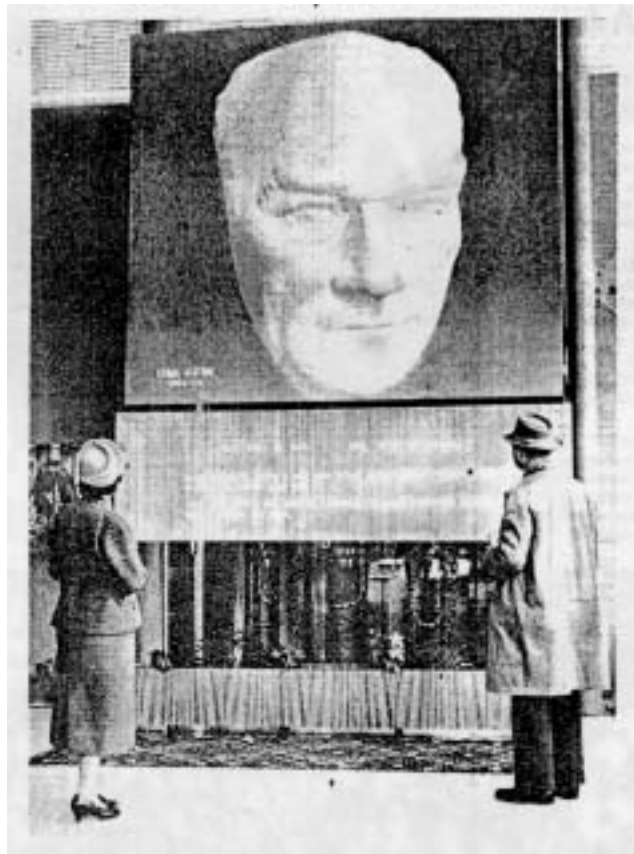


Fig. 3.1d Interior of the Turkish Pavillion in Brussels Expo (1958).
Artist : Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu

the other Islamic countries proliferated. Even the rare positive remarks related to these pavilions in the press were made to compare and criticise the mistakes in the Turkish pavilion rather than promoting the pavilions of these nations per se. For example Abdi İpekçi reported that while demonstrating carpet weaving was a good idea for the display of traditional arts, Iranians did it masterfully and with more discipline. In the series of reports sent from Brussels he also made a ranking amongst the pavilions according to the criteria of conformity with the theme of the exhibition, display objects, display organization and the success in comparison to the affluence of the respective nations. Despite the relative affluence of the Islamic nations, Turkish pavilion was the twelfth and ranked above all these countries.²¹⁰ It was possible to see more rigorous comments about the pavilions, which were the “others” of the Turkish identity, in the daily press as well.

Nations’ endeavors were visible from the architecture of the pavilions themselves. If the few exceptions were put aside, it is understood that nobody wants to represent themselves through the local characteristics. Excluding countries like Algiers, Morocco, Tunisia and Cambodia, architecture of all the pavilions carries a stylization, a novelty, in other words concern for progress. In this atmosphere I am amongst the people who admire the architecture of our pavilion. Those, who pointed at the Tunisian pavilion or the tower of Monaco and asked why our pavilion was built in this modern style, were the ones who did not understand the real meaning of the exhibition.... I sometimes think one shrewd might have turned our pavilion into a Tunisian or Cambodian pavilion. We might have aroused more interest in that case. Even this approach would be more beneficial in terms of tourism. But!...²¹¹

This unfinished end of the paragraph intended to question the priorities in the representation of the nation. The objectives were to be molded not for the explicit pragmatic aims, like economic benefits, but for ulterior ones for Bener. This aim seems to be representation of a nation which is a part of the “modern” world.

²¹⁰ İpekçi, A. (1958) “Yabancı Pavyonlar”, *Milliyet*, 20.August.1958, 3. Joint pavilion of the Arab nations (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria) was twice the Turkish pavilion; Moroccan, Tunisian and Iranian pavilions were almost the same size, similar to the 2000 m² floor area of the Turkish pavilion. In the same list German pavilion was the twentieth.

²¹¹ Bener, H.E. (1958) “Fuar ve Biz”, *Vatan*, 9.July.1958, 4. Comparisons made with the Arab countries, as the “other” of modern Turkey is a common theme for the commentators of the Turkish pavilions in the other expo’s as well. For example in an newspaper column it is stated that the pavilion in the recent Hannover Expo is the face of the “young Turkey” which is a candidate of the E.U. “Turkish pavilion is not a typical *oriental pavilion* like the Yemen which displays a replica of the yemen houses” Cerrahoğlu, N. (2002) Türkiye’nin kartviziti: EXPO 2000, *Milliyet*, 6.December. 2002.

Which nations are members of the “modern” world, is an important question when individual pavilions of countries are standing in the context of the expo. Progress was a keyword in making such a classification which included not only the US, France, Great Britain, but also Communist countries like the Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia.

1950s were the years of “cold war”, and Turkey as an ally of NATO since 1952 aimed to be a member of the western world. Publications related to the exposition and the reviews in the Turkish media had fewer references to this aspect of the “identity” of the nation displayed in Brussels. In a pamphlet distributed in the pavilion to the spectators it was stated that “Turkey, located at a strategic and extremely delicate place in the Western world, periodically assesses its economic, social and political position” and Turkey was mentioned as the “bastion of civilization”.²¹² Such militarist jargon had clear allusions to the cold war. More explicit references to this factor could be observed in the assessment of the pavilions of the US and USSR. The former almost always received positive comments when compared with the latter. “Russian pavilion represents a gigantic state, whereas American pavilion represents a great nation. You feel at home in the American pavilion. You do not feel the pressure of a fearsome power on you.”²¹³ Many aspects of the architecture like the trees left intact within the pavilion were regarded as indications of the freedom associated with the characteristics of the US.

In the same way architects’ references for their pavilion go beyond Europe, to United States. İzgi notes that the technology employed in the building intended to catch the latest technological advances; it was just four years after the application of curtain wall in Lever House by SOM in 1951. In the 1950s, during the cold-war years U.S. became the leading country in many aspects, especially for the technology which inspired architects in many parts of the world. Tanyeli rightly states that the technology and detailing in the 1958 Turkish pavilion was novel even for the West and central Europe which gave this pavilion a manifesto

²¹² Ozansoy, F. (1958) *La Turquie*, Unpaginated pamphlet.

²¹³ Bener, H. (1958) “Fuarda A.B.D. Rusya Rekabeti”, *Vatan*, 15.July.1958.

character.²¹⁴ The efforts to solve the constraints and problems of demounting and transportation of the structure to Turkey should also be regarded as a manifestation of a technical sophistication rather than pragmatism of using the pavilion back in Turkey. While its architecture, with its form and materials, tried to cope with such American examples to construct an identity of a technologically advanced modern Turkey, the available building technologies were way backward in the domestic scene. It is interesting to note that the following issues of the architectural magazine publishing the winning project for the Brussels Expo pavilion included news about the shortage of glass in the market because of the problems in the import procedures and distribution.²¹⁵ Although “Şişe Cam” was one of the participant state enterprises in the Expo, the sheet glass industry was yet to be established with the Çayırova plant in 1961. Likewise, aluminum industry was to be developed in the 1960s and aluminum would be extracted in Turkey in the 1970s. Even mechanical ventilation of the pavilion was beyond the technical capacities and the building practice in Turkey. It is possible to see complaints in the architectural magazines as well as in the later analyses of the period about the deficiencies at that time in terms of materials, technology and building industries required to realize the sophisticated forms of the “international style” associated with Mies van der Rohe’s works in U.S.

²¹⁴ Tanyeli, U (1997) “Utarit İzgi: Teknolojisiz ülkede teknolojik üretimin peşinde”, *Arredamento-Dekorasyon*, Jan., 66-67.

The structure was built by the Belgian construction company “Batiment et Ponts”; sheet glass was provided by St. Gobain and aluminum by Champbell companies. İzgi points out that during their collaboration with these companies during the construction, his involvement with these new technologies drew their attention and was offered job after the termination of the construction. While he did not respond positively, another author of the design İlhan Türegün’s career continued in Belgium later on.

²¹⁵ “Cam bulmak mesele oldu” *Arkitekt*, 1957/4 no: 289. In the following pages of the same issue there are complaints about the elevators. It is reported that while high-rise structures were increasing in number in the cities, the import taxes were too high and there was no production of elevators in Turkey. Such news indicates the discrepancy between the technological aspect of the architecture and the adoption of new forms, building types in those days.

It is interesting to note that in October 1958 a major exhibition simultaneous with the Brussels Expo was organized in Istanbul to display the products of the Turkish “national” industry. Editorial of the professional magazine *Arkitekt* was highly critical about the state of technology and industry. Sayar, Z. (1958) “Meslek Politikası: Milli Sanayii Sergisi Münasebetiyle”, *Arkitekt*, No.292, 97-98. Most of the pavilions in this exhibition were designed by Muhlis Türkmen, one of the designers of the Brussels expo. Though they were formally similar to the latter, especially the pavilion of the Stone-Earth-Glass, they were more modest in terms of the detailing, materials and environmental services.

Advanced American building standards were introduced to Turkey not only through professional magazines. International Style practiced by the American architects became important landmarks and purveyors of modernity in Turkey, as epitomized in the Hilton Hotel in Istanbul. That building also appeared in the only picture related to the contemporary architectural environment of Turkey in the official bulletin of the Expo, symbolizing the “new” age of Istanbul.²¹⁶

Pavilions for the 1939 New York and the 1958 Brussels expositions were considered as milestones and as reflections of the ruling taste of the respective periods in the accounts of commentators. For example, Alsaç regards the 1958 pavilion as the epitome of “prismatic form making”²¹⁷. While this pavilion was appreciated for its technological advances, it was criticized for being an example of “Rational- International” architecture with its negligence of factors like “attractiveness” and expression of “national” characteristics²¹⁸. Kortan, though not very clear, seems to be also critical about the secondary features of the pavilion, like wooden screens and wall panels that were aimed to convey a “regional spirit” that was lacking in its overall abstract configuration clad in glass²¹⁹. These wooden screens and the wall mosaic, which was designed by Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, seemed to be equally important and denoting “nationality” for the architects of the

²¹⁶ “La Turquie, Porte Orientale de l’Europe”, *Objectif 58*, No.32, 13-16. Interestingly it was planned to display a model of a caravanserai as a predecessor of the modern hotels in the pavilion. Though this was canceled, it would be an indicator of the will to integrate with the new phenomenon in the social life, like modern hotels, by being the originator rather than importing it from abroad.

²¹⁷ Alsaç, Ü. (1976) *Türkiye’deki Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi*, 43. Similarly Tanyeli nominates this building as the first radical modernist example of architecture, surpassing the ones displaying modernist tendencies in the early 1950s Turkish scene. Tanyeli, U. (1998) “1950’lerden bu yana Mimari Paradigmaların Değişimi ve “Reel” Mimarlık”. In *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, ed. Y.Sey, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 235-255, 240.

²¹⁸ Kortan E. (1971) “*Türkiye’de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi, 1950-1960*”, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 79.

²¹⁹ While Kortan points at the wooden screens and the wall as representations of a national identity, the light, open and transparent glass box, with an elaborate detailing enabling its dismantling and transportation are equally intended to convey an identity. This facet reflected the economically developing, progressivist westernized Turkey, having formal resemblances to some western pavilions, like the German pavilion, rather than the “others” pavilions like the Morocco. However while this German pavilion designed by Egon Eiermann and Sep Ruf intended to reflect the “democratic state”, distancing the post-war German identity from their pre-war Nazi period exhibition pavilions and creating a discontinuity, Turkish pavilion was not radical in this regard.

Within the context of the representation of a nation and architecture of diplomacy, it may also be interesting to cite here Hannes Meyer’s League of Nations project here with reference to which this “materialist” architect claimed that open glazed rooms would eliminate “backstairs diplomacy”.

pavilion. Utarit İzgi states that they did not want to compete with the other western pavilions. Instead, they intended to emphasize “our distinctive characteristic; our culture”²²⁰

The basic theme of the 1958 pavilion to be conveyed by architecture was that Turkey adopted western civilization and technology, whether represented by Europe or America, but she also had a unique cultural background that could contribute to it. This central idea would be pursued in later expo pavilions as well. Comparison of 1958 Brussels and 2000 Hannover pavilions elucidates common themes used in representing the country. Although the former utilized open spaces with two square-plan pavilions set apart and connected by a wall, and the latter is a one-piece block occupying the lot, their façade treatments are similar. This morphology, a glass box with a wooden screen overlay, has been reenacted in the pavilion for the Hannover Exposition in 2000. Besides the facades, there are other similarities in concepts and architectural interpretations for maintaining Turkish identity, not only between these two pavilions but with others in different exhibitions as well. One such theme is the “bridge”. Bridge in the 1958 pavilion was materialized as the wall between the two pavilions, connecting past and modern, Istanbul and Ankara. Even in 1939 New York pavilion “bridge” was the statue (fig.17a) with one foot on Europe and one on Asia. The bridge in 2000 Hannover, modified by the dominant themes of the contemporary period and of the exhibition as well, links various dualities: humanity with nature, mortals with divinity, east with west, past with future and rationality with emotions.²²¹ Though the duality of concepts were higher in number, it became more literal and a wooden bridge over long thin pools, symbolizing the three seas surrounding Anatolia, took place along the longer side of the pavilion.

²²⁰ Anon. (2000) “EXPO’58 was a Synthesis of Arts, Interview with Utarit İzgi”, *Domus*, August-September 2000, 75. Actually such a duality between the universal civilization and the national culture was not a point of emphasis in the documents related to the Turkish participation. In a pamphlet the inextricable relation of these terms is mentioned “Culture is synonymous with civilization for Atatürk, as he expressed in the words: ‘when we say culture, we think of results of all human works in the intellectual, economic and social domains of life. That is what we call culture in short’ Ozansoy, F. (1958) *La Turquie*. Nevertheless, this duality comes to the fore in the debates about buildings having representative functions like these pavilions, the architects’ explanations, commentaries and especially when the display objects are taken into account.

²²¹ From the reports of Tabanlıoğlu Mimarlık, “İnsanlık için evrensel bir cümle”, *Domus*, August- September 2000, 116-125.

While these are the common themes of the two Turkish pavilions having a time interval of almost 50 years between them, the meanings assigned to them vary in reference to the dominant concerns of their respective periods as reflected in the main themes of the exhibitions themselves. Although the official theme was “for a more human world”, the emphasis of the 1958 Expo was on the progress of mankind to reflect the material and cultural achievements of humanity in the first half of the Twentieth Century. Material achievements encompassing the new space age technologies and the nuclear energy were symbolized by a structure named “Atomium”. Involvement with the new building technologies and materials (at least within the context of Turkey) could also be informed by the theme of the Expo. On the other hand, the 2000 Hannover Expo, though it had a similar theme “Humankind-Nature-Technology”, emphasized “nature” and prominent issues like “sustainability”. This is partially the reason why the interior glass façade was secondary to the wooden secondary skin in the reviews of the project. While the function of the latter to filter the direct sunlight was mentioned in both cases, its symbolic meanings differ. The similar wooden grills of the 1958 pavilion were intended to refer to the traditional houses, and created a dichotomy with the all glass exhibition structure. In the Hannover exhibition, however, the grills also indicate sensitivity towards nature that displays itself through the extensive use of wood as observed also in many pavilions. Wood, as seen in Zumthor’s Swiss pavilion, had also been used as the sole building material dissociating the pavilion from any national references. Turkish pavilion was different in that sense. While it was not emphasized in the architects’ accounts, use of natural elements, as well as nature itself as displayed inside the pavilion, intended to establish a national identity.

The reception of these form references of national identity indicates that they were interpreted in various frameworks hardly overlapping with the concept of “nation”. For example, a review suggested “Middle East mashrabiyyas” to identify wooden screens.²²² Another regional framework was about the samples of landscape inside the structure, i.e. lemon, olive banana, citrus fruits and reeds. While these plants are common flora of the Mediterranean, this landscape was mentioned as the “Turco

²²² “Turkish Essence”, *Architectural Review*, Sept.2000, 76-77.

Mediterranean”.²²³ Another outcome of nature, tulip, was reused, as it had been in 1958 Brussels to underline a distinctive national essence.

Other than the constant and varying themes in the architecture of the national pavilions as well as the displayed items in the 1958 and 2002 Expos, there is one more important component of “identity” that comes to the fore in the age of global transactions. This aspect, which is to be elaborated in more detail in the coming chapters, is the construction of these pavilions. Some of the pavilions in the nineteenth century or even some, like the 1925 fair in the republican era, was designed and constructed without contributions from Turkey. The 1958 pavilion is an example where the Turkish architects tried to cope with the International Style using the advanced construction systems which were realized by foreign construction companies. In the 2002 Expo, however, the Turkish pavilion, designed by Tabanlıoğlu Architects, was constructed by the East German construction company Hallesche Mitteldeutsche Bau AG (HMB) acquired by Tekfen in 1993. Such an enterprise of partaking in the European market can be seen as a new step after the involvement of the Turkish construction companies in the Middle East and former Soviet Republics. Keeping in mind that this pavilion would be used after the fair as well, this construction required application of the European norms and stringent regulations in many respects as well.

New York 1964

Another competition to select a design to represent the nation in 1960s was for the Turkish pavilion in the 1964 New York Fair. The winning scheme was also considered as an important building for the period, though it got no farther than the drafting table (Fig. 3.2). Architect of the pavilion, Ruşen Dora, claims that this structure could have provided the Turkish culture and architecture a worldwide acclaim, if it had been realized. Kortan’s comments on the latter building were not positive regarding it as an example of mannerist, irrational design attitude close to the works of Hans Scharoun²²⁴. He questioned the appropriateness of such a

²²³ “İnsanlık için evrensel bir cümle” p.124.

²²⁴ Kortan E. (1974) “*Türkiye’de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi 1960-1970*”, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 140

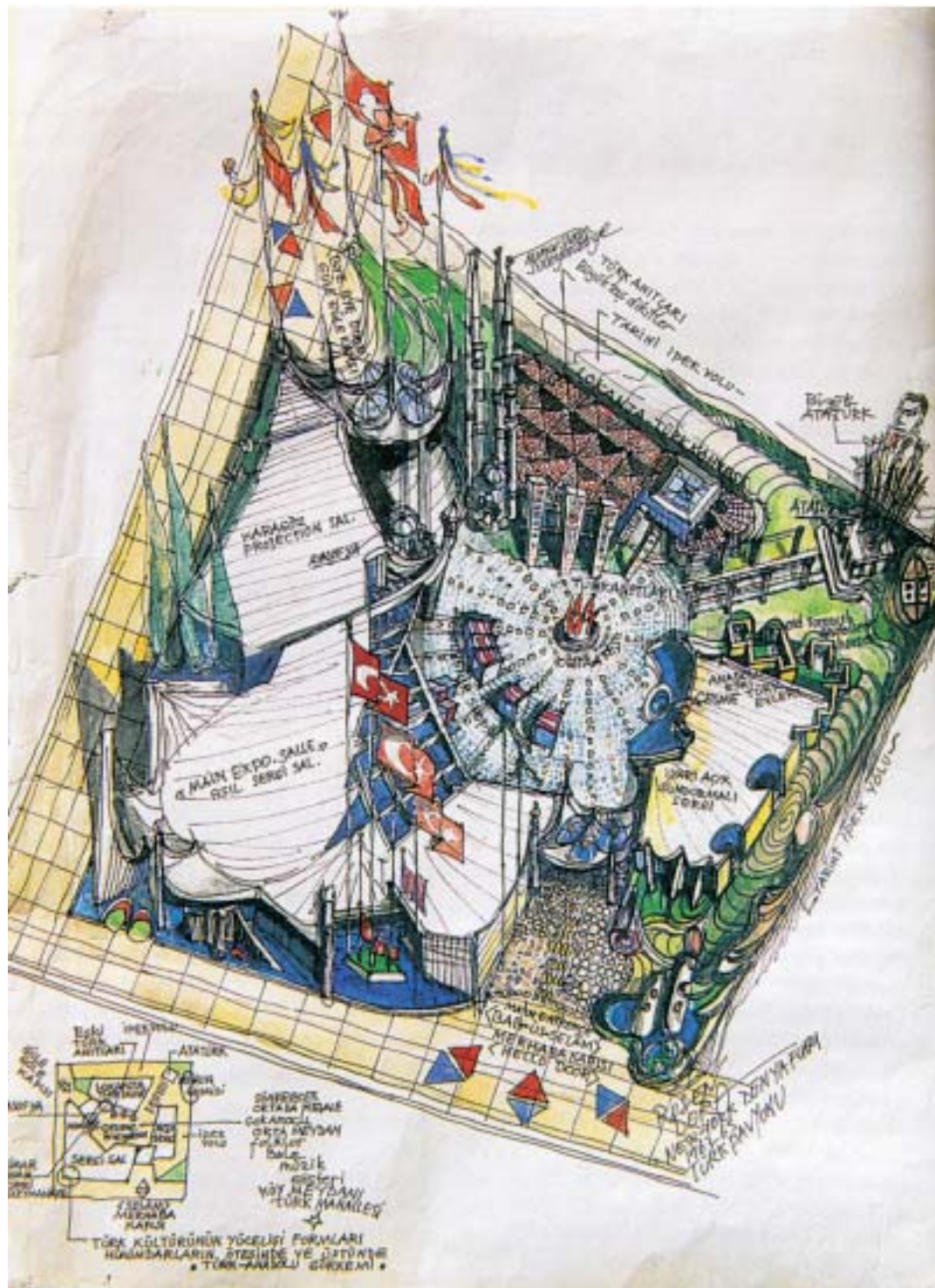


Fig 3.2 Turkish Pavilion in the New York Expo (1964). Architect: R.Dora

fashionable design attitude of its time, for a building designated to represent the country. However, architect's explanations with regard to the central space organization solely refer to the national sources like "Turkish neighborhood", "public square of a Turkish village", "central hall of a Turkish house", etc., which reflect a more abstract idea of "philosophy of togetherness". Even the "organic" form vocabulary of the walls surrounding the pavilion compound, which were inspired by Gaudi, was legitimized by suggesting that the structures of this Catalan architect had an affinity with "us",²²⁵

Works of Art

One of the main values, which contributes to the ethos of architectural competitions, in general, as it is reiterated in the brief of the Turkish Embassy in Lisbon, is "to enable the development of fine arts". Though this objective is a routine for all competitions, its presence in the briefs of projects designated to represent the national identity abroad in the late 1950s and 1960s, initiates two sets of questions.

One set of questions is related to the frequency of the original works of art in architecture in that period. Consequently it is worth to ask why the buildings realized abroad in that period enabled this coalition and how these art works contribute to the construction of national identity. The role of the content, techniques or the personalities of the artists in this interaction between art and architecture in constructing identity are to be analysed. The second set of questions is related to the works of arts and crafts displayed in these buildings. In this second sense, buildings are usually considered as containers or museums of traditional arts. Criteria in the selection of these objects and their role in the representation of the national identity are important concerns especially in the international exhibitions.

To formulate the first one, it is helpful to point out the parallelism between the role of the arts in the embassies, and the attitude displayed in a contemporaneous expo pavilion. The Turkish Pavilion in the 1958 EXPO was designed by a group of

²²⁵ Anon. (2000) "The Opportunity Missed in 1964", *Domus*, Sept 2000, 79.

architects, Utarit İzgi, Muhlis Türkmen, Hamdi Şensoy, and İlhan Türegün. The Lisbon Embassy, on the other hand, was the work of Hamdi Şensoy, Muhlis Türkmen, and Orhan Şahinler. “Synthesis of arts”²²⁶ was the motto of the Expo pavilion, displaying works of prominent artists like Sabri Berkel, Füreya Koral, İlhan Koman, Namık Bayık and Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu. The Lisbon Embassy (1963) also housed works by Sabri Berkel, Devrim Erbil, Şadi Çalık and Hüseyin Gezer. In the Bonn Embassy there is a 15m² glasswork by Bedri Rahmi. As Doğan Tekeli mentions, another work of the artist was intended to take place in the dome of the New Delhi Embassy residence.²²⁷ Bedri Rahmi appeared in almost all of the occasions where Turkey was represented abroad. Another wall mosaic of the artist was placed in the NATO Headquarters in Paris in 1959, which was considered as a “present from the Turkish nation”.²²⁸ These works seem to serve an ulterior function other than decorating the buildings, as it is observed in the case of the Moscow Embassy finished in the mid 1990s. Such a sensitivity to employ works of art in the designs was common in the other competition entries as well.

Contents of these works of art have explicit references to the Turkish context, i.e. arts and folklore. The mosaics of the 1958 Brussels pavilion are a telling example. As Francois Choay noted, besides samples of non-figurative art, folklore had been one of the common sources in different works of art in many pavilions. Similarly, the folkloric forms of the “group of dancers” in the Bedri Rahmi mosaic were conveying the “life of those times”. Choay drew references to Miro’s works, to decipher its abstract signs and symbols.²²⁹ Rather than the content, with its allusions to the Turkish folklore, including abstractions of mosques, the mosaic work instigated questions regarding its references to the “national culture” in terms

²²⁶ “EXPO’58 was a Synthesis of Arts, Interview by Utarit İzgi” *Domus*, Sept 2000. 75-77. Bedri Rahmi’s mosaic work on the wall extending throughout the pavilions in the 1958 Brussels exhibition (272m²) won a grand award in the exhibition. Together with this mosaic wall, concept of synthesis of arts was also awarded.

This mosaic wall was composed of 200 panels (200x50cm), 160 of them were displayed in another exhibition in Cyprus about Turkey in 1963. Alpöge, A. (1999) “Bedri Rahmi’ler ne oldu?”. In *Cumhuriyet’in Renkleri, Biçimleri*, ed. A. Ödekan, 229.

²²⁷ Interview Doğan Tekeli, November, 21st 2000.

²²⁸ It was also moved to the new headquarters in Brussels. These works took place in the architects’ agenda. See “NATO Binasındaki Mozaik”, *Arkitekt*, 1960, Vol.29, No.299, 58-60. An implicit goal seems to consolidate the presence of Turkey in NATO.

²²⁹ Choay, F. (1958) *L’art vivant a l’exposition de Bruxelles*” *L’œil*, June No.42, 50-61.

of technique. While the “blue tiles” of the 1939 New York pavilion was exempt from criticism for its explicit national characteristics, the characteristic material of the major art work of the 1958 pavilion was questioned. For example Tansu, in a review of the Brussels Fair, asked whether “the art of mosaics can be appropriated by Turks?” He explained the cause of this question with the following argument

“While in the Turkish Arts Department of the Academy of the Fine Arts, Turkish or Islamic decorative arts are practiced employing flowers, inscriptions and (abstract) forms, why are mosaics, which had been highly favoured in the Middle Ages and continued to be so in the ages that followed, and which probably had been originated by the Egyptians or Mesopotamians, but usually attributed to the Byzantine for their excellence in the use of this technique, being used to decorate the walls of our pavilion?”²³⁰

It is important to note that the interest of Eyüboğlu and his generation was primarily stimulated by the mosaic works in Hagia Sophia and other Byzantine buildings in Istanbul which had been studied from the 1930s onwards by Professor Whittemore. In the 1950s these mosaics were in the agenda of the western artists as well.²³¹ Longing for the widespread utilization of mosaics as an art form and in architecture, Eyüboğlu wished that “this would also come true in my country which once created examples of this technique masterfully”²³². The mosaic panel in the 1958 pavilion was amongst the largest works of art that realized this wish. Though he did not answer the question cited above directly, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu would reject such an exclusiveness that would aim to find a pure and original national culture and art based on ethnicity and uncontaminated by the Byzantine past.

He can be considered as an inclusivist when it comes to national identity. Both the technique and the content of the mosaic work should be interpreted in these terms.

²³⁰ Tansu, N. S. (1958) “Sergideki Türk Pavyonu”, *Cumhuriyet*, 22.August1958 , 4.

²³¹ Leger noted that the future of art is in Istanbul. Quoted in Vurnal, H. (1993) *Mozaik sanatı ve Bedri Rahmi, Eren Eyüboğlu mozaikleri*, Unpublished Masters thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi. p.99. One of Leger’s mosaic work was visited by Bedri Rahmi and Utarit İzgi to study his technique for the success, attained in the long distance perceptions. Interview with İzgi.

²³² Eyüboğlu, B.R. (1952) “Mozaik Hakkında”, *Cumhuriyet*, 13.March.1952. Mosaic technique and the discussions on the plurality of the Turkish cultural identity have overt political implications in the 1990s. Mosaic became a metaphor of the Turkish society. Nationalist rhetoric blamed the people who regarded Turkish society as a mosaic work referring to the plurality of the ethnic and religious communities. Rather than the “weak bond” between the pieces of the mosaic, analogies were made to other art forms like traditional marbling or materials like marble to indicate that the differences are blended and these groups are inseparable.

National identity in that sense is based upon deeply rooted traditions initially. He stated that “not only in the field of art, but in any realm, I do not believe that we can produce anything in the world caliber unless we are local and bear the stamp ‘made in Turkey’”²³³. Locality and Turkey in this explanation refer to roots encompassing all the past traditions without ethnic, religious or historical boundaries. As it is analyzed by Akyıldız,²³⁴ this formulation, which is called as “Mavi Anadoluculuk” is based upon the concept of “people”, in affinity with the “populism “ principle of the Kemalist state. One important aspect of this approach is the emphasis on humanism evading the ethnic and religious dimensions. This formulation integrates the western civilization with the identity of Turkey, since the “cradle” of this civilization rested on the Anatolian peninsula even prior to the Greek contribution to it. Hence Turkish identity is not something external to or “other” of Europe. Popularity of Bedri Rahmi’s works amongst the architects of his time not only emanated from his international recognition or from the dimensions and techniques of his works that accompany and integrate with architectural works to create a “gesamtkunstwerk”. It may be partially an outcome of the consensus of the architects over this formulation of national identity, although it offered alternative terms in art and in architecture, like vernacularism, regionalism, architecture of the people and alike.²³⁵

There may be different but related implications of this phenomenon of the architects’ claiming in their projects the use of works of art by different Turkish artists. It is a display of one modern form of national identity, other than the ethnographic and traditional art forms. It may also be related to an understanding of and sensitivity to achieve “gesamtkunstwerk”, as the phrase of “synthesis of arts” in the description of the 1958 Brussels Pavilion implied. Another implication of the phrase lies in a definition of architecture that considers architecture not only as a container of “art”, but art itself. While there may be some disadvantages,

²³³ Eyüboğlu, B.R. (1953) “Biz ve Dünya”, *Cumhuriyet*, 29.January.1953.

²³⁴ Akyıldız, K. (2002) “Mavi Anadoluculuk”, In *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, eds. Bora,T and M. Gültekinil, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 465-488.

²³⁵ Spokesperson of this approach in the architectural scene in Turkey can be considered as Cengiz Bektaş. It is not without reason that a glass work of the artist takes place in the Bonn Embassy designed by a group where Bektaş was a member. However, it is hard to see how this approach was influential in the design of the Bonn Embassy.

“gesamtkuntswerk” approach in the Turkish pavilion was regarded to be one of the few cases where art gained its maximum vivacity.²³⁶ Thus architects and artists were exhibiting solidarity in the representation of the nation.²³⁷ It is not coincidental to see in the architectural magazine “Arkitekt” at that time, two articles about the works of art displayed.²³⁸ Such an affinity with fine arts helps architecture to legitimize itself as a cultural product, rather than just a technical service for the building activity, and gives the designer freedom and autonomy regarding the totality of his/her work, as well as authority over the other agents of the building process and users.

The second set of questions is on architecture considered as a container of “art”, where works of art and the artifacts are exhibited within. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a painting collection to be exhibited (and to decorate) at the legations abroad, as well as at the ministry buildings in Ankara, mainly transferred from the Museum of Painting and Sculpture.²³⁹ It is worth analyzing the items of this collection to see if there is any intentional consistency in terms of a “national identity” for the works in the collection, regarding the artists, subject matter or

²³⁶ Choay, F. “L’art Vivant a l’exposition de Bruxelles”, 52. It was mentioned that such grand scale works, however, impeded the display of larger number of the works and collection items in the pavilions.

²³⁷ İzgi claimed that he was the pioneer in the attempts to incorporate works of art into architecture. (Interview October 14, 2002). Similarly, Cengiz Bektaş pointed at a concrete case of this solidarity. He and Turan Erol were pursuing the aim of passing a bill on enforcing the utilization of works of art in new buildings for the state. Interview March 14, 2001. Artists were also willing for such collaborations. For example, Eyüboğlu stated that “It is not possible to talk about art unless architecture incorporates works of art and prevents painting’s nomadic condition” cited in Erbil, D. (1975) “Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu” *Arkitekt*, No.360-4, 164-165.

²³⁸ March 1957 issue of *Arkitekt* informs the readers about the different artworks in the pavilion; January issue also has an initial study of İlhan Koman’s pylon. Hadi Bara’s comments about the architects’ and artists’ participation in international events are interesting. He stated that it was the first time that Turkey participated in the Venice Biennial of 1956, and that year would also be her debut in the Sao Paulo Biennial. Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu got an honorary mention in the latter. Because of foreign exchange shortages, the artists had not been able to take part in these biennals before. Bara encourages the Turkish architects to take part in these events as well: “Turkish artists are representing Turkey positively in the international arena” and architects should also group together with them in Sao Paulo.

²³⁹ I would like to thank Dr. Kıymet Giray for this information. In some cases acquisition of works of art had been due to circumstantial occasions. One such case was painter Hidayet, who was a captive in Egypt during the WWI. He set up a career there and kept in touch with the Turkish Embassy. His 93 paintings are now in the collections of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and on display in various legations. Such collections were proposed in the 1930s as a means of promotion of art by the state as well. For example diplomat Belge noted that Turkish State should purchase artworks to be displayed in the buildings of ministries as well as in the embassies and consulates abroad in the art magazine *AR*, June 1937, 12.

stylistic aspects²⁴⁰. If this is the practice, employment of the Japanese artist, Seiji Shimizu, for creating works of art for the Turkish Embassy in Tokyo may seem a contradiction.

The representational buildings abroad, whether embassies or the World Fair pavilions, accommodate arts of the past besides contemporary works. Historical works of art, especially when they are considered as display items in the pavilions cause controversies. Wallis makes the following comments for the international exhibitions, which he considers as means of performing “cultural diplomacy”:

Artworks have different meanings in different contexts. In order to use cultural artifacts for public relations purposes it is necessary to select and juxtapose artworks in such a way that they focus and enhance the national image for foreign consumption...In order to establish their status within the international community, individual nations are compelled to dramatize conventionalized versions of their national images, asserting past glories and amplifying stereotypical differences.²⁴¹

Then he refers to the mode of the Turkish Festival “The Continuing Magnificence” in the United States as a “Self-Orientalism”.²⁴² It refers to the nation’s turning its national image into a stereotype, which is presumably anticipated by the American audience. “Self-Orientalization” is observed in different degrees in the choice of the display objects in the pavilions for the 1939 New York as well as the 1958 Brussels exhibitions. It is possible to see different reactions in the media of the period to the exhibition of these works of art in Turkey and abroad, which disclose the meaning of self-orientalism.

²⁴⁰ Role of art and its nationalist overtones may have different implications. For example, as the review article about the Paris extension informs the readers, the interior walls are covered with a continuous ceramic work designed by sculptor J. Gianferrari, and it is said that the entrance hall would be embellished with the tapestry, masque and sculpture works of our national artists. Karabey, H. (1979) “T.C. Paris Büyükelçiliği Kançılırya Binası”, *Çevre*, No.6, Nov/Dec., 33-38. This information evokes some questions: were these particular art works or even the particular forms of artistic expression (i.e. tapestry etc) selected from the start? What were the criteria of selecting them? Were they commissioned to any particular artist, or selected from an established collection? And if the nationality of the architect or the artist is a concern, why was the most characterizing ceramic work designed by a foreign artist?

²⁴¹Wallis, B. (1994) “Selling Nations: International Exhibitions and Cultural Diplomacy”. In *Museum Culture*, eds. D. Sherman and I. Rogoff, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 265-281.

²⁴² This comment applies well to the works of art and artifacts on display and it even attests to the works of architecture as exemplified by the Turkish Embassy in Washington D.C.

Objects from the Ottoman past took up the major part of and were central to the 1958 pavilion with peripheral small display areas for other Anatolian civilizations and products of contemporary Turkey. This comparatively larger area, as the director of the Topkapı Museum listed, included fifteenth and seventeenth century garments and silverware. In addition to these, there were carpets, daggers, reading desks with inlaid mother of pearl and candlesticks from Topkapı Palace and the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum displayed in the international section.²⁴³ Selection of these items received some negative remarks in the Turkish Press. These were considered as the works of the past which could not contribute to the identity of contemporary Turkey, but only help to ascertain the stereotypical images.²⁴⁴ Comments of the foreigners, however, implied that such historical art objects received more interest than the contemporaneous products. For example, display of the fabrics, which were the products of industrialized Turkey, i.e. Sümerbank textile industry in Hereke and Bursa, was considered as a surprising and questionable decision. These “insignificant” fabrics detracted visitors’ attention from the Ottoman silks and devalued these historical samples.²⁴⁵

Not only the works of art, but the artifacts and the building crafts and materials used have raised questions about their cultural role. In the New York Pavilion of 1939 exhibition, ceramic tiles were extensively used to propagate a national identity. Similarly, some of the embassy designs utilized traditional products –like the Kütahya ceramic tiles to clad the exterior of the Sofia Embassy and a two floor high replica of a sixteenth century mural made of İznik tiles employed inside the front wall of the chancery of the Tokyo Embassy²⁴⁶. Ceramic tiles would be a

²⁴³ Şehsuvaroğlu, H.(1958) “Brüksel Sergisinde Türkiye”, *Cumhuriyet*, 5.June.1958, 3.

²⁴⁴ “Yes, regrettably, Turkey of the past, even Ottoman Empire lives in our pavilion. Do not seek anything about the modern Turkey other than the mask of Atatürk and his maxims here. What has this country gained from these sultan robes, silly shalwars and bizarre turbans?”. Writer also asked why Turks got angry at the Swiss when they put a man with a fez on the Turkish Tobacco, while folkloric dance groups and pavilion guides were dressed in the historical costumes in such occasions. Tansu, N. (1958) “Sergideki Türkiye Pavyonu”, *Cumhuriyet* , 22.August.1958, 4.

²⁴⁵ Falk, A. (1958) “Journée officielle Turquie” *Cette Semaine* no :16, p.3. Falk, in contradistinction Nafiz’s comments in the previous footnote about the Atatürk’s maxims that display modern Turkey, suggests removing these ephemeral rather than eternal mottos to open room for the touristic landscape photographs.

²⁴⁶ Göker, S. (1994) “Tokyo’da TC Büyükelçilik Binası”. Göker notes that initially reception halls as well as the dining halls were designated to be clad with tiles as well. Materials list of the

recurrently used material in the representational buildings of Turkey. A recent utilization of ceramic murals can be seen in the Turkish chancery in Tunis. Two panels, one based on a traditional composition utilizing frigates, and the other, a historical map showing Tunis embellish this building. İznik tiles have also been used in historicist mosques abroad, like those in Tokyo and Ashgabad, as well as the modernist buildings representing Turkey like the 2000 Hannover Expo pavilion, Turkish Peace Garden in Montreal and the “Friendship Monument” in Tokyo for the Year of Turkey in Japan (2003). All these buildings utilized the tiles produced by the Iznik Tiles and Ceramics Foundation, founded in the early 1990s after the proclamation done by the Turkish Ministry of Culture, declaring 1989 as the year of İznik. Reviving the classic tiles, which had reached its prime in the sixteenth century, but had been “unfortunately lost to mankind”, is the stated aim of the foundation. This foundation also claims that in their quest for producing tiles of the same quality achieved by their predecessors, they have used scientific methods. The Ottoman past in this regard does not present a model just to emulate its artistic forms, but also to discover the technical knowledge involved. Buildings abroad that utilize these tiles are implicitly considered to be displaying the artistic and technical superiority of the “golden age” of the Ottoman Empire.²⁴⁷

Not only the traditional crafts, but also raw materials produced in Turkey, like “Hatay “ marble, have been proposed to be used in some embassies, like the one designed for Sofia. “Native” materials have actually been exported and used in the constructions abroad carried out by the Turkish entrepreneurs. Are such choices to be considered as display, propagation and export of cultural identity? This seems to be a valid question to be elaborated²⁴⁸

embassy is listed in Anon. (1979) “Turkish Embassy and Chancellery in Japan”, *Japan Architect*, July-Aug., Vol.54, 20.

²⁴⁷ Display of tiles sometimes has more explicit objectives. Iznik tiles produced by the foundation were also displayed in an exhibition in Paris, Chateau Bagatelle, organized to commemorate the 700th Foundation Year of the Ottoman Empire.

²⁴⁸ Sending Hereke stone to clad the building had even been considered as an option for the Hamidiye Hospital to be built at the beginning of the 20th century in Berlin or material exports were realized for the Turkish pavilion in the 1939 New-York Exhibition. However, as far as the initial research shows, there had been no material export from Turkey to be used in the embassy buildings constructed till 80s because of the costs. Material specifications in other countries indicate this association. For example, the press coverage of the Canadian Embassy in Berlin, although a very short text under the news section, informs the readers about the “Manitoba” stone claddings and “Quebec Maple” wood paneling specifications. “Canadian Embassy in Berlin” *Canadian Architect*,

Interior designs of these buildings may even have more potential in discussing the issue of identity and change, because of the relative easiness considering the flexibility and the costs involved.²⁴⁹ Architects other than that of the Tehran Embassy, where Arkan, the architect himself, did the interior design, all the architects of the Lisbon, Beirut and even Tokyo embassies have reported and criticized the Ministry for not letting them realize their designs for the interiors. Is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, despite its “progressivism” and “elitism” in cultural fields, yet another ordinary patron²⁵⁰ with the architect having a very limited field of action and rights? In making a research related to the encounters of this “elite” group with architecture, one can also interrogate the diplomats’ role as the users of these buildings. Especially ambassadors are very keen on publishing

April 1999, 9. Transportation of local materials to be used in embassies in Berlin is not realized only by such affluent countries but also by comparatively poorer states like India.

²⁴⁹ These factors are making these representative buildings a viable topic for interior magazines. A common major narrative in their coverages is the identity problematic, another is the “aristocratic” high-class life style. (See for example “Tokyo’da Türk Büyükelçiliği”, *Vizyon-Dekorasyon*, October 1996, 69-75) At present furniture of the embassies are designated by the technical bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and manufactured at workshops in Ankara and sent abroad (interview with Mürüvvet Alp, Oct 11th 2000). The criteria for the selection are not clearly stated; “appropriateness” is the key adjective in the choice. When the interiors of embassies are examined, they basically fit to the category of ‘classical’ without a distinct definition. For the particular case of Tripoli, Vanlı states that he personally chose the items from the “Koleksiyon” furniture company that produces modern furniture. The Bonn Embassy furniture was purchased from Knoll. A more professional conduct is observed in the Paris chancery and Riyadh Embassies. Furniture was considered as a part of the design from the beginning and chosen from the designs (some specially designed), of prominent names like Aarne Jacobsen and Geoffroi d’Harcourt. In Riyadh embassy interiors were designed by an interior design firm: Capital Interiors Limited of London

²⁵⁰ A technical office within the body of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs was established in 1960’s and has five architects employed now. Besides mediating the foreign missions’ demands about constructions and the municipality authorities, this office basically guides the renovation of the existing foreign missions, purchase of new buildings and the contract of the new constructions. The Ministry is exempt from abiding the contract law 2886/79, thus having the right to give contract to other than the lowest bidding firm, and from complying with ‘Bayındırlık Bakanlığı birim fiyatları’, which can enable the design and construction of special buildings. Ministry has even some extra financial sources like the (non-convertible) fees obtained from the consular services that help to surmount the budget restrictions, and develop ‘special’ buildings. This ‘supposedly’ privileged status may also be expected to have its repercussions in the architectural discourse.

All the new projects are acquired by the Ministry of Public Works – through office of education-sport or administrative buildings- employing the method of bidding to foreign or native architectural offices. Conversely, it seems that trend in the world is the other way around, in terms of the authorities in charge of the acquisition of the buildings as well as their acquisition methods. As an example for the prior, Canada can be given. While the construction of new embassies of Canada had been under the joint responsibility of the Department of Public Works and the External Affairs Department until 1960’s, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade gradually assumed its control. Therrien Marie-Josée *Au-dela frontières: L’architecture des ambassades Canadiennes 1930-1990* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation.

their memoirs and these accounts display how they considered the buildings of their legations, architecture in general and the status of architecture as a product or bearer of national identity. As a descriptive text by the architects of the Lisbon Embassy in the "Mimarlık" magazine manifests²⁵¹, architects directly express their need for the legitimization of the worth of their variety of services by the client, i.e. state, and demand more authority and autonomy. There were also demands made to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for promotion of architecture due to its cultural significance for the state.²⁵² There were some instances when the Ministry promoted the architects, pointing at the role played by architecture in elevating the status of the Turkish embassies amongst others. Yet, these can only be considered as exceptions rather than the rule²⁵³

Architectural competitions create a unique basis for legitimacy in evaluating architectural projects. After the approval of the competition juries, which is regarded by the architects as a guarantee for the application of their designs, divergence from the submitted designs during the implementation phase frustrate the architects, as manifested in the interior designs of the embassies mentioned.

Competitions also create a milieu, where not only the individual architects make efforts to be distinguished by the introduction of stylistic or conceptual innovations, but also common sensibilities are exhibited. One common ground for the participants as well as for the organizers is the social agenda. Not only this agenda is reflected by the architects, but competitions have a political potential to

²⁵¹ Anon. (1975) "Lizbon Büyükelçilik Binası", *Mimarlık*, March, No.3, 21-23.

²⁵² Şevki Vanlı narrates an anecdote in his memoirs about a possible role of architecture as a cultural product in international relations. "In the 1970s, while there were attempts to have closer relations with the neighboring countries and to constitute an alliance in the Cyprus issue, Ministry of External Affairs asked Metin And to give conferences on Ballet in the Middle East countries." Vanlı pointed to his friend, an undersecretary of the ministry, the futility of such an endeavor and proposed to give conferences on architecture. He then reports the answer he got with much disappointment, "it did not occur to our mind" Vanlı, Ş. (2000) *Mimarlık Sevgilim*, 282.

²⁵³ "We happily inform you that the embassy compound, which is widely acclaimed by the diplomatic quarters in New Delhi, is already used as a model to be followed by the prospective embassies."- Note of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs to D. Tekeli and S. Sisa, architects of the Turkish embassy in New Delhi. Another instance of appreciation is found in Ambassador Sav's memoirs. He states that the Turkish Embassy in Brasilia is "harmonizing our traditional architecture with the modern architecture... I also realized that it is highly appreciated in a city, which is pretentious in architecture." He sent a letter to the architects to congratulate and show his appreciation. Sav, E. (1992) *Diplo-dra-matik Anlatılar*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 197 Architects were able to acquire photographs of the embassy only via Ambassador Sav.

direct the attention of the community of architects as well as the general public to some sensitive issues. However, parallelism between the social agenda related to foreign affairs and architecture is a questionable topic in the context of the embassy competitions. Reflection of the former on the latter is not easily detected. 1960s were more productive and potentially thought provoking in terms of the complex nature of national identity and its architectural repercussions due to the series of embassy competitions. However, the discussions published in the periodicals and jury reports were basically functional analyses far from the multifaceted nature of the concept of nation and its representation abroad. It is more telling to note that even the nationalist fervor intensified in relation to Cyprus in the early 1960s did not find any echo in the architectural press related to the competition for the Turkish Embassy²⁵⁴. Though the prize-winning projects and jury assessments of the competitions for New Delhi, Lisbon or Brasilia Embassies were covered in the *Arkitekt* magazine, those of the embassy design in Nicosia (Lefkoşe) was not published even in the architectural press.²⁵⁵ Another competition, not covered in the architectural periodicals, is the Turkish Embassy in Bonn, the post-WWII capital of the West Germany that had started to have a new implication for the social agenda of Turkey 1961 onwards, with the increasing numbers of Turkish guest workers in Germany.

3.1.2 Embassies

After the World War II, new states gained independence and the need of representing the state became a prominent issue. Between 1948 and 1964, after the

²⁵⁴ Cyprus issue was brought into the agenda of architects by two other politically driven competitions, one was the design of a community center for the Turks in 1973 other was the design of a monument commemorating “freedom and peace” in 1976.

²⁵⁵ Turkish embassy would be constructed later, from 1976 to 1978. However the realized scheme was not the one selected through the aforementioned national competition. This period, only two years after the intervention of the Turkish Army to the Island and one year after the declaration of the K.T.F.D (Turkish Federated State of Cyprus) was also very significant in the history of Cyprus. In the article two factors about the building complex are highlighted: one is the multi-dimensional relationships, i.e. social, cultural and economic between Turkey and K.T.F.D, the other is the reconsideration of traditional local-Turkish architecture and local factors of nature, environment and climate. Anon. (1980) “T.C Lefkoşe Büyükelçiliği Binaları Kompleksi” *Arkitekt*, Vol. 49, No. 378, 43-46.

de-colonization process 47 new nations joined the world community²⁵⁶. While existing buildings were purchased in some of these countries in 1950s, after 1960, a group of new buildings were designed and built in countries that Turkey had established ambassadorial relations a long time ago, as well as in the newly designated capitals of the new countries.

From Seyfi Arkan's Tehran Embassy till the early 1960s architectural competitions diplomatic representation of the state was provided for in the already existing buildings, either rented or purchased. Eight new premises were acquired during the 1950s. Accounts of the diplomats reveal the criteria and the contribution of these buildings to the identity of the state. These buildings, some of which are historical, aroused a feeling of pride and prestige for diplomats. One such building is the residence in Paris, which is a mansion, built in the 18th century for an aristocrat. Names of the prior owners like Neurologist Blanche and other names associated with the building, like Blanche's patients like the musician, Gounod, and the man of letters, Guy de Maupassant, his son painter Emile Blanche and neighbor Honore de Balzac are given in the accounts of ambassador Melek to emphasize the significance of this building for the French people, which consequently became a prestige for the Turkish legation in Paris.

Even today, all these historical facts exhilarate the French visiting our embassy. ...owing such a residence has certainly been a chance for our state. Going to the invitations of the Turkish embassy in Paris is considered as a pleasure and this building contributes to the prestige of our country.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ Loeffler (1998) *Architecture of Diplomacy*, 14. Number of the states in 1945 was 67 and tripled till 1990 and reached to 186.

²⁵⁷ Melek, F. (1994) *Hepsi Geldi Geçti*, Milliyet Yayınları, İstanbul, 179-181. Residence in The Hague, bought in the same period, is a building also considered as a cultural asset in the Netherlands. Such historically prominent mansions were regarded as appropriate and purchased for such diplomatic functions in other periods as well. Edward H. Everett House in Washington and Paaskivi house in Helsinki were purchased for their similar characteristics. Utilization of historical structures might have further consequences. As Richter mentions about the German embassies in Europe maintenance and conservation of art-historically classified buildings is a "contribution to upkeep a piece of urban culture in line with monument protection requirements particularly significant in Europe as an expression of the obligation towards our joint cultural heritage. "The History and Function of German Embassies abroad" 14 Turkish legations in Europe housed in such buildings like the one in Paris might be considered as an expression of the willingness to be a part of this common heritage.

It is interesting to note that these comments were made in the 1990s and do not make any further remark about the chancery annex to this structure. Indifference to new constructions in similar accounts and negative responses to new constructions designed for diplomatic missions raise questions regarding what majority of the diplomats think about the role of the new “architecture”.

Nevertheless, representational buildings abroad entered the agenda of the Turkish architecture, and constituted a significant theme in 1960s through a series of competitions. Starting with the 1962 planning competition for New Delhi, architectural journals informed their readers about architectural competitions for premises with diplomatic functions. In late 1963 and early 1964, designs for the embassies of Bonn, Kabul, Nicosia (Lefkoşa), Lisbon and Islamabad were obtained through national competitions. Likewise, national competitions were held to select designs for the diplomatic missions in Warsaw and Brasilia in 1966, and limited competitions for Sofia, Beirut and Jakarta in 1968. These 11 buildings selected via competitions constitute one of the largest groups amongst other building types in 1960s, even in the period from 1950 to 1969²⁵⁸. These competitions with many participants can give us more information about the discourse on representation of national identity, and about the common formal themes within the architectural circles.

An inquisitive reading of the briefs of these competitions, jury reports as well as the competitors’ explanatory reports, may shed light on the priorities and how the representative function was observed. A comparative analysis of these competitions amongst themselves and with the later ones, like the Islamabad competition in the 1980s, can reveal the transformation of related concepts as well as the spatial needs of embassies.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ For a comprehensive list of the architectural competitions and analysis of the Turkish context see Özçelebi, E. (1999) *An Inquiry on the Impact of Competitions in Architectural Practice*, Unpublished Masters Thesis, METU, Ankara.

²⁵⁹ There were in average around 30 participants in the competitions in the 60s. There were well-known names of the period among them and the prizewinners were composed of same names. The juries were composed of architects and advisory jury members from the Ministries of Public Works and Foreign Affairs.

Criteria mentioned in the documents other than the functional and structural aspects include: “accord with local climate”, “representative identity”, “mass character”, “official character that is to

When the histories of the Turkish embassies abroad are examined, though limited in number, there is a variety in the political identities of the host nations. Hence, following concerns and questions should be considered. Has there been a meaningful variety in their architecture corresponding to this variety in political regimes, like Western democracies, Communist countries, Islamic Middle East sovereignties or recently the New Turkic Republics that represent the basic trivium in the Turkish political and intellectual life, i.e. Westernization, Islam, Turkisation?²⁶⁰ One narrative that is seen common in texts on both American and British embassies is their roles in the reflection of “democracy” rather than of a national culture, in countries with a socialist regime. Is it possible to point out such characteristics, according to the particular political or cultural climate and Turkey’s assumed self-image in the host country, in the design proposals or discussions based on the 1960s series of competitions, or are they merely shaped according to the multiplicity of the stylistic debates in the architectural discourse?

Partially due to the variety of factors like the climate, program and size of the plot, it is not possible to observe explicit variation in architectural form regarding the regime of the host country. The primary framework for the architectural expression

be attained in an embassy building “,”halls are to be designed in accordance with the Turkish hospitality, to give the sense that our representative is hosting the guests in his own house”.

There are also comments of the jury on the competition entries: “Though it is admirable to be in search of a Turkish house, the architect did not succeed; roof is too wide and over articulated (Comment on the project which got the second Honorable mention in 1962 Lisbon competition). “Architect’s intention to put forward Turkey’s representation as the primary aim was not pursued in the right way. Endeavor of interpretation is worth appraisal. However, interpreting our times and problems with the forms and even principles of the past points to our failure in finding the authentic interpretation of our own times.” (On Arolat’s proposal for the 1984 Islamabad embassy competition)

The plans of some competitors were inscribed with the secondary elements that were aimed to give the “Turkish character” like selsebil, mangal, kahve salonu, lale bahçesi and kerevet.

There were two interesting differences between the submissions to the competitions in the 1960s and 1984 Islamabad. One is the factor of security that must have been an outcome of the terrorist attacks to Turkish representatives abroad starting in the early 1970s. The winning scheme has explicit references to this issue in its space organization. Second difference was the absence of the sculpture proposals (plastik) that were prevalent in almost all of the schemes submitted to the 1960s competitions.

²⁶⁰ As stated by the Technical Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a main distinction is the “development” level and bureaucracy of the host country. If the nation was regarded as underdeveloped like Pakistan, the design as well as the building process was controlled by Ankara and given to Turkish architects and firms. If the embassy was a developed country, like U.S or Japan, design and building process was commissioned in the host countries. However, this explanation does not clarify the acquisition of Turkish embassies in Germany. Bonn representative was designed by Vedat Özsan, Oral Vural and Cengiz Bektaş and design of the new one in Berlin was planned to be obtained in Turkey.

of these buildings was the architectural discourse rather than the political. Architectural critics' and historians' explanations, regarding the relation between the architectural discourse and dominant formal characteristics of the period and the competitions of buildings abroad, are twofold. While the world fair pavilions were seen as distinguished architectural examples, the embassies were considered less assertive and did not usually appear in the historical accounts of that period. For example, Kortan categorizes the prize winning proposals for the New Delhi, Warsaw and Brasilia embassies as samples of the then current "irrational" approaches, i.e. articulation of the scheme in small masses, having some disadvantages in terms of adapting to different functional needs and climatic contexts.²⁶¹ There are other articles in the architectural journals reviewing the contemporaneous architectural discourse in Turkey, pointing to the formal similarity among the entries to contemporaneous embassy competitions and seeing these similarities and their resemblance to the current form approaches in the west as a symptom of deeper problems related to the formation of the architect and his role in the construction activity at that time²⁶². These criticisms also express the dissatisfaction with the national competitions in Turkey in the architectural circles and avail the search for different methods of commissioning.

Though Kortan's comment above is a negative one, considering these buildings as mere imitations of western examples, they are not to be dismissed in a discussion on the concept of "identity". Following the architectural trends of that period was considered also as the Turkish architects' willingness to adopt western tastes. A building designed following one of the latest trends and built abroad amongst the other embassies in a capital would be displaying the identity of the architects and of the nation, representing the synchronization with the "trendsetters". Tekeli and Sisa's New Delhi project is such an example. Architects call the architecture of the compound as "tropical", which is distinguished with the exposed concrete construction and deep sun shading devices, displaying affiliations to the brutalist formal repertoire of the Corbusier's works in Chandigarh and Ahmedabad (Fig.

²⁶¹ Kortan E. (1974) *Türkiyede Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi, 1960-1970*, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 79-82.

²⁶² Gürkan, G. (1967) "Ülkemizde Mimarlık Nerede Duruyor?" *Mimarlık*, No:7, 47.

3.3a). While the chancery building resembles the public buildings of Le Corbusier, articulated abstract geometry and exposed concrete units for the personnel recall his villas in Ahmedabad²⁶³ (Fig. 3.3b).

Sedat Hakkı Eldem's proposal for the residence of the New Delhi Embassy is similarly interesting for its singularity in formal expression, amongst his other works including the embassies built in Turkey. Rather than another variation of his interpretation of "Turkish Architecture", Eldem was involved with the contemporaneous architectural approaches and forms, especially put into practice in subtropical environments. In addition to the brutalist aesthetic employed in the main structure, with its abstract forms, volumes and textured surfaces, a secondary structure with mushroom columns providing cross-ventilation and extra shade to the sealed building have affinities to the western architects' interpretation of sub-tropical contexts. This secondary structure is familiar to the parasol shell, i.e. an architectonic solution by Le Corbusier in Chandigarh, which has a detached roof supported by posts.

While some of the competition proposals followed the formal trends in contemporary architecture, there were also persistent themes. One dominant theme in the designs, prize winning or not, had been the references to historical prototypes that consequently associated these works with "national architecture". While in some of them such references was explicit as in the designs for the Beirut, Jakarta, Brasilia and Kuwait embassies, in some others reference to "traditional architecture" to display "national identity" was implicit as in those for Lisbon and Bonn

²⁶³ In this particular example of embassy, this attitude was appreciated by the diplomatic circles for their exemplary status for the other embassies in the city. (see footnote 204) It is also interesting to note that this embassy took the attention of the Indian press and published in "The Indian Architect". This is amongst the rare and early examples where works of Turkish architects took place in the foreign magazines. For a more comprehensive list of similar occasions of prevalent architects see Alsaç, Ü. (1976) *Türkiye'deki Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Evrimi*, 190.



Fig. 3.3a Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in NewDelhi (chancery).
Architects : S. Sisa, D. Tekeli, M. Hepgüler



Fig. 3.3b Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in NewDelhi (staff housing).
Architects : S. Sisa, D. Tekeli, M. Hepgüler

3.1.2.1 Themes on Traditional Architecture I

Beirut:

A Formula for National Identity, S.H. Eldem and Turkish House Abroad

Sedat Hakkı Eldem's interest in the architectural heritage of Turkey started from his formative years in the university and continued in his post-graduate studies in Paris and Berlin. As indicated by Bozdoğan²⁶⁴, he organized an exhibition in Paris showing examples of vernacular houses of his native land. These houses, interestingly named as "Anatolian" not "Turkish", seemed to refer to the housing stock within the borders of the newly founded nation-state, excluding examples from the larger territory of the Ottoman Empire like the Balkans, which would be within his focus later in his career. An item of this exhibition was an embassy residence that seemed to have a common theme with the houses.²⁶⁵ What was common was not only the plan configuration or the formal resemblances, but the representational nature²⁶⁶. While the houses stood for the cultural heritage of the nation²⁶⁷, this building stood for the modern state. The latter had a formal similarity to the former, but had a structural system realized with reinforced concrete. Though it was nonetheless a "house", the realm of the private as being the ambassador's residence, it acted as the envoy of the public.

"House" in the ambassadorial context is also an intriguing concept. It is actually a transitory house for the ambassador, who is actually "homeless", a nomad. Though basically it is the property of the state and few belongings are brought in by the

²⁶⁴ Bozdoğan, S., Özkan, S. and Yenal E. (1987) *Sedat Hakkı Eldem. Architect in Turkey*, Concept Media.Pte. Ltd., New York.

²⁶⁵ Eldem's father was a diplomat during the late years of the Ottoman period. His sister was also the wife of Fethi Okyar, the Turkish ambassador to Paris, where Eldem lived together when he was in Paris. However, the presence of this embassy building within this exhibition cannot be explained by this biographical information.

²⁶⁶ This building is regarded relatively eclectic one. Though distinctive patterns of Turkish architecture like the "interior sofa" or "eyvan" were utilized in the plan articulation, the garden in front is influenced by the "cihar-bag" scheme of Iran and Central Asia. The constructional system and the details owe to Perret. Tanyeli, U. (2001) *Sedat Hakkı Eldem*, Boyut Yayınları, İstanbul, 27

²⁶⁷ Nalbantoğlu states that these drawings emphasizing formal aspects abstracted the daily lives of the users, and as such this use of vernacular references does not form a critique of modernity, but a way of conforming to it. Nalbantoğlu (1993) "Between Civilization and Culture: Appropriation of Traditional Dwelling forms in Early Republican Turkey", *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol.2, No.47, 66-73.

ambassador, ambassador and the family pretend to be at “home”, representing typical and/or progressivist and/or westernized life patterns and family relations.

Later in his career in 1968, Sedat Hakkı Eldem was involved in the design of the Turkish Embassy in Beirut (Fig. 3.4). That he was commissioned to design the Beirut Embassy together with H. Şensoy²⁶⁸ and S. Sadık as the result of an architectural competition limited to selected entrants and his appointment as a jury member in the first competition for the Turkish Embassy in Islamabad bring to mind whether the notion of the “national” in architecture persisted in the design of legations. Proposed design for the Beirut Embassy can be considered as an arrangement using the architectural features abstracted from the historical residential architecture and recomposed in an eclectic manner. While the late career of the architect is often understood in terms of contextualism rather than in explicit national intents, Beirut Embassy should be interpreted within the framework of reference to a national identity. This framework is not only an outcome of the obvious symbolic function that this building was serving for, but also of its location. As Eldem indicated in his seminal book “Turkish House”, the architectural features are common to an “Ottoman” geography, excluding the south of Euphrates and the Middle East. Hence, the morphology of the Beirut Embassy could have been considered as “contextual” if placed in Sofia or Bucharest, etc.; its reference to a national architecture is more explicit in Beirut.

This persistence in the attempts to develop a national architecture based on traditional buildings for the Turkish embassies abroad extended well beyond Eldem’s personal ambit and reached the late 1980s. As the designs for the

²⁶⁸ Because of his involvement with the Lisbon Embassy, Hamdi Şensoy was invited to the competition along with the other architects Şevki Vanlı and Doğan Tekeli- Sami Sisa. Sedat Hakkı’s participation in the Beirut Embassy design with his own initiation was later on. Eldem indicated his prior involvement with the foreign embassies in Ankara to his younger colleague and suggested a joint effort in the design (interview with Şensoy). Though Şensoy has a similar interest and appreciation for the traditional architecture and affinity to Eldem’s vocabulary due to coming from the same school, such a shortlist for the invited competition makes it hard to point out a consistency or a stylistic preference for the embassy buildings.

Şensoy was an interesting figure in the design of Turkey’s representative buildings abroad. He was amongst the designers of two embassies –Beirut and Lisbon- and also of the 1958 Brussels Expo Pavilion. He also supervised the construction of these embassies. Eldem’s flight phobia made Şensoy the principle figure during the building phase. Recently, he was asked to make and alterations in the Beirut Embassy after the missile attack and ransacking of the building during the civil war (interview with Şensoy).

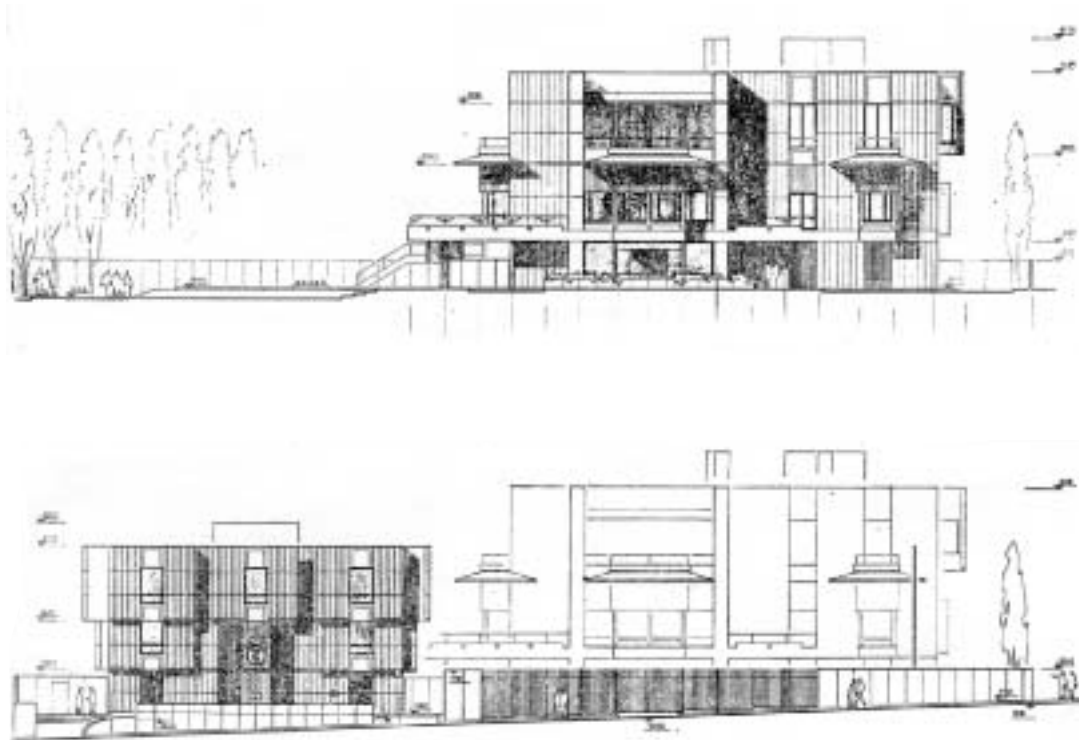


Fig. 3.4 Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Beirut
East Elevations of the Residence and Chancery.
Architects : S. H. Eldem, H. Şensoy, S. Sadık

embassies in Beirut, Jakarta, Brasilia and Kuwait indicate, it became a recurrent theme to use the plan schemes or facades with allusions to the historical “Turkish house” prototypes²⁶⁹, irrespective of the variety of host countries with different climatic and cultural contexts. Even in examples like the Embassy in Riyadh, where there were “impositions” concerning the use of local forms and privacy criteria, the architect made references to the “animate-sensitive synthesis of the Turkish-Islamic architectural culture, mostly from traditional houses of Anatolia and the Saudi Najd architectural traits”.²⁷⁰

One interesting coincidence, or maybe an outcome of the principle of reciprocity, was the wave of embassy building in Ankara during the 1960s. While he was involved with the designs for Turkey’s representation abroad, Eldem was also assigned the designs for the Pakistan (1966-74), the Indian (1965) and the Dutch (1973-75) embassies in Ankara. These designs, as the compilation of these and his other large scale houses that form a book²⁷¹ demonstrates, illustrate the continuing effort in his search for a National Style based on idealized Turkish house types. His idealized “Turkish Residence” works both ways; it becomes the “house” of the Turkish Ambassador abroad, as well as the house of a foreigner, who does not want to stay as an alien within a host cultural and architectural context. There were frequent references to the characteristics of the guest country, like the arches of the Pakistani embassy which were intended by Sedat Hakkı Eldem to give an essence

²⁶⁹ Not only the structures representing the state abroad but at home are shaped with similar design approaches in this period. The new Presidential House designed by Genç and Aytöre and the new residence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Çankaya, designed by Yıldırım Parlar, both in the mid 1980s, were again within the idiom of “modernized Turkish house”. While this parallelism might be considered as an outcome of the dominant tendencies in architecture towards “history” in that period, this similarity in terms of representation offers another explanation. Such a parallelism, as mentioned in the second chapter, was relevant for the 1930s where there is close formal affinities with the presidential house and residence of the ministry of foreign affairs with the embassy in Tehran. While this is not explicitly stated for the Turkish case, embassies modeled after the other representative structures of the state like the presidential house or the parliament is not an uncommon.

²⁷⁰ Çimen B. (ed.) (2000) “T.C. Riyad Büyükelçiliği”. In *6. Ulusal Mimarlık Ödülleri Sergi Kataloğu*, Yem Yayınları, 39. Alp states that this building was nominated for the Aga Khan architectural awards for these qualities.

²⁷¹ *Sedat Hakkı Eldem Büyük Konutlar*, Yaprak Kitabevi, Ankara. The resemblance between these embassies, i.e. Indian Residence in Ankara and residences of the Turkish elite like the Uşaklıgil Köşk in Tokmak promontory in Istanbul is apparent.

of “Islamic Architecture”²⁷². However, any explicit intention on behalf of the Turkish embassies to harmonize or to pay tribute to the local cultural aspects of the country resided is not frequently observed²⁷³. Thus, both the Indian Embassy in Ankara and the Turkish Embassy in Beirut, follow similar motifs of residential architecture for the residence buildings, and employ more formal character for the chancery buildings. The model developed in Ankara was adopted abroad for the Turkish embassy.

This dichotomy of using a formal discipline emanating from traditional residential architecture for the embassy residence, but a more abstract modern one for the chancery, is an evidence of the pragmatic aspects of the “regionalist discourse” in architecture in Turkey. Tanyeli matches with Bozdoğan²⁷⁴ by pointing at the dichotomy in Eldem’s career that illustrates his pragmatist use of regionalism. For Tanyeli, Eldem is the first architect, who utilized the regionalist discourse and forms in the residential architecture, but felt free to make use of a more modern one in other contexts. This explanation can give a clue as to the dichotomous nature of the formal vocabulary used in the buildings in the compound of Turkish Embassy in Beirut as well as in the Pakistan Embassy in Ankara. While the residential unit is more “traditionalist”, the office unit/ chancery is far from this and more “universalist”. Tanyeli’s explanation can also make us reflect on the use of the regionalist model in the embassies designed by different architects and see whether the regionalist attitudes were appropriated for this particular function or was due to the positions of the architects pursued in their other projects as well.

²⁷² Sedat Hakkı Eldem: *Elli Yıllık Meslek Jübilesi* (1983) Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 35.

²⁷³ There may be exceptions like Tange’s embassy design in Tokyo, which was explained within the narrative of the common architectural characteristics of both nations, like courtyards. Göker, S. (1994) “Tokyo’da TC Büyükelçilik Binası”, *Arredamento-Dekorasyon* 64/11, 74, 76. However, competitions for the Turkish embassies substantiate an indifference to the countries and localities where the buildings were to take placed. Although there were different instances where “Turkishness” was mentioned, architects even did not mention the name of the host country, but the specific climatic features and immediate surroundings. This might also have been an outcome of the prevalent architectural climate as well as some practical problems, like the limits of the schedule of the competitions to study the local architectural and cultural features.

²⁷⁴ Bozdoğan, S., Özkan, S. and Yenal E. *Sedat Hakkı Eldem Architect in Turkey*, 96.

Brasilia, Jakarta and Kuwait:

While the architectural scene after the 1960s was marked by multiplicity, sensitivity to the local, regional, traditional and national issues continued to exist. This sensitivity was designated as the primary motive after the “internationalism” attitudes of the 1950s by some commentators like Yücel, Alsaç and Kortan. Although nationalism of the 1940s lost its grip on the architects’ discourse, some occasions like the competitions for embassies availed the rejuvenation of some themes as well as forms of that period as well. Winners of the Jakarta, Brasilia and Kuwait embassy competitions provide the chance of pointing out this similarity.

The winning proposal of the first competition for the Brasilia Embassy in 1967 had an explicit formal resemblance to the “Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa or Köprülü Yalısı”. (Fig. 3.5) Not only the T plan, (which is also repeated in the sitting room of the family members of the ambassador), but also the façade treatment of the reception hall, which was the most important element as the guests approached the compound, had a close affinity with this archetypal structure. The façade with its proportions, tall blank surfaces above the fenestration, clad with wooden planks and wooden window shutters were again modeled after “Köprülü Yalısı”. Other material visible in the facades was the exposed concrete used in the construction of the frame structure.

The design of the Jakarta Embassy (1968)²⁷⁵, though more compact in comparison to the previously mentioned design for Brasilia, also has utilized the aforementioned archetypal “yalı” in its design. The reception hall similarly had a T shape hall, cantilevering from the basement walls and a similar façade organization with extending eaves (Fig. 3.6). Its being the oldest surviving example of

²⁷⁵ The scheme designed by Ertur Yener and Mehmet Tataroğlu was the winner of a limited competition. It was not implemented due to problems related to the purchase of the site. The first of these names is the co-designer of the Türk Tarih Kurumu, which was given the Aga Khan Award for its sensitivity towards the synthesis of the traditional archetypes and new technologies in architecture. Yener’s other works like the casino section of the Anatolia Club in İstanbul, which was considered as another successful utilization of T scheme by some commentators like Sözen, also display such a sensitivity. Sözen, M. (1984) *Türk Mimarlığı*, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, Ankara, 281. It is interesting to note that Özer evaluates Yener’s use of T plan, descending from the Köprülü yalı, as the most masterful one amongst the frequent references in the contemporary architecture of the 1960s. For Özer it is an example of “authentic regional” architecture rather than “dogmatic regionalist”. Özer, B. (1966) “T Planı ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz”, *Mimarlık*, No.5, 15-18.

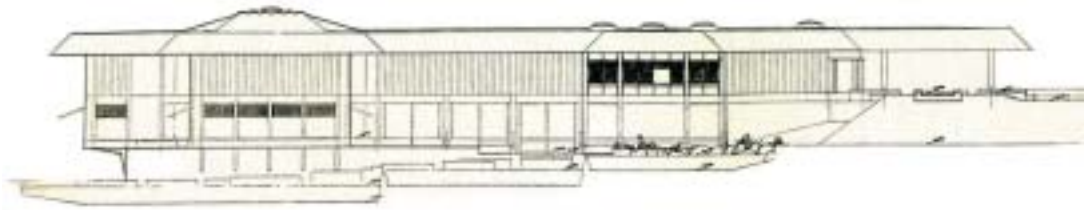


Fig. 3.5 Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Brasilia (first proposal)
Architects : İ. Ural, Ç. Ural



Fig. 3.6 Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Jakarta.
Architects : E. Yener, M. Tataroğlu

“Turkish House”, except Topkapı Palace, situates “Köprülü Yalısı” as the forefather of all the other residential architecture, which stood as the paradigm of the history of the Turkish domestic architecture. This late seventeenth century building was exemplar in the search for the National Architecture during 1940s. The seminal outcome of this association is the well-known “Taşlık kahvesi” designed by Sedat Hakkı Eldem in 1948. Köprülü Yalısı was regarded as the prototype for the Turkish House not only by the designers of the period, but also by theoreticians like Albert Gabriel. He claimed that “though it was made up of perishable material, Köprülüler yalısı was keeping its character and standing in its perfection as an architectural lesson”. For Gabriel, if the wood was transposed into reinforced concrete, the form of this yalı would be a source of “more rational (makul) and aesthetically pleasing results” compared to the monotonous cubism of the 1930s.²⁷⁶

This formulation of transposing the perishable material, i.e. wood, into the durable materials of the modern age with an abstraction of the form of this historical building found a much longer life and credibility in the Turkish architectural culture, with some modifications, and a wide ground of application. The window, different in proportion than the rather horizontal ones in Köprülüler Yalısı”, has been formulated as vertical, coming next to each other with vertical members imitating the structural posts of a wood frame structure. One other example following this formula was the winner of the second (limited) competition for the Turkish Embassy in Brasilia. It is possible to see frequent references to this archetype also in the submissions to the competition of a later date for the Islamabad Embassy²⁷⁷. References to “Köprülüler Yalısı” went beyond the discourse of architects and were adopted by commentators in the press when “traditional architecture” was concerned.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ Gabriel, A. (1938) “Türk Evi”, *Arkitekt*, No.5-6, 149-154. In this text Gabriel also distinguishes Turkish architecture from the Arabian one by using this exemplary house, mentioning the differences in the placement of the halls in both cultures.

²⁷⁷ 3rd prize, 1st and 5th honorable mentions, also utilized the T scheme as well as similar facade articulations.

²⁷⁸ Even the café section of the Pavilion in 1958 Brussels expo was regarded as “inspired” from this yalı in a daily paper, though the references to this structure did not include plan organization or structural system. İpekçi, A. (1958) “Pavyonumuza Umumi Bakış”, *Milliyet*, 22.August.1958, 3.

The use of this formula of façade expression of “Turkish House” seems to have worked effectively in the Turkish Embassy in Brasilia. Turkish ambassador to Brazil, Sav, claims that it has a distinct place in the embassy district of this new architecturally pretentious capital, where different nationalities search for distinctive architectures emanating from their own culture. So this “Turkish House” differentiates itself from the other embassies alluding to the “Spanish Chateau”, “Hindu Rajah Palace”, and “Indonesian Pagoda”. However, other embassies built in contemporaneous styles without references to historical prototypes are not mentioned in his accounts.²⁷⁹ It is interesting to note that the German embassy designed by Hans Scharoun just next to the Turkish Embassy is not regarded highly by the diplomat. His accounts remind the similar themes of discussion about the fuzzy role of “history” in representing the state. “(Representational buildings of the Republic) should be designed in a style that represents a deeply rooted state and its great culture”... “Turkish Architects, Grandchildren of Great Sinan, should prove their talents”.²⁸⁰ This viewpoint emphasizes that demonstration of talents should be by way of underlining a national identity rather than the individual identity of the architect. Noting many instances when different tourist groups stopped and took pictures of the Embassy, the ambassador was fond of the capacity of the building in making the propaganda of Turkey.

The Turkish Embassy in Brasilia is a compound composed of buildings housing the chancery, residence of the ambassador, staff housing and housing for the other diplomatic personnel²⁸¹ (Fig. 3.7). All these buildings are composed of similar

²⁷⁹ Building an embassy in Brasilia seems to have been a major enterprise for the other leading countries in early seventies, enforcing the employment of leading architects of their countries for representing their countries. As Loeffler notes “after rumors suggested that the French had retained Le Corbusier to design their embassy there, architects expected office of Foreign Buildings Operation (FBO) to retain a “prominent” name for the U.S project, for which Architectural Advisory Panel members proposed Mies Van der Rohe, Gunnar Birkerts, Kallman & McKinnell, and Louis Kahn” Loeffler, J. (1998) *Building American Embassies*, Princeton Architectural Press, New York. *Architecture of Diplomacy*, 239.

²⁸⁰ Sav, E. (1992) *Diplo-dra-matik Anılar*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 197-98. Sinan seems to be the architect who is promoted by the state, and memoirs of Sav include an interesting anecdote on this issue. In the 400th anniversary of Sinan in 1988 an international exhibition was organized. Its occurrence in Qatar reinforced the Islamic identity of Turkey in an Islamic country, but also caused the invitation of Sinan by an official assuming that he was a contemporaneous architect. Ibid. 34-37.

²⁸¹ As one of the partner architects of the compound, İlgi Yüce Aşkun noted that in the initial stages of the design, the chancery and the residence were to be in the same mass. It would form a

mass articulations, typical window units, eaves and roofs. Unlike the prior scheme which was not implemented and where only the residential part followed the formal aspects of the “Turkish House” modeled on a particular Köprülüler example²⁸², the typical façade elements in typical articulations were used disregarding the particular functions inside.

Turkish Embassy in Kuwait is another example utilizing explicit references to the domestic “Turkish architectural forms” (Fig. 3.8). Largely because of the site limitations, the allocations of the different functions of the compound has availed a very compact architectural articulation in this example. Rather than ideal types scattered on the vast landscape as in the built Brazilian scheme, Embassy in Kuwait employs “traditional” outdoor articulations, composed of different units as seen in the dead-end streets of historical neighborhoods. Even the interior diagonal street, having an angle to the buildings within the compound, enforced the creation of triangular oriels over the counterpoint blank walls, delivering picturesque vistas for the visitors. This mass articulation resembles what Eldem did six years earlier in the Social Security Agency complex, where such a formal approach was taken for an institution compartmentalized into different blocks that created an urban context, rather than object types.

Organizational principles and the dominant formal characteristics of the “Turkish House”, owing much to the sensibility of Sedat Hakkı Eldem’s historical surveys referring to the civic architecture of Istanbul, are limited, clear and simple. This limitation is actually what Eldem was intentionally after in the 1960s. Studies on Sedat Hakkı Eldem noted this characteristic. For Bozdoğan “...his enterprise is the construction of an architectural discourse: one that is recognizable, repeatable, and communicable. Rather than being empirically embedded in context and circumstance, his buildings essentially stand out as ‘ideal object types’ rationally

more imposing ideal scheme, but it was modified to be split into two, following the functional segregation.

²⁸² Construction drawings of the 1st prize winner of the first competition of the Turkish Embassy in Brasilia showed great difference from the competition drawings. Though it was credited by the jury for its reflection of the distinction of the residential units in the embassy compound from the chancery –which is considered as office building-, the reference to T scheme of the “traditional” houses was not explicit at the competition stage.



Fig. 3.7 Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Brasilia (second proposal)
Architects : İ. Yüce, A. Aşkun

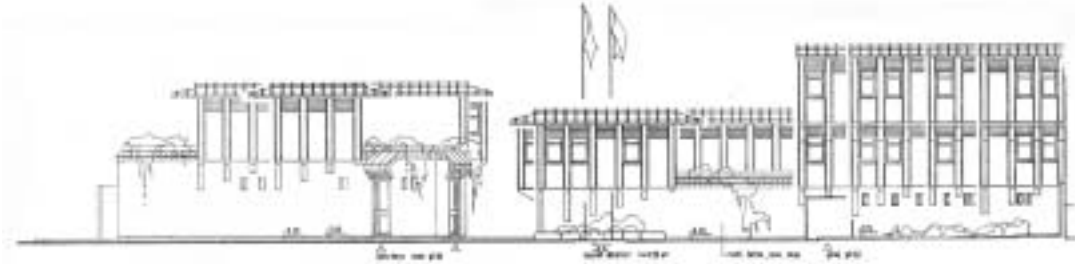


Fig. 3.8 Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Kuwait.
Architects : T. Sütmen, Y. Koçak

conceived in order to be transmitted in time”.²⁸³ Similarly Tanyeli claims that his “vocabulary” and “syntax”, which are “pure, easily usable, repeatable, even open to improvement has not lost its relevance after his death”.²⁸⁴ This relevance was not confined to his residential architecture. In fact, references to the historical and traditional forms have not been limited to the domestic architecture in the Turkish architectural scene, especially after the 1980s.

In the same year with Sedat Hakkı Eldem’s death in 1988, a new design for the embassy in Baghdad was proposed. Though the architects Alpay and İlgi Yüce Aşkun were those of the Embassy in Brasilia, the form generation was not confined to the “Turkish House”. Regarding the latter as constraining, İlgi Aşkun stated that they were in search of other ways of promoting traditional architecture. It is possible to observe in their search an attitude similar to the architectural discourse of this period in the world. The prominent “Post-Modern” architecture legitimizing more liberal attitudes in paraphrasing traditional architecture, with a more liberal syntax was also getting hold of the architectural scene in Turkey. References were extended beyond the residential architecture to the “Taç Kapı” of madrasahs and Hans as the entrance gates of the residence and the chancery concerned, and to the kiosks in Topkapı palace to explain the kiosk on the swimming pool (Fig. 3.9). Melih Karaaslan, a prominent name of the following generation of Turkish architects, who were affiliated with a “Post-modernism” of eclectic historical references, regarded Alpay Aşkun as a precursor of their approach. Designs of embassies in Brasilia and Baghdad were seen as examples of Aşkun’s sensitivity to forms, plan and mass articulations of the historical past especially of the Seljukid period (Fig. 3.10a). While the Embassy in Brasilia was regarded as a modest example of a literal use of historical forms, especially with the chancery and residence solved in different masses (Fig. 3.10b), the design of the one in Baghdad

²⁸³ Bozdoğan, S. (1987) *Sedat Hakkı Eldem Architect in Turkey*, Concept Media Pte.Ltd., New York, 143-144.

²⁸⁴ Tanyeli, U. (2001) *Sedat Hakkı Eldem*, Boyut Yayınları, İstanbul, 27. Other commentators on the period also mention the purification and the economy of the elements in the new interpretation of “national architecture”. One seminal work demonstrating this tendency is another embassy, but representing India in Ankara not Turkey abroad (1965). Alsaç. Ü. (1976) *Türkiye’de Mimarlık düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet dönemindeki Evrimi*, 48.

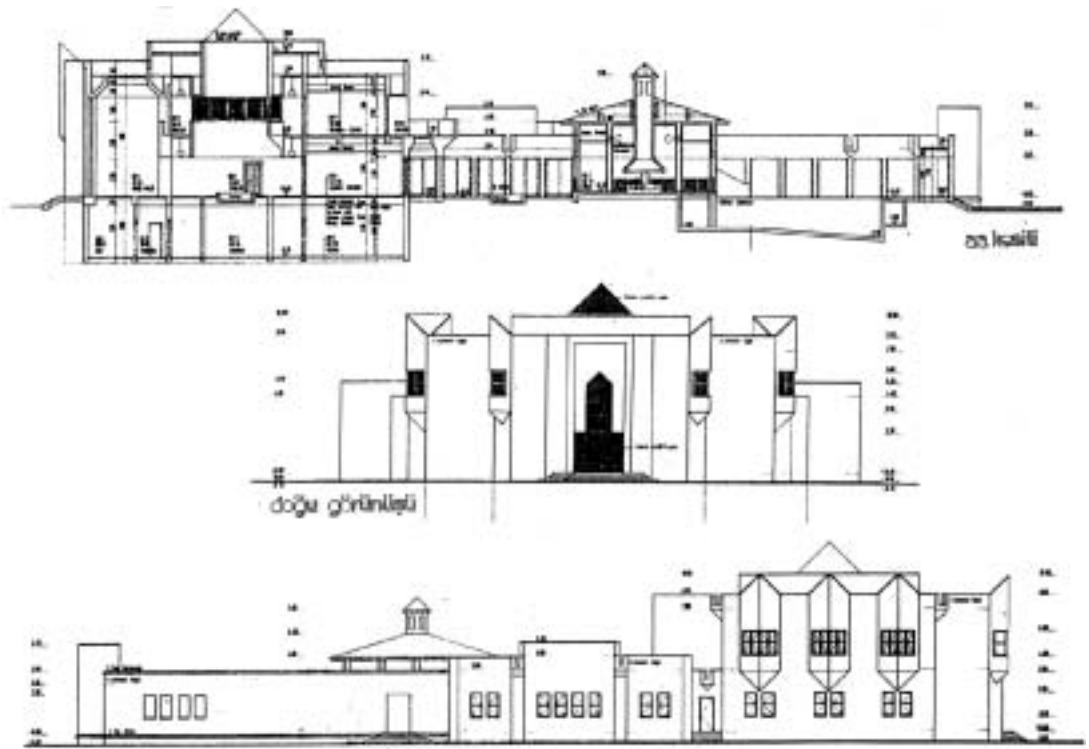


Fig. 3.9 Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Baghdad (unrealized project).
Architects : İ.Yüce, A. Aşkun



Fig.3.10a Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Brasilia.
Unrealized monolithic scheme. Architects: İ. Yüce A. Aşkun



Fig.3.10b Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Brasilia. Architects : İ. Yüce A.



Fig.3.10c Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Brasilia. Interior

exemplifies an abstraction and interpretation of these forms in a creative composition.²⁸⁵

Prevalence of “Postmodernism” in Turkish architecture in 1980s, with its emphasis on Ottoman and Seljukid architecture is a factor that explains the choice of forms in the embassies in Brasilia and Baghdad. However form affiliations to the forms of these historical periods continue to be the dominant attitude in the later embassy buildings like the ones in Baku (Fig. 3.11) and Tunis (Fig. 3.12) as well.

While these aforementioned buildings are examples of the “national” and “historicist” attitudes in the Turkish architecture, spatial analyses of these embassy compounds also help us to elaborate the limits of the “national” architecture. One important space to be analyzed is the reception hall. Spatial organization of the reception halls, as seen in the construction drawings of the first scheme for the embassy in Brasilia and the proposal for Jakarta, has explicit references to historical prototypes. The arms of the T scheme are elevated like the traditional “seki” configuration and seating is alongside the exterior walls, as the traditional “sedir”. The window sill level is low to avail watching outside from the lower eye level of sitting position. The compatibility of this sitting arrangement where 6-8 people sitting next to each other in the diplomatic receptions is dubious. In Jakarta there is also a bubbling fountain in the middle of the T hall like the one in Köprülüler Yalısı. In the realized scheme of the Embassy in Brasilia, however, design of the interiors is indifferent to such particularly “traditional” uses. Though the hall can be regarded as a variation of a T plan, arms of the T are large protrusions that can be enclosed by the sliding doors and become smaller halls themselves, which are considered to adapt to different sorts of receptions with different number of guests. Parallel to the division of the larger hall, smaller niches are placed at the intersections of the arms, to serve for daily life of the diplomat and the family. The discrepancy between the requirements of a stately mansion, with a home for a diplomat is solved by the modification of a historically rooted archetype of T plan. This discrepancy is manifested also in the difference between the day life and the night life of the residence. While it appears unified from outside, the upper

²⁸⁵ “Bir Mimar: Alpay Aşkun”, *Mimarlık*, 89/1, 66-75.



Fig 3.11 Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Baku.
Architects: A. Yatman, N. Yatman



Fig. 1.12 Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Tunis.
Architect: W. Mahmoud

floor is sealed off with an armored door for security reasons, which necessitate the doubling of some functions like kitchen on the first floor as well. In terms of furniture, the discrepancy between the outer form and the interior continues. Neither the interior designs in the original scheme, nor the utilization of commonplace sofas and armchairs in the actual usage (Fig. 3.10c) show a special enthusiasm in terms of cultural references for the setting to meet the guests. While the exteriors of these embassy schemes are aimed to give this characteristic, in the interiors references to the “Turkish Culture” are confined to the particularities of the cultural artifacts on display like the rugs and collection items.

3.1.2.2 Themes on Traditional Architecture II

Lisbon

It is not surprising to see the abstract form of the Brussels pavilion reused in its contemporaneous building; the Lisbon Embassy. (Fig. 3.13) This familiarity is partially an outcome of the involvement of the same architect, Hamdi Şensoy, in the design of both. It is also an outcome of the dominant formal approach in the architectural discourse of the time, responding to the problem of how to be modern, but have references to the national or regional architecture of Turkey.

The wooden grills were used again, not always as a secondary layer, but mostly reduced to the size of sun-breaks protruding from the slabs and balconies around the structure. Unlike its role in the Brussels northern sun, its use in Lisbon can also be justified by the climatic concerns. The grills were used in most of the other entries to the competition of the embassy, including the second and third prize winners. In the competition report one can even notice the use of such façade elements in the interiors to attain privacy. Grills had already become an abstracted means to interpret “regional- national” architectures as epitomized by the Büyükada Anadolu Kulübü by Cansever and Hancı.

Similarity in the forms of the Brussels pavilion and the Lisbon Embassy occurs also in the use of extensive glass surfaces. Though the latter is rather a

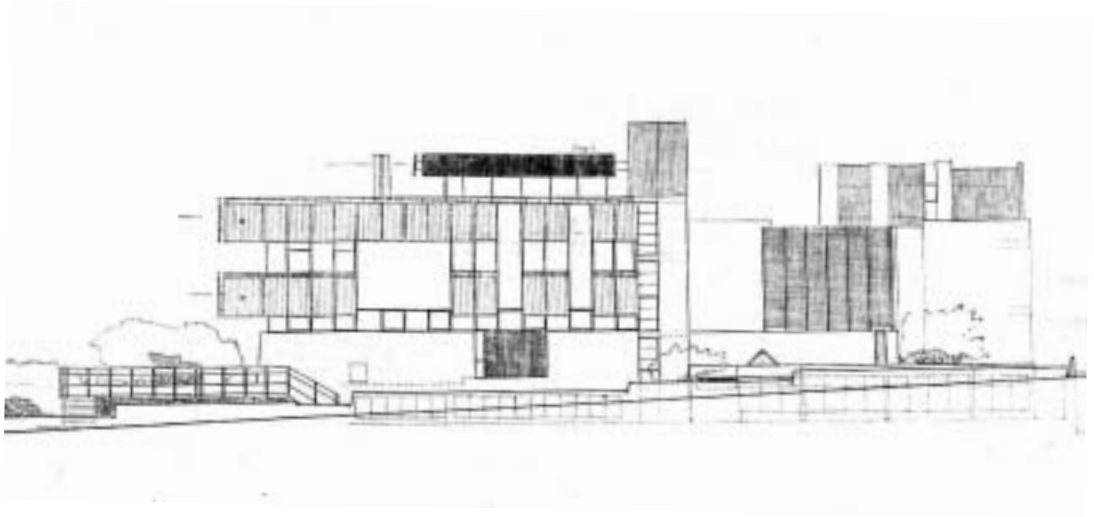


Fig. 3.13a Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Lizbon, elevations
Architects : M. Türkmen, O. Şahinler and H. Şensoy



Fig. 3.13b Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Lizbon, elevations
Architects : M. Türkmen, O. Şahinler and H. Şensoy

conventional reinforced concrete building, and its comparatively higher functional complexity could enable the use of large fenestrations only partially, as the Turkish Ambassador to Portugal states, it had distinctiveness in this regard, and the residence was known as the “glass house” in the diplomatic circles.²⁸⁶ On July 27, 1983 the embassy compound was attacked by terrorists and the residence was bombed and set on fire. This event initiated the consideration of modification of the existing embassies to make them safer or even building safer ones.²⁸⁷ Precautions against possible attacks caused considerable alterations in the architecture of the Lisbon Embassy. Designed and coordinated by one of the initial designers, Muhlis Türkmen, the glass fenestrations were reduced and sliding metal shutters were introduced to close the openings in case of any external attack. While such threats gave way for more systematic approaches to security concerns, as in the case of American embassies²⁸⁸, nonetheless it would be a major concern in the later Turkish embassies. However, although security started to become a vital issue in the early 1970s, keeping in mind that 34 Turkish diplomats were killed in the attacks between 1973 and 1994, two embassies that raised questions regarding the safety of the representatives were designed in this period.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁶ Interview with Ergun Sav, Turkish Ambassador to Lisbon between 1995-1998. “Sırça Köşk” was his wording.

²⁸⁷ “It is reported that new embassy buildings will be constructed to replace the Turkish embassies without sufficient security measures in some foreign countries.” “Bazı büyükelçilik yapıları yeniden inşa ediliyor” *Milliyet*, 29.July.1983, 7.

²⁸⁸ After the attacks on the U.S installations abroad, an advisory panel was organized and a report setting stringent security standards, known as “Inman”, was issued. These standards enforced many precautions like the minimum set-back dimensions, minimum lot sizes and blast standards limiting the window area to 15 percent of the total wall area. The outcome are compound designs characterized by their “colossal sizes, their relative isolation and their tremendous cost” Loeffler (1998) *The Architecture of Diplomacy*, 250.

²⁸⁹ In the later 1984 Islamabad embassy competition security issue gained more importance as the possible outcome of the terrorist attacks that started in the early 1970s, like the one on the Lisbon Embassy in 1983. The main design idea of the winning scheme to organize the spaces was a peripheral thick wall with limited openings, which would minimize the security problems generating from outside. Placement of the living quarters on the piloti was justified with the need for additional security as well. It seems that there was not a shared or an imposed scheme related to the security issues. However, it was mentioned by the jury to criticize some other entrants.

3.2 Foreign Architects and Identity Question - Paris, Tokyo and Washington

Paris

The chancery of the Paris Embassy (1973-1976) and the Tokyo Embassy (1973-1977) were designed and built almost within the same period at the start of the 1970s. These buildings, when compared with those designed by the Turkish architects, who were searching for a “National” identity with reference to the “traditional” architecture, were the outcome of a different design attitude. One other difference was that the architects of these embassy buildings were nationals of the host countries.

The site for the Paris chancery had constraints in terms of functional and contextual requirements. So the Turkish government preferred the “contemporary lines that that would symbolize Turkey’s progress towards future” instead of adapting to the surrounding 18th century Parisian architectural context²⁹⁰ (Fig. 3.14). Having an indisputably modern appearance was also the designer’s architectural predilection. Beauclair stated that

When “national identity” is concerned, I believe that modernism was a means to establish it. 18th century mansion (of the residence) had nothing to do with a particular Turkish characteristic and even if it was an archetype, I would refuse to make a pastiche of Turkish architecture.²⁹¹

The only reference made regarding the national characteristics and its reflection in the design of the chancery was the gallery floor, where coffee was to be served. Architect made a populist remark in a speech given about the building “too much coffee is consumed in Turkey”²⁹²

This undulating glass structure was questioned by the users for its disadvantages after its completion. Karabey noted that during his visit there in 1979, there were

²⁹⁰ “T.C Paris Büyükelçiliği Kaçılırya Binası”, *Çevre*, No.6 November-December, 1979, 33-38. This intention of the Turkish government was also cited in “Chancellerie de l’ambassade de Turquie”, *Miroir*, No.52, April 1976.

²⁹¹ Letter dated 7.August.2002.

²⁹² Conference given at Pavillion l’Arsenal April 18, 1991. Published by the same architectural institution.



Fig. 3.14 Embassy of Republic of Turkey in Paris (chancery)
Architects : H. Bauclair and Ş. Demiren

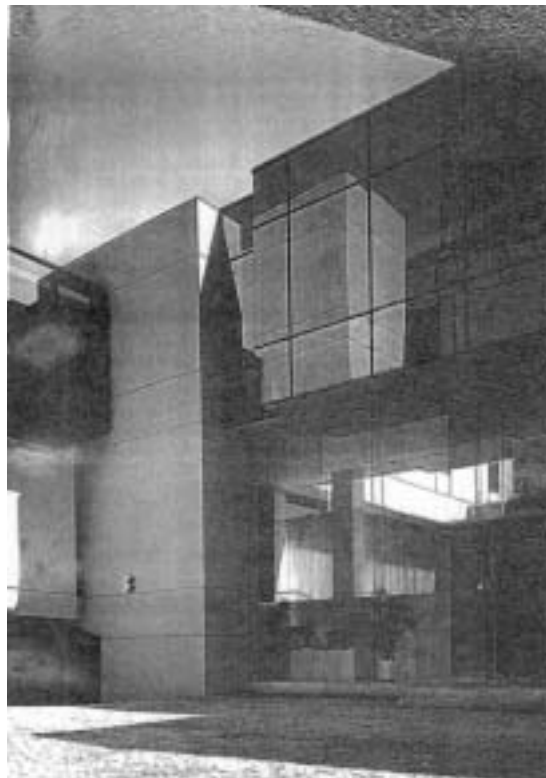


Fig. 3.15 Embassy of Republic of Turkey in Tokyo. Architects : K. Tange

complaints about the glass surfaces, which were assumed to be designed without considering that the officers especially working till late hours of the evening in the chancery constituted targets for terrorist attacks from outside. However, its significance as an architectural work seems to go beyond such disadvantages. Published in many architectural magazines and having a distinctive place among other architectural works, as the city guides evince, it has a reputation beyond functional inadequacies.²⁹³

Beauclair's stance in the architectural milieu might be an additional point to give prestige to the embassy. Vale in his analysis of the architecture of the post-colonial capitols and the symbolism they embody, points to the fact that "what is passed off as a quest for national identity is in reality a product of the search for sub-national, personal and supra-national identity". Personal identity means for Vale the architectural identity of the designer, who is often a prominent figure where work is "judged only" as the artistic expression of a revered master.²⁹⁴ Among his examples are Utzon the designer of the Kuwait parliament and Kahn the architect of the one in Dhaka. Such "autographed" structures brought a prestige to these countries as well.

Tokyo

While Beauclair may not be a "signature" worldwide, a more significant case in this regard is that of the Tokyo Embassy designed by Kenzo Tange²⁹⁵ (Fig. 3.15). Tange's personal significance has brought this building distinctiveness and

²⁹³ As seen in the bibliography it was published in different architectural magazines including the ones on building technologies for its glass surfaces. In a recent city guide of 2001 it was amongst the other three embassies –S.Africa, Australia, S. Arabia- mentioned as samples of "modern architecture" *Edition alternatives* In an earlier one dated 1988 only three embassies were cited –others were Australia and Vietnam- and one was the Turkish chancery. *Edition Regirex*. It was also appeared in edition Groupe Expansion 1983, Edition alternatives 1986, Edition Regirex 1985 city guides. In a Paris modern architecture guide published recently in Turkey, it is the only example amongst the embassies in the city having an architectural distinction. *Paris 1900-2000* ed. Altın, E. Boyut Yayınları, İstanbul.

²⁹⁴ Vale L. (1992) *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London.

²⁹⁵ Selection of the Beauclair office for the extension of the Turkish Chancellery needs further research. Role of his partner, Şemsa Demiren's Turkish nationality and her close relationship with the diplomatic circle in Paris might have played an important role. The selection of Tange is reported to be made within the initiative of the then current ambassador in Tokyo.

respectability, characteristics that were expected from an embassy. An embassy can contribute by being an exceptional building, significant for the diplomats of other embassies, as well as for the nationals of that country as well. In Tokyo this approach was adopted by other legations and Tange was also commissioned the Bulgarian and Kuwait embassies. His embassies are compared to each other by some commentators, and the Turkish Embassy is regarded as superior to the others. It seems that the prestige emanating from owning a “signature” building is alleviated by having the possession of the “best” amongst the other works of the artist-architect ²⁹⁶. Hence, while it is relatively scarce to see the names of the architects in the diplomats’ accounts, Tokyo embassy building has popularity amongst the representatives of Turkey abroad. ²⁹⁷ Architects in Turkey favor the building as well. For example, Şevki Vanlı, a prominent name, who designed the embassy in Tripoli, criticized the employment of an insignificant architect for the Washington embassy while appreciating the commissioning of the Tokyo embassy to Tange²⁹⁸. However commissioning foreign architects has always received skeptical and negative comments, even if the architect of concern were Tange. This is especially the case when their works are compared to similar projects designed by Turkish architects. Accordingly, Tokyo Embassy building was questioned by İ. Ural, the architect of the first embassy proposal in Brasilia. He noted that Turkish

²⁹⁶ Göker, S. (1994) “Tokyo’da TC. Büyükelçilik Binası”, *Arredamento-Dekorasyon* , 64/11, 74. The validity of this comment should be crosschecked with the other diplomats appointed to this post.

²⁹⁷ Various anecdotes are told related to this building to credit its architectural value. One such example is that Japanese architectural students constantly apply to the embassy for a visit to this building. Turkish colony in Tokyo also often notes their appreciation. For example wife of the ambassador to Tokyo Filiz Başkut noted that “our residence building designed by the famous Japanese architect Tange Kenzo has also affected my perception of Japan”. “Alice in Wonderland”, *Journal of Japan Trade and Industry*, <http://www.jef.or.jp/200205-019.html>. Misplacing the name and surname can also be interpreted as the importance given to his fame more than anything else.

A parallel can be drawn between this structure and the embassies built in Ankara by S. H. Eldem and ambassadors were aware of the name and the fame of the architect in Turkey.

Completion of the embassy designed by Tange is also cited as a significant occasion within the course of relations between Turkey and Japan in the researches in the field of international relations. See Ulusan Ş. (2001) *Türk Japon İlişkileri*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara. Matsutani, H. (1995) *Japonya’nın Dış Politikası ve Türkiye*, Bağlam Yayınları, İstanbul.

²⁹⁸ Vanlı, Ş. (2000) *Mimarlık Sevgilim*, 280-281 This choice is in conformity with possible dignified motivations in commissioning significant works to foreign architects: To contribute to the world civilization, to bring in a monument to their country, to serve art

authorities should be as encouraging to Turkish architects as they were to Tange in the design of the Tokyo Embassy.²⁹⁹

Though almost anonymous approval for Tange's design of the Tokyo embassy amongst the Turkish architects stems from his world wide fame, a second factor seems also to be important. This factor is the trust or popularity of the Japans in Turkey for their "successful" synthesis of "civilization" and "national culture". The forms and plan of the Tokyo Embassy are considered as the "positive" interpretations of both Japanese and Turkish traditional architecture, while it is an example of "modern" architecture. Similarity between Japan and Turkey in this regard, modernization without being "westernization" keeping national characteristics has been a central issue of the discussions in the realm of culture from the late 19th century onwards. It is also possible to trace the similar discussions in the Republican period and also in the realm of architecture. For example Japan is one of the exceptional countries, whose architecture found a chance to appear amongst the "western" countries, in the only architectural magazine of the 1930. In an article in 1935, it was claimed that despite the efforts to found a national art and architecture in European countries in Europe like Germany, there had not been a "powerful" and "characteristic" national art to found them on. However, similar attempts in Japan architecture was considered as successful, because countries having the superior success would be the countries having the most powerful and most characteristic art in the past. In this regard the article stated that similarly "we have the right to expect the architecture asserting and carrying the Turkish identity".³⁰⁰ The sympathy towards contemporary Japanese architecture had been acknowledged in different periods for its concern on "identity". For example S.H. Eldem, the prominent name of the identity discourse in Turkish architecture noted in the early 1970s, the period of the design of the Tokyo embassy, that although the same new form attitudes prevailed all over the world, Japan still keeps her own identity.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ Interview with İ. Ural (April 11, 2003). He expressed his dismay because of the cancellation of his design of the Turkish embassy in Brasilia on the grounds of cost, while Tange's fees and the project cost were much higher.

³⁰⁰ "Japonya'da Mimarlık", *Arkitekt*, 1935, no.5, 150-151.

³⁰¹ Eldem, S. (1973) "Elli Yıllık Cumhuriyet Mimarlığı", *Mimarlık*, No.11-12, 5-11, 7.

While the architecture of the 1930s is different from the architecture in the 1970s, sympathy with the Japanese architecture for sustaining the synthesis between the “civilization” and “culture” to create contemporary architecture keeps its credibility.³⁰² Tokyo Embassy is regarded as an abstract composition with influences from the traditional architecture of both Turkey and Japan, without recourse to the formal resemblances with the historical examples. Such recourse became the essential point debated in the Turkish embassy in Washington.

Washington: “National Style” adopted

As stated by the Technical Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the procurement of the design and construction processes major distinction is made in terms of the “development” level and bureaucracy of the particular host country. If the nation is regarded as “developing” like Pakistan, the design as well as the building process is controlled by Ankara and is given to Turkish architects and contractors. If the embassy is in one of the western, developed countries, design and building processes are commissioned to professionals and firms in the host countries. This was the method used in the Turkish Embassy in Washington, in the embassies district known as the International Center, (Fig. 3.16a). The Technical Bureau officials offer the particular reason for giving this commission to an American architect registered in Washington, as the difficulty faced in obtaining license for an architect unregistered in that particular part of the United States.³⁰³

³⁰² In an article that aims to identify the elements of “national culture”, it is claimed that Cultural heritage is not a source for imitation and repetition and if the synthesis with the traditional architecture is found it is possible to attain a cultural accumulation and continuity. Author suggested that it is easy to find examples in Japan where such a synthesis between contemporary life, necessities, local circumstances, modern materials and modern architectural insight has been realized Toner, S. (1990) “Mimarlığın Türk Kültüründeki Yeri ve Koruma Olgusunun Önemi”. In *Milli Kültür Unsurlarımız Üzerine Genel Görüşler*, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 197-201.

³⁰³ As it is stated by the “Technical Office” in the Ministry of Foreign office, Baranes Associates was selected for the design of the embassy because of its well-established practice in the Washington region, with its sizeable office consisting of 80 personnel. Another equally important factor is the highly bureaucratic nature of the licensure system in USA, which even makes a licensed architect in one state difficult to practice in another. Nevertheless, there are many embassies designed in Washington by the “natives” of the guest countries. For example Chancery of Brazil is designed by Olavo Redig de Campos a native and head of the department of building for the Brazilian Foreign Ministry. Scott, P. and A. Lee (1993) *Buildings of the District of Columbia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 392.



Fig.3.16a Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Washington DC.
Architect : Shalom Baranes Architects



Fig.3.16b Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Washington DC.
Architect : Shalom Baranes Architects

The architectural form of the Chancery Building in Washington was chosen with an aim at “incorporating themes common to both the Turkish and the American cultures borrowing from high style and vernacular idioms”.³⁰⁴ Architects claim that “broad, low hip roofs, the projecting eaves and the grouping of windows horizontally are familiar to both cultures” and there is similarity between “the prairie school in the United States and the vernacular style of the upland plains of Turkey”. Parallels extend to the use of the geometric patterning on the stone surfaces, woodwork and metalwork, in addition to the absence of “anthropomorphic forms”. According to the architects, while these forms and materials i.e. cypress wood, brick, thirty types of stone, slate and bronze are derived from the “Turkish vernacular architecture”, combination of banded and punched windows organized in localized symmetry of the two wings, plan configuration, and proportions have references to “high style tradition” of the Turkish architecture. They also refer to the examples of the late 19th century and early 20th century examples, which may be the examples that are known as the “first national style”. Architects also designate anonymous “Turkish” characteristics in reference to architectural features; for example “intricate geometric motifs recall the traditional Turkish penchant for exquisite detail” or “unique to Turkish beliefs an avoidance of human and anthropomorphic imagery is respected”.

Though the basic theme which is to refer to the culture of the guest country and to figure out a common ground to contextualize the architecture of the Turkish Embassy in the American context is clear, these explanations are confusing and there are problems with the terminology. Such cultural negotiation is not very uncommon as it has already been investigated in the Tehran case, where “brick” was offered as a common theme of both cultures, or as in the Tokyo case, where use of courtyard was explained with reference to its utilization in the architecture of both countries. In Washington, the common characteristic architectural features of both countries were intended to be displayed in a more explicit manner. Architects’ formulation of this intention was to use “recognizable forms that relate to both

³⁰⁴ These excerpts are from the correspondence and the memos of the project presented by the architects Patrick Burkhart and Bob Booher of Shalom Baranes Architects.

Turkish and American architecture and not exclusive to either.” To do this, much generalized, invented categories of national architectures were employed. These were much more preferred references than, for example, the immediate context, i.e. the buildings next to; the demolished structure that once existed on the plot, etc. Architects’ statements emphasize the uniqueness of Turkey as well as its alliance with US and this latter is even insinuated at the end of the explanations made. It is stated that the embassy was opened hosting delegates from the NATO, as if to contextualize Turkey’s foreign politics within the International Organization of the West.

One interesting reference, emphasized in the architects’ explanations, is the Ottoman Pavilion at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Other formal references are works of Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright³⁰⁵. However, equally important issue about this cross-fertilization of the “Turkish” architecture with these leading precursors of modern American architecture, is the theoretical discussion concerning the modes and transparency of re-presentation of the “other”³⁰⁶. Such a discussion may also shed light on why this building was reacted to in the Turkish media.

³⁰⁵ One important source for Wright’s early houses in late 19th century was considered as the Ottoman pavilion in the 1893 Chicago pavilion, which was designed in reference to the Sultan Ahmed Fountain in İstanbul. Gebhard points at the influence of this pavilion on Winslow, Heller and Husser houses as reflected on their formal vocabulary with their overhanging roof, a band of windows and a terra-cotta ornament under the eaves. Gebhard, D. (1959) “A note on the Chicago Fair of 1893 and Frank Lloyd Wright”, *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol.18, No.2, 63-65. Cross fertilizations in the creation of “national architecture” is more complex and interesting. While Gebhard speculates on the Turkish architecture on Wright, Wright’s influence on the establishment of “Turkish architecture” is more explicitly acknowledged. Sedat Hakkı Eldem admits that his affiliation to the civic architecture of Anatolia is reinforced after he had seen the American Architect’s Washmuth portfolio in his post-graduate years in Germany. *Sedat Hakkı Eldem 30 Yıllık Meslek Jübileşi*, 33.

Influence of Orient on the architecture of Sullivan, especially within the context of 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago was also an interesting issue. Çelik stated that polychromy, surface decoration had affinities with “Orientalism”. However “Sullivan’s orientalism was purely formal” since it provides a novel and refreshing formal vocabulary. Çelik, Z. (1992) *Displaying the Orient* 175-176.

³⁰⁶ To allow the voice of the other to emerge is one ambiguous problem of the “western intellectual” in representing the “other”, as Biln summarizes to discuss the same issue within the context of the Arab Institute in Paris. The similar attitude with Nouvel’s statements, observed in the architects’ report regarding the embassy in Washington, i.e. suggesting the underlying affinity between modern (read as American) and Arabian (read as Turkish) architecture should be questioned. According to Biln, this is a part of Nouvel’s conscious effort to emphasize that the “other” will remain out of the grasp of architecture and will “remain within the interpretive economy of the West”. So he claims that this attitude suggests that there may be an unrepresentable,

Though it has been published and exposed to the Turkish architectural milieu in a very limited sense, the Washington Embassy instigated negative comments, and was considered as a symptom of deeply seated problems. It is worth to dwell on the common themes in these critiques, enduring since the early days of the Republic. This building was attacked for being “left to the hands of a foreign orientalist”.³⁰⁷ Foreign architect designing a state building is seen as a threat to the native architects. However, as mentioned, this factor was not found bothering in another case where an architect of a star status, Tange was commissioned for the Embassy in Tokyo. The issue at stake seems to be stemming from the intervention of lesser-known architectural firms of larger sizes with commercialized architectural services.

Main criticism of the Washington Embassy was based on the morphology of the architectural design. It is interesting to note a similar morphological criticism in the American media concerning the architecture of the Washington Embassy. Forgey pointed that

There is a certain irony to the use of such precedents to build a contemporary Turkish Embassy. After Atatürk’s rise to power in the early 1920s this first Turkish national style was superseded by an architecture more in keeping with his progressive, modernizing aims. Symbolically, a modern building in Washington might have been more appropriate.³⁰⁸

The criticisms in Turkey were more severe. One of them questioned whether the design represented “a republic that made original modernizing revolutions” or “an adverse order that put an end to it”. Critiques stated “Without realizing the

disjunctive other and any effort will remain partial. So Nouvel suspends a finalized representation, but offers a “mobile reconception of the self-other relationship”. This attitude is articulated in the subtleties of the architecture of the Arab Institute that is questioning of the “self” including the disciplinary framework of architecture as well rather than a straightforward mimicry of the “other”. Biln, J (1997) “(De) Forming Self and Other: Toward an Ethics of Distance”. In *Postcolonial Space(s)*, eds. G.B. Nalbantoglu, C.T. Wong, Princeton Press, New York, 25-37.

³⁰⁷ Yürekli, H. (2000) “Mimarlık Bilgisi ve Aktarımının Serüveni”, *Mimarlık*, February, 42-44.

³⁰⁸ Forgey, B (1999) “Embassy Row’s Modern Turkish Delight” *Washington Post*, October 30, 1999, c1.

dilemma, we are again facing the phenomena of searching the identity of the Modern Turkish Republic by repeating the Ottoman tradition”.³⁰⁹

Users and the Turkish residents did not share this position. Their associations were with those buildings built in the foundation years of the Republican Ankara, rather than the Ottoman period. For example Embassy Counselor Botsalı noted that “I thought immediately of the first National Assembly building”. Another comment by the editor of the Turkish Times in Washington was again enthusiastic:

I know why I am so enthralled by the new building of the Turkish Embassy (in Washington). I realized that I liked this imposing but nevertheless warm and inviting building because it reminded me of the old Ziraat Bankası headquarters in Ulus. That’s why I thought my fondness for the new embassy stemmed from a visceral recognition of an innate ‘Turkish code’ that both buildings share.

While there are such positive remarks about this structure, the preponderance of the question of identity in Turkish context seems to be stemming from the regressive social movements in Turkey, especially when it is a matter of a representative state building like an embassy. Photograph of the embassy from a different vantage point, framing the building with the Islamic center, which is just two houses away and depicting them as if they are the components of the same complex, would possibly cause more reactions (Fig. 3.16b). As the aforementioned criticisms imply, one reason behind the reactionary attitude to the representation of Turkey by historicist architecture is the reaction to the Islamicist ideology in Turkey. Besides such ideological grounds for the reactions, modernist aesthetic choices are also prominent in this reactionary attitude.

The variation of the reactions to the architecture of the embassy reveals the prevalence of the dichotomy of the reactions, to the architectural movement known as the “First National Architectural Style” from the foundation years of the Turkish

³⁰⁹ Yürekli, H. (2000) “Mimarlık Bilgisi ve Aktarımının Serüveni”, 42, likewise Vanlı describes the building as “new Ottoman” and states that “This building will disgrace us” “Then, Where are we, Where is modern civilization” Vanlı, Ş. (2000) *Mimarlık Sevgilim*, 281 Both of the authors want to disclose who is responsible from this choice.

Choice of the foreign architects is usually in the initiative of the ambassador to that country. However formal vocabulary is sometimes insinuated by the Technical Bureau in the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs. This is the case of the latest chancery building in Tunis. A Prevalent Tunisian architect, Wassim ben Mahmoud, who was a winner of the Aga Khan Awards, is selected. He was noted that stylistically “Turkish characteristics” is a favorable criteria and the Turkish embassy in Brasilia was suggested as a successful example to visit.

Republic on. One framework of assessment is to regard it as “national” –although it is initially posited as the “Ottoman Renaissance”- a means of underlining the sovereignty in politics and culture. Sovereignty is accompanied with secularism in this sense, when the further course of the Turkish Revolution is taken into account. Parallels drawn to the early buildings of the Republic like the parliament houses in Ankara, as cited in the diplomats accounts is a sign of this understanding. The second framework adopted by the architects’ comments is that the continuation of the Ottoman past via appropriating the architectural forms is incapable of representing the westernizing “modern” Turkey. Since major formal elements of the “First National Architectural Style” are appropriated from the religious structures of the Ottoman architecture of the 16th century, associations with the Islamic heritage creates uneasiness as the aforementioned architects and the American commentary implied.

The criticisms appeared in the architectural media indicate that the architects, commenting on the “traditionalist” architecture of the Washington Embassy, consider modern architecture as a means to attain social modernization, which had been realized in Turkey under the tutelage of the state. The critics also drew attention to similar traditionalist form attitudes in the newly established state universities. It is observed that the representation of the Turkish state in both instances is questioned on the grounds of architecture, and criticism towards regressive social movements, especially concerning universities, are made through their architecture. Putting embassy and university in the same article criticizing recent architecture seems to consider diplomats and academy as the leaders of modernization and nodes of resistance to counter-modern social movements.

Some of the recent private institutions of higher education in İstanbul, like Koç University, have also acquired similar characteristics in terms of their “traditionalist” outlook even though they are considered by many as the westernizing Turkey. However forms attained to inculcate national identity become a means to inculcate the cooperate identity. Forms introduced by S.H.Eldem and widely used for the Koç cooperation were appropriated by foreign architects commissioned for the design. Besides the architectural morphology, one other

common factor between these and the Washington Embassy is that their architects are foreigners. Vanlı points to the mediocre constructions by the foreign architects in İstanbul and regards the Washington Embassy as a counterpart of this “nouveau riche” attitude.³¹⁰

Although the context has changed, and there is a great time interval since the 1930s, the discourse against the “traditional” and the “foreign architect” has a continuity in the Turkish architectural discourse. The aforementioned formal approach in architecture got legitimized so far, especially after the 1980s, by its extensive use in tourism after ascendancy of “post-modernism” in architecture, as well as because of the specific characteristic of its target: tourist who is a kitsch-man.³¹¹ Tourism is satisfied not only by supplying local architecture at the destination, but at the departure point, as an advertisement. As the mosque in Tokyo, which is a classic Ottoman replica illustrates, such representations get people interested in, “sympathize” with and visit Turkey³¹². This factor may also be a framework to think about the contemporaneous Washington Embassy. However, use of formal references to the traditional and historical structures, legitimized and alleviated by “post-modernism” in architecture, is not just an outcome of its consumable image repertoire created for a particular group of foreigners. There are also seldom attempts to promote and resuscitate a “national” architecture with ideological and political motivations.³¹³ Turkish architectural discourse

³¹⁰ Vanlı, Ş. *Mimarlık Sevgilim*, 281.

³¹¹ Tanyeli, U. (1998) “1950lerden bu yana mimari paradigmaların değişimi ve reel mimarlık” 249. He refers to Giesz as the origin of the term.

³¹² Yamamoto, quoted in Anon. (2000) “Tokyo’da bir Osmanlı Cami”, *Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Haber Bülteni*, December, 10. Likewise Ertuğrul Gazi Mosque in Ashgabad/Turkmenia is modeled after the classical Ottoman Mosques realized by Gama Construction Company, financed by Directorate of Religious Affairs of Turkey. While touristic motivations may exist behind constructing historical models of religious structures abroad especially the one in Tokyo, the one in Turkmenistan seems to be a means of exporting a national interpretation of Islam to new “brother” states. One can note the total replica of Topkapı Palace as a resort hotel in Antalya similar to the case to the mosque in Tokyo.

³¹³ There are different occasions, where different ideological orientations put forth the issue of a national architecture. “Mimaride Türk Milli Üslubu Semineri” organized in 1984 is such an attempt. In the opening speech Minister, M. Taşcıoğlu, sets the topic of the seminar as “To establish the stylistic properties of traditional Turkish Architecture and architectural assets pertaining to Turk, to propagate the art and architecture developed in the past and to promote it for the future generations through rejuvenating it for contemporary architecture”. He also discloses an expectation: “One wishes that all the contemporary structures have the lines representing the Turkish National Style, alas we can not observe it even in the monumental public buildings, chosen by the juries”. For a critical attitude towards the ideological precepts of this seminar see Kazmaoğlu

enumerating the dominant stylistic approaches as first and second often make references to a third nationalist movement after the 1980s³¹⁴.

Technical Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs points at two positive factors related to the building. First point is its image in the eye of the “other” beholder. The building won various local awards on the basis of the excellence of artisanal execution and hosted an architectural ceremony. Second is that environmental technical support systems are advanced, which make the building referred to as “smart”. While it is not explicitly stated, this formulation resemble the dichotomy between the universal “civilization” and “culture”, that was put into operation to legitimize the “First National Architecture Style” in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Onwards

In the following years various projects for diplomatic missions abroad, besides those selected by competitions in 1960s were carried out and built. During the 1970s, embassies in Beirut (1971-72), another in Lisbon (1973-75) and still another in New Delhi (1979-83) were realized. Besides these, projects that were directly commissioned to foreign architects, i.e. Tokyo Embassy and the Paris chancery extension were completed.

Starting from the mid-1980s another set of new embassies followed (For a full list see Table 1 in appendix). They were mostly in the neighboring states, like the Arab countries- i.e. Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Egypt - or in the new Asian Turkic States- i.e. Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan after 1990. Having economic, political and cultural interests, Turkey has been diplomatically more

M. and Tanyeli. U. (1986) “1980’li yılların Türk Mimarlık Dünyasına bir Bakış”, *Mimarlık*, February, 31-48.

One recent case where a “national style” was proposed for the state buildings was the declaration of the Minister of Health in 2000. “Artık Türk Usulü Hastane” *Zaman*, 1.May.2000, 2. His suggestion for “Turkish Architecture” to be utilized in the design of the new hospitals is ironic, when the introduction of the “modern” architecture to Turkey via the same ministry in the late 1920s.

³¹⁴ Critiques and historians try to name the buildings in post-modern terms, and architects as the third nationalist architecture. For example Tümer, G. (1995) “Üçüncü Ulusal Mimarlık Akımı mı?”, *Arredamento-Dekorasyon*, 119-123.

ardent to establish close relations in this geography. However, the architecture of these embassies did not follow any explicitly stated cultural policy, but targeted to satisfy pragmatic needs.³¹⁵ In some of these cases, ambassadors even faced problems of finding places to set up the mission, and this ad-hoc policy in the assignment of diplomatic representatives caused complaints³¹⁶. The procurement of the embassy buildings was far from being a major concern of the cultural life and of the architectural circles to create discussions about the representation of a nation abroad.³¹⁷ This may be partially stemming from the deviation from setting up national competitions for the acquisition of their designs. Involvement of the Chamber of Architects during 1960's in the course of the design competitions for

³¹⁵ The criteria for choosing the architects or designs are not clear. Presence of a politically controversial figure amongst the architects i.e. A. Vefik Alp (of Riyadh) who had been a nominee for the Mayor of İstanbul from Nationalist Movement Party, is notable.

³¹⁶ Ecmel Barutcu, who was assigned to establish the Turkish Embassy in Kuwait, complained about the budget limits that would lead to deficiency of representative function of the mission. While admitting that such financial measures might be understandable, he wrote that he was not there “to construct a tent in the desert” and claimed that it was impossible to find any ambassador to get into these buildings looking like chicken pens.. Barutçu wrote “this fact, nevertheless, should be considered in terms of the honor and credit of our nation. It is not necessary to compete with the pompous buildings of the big and rich nations, however is not it a matter of disgrace for the honor and dignity of the state represented, to hire a place that every passerby Turk will be ashamed of, instead of a decent building, comparable with the other nations in a country that was once a *part of the Ottoman Empire*.” Barutcu E. (1999) *Hariciye Koridoru*, 21.Yüzyıl Yayınları, Ankara. 34. Following footnote gives the account of the design and construction of the new embassy building

³¹⁷ The projects were designed by private architectural offices (in some of them preliminary designs were done by the architects in the Ministry) commissioned by the Ministry of Public Works, Presidency of Department of Architectural Projects, Administration Buildings Branch.

Most of the designs of these embassies were designated by invitation for tender, and design job was assigned to the lowest bidding architectural firm. Even limited invited architectural competitions were far from the scope of the symbolic nature of the work. Embassy in Nigeria is an indicative example. This case was cited in the period's architectural media as an example of the least desirable form of the relationship between the Ministry of Public Works and architects. “Mimarlık” magazine states with an ironic tone that Architect Murat Artu was commissioned by a tender with more than 50% discount, to design an embassy for a country, which had already planned to change its capital. Özbay, H. (ed.) (1987) “Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığınca Yapılan, Yapılmakta Olan veya Yapılamayan Yapıların Öyküleri”, *Mimarlık*, March, No.224, 50-62.

Architect Yılma Koçak's account of the Kuwait Embassy is another telling example. With late Tamay Sütmen, he was asked to make an initial proposal with other 3 or 4 architectural offices. Other offices did not even submit any proposal and Koçak states that the sole motivating factor in designing was pride and honor. However, the project fee was so low that it did not allow them to see the site, so they worked with the photographs acquired from their friends working for a construction firm in Kuwait.

They had to hand 1/100 drawings to a local practitioner –an Egyptian architect who had studied in Paris Beaux-Art- due to local laws and their relation with the project was terminated. Koçak states that they were not guided to design in any “nationalistic” manner. However, the functions, the introverted nature of the embassies and local building codes necessitated the creation of “an interior Turkish path”. He adds that they presented the local architect some books on Safranbolu and Eldem to get acquainted with the preliminary design and “national architecture” of Turkey.

these embassies signified a different ethos than commissioning architects for the design of public buildings. There are two recent embassies in consideration, namely of Baku and Berlin, for which opening a national architectural design competition to select the architect and the design, seems to have been avoided.³¹⁸

3.3 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has focused on the period in the Turkish architecture after the WW II, and examined some of the buildings constructed abroad to represent Turkey, in order to discern characteristics of the construction of national identity. In this analysis, approaches of architects to the definition of Turkish identity through architectural forms are analyzed in depth.

One of the recurrent demands of the architects before the WW II was met at the start of this period, after the regulations concerning architectural competitions were undertaken by the Ministry of Public Works. Designs for most of state buildings, including the ones abroad, like embassies which constituted the largest group in 1960s, were procured through national competitions. These competitions supplied written materials and drawings documenting the different approaches by the architects. Some of the first prize winning projects, i.e. 1958 and 1964 World Fair

³¹⁸ The method for the selection of the former, submitting tenders for the preliminary design from the short list and bidding at the place is heavily criticized in the professional and bureaucratic circles of architecture. This method was described as pseudo “invited competition” which had to be replaced by an open national competition. Such discussion, which is a part of the power politics in the profession of architecture, utilizes nationalist themes in justifying the role of the Chamber of Architects as the sole representative. For example a former member of the organizing committee points to the 1930s and the success of the “Turkish” architects like Arkan, Balmumcu, Eldem and Onat against foreign architects. Ersin N. (2001) “Proje Yarışmaları Üzerine Düşünceler”, *Mimarlık*, April, No.298, 8.

There are basically 2 different reasons for this reaction. First is the specificity of the subject, which is representing the country abroad. Second one is related to the inadequacy of the method in the selection of the design of a “public building” which is claimed to be the “most commonly used method for such buildings since 1923 and which should be applied more generally in the eve of the 21st century”. Ceasing the architectural competitions is also “suspending the principles of architecture”. The approach appropriated by the Ministry of the Public Works is also overthrowing the dominance and legitimacy of the Chamber as the representative of the “architects” by arranging the selection method through the cooperation of “Türk Serbest Mimarlar Müşavirler Derneği”. Ekinci, O. (2001) “Baku Büyükelçilik Binası Ulusal Yarışmaya Çıkarılmalı”, *Mimarlık Haberler*, No.82, February, 9.

pavilions -we can even add the 1939 New York pavilion for the sake of the argument-, are regarded as the milestones of Turkish architecture, even though they are not experienced and existed for limited periods of time or stayed on the drafting boards. This achievement indicates the role of the motivation of the architects, as well as the juries, to represent Turkey within the prevailing architectural approaches and to be synchronous with the contemporary world. The participants in these competitions provided examples of using the “past” for the constitution of the present cultural identity.

The identity discourse in the realm of arts was also raised in this chapter, since the architects of the period covered in this chapter had collaboration with the artists and art objects had prominence in those buildings. Analyses of the buildings abroad, particularly the fair pavilions, disclosed the conjectural aspects of the identity construction, i.e. how Americanism and cold war became a topic to identify ourselves; or how Turkey assesses its own past i.e. the possibilities of incorporating Byzantine heritage in a building representing Turkey.

Another issue discussed in this chapter has been the status of the foreign architects in the architectural discourse in Turkey, in the context of the Turkish buildings realized abroad. Reactions to the employment of foreign architects for designing the Turkish legations abroad in countries of the developed world, e.g. Japan, France and US, were assessed within the context of perennial debates that had started in the 1920s and escalated later on. Analyses of each commission given to foreign architects enabled the study to discover different responses, like applauding the selection of Kenzo Tange for the design of the Tokyo Embassy. Whether all “others” are at the same distance to the “identity” is a latent theme of the chapter, notwithstanding the sparse documentation at that. It is seen that architect’s personal identity, i.e. professional popularity, is considered equally important when assessing the role of foreign architects building for Turkey. It is also interesting that one of the architects of the chancery in Paris is a Turkish citizen practicing in France. The exceeding numbers of Turkish architects immigrating to European countries have introduced another dimension of the identity issue.

CHAPTER 4

“CONSTRUCTION” OF IDENTITY: BUILDINGS ABROAD / 1980-

Today trade relations and services given abroad exercise an effect on the shape of political and cultural identities. This chapter deals with the impact of entrepreneurial relations with the foreign countries upon the design as well as the construction process of buildings representing Turkey abroad. It is interesting to note that such relations and the buildings started to take place during the 1980s in North African and Middle Eastern countries where memories of historical relationships with Turkey’s imperial past reside. Thus it is also possible to note the ambivalence and duality of the “Turkish identity” in the discourse about these buildings, as observed in the statements of the architects and diplomats referring both to the Ottoman past and modern Turkey.

Entrepreneurs practicing abroad also resort to a nationalist discourse occasionally to emphasize today’s advanced Turkey in order to ascertain their credibility. In a television program, the Head of the Turkish Contractors Association has claimed that “If there is an economical warfare, we are the pioneers of this venture abroad” and has also added that during the construction of Ankara there were many foreign construction firms and entrepreneurs practicing because of the scarcity of such services, and that now, after all these years, time has come to counteract³¹⁹.

³¹⁹ Television program “İnşaat Dünyası”, *HaberTürk*, 9.July.2002. Turkish contracting services abroad are realized by companies which are members of Turkish Contractors Association (TCA, est.1952) and Union of International Contractors, Turkey (UIC, est 1991). Foreign firms were not solely constructing buildings for the foreign legations, like the Philip Holzman A.G. which

Withdrawal of the foreign construction companies from commissions in Turkey due to the newly emerging Turkish entrepreneurs is a recurrent theme met within the accounts of the individual contractors as well.³²⁰ It is worth noting the similarity between the tones of these statements with the comments on the works of the Turkish architects abroad. When practicing abroad, Turkish architects are usually considered in a position symmetrical with those of the foreign architects who had worked in Turkey in the early years of the Republic.³²¹

4.1 Identity at the Start of Economic Globalization and Contractors:

Turkish Embassies in North Africa and the Middle East

Şevki Vanlı, the architect of the Turkish embassy in Tripoli explains that there were approximately 120 Turkish construction firms in Libya during the 1980s when the Turkish construction sector was expanding abroad.³²² Architectural services accompanied this sector. The embassy at that time was occupying an old apartment, which was not considered adequate in any respect. Vanlı's design was implemented with the joint efforts of the construction firms, i.e. Cevahir, STFA,

realized the German Embassy in Ankara. Interestingly the milestones of Turkish modern architecture, grouped under the movement called as the First National were assisted by various foreign construction companies. For example, reinforced concrete structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Turkish Hearth Society designed by A.H. Koyunoğlu were realized by the Austrian Wella Company. Their electrical installations were done by Siemens, heating and plumbing by Körting Kanor and the stage by Ganj companies. Fırat, İ. (1998) *Etnoğrafya Müzesi ve Eski Türk Ocağı Merkez Binası*, TTK Basımevi, Ankara, 92 and Aslanoğlu, İ. (2001) *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, 124,194.

³²⁰ For example Feyzi Akkaya of STFA Engineering and Construction company notes that “just like the withdrawal of the foreign companies from the railroad construction in 1932 by the initiative of Abdurrahman Naci, we have the privilege to dismiss the last foreign company (Dutch) active in the construction of harbors” from Turkey in the early 1960s. Akkaya, F. (1989) *Ömrümüzün Kilometre Taşları: STFAnın Hikayesi*, Cihan Matbaacılık, İstanbul, 220.

³²¹ Tümer, G. (1998) *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Yabancı Mimarlar Sorunu*, Mimarlar Odası İzmir Şubesi Yayınları, İzmir. Similarly a collection of the buildings realized by the Turkish contractors and architects abroad appeared on a Turkish architectural magazine, within the same scope of reciprocity. “Transnational practices of Turkey after 1985, An incomplete compendium: Architects of Turkey in Turkic States”, *Domus m*, March 2001, 56-57

³²² Vanlı, Ş. (2000) *Mimarlık Sevgilim*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 281. As the Union TCA/UIC declared one third of the construction works abroad between 1975-1999 done by the Turkish Firms is in Libya. *Dünya*, 14.July.2001. For the period between 1972-1979, which covers the period till the construction of the embassy in Tripoli, this figure rises up to %76 *Directory of Turkish Contractors*, 16. Significance of Libya for the Turkish Contractors is evident when the portfolios of individual companies are examined. For example 16% of all the commissions of Mesa have been realized in Libya. “Libya’da Yeni Yaşam Alanları”, *Mesa ve Yaşam* Winter 99, 11-12.

Enka, and Mesa in 1981. The building was almost completely financed by these companies, without any expenditure by the state³²³. This funding method may be considered in parallel with the change in the nature of diplomacy alluding to entrepreneurs. Mustafa Aşula, the ambassador of Turkey to Libya at that time, remarks that “Our diplomats (in the Middle East and North Africa) put aside the classic foreign office, molded and adopted the receptive and venturing businessman model...Libya became a pioneering example in this revolutionary change”³²⁴. Either the diplomats emulate the role of the entrepreneur or entrepreneurs themselves become a central figure in the international relationships of Turkey with these countries (Fig. 4.1).

Vanlı’s search for an architecture responsive to the particular local circumstances displays itself in the embassy building in Tripoli³²⁵ (Fig. 4.2). Vanlı’s architectural approach is not like the Libya Embassy in Ankara designed by Toğrul Devres (1975-1977). While this building with its ornate façade treatment, over-articulated roof profile and motives on the corners of the white prismatic masses explicitly refer to “North African” architecture, architecture of Turkey’s representative office in Tripoli has an abstract character having a particular identity associated with a general theme acknowledged as “Mediterranean”. Emphasis on the context of the building may be considered as the reflection of the private sector’s implicit intentions of fusing Turkey’s respectable “modern” image with the characteristics

³²³ This does not seem to be a unique case. Therrien reports that procurement of the latest Canadian Embassy in Tokyo is the initiation of a new era. “Japanese investors financed the construction. They did so in exchange for surplus leasing space that they could rent for a period of 30 years, after which the time space will revert to Canada” “Canada’s Embassies: A Brief History”, 19.

³²⁴ He also adds that this was a change during the Ecevit government (1979) even before the Özal years. Former’s circular, sent to the foreign missions, indicated that the career opportunities of diplomatic representatives were going to be decided on the basis of economic and trade relations they could mediate. Aşula, M. (2000) *Dışişleri Albümü*, Nurel Matbaacılık, Ankara. The ad-hoc building process of the embassy can be interpreted as the manifestation of this change. It is more evident when memoirs of Gerede, the Turkish ambassador in Tehran during 1930’s, are read in comparison with Aşula’s. While the prior initiated the building and tells it at length in his memoirs, the latter do not mention this interesting course of the acquisition of embassy building.

³²⁵ The geographical limit of locality, within the context of the Turkish Embassy in Tripoli project, is extensive, including Libya, Algiers as well as Ankara. He states that the big houses standing alone in the North African desserts as well as the small ones conglomerated in the villages remind the ones in Anatolia. Sargın, G. (ed.) (2001) *Şevki Vanlı Düşünceler ve Tasarımlar*, İşkur Matbaacılık, Ankara, 133. What he refers to is the use of mud and its potential in creating opacity and tactility in architecture. The result is forms incorporating curves in the vertical and horizontal.



Fig.4.11 Entrepreneur (S.Türkeş of STFA) and Diplomats in Front of the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Saudi Arabia



Fig.4.2 Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Tripoli. Architect : Şevki Vanlı

of the host country, in order to further their business interests³²⁶. With this prestigious building, the private sector has tried to raise face of and pay respect to the Turkish state, the guarantor, monitoring the lawful rights of its citizens abroad. Consequently, as Vanlı claims, this building would give a sense of security in a country where “lawlessness” was common practice.

The commissioning of Turkish entrepreneurs in Libya was appreciated with much enthusiasm at home. They were associated with the new technological and organizational capacity of modern Turkey, equal in the level of progress with other countries. For Vanlı associations went further back in history to Ottoman times when he made an analogy considering Sezai Türkes, founder of the STFA Construction Company, one of the companies involved in the realizations of the embassy, as “an Ottoman commander governing Libya” and his workers were his “soldiers” and truck-drivers were his “horsemen”.³²⁷ Ottoman times have constituted a framework for the other embassies in countries which had been under the Ottoman rule. When the embassy for Kuwait was being considered the ambassador asked whether it could not be a “matter of disgrace” for the “honor and dignity” of Turkey, to have a place for the embassy that “every passerby Turk would be ashamed of, instead of a decent building, comparable with those of the other nations in a country that was once part of the Ottoman Empire.”³²⁸ A more interesting case is the embassy in Riyadh designed between 1983 and 1986. The architect of the Riyadh Embassy, A.V.Alp stated that, although reflection of Turkish culture in the design of the embassy is likely to be expected, he worked hard to attain a difficult synthesis between the local architecture and the Turkish

³²⁶ “We put forward a modern design that was in accord with the represented country (Turkey). In this country of ample sun and heat, walls clad in earth colored travertine and having very limited openings are means of local expression” Ibid.,149 “I am happy to reflect the form of the modern age in the traditional and serene Mediterranean formation.” Vanlı Ş. (2000) *Mimarlık Sevgilim*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 191. Vanlı mentions the ambassador at that time, Mustafa Aşula, as a self-conscious person “knowing his place” without a directive role in the design and construction period.

³²⁷ Vanlı, Ş. *Mimarlık Sevgilim*, 213.

³²⁸ Ecmel Barutcu, who was assigned to establish the Turkish Embassy in Kuwait, complained about the budget limits that would lead to deficiency of representative function of the mission. While admitting that such financial measures might be understandable, he wrote that he was not there “to construct a tent in the desert” and claimed that it would be impossible to find any ambassador to get into buildings looking like chicken pens. Barutcu E. (1999) *Hariciye Koridoru*, 21.Yüzyıl Yayınları, Ankara, 34.

culture, to pay tribute to the demand of the Saudi officials. However the latter were not considered as respectful as the Turkish state.³²⁹ For Alp, all distinguished architectural works were built during the rule of the Ottoman Empire between 1550s-1910s, and these works are not receiving due respect. He particularly expresses his resent for the demolition of the Ecyad Castle in 2002 and asked whether “Saudi’s would be ashamed of if they were reminded” of the architecture of and the expenditures for the embassy, which should be regarded as a sign of respect by the Turkish Republic for a country which was once ruled by its predecessors.

Genta (Garanti construction, industry and commerce) built the embassy in Riyadh which stands also as a sample of high-quality works by the Turkish entrepreneurs (Fig. 4.3). The embassy building itself is a prestige building for both the entrepreneurs and the diplomats of Turkey. However, such prestigious buildings are not always to the advantage of the guest country; sometimes such a building can even make an unprofitable impression on the beholder, like the Turkish Embassy in Bonn, which had impressed the Chancellor of Germany. Doğan Koloğlu, who was in charge of the international relations of the government party at that time, stated that this assessment was made during a meeting in the Embassy regarding economic matters; the Chancellor noted that a country which could afford such a structure is prosperous enough and is not in need of economic assistance.³³⁰

Turkish embassy buildings occasionally worked as nodes where Turkish architects were acquainted with the building sectors in the respective countries. As mentioned in his memoirs, Vanlı was involved with a project for a housing complex in Benghazi after a coincidental meeting with an engineer in the Embassy. That project was another instance for the architect to compare his talents and professionalism with “other” architects from Japan. Supported by high-esteem and authority gained from the technical and entrepreneurial expertise developed in the infrastructural engineering works, not only Vanlı but other prominent names of the

³²⁹ Alp, A.V. “Hatırlatsak mahcup olurlar mı”, *Zaman*, 13.January.2002.

³³⁰ Interview with Doğan Koloğlu November 3rd, 2001.



Fig. 4.3 Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Riyadh.
Architect: A.V. Alp



Fig. 4.4 Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Islamabad.
Architects: H.Ozbay, T.Başbuğ

period got involved with the designs of major projects and they found themselves in an international professional arena³³¹.

Constructions realized by the Turkish contractors abroad were regarded as the substantiation of the argument in the architectural circles that Turkish identity was to be oriented towards future rather than the past. It seems that these constructions brought a self esteem not only to the construction sector, but to the architects as well. It is possible to see explicit references and credits given to these constructions abroad, in the discussions about the exhibition of the Turkish identity in an international event i.e. 1992 World Fair. Jury decisions of the competition for the Turkish pavilion were heavily criticized by the majority of the architects, for the jury's sympathy shown towards low technology and humbleness. Against the jury's justification, claiming that "Turkey should not be represented by a technology which is not reproduced or innovated by herself", architect Erdem Talu noted that "our contractors were realizing grand projects, using the most modern, advanced technologies in Libya and Saudi Arabia"³³²

4.2 Economic Globalization and Building in New Geographies

Embassies Built in the 1990s.

There are more examples in the 1990's showing the private sector's increasing role in the realization of the Turkish embassies. When the names of the construction

³³¹ Only a cursory look at the portfolios of that generation gives a clue. S. H. Eldem with contributors designed 2 mosques in 1976 and the Libyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs; İ. Ural and V. Dalokay made designs for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kuwait and Riyadh; Vanlı designed a complex in Algiers; Tekeli and Sisa designed mass housing in Iraq, Abu Dhabi and Libya, a recreation center in Libya and a research center in Saudi Arabia etc. These architects' approaches to the respective cultures constitute an interesting issue. For an analysis of Vanlı's design see Bozdoğan, S. (2001) "Şevki Vanlı'nın Cezayir Projeleri" *Domus*, Feb-March, 47-52. Though it is largely underestimated, Vanlı's enterprise is appreciated by Tanyeli, for the sincerity and its individuality in the architectural scene in Turkey. This example constitutes a unique case whereby a Turkish architect was commissioned like the western architects to "regenerate a national identity" for a nation in its nation-building process. Tanyeli finds it doubly difficult for a Turkish architect who is coming from a cultural milieu at home which has an unresolved identity problem. Tanyeli, U. (1992) "İşlevsel Sınırların Zorlanması ya da Vanlı Mimarlığı", *Arredamento-Dekorasyon*, January, No.33, 82-87.

³³² For the colloquium notes and comments see "Expo 92 Dünya Sergisi Türkiye Pavyonu Mimari Proje Yarışması", *Mimarlık*, 1989/5, No.237, 70-80. Talu's comment appeared in, *Kimlik, Meşruiyet, Etik*, (eds.) Erkmen, A. and Güvenç, TMMOB, Ankara, 78.

companies involved in the renovation and building processes are taken into account, one can see the expanding geography where the firms originating from Turkey were increasingly becoming active. The embassy and the residence building in Baghdad, Iraq, shelled during the Gulf war in 1993, were renovated by Tekfen. STFA construction firm got the commission to build the one in Islamabad, Pakistan, the design for which was chosen by a national competition in Turkey³³³. (Fig. 4.4)

An inventory of the companies participated in the renovation and construction of the diplomatic buildings in the former Soviet Republics can be seen as a consequence of the practices of the Turkish construction sector in these neophyte states after their independence. One was in Moscow, where Alsim Alarko Construction Company remodeled an old building as the Turkish Embassy. List of the building materials in the construction of the latter exemplifies the globalization and the role of the Turkish companies within this global construction market³³⁴. Ashgabat Embassy within the borders of the former Soviet Union is another example where the construction sector got represented abroad. This work became a reference that helped the entrepreneur Mensel J.V. Company to become an important name for other construction activities in Turkmenistan³³⁵. Turkish embassy in Tashkent is a similar case in Uzbekistan, another Central Asian State. Aysel Construction Contracting and Trade Company got the commission to remodel an existing structure as an embassy in 1994, which became as a starting point for other construction works, including Uzbek national banks and airports as well as hotels and factories of the globalized capital. This company also constructed the “Ramstore” in Kazakhstan, while Enka constructed another in

³³³ It was commissioned through bidding. Bidding was repeated two times and the winner was a Turkish firm in both of the cases. Activities of the Turkish construction firms in Pakistan have often been covered in the media. Benmayor, G. *Hürriyet*, 28.October.2001.

³³⁴ Fenestration: Finnish firm Finestra Oy; Doors: German firm Moralt; Suspended ceilings: British Armstrong; Automation center: Swiss Landis & GYR, Sanitary squipment: Eczacıbaşı Ceramics: Ege Ceramic; Marbles: Kemalpaşa and Marmara. Anon (1994) “T.C Moskova”, *Arredamento – Dekorasyon*, April No.58, 138-141.

³³⁵ After the renovation of the Turkish Embassy and building a new residence in Ashgabat/Turkmenistan in 1993 Mensel JV International Engineering, Consulting and Contracting Co. Inc. was commissioned to build a list of prestigious projects all in Turkmenistan (see Table 3 in the appendix). Mensel was one of the 22 Turkish construction companies (26 including international consortia) practicing in Turkmenistan in mid 90 s, sharing 1/3 of the construction activities (1/2 of the cost of the projects). [http:// www.icctm.org/t_stat5.html](http://www.icctm.org/t_stat5.html).

Moscow in connection with the establishment of a supermarket chain abroad with national capital.

Aysel construction firm was also commissioned to reconstruct the French Embassy in Tashkent in 1995 just after the completion of the Turkish Embassy. It is interesting to note that construction of many countries' embassies in the Caucasian and Central Asian states were realized by the Turkish construction companies. For example, Zafer Construction Company was commissioned to renovate and build the US embassies in Almaty, Baku, Tbilisi, Yerevan and Minsk as well as the renovation of some Canadian and Israeli embassies. Summa, another Turkish construction company, built the US Embassy in Ashgabat and a different Turkish company was a contractor of the one in Kabul. A further interesting example is the Russian Embassy in a Balkan capital, Chisinau, commissioned in 1997 to a Turkish construction firm, Onursan, practicing in Moldova.

These representational buildings are amongst the prestigious and symbolically important enterprises in the portfolios of these companies, which are claiming to represent abroad a “venturing”, “technologically competitive” and “modern” Turkey. Thus, in a sense they are representing Turkey in new locations after the North Africa and Middle East. During a state visit to Moldova, President Demirel, visiting the construction site of the Russian Embassy in Chisinau expressed his view that this building would represent Turkey as much and addressing the workers said that they were “showing the world, intelligence and power of the Turk and skills of Turkey”³³⁶.

4.3 Identity and Interrelations amongst Actors

Construction Companies, Architects and the State

Acknowledgment of the construction enterprise abroad as a purveyor of the “modern” Turkish identity is to be analyzed in relation with other diplomatic visits of the Turkish statesmen. The visits of the foreign statesmen to Ankara in the

³³⁶ “Baba’ya coşkulu ağırlama”, *Radikal* 27.June.1998. A model of this project appeared in “Avrasya Dosyası” magazine published by TİKA (Türk İşbirliği ve Kalkınma Ajansı) having the mission of being “a tool of Turkish Foreign policy”. March 98/2 No.95, 6.

founding years of the Turkish Republic were used by the state as occasions to manifest the modernization of the country. Official visits of the Turkish statesmen abroad after the 1970s are performing a similar function to promote modern Turkish identity constructed abroad. Occasionally, statesmen also take part in the process of acquiring construction contracts, including those for prestigious buildings, for the Turkish firms.

Frequently there has been a divergence between architects and the construction sector about who would be acknowledged as representing Turkey. In an round table discussion in the late 1980s organized by Mimarlık, the architectural journal of the Turkish Chamber of Architects, with the leading architects of Turkey, one conclusion drawn is that the “architectural works built abroad are important means of representation; hence architecture, especially such buildings, should be under the patronage of the state”. Architects mention occasions when architects were not given support by the state. Vedat Dalokay, the architect of the Islamabad mosque which was procured by an international design competition, expresses his disillusionment when he was not included in the Turkish delegation to visit Pakistan with President Evren and also Evren’s refusal to visit this edifice, which was a showpiece and a national pride for Pakistan³³⁷. Although architect regards this refusal of a president of a secular state admissible, he claimed that its being designed by a Turkish architect brings a new dimension. This is exactly the dimension of nationalist moral agenda which was emphasized by Prime Minister İnönü, who congratulated the architect for this international victory and stated that “if your project is realized, we will all be happy together with you and take pride”.³³⁸ Dalokay referred to the Ottoman past for an ideal patronage of architects, which he wishes to be emulated by the Republic of Turkey as displayed in the escort of Chief-Architect Sinan in Sultan Süleyman’s campaigns. A similar disappointment was Vanlı’s, who noted that despite his application to join an

³³⁷ As Güvenç notes, Dalokay explained the identification of various actors with the building and the pride of the Pakistani’s as such: Though a Turkish designer, Saudi finance and a western contractor were involved in the realization, labor force was to be all Pakistani, who would later say “we built it with our bare hands” and identify themselves with it. 24.September.2003.

³³⁸ Letter dated 27.November.1969, printed in *Mimarlık*, 1969 December, 29.

official visit to Algiers, as the architect of the “Compound for the Guests of the State” in Algiers, he was declined.³³⁹

The Turkish architects, in their perennial struggle to attain legitimacy and credibility in the eye of the state, thus started to reiterate after all in the context of their architectural works abroad. Demand of the architects was not only acceptance to delegations organized by the state, which would honor and gain them recognition in the eyes of the host country, but also to be considered as an indivisible and central agent in the realization of buildings at home. They were trying to mould an ideal patronage of the state which would bestow protection and privileges upon the beneficiary architects.

Larson, quoting from sociologist Gutman, notes that only in architecture patronage still serves as an operating ideal and ambition, and adds that there is a fundamental difference between the terms patron and client. Patrons are interested in making architecture, which is essentially an art, not merely buildings. According to Larson, architects, essentially artists are necessary to produce art and patrons acknowledge that his/her contribution has a value beyond mere construction.³⁴⁰ Since Dalokay and Vanlı were designers of prestigious buildings in Pakistan and Algeria, both of which were not particularly known for their high esteem for architecture, it seems that the architects regarded the official visits to these countries as occasions to prove the value of “architecture” as well as the significance of architects’ status to the representatives of the Turkish state which would not wish to lag behind those countries in this respect.³⁴¹

Dalokay’s winning of the competition was regarded as a milestone for the verification of the merits of the Turkish architecture in the eye of the state. Cansever noted that “While Dalokay had been ostracized by the state at that time, he was given commissions after his recruitment by an international organization

³³⁹ Both of these anecdotes are from “Söyleşi: Yurt Dışında Mimarlık Eylemi”, *Mimarlık*, 88/3 No.229, 64-66. Subject of this issue was “Turkish Architects’ Works Abroad”.

³⁴⁰ Gutman, cited in Larson, M. S. (1996) “Patronage and Power”. In *Reflections on Architectural Practices in the Nineties*, ed. Saunders, W., Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 130-144.

³⁴¹ Dalokay’s past experience with his design for the Kocatepe Mosque is insinuated. Vanlı’s design of Turkish embassy in Tripoli is another instance. Not Vanlı, who was the designer but the construction firm which put the finishing touches to the building was acknowledged.

through this competition”. This project was considered as a support for the Turkish architects’ reactionary attitude to the commissioning of the foreign architects in Turkey. Cansever put this reaction into words in a militant and nationalist tone

Did architectural community in Turkey get strengthened or weakened, when a Turkish architect showed this success? Strengthened of course, and proved that it had a competitive capacity and displayed this capacity to the public....It is not enough only to explain that *enemy* is wrong (unjust) we have to explain *our power* and prove the legitimacy of our power (emphases mine)³⁴²

Aforementioned projects by Dalokay and Vanlı, respectively, exemplify two of the three methods by which architects have been so far commissioned works abroad. The former was through an international architectural competition³⁴³ and the latter through a selection done amongst the Turkish architectural offices by the government of Algiers. A third means of Turkish architects’ involvement with building practice abroad was through architects who had immigrated to Europe. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Şemsa Demiren was such a figure who had graduated from Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts, but mostly practiced in France after settling there. She was a member of the group which designed the chancery of the Turkish Embassy in Paris in early 1970s. Immigration of the Turkish architects abroad started to become a concern of the architectural journals in the 1960s and raised questions about the issue of national identity. A Turkish architect claimed that 1:4 of the technicians, including the architects, emigrated abroad. According to him, while the profession, which gives him an international identity, encouraged him to go abroad, the national identity impeded him to be the person in charge of the totality of the design. Emigrating architects would lack the chance to instill

³⁴² Cansever stated this in a roundtable discussion. Other participators were Boysan A., Kazgan H., Omacan, E. and Tekeli D. Published in Batur, S. (ed.) “Teknik hizmet ithali ve yabancı proje firmaları”, *Mimarlık*, 71/6-7, 10-16, 15.

³⁴³ International Architectural competitions held for the Middle Eastern countries in the 1970s attracted Turkish architects. The reasons of this interest and their comments on competition results can shed light on their perception of professional and national identities. For example D. Pamir noted that the disappointment felt in the domestic competitions was a major motivation to submit proposals to realize “architecture” abroad. Although they were awarded in these international competitions, Pamir stated that poor lobbying made them unable to realize their projects and Japanese or American architects were commissioned instead. Sağdıç, B. “Mehmet Doruk Pamir ile Çocukluk düşleri, Mimarlık ve Yaşam üzerine” *Mimarlık Dekorasyon* no. 45, 51-57.

their personal identities in architecture because of being a foreigner.³⁴⁴ Cansever's tone is more aggressive, "(Emigrating) architects, like the Turkish workers of the Common Market will be the new negroes". These comments were not personal thoughts of the respective architects, but seem to be widely shared and adopted by the chamber of the architects. Publication of the chamber, *Mimarlık* magazine, claimed that this was not immigration, but exile of the technicians because of the capitalist economy politics of the state. These architects deported from Turkey because of the import of technical and design services from abroad into Turkey, which enforced "our" technical capacity to contribute to "their" development rather than to "our own". The magazine called for a resistance to this process which was considered as a matter of "war of death or survival" for Turkish architecture and Turkey.³⁴⁵ Despite the anti-capitalist tenor of the chamber Turkish architects' practices abroad raised ambivalent reactions. Emigration was also regarded as a sign of the high technical capacity and the high standards of the education in Turkey as well. The compromise between the negative and positive reactions to the Turkish architects' practice abroad was formulated as such: Exportation of architectural services by well organized offices providing engineering and managerial services was the desirable method rather than the "exportation" of the labor of the individual architects. Such organizations started to be partially realized in the 1970s through the initiative of the construction companies.

A fourth method to have architectural commissions abroad is indirectly through building contractors; by this method, architecture is reduced to an adjunct service for the construction sector. Even though the first two methods i.e. competitions and invitations are considered more credible by the architectural circles, the practice of the governments in the recent decades indicates a preference for the latter. It is quite possible to affirm that in the 1990s the contracting firms as a source

³⁴⁴ Şahinler, O. (1966) "Toplumumuzda dış memleketlere akımın nedenleri üstüne" *Mimarlık*, 66/3, 8. A more comprehensive research on the emigration of the architects abroad in late 1960s pointed out that 1:10 of the Turkish architects were living abroad for professional and economic reasons and architecture is the largest group amongst the other disciplines of engineers. Researchers figured out that the number of these emigrants increased 10 times between 1961 and 1970. Aybars, O., Şentek and Tüzün S. (1971) "Yurtdışına mimar göçü", *Mimarlık*, 71/6-7, 35-41.

³⁴⁵ "Mimarlık'tan" (Editorial) *Mimarlık*, 71/6-7, 4. In early 1970s magazine initiated a campaign "kendi gücümüze dayanalım" (let's depend on our own power) to promote efforts to stop importation of architectural or engineering services to Turkey.

supplying foreign currency made them more credible for the governing bodies, and this fact made the construction sector the purveyor of national identity abroad.³⁴⁶

While the projects abroad bring to surface the power struggle between the actors in the realization of buildings, they usually get positive responses in the popular and architectural media generally with an expression of nationalist sentiments. It is rare to find examples of the rift between the national identity and the professional identity of the architect as the mentioned above, and discourse of nationalism dominates the news about the buildings realized abroad. “National spirit”, “national task” and “national conviction”³⁴⁷ are such sentiments alike to obtain the support of the public, as well as the economic support of the state. At this point it is worth mentioning the response of the architectural circles to the contractors’ enterprises abroad. Exportation of construction services overseas is appreciated in the architectural circles, as reflected in the architectural magazines. One of the early examples of services given abroad was the renovation of the Petrovski Shopping Mall in 1988 by ENKA Construction and Industry Company in the Soviet Union.³⁴⁸ After the projects in North Africa and the Middle East, including the construction of the Embassy in Tripoli, Turkish firms entered a new market

³⁴⁶ Dalokay notes that, even solely in terms of the economic gains, architectural services should be appreciated for their surplus value prior to the limited profits in the construction sector. “Söyleşi: Yurt Dışında Mimarlık Eylemi”, 64.

While construction companies seem to have more credibility, and are acknowledged as the purveyors of national identity abroad, similar criticisms to the state were made by the contractors as well. For example Feyzi Akkaya of STFA claims that “Turkish governments were ignorant of the role that governments can play to support the national construction companies abroad for long periods.” He gives examples of the initiatives of the South Korean or Yugoslavian statesmen in Libya. Akkaya, F. (1989) *Ömrümüzün kilometre Taşları : STFA’nın Hikayesi*, 299. One interesting point was mentioned by Kürşat Atikoğlu who was in charge of the coordination of some of the Turkish companies. He noted that Turkish companies were introduced to the Arab countries in the early 1980s after the Egyptian companies were expelled as an outcome of the Egyptian-Israeli rapprochement. Similarly, their introduction to Russia was after the Yugoslavian companies were banned as an outcome of the turmoil in the Balkans in the early 1990s. It seems that politics of the states in the international affairs, identities and images of countries are as important as much as technological competitiveness.

³⁴⁷ All these quotations are taken from a single news in a liberal newspaper *Dünya* informing its readers about the Turkish contractors’ introduction to a new country: Poland “Türkler Polonya’yı yeniden kuruyor” 24.July.2001.

³⁴⁸ It is possible to discern a sense of pride in the declaration of such Turkish firms practicing in Russia, the country from which Turkey had often imported new technologies and investments in previous decades. However, comparisons were not only made between them and the Russian construction sector, but also with the companies of the other western countries. For example the honorary president of ENKA, Şarik Tara, claims that “we are at least twenty years ahead of the European construction companies” and represents Turkey like the “national team” *Hürriyet*, 14.June.2003, 9 and *Akşam* 18.June.2003.

through bi-lateral economic relationships between Turkey and the Soviet Union, concerning natural gas. Petrovski mall enterprise was published in the *Arkitekt* magazine with supportive comments: “The success of the joint efforts of the Turkish architects, engineers and workers resurrected a building almost hundred years old, after two and a half years of work”³⁴⁹

Similar comments with a covert sense of pride are seen in the texts accompanying the projects realized abroad by the construction firms, especially if Turkish architects have designed them. The most strongly emphasized project is the “Housing for the Diplomats” (UPDK) in Moscow, which was designed by Yüksel Erdemir and built by a consortium of Turkish construction companies in 1995. This complex was awarded the “Art Awards of the State” of Russia and was considered as an important step for the Turkish architecture as well as a subject of pride for the Turkish companies working in Russia.³⁵⁰ However, while Turkish architects search for foreign markets, after having expanded to the former Soviet Republics after the late 1980s, withholding a national market of architectural services is also an important item in the agenda of the individual architects as well as the professional institutions in Turkey.³⁵¹

For some architects national identity is a keyword to secure the Turkish architectural market as well as going the national borders. Comments by Ahmet Vefik Alp, the chief consultant to the prime minister, on the foreign architects practicing in Turkey in the late 1990s resemble those in the articles of the architectural magazines “Mimar” or “Arkitekt” in the early years of the republic. Alp, who himself practiced abroad as a designer of the Riyadh Embassy besides many other projects and was recruited as an academician in Saudi Arabia, complains of the “invasion” of foreign architects in Turkey. However, for Turkish architects getting commissions in the Turkic republics within the former Soviet Union, “foreignness” is expected to mean coming from different ethnic origins. A

³⁴⁹ Vardan, U. (1991) “Petrovski Pasajı” (1991) *Arkitekt*, No.1, 22-25. These comments appeared in the influential magazine *Arkitekt*, that started to be published again after an interval. This manifests the importance of the construction works abroad in the early 1990s and the expectations for the years to come.

³⁵⁰ “Profile: Yüksel Erdemir”, *Mimarlık*, September 1995, No.265, 41-52.

³⁵¹ See “Yabancı Mimarlar” Forum / Panel organized by the Turkish Chamber of Architects in November 28th 2000. *Mimarlık*, December 2000, No.296, 8-12.

common ethnic identity, grouping Turkey with these neophyte states of Central Asia seems to legitimize Turkish architects' practices in these countries. When Alp proposed a new "sustainable" skyscraper to President Nazarbayev for the new capital of Kazakhstan, Astana, he stated that "Turkish signature" should be evident in the formation of the city.³⁵² Nationalism as a sentiment has become a motive in securing job opportunities abroad. This sentiment might have been an influential factor in the expansion of the Turkish architects beyond the national borders to Turkic Republics.³⁵³

As stated before, contractors' works abroad were highly praised in the popular and professional media, and these companies consider their commissions as occasions to prove the capabilities of their individual companies and consequently, of the nation. However, there were concrete cases where they interacted with different "others" and these instances helped the creation of a critical attitude towards their company but more towards the national identity that they represent. Contractors as well as the architects had first hand experience of the architectural and construction practices, building codes and materials and had to work in compliance with the international standards during their construction commissions abroad. Diverse experiences that they thus had also enabled them to compete with foreign firms and architects. One particular case is during the design of the Turkish Embassy in Riyadh. Saudi codes provided the architect severe design codes related with privacy that affected the design of windows, balconies or terraces.³⁵⁴ More significant were the codes specifying materials, fire codes, codes related with environmental protection, and the bureaucracy related with the control of the built environment. Some of these codes were adopted by the host countries in the North Africa or Arab countries, or enforced by the Western countries like US, France or Britain to the subcontractors or other contractors in the region acting as consultants to these countries. These regulations were alien to practices at home; so these

³⁵² "Kazakistan'a Türk Mührü" *Türkiye*, 12.September.2001, 3.

³⁵³ While it is hard to make a comprehensive list, works of Turkish architects abroad are listed in Table 2 in the appendix. One interesting data is that about 50% of the members of the Self Employed Architects Association (Türk Serbest Mimarlar Derneği) have at least one project in their portfolios prepared to be realized in the former Soviet Republics by the Turkish contractors. One third is in the Turkic states of Central Asia. *Türk Mimarları 2000*

³⁵⁴ Alp, A.V. (1998) "T.C. Riyad Büyükelçiliği", 6. *Ulusal Mimarlık Sergisi ve Ödülleri*, Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, İstanbul, 39.

experiences were regarded as a step to the international arena.³⁵⁵ In the construction commissions from the former Soviets and Russia, the codes (SNIP and GHOST) were the locally developed remnants of the Soviet Union. Occasions of building in Russia and also in the Central Asian republics were seen as a two way process. While the Turkish contractors regarded themselves as purveyors of new technologies, new life styles³⁵⁶ and advanced financial means, they were experiencing building codes and control mechanisms, like the “city architect”, as the final decision maker for the new buildings, as advanced regulations that may have positive feedback for the building practices in Turkey. Parallel to the contractors, architects’ practices were means to confront new professional standards.

Collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s and new Central Asian States constituted a historical moment in Turkey to redefine a new national identity. Assumption of an “elder brother” role for Turkey and her contribution to these states in economic, technological, political, social and cultural realms created euphoria and self confidence³⁵⁷. However, architects’ impressions seem to be different. Turkey’s claim to constitute a model for these countries was disputed in terms of architecture. The comments of Affan Yatman, the architect of the Baku Embassy besides many other works, are revealing to understand the reservations of the architects practicing in the former Soviets. His comparative analyses of both contexts made him state that the Turkish context was far backward to constitute an ideal milieu to create “architecture” with capital A. Whereas, in these countries architects and architecture receive high respect by the general public and officials; architects are given priority over the entrepreneurs and politicians in giving

³⁵⁵ Kürşat Atikoğlu of Aysel and Gama Construction companies, who worked as the coordinator of the constructions abroad from 1980 s onwards stated that risk taking is a positive characteristic of the Turkish firms. This bravery made them the main contractors of the building commissions without intermediary steps like being sub-contractors etc. He stated that they learned a lot during the course of these construction works from the western consultant firms, by trial and error.

³⁵⁶ In these countries they also became investors in buildings having different functions, especially like the shopping malls and hotels.

³⁵⁷ For some commentators the predisposition about these countries regarding them as backward and in need of help of Turkey was an outcome of the orientalist prejudices and started to be revised after the first hand experiences especially about the human resources in the visits of the delegations. Bora, T. and Ö. Laçiner (1992) “Türki Cumhuriyetler ve Türkiye: İkinci Vizyon” *Birikim*, May, no:37. 7-16.

decisions. The strict building codes guarantee high standards in terms of construction and environmental control as well as spatial requirements.³⁵⁸

Facing more advanced practices in these countries than in Turkey does not seem to have been something expected. A sense of surprise can also be observed in the architects' statements about the quality of construction in former Soviets as well as the other post-colonial states. For example, Hasan Özbay, architect of the Turkish Embassy in Islamabad, notes that the workmanship of the Pakistani subcontractors, under the contractor STFA, in casting reinforced concrete was so excellent that the standardized mortar details used in Turkey were revised. This excellence of the "other" is attributed to the expertise obtained during the colonial period of the country. Colonial histories of the countries have been regarded as positive by other Turkish architects as well. According to one of such comments this background makes these countries advanced in terms of the quality of the built environment and the related institutional framework compared to Turkey.³⁵⁹

Construction works abroad also provided the contractors a feeling of resurgence of a national identity in those lands. Even though Turkish entrepreneurs, sometimes in the early 1990s, found themselves privileged as compared with their competitors from other countries due to factors like ethnical kinship, they eventually felt themselves as underprivileged in comparison to local national construction companies which became developed by the end of the same decade. A similar favoritism was applicable in terms of the workforce employed in the construction works. While the Turkish companies imported most of the labor force from Turkey in early 90s, they were enforced to use more local manpower as years passed. This transformation was from 20% local workforce to 80% in Russia for example.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁸ Interview with Affan Yatman August 29, 2003. Yatman's and other architects experiences on the issue were discussed in a Forum "Yabancı Mimarlar" printed in *Mimarlık*, 12: 2000. 8-12.

³⁵⁹ *Sedat Hakkı Eldem: Elli Yıllık Meslek Jübileşi* (1983) Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 35. It is interesting to note that these comments come from S.H. Eldem, an architect who had been the leading proponent of an nationalist arguments in architecture. Keeping in mind that nationalism as a political doctrine by itself is after political sovereignty, his professional identity concerning the quality of the physical environment seems to dominate nationalist concerns.

³⁶⁰ Speech delivered by Nihat Özdemir (President of the Turkish Contractors Association (TCA/UIC) April, 21 2003 in METU.

4.4. Concluding Remarks

As Ross Poole stated, national identity provides us a specific moral agenda acknowledging and drawing the boundaries of the special obligations between the citizens of the nation. He notes that beyond these obligations and sense of responsibility, there is also a sense of pride. Achievements of the fellow citizens become a source of self respect for those belonging to that shared identity.³⁶¹ Such a sense of pride, though more apparent in the realm of popular arts or sports, was also displayed in architecture and in the works of contractors abroad, besides the direct economic benefits anticipated.

Commissions procured abroad were regarded as national success stories especially after the 1980s, even though the search for foreign markets started earlier in late 1960s. Since then, these works provided high esteem not only to the companies, but to architects and the larger public as well. They were also regarded as the retribution of the foreign technical expertise and of the workforce in the formative years of the Turkish Republic.

This process overlapped with the construction of the embassies in countries where Turkish companies were widely employed, like Libya and Saudi Arabia where Turkish embassies were built in 1981 and 1990. It may be noted that contractors took the lead in the construction of the embassy in Tripoli and assumed the role of the state as the initiator and financier. In the 90s the pattern of commissioning the Turkish construction firms was followed in the realization of other Turkish embassies and even embassies of the third countries abroad. One interesting feature of the former two examples was that they were the provinces of the Ottoman Empire and this aspect is reflected in the discourse about these buildings as much as the involvement of the construction companies working there. The combination or duality of the identity formation is evident in these examples as the past and the present with its forward looking face intermingles.

³⁶¹ Poole, R. (2003) "National Identity and Citizenship". In *Identities*, eds. Alcoff, L. and Mendieta, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 271-281.

Acknowledging that national identity in architecture is to be analyzed in a wider framework than the formal aspects of the buildings, different facets of the building processes pertaining to the “construction” of national identity are discussed. These include the interaction with the patrons abroad, other construction companies from different countries, adaptation to new building codes and procedures of the “others” and the composition of the workforce employed in the jobs, etc.

Although construction activity constitutes the core of the arguments, the interactions between the actors of construction i.e. companies, architects and the state are analyzed. This analysis indicates to the fact that a latent power struggle exists in the relations between the actors within the context of the buildings abroad and this struggle has further consequences in increasing their credence at home. It is possible to observe that while architects appreciate the contractors for their technical capabilities as well as their efforts for paving the way for new commissions, their experiences abroad also initiated them to question the building processes as well as the relations between state as the patron, construction firms and architects in Turkey.

CHAPTER 5

IDENTITY OF THE POST-MODERN NATION-STATE / 1990 -

This chapter will dwell on the new building types built abroad, which manifest other facets of the identity debate in international politics regarding the role of “architecture”. These new types have been more potent in raising controversial issues compared to the embassies built at about the same period during the 1990s. While world fair pavilions and embassies constitute the subject matter of the previous chapters, cultural centers and mosques will be the major building types in this chapter³⁶².

While establishment of cultural centers in the major cities had already been a common practice under the name of a “Turkish House”, they were usually existing modest buildings. The characteristic feature of the new ones built after 1990 are their location next to mosques.³⁶³ Display function was incorporated in the designs

³⁶² Cultural centers of different countries abroad may be amongst important architectural edifices, i.e. J. Nouvel’s Arab Center and F. Gehry’s American Center in Paris. More important than that, their representation of the national presence is the real agenda. It is not coincidental that an architectural exhibition about German Embassies included cultural institutions and educational institutions. Cultural institutions have the potential to question how different cultures perceive each other. For example Getty Center in Los Angeles and Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao were studied as case studies to interrogate if “other” is a term to be assigned solely to the third world or US can be regarded as the exotic and less civilized “other” of the European Art and Culture. See Fraser, M and J. Kerr (2000) “Beyond the empire of the signs”. In *Intersections: Architectural Histories and Theories*, ed. I. Borden and J. Rendell, Routledge, London and New York, 125-149.

³⁶³ Aydın notes that Turkish Cultural Centers and Turkish Schools were established in numerous places in the new states. He adds that Directorate of Religious Affairs has built mosque and cultural center complexes in all the Turkic Republics. Turkmenistan case will be analysed at

of some embassy buildings, where halls were assigned this function. The embassy in Tripoli has a hall designed with this purpose in mind. Space requirements in the architectural program of the most recent Turkish embassy which is in Baku include this aspect as well. In the brief, one of the three constituents of the compound is designated as the “Cultural Center”.³⁶⁴ Investigating what sorts of items were displayed so far in the embassies and the cultural centers can give more idea about their role in construction of identity³⁶⁵

The shift in building type is parallel to the changes in the international politics. In the beginning of the 1990s Turkey invested a particular interest in countries which newly gained their independence. These were the Caucasian states of Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Turkic states in Central Asia, namely Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan. After their declaration of independence Turkey was the first country to recognize them.

length in the thesis. Aydın, M. (2001) “Kafkasya ve Ortaasyayla ilişkiler”. In *Türk Dış Politikası*, ed.B. Oran, 384, 387, 366-426.

³⁶⁴ As Therrien points out, it is possible to discern a change in the Canadian embassies built after 1975, aiming at diversification of Canada’s international cultural relations. Architecturally it was meant to include exhibition rooms, auditoria and larger libraries in the new diplomatic quarters. “The new embassies would be designed as cultural centers to promote Canadian arts and the government’s vision of national identity.” “Canadian embassies”, 19.

³⁶⁵ A former diplomat Bleda claims that any artistic activity held in these official residences does not provide any recognition for the artists and is not regarded as a serious event by the critiques. So he suggests that only the state can have the role of financial supporter or can found “Turkish houses” that accommodate exhibition halls, modeled after the Danish examples. Bleda, *Maskeli Balo*, 160. Turkish House is also the name of the nodes for cultural and artistic activities for Turks established in some German cities like Berlin, Köln, and Hannover.

A similar concern was expressed for the bilateral relationships between Hungary and Turkey. Hungarian Minister of Culture suggested buying two buildings reciprocally in Budapest and Istanbul to found permanent cultural centers. Noting this proposal, Hızlan points to the possible improvement of cultural exchange via these open to public centers, since the culture inside the consulates or embassies cannot reach other than the invited. Hızlan, D. *Hürriyet*, 24.February.1999.

Bleda’s and Hızlan’s point is questionable for the embassies or consulates in Turkey. For example, French consulate in Istanbul, especially in the 1950s where there were still not much exhibition spaces in the city, had been considered as an important focus in the cultural life. Many exhibitions were organized there including “D grubu (group D)”, “Tavanarası Ressamları (Attic painters)”, “10’lar grubu (Group 10)” or L. Levi’s, aroused much interest positive and negative reactions from the artists and public alike., United States Information Agency (USIA?) played an important role in the social and cultural life of the city, similarly, not just for its provision of exhibition space but also with the publications promoting the American art and culture. Yaman, Z. (1998) “1950’li yılların sanatsal ortamı ve “temsil” sorunu” *Toplum ve Bilim* , Kış 79, 121.

American Embassies are pursuing this aim with more official programs. One is the “Art in the Embassies” program established to enable American embassies throughout the world to display a representative sampling of American art. It was noted in the Ankara exhibition booklet of the embassy “it will increase the pleasure of your visit to our home” *Art in the Embassy* undated.

The priority of Turkey was the Islamic states and embassies started to be established in these countries right after the recognition of these countries except Armenia and Georgia which were later.³⁶⁶ Priority on these countries seems to be at the cost of slowing down the realization of embassies in other countries.³⁶⁷ Reciprocally, the first embassies of these countries were opened in Turkey. Despite the economic hardships, Turkish embassies were established before those of all other nations, including the most prosperous ones like the United States³⁶⁸ While in some of these countries already existing buildings were used, some of the embassies were designed to be built anew. The size and the location of the sites for these new Turkish embassies in the capitals of the respective countries seem esteemed important, and usually taken in comparison with the embassies of the other countries.³⁶⁹ Projects for these buildings, which were to be located in the most prestigious places in the respective capitals were published by the Turkish Ministry of Public Works. Although significance of such projects in terms of architecture was questionable, embassies to be built in these countries received the attention of the architects for their wider implications. The president of the Chamber of Architects of Turkey stated that the project for the embassy in Baku “had a national priority” and “very important for the cultural relationships with this

³⁶⁶ In order to have the status of *doyen* amongst the diplomats delegated to these countries, there seems to be a competition. Commentators often refer to Iran as a primary competitor. For example Yalçıntaş, writing in 1992 stated that Iran had already established an embassy but also a cultural center and a center of Commerce in Tajikistan and planning to do the same in Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan. His suggestion was to utilize other means like transmission of TV broadcasts to the region by the new satellite (Turksat) as a means of propaganda. Yalçıntaş (1992) “Türkiye Aslına Kendi Kimliğine Dönüyor”. In *Yeni Kimlik Yeni Çözüm*, ed. İ. Deveci, Istanbul.

³⁶⁷ Özbay notes that one of the reasons of the 18 years delay in constructing the embassy after its design in 1985 was this priority on the Turkic states. Özbay, H. (2003) “Onsekiz yıl süren öykü: T.C Islamabad Büyükelçiliği”, *TMMOB Ankara Mimarlar Odası Bülteni*, September 1st, No.14, 50-51.

³⁶⁸ Akın Gönensin, Minister of State stated in his parliament speech that “We should be rational and economical in terms of allocating funds to this national enterprise. Inevitably all the actions will cause expenses. For example the initial step of establishment of a consulate is one million dollars.” 17.December.1991, 635.

³⁶⁹ For example architects of the embassy visiting Baku were impressed by the “Pionerler” park which was donated for this purpose and regarded Turkey as privileged. Similar comments were seen in the popular media as well. “Azerbaijan government donated one of the most beautiful parks of Baku to the Turkish Republic...This site, which resembles a forest, is larger and more beautiful than the sites given to both the Americans and Russians” Özkök. E. (2001) “Mezar taşlarından bir harita”, *Hürriyet*, 9.September. 2001,25.

sister country” hence a competition which “would make all the architects to think about Baku” was necessary.³⁷⁰

The scope of buildings representing Turkey in these countries was not confined to the embassies. Turkey tried to put its stamp on the urban schemes as well. For example, the park, right in front of the embassy in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan, was officially given the name of “Atatürk Park” to form a continuum with the embassy. Similarly one major hilltop, which accommodates the Turkish embassy on its skirts, in Baku, is parkland containing a martyrdom and a mosque built by Turkey.

Turkey’s interest in these countries also gave way to the construction of these countries’ embassies in Turkey. After the designation of a new diplomatic quarter in the 1980s in Oran, Ankara is experiencing a new wave of embassy constructions. Countries like Azerbaijan, Indonesia and Qatar using rented buildings in the city, started their own buildings. The Ministry of Construction in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is following a new procedure of constructing embassies on behalf of some countries, in reciprocity with them donating of buildings for the Turkish embassies in their capitals³⁷¹. This procedure is expected also to have an outcome of increasing bilateral relationships and mutual interests. The buildings for these countries, which will be designed by Turkish architects and built by the Ministry of Public Works, are expected to satisfy the requirements for representation of these newly founded countries, some of which are in search of a national identity, and consequently, a “national architecture”. It is a matter of curiosity whether all of the other 17 countries, for which new embassies are expected to be founded until 2004, will follow this procedure which started with Tajikistan, Georgia and Uzbekistan.

After their independence bilateral relations between Turkey and these states underwent transformation. Aydın demarcates different phases, starting with the first period from the independence in 1991 to 1993, which he names as the period

³⁷⁰ Ekinçi, O. (2001) “Baku Büyükelçilik Binası Ulusal Yarışmaya Çıkarılmalı”, *Mimarlık Haberler*, No.82, February, 9.

³⁷¹ Donated embassy buildings in these countries are going to be restored by the Turkish entrepreneurs practicing in these countries.

of “Emotion and Excitement”.³⁷² The main feature of this initial period was the dominance of the nationalist ideals that might be considered to have ethnical overtones. Romantic and even fantastic declarations like “21st century will be the century of the Turks” and “Turkish speaking people from Adriatic to China Wall” were characteristic of this period. While the following periods necessitated more realistic and regional policies for the analysts, the ethnical themes still endured.

Ethnical themes were pivotal also in the architects’ statements who were commissioned to build embassies in these neophyte Central Asian Turkic states. For example architects of the Tashkent Embassy stated that

People living in the 1990s will remember these years as the formation period of a new world order. It is natural that Turkey and the Turkish people are the ones, most affected by these developments. We all were excited to see the establishment of these Turkic states of Central Asia, with which we have deeply rooted historical, cultural and family bonds, and their craving to encounter us. These sentiments were deeply influential upon us when we were invited to the tender of this embassy building...³⁷³

Another peculiar theme was Turkey being a model for these countries with its secular characteristics of the state and its distinctive interpretation of religion, and its free-market economy. Architects of the Tashkent Embassy made references to these as well. Through statements reflecting the tenor of the times, architects also defined characteristics of Turkey they thought to be reflected in their designs.

“We are engaged for this responsibility (to design the building) with our determination for the democratic, secular, liberal and contemporary image of Atatürk’s Turkey. We hope to be successful in reflecting the identity and honor of our country in this important and diplomatic center in Asia”³⁷⁴

However, while secular characteristics of the regime were emphasized in the declarations made by different authorities regarding Turkey’s relationship with these new states, the Directorate of Religious Affairs, which is the responsible body for the cooperation between the states in the domain of religion, claimed that this cooperation was the fastest growing relationship between Turkey and these

³⁷² Aydın, M. (2001) *Türkiye’nin Dış Politikası*, ed. Oran, B., Vol .2, 380.

³⁷³ Eşim, F. and S. Güleşçioğlu (1994) “Taşkent Büyükelçilik Binası”. In *4.Ulusal Mimarlık Sergisi ve Ödülleri*, 113.

³⁷⁴ Ibid, 113.

countries³⁷⁵. This development raised questions about the nature of the national identity to be reflected in these countries, besides a reappraisal of the tenets of Turkish identity in the 1990s.³⁷⁶ Beyond these debates, relations with these neophyte states in terms of cultural and religious affairs affected forward concrete results in the built environment and substantial financial investments.

The role of architecture in international relations is not confined to the construction of new buildings, whether they are embassies, cultural centers, religious complexes, museums or alike. Renovation is also a field of practice having political dimensions. As mentioned in connection to the Riyadh Embassy, the historical buildings from the Ottoman period are important subject of international politics. Balkans is another case, where renovation is regarded to be a means of asserting national and political identity³⁷⁷. This geography is seen as a paradigm for some Foreign Affairs analysts in the establishment of a new identity of Turkey. This is named as the rise of a “Neo-Ottomanism” by Yavuz, who indicates a transformation of the focus in the Turkish identity debates from nation-state to the geographies considered as the heritage of the Ottoman Empire and as “roots”.³⁷⁸ This formulation assumes the construction of a macro-identity to be shared with the new states in the Balkans. This new macro-identity will have Islamic motives. There were many attempts for renovating historical works like the tomb of Murad

³⁷⁵ <http://diyanet.gov.tr/diyanet/Ocak1999/ropörtaj.htm>

³⁷⁶ For example in the introduction for a multi-disciplinary conference on “Modernization in Turkey and National Identity”, organizers Bozdoğan and Kasaba regarded the synchrony between the re-evaluation of the modernization process of Turkey at home, with its presentation as a social reform model for these countries, as being “odd”. *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, 3.

³⁷⁷ Declaration of Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that beside the war in 1998-1999, “Another cause of the damages occurred to the edifices (in Kosovo) is the activities of the foreign non-governmental organizations, either as renovation of these structures away from their original states or totally demolishing some of them and building new mosques instead.” 25.May.2001 <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkce/grupc/ca/2001/05/default.htm>.

³⁷⁸ Yavuz, H. (1998) “Turkish Identity and Foreign Policy in Flux: The Rise of Neo-Ottomanism” *Critique*, Spring, 19-41. Reprinted in *Türkiye’nin Dış Politika Gündemi: Kimlik, Demokrasi, Güvenlik*, eds. Çalış et.al., Liberte Yayınları, Ankara, 35-63. Oran notes the role of the state of affairs in the Central Asia besides the other factors in the formation of “Neo-Ottomanism” Oran, B. (2001) “1990-2001:Küreselleşme Ekseninde Türkiye”, *Türk Dış Politikası*, ed. B.Oran, 203-243, 236.

A similar Neo-Ottomanism is evident in a setting where a national identity is aimed to be conveyed to the public through architecture. The project “Miniatürk” to be opened in 2003 includes buildings from different locations in Turkey, but also includes structures of “Ottoman-Turkish” buildings beyond the borders. One such example is the Ecyad Castle demolished by the Saudis and caused problems between the states. The park including these structures is in İstanbul, the capital city of the “Ottoman” past.

I. Even the latter, which has such a structure having cultural and military importance, was financed by the Directorate of Religious Affairs, which seems to have been the most active representational agency of Turkey abroad in the 1990s; active both in such renovations and new constructions³⁷⁹.

It is possible to point at a parallel situation in Central Asia, where renovation and building anew are carried on. Restoration of historical buildings has become a part of the cultural relations between Turkey and the new states³⁸⁰. Ahmed Yesevi Mosque in Kazakhstan is such a building. (Fig. 5.1) President of Turkey, A. N. Sezer laid the first foundation stone in 2000 for the construction of this mosque like had been done by his predecessors for those in Ashgabat and Tokyo. This site is very close to the tomb of Ahmed Yesevi, which was renovated with the funds and the technical know-how provided by Turkey³⁸¹. This mosque is an example of many similar cases which raise questions over the identity of Turkey.

³⁷⁹ Gazi Ali Paşa Mosque in Romania and Koski Mehmet Paşa Camii in Bosnia-Herzegovina are other examples cited by the Directorate. One other active representative of a “national” identity in the Balkans is the armed forces i.e. “Türk Tabur Görev Kuvveti” operating under KFOR (Kosovo Enforcement Force). Besides social services to the local people this force initiated the renovation of some historical structures of the Ottoman times like “Fatih Sultan Mehmet Namazgahı”, an open air mosque, finished in 2001. Turkish Armed Forces serving under international forces are active in locations other than Balkans also. The unit in Afghanistan, within the body of ISAF (International Security Assistant Force) restored the “İki Kılıçlı Şah Camisi” in Kabul in 2002.

³⁸⁰ Parliamentary debates on the policies on Foreign Affairs and Central Asia, just the day after recognition of those states on 16/12/1991, attests that such a use of buildings as means of bilateral relations is offered by opposition parties as well, as one of the first actions to be taken. “In this respect historical edifices, mosques, tombs and libraries should be repaired and restored by our assistance”, 632.

³⁸¹ Başbakanlık Tanıtma Fonu and TİKA (Türk İşbirliği ve Kalkınma İdaresi Başkanlığı) established for the cooperation between the Turkic Republics and Turkey financed the enterprise. Publicity Fund also contributed to the restoration of the matrydom in Cairo, presentation of Ottoman works to Turkmenistan, construction of statues in some Central Asian Republics and to the Ertuğrul Gazi Mosque in Ashgabat.

Restoration of Ahmed Yesevi Tomb was received with positive remarks not only in the realm of politics. For example it is appraised in a book published by the Ministry of Culture, that is an academic research concerning the architecture of the Central Asia: “Republic of Turkey’s undertaking of all the expenses related to the maintenance, renovation and restoration (of the Yesevi’s tomb) as well as establishment of a university in Kazakhstan is a gesture that is fitting to the Turkishness”. Ramazanoğlu, G. (1998) *Orta Asya’da Türk Mimarisi*, TTK Press, Ankara, 33.



Fig. 5.1 Ahmed Yesevi Mosque in Kazakhstan (unrealized proposal, 2000).
Architect : M.H. Şenalp

5.1 New Building Types Abroad - Religious and Cultural Complexes

More distinctive buildings realized abroad during the 1990s are religious complexes designed, constructed and financed by the Turkish Government.³⁸² Some of these complexes incorporate cultural centers. Construction of these buildings started only a couple of years after the establishment of bilateral diplomatic relationships with these states which gained their independence after the collapse of Soviet Union. They seem to have gained priority when the procrastination of the projects of new embassies is taken into account. These cultural center-mosque buildings are also a part of the developing economic interactions with these new markets.³⁸³

Construction of mosque and cultural centers after the 1990s was not limited to the Central Asian Turkic countries; they took place, and were planned to be realized in other parts of the world as well³⁸⁴. While the primary function of these buildings is the concretization of the identity of the Turkish State in various locations, diversity of the dimensions of this pattern can be understood by dwelling on unique cases. These different cases also constitute frameworks, where the use of the controversial term “national identity” is questioned and challenged by different groups, having particular identities within this comprehensive identity. The following five examples enable the discussion of construction of “identity” in different contexts with different significances.

While circumstantial parameters to understand the different dimensions of “national identity” through architecture differ in each of the following cases, it is possible to point out a dominant world view influential in each of them. Researchers of the social and cultural life in Turkey often underline the revival of

³⁸² Interestingly both the vice-president of the Directorate of Religious Affairs (DRA) and an academician of theology regarded the mosque in Tokyo as the “cultural embassy” in “Japonya’da gerçekleşen rüya” <http://diyanet.gov.tr/diyanet/august2k/gundem.htm>

³⁸³ Architect Şenalp suggests that after the mosque in Ashgabad was finished, the volume of the economic transactions exceeded 2 billion dollars.

³⁸⁴ For example news about the construction of a mosque in Brooklyn-NewYork appears in the media. “NewYork Camii” *Milliyet*, 22.January.2002. “3 Milyon Dolara NewYork’a Cami”, *Milliyet*, 20.July.2003, “New York’ta Cami yapılacak”, *Hürriyetim*, 18.July.2003.

religion as a primary factor shaping the national identity from 1950s onwards. For example, Güvenç states that the transition from Republican Turkey to Democratic Turkey can also be regarded as a counter revolution or a popular restoration of religion against secularism (laïcité).³⁸⁵ A particular development was the formulation in late 1970s of what is called as synthesis of the Turkish and the Islamic. This formulation gained a certain currency within rightist parties in government and surreptitiously found its way into the National Culture Plan of the State Planning Organization in order to reconstitute a national identity. Different politicians and intellectuals have criticized this formulation for its inconsistency and conceptual and methodical flaws. Its imbalanced emphasis on the “continuity” principle for cultural policy, underestimation of the role of “creativity”, and “totality” principles to understand the encounters with the other cultures were critical drawbacks of this synthesis.³⁸⁶ Continuity with the past in the realization of a cultural synthesis is exemplified through the reiteration of “Mimar Sinan” and his works as the products of “national culture” in the architectural realm.³⁸⁷ Conjoining continuity and Sinan, this framework offers little more than the popular revivalist versions of Sinan’s works in the architecture of the new mosques, and legitimizes such approaches. Hence, while architecture is admitted to be a universal art in this report of the synthesis, qualities of “creativity” and “future orientedness” to make it universal are heavily curtailed in the architecture of the religious functions as manifested in most of the 80000 mosques in Turkey, proliferating with a rate of four or five new ones a day. However some of them are seminal in importance and acted as milestones like the Kocatepe Mosque Complex in Ankara. Being the biggest religious ensemble of the capital, it stands as an object of political/spatial representation in contemporary Turkey. Kocatepe complex is a site of confrontation of different world views, which also operates as the site of the normalization of the Islam within capitalist order.³⁸⁸ Parallels can be drawn

³⁸⁵ Güvenç, B. (1997) “Secular Trends and Turkish Identity”, *Journal of International Affairs* , Vol.II No.4, <http://mfa.gov.tr/PrintPageE2.asp>

³⁸⁶ Güvenç, B. et al. (1991) *Türk İslam Sentezi*, Sarmal Yayınevi, İstanbul, 51.

³⁸⁷ Turk-Islam Synthesis Report reviewed by the Atatürk Culture, Language and History High Commission. Published in *Türk İslam Sentezi*, 84.

³⁸⁸ Bilsel C., Sargın, G., and Turan B. (1997) “Islam, Modernity and the Politics of Public Realm in Turkey”. In *Proceedings of the ACSA International conference : Building as a Political Act*, 451-454. The authors particularly point out the supermarket under the complex.

between this complex and the following mosques built abroad, not only in terms of their designs modeled after the 16th century examples or the reinforced concrete construction methods but also for their utilization for capitalist motives in the international relationships between Turkey and these countries, especially the one in Turkmenistan.

Meanings conveyed by these buildings are not confined to the incongruity between the modern construction methods and the historicist design, cohabitation of the religious function with the capitalist motives or the representation of nation or religion. The approach of the architects in the following cases bears the traces of these in the designs replicating the historical models.

Appropriateness of resuscitation of historical models to represent Turkey abroad as a modern country is questioned. These criticisms are not addressed from outside but even by the architects of such structures. The issue of “originality” as a component in the reflection of national culture abroad is a point to be considered in the identification of “modern” Turkey. Originality of the design of a mosque could be possible through the intervention of an “architect” in the context of the following buildings which are “gifts of the state”. While alternative attitudes are observed in the procurement of mosque designs in other contexts that encourage the intervention of the vernacular building codes and local actors of construction, or populist taste³⁸⁹, a religious building to be built abroad, representing the state seems to necessitate a more formal procedure in the procurement of its design.

³⁸⁹ To classify the approaches in the design of such religious structures Serageldin suggests a scheme of five approaches namely 1-Popular (vernacular) 2-Traditional 3-Populist 4-The adaptive modernist 5- The modernist. Serageldin (1992) in *Contemporary Expressions of Islam in Buildings*, Aga Khan Trust, ed. S.Hayat, Geneva, 11-47 and Serageldin I. (1996) *Introduction Architecture of the Contemporary Mosque*, London Academy Books. Other than the one in Kazakhstan which may be considered as an adaptive modernist one, the others in Berlin, Ashgabat and Tokyo are outcomes of a traditional approach which is defined by Serageldin as following “taken by trained and registered architects, who choose to work in either the vernacular or historically relevant traditional architectural language...They imbue their work with the self-discipline that the mastery of these conventions, techniques and proportions required” vernacular can not be an alternative in the sense that the local masons and the community are not allowed to shape these mosques likewise the populist approach “characterized with the crudeness and stylishness with a semantic disorder”. Quality of the materials and the craftsmanship of the aforementioned examples in Tokyo and Ashgabat are appreciated by the commentators.. For a discussion of this classification in the examples built in Turkey see Işıkyıldız,T. (2000) *Contemporary Mosque Architecture in Turkey*, Unpublished Masters Thesis, Metu.

Hence, these buildings were commissioned to a registered architect, starting from the first example of Ashgabat, who was designated through a limited competition.

These aforementioned mosques, other than the one in Cyprus, were designed by M. H. Şenalp. One of his important objectives has been to constitute a continuum with the Ottoman classic era. The name of his office is “Hassa Mimarlık” as a reference to the historical model. However, this continuum is tried to be achieved by an “original” design, beyond the adaptation of the existing models. For example, the Tokyo Mosque is claimed to be a novel, unprecedented solution arrived at within the syntax of Sinan. While it is an exploration within an established syntax, he seems ambivalent about its limitations and develops more permissive solutions to more tolerant patrons. He notes that limitations are partially an outcome of the demands and the attitude of the patrons.³⁹⁰ Similarly there is a reaction in his writings to the practice of mosque building in Turkey. These buildings abroad were intended to be a model to the ones within the home country as well. However, though they are regarded as modest attempts to create a continuum with the historical precedents by appropriating the syntactic and formal characteristics by its architect, these works abroad are considered just a variation of the authentic Ottoman examples, in criticisms made like those of Kuban, which are unable to represent the modern mosque architecture and modern Turkish architecture.

Similarly, Tanyeli states that discussion about the design of a mosque is impossible in Turkey.³⁹¹ He states that since creation of an original contemporary design is extremely difficult and rare due to the circumstances, the first caliber architects of Turkey do not involve themselves with it. However, there were frequent instances when prominent names of Turkish architecture were engaged with mosque buildings and a considerable number of them were projects abroad. A rare instance which was initiated by the Turkish authorities and made prevalent architects’ contributions possible was the competition organized by the Religious Foundation

³⁹⁰ Şenalp explains this dilemma with a proverb “Marifet iltifata tabidir, müşterisi olmayan meta zayıdır”. His only attempt that can be considered beyond this 16th century syntax is the one in Kazakhstan. Turkish authorities as well as the local authorities are the patrons of that enterprise and this twofold patronage partially encouraged that attempt.

³⁹¹ Tanyeli, U. (1994) “Türkiye’de Çağdaş Cami Mimarisi: Bir Olanaksızlığı Tartışmak”, *Arredamento Dekorasyon*, No.64, November, 84-87.

(Diyanet Vakfı) for Berlin in 1987. Copenhagen Center of Islamic Culture designed by Ragıp Buluç can also be mentioned in this regard. Other cases are entries to competitions initiated by local authorities abroad, like the proposal of Aksüt in London, Özer and Dalokay's proposals for Islamabad, (Fig. 5.2a) Kuban's proposal for Baghdad, and Pamir and Gümrük's design for Dhaka, (Fig. 5.2b) or commissions given like the designs of S.H.Eldem (Fig. 5.2c) and Dalokay. Notably these architects have no mosque designs realized in Turkey, which makes it worth to dwell on national and religious identities in the framework of these religious buildings abroad.

As indicated by Buluç, the Copenhagen Center seemed to be an effort to represent the nation in Europe through a project financed by the Arab countries. Since the previous scheme prepared by an Egyptian architect was discarded, the Turkish architect was to be the purveyor of a "modern" interpretation of the religion and architecture with a quality. While conservative in terms of forms when compared to the one designed by Buluç, S.H. Eldem's mosque in Tripoli –Benghazi mosque can also be mentioned- is another case in North Africa. It raised similar concerns about the stance of Turkish architects in comparison to others. Eldem complained with disappointment that mosques in the Islamic world were below the required architectural quality or designed by foreigners.³⁹² These statements connote that Turkish architects can be the purveyors in the creation of modern mosques with high architectural merits unlike the ones designed by local architects or other Muslim architects. It is also insinuated that since "we" share certain historical or cultural factors, Turkish architects will not be regarded as foreign in these countries. A latent theme in his assessment of this mosque design is the surprise and the disappointment; when the patron, i.e. the state and society is more conservative in terms of religion the mosques can be modern as is the case of Libya, however when the patron is more permissive, modern and secular, the architectural forms have much less free expression as is the case of Turkey.

The seminal example of same theme, designing a contemporary mosque by the Turkish architects in contradistinction to the others' historicist, revivalist and static

³⁹² Sedat Hakkı Eldem: *Elli Yıllık Meslek Jübileşi* (1983) Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 35.



Fig. 5.2a King Faisal Mosque, Islamabad (1969). Architect : V. Dalokay



Fig. 5.2b Mosque in Dhaka (1980). Architects : E. Gümrük and D. Pamir

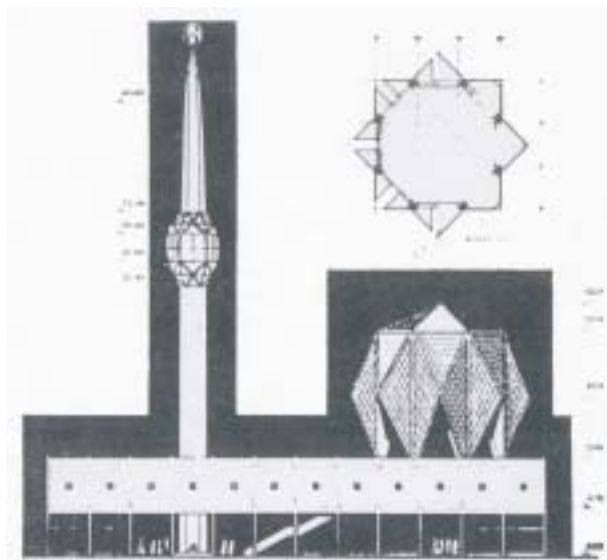


Fig. 5.2c Mosque Designed for Benghazi (1976). Architect : S.H.Eldem

interpretation is the case of the Grand National Mosque of Islamabad.³⁹³ However this mosque created a controversy for the architects, regarding its negative impact on the identity of Turkey as well. It was announced in the Pakistani press as the work of a Turkish architect Dalokay, who had been building a similar grand scale mosque in Ankara, even though it had already been annulled at that date. According to its architect the one in Pakistan would bring that country a pioneering status ahead of Turkey. Keeping the synchronicity of both samples in mind, it is not coincidental that this competition was used as an argument against the “cultural others” at home by drawing parallels to the “national others” abroad. In other words, mosque building processes and the ideology of the groups organizing these processes in Turkey were heavily criticized by this example realized beyond Turkey, which is assumed to represent the leading country in the Islamic world.³⁹⁴

³⁹³ It had raised unanimous positive remarks from the Turkish architects. For example Eldem noted that this building is the first modern mosque originating from Turkish and Islamic roots. Ibid, 35.

For the evaluation of the “others” through this competition Kuran’s statements are revealing. As jury member Aptullah Kuran stated that this competition was open to the Muslim architects, not architects from Islamic states, and there were participants from countries like Yugoslavia. Therefore the comparison and the “success” should be evaluated in a larger context. He declared that it is pride for Turkey that all three prizes were awarded to Turkish architects. They were appreciated because “especially Arab architects’ projects were all revivalist” which were modeled after a historically well-known mosque and relocated into Islamabad. *Unpublished Colloquium notes*, p.6. In the late 1960s not only the “quality” of the Turkish architects was compared to the “others” in the Middle East and the Islamic countries but also the quantity. As professional magazine *Mimarlık* indicated there were 120 architects in Iran, 35 in Pakistan but 3000 in Turkey and 1:3 of these Turkish architects were “serving” western countries. *Mimarlık*, 167/7, 2.

³⁹⁴ “We have lost the chance to create a pioneering example in the religious architecture to another country. I was forced to do this leadership not in my own country but in another. Kocatepe would be a sample of a transition period. How good would it be if this transition starts from us. We have lost this opportunity. My consolation is, even though this pioneering quality had been lost to Pakistan, it would be created by a Turkish architect” p.32 Şenyapılı, Ö. (1969) “Vedat Dalokay’la Konuşma”, *Mimarlık*, December. 29-32.

Second and third prize winners also considered the results as a case where Turkish architects proved themselves to the world (even though the competition was confined to the Muslim architecture throughout the world.) However, this success was used as means to condemn the Turkish authorities and social milieu in a comparative way. Therefore national “other” helps the Turkish architects to criticize the “cultural others” at home in the building processes as well.³⁹⁴ Third prize winner, Bindal, notes that “even though Turkish architects have proven themselves to the world in many instances, they cannot find encouraging circumstances in their own country. It is quite weird and funny” (p.41) Similarly Bülent Özer, second prize winner, claims that these prizes can not be considered as the advancement of the Turkish architecture when considered holistically. Individual successes can not transform the totality of the processes in the totality of the physical environment in a way to “conform economic, aesthetic and technological correlation between the actual needs and actual means”. If such a congruence is realized then these successes will glorify this architectural framework in a more effective and bright fashion. (p.39) “Uluslararası Islamabad Camii proje yarışması” *Mimarlık*, 1969, December, 33-41.

Although modernist expression of these mosques is emphasized, a latent characteristic observed in Dalokay's design as well as in some of the others is that they have references to the "national" models; both of Buluç and Dalokay refer to the Selimiye Mosque, for example. Therefore, either in the most manifest ways, like in those in Ashgabad and Tokyo or in the more sophisticated versions having different senses and level of originalities as in the later ones, national framework has been dominant in shaping the attitude of the architects. Consideration of national models makes sense when the location of the mosque is abroad and avails the question if it is an intentional attitude adopted by a variety of architects of the Turkish scene.

5.1.1 Ashgabat – Buildings in the New Turkic Republics

The largest of the mosques built by Turkey abroad is the Ertuğrul Gazi Mosque in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan³⁹⁵. This large project which started in 1992 is sited on an urban parcel of 27000 m² and was planned to accommodate 5000 people during the prayer times. Its cost was about 20 million US dollars. Starting with the name given to the complex, it is possible to identify different aspects about the "identity" of Turkey after the 1990s. Within the discourse related to this building, construction of the "other" was the major theme in consolidating the "national identity".

This mosque was known as the "Turkish Mosque" and was for a long time planned to be named as such; Later was entitled after the president of Turkey, i.e. Süleyman Demirel and still it bears this name in some sources. However, in due course it was

³⁹⁵ These mosques were all designed in a "Neo-Ottoman" style. Azerbaijan Baku Martry's, Tüben Kama in Tartaria: Russian Federation, Koçgor in Krygizistan, Miçurin, Nikoleyefka, Talgar and Hodja Ahmed Yesevi mosques in Kazakhstan, Donetsk (Istanbul) mosque in Ukraine, Kazım Karabekir in Nahcevan, Türkmenbaşı mosque in Turkmenistan are other built examples of this enterprise in the new states in Central Asia. Director of Foundation of Religious Affairs (Diyanet Vakfı) mentions 28 new mosques built in the former Soviet Republics and the allies of Soviet Union. He also mentions 12 new schools built by the initiatives of this foundation in the same geography. Directorate of Religious Affairs points out that the number of mosques reaches to 1200 and 58 of them have a "dome and minaret". Directorate's Chairman of Foreign Affairs Department claims that the number of such mosques reaches to hundred.

named as Ertuğrul Gazi, after the father of the founder of the Ottoman Empire, who is supposed to have come “all the way from the Central Asia to Anatolia”. This was considered by the Turkish authorities to be a proper name linking the past of the Turkish Republic and the new Republic of Turkmenistan. For the president of Turkey, this mosque with this name enables the two nations “to embrace” each other by commemorating a great “son” of their “mutual civilization”.³⁹⁶ Naming should also be interpreted in the context of the nation-building process in Turkmenistan which is trying to set up a unique national identity depending on historical forebears.³⁹⁷

While the name refers to a historical period, i.e. 13th century, the mosque does not attempt to display an allusion to this period architecturally; it is a reminiscent of the 16th century Ottoman mosques³⁹⁸ (Fig. 5.3a). It is not surprising to note references to the buildings of this latter era and to the name of Sinan, the architect, in speeches, articles and commentaries related to this building. The Turkish president’s speech manifests a wish to connect with a more desirable period or even a collection of all the desirable periods of history.³⁹⁹ However why these references are made under the label of “Classical Ottoman” without specifically referring to any particular example or type can be a sign of two factors.

One factor may be a relative disinterest of the people in architecture, except only clichés. Since the mosque would serve a Turkic public, the people of Turkmenistan other than a small group of Turkish workers in Turkmenistan, the choice of this revivalist form cannot be explained as being the result of preferences of the user

³⁹⁶ Speech by President Demirel dated 12.November.1998, www.mfa.tr/Türkçe.

³⁹⁷ Kürşat Atikoğlu of GAMA Construction Company, in charge of this commission, suggested that the switch of the name from “Turkish Mosque” to “Ertuğrul Gazi” might be to satisfy Turkmen side.

³⁹⁸ Reference to the Seljukid architecture is only cited about the small scale cultural center built next to the mosque.

³⁹⁹ “Our ancestors built very beautiful mosques in a very large territory including Balkans, Middle East, Caucasians, and many parts of Central Asia. This mosque is not a single step back from these. It is a contemporary sample of the Turkish-Ottoman architecture, realized with a great creativity and struggle. It is not a place for worshipping but an architectural masterpiece”. Notably the sentence about the extend of the geography in this speech was quoted in the DRA magazine but missing in the webpage of Ministry of Foreign Affairs probably not to misrepresent and cause controversy about the objectives of the foreign policy. [http:// www.diyamet.gov.tr/diyamet/ocak1999/gundem3.htm](http://www.diyamet.gov.tr/diyamet/ocak1999/gundem3.htm) , [http:// www.mfa.gov.tr/turkce/gruph/hk/98/11.html](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkce/gruph/hk/98/11.html). There is no particular reference to the architectural style of the mosque by the president of Turkmenistan.



Fig. 5.3a Ertuğrul Gazi Mosque in Ashgabad (1994)
Architect : M. H. Şenalp



Fig. 5.3b Cultural center next to Ertuğrul Gazi Mosque (1994).
Architect : M. H. Şenalp

group. Hence, as related to the other mosque examples in the inventory of the “overseas enterprises” of the Directory of the Religious Affairs, the number of its minarets and the height of its dome are considered the sole indicators of its “Ottoman identity”⁴⁰⁰. Second related factor may be the ossification of a certain “mosque” as an eternal type-form. However, as researches on the period and the mythified figure of Sinan the architect indicate, such was not the case in the 16th century when there was an intense effort to try different schemes within this formal expression. This indifference to the variations and differentiations is also a symptom of the much “criticized” orientalist attitude. Even within the circle of the people in the opening ceremony, constituting intellectuals and dignitaries of the state, the declarations and comments do not go beyond the superficial formal analogy with the 16th century predecessors.⁴⁰¹

Kuban divides the motivations in developing the form of mosques in design into two⁴⁰². “Cultural symbolism” refers to motivations to create a form in contradistinction to the “other” culture, which he names as the west. The outcome is usually an eclectic vocabulary utilizing the forms of different Islamic architectures. This attitude is exemplified in the designs for mosques especially in the western capitals. The second approach is the “national symbolism” that refers to a particular national tradition, which is regarded as the ultimate point reached in the mosque design in the whole Islamic tradition. Kuban regards Ertuğrul Gazi Mosque as yet another case of the “bad interpretation and copies” emanating from this nationalist motivation, manifested in the total revivalism of “old vocabulary and the syntax” of the particular set of historical examples.

Though Ashgabat case can be interpreted this way, it is not very easy to categorize the motivations behind the construction of this mosque as either of these two

⁴⁰⁰ See Directorate of the religious affairs website <http://www.diyaret.gov.tr/tanitim>

⁴⁰¹ These people include chief advisory to the president, head of the Turkish Members of Parliament, A University Rector, President of Turkish Red Crescent, Newspaper columnists and State Artist (Barış Manço, who has even a degree in interior architecture). Even the eight pages long interview with the vice-president of the Directorate of the Religious Affairs does not bear any trace of the cognizant references http://diyaret.gov.tr/diyaret/ocak_1999/roportaj.htm. The situation is the same with the comments on the mosque that opened two years after the one in Ashgabat.

⁴⁰² Kuban, D. (1994) “Türkiye’de Çağdaş Cami Tasarımı” *Arredamento-Mimarlık*, No.65, 81-83. See also Kuban, D. (1967) “20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında 16. yy stilinde cami yapmayı düşünenlere” *Mimarlık*, October 48:8.

approaches. Ertuğrul Gazi Mosque seems to stand to represent two sets of values, to distinguish an identity in opposition to two different “others”. One reference stated by the initiators of this enterprise is the status of “religion” before the independence of Turkmenistan. Ertuğrul Mosque is supposed to be a major step in the reinforcement of Islamic culture in this new state, which had been governed by an “atheist” regime for seven decades. The second reference, which is largely understated, is the propaganda of the Turkish model in the interpretation of Islam. So, this “Ottoman type” mosque should be distinguished from the mosques built and financed by the efforts of other Islamic states. Although implicitly stated, real competitors are probably the mosques initiated by the other “fundamentalist” Muslim states as gifts to this new state of Turkmenistan. Azadi Mosque donated by the emir of Qatar is one such example.⁴⁰³ For the president of the Directorate of the Religious Affairs (DRA) Ertuğrul mosque is the “greatest and the most magnificent” in Central Asia. “It is an exemplar mosque without any imperfection”.⁴⁰⁴

Such talk in superlatives is not only to set apart the mosques built by the “other” Islamic states, but also to differentiate the buildings realized by entrepreneurs from non-islamic states. One interesting example which Ertuğrul Gazi mosque is competing with is the mosque in Göktepe, designed in accord with the local tradition and built by the French construction firm Bouygues. This mosque and the Ertuğrul Mosque were also considered as the means of competition between the French and Turkish construction sectors and the financial support behind them, which were in search of new markets. References to this capitalistic competition in

⁴⁰³ “Türkmen dini idaresi ile görüşme” [www.diyaret.gov.tr/diyaret/ocak 1999/guendem 11.htm](http://www.diyaret.gov.tr/diyaret/ocak%201999/guendem%2011.htm). In this regard Architect Şenalp points out that these mosques became manifestation of a latent struggle between the various Islamic interpretations of the countries and sects. Iranians offered 60 m USD to build a mosque in the same plot. He also mentions that aforementioned Qatar mosque was a means of propaganda by the Vahabi sect adopted by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and Ertuğrul mosque was an effectual means of stopping their influence in Turkmenistan Interview with Şenalp. Director of Foundation of Religious Affairs (Diyanet Vakfı) also points to the latent struggle between the Islamic countries in the 1990s. He states that they were faced with the demand of the people of the same race and same religion in the wide geography from the Adriatics to the China Wall and they feel pride “to carry the name of Turkey” to every region of it. “If you prefer not to go there you should not complain if this void is filled by ‘others’. Iran made it a state politics as well as the Saudi Arabia. They spend enormous sums of money. If you turn your back to this issue you will loose your position as a great nation” *Hürriyet*, 22.August. 2000.

⁴⁰⁴ “Mütevazi bir plaket töreni” [www.diyaret.gov.tr/diyaret/ocak 1999/guendem 5.htm](http://www.diyaret.gov.tr/diyaret/ocak%201999/guendem%205.htm).

the French media were underlined in the Turkish media; such were the following comments from Le Figaro: Bouygues was contracted for a gigantic congress center in Ashgabat. However, Turkish companies convinced the Turkomans and cancelled out this agreement by the intervention of the Turkish authorities in Ankara, despite the fact that they were not able to complete the mosque in the city center yet.⁴⁰⁵

This mosque and the cultural center complex is an example of the works realized by the Turkish contractors who started to get commissions abroad after the 1970s and after 1990s in Central Asia. These constructions were regarded as the exportation of know-how and the technical competency of the Turkish construction sector. In the accounts given by the architects involved, there are expressions by which these construction firms as well as the architects themselves are considered as purveyors of the advances made⁴⁰⁶. Even a mosque, that was constructed to display a “conservative” identity and was not considered a realm where civil engineering was supposed to display cutting edge services and technology, was constructed to display new technologies which seemed to impress the local community as well. For example, Şenalp notes that the sliding formwork utilized in the minarets of the Ashgabat mosque by the construction company GAMA was a technical novelty.⁴⁰⁷

The materials utilized in the mosques built in Central Asia were transported from Turkey. Realization of such an enterprise of logistics was a matter of pride. Şenalp, the architect of the Ashgabat scheme notes that %80 of the materials, excluding the very basic construction materials were provided from Turkey. Including the stone and glass cladding, materials transported summed up to 320 big truckloads. The

⁴⁰⁵ *Yeni Şafak*, 25.January.1997, 8. It seems that the “expertise” in the mosque construction of the Turkish firms did not help for further mosques in Turkmenistan. Bouygues was commissioned to build another commemorative mosque, one of the “largest in the central Asia”, which is going to be finished in 2004.

⁴⁰⁶ Şenalp notes that in 1994 at the start of the construction of the Ertuğrul Gazi mosque “we were the only technical people there”. Aytek İtez co-author of the embassy in Ashgabad claims that many of their practices in Turkmenistan as well as Uzbekistan were observed by the locals, laypeople as well as the technical staff with much interest and admiration. Interview with İtez.

⁴⁰⁷ Although the main construction of the Tokyo Mosque was realized by the Japan Kajima Construction Company, architect Şenalp remarks that some of the construction methods were his own contribution like the casting of the domes without a formwork or the particular method of foundations. Utilization of the web cams into the site and the surveillance of the processes of the construction were also mentioned to indicate the stage of development concerning the technology. Interview with Şenalp.

choice of the materials was not considered just a matter of economics or practicality, but also a matter of propaganda and politics. Şenalp mentions that transportation at a similar scale was achieved for the Göktepe mosque in Ashgabat by the French, even by employing airplanes. Another point he emphasized was the sense of a new identity that was provided by the materials employed.⁴⁰⁸

The entrepreneurs were not considered as a part of the propaganda only within the context of the buildings realized and funded by the Turkish state.⁴⁰⁹ One instance is the National Museum of Turkmenistan realized by Üçgen İnşaat designed by Erol Tabanca. Turkmenistan Minister of Culture mentioned this fact in the bilateral cultural agreement to emphasize the common ancestors of both countries where the Minister of Culture of Turkey declared that around 100 cultural artifacts will be donated to the museum for the same purpose. This donation was also one of the main points of the speech of the Turkish president in the opening ceremony of the Museum. Besides the content to be displayed in the museum, the architecture and the construction of the building were considered to be symbols of the common ethnic identity of both nations. He claimed that “the choice of a Turkish architect and a trust for a Turkish company in the realization is the outcome of the care of the president of Turkmenistan for culture and history”. Some sort of numerological attitude, which was adopted in the design process to refer to these historical bonds between the countries, was also appreciated.⁴¹⁰

One interesting feature of the Ertuğrul Gazi project is the introduction of a cultural center next to the mosque (Fig. 5.3b). Although this center, with its technically advanced facilities like the auditorium, is built for the purpose of cultural

⁴⁰⁸ Şenalp stated that “because of economic reasons we went to Iran which is only about 200 kilometers for the purchase of some materials, to keep the transportation costs low. We found a paving stone, however we were uneasy about the use of it, since some day they will come, identify the material and try to assume rights on the buildings. So we used it in a place where nobody can recognize it” Interview with Şenalp

⁴⁰⁹ For a list of works of the entrepreneurs see table 3 in the appendix.

⁴¹⁰ Number five has certain significance in the design of the museum for its reference to the Turkmen history and the five provinces of the state. There are pillars of groups of five and pentagon was a common motif in the ornamentations. Other than these specifically local references, central dome with 16 partitions symbolize 16 states of the Turkish history. The protocol pathway between the pond and the gate is 1453 centimeters wide referring to the date of the conquest of İstanbul.

Speech of President Demirel <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkçe/gruph/hk/98/11.html>

interaction between the two states, as often the case it is a religious institution.⁴¹¹ This building also houses the offices of Türkiye Din İşleri müşavirliği, Türkmenistan Müftülüğü and the representative of the Christian minority. As Şenalp notes it houses the press agency of Turkey, which functions as a more manifest means of propaganda compared to the built environment when the satellite transmitting television broadcast is taken into account.

Unlike the later examples in Tokyo and Berlin, this center was designed in a more abstract formal character. The plan configuration has references to the Seljukid geometrical patterns that were intended to achieve “a modern interpretation of the Seljukid architecture”. This intention has also a historical and contextual significance, when the borders of this bygone empire that contain the present day Turkmenistan is taken into account. So, while the historical continuum was stretched back to the 11th century through the plan scheme, the glass curtain walls were aimed to signify the “modern” facet. Such formal references were not made in the other aforementioned cultural centers and modernity was reduced to the technical advances in the construction methods or environmental control services. Architect Şenalp notes that the complementary duality between the mosque and the center was criticized by the authorities for its abstract form character and for not utilizing the architecture of an Ottoman complex with its lead covered domes, even though it constitutes a modest attempt in the use of “modern” form and employs a glass dome as a concession.⁴¹²

5.1.2 Kyrenia: Building for the Turkish Communities I

The use of the forms of Classical Ottoman architecture serves varied objectives of promoting the religion and state. One extreme case is the mosque in Kyrenia (Girne), North Cyprus designed by Aydın Yüksel, which was instigated by the Turkish embassy there and financed and built by the pious foundation (Diyanet

⁴¹¹ This center also answers Turkmenistan president’s demand. “I wanted from my brother Demirel to build an educational and cultural center to teach the future generations the splendor of our noble religion” <http://diyanet.gov.tr/diyanet/ocak1999/gundem3.htm>

⁴¹² Interview with Şenalp

vakfı). Like the one in Ashgabat, the name of this mosque seems to bear significance for both the initiators of the project and the community it is serving. For the president of the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus (TRNC), the name given after Nurettin Ersin, the chief military commander during the intervention of the Turkish forces to the Island in 1974, marks a continuum. Like the other mosques in Cyprus named after the famous “pashas” of the occupation of the island in the sixteenth century, like Lala Mustafa, Cafer and Piyale, this, too “commemorates the struggles and the martyrs”.⁴¹³

While the monument commemorating the 1974 intervention is an abstract composition⁴¹⁴, this mosque resorts to the historical examples in terms of its formal character. For many, only this Ottoman reference does satisfy a role that cannot be fulfilled by any “contemporary” design, as implied by the speeches given in the opening ceremony. It has been mentioned that the mosques built during the Ottoman rule were largely demolished by the “other” community; so this one is regarded to be a rejuvenation of these historical predecessors, standing for the “stamp of the Turkishness (Türklük) and Islam” that has existed in the island.⁴¹⁵ The tension in Cyprus, that enforced the “otherness” between the two ethnic communities, has also been a major issue in the twentieth century and this tension has been the framework to assign similar meanings to architecture in many other instances.⁴¹⁶ Hence, this mosque type is associated with patriotic feelings and

⁴¹³ However unlike this new one, mosques bearing the names of these historical figures were not necessarily mosques built in the 16th century in the classical Ottoman typology. For example Lala Mustafa Paşa mosque in GaziMagusa (Famagusta) and Selimiye Mosque in Lefkoşa (Nicosia) are conversions of gothic structures.

⁴¹⁴ This monument is designed by Marulyalı, Aksüt and Machate after a competition open to architects of Turkey and Cyprus. As much as seen in its exposition in the magazines not only the first prize winners but the second prize is an articulation of abstract masses. However all the components are particularly charged with symbolic meanings. See Anon. (1976) “Kıbrıs Özgürlük Anıtı Proje Yarışması” *Arkitekt*, No. 363-3, 101-106. This monument is praised by the latter commentators as well. For example it is the most recent work and the only monument –other than AnıtKabir- cited amongst the exemplary works of architecture in Sözen, M. (1984) *Türk Mimarlığı*, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, Ankara.

⁴¹⁵ D. Eroğlu, Prime Minister of TRNC <http://www.diyaret.gov.tr/Diyaret/haz99/ayinici1.htm>

⁴¹⁶ For example in the front page of a Turkish newspaper of 1958, before the foundation of Republic of Cyprus there is a photograph of a building in a neo-classical style with this following commentary:

Above, there is a picture of the new municipality building built by the Greek municipality financed also by the taxes collected from the Turks. This building is exactly in the Greek style. Turks’ objections asking ‘why this is in the Greek style,

propagates them in a context, where the possible user group is homogenous and acquainted with the Ottoman architecture, when compared to the previously mentioned Central Asian examples.

Baku Martyrdom Mosque is similar in terms of creating “others” in terms of the military. Besides the mosque, a martyrdom was designed and a monument was erected to commemorate the soldiers who fought together with the Azerbaijanis in WWI. There is still another mosque built in Nahcevan named after Kazım Karabekir, a military commander like in the Kyrenia example. Coincidentally the same mosque plan was utilized for the ones in Nahcevan and Kyrenia. Both represent the state by referring to military history and the religion. It is interesting to note that the Baku Embassy of Turkey was still on the drawing boards after these buildings had already been completed.

5.1.3 Berlin: Building for the Turkish Communities II

Not only a traditional mosque but fragments from traditional Turkish neighborhood environments seem to have been carried abroad in the religious complexes built abroad. For example in the original scheme of the new Tokyo Mosque, when the adjacent plot containing the school of the community was incorporated, the cultural center was considered as an independent structure and was designed as a “Turkish House” (Fig. 5.5d). This scheme was carried to a further degree in the case of the Berlin Mosque. A large plot, known as the Martyrdom was transformed to a Berlin Martyrdom Mosque, including two examples of traditional residential architecture serving as a cultural center and additional facilities (Fig. 5.4). One of the houses cantilevering from the perimeter wall of the cemetery even seems to transform the adjacent pathway to a traditional Ottoman cityscape. The “traditional neighborhood” schemes of Tokyo and Berlin remind some of the Ottoman pavilions in the nineteenth century, particularly the Turkish quarter in the 1867 Paris Exhibition designed by Parvillée, comprising the same couple of structures

there is also our money involved?’ is answered as such ‘Because Cyprus belongs to Greece’ *Cumhuriyet* , 30.April.1958.



Fig. 5.4 Martrydom Mosque in Berlin (2000). Architect : M.H. Şenalp

i.e. a mosque representing the religious sphere, a residential structure called the Pavillon du Bosphore, symbolizing the homefront accompanied with a bath and a fountain.⁴¹⁷ While this analogy is quite valid for the case in Tokyo, where an exotic milieu, as the extensive media coverage and the local residents visiting the mosque indicate, was created for the Japan public, utilization of a traditional urban texture in the case of Berlin has to be understood within the framework of the social identity of the people it addresses. Berlin mosque's role as a display item for the German residents of the city is less important compared to its use value for the Turkish residents in the city, who constitute a popular study group for social researchers of the subject of "identity". The "guest-worker" phenomenon is quite unique for the twentieth century, which might have been taken into account in the analysis of "buildings abroad", since these people comprise the principal social group served by these buildings.

This complex is regarded to be the hub for the Turkish workers residing in Berlin. Keeping in mind that this group of residents of Turkish origin are not composed of only the first generation guest workers, but largely belong to the second and even to the third generations, which have a very limited experience of the examples of mosques in Turkey, this complex with its architecture was expected to introduce to this group a Turkish-Islamic identity associated with the home country. Pure Turkish-Islamic culture was, therefore, expected to be introduced to the hybrid identity of these new generations through this complex. While construction of a mosque seemed to be sufficient initially, architecture of the complex would be equally important for its cultural role including the education of new generations.⁴¹⁸ This complex replaced an existing mosque that was built in 1985,

⁴¹⁷ Çelik, Z. (1992) *Displaying the Orient*, 60, 96-103.

⁴¹⁸ It is often noted that, since religion manifests itself in the everyday life and in architecture, children upbringing abroad are negatively affected from their physical environment. As a measure, it is suggested that these children should be educated in schools and accommodated in dormitories designed and ornamented in a style having historical and cultural allusions, to retrieve the gaps in their religious beliefs at home as well. Sezgin, O. (1991) *Üçüncü Neslin Eğitimi*, Türk Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara, 191-192.

but could stand for only 16 years, since it was not found satisfactory both in terms of capacity and poor architectural quality.⁴¹⁹

Poor architectural quality is what Sabine Kraft names as the store-front mosques of which there exist about 2000 in Germany⁴²⁰. There were only three “visible mosques” until the beginnings of the 90s. However, their numbers have increased since then. These created a public outcry and started to be considered as a manifestation of “otherness”. Kraft notes that a new local mosque was even met with Nazi-like protest slogans in these years.⁴²¹ Her study underlines that the first generation mosques, i.e. the post war examples, until the 1990s are quite diverse in their formal expressions, whereas the latest (Turkish) mosques “adhere more or less to traditional Ottoman architecture”. According to her categorization, architectural expression of these buildings can be grouped as “traditional style”, “synthesis of traditional and modern”, and “innovative”. New ones can be grouped only under the first two and innovative mosque architecture has no example in Germany.

Turkish authorities did not risk building an innovative example and designated the “traditional style” for the Berlin mosque. Although Leggewie notes that traditional form is not opportune and its realization is very expensive.⁴²² It seems that this expenditure and following the classical models in exquisite detail were a means to attract the Turkish community, mostly composed of the guest workers. Beyond being a service to this community, it was aimed to divert these people away from

⁴¹⁹ Hamit İskender, an officer in charge of Religious Affairs, notes that it has “no significant architectural characteristics. In my opinion if one of the Ottoman architectural styles was implemented it would be much more meaningful”. However he also notes that this mosque is one of the two of total 33 mosques in West Berlin” having the mosque impression “with its minaret and dome”. İskender, H. (1989) *Berlin Türk Şehitliği*, Bayrak Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 257 and 273. The other is owned by a Pakistani community so this new martyrdom mosque is in a covert competition with that one. However a very important agenda of this mosque, as architect stated is to constitute a center for the Turkish workers that were divided into different mosques conducted by different, “inappropriate” religious groups.

⁴²⁰ Kraft, S. (2000) “New Mosques in Germany: Design, Identity and Minority Status” Lecture given at MIT, Sept. 25. http://archnet.org/calendar/item.tcl?calendar_id=3919. Leggewie provides a comparable number i.e. 2200, and notes that 70 of them are “traditional” mosques and further 30 or so are either at the planning stage or under construction. Leggewie, C. (2002) “The Emergence of a Euro-Islam Mosques and Muslims in the Federal Republic of Germany”. <http://www.h-quandt-stiftung.de/root/editpage.php?preview=true&pageid=665>.

⁴²¹ Kraft, S. “New Mosques”, 2.

⁴²² Leggewie, C. “The Emergence of a Euro-Islam”. Architect Şenalp noted that the not only the expenses for the construction but the provision of the labor and materials were extra problems in the case of Berlin as well.

the independent radical Islamic groups which were trying to emulate the architecture of the Ottoman models as a means to attain symbolic significance as well.⁴²³ It seems to have been a reply to the criticisms stating that Turkey as the “mother country” was disinterested and did not involve itself with the problems and needs of the guest workers there.

Trying to construct a national and Islamic identity for the Turkish community is not only an attempt to neutralize the radical political intentions, but also an attempt to differentiate the identity from those of other Islamic nationals. Though mosques in Germany, for a long time, reflected the national orientation of Muslims as Leggewie noted and it is only recently that “pan-islamic” international ones are being built⁴²⁴, this martyrdom mosque is, mostly, if not exclusively, oriented towards Turkish people. Identification of the “other” Islamic nationals with terrorism after the September 11, the attempts for differentiation may have gained an additional justification.

While this complex, both in function as well as in architectural expression can be seen as a reaction to the impurities of the social identity of the members of the community using the mosque, it is also an attempt to clarify the impurities related to the history of the site. The lot was initially donated by the Prussians in late 18th century as a cemetery for the deceased Ottoman ambassador of the time and enlarged during the last two centuries reaching to the size of 2550 m². Throughout this period, subjects of different Islamic countries were buried in this cemetery, which caused doubts about its “identity”. In some records it is named as the Islamic cemetery, since it includes graves of Indian, Central Asian and Middle Eastern Muslims. This complex also aimed at bringing an end to this controversy. Its physical features also reflected this vagueness regarding its identity; the earlier “oriental” door, with its Moorish horseshoe arch designed by German architect Voigtel in the nineteenth century implied that the cemetery stood for the generic

⁴²³ This mosque was largely financed and initiated by DITIB (Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği - which was established in 1984 to serve to the guest workers but also to control their interaction with such illegal groups) unlike the other mosques in Berlin where those communities took the lead. According to the records of the Directorate of Religious Affairs in 2003, DITIB is in charge of 442 mosques in Germany –about 1:4 of the total number in Germany- and total 769 in Europe.

⁴²⁴ Leggewie, C. (2002) “The Emergence of a Euro-Islam, Mosques and Muslims in the Federal Republic of Germany”.

“Orient” and “Islam”, rather than a particular national identity within these inclusive identities.

This site also includes a monument signifying Turkish-German friendship, which was erected upon an order by Sultan Abdülaziz in 1867. It was renovated in 1987 with the funds provided by the Berlin State Senate, and opened with a ceremony where officials from both sides participated. This monument constitutes the center in the design of the new complex. While the mosque complex is a manifestation of the “otherness” of this social group in terms of religion, this commemorative monument stands for the “similarity”, “familiarity” and close bonds with the German society.

5.1.4 Tokyo: Building for the Turkish Communities III

In July 2000, another mosque built by the Turkish Republic was opened abroad, this time in Tokyo in a totally different social and historical context. Following the previous examples that were modeled after the Ottoman mosques, Fındıklı Molla Çelebi Mosque is mostly referred as the prototype. While it might have been difficult to consider an alternative architectural approach for the one in Cyprus, due to the high emotional content involved, there could be a very possible alternative in the Tokyo case. The site was previously occupied by another mosque built in 1936-8 by the Kazan Turks, who had migrated to Japan from Russia in the early twentieth century. Though its funding and motives of construction went beyond the capabilities of this refugee group, its design was affected by their local tradition⁴²⁵

⁴²⁵ Akamoto notes that “historians say that some Japan nationalists partially funded the endeavour viewing Islam in those prewar years as an important tool in realizing their expansionist ambitions in Asia” *Asahi Evening News Life*, 2.July.2000, 5. It was yet another case where architecture was used as a means of propaganda. The lot was donated by a Japanese, some Japanese community leaders and tradesman funded the project designed by a Japan architect named Yoshimoto and constructed by the Japanese construction company Morota.

The realized mosque bears resemblances to those in Central Asia on the outside and the Egyptian mosques in the design of its minarets. The construction of a mosque was on the agenda of the leaders of that community from the very early years of the 20th century. In the initial stages, preparation of the plans in Istanbul was also considered but in its actual design and implementation stages in the 1930s no record of Turkish affiliation with the structure has been revealed. This indifference to the construction of that structure must have been regarded as a consequence of the

(Fig. 5.5a). If the same line of thinking related to the rejuvenation of the very early examples of mosques in a locality, as was claimed for the mosque in Kyrenia was followed, then one attitude could be to rebuild this earthquake torn structure. Even if the size and capacity of the previous mosque were considered insufficient, its formal characteristics derived from the “Kazan” tradition could have been adopted for the new one.

The site of this previous mosque as well as an adjacent one that accommodated a school of this refugee community was donated to the Turkish Embassy for the new mosque. Excluding a small fraction of the costs covered by the other Islamic states, - approximately 10% of the 1.2 Billion Yen (10M.USD) - it was financed by the Turkish government and private donors in Turkey.⁴²⁶ Owing the land and the financial means as in the Ashgabat case, this mosque of a universal religion is represented through “national” forms. Contrary to the Ashgabat example, where different religious complexes were realized by different states as if in a competitive manner, in Tokyo this was to be the only mosque. Such a privileged status brought an extra significance to the scheme to be proposed and to its architectural expression, since it would assert itself as the proper architecture representing the Islamic world. In other words this building would speak on behalf of the different cultures within this realm. As Kuban notes, there are examples in the western capitals designed by western architects, utilizing “an eclectic cultural symbolism” appropriating the whole variety of the vocabulary of Islamic architecture, irrespective of any particular geographical, ethnic and historical limits. This mosque in Tokyo is rather pure “Ottoman” that is, as mentioned before, exemplifying the category of “national symbolism”.⁴²⁷ Hence, as a representative of the Tokyo Mosque Foundation claims, “a mosque is not essential for the faithful to worship” and “one of the (important) purposes of the Tokyo Mosque is to

secular identity of the state. In those days Hüsrev Gerece was the ambassador in Japan, who had been continually interested in erecting structures representing the state like the Tehran embassy or the Ertuğrul Frigate monument in Japan.

⁴²⁶ As in the case of Ashgabat mosque, architect H. Şenalp notes that different Arab nations tried to be involved into the construction of the complex but evaded with a careful and masterful diplomacy. Interview with Şenalp.

⁴²⁷ Kuban, D. (1994) “Türkiye’de Çağdaş Cami Tasarımı”, *Arredamento-Mimarlık*, No.65, 82.

introduce the culture”. It is relevant to examine this building as displaying a “national identity” beyond its religious functions (Fig. 5.5b).

The name of the complex is officially “Tokyo Mosque and Cultural Center”. The duality of the nature of its functions, one being a space for worship and the other as a cultural center raise questions about the definition of the content of the controversial term “culture” in this context.⁴²⁸ The dominance of either function seems to have been a major concern at the stage of conceiving the architectural expression of both functions.⁴²⁹ For example, a member of the parliament who was one of the initiators of the Tokyo Mosque stated in 1992 that “Even if a cultural center is being planned ...it is possible to keep the architecture and the image of the mosque in such a multi-functional building, especially in Japan, where the construction and architectural technologies are advanced”⁴³⁰. Though it is not clear, the statement insinuates that the functional complexity –a mosque and a cultural center- should be inserted into the mosque typology of the 16th century as it is practiced in Turkey. The advanced construction technology in Japan is regarded as the means to repeat this pattern. Architect A.V. Alp states that this understanding is the reason behind the refusal of the “modern” project that he initially designed for the Tokyo mosque.⁴³¹

⁴²⁸ For example Özdemir İnce notes that in order to establish a real cultural center, Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Education should be involved. One of the first things to do is to organize the library in the complex in a way to represent all the dimensions of the Turkish literature rather than the collection of books on Religion. He points to the necessity of understanding the society which this complex is addressing. Organizing a multi-dimensional library is a way to communicate with the Japans who are sophisticated, contemporaries of their own ages, having aesthetic sensibilities. He criticizes the comments of the president of the Directorate of the Religious Affairs that reflects a worldview of a superior “missionary” aiming to illuminate, and convert the inferior atheist and Shinto Japans, “Japans may have been superior in terms of science, technology and industry. However, backward in terms of the religious life”. İnce, Ö. “Tokyo’da bir cami” *Hürriyet* Sept.2 2000 p.12. A possible missionary purpose of the mosque is a recurrent controversial issue in the Turkish media. “İnşallah onlar da Müslüman olur”

<http://www.akşam.com.tr/arşiv/akşam/2003/06/04/politika/politika2.html>

⁴²⁹ As mentioned in an article in a conservative newspaper “one early scheme was to build a Turkish Cultural Center which includes a small masjıd, however this layout caused reactions and then President of Turkey Turgut Özal intervened and accomplished the construction of a big mosque and a cultural center inside the mosque” *Türkiye*, 15.July.2000.

⁴³⁰ Yalçıntaş, N. (1992) “Dışışleri bir açıklama yapmalı”, *Türkiye*, 11. December. 1992, 14.

⁴³¹ He notes that if a mosque does not resemble those of Sinan’s, they are not considered as such. “Mimari Siyasetin Aynasıdır”, *Hürriyet*, 30. August. 1998. Though he was asked by the President Özal and he was supported by “Nationalist Movement Party” that scheme could not be realized.



Fig. 5.5a Tokyo Mosque built in 1930 s. Architect: Yoshimoto



Fig. 5.5b Mosque in Tokyo (2000). Architect : M. H. Şenalp
Front Cover of the pamphlet “Tokyo Camii ve Kùltür Merkezi”

In the scheme realized, the cultural center occupies the ground floor of the mosque. Besides a permanent exhibition of “Turco-Islamic” handicrafts, there is a multi-purpose space for facilities like meetings, conferences, weddings, temporary exhibitions and a kitchen that serves this space, and a library. One section of the permanent exhibition is decorated as a replica of a typical “başoda” where Turkish coffee is served (Fig. 5.5c). However, not only the artworks on display and the “Turkish Room” exemplifying the “Turkish residential architecture”, but also the mosque itself was considered by its architect as a museum, with its employment of the samples of traditional handicrafts, like ceramic work, woodwork, stained glass work, “malakari”, “kündekari” and “sedefkari” etc.

It is possible to group the responses and points made about the Tokyo Project as follows.

1- Reflection of the opening day ceremony in the popular press, though the Anadolu Agency was the common source, is an indication that this complex was received by different groups of the Turkish society with different frames of mind. A useful means to observe this variation is to analyze the content, location and the role of the news related to this building in the popular media addressing to these groups. In the conservative press the opening day ceremony occupied the front pages. In addition to this emphasis, a series of articles were issued mentioning the history and the possible role of the mosque. One particular theme in general was that, representation of the Turkish identity by ambassadors or Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not reflect the actual identity.⁴³² The journalist jargon utilized in these articles identified the officials of the ministry as “monşer”, which is a tag word for the “fake westernized” people since 19th century onwards. They were even blamed for deciding not to build a religious building in that site and a “secret memorandum” of this decision was kept in the safe of the ministry.⁴³³ The underlying factor responsible for this decision was nominated to be “secularism”

⁴³² One frequent theme was the diplomats’ lack of interest for the Ottoman heritage abroad. An interesting example mentioned in the conservative media, which is beyond the former boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, is the neglect of a clock tower erected by the Ottomans in 1910 in Mexico City by the Turkish embassy in Mexico. Güven, M. “Osmanlı ‘Zapata’nın ülkesi’ni bile unutmazdı” *Yeni Şafak*, 8.December.2002.

⁴³³ “Emaneti Koruyamadık” *Türkiye*, 10.December.1992

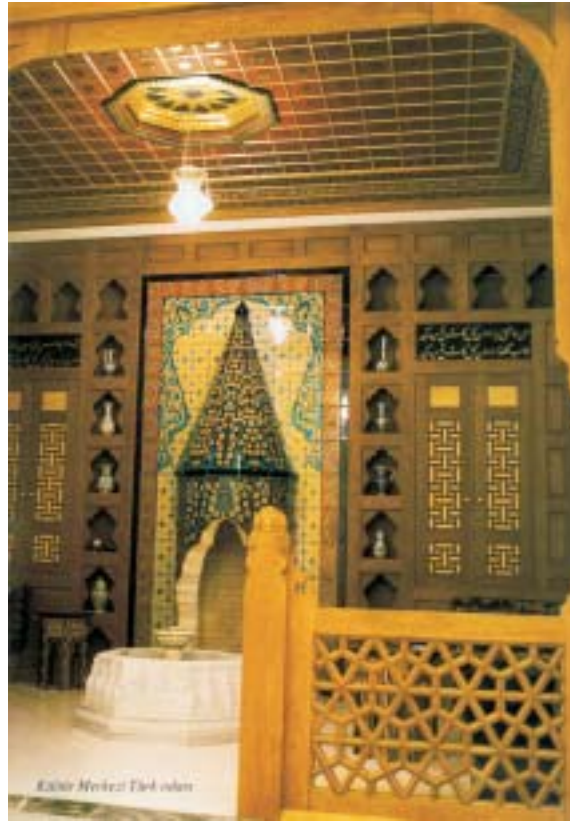


Fig. 5.5c Interior of the culture center of Tokyo Mosque : “Turkish Room”



Fig. 5.5d Culture Center of the Tokyo Mosque (Unrealized project)

by the same daily.⁴³⁴ Not only the ideological premises of the Republic were questioned through this building but also everyday politics became the arena to discuss its role. The same newspaper questioned the attitude of the “others” in this regard, by quoting a member of the People’s Republican Party (CHP): “The mission of the Turkish State is not building a mosque in Tokyo; they are the champions in wasting money”,⁴³⁵

Though it was assumed to be representing the national identity, identification of different groups and ideologies in Turkey with this mosque differed. A further instance of discussion that displays the complexity of setting a framework of identity related with the building occurred in a local newspaper. Four figures who worked for the realization of the mosque, i.e. the architect, two master craftsmen and the initiator of the building were presented as the “ambassadors of Konya”. These people were acknowledged as representative fellow countrymen, portraying a sub-national identity.⁴³⁶ However, when the role of Konya as a symbolic city in the discourse of Islamic fundamentalism in Turkey is considered, it is possible to read these comments as affiliations to a supra-national identity as well.

Can the relative silence of the architectural press, when compared with the discussions on Kocatepe Mosque” be interpreted as the admissibility of the formal disposition with which these buildings are built abroad? While the formal character of the mosque represents “backwardness” in terms of domestic politics and in terms of architecture, they might be considered as valid when seen within the context of international politics.

⁴³⁴ “Tokyo Camii yeniden inşa edileceği günü bekliyor” *Türkiye*, 11.December.1992. Declaration of the ministry was explaining the issue on terms of economics. The parcels of the previous mosque and school were planned to be developed by the Japan entrepreneurs and about 75% of the new construction was to be handed to the embassy. This is regarded to be an economic agreement that would solve financial problems to answer demands of the embassy as well. The plan was to build a hybrid structure that would house Cultural center, lodging facility for the embassy personnel, school and a Mosque. Another explanation was also on economic grounds; “For the reason that mosque is not considered as a cultural activity, tax is high”, so naming the complex as a cultural center would create reduction in the running costs “Dışişleri Tokyo Camii için devrede” *Türkiye*, 21.December.1992, 13.

⁴³⁵ “Tokyo Camii 2”, *Türkiye*, 15.July.2000.

⁴³⁶ Özönder, H. (2000) “Tokyo’da Konyalı Dört Büyükelçimiz”, *Konya Postası*, 20.July.2000, 5-6.

2- Regarding comments by the members of the non-Turkish society in Tokyo, notwithstanding positive remarks, for example, by the head of the Japan–Islamic Society, who stated that this mosque is “a lighthouse for a ship wandering in the dark and stormy sea without a compass”, there were counter positions questioning the role and identity of Turkey. In the decision making stage, Turkey’s identity was questioned by the Islamic society in Tokyo. As it was mentioned in the newspaper, *Türkiye*, a question was directed to the prime-minister Demirel, asking whether there was a double identity, as Turkey reacted to the demolition of mosques in Bulgaria, and showed a lack of interest to a similar case in Tokyo⁴³⁷. Another response was from a citizen of another Islamic country living in Japan. Hussain Khan, chairman of the Pakistan Association and the Japan & Pakistan Association complained about the role of Turkey and the other Islamic community in Tokyo, in this mosque enterprise. He stated that “We launched a movement for Tokyo mosque and the secular Turkish government had to bow to our demands which resulted in an over 12 million dollar, one of the most beautiful mosques in the world in design and Islamic architecture, in place of building diplomatic quarters of the Turkish Embassy at the site of the present mosque premises”⁴³⁸

Whether it was realized, partially, as a response to such external pressures or not, Tokyo mosque is a different case when compared to the similar enterprises in the major capitals of the Western World. While in Tokyo, the building was designed, financed and built by national means, Turkey played a minor role in a similar enterprise in Washington in 1957. It was designed by the Egyptian authorities in the neo-Mamlukid style and financed largely by the Arab world. Turkey’s role was confined to the donation of the tiles and the services of the craftsman for their installations.⁴³⁹

3-Another point that was raised about the identity of the state related to the mosque was its implementation in a country where a unique model of modernization was

⁴³⁷ “Tokyo Camii yeniden inşa edileceği günü bekliyor”, *Türkiye*, 11.December.1992, 14.

⁴³⁸ [http:// www. Hussainkhan.com/drunks.html](http://www.Hussainkhan.com/drunks.html)

⁴³⁹ Holod, R. and Hassan Uddin Khan (1997) *The Mosque and the Modern World*, Thames and Hudson, London. One of the initial motives of the construction of the mosque was the regret felt for not being able to organize a prayer service after the death of the Turkish ambassador Ertegun to US., p.234.

realized. Since late 19th century Japan was a focus and a point of interest for the intelligentsia for being outside the realm of the west, but having a comparable military power. The Japanese industrialization and modernization process was considered as demonstrating the duality of “culture” and “civilization”, introduced in Turkey by Ziya Gökalp. Duality of civilization and culture in the context of Japan caused interest in Turkey especially after Japan became an economic power following the WW2. This interest was pertinent in the construction process.⁴⁴⁰ The reinforced concrete construction was realized by the Kajima Construction Company. As noted by the architect, the testing laboratories of the company with the technology to minimize the seismic damages were indicators of the advances of the Japanese construction technology and, consequently, of its sophistication in the realm of “universal civilization”. Other technological advances were also utilized to realize traditional forms, like the technique of pouring the concrete for the domes without an interior formwork. The rest, detailing and finishings, were realized by the craftspeople brought from Turkey. As the other side of the coin, the latter are considered to have implemented the sophistication of the “Turkish National Culture”. There were attempts to draw some parallels with the “culture” of Japan as well. The interior is adorned with calligraphy which serves to attain a purist effect that leads to a “Purist Turco-Islamic Architecture”⁴⁴¹. “Hadith” inscribed by the calligraphy inside the mosque were selected to give messages in accord with the cultural context of Japan.⁴⁴²

4- Cultural role of the mosque was emphasized by the state officials. It was the dominant theme in distinction to the tenor in the conservative media which underlined the religious significance of the mosque. This emphasis was for the secular nature of the “cultural center”, although it was incorporated with the mosque⁴⁴³. The state dignitaries gave more emphasis to this function and the

⁴⁴⁰ The duality is prescribed as the duality of “tradition” and “modernity”, which is a common denominator of the both nations according to Şenalp.

⁴⁴¹ Şenalp an unpublished interview.

⁴⁴² “Beşikten mezara kadar ilim talep ediniz, iki günü birbirine müsavi olan hüsrandır gibi hadislerle Japonların çalışma anlayışıyla paralellik kurmaya çalıştık” Şenalp unpublished interview.

⁴⁴³ Bozkurt Güvenç noted that when he objected to the construction of a replica of a 16th century to represent modern Turkey in Japan, an official of the Religious Affairs replied by pointing at the cultural center in the first floor to refer the buildings’ “secular”, “modern” and “cultural” characteristics. Conversation with Güvenç 27.May.2003.

related spaces, and considered this enterprise as the reflection of a secularity and “deep rootedness” of the identity. When the allocation of the Saudi Embassy as the “Arabic Islamic Institute” and as a place for prayers for ten years after the demolishing of the initial Tokyo Mosque is kept in mind,⁴⁴⁴ Turkey’s willingness to build a mosque with a cultural center might be regarded as a reaction to the dominance of Saudi Arabia in Tokyo as the main actor of the Islamic community.⁴⁴⁵

This cultural function facilitating events like the watercolor exhibition of a local artist was promoted in the Turkish press. Likewise, this building was initially planned to take place in the activities (display of Turkish books and/or establishment of a virtual library, etc.) for the year 2003, which was nominated as the year of Turkey in Japan.

5- A theme mentioned before, about the role of the mosque in Tokyo to represent Turkey in Japan, is its possible contribution to tourism. Yamamoto claims that it “gets people interested in, to sympathize with and visit Turkey”⁴⁴⁶. While the primacy of this intention is disputable in this context, a comparable representational function takes place in another location in Japan. This case needs to be elaborated in order to disclose the different repercussions of the issue of “national identity” in the contemporary cultural and architectural discourses.

Kashiwazaki Turkish culture village

Four years before the completion of the Tokyo mosque, a “culture village” was opened in the resort town of Kashiwazaki. Kashiwazaki Turkish Culture Village

⁴⁴⁴ Prof.S.M.Samarrai, the chairman of Islamic Center-Japan thankfully acknowledges Saudi Embassy for fulfilling the role of being the center for the Islamic community in Tokyo. However it seems that the National aspect of the Mosque and secular messages of the cultural center is not registered by him. He notes that “the place is rebuilt for the same purpose”
<http://www.igs-alirshaad.net/islam-jp2.htm>

⁴⁴⁵ Saudi Arabian paternalism towards the Islamic communities throughout the world has been a controversial issue for the Turkish authorities. Accelerating rate of Saudi involvement especially in the 1980 and 1990s with the construction and funding of 210 Islamic centers and about 1500 new mosques throughout the world is interesting.
www.saudiembassy.net/publications/magazine-fall-98/serving.htm.

⁴⁴⁶ Yamamoto, quoted in Anon. (2000) “Tokyo’da bir Osmanlı Camii”, *Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Haber Bülteni*, December, 10.

(KTCV) is an investment by the Japanese businessmen as an example of the proliferating foreign country villages, which is a version of the theme parks (Fig. 5.6a). These villages are an outcome of a new trend of tourism, addressing the eagerness of the Japans to see foreign lands without the impeding factors like long jet flights, limited vacation periods and frugality of the people.⁴⁴⁷ These theme national theme parks, comprising the Dutch, English, Austrian, Spanish, Canadian, Mongolian etc. villages alongside the Turkish, are very popular and attract 10-11 million visitors a year, which is close to the number of the people (16.5 Million) actually visiting the foreign countries themselves.⁴⁴⁸ These parks, very close to Tokyo Disneyland in popularity, display characteristic features of these countries, mock-ups of famous buildings, landscapes and people. In this regard they resemble the nineteenth century world fairs. One other aspect common to both of these milieus i.e. fairs and theme parks, is the ambiguity of their function. Japanese examples, especially the Kashiwazaki seem to stand uncomfortably between being a carefully orchestrated investment to maximize profit and a cultural facility⁴⁴⁹. This duality, between fun and education or entertainment and information is evident in the physical aspects as well as the operation of the village (Fig. 5.6b).

Besides imaginary structures of history and religious myths like the Trojan Horse and Noah's Ark, buildings in the village involve artifacts that are exact copies of existing museum pieces like the Alexander Sarcophagus. A replica of an antique Roman theatre was constructed at the end of a colonnaded road with replicas of antique sculptures as well. There are also places in the village where components of building types are decontextualized and collaged together to form new ensembles,

⁴⁴⁷ Gaikoku Mura is a term given to such specific type of cultural theme parks characterized as "foreign country villages" in Japan. Originated in the late 19th century, these parks are considered as evolving from "reasonably authentic tastes of foreignness to hyperrealistic reconstructions" of the other lands. Such schemes enabled the average Japan tourists "to experience a taste of a foreign culture without leaving their country" after the collapse of bubble economy. See brochure of the exhibition "Gaikoku Mura; Foreign Country Villages" held in AA School of Architecture in 2003 and Suzuki, A. (2002) "Gaikoku Mura, Photogenic Tourism for Hypertourists" *AA Files*, Winter, No: 48, 33-38. More information can be found in Clammer, J. (1997) *Contemporary Urban Japan*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

⁴⁴⁸ Talmadge, E. (1996) "Cultural Theme Parks bring the world to Japan", *Seattle Post Intelligence*, 26.December.1996.

⁴⁴⁹ Representative of the KTCV in Turkey, Ümit Gürelli, notes that the average time spent by a visitor was about 35 minutes but extended well over 75 minutes with the opening of the second phase of the village in 1999, having amenities especially for the children. After this date, consumption and the average expenditure of the visitors increased.



Fig.5.6a Kashiwazaki Turkish Cultural Village (KTCV) : Flyer Brochure



Fig.5.6b KTCV : Aerial perspective of the general scheme

like the minaret erected like an obelisk in the village center. References to mosques are also seen in the shopping mall having a large canvas dome and four, out of proportion, minarets flanking it. Still another, which was planned to be a more faithful copy of an existing classical era mosque with worshipping function, was cancelled out.

While this milieu was primarily conceived as a popular destination for the Japanese people to make money for its Japanese investors, it was regarded by the Turkish authorities and the media as a kind of “national museum” abroad to display cultural artifacts. Therefore, the way Turkey tries to represent its own character is not totally synonymous with the “image”, i.e. how the visitors anticipate the country during their visits. The village was seen as a means of propaganda of the country without any financial expenditure, which had been a major problem whenever Turkey tried to build a representational structure abroad. This partially explains the presence of the Ministry of Culture of Turkey in the opening ceremony of the village.⁴⁵⁰ Turkish government also commissioned sculptor Metin Yurdanur to realize a sculpture of Atatürk. For the sculptor equestrian statue of Atatürk with civilian garments symbolizes modern, civic Turkey and indicates that “principles and merits are admired around the world” whereas it is attacked in the home country. Even in this context buildings realized abroad reflect the latent struggle in the home country about how the identity of Turkey should be.⁴⁵¹

Besides the government the private sector played a role in the promotion of the village to the Turkish public. One of the leading industrialists of the country, Koç Holding frequently financed and organized the display of the ethnographic material from their private museum “Sadberk Hanım” there in the village. While it is hard to

⁴⁵⁰ This project, constructed by the Japanese, was presented to the Turkish press as one of the items in the cultural program of the new Turkish government in 1996 under the general policy. “Our government will give priority to the attempts of rejuvenation of our historical, religious and literary works, to reinforce the neglected cultural infrastructure in order to promote our national cultural values and to contribute to the universal cultural heritage”.

<http://www.anap.org.tr/anap/genelbaskanlar/YILMAZ/basin/96-05-06.htm>

⁴⁵¹ It is interesting to note that the newspapers informing their readers about the ceremony held in front of the Atatürk sculpture in the Kashiwazaki village on the occasion of the “Republican Day” next to the ceremonies in Turkey with dissident conservative local authorities.

figure out the direct benefits of such a display in this context⁴⁵², private sector started to become art collectors, particularly of national arts and artists. Purveying a “national identity” has an indirect gain for the capitalists to inculcate a “corporate identity” both at home and abroad.

The visitors, however, emphasize the exotic and the oriental imagery.⁴⁵³ Consumption of goods is triggered by the oriental atmosphere of the “Grand Bazaar” in the park. However, what are consumed are the images to suit visitors’ expectancies. This milieu is the simulation of the “other”, which is a characterizing feature of the postmodern era for some authors like Baudrillard. For Clammer “many Japanese see themselves as those whose historical role is to ‘gaze’ upon the other in a way that the Europeans used to be able to do”⁴⁵⁴.

5.2 Concluding Remarks:

The period after 1990 is significant both in terms of the world affairs as well as the Turkey’s reaction to them. The 1990s attest to the construction of new national identities after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. These geographies, due to an emotional disposition originating from history and prospective expectations constituted new focal points for Turkey and instigated a new perspective in the international affairs called “Neo-Ottomanism”. This sensitivity display itself in the architectural realm especially through restoration works of the historical edifices and construction of new ones.

⁴⁵² Sponsoring exhibitions abroad has wider repercussions for the sponsoring firms in some instances. For example Magnificent Suleyman exhibition in 1987 in USA was partially sponsored by Philip Morris. Wallis notes that this effort to build a cultural bridge to Turkey, promotion of its tobacco products by increasing the visibility of the brand name in Turkey. “Expansion into Turkey” where foreign tobacco products were prohibited is the hidden agenda. Wallis, B. (1994) “Selling Nations: International Exhibitions and Cultural Diplomacy”, *Museum Culture*, 265-281, 281.

⁴⁵³ “Chiyoshi Ito sat in amazement, his mouth agape, and his eyes wide. He had already whiffed the exotic smells of kabobs and chai. He had strolled around the bazaar with its stalls overflowing with fezzes, hookahs and ornate silver goblets. Now as the belly dancer shimmied before him, he was beside himself with joy.” “I am 75 and I have never seen anything like that before” he said, so this is Turkey” Talmadge, E. “Cultural Theme Parks”

⁴⁵⁴ Clammer, J. (1997) *Contemporary Urban Japan*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 144

The distinctive characteristic of this period is the emergence of new building types i.e. cultural centers and religious buildings (particularly mosques) built by Turkey mostly as a gift. There are also similar projects realized without the contribution of the Turkish authorities. These symbolically charged building types are not only built in the neophyte Central Asian states, but also in other locations where Turkish presence is to be found beyond mere diplomatic existence. The locations studied in this chapter enabled the reading of shifting meanings in these buildings. The Cyprus case has shown that buildings in the island are seen to differentiate the communities. Mosque is found to suggest the Ottoman rule in the history of Cyprus, legitimizing the current Turkish rule by emphasizing the religious “otherness” reinforced with the military overtones. The mosque in Ashgabat, the largest built in Central Asia by the Turkish State, underlines the Turkish identity by architecturally differentiating itself from Islamic States. The mosque is also regarded as the “other” of the works realized by the western construction companies, commissioned by Turkmenistan as well. Difference of the formal layout is intended to display the difference in terms of a “national interpretation” of the religion, which is similarly underlined in the Tokyo example. Appropriation of the mosque to represent the national identity is accompanied by a “cultural center” built next to it in almost all of these examples. Berlin is another capital in the developed world where Turkey is building a mosque and a cultural center. Motivating factor is the creation of a center for the Turkish workers that will differentiate itself from the centers of other Muslim communities and will be a message to the Turkish dissidents, who challenge the secularism of the Turkish state.

The shifts in the preordained identity of Turkey and an unbecoming preponderance of the religion along with the threat of religious identities to take over the national identity are emphasized by what have been presented in this chapter. Also comparisons are made with mosques designed abroad by Turkish architects for the Muslim people of other countries. One major difference in the latter has been the possibility of formal explorations, which would underline the fact that Turkey is (or should be) representing the liberal faction of the Muslim world according to their Turkish architects. However, unlike these mosques built for other countries,

Turkish mosques up to now indicate in general the formal appearance of the 16th century Ottoman mosque has remained unchallenged, and even considered as unchallengeable, maybe as a result of the “nostalgic” attitude towards the Ottoman glory in search of a “golden past”.

Historical forms are utilized partially with the aim to fulfill the users’ expectations based on stereotypes. Satisfaction of the foreigners’ expectations of exotic culture can transform into more radical versions as the Kashiwazaki theme park manifests. “Turkish Architecture” becomes a means to build and decorate a touristic milieu basically with commercial objectives. Thus “national images” are turned into commodities.

CHAPTER6

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, buildings that directly or indirectly perform a function of representing the Turkish “identity” abroad are analyzed. Embassies, expo pavilions, cultural centers and memorials included in this thesis offered the chance to observe different dimensions of the national identity in the discursive level and how this identity is conveyed through architecture. Some comparisons are made with similar buildings of other countries in order to understand the scope of the identity question. The initial premise was that these buildings followed the objective of representing the national identity. However, as it unfolded, it was observed that the emphasis on or prominence of the representational function varied as the number and the function of these representational buildings are diversified. Consequently, the constructed national “identity/self” and “difference/other” by these buildings display variations according to the functions they serve for. The thesis attests to the fact that changing world politics has an important role on the emergence of new building types representing the nation abroad, like the mosque-cultural center compounds.

Consecutive chapters enabled the study to dwell on both chronological and thematic aspects. Identity issue has been studied in its theoretical and physical dimensions through the historical and geographical context of the buildings analyzed. How this subject has been made an issue and discussed by the

architectural circles in Turkey in various periods has also been included in the study.

Conclusion of this thesis may be elaborated on two grounds as the concluding remarks of each section attests. One is theoretical reflections on identity and the other is historical change through case studies.

The first set of conclusive remarks based on theoretical reflections on the issue of identity in cultural studies and architecture:

- Although it is considered as a representation of the “nation” abroad, there are controversies about the validity of such an encompassing identity from the viewpoint of different groups as observed in many cases studied during the dissertation. Sometimes it is not adopted even by the actors already included in the enterprise. There are societal, global and institutional contexts in which different social and professional groups are in competition to control the symbol and the meanings of “national identity”. Keeping in mind that such sub-groups (sub-identities) maneuver to capture the definition and the legitimization effects, these buildings abroad were a ground of struggle for competing “national identities”. This competition can lead one to ask if any unified (uniform) identity is possible or whether plurality might offer a solution to these controversial identities. As Güvenç suggests for explaining the role of the different historical factors in the formation of the identity of Turkey⁴⁵⁵, a preference on plurality, may shed light on the architecture of these buildings claiming to represent Turkey abroad.

- Though formal aspect is a potent field to discuss the identity issue, architecture, when seen as the totality of the activities concerning the construction of the physical environment presents us different issues as seen in the case studies analyzed throughout the thesis. While some of them are in the micro level, at the spatial level of the body, like the “toilet” types, some are in the macro or urban level, like the choice of their locations in the capitals. Another is the construction process, which is regarded as the most frequently cited issue concerning the “Turkish identity”.

⁴⁵⁵ Güvenç, B. *Türk Kimliği*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 12-13.

- Identity and image duality briefly mentioned in the introduction became more evident especially in the last chapter. Most of the buildings constructed abroad to represent the identity of Turkey became components of the cityscapes of the host countries and as such they are experienced by the inhabitants of these cities. Consequently there is a potential for incongruity between the projected identity and the images of that these inhabitants will have. The Kashiwazaki Park manifests how “images” can become stereotypical and serve commercial interests as commodities. Seminal examples can be seen in touristic places of the world including those in Turkey. Replicas of Kremlin, Piazza San Marco of Venice or Topkapı Palace are created to serve for the fantasies of the people coming to Turkey to consume even the images of symbolic buildings from anywhere in the world let alone the local imagery. Tourism as a cultural phenomenon and its built environment have generated a context, where “national identity” has a market value and is used as a strategy by investors and architects alike.

Another set of theoretical issues can be elaborated by taking into account a recent architectural students competition “Yourope” aiming to find the architectural expression of the new political landscape of Europe united as EU (European Union). The brief focused on the design of the “European embassy”. This attempt resembles the representation of European community in the Sevilla 1992 Universal Exhibition.⁴⁵⁶ As related with the question above the issue discussed is whether this attempt would mean erasure of the differences of the national identities in favor of a collective supra-national identity, in other terms, unity versus plurality. Another issue emanating from this competition was the role of the others in the construction of the identity of the self. The contexts of this prospective embassy, i.e. Cairo, Washington and Beijing were representing “others” of the European identity.

- One other outcome of the thesis is that the identity discourse in architecture has kept its relevance even after modern architecture aimed to play it down. Associations between the identity of the owner, inheritor or builder of the buildings

⁴⁵⁶ Harvey points at the chosen identity of the European Community and its familiarity to the other nations’ techniques of representing themselves and names the EU as “super nation” and not “Supra nation”. Harvey, P. (1996) *Hybrids of Modernity: Anthropology, the Nation State and the Universal Exhibition*, Routledge, London and NewYork.

(whether it is serving the state or not) with the forms, materials and construction means are drawn, especially at the popular level, despite the prevalence of different formal attitudes in architecture in different historical periods. Such observations made some critiques, like Martha LaGess, commenting on the projects for the “embassy of European Union”, to ask whether considering “putting back identity into architecture” is ultimately arriving at “a non-modern project”.⁴⁵⁷ Though answering this question is beyond the scope of this thesis, it offers a discussion of the topic in an unexplored context. While national identity may not be a pivotal topic for the contemporary architectural discourse, “corporate identity” and the role of architecture in inculcating the particular identity of corporations on the consumers is the reality of today’s world.

- Transformation of international politics and its cultural repercussions make the issues of “identity” and “nation” prevalent in other contexts as well. While its primacy is dissolving as the supra-national political bodies like EU are formed, new nation states bring it to the foreground again. Central role of the “nation-state” is considered as the concept of a classical era and the dominance of the nation-states in the world affairs today is highly disputed in the academic field of International Relations. This questioning brought forward the roles played by individuals, sub-national groups, international non-governmental organizations and international organizations.⁴⁵⁸ One can count the League of Nations and the United Nations buildings or most recent architectural competition for the new headquarters for NATO as examples of the international organizations for which architectural solutions were sought.

- In the Twentieth Century these new actors beyond the nation states created opportunities for new forms in the realm of international relations as well as in the realm of architecture. While they might not be official representatives of the state, implicitly they were considered as the purveyors of national identity. There were already instances at the beginning of the 20th century, when states including the Ottoman Empire intended to build edifices abroad signifying bilateral relationships.

⁴⁵⁷ LaGess, M. (2002) *Europe Symposium “Architecture and Identity”* held in the European Parliament, 18.June.2001, Brussels, unpaginated symposium booklet.

⁴⁵⁸ Arı T. (1999) *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış Politika*, Alfa Yayınları, İstanbul, 17-39.

One can count the German Fountain in Istanbul and a hospital designed by Architect Kemalettin to be built in Berlin⁴⁵⁹ amongst such enterprises led by official bodies of the state. “House of Friendship”⁴⁶⁰, a multifunctional building, to ameliorate the cultural bonds, and mutual interests of the two countries (initiated and financed by the German industry) was another good example. On the other hand, the tourism industry, which started to be evident in 1950s, with significant architectural projects, also served the purpose of settling international relations, with an implicit ideological agenda. For example Wharton notes the role of the cold-war politics in the realization of the Hilton Hotels in different locations including the one in Istanbul. Reminiscent of the discourse on the American embassies and their modernist architecture in the aftermath of the WW II, as analyzed by Loeffler, this international chain was aimed at creating “little Americas”, to further the cooperation between allies against communism.⁴⁶¹

The second set of conclusive remarks can be made on historical grounds, concerning the issues coming forth in different time periods in the context of the particular buildings constructed abroad representing explicitly or implicitly Turkey. Total time period considered by the thesis encompasses eight decades. The constants and the transformation of the issues discussed as related with these buildings highlighted the issues below and paved the way for further studies:

- As underlined in the literature concerning nation-building processes, history has a pivotal importance in asserting a unique identity and considered as a guarantee for the eternal existence of the nations. Benedict Anderson succinctly puts it as follows: “the nations to which they give political expression looms out of

⁴⁵⁹ For further information on this recently disclosed historical fact see Şenyurt, O (2001) “Mimar Kemalettin’in Bilinmeyen bir Tasarımı: Berlin’de Hamidiye Hastanesi.”, *Arredamento-Mimarlık*, October No.100+40, 120-123.

⁴⁶⁰ It is not without reason to see an article on the building inside the book on architecture of German embassies Schirren, M. (2000) “Hans Poelzig’s Competition Draft for the House of Friendship in Istanbul” in Asendorf, O. and W. Voight (eds.) *Embassies* (2000), Wasmuth Verlag, Berlin. For further information on the building see Özkan, S. (1975) “Türk-Alman Dostluk Yurdu Öneri Yarışması”, *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, Vol.1, No:1, 177-210.

⁴⁶¹ Wharton, A. (2001) *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. For an analysis of Istanbul Hilton and the role of American investments, in reformulation of the international style and its synthesis with local circumstances and cultures see Akcan, E. (2001) “Americanization and Anxiety: Istanbul Hilton by SOM and Eldem”. In Proceedings of the 2001 ACSA International Conference *Oriental-Occidental*, ACSA Press, Washington, 38-44.

an immemorial past and still more important, glide into a limitless future”⁴⁶². In various interpretations of the Turkish identity and the assigned qualities of this “imagined community” there are particular favorites and dislikes in assessing the past and the historical precedents. Thus, a plurality can be observed especially in the world fair exhibitions where the display items are selected from different periods. However, as cultural assets to shape the contemporary products, it is much difficult to see references to the works of particular periods, such as Byzantine art and architecture as a cultural heritage (the controversial use of the mosaics for the 1958 Expo was discussed in the second chapter). However when the issue is to build a mosque, in relation to a Turkish Cultural Center, the references are univocally the Ottoman Classic Period, even though it may have a potential to inherit wider cultural precedents from particular contexts. Religious buildings, whether built in Turkey or abroad, seem to have a more limited field of action in terms of particular morphologies. In terms of identity their missions were also controversial.

- “National identity” in the sense of the identity of the architect himself was looked into in many examples for its possible role in enabling the Turkish architects’ practices abroad. While the reverse is true, in other words while foreign architects are preferred for being “foreign” in Turkey, it is questioned whether their nationality provided architects of Turkey to find chances to practice abroad. While the buildings serving for the representation of Turkey were modest steps, Turkish architects were employed for more significant occasions like the Algiers project by Şevki Vanlı. A similar case was noted by S.H.Eldem. He stated that, while he was realizing the Pakistani Embassy in Ankara, he was offered a post of co-operation or supervision of the public works by the Pakistani Government. According to him this testifies the supremacy of the Turkish architects and Turkey in comparison to “others”, like the Egyptian architects who used to be seen as the leaders in the Islamic world as well as the leading architects of the west like Kahn whose works

⁴⁶² Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London and New York, 19.

in Dhaka created problems.⁴⁶³ These occasions were appreciated, and demanded to be acknowledged for representing, the professional maturity of the Turkish architects as well as for the Turkish identity. Other similar though minor instances were disclosed, manifesting the “internationalization” trends of the Turkish architects even in the 1930s.

- Construction companies and their roles in substantiating the internationalization of the Turkish construction labor were studied. Within the context of the Turkish pavilions, it is instructive to note that while only the handcrafted components were supplied from Turkey in the New York 1939 Pavilion, the Hannover 2000 Pavilion was constructed by a construction company in Germany owned by a Turkish group.
- Even though the nation–state may be argued as destined to death as a major actor in the world history, it is seen that the embassies or pavilions are still building types used to represent their respective nations. This indicates that while supra-national political bodies are being established, multi-lateral forms of diplomacy are dominating the form of international relations, and shuttle diplomacy is alleviating the autonomy of the diplomats, embassies continue to keep their relevance as institutions representing nations. These buildings still continue to take their places in the agenda of the architectural circles and media as distinguished works of architecture. Embassies in Berlin are a significant evidence indicating the fact that while the European Union has a supra national identity beyond the individual European nations, the latter are being represented by individual embassies designed by the most famous architects of the respective nations. One unique case is the embassy of the Northern countries, trying to find the architectural expression of the unity and multiplicity of the identities displayed in the same compound representing five countries. The architect of the general scheme, A. Berger, - designers of each pavilion is different- formulates it as “multiple identities inside, but it is not falling apart into pieces”⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶³ Sedat Hakkı Eldem: *Elli Yıllık Meslek Jübileşi*, (1983) Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, İstanbul. 35.

⁴⁶⁴ Berger, A. (2002) *Yourope Symposium “Architecture and Identity”* held in the European Parliament, 18.June.2001, Brussels, unpaginated symposium booklet.

- Berlin Embassy of Turkey, which is going to be built in the near future, will be a case where “identity” issue can be discussed in different dimensions. The number of the Turkish citizens and architects residing in Germany, as well as the European construction companies owned by the Turkish capital make it more evident to see the globalization of labor force and capital beyond the limits of nation-states. National identities are transformed into hybrid ones. The procurement of the design of the embassy may also indicate a relation with the identity of the state. For example design of the “Embassy of the Nordic Countries” in Berlin as well as for the Austrian embassy and the Land Representation of Baden-Württemberg were obtained by competitions open to the architects of the European Union. Hence, considering the candidacy of Turkey, this might be a procurement method for the design of the Turkish embassy.
- Globalization and mobility of the professional services and the role of the local architects in the transnational markets is met with scrutiny in the non-western contexts including Turkey. In the thesis, references to the “fear” of losing the national market to foreign firms are frequently cited, but there are also indications of the eagerness of the Turkish architects for new markets opening for them abroad.

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TABLE I - Turkish Embassies

Embassy	Date of Diplomatic Relat.	Acq.	Architects	Date	Use
TEHRAN	1923 (Ambassadorial - Amb.)	CONS.	(Limited competition) SEYFİ ARKAN	1938	Residence (R)
TEHRAN	1923 (Amb.)	CONS.	(Limited competition) SEYFİ ARKAN	1938	Chancery (C)
BONN	1951 (Amb.)	CONS.	(National Competition 1963) VEDAT ÖZSAN, CENGİZ BEKTAŞ, ORAL VURAL	1970	R,C
LISBON	1941 (Legation) 1957 (Amb.)	CONS.	(National Competition 1963) ORHAN ŞAHİNLER, HAMDİ ŞENSOY, MUHLİS TÜRKMEN	1970	R,C
BEIRUT	1946 (Legation) 1955 (Amb.)	CONS.	(Limited competition 1968) SEDAT HAKKI ELDEM, HAMDİ ŞENSOY, SUNGU SADIK	1972	R,C
PARIS	1921 (Delegation) 1925 (Amb.)	CONS.	H.BEAUCLAIR, Şemsa DEMİREN, F. KARPINSKY Assts.	1976	C
LEFKOŞE	1960 (Amb.)	CONS.	(N.Competition 1964) GÖKÇEN SUNGURTEKİN - (realized) ERGUN DERVİŞ	1976	COMP (R,C,SH)
KABUL	1922 (Amb.)	CONS.	(N.Competition 1964) FIKRET ÇANKUT, AKTAN OKAN, ORHAN DİNÇ	1977	COMP (R,C,SH)
WARSAW	1924 (Legation) 1931 (Amb.)	Project	(N.Competition 1966) SELAMİ ÇOMERTOĞLU, SUAT TAFTALI		C
TOKYO	1925 (charge d'affair) 1929 (Amb.)	CONS.	KENZO TANGE (Preliminary Design 1973, Building finished August 1977)	1977	R,C
SOFIA	1923 (Consulate Gen.) 1966 (Amb.)	CONS.	(N.Competition 1968) METİN HEPGÜLER, TAMAY SÜTMEN	1978	C
TRIPOLIS	1954 (Amb.)	CONS.	ŞEVKİ VANLI	1981	C
AMMAN	1946 (Legation) 1960 (Amb.)	CONS.		1982	C
NEW DELHİ	1948 (Amb.)	CONS.	(Comp. 1962, Final 1963) D. TEKELİ, S. SİSA, M. HEPGÜLER (Const.1979-83)	1983	C,Staff Housing(SH)
JAKARTA	1957 (Amb.)	Project	ERTUR YENER, MEHMET TATAROĞLU (Design 1968)		
BRASILIA	1929 (Legation)	CONS.	1.Comp. (1967)- İ. URAL,Ç. URAL - 2.Comp. (Realized) -İ. YÜCE, A. AŞKUN	1984	COMP.(R,C,SH)
KUWAIT	1971 (Amb.)	CONS.	(Chosen amongst 4 proposals) TAMAY SÜTMEN, YILMA KOÇAK	1986	COMP.(R,C,SH)
İSLAMABAD	1969 (Amb.)	CONS.	1.Comp.(1964)T. ÖVÜNÇ, S. TONER, A. KIRIMLI - 2. Comp.1984 (Realized):H.ÖZBAY,T.BAŞBUĞ	1986	R,C
LAGOS	1959 (Consulate Gen.) 1960 (Amb.)	Tender	MURAT ARTU	1986	
BAGHDAD	1928 (cda.) 1953 (Amb.)	CONS.	(Commissioned) ALPAY AŞKUN, İLĞİ YÜCE	1988	C,SH
RIYADH	1985 (Amb.)	CONS.	(Commissioned) AHMET VEFİK ALP	1990	COMP.(R,C,SH)
TASHKENT	1992 (Amb.)	CONS.	(Commissioned) FEMA MİMARLIK (Design 1993) F.EŞİM, S. GÜREŞÇİOĞLU, H.ANAMURLUOĞLU	1992	R,C
DUSHANBE	1992 (Amb.)	CONS.	(Commissioned) SALİHA KALINOĞLU	1992	C,SH
BİSHKEK	1993 (Amb.)	CONS.	F.EŞİM, H. ANAMURLUOĞLU (1993-94)	1992	R
MOSCOW	1925 (Amb.)	CONS.	(ALARKO İnşaat) reconstructed	1993	C,SH
ASHGABAT	1992 (Amb.)	CONS.	(Commissioned) NEŞE İTEZ, AYTEK İTEZ (Design 1992)	1993	COMP.(R,C,SH)
ALMATY	1992 (Amb.)	CONS.	(Commissioned) ERTAN YOLLU (Design 1994)	1994	C
CAIRO	1926 (Legation) 1949 (Amb)	CONS.	(Commissioned) U. TUNER, M.ALTUNTAŞ	1994	C,SH,R
CARACAS	1957 (Amb.)	CONS.	Local Architect (Avant. project by Department of Foreign Affairs construction office)	1995	C
WASHINGTON	1927 (Amb.)	CONS.	(Commissioned) Shalom Baranes Arch./Washington AMERICAN ARCHITECTURAL FIRM	1998	C
TUNIS	1957 (Amb.)	CONS.	(commissioned) WASSİM BEN MAHMOUD	2002	C
BAKU	1992 (Amb.)	Project	(Invited Competition) AFFAN YATMAN; NESRİN YATMAN	2002	R,C

TABLE II - Works of Turkish Architects Abroad

Name Of the Project	Location	Year	Architect	Status
Bellerive Housing Block	Switzerland	1950	M. Çizer	realized
Montreux Hotel	Switzerland	1950	M. Çizer	realized
NCR Office Building	Baltimore	1962	N. Arıkoğlu	realized
Batj Jacob Synagogue	Baltimore	1964	N. Arıkoğlu	realized
WJZ TV 13 Building	Baltimore	1964	N. Arıkoğlu	realized
Mosque and Islamic Culture Center	London	1969	L.Aksüt Y. Marulyalı	project
Villa	Tripoli	1973	T. Devres	realized
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (int. invited comp.)	Tripoli	1975	S.H.Eldem	project
Housing+cultural center+mosque	Canzur (Libya)	1976	S.H.Eldem	project
Islamic Summit Minar	Lahore	1977	V. Dalokay-İ.Ural	realized
Accommodation for pilgrims	Mekkah	1978	E. Şahinbaş	project
Housing Khasm al-aan	Medinah	1979	E. Şahinbaş	project
Residence	Saudi Arabia	1979	Ş. Vanlı	realized
Riyadh Mosque	Saudi Arabia	1979	V.Dalokay	project
A Settlement in Dandara	Egypt	1980	C.Bektaş	project
Technical Education and research Center	Dhaka	1980	D. Pamir- E. Gümrük	realized
Apartments	Florida	1980	D. Tekeli-S.Sisa	project
Housing Al Kharj	Saudi Arabia	1980	D. Tekeli-S.Sisa	project
Hawa shopping center	Jeddah	1980	Osep Saraf	
King Fahd International Airport Terminal	Dhahran	1980	Osep Saraf	
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (int. Invited comp.)	Riyadh	1980	V. Dalokay-İ.Ural	project
Housing	Abu-Dhabi	1981	D. Tekeli-S.Sisa	project
A villa (int.comp.)		1981	Ş. Vanlı + C. Aynagöz	project
Islam Development Bank	Saudi Arabia	1981	V.Dalokay, Ö.Özyar	project
Hotel for the pilgrims	Medinah	1982	A.V.Alp	project
Yacht marina and hotel	Tripoli	1982	B. Cinci	project
Housing	Basra	1982	D. Tekeli-S.Sisa	project
Military Hotel	Juffra (Libya)	1982	D. Tekeli-S.Sisa	project
Chamber of Islamic Trade	Karachi	1982	E. Şahinbaş	project
The Islamic University	Kuala Lumpur	1982	E. Şahinbaş	project
Housing Al Quarshah	Benghazi	1982	Ş. Vanlı	project
Shopping center	Jeddah	1983	A.V.Alp	project
Villa group	Taif (S. Arabia)	1983	A.V.Alp	realized
Housing for workers	Misurata	1983	D. Tekeli-S.Sisa	realized
Islam Institute of Economic Research	Jeddah	1983	D. Tekeli-S.Sisa	realized
Multi Purpose Building	Riyadh	1983	E. Şahinbaş	project
Najd Alışveriş Merkezi	Jeddah	1983	E. Şahinbaş	project
Algiers National Complex	Algiers	1983	Ş. Vanlı	project
An office building	Jeddah	1983	T. Devres	project
Villa	Medinah	1983	T. Devres	realized
Islam Development Bank (inv.comp)	Jeddah	1983	T.Cansever	project
Sümer Pek house	USA	1984	C.Bektaş	realized
Cheras apts.	Kuala Lumpur	1984	E. Şahinbaş	project
Port Dickson apts.	Malaysia	1984	E. Şahinbaş	project
Dublex Row House	Jeddah	1984	T. Devres	project
Villa	Djubail (S. Arabia)	1985	A.V.Alp	realized
Housing avant project	At-Taif (S. Arabia)	1985	T. Devres	project
Um al Quarra University Campus (inv.comp)	Mekkah	1985	T.Cansever	project
Wadi settlement project	Yemen	1986	M.Konuralp-U.Didinal	realized
Faisal Mosque	Islamabad	1986	V. Dalokay	realized
Prime Ministry	Pakistan	1986	V.Dalokay	project
2health centers/2hospitals/3 industrial plants	Russia	1987	C. Bozkurt	realized
Fyodorov Complex/200 bed Hotel	Russia	1987	İ.Kural,N.Kural	project
Medinet Al Arfan Mosque	Umman	1987	V.Dalokay	project
House for the rector	Dahran	1988	A.V.Alp	realized
Hotel (100 beds)	Pitsunda Sochi	1988	A.Yatman-N.Yatman	project
Presidents Plaza	Virginia	1988	Ankoğlu Architects	
Village center at Dulles	Virginia	1988	Ankoğlu Architects	
Hotel	Mohaçkale	1988	Y.Erdemir	project
600 bed Hotel	Georgia	1989	C. Bozkurt	realized
Government Building	Zawiah/Libya	1989	C.Bozkurt	
Cultural center and church	Kalsruhe	1989	Y. S. Sepin	realized

TABLE II - Works of Turkish Architects Abroad

Name Of the Project	Location	Year	Architect	Status
Yalta hotel, cultural center, sports facilities	Yalta	1990	L.Aksüt Y. Marulyalı	?
Renovation of Balkash Hotel	Kazakhstan	1991	Arolat architects	
Dr. Umezu house	Japan	1991	C.Bektaş	realized
Childrens hospital	Yalta	1991	L.Aksüt Y. Marulyalı	?
Military Hospital (576 beds)	Sanaa-Yemen	1992	C. Bozkurt	
Chaika Complex	Moscow	1992	E. Şahinbaş	project
Social Center	Sochi	1992	T.Başbuğ, H. Özbay, B.İdil	
Parkplace Business Center	Moscow	1992	Y. Erdemir	realized
Stadium	Yakutsk	1993	B.Gürsoytrak	
Gasprom Headquarters	Moscow	1993	D. Tekeli-S.Sisa	realized
Kremenchuk Polyclinic and Rehabilitation	B.D.T	1993	N.Hatırlı	realized
Imam Buhari Education complex (inv. Comp)	semerkant	1993	T. Cansever	project
Juffali Brothers Hotel and shopping center	Mekkah	1993	Tabanlıoğlu Architects	project
Stavropol Bank Headquarters	Russia	1993	Y.İleri + B.Ökte	
Vatunki Hotel	Moscow	1994	A.Yatman + N.Yatman	
Alexandrovski Mall (restoration)	Tartaria	1994	A.Yatman-N.Yatman	realized
Taturos Hotel	Kazan (Tartaria)	1994	Arolat architects	
Bank	Yakutsk	1994	B.Gürsoytrak	
Publishing House	Nazran	1994	B.Gürsoytrak	
Nefteyugansk Airport Terminal	Russia	1994	E. Çoban	
ITEC Hotel	Uzbekhistan	1994	H.Erkan, M.Erkan	realized
Dashauz Hotel	Türkmenistan	1994	L.Aksüt Y. Marulyalı	
Shopping center	Kazakhstan	1994	N. Ünsal	project
State Guest House	Tartaria	1994	O.Genç	
Residence of the US ambassador and lodg.	Baku	1995	A.V.Alp	project
Apartments	Moscow	1995	Arolat architects	
Attorney General office	Tymen	1995	Arolat architects	
Chertanovo Shopping Center	Moscow	1995	Arolat architects	
Children Oncological hospital	Moscow	1995	Arolat architects	
General Hospital 1000 beds	Moscow	1995	Arolat architects	
M.V.K.S Office	Moscow	1995	B.Gürsoytrak	realized
Pulmology Hospital	Yakutsk	1995	B.Gürsoytrak	
Anadry Airport terminal+Hotel	Russia	1995	E. Çoban	
Business Center	Russia	1995	H.Erkan, M.Erkan	
Ramstore	Bakü	1995	L.Aksüt Y. Marulyalı	
Bank Headquarters	Russia	1995	M. Soylu, M.Öz	
"Kol Yazmaları" Library	Ashgabad	1995	O.Genç	realized
Vneshe Economy Bank	Ashgabad	1995	O.Genç	
Jabal Al-Said campus	Sofar (Beirut)	1995	T.Cansever	
Radisson Hotel and Office building	Baku	1996	DG design group	realized
Besovest Airport Terminal	Russia	1996	E. Çoban	
Krasnoyarsk Airport Terminal	Russia	1996	E. Çoban	
Krilyatskoye Businessman Club and Hotel	Russia	1996	E. Çoban	
TİES Children's Park	Russia	1996	E. Çoban	
Almaty-Ankara Hotel	Almaty	1996	E.Ertunga	realized
Mercedes Service Building	Ashgabad	1996	F.Eşim + H.Anamurluoğlu	
NBU Kokand Agency Office	Uzbekhistan	1996	N. İtez+ A.İtez	
Pahtaband Head Office	Uzbekhistan	1996	N. İtez+ A.İtez	
Besovest Airport Terminal	Russia	1996	S.Bayrak, A.Yertutan	
80 Houses	Baku	1996	Tabanlıoğlu Architects	realized
Aqua Sports Center	Moscow	1997	B.Gürsoytrak	
5 Ministeries	Ashgabad	1997	E. Çoban	
Çarvak	Uzbekhistan	1997	H.Erkan, M.Erkan	
Hotel Mesa	Russia	1997	H.Erkan, M.Erkan	
Azer construction market	Baku	1997	L.Aksüt-Y. Marulyalı	realized
Manas University	Kirgystan	1997	M. Günday + H.Ceyhan	renov.
Eman University	Sanaa-Yemen	1997	N. Cebeci-A. O. Öztürk	project
Coast Metro Business center and offices	Baku	1997	Tabanlıoğlu Architects	realized
Odintsovo Presidential Sports complex	Moscow	1998	A.Yatman-N.Yatman	
Olympic Park	Ashgabad	1998	A.Yatman-N.Yatman	realized
Chisinau Hotel	Moldovia	1998	B.Gürsoytrak	restor.
Green Hills Supermarket	Moldovia	1998	B.Gürsoytrak	

TABLE II - Works of Turkish Architects Abroad

Name Of the Project	Location	Year	Architect	Status
Sanatorium	Ingushetia	1998	B.Gürsoytrak	
Central Bank	Bakü	1998	L.Aksüt Y. Marulyalı	realized
Sports Center	Kiev	1998	N. Ünsal	project
Bneasa Villas	Bucharest	1998	S. Tunçay, N. Tunçay	realized
Kişinev Rusya Elçiliği	Moldovia	1998	S.Bayrak, A.Yertutan+4M	realized
Culture and Trade center	Bucharest	1998	Tabanlıoğlu Architects	realized
Office Complex	Warsaw	1999	B.Gürsoytrak	
Michurinsky Shopping Mall	Moscow	1999	M. Soylu, M.Öz	
Military Dormitories	Georgia	1999	M.Artu	project
Bucharest Citibank	Bucharest	1999	S. Tunçay, N. Tunçay	project
Dar es Salaam educational facilities	Tanzania	2000	T. Cansever	
Skyscraper	Asthana	2001	A.V.Alp	project
Moscow Turkish Trade Center	Moscow	2001	L.Aksüt Y. Marulyalı	realized
Al Azhar Park shopping and business center	Cairo	2002	Tabanlıoğlu Architects	realized
TEB NV Bank	Amsterdam	2003	H. Tümertekin	project
Shopping center	Samara/ B.D.T		A.Yatman-N.Yatman	realized
Hilton Hotel	Islamabad		Ali Kolsal	realized
Hilton Hotel	Karachi		Ali Kolsal	realized
Hilton Hotel	Khartoum		Ali Kolsal	realized
Officer's Club	Tripoli		B. Cinci	project
Palace for Abdul-Aziz Bin Ahmad	Saudi Arabia		B. Cinci	project
Housing	Algiers		B. Sağdıç	
Vnukova Airport	Moscow		B. Sağdıç	
Presidential Guest House	Almaty		E.Ertunga	realized
Housing for 11000 people	Medinah		İ.Ural	project
A Small apt.	Tripoli		T. Devres	realized
An office building	Tripoli		T. Devres	realized
Villa	Tripoli		T. Devres	realized
Al Omma Mosque	Libya		V.Dalokay	project
Mazed Haj House	Saudi Arabia		V.Dalokay	project
Prime Ministry masjid	Pakistan		V.Dalokay	project
Riyadh Military Academy Mosque	Saudi Arabia		V.Dalokay	project
Sharjah Mosque	UAE		V.Dalokay	project
Tomb of Ziya Ül Hak	Pakistan		V.Dalokay	project
Fellbach Eiseman Housing and business	Germany		Y. S. Sepin	realized
Bank	Samara/ B.D.T		Y.İleri + B.Ökte	realized
Bank	Kazan (tartaria)		Y.İleri+B.Ökte	project
Housing	Kazan (tartaria)		Y.İleri+B.Ökte	project

TABLE III - Commissions of Turkish Construction Companies Abroad

Name of the Project	City	Country	Contractor	Date
Ramstore	Baku	Azerbaijan	Borova Cons.	1995
Caspian Training center	Baku	Azerbaijan	Borova Cons.	1996
Airport Bakü	Baku	Azerbaijan	Burç	
Airport: Baku International	Baku	Azerbaijan	Enka	
Coca Cola Bottling plant	Baku	Azerbaijan	zafer	
Etylene Plant	Sumgait	Azerbaijan	Gama	
Hospital	Baku	Azerbaijan	Aysel	
Sos Children Village	Baku	Azerbaijan	Enka	
Hotel Complex	Minsk	Belarus	Emsaş	
Housing:Military		Belarus+Russia	Tekser	1993
bridge	mostar	Bosnia-Herzegovina	yapı merkezi	
Ramstore	Sofia	Bulgaria	GBB	
Motorway	Zagreb	Croatia	Enka	
Suez Crossing	Egypt-Jordan	Egypt	STFA	
Cement Plant		Ethiopia	Enka	
Hotel Tori	Tbilisi	Georgia	zafer	
Hotel Astron	Frankfurt	Germany	Alarko	
Housing:Military Barracks	Baumholder	Germany	zafer	
Leuna 2000	Leuna	Germany	Tekfen	
LPG Tanks	Bandar Abbas	Iran	Alarko	
Irrigation drainage and roads	Baghdad	Iraq	Kiska	
Housing (total 411 units)	Dublin	Ireland	Gama	2001
GuestHouse	Ashdod	Israel	Gökyapı	
Housing and Commercial complex	Ramat	Israel	GBB	
Dike 18 Deadsea		Jordan	Ata	
Hotel Medou	Almaty	Kazakhstan	Emsaş	
Hotel: Almaty-Ankara	Almaty	Kazakhstan	Aysel	1996
Philip-Morris Cigarette Factory	Almaty	Kazakhstan	Alarko	1998
Ramstore	Almaty	Kazakhstan	Aysel	1999
Airport :International airport Terminal	Astana	Kazakhstan	Alarko	2002
Director house	Atyrau	Kazakhstan	zafer	
Euroasian National University	Astana	Kazakhstan	Ceylan	
Government building	Astana	Kazakhstan	üçgen	
Hospital: Zhezkazgan hospital comp.		Kazakhstan	Alarko	
Hotel Alatau	Almaty	Kazakhstan	Emsaş	
Housing	Asthana	Kazakhstan		
Housing Complex	Atyrau	Kazakhstan	zafer	
Irtish Bridge and Roads	Semipalatinsk	Kazakhstan	Alarko	
Island		Kazakhstan	Enka	
Oil Pipeline	Magnistau	Kazakhstan	Tekfen	
Oil Processing	Tengiz	Kazakhstan	Enka	
Presidential Club	Almaty	Kazakhstan	Emsaş	
Samal Towers	Almaty	Kazakhstan	üçgen	
Ahmet Yesevi Uni. Dormitories		Kazakhstan-Turkistan	zafer	1995
Ahmet Yesevi Uni.Cultural C.		Kazakhstan-Turkistan	zafer	1999
Airport modernization	Bishkek	Krygzystan	GBB	
highway		Kuwait	üstay	
Ministry of National Defence	Kuwait	Kuwait	İçtaş	
Housing (1885 villas)		Libya	Enka	1980
Housing: Farm Houses		Libya	Borova Cons.	1981
Housing (2666 villas)	Brega	Libya	Enka	1993
Housing (150 villa+600 farm house)	Harawa	Libya	Enka	2001
Administration	Misurata	Libya	Metiş	
Airport Harawa	Harawa	Libya	Enka	
Al-jufrah adminstration buildings		Libya	Yaşar özkan	
Central Bank of Libya		Libya	STFA	
Gardabia Monument		Libya	STFA	
Health Training Center	Misurata	Libya	Metiş	
highway		Libya	üstay	
Hospital Taurga		Libya	yaşar özkan	
Housing (2200 units)	Juffra	Libya	STFA	
Housing (445 villas)		Libya	üstay	
Housing and Mosque	Misurata	Libya	Mesa	
Housing: 525 houses	Jufra	Libya	Baytur	
Housing: Aziziye (300 houses)		Libya	Baytur	
Housing: Zawiyah		Libya	Mustafa Özcan	
Palace	Harawa	Libya	Enka	

TABLE III - Commissions of Turkish Construction Companies Abroad

Name of the Project	City	Country	Contractor	Date
Tripoli Naval Headquarters	Tripoli	Libya	STFA	
Cement Plant	Langkawi	Malaysia	Gama	
Russian Embassy and residence	Chisinau	Moldovia	Onursan	1997
Irrigation Channel		Pakistan	Tekser	
Ormara Naval Harbour		Pakistan	STFA	
Business center	Warsaw	Poland	yenigün	
Hotel Majestic	Bucharest	Romania	Ener	
Housing: Baneasa Villas	Bucharest	Romania	Bayındır	
Motorway	Bucharest	Romania	Ener	
Housing: Apartments (5970 units)		Russia+Belarus	Enka	1991
Hotel: Mohackale		Russian Federation	Baytur	1988
Hotel: Pitsunda	Sochi	Russian Federation	Baytur	1988
Petrovski Passage	Moscow	Russian Federation	Enka	1988
Housing: 1156 Military housing	Wladikawkas	Russian Federation	Gama	1992
Hotel : Lazurnaya Resort	Sochi	Russian Federation	Gama	1993
Business Center: Riverside Towers	Moscow	Russian Federation	Enka	1994
Office building of West LB bank	Moscow	Russian Federation	Borova Cons.	1994
White House	Moscow	Russian Federation	Gama	1994
Buss. Center: Mosenska Park Towers	Moscow	Russian Federation	Enka	1995
Gazprom Headquarters	Moscow	Russian Federation	Gama	1995
GuestHouse	Moscow	Russian Federation	Gama	1995
Hospital:Molinia Mother and Child	Tuapse	Russian Federation	Gama	1995
Hotel Tymen (4 star)	Moscow	Russian Federation	Gama	1995
Housing: Morosowsk Military		Russian Federation	Tekser	1995
Housing: Villas	Moscow	Russian Federation	Gama	1995
Airport Terminal Nefteyugansk	Siberia	Russian Federation	Mensel	1996
Children's Sanitation Complex	Ties	Russian Federation	Mensel	1996
Hospital: Cardiological center	Skytyukar	Russian Federation	Gama	1996
Hotel Nadejda	Kabardina	Russian Federation	Gama	1996
House of Technology	Siberia	Russian Federation	Mensel	1996
Semerbank Headquarters	Moscow	Russian Federation	Tekser	1996
Sport:Tyumada Olympic Stadium	Yakutsk	Russian Federation	Summa	1996
Technical Office Building	Tymen	Russian Federation	Gama	1996
Business center: Paveletsky	Moscow	Russian Federation	Enka	1997
Gasprom Apartments	Moscow	Russian Federation	Gama	1997
Gazprom Housing	Moscow	Russian Federation	Gama	1997
Hotel Proton 4 star	Moscow	Russian Federation	Tekser	1997
Ramstore (total number 9)	Moscow	Russian Federation	Enka	1997
Business Center: Chaika	Moscow	Russian Federation	Summa	1998
Hotel Vatutinki	Moscow	Russian Federation	Mensel	1998
International House of Music	Moscow	Russian Federation	Enka	2000
Housing: Pokrovski Hills villas	Moscow	Russian Federation	Tekser	2001
Sadovaya Plaza	Moscow	Russian Federation	Enka	2001
Sport complex	Moscow	Russian Federation	Tekser	2001
Housing: Kuartal Apartments	Moscow	Russian Federation	Tekser	2002
Odintsovo Complex	Moscow	Russian Federation	Mensel	2002
Hospital 31	Moscow	Russian Federation	Tekser	2003
Aluminium factory	Maloyaroslavets	Russian Federation	Hazinedar.-Özkan	
Bakulev cardio-vascular surgery	Moscow	Russian Federation	Urban	
Bashcreditbank Headquarters		Russian Federation	Summa	
Business Center		Russian Federation	Pasiner	
Business Center: Nevsky 25	St Petersburg	Russian Federation	Alarko	
Danone Plant	Moscow	Russian Federation	Enka	
Expanded Clay Production Plant	Alexin	Russian Federation	Entes	
Gas Treatment Plant		Russian Federation	Gama	
Gazprom science & technology c	Moscow	Russian Federation	yenigün	
Hospital: Central Clinic	Moscow	Russian Federation	Urban	
Hospital: Krasnagorsk military	Moscow	Russian Federation	Baytur	
Hospital: Maternity	Moscow	Russian Federation	Baytur	
Hotel Gasprom	Sochi	Russian Federation	Hazinedar.-Özkan	
Hotel Marriot Grand	Moscow	Russian Federation	Ert	
Hotel Radisson	St Petersburg	Russian Federation	üçgen	
Housing: Durnaro (1326 units)	Kursk	Russian Federation	Baytur	
Housing: Mostbank Villas	Moscow	Russian Federation	Entes	
Housing: Villas	Tyumen	Russian Federation	Entes	
Housing:Residential Buildings	Maloyaroslavets	Russian Federation	Hazinedar.-Özkan	
hydrotherapy building	Moscow	Russian Federation	Urban	

TABLE III - Commissions of Turkish Construction Companies Abroad

Name of the Project	City	Country	Contractor	Date
Intel office	Moscow	Russian Federation	Enka	
Parkplace Business Center	Moscow	Russian Federation	Güriş	
PepsiCola Cobo Plant	Moscow	Russian Federation	Soyak	
Replacement of Choking chamber	Angarsk	Russian Federation	Baytur	
Savings Bank	Moscow	Russian Federation	GBB	
Sport Ballet Trauma Rehab. Center	Moscow	Russian Federation	Urban	
Sport Complex: Khrunichev	Moscow	Russian Federation	Tekser	
State unitary Enterprise Health	Moscow	Russian Federation	Urban	
Supreme Court	Moscow	Russian Federation	Urban	
Tverskaya Housing business	Moscow	Russian Federation	Alarko	
Yukos directorate building	Moscow	Russian Federation	Hazinedar.-Özkan	
Housing (2584 villas)		saudi Arabia	Enka	1982
Soda drilling Unit	Jubail	saudi Arabia	Gama	1993
Al-jubail water treatment		saudi Arabia	yüksel	
Hotel and Business Center	Makkah	saudi Arabia	GBB	
Housing Complex	Medinah	saudi Arabia	Kutlutaş	
Residential Buildings	Yanbu	saudi Arabia	Nurol	
Water transmission system		saudi Arabia	Tekfen	
Al Furat Petroleum Co.		Syria	Atilla Doğan	
Renovation of State Guesthouse	Kazan	Tataristan	Mensel	1994
Irrigation system	Ashgabad	Turkmenistan	Summa	1993
Business Center ABC	Ashgabad	Turkmenistan	Summa	1994
Hotel Grandturkmen	Ashgabat	Turkmenistan	Mensel	1994
Vneshe Economy bank	Ashgabad	Turkmenistan	Mensel	1994
Presidential Conselor's office	Ashgabad	Turkmenistan	Mensel	1996
Railway Station	Sarah	Turkmenistan	Mensel	1996
The National Institute of Manuscripts	Ashgabad	Turkmenistan	Mensel	1996
Sport:Ashgabat Kopetdag St. (32000)	Ashgabat	Turkmenistan	Mensel	1997
Ertuğrul Gazi Mosque	Ashgabat	Turkmenistan	Gama	1998
Sport: Ashgabat Olympic St. (30000)	Ashgabat	Turkmenistan	Mensel	2000
Hotel Serdar		Turkmenistan	Gama	2001
Airport Ashgabad	Ashgabat	Turkmenistan	Burç	
Airport: Ashgabat International	Ashgabat	Turkmenistan	Alarko	
Burç Türkmen Ltd	Ashgabat	Turkmenistan	Burç	
Hotel Ak Altın Plaza	Ashgabad	Turkmenistan	üçgen	
International Village	Ashgabat	Turkmenistan	üstay	
National Museum	Ashgabat	Turkmenistan	üçgen	
Polypropylene Plant	Ashgabat	Turkmenistan	Alarko	
Presidential Guest House	Ashgabat	Turkmenistan	summa	
Railway Guest House	Berzengi	Turkmenistan	üçgen	
Refinery		Turkmenistan	Gama	
Refinery		Turkmenistan	Gama	
Serahs Train Station		Turkmenistan	Mensel	
Türkmenistan Independence Mon.	Ashgabad	Turkmenistan	polimeks	
Hospital: Kremenchug Polyclinic	Kiev	Ukraine	Tepe	1994
Housing: Military	Kiew	Ukraine	Tekser	1996
Bank Ukraine	Kiev	Ukraine	Eser	
Reconstruction of Turkish Embassy	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Aysel	1994
Recons.of Almaty Tobacco Plant	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Aysel	1995
Reconstruction of French Embassy	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Aysel	1995
Tashkent International trade complex	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Aysel	1995
Air Traffic Control Tower	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Aysel	1996
British-American Tobacco Factory	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Aysel	1996
Hotel: Tashkent Intercontinental	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Aysel	1996
National Bank	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Aysel	1997
National Bank branches	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Aysel	1997
Information center	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Aysel	1998
National Bank Kokand Branch	Kokand	Uzbekistan	Aysel	1998
Shopping center	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Aysel	1998
AirportProject ATC	Uchkuduk	Uzbekistan	Aysel	2001
Airport: International airport Terminal	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Baytur	2002
British-American Tobacco Factory	Semerikand	Uzbekistan	Alarko	
Coca Cola Bottling plant	Tashkent	Uzbekistan	Aysel	
Modernization of local airports		Uzbekistan	Aysel	
Refinery		Uzbekistan	Gama	

VITA

M. Haluk Zelef was born in Ankara on March 15, 1964. After a science oriented education in the Science High School in Ankara, he studied architecture at the Middle East Technical University (METU). He received the degree of B. Arch (Honours) in July 1986 and his post-graduate (The Graduate Diploma) degree from Architectural Association (AA) School of Architecture, London, England in 1994. Initially as a research assistant in 1986, he has thought and continues teaching as an instructor in the METU Department of Architecture in a variety of courses, particularly in the field of design and graphic communication. His teaching experience includes architectural design and theory courses in Oklahoma State University (OSU), U.S.A. He gave seminars in other universities and participated in juries, panels, workshops and conferences. He has individual and joint papers published in academic, professional and popular publications. His experiences in architecture, besides various projects and realized works, consist of entries in international and national competitions including those for the “Concert Hall” and “Opera” of Ankara, where his joint-entry with other architects received awards.