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A Fragmented Memory Project:
Archaeological and Ethnographic Museums in Turkey,
1960–1980

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the long neglected archaeological and ethnographic museums in the provinces of Turkey that were built between early 1960s and early 1980s, with respect to the troublesome relationship of the Turkish state with its past. Challenging the common conception that views these museums simply as a sign of Turkey's failure to preserve its cultural heritage, this study suggests that these provincial museums reveal a conscious project of forgetting - a negligence of the diversity of memories in the creation of official histories. Different from the existing scholarship that primarily focuses on the central museums and views them as direct representations of dominant historical narratives, this study draws attention to these peripheral structures as conveyers of the memories that were left out of the prevailing accounts.

The broader perspective of this dissertation is characterized by a critical view of disciplinary boundaries within the field of architecture and museum studies, which it views as modernist constructs. Challenging the borderlines created between architecture and non-architecture, and museum and non-museum, this study conceives the provincial museums in Turkey as significant spaces that convey local memories. In order to present the complexity of memories, the analysis undertaken is based

on the idea that the politics of remembrance in Turkey was ambiguously shaped by the cooperation of contested notions such as Islam vs. secularism, modern vs. traditional and East vs. West. Through the analysis of oppositional discourses, this dissertation shows that the abandoned spaces of the archaeological and ethnographic museums in Turkey represent a fragmented memory project and provide spaces for the reconstruction of complex memories.

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DEDICATION

for Onur

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation analyzes the archaeological and ethnographic museums that were constructed between 1960 and 1980 in the provinces of Turkey in relation to the politics of remembrance within the modernization processes. With an interdisciplinary approach that engages recent scholarship in museum studies and the history and theory of modern architecture, this study examines these buildings in relation to the conflicted memory discourse of the Turkish state. Different from the existing scholarship that primarily focuses on the central museums and views them as direct representations of dominant historical narratives, this study draws attention to these peripheral structures as conveyers of the memories that were left out of the official accounts. The historical method of this study is shaped by two critical perspectives, the first of which defines its main approach and the second of which forms the basis of its analysis. The first view is a critique of disciplinary boundaries, which entails challenging the borderlines that define stable fields based on the determination of what is out of the field - such as, what is not architecture or what is not a museum.¹ The second perspective is a complex conception of Westernization that involves the coexistence of contradictory notions related to the perception of the West as both good and evil.² Instead of presenting the provincial museums as a product of a single

1. The main text that discusses the theoretical basis of this view is Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "Beyond Lack and Excess: Other Architectures, Other Landscapes," *Journal of Architectural Education* 54, no. 1 (2000): 20–27

2. Meltem Ahıska's conception of Occidentalism constitutes the theoretical basis of this view. See Meltem Ahıska, *Radyonun Sihirli Kapısı : Garbiyatçılık ve Politik Öznellik [Occidentalism in Turkey: Questions of Modernity and National Identity in Turkish Radio Broadcasting]* (Beyoğlu, Istanbul: Metis, 2005) However, this dissertation chose not to use the term Occidentalism as the concept has many different definitions.

identity discourse, each chapter examines the ways conflicting notions co-operated in the shaping of memories, which resulted in the creation of a fragmented museum project.

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, a new Turkish historiography was created parallel with the newly founded ideals of modernization and secularization. Recently, this historiography has been widely criticized by scholars as a discourse that initiated a clear break with the immediate Ottoman past and revived the pre-Islamic period of Anatolia. While this critique must be acknowledged, this study of the archaeological and ethnographic museums in Turkey not only illustrates that Turkish historiography was more complex, it demonstrates that this complexity was reflected in an ambiguous memory project.

The Turkish History Thesis was created in the 1930s parallel with the ideas of Joseph Strzygowski of the Vienna School, who formulated studies of art history as counter arguments to the classical historiography that accepted ancient Greek and Roman cultures as the origin of European civilization. Following the suggestion that the origins could be traced back to the pre-historic ages and Central Asia, the Turkish History Thesis asserted that the Turks were a preeminent brachycephalous race similar to European races, who established strong states in Central Asia. When the ecology of their land changed during the prehistoric period, they left Central Asia and brought civilization to many places including China, India, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, Anatolia, Greece and Italy. According to this view, because the Turkish race was the main source of origin for all races, all Anatolian civilizations including the prehistoric, ancient and modern ones must have been linked to the Turks. Largely ignoring Islamic history, the thesis was based on the contribution that the pagan Turks made for the progress of mankind in the Neolithic ages and Ancient period.

In large part linked to this historiography, the display of archaeology and ethnography in the museums was highly contested. While the establishment of a national

museum started in the 1920s with the collection of ethnographic objects (Islamic artifacts and traditional items of Ottoman everyday life) and the opening of Ankara Ethnography Museum in 1929; in the 1930s the Turkish History Thesis, which was looking for the pre-Islamic origins of the Turkish culture, put more emphasis on the archaeological collections as representatives of the national identity. The tension between Islamic and secular influences within the modernization processes during the early years of the Republic was reflected in the opposition of archaeology and ethnography, the former representing secular ideals and the latter standing for the Islamic past. Archaeology and ethnography also coexisted as the main collection themes in Turkish museums. Just like the larger project of memory, the displays in these museums contained contested oppositions based on a contradictory conception of tradition and modernity, Islam and secularism.

More than thirty archaeological and ethnographic museums throughout Turkey were established by the 1940s. These museums were housed in unoccupied Ottoman buildings such as madrasahs, churches and mosques. From the 1960s to the 1980s, about forty eight new buildings were constructed to provide more advanced display spaces for collections.³ Although each museum mainly contained artifacts unique to their own region, such as the objects from Troy in Çanakkale⁴ and Early Christian items in Niğde⁵, their content was defined broadly by using the terms archaeology and ethnography.

The construction of new museums was an important part of the vision of the ICOM (International Council of Museums) national committee in the 1950s.⁶ The idea was to build regional museums in urban centers throughout Turkey, however,

3. See databases in Özge Sade, “Türkiye’de Tasarlanmış Müze Yapıları [Designed Museum Buildings in Turkey]” (master’s thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2005)

4. Çanakkale is a Western province of Turkey close to Troy.

5. Niğde is a central Anatolian province close to Cappadocia.

6. *ICOM Türkiye Milli Komitesi Haber Bülteni [ICOM Turkey National Committee Bulletin]*, 1958. No:2 p.16-22.

this project was later contested. Creating regional museums meant that they might operate on their own and emphasize local memories and particular cultural themes and identities of their region, which would have led to divergences from the centralized axis of archaeology and ethnography. Due to these concerns and contestations, the museum project ended up taking different directions and forming the fragmented museum spaces that we see today.

The museums are now considered indicators of forgetfulness in Turkey and defined as inadequate buildings by many scholars. But, can this inadequacy be explained as a technical problem? Is this a sign of backwardness or an indicator of the loss of memory as most have argued? For what reason did the Turkish state invest in the construction of so many museums and then abandon them?

This dissertation, suggests that the long neglected provincial museums in Turkey should be understood as the expression of a fragmented memory discourse, based on selective remembrances, instead of as an unconscious abandonment. As Andreas Huyssen argues, memory is not the past itself, but the representation of the past⁷. The creation of this representation is never unconscious as it involves both remembrance and forgetting. The formation of the enigmatic spaces of provincial museums, which lack a clear historical message, involved ignoring the complexity of memories in search of the creation of a homogeneous history, which was imagined to be constructed based on the privileging of certain periods of history. The selection of these periods was also unstable. At various times Turkish Historians emphasized the Islamic tradition, the prehistoric civilizations of Anatolia or the ancient period. While doing this, cultural elements that were considered non-Turkish were left out of the official narratives. This dissertation shows that, the abandoned museums in Turkey challenge the reduction of the complexity of memories to a binary opposition between archaeology and ethnography, and speak for the consciously forgotten memories, through their complex and

7. Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight memories : Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 3.

perplexing spaces.

1.1 Literature on Museums and Modern Architecture

This project is an interdisciplinary one that is situated at the intersection of museum studies and the history and theory of modern architecture. It engages both fields as it focuses on the museum buildings that were constructed between 1960-1980 in Turkey. Though these are areas of established scholarship internationally, very few studies exist on museums and the architectural scene in Turkey during this period. The only scholarly work that critically examines the museum institution in Turkey in relation to its cultural and political background is *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*⁸ by Wendy M.K. Shaw. This book provides a thorough study of Ottoman museums that challenges their conception as a copy of its Western counterparts. It uncovers the subtleties of the perceptions of the cultural heritage and the museum institution within the political and cultural context of the late 19th century Ottoman Empire. However, the case of 20th century museums in Turkey remains unexplored except for a few descriptive works and museum catalogs.

Ferruh Gerçek's *Türk Müzeciliği*⁹ and Fethiye Erbay's *Müze Yönetimini Kurumsallaştırma Çabası, 1984-2009*¹⁰ are the two comprehensive works that cover 20th century museums in Turkey. Gerçek's book is an excellent source for historical information based on original documents and statistics, and covers the period from the establishment of the Ottoman museum in 1873 to the contemporary museums of the 1990s. However, the book does not offer any interpretation of these build-

8. Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2003).

9. Ferruh Gerçek, *Türk Müzeciliği [Turkish Museology]* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999).

10. Fethiye Erbay, *Müze Yönetimini Kurumsallaştırma Çabası, 1984-2009* (Karaköy, Istanbul: Mimarlık Vakfı Enstitüsü, 2009).

ings and presents the museological activities in Turkey as isolated and independent issues from the political developments. Erbay’s work, on the other hand, focuses on the emergence of private museums after 1980 and contemporary methods of museum management. It is an important contribution, however, the restructuring of museums in the 1960-1980 period still remains to be explored.

Erdem Yücel is another scholar who wrote about the history of Turkish museums. His book *Türkiye’de Müzecilik* covers the idea of museum in the European context and briefly presents Turkish museums since the 19th century.¹¹ In addition, Mehmet Önder, a prominent museum professional who held positions such as the director of Konya Museum, Director General of Antiquities and Museums and Undersecretary of Culture, put together catalogs that covered all of the museums. The first of these catalogs was published in 1977¹² and extended and revised editions were released in 1983, 1995 and 1999.

Encyclopedia entries constitute another source for a brief history of Turkish museology. Sümer Atasoy’s “Türkiye’de Müzecilik [Museology in Turkey]” in the 6th volume of the *Encyclopedia of Republican Turkey*, Erdem Yücel’s “Türkiye’de Müzecilik [Museology in Turkey]” in the 14th volume of the *Encyclopedia of Republican Turkey* and Tomur Atagök’s entry “Müzecilik [Museology]” in *Eczacıbaşı Sanat Ansiklopedisi* [Eczacıbaşı Art Encyclopedia] present a brief and linear history of the establishment and development of Turkish museums starting from the Ottoman period. They usually do not discuss the cultural and political background of Turkish museology, but provide brief historical knowledge.¹³ In addition, according to the bibliographies Sümer Atasoy has prepared, there are a countless number of short articles and essays

11. Erdem Yücel, *Türkiye’de Müzecilik* (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayinlari, 1999).

12. Mehmet Önder, *The Museums of Turkey and Examples of the Masterpieces in the Museums* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası], 1977).

13. Erdem Yücel, “Türkiye’de Müzecilik [Museology in Turkey],” in *Encyclopedia of Republican Turkey [Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi]*, vol. 14 (İletisim, 1983), 918–922.

on Turkish museums in newspapers and art magazines¹⁴.

There are also several master's theses on modern museums in Turkey.¹⁵ Engin Yıldız's *Türkiye'de Müze Yapılarında Uygulanmış Tip Projelerin Koleksiyonlar ve Coğrafi Farklılıklar Açısından İncelenmesi* [An Analysis of the Prototype Museum Project Based on the Collections and Geographic Differences]¹⁶ and Emir Can Güzel's *Türkiye'de 1950 - 1960 Arasında Kültür Politikaları ve Müzelere Etkileri* [Cultural Politics in Turkey Between 1950 - 1960 and their Influence on Museums]¹⁷ are relevant master theses, the former being a descriptive analysis of the prototype museum, and the latter analyzing the museums in relation to the cultural politics in the 1950-1960 period. While the second thesis is an interpretive study, it maintains an uncritical point of view of Early Republican museology, which it defines as the golden age of museums, and it presents the 1950s as a period of decay and cultural degeneration.

The glorification of the cultural politics of the Early Republican period, in comparison to Ottoman museology and that of the post 1950 period, is fairly common. For example, in her entry "Türkiye'de Müzecilik [Museology in Turkey],"¹⁸ Sümer Atasoy presents Ottoman museology as weak and backward compared to the Western museum. She includes a quote from Hasan Ali Yücel, the Minister of Education in the 1940s, which emphasizes the shift from Ottoman museology to the Republican, based

14. Sümer Atasoy, *Müzeler ve Müzecilik Bibliyografyası (1926-1976)* (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1979).

15. For example, Özge Sade's *Türkiye'de Tasarlanmış Müze Yapıları* [Designed Museum Buildings in Turkey] is a survey of museum space in Turkey from the late 19th century to the early 2000s. Sade, "Türkiye'de Tasarlanmış Müze Yapıları [Designed Museum Buildings in Turkey]"

16. Engin Yıldız, "Türkiye'de Müze Yapılarında Uygulanmış Tip Projelerin Koleksiyonlar ve Coğrafi Farklılıklar Açısından İncelenmesi [An Analysis of the Prototype Museum Project Based on the Collections and Geographic Differences]" (Unpublished master's thesis, Yıldız Technical University, 2001).

17. Emir Can Güzel, "Türkiye'de 1950 - 1960 Arasında Kültür Politikaları ve Müzelere Etkileri [Cultural Politics in Turkey Between 1950 - 1960 and their Influence on Museums]" (Unpublished master's thesis, Yıldız Technical University, 2006).

18. Sümer Atasoy, "Türkiye'de Müzecilik [Museology in Turkey]," in *Encyclopedia of Republican Turkey [Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi]* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1983), 1458-1474.

on the increasing number of objects and museums. Atasoy presents Atatürk's interest in material culture and conceives the Early Republican period as an enlightened stage of museology due to the progressive approach to cultural politics. In contrast to the museological activities of the Ottoman Empire, Early Republican museology is understood as unique and well aware of the value of Turkey's cultural heritage as a modern state.

Although the conception of Early Republican cultural politics as a golden age was common for some historians of archaeology,¹⁹ some critical work on the archaeology project of the Early Republic has also been done. For example, Büşra Ersanlı wrote a thorough analysis of the Turkish History Thesis²⁰ and presented the political use of archaeology from a critical perspective. Aslı Gür's articles "Stories in Three Dimensions: Narratives of Nation and the Anatolian Civilizations Museum"²¹ and "Political Excavations of the Anatolian Past: Nationalism and Archaeology in Turkey"²² are especially significant contributions to a critical perspective. Another example of this understanding, an article by Çiğdem Atakuman, is particularly interesting, as it not only develops a critical view, it points to the inevitability of the politicization of

19. For example, Mehmet Özdoğan, *Arkeolojinin Politikası ve Politik Bir Araç Olarak Arkeoloji [Politics of Archaeology and Archaeology as a Political Tool]* (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2006); Mehmet Özdoğan, "Ideology and Archaeology in Turkey," in *Archaeology Under Fire : Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. Lynn Meskell (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); Gül Pulhan, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Geçmişini Arıyor: Cumhuriyet'in Arkeoloji Seferberliği [The Turkish Republic is Searching for its Past: The Republic's Archaeology Campaign]," in *Arkeoloji: Niye? Nasıl? Ne İçin?* Ed. Oğuz Erdur and Güneş Duru (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2003), 139–48

20. Büşra Ersanlı Behar, *İktidar ve Tarih : Türkiye'de "Resmî Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu, 1929-1937 [Power and History: Formation of the Official History Thesis in Turkey]* (Cağaloğlu, Istanbul: AFA Yayıncılık, 1992).

21. Aslı Gür, "Stories in Three Dimensions: Narratives of Nation and the Anatolian Civilizations Museum," in *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*, ed. Esra Özyürek (Syracuse University Press, 2007), 40–70.

22. Aslı Gür, "Political Excavations of the Anatolian Past: Nationalism and Archaeology in Turkey," in *Controlling the Past, Owning the Future : The Political Uses of Archaeology in the Middle East* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2010), 68–89.

archaeology.²³

Internationally, museum studies is an established field of scholarship. Especially with the growing number of books, articles and courses since the 1990s, the field went from being an understudied marginal area to the mainstream.²⁴ Much of this scholarship is indebted to the writings of Michel Foucault, who explores the ways power is exercised in regulating society during the modern period. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (1992) for example, presents the museum as an institution of power where the state disseminated knowledge in order to civilize the populations.²⁵ Tony Bennett's *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (1995) associates the museum with the Panopticon and argues that the 19th century museum functioned as an institution of observation and inspection.²⁶ This approach has been criticized because it overlooks the multiplicities and particularities within each museum and the role of the visitor within the whole experience of the museum. Scholars like Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Roger Silverstone and Mieke Bal have revised this view in suggesting that each museum offers particular experiences that have to be understood in multiple dimensions, such as the narrative display, the spatial organization, the explanatory texts and the special circumstances in which the displays are created.²⁷

Although very interesting studies that were concerned with the complexity of museum space emerged as a result of some productive criticism, most of the examples

23. Çiğdem Atakuman, "Cradle or Crucible: Anatolia and Archaeology in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 8, no. 2 (2008): 214-235.

24. Sharon Macdonald, *A Companion to Museum Studies* (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2006).

25. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and The Shaping of Knowledge* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992).

26. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum : History, Theory, Politics* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995).

27. Rhiannon Mason, "Cultural Theory and Museum Studies," in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2006), 26-27.

in the field focus on what are seen to be the most important and influential museums. Katarzyna Pieprzak's *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco* is an exception to this.²⁸ In this work, Pieprzak explores the enigmatic situation of the fifteen state museums in Morocco as “buildings with few objects and even fewer visitors.”²⁹ Her description of these spaces reflects the striking similarity between the Moroccan state museums and Turkish provincial museums from the 1960-1980 period:

Unvisited by a disinterested local public and summarily walked through by disappointed tourists, national collections of ethnography and art lie quietly out of date, often housed in colonial villas or poorly maintained historical buildings.³⁰

There are technical differences between the Moroccan and Turkish museums - the number of museums and objects is vast in the Turkish case and they were situated in newly constructed buildings. However, the ghostly atmosphere and desolated spaces of the museums in Morocco that do not offer a clear idea about what to remember, hints at a similarly troublesome relation with the past. Even more similar is the conception of museums by the museum professionals and local people. For example, one of the former directors of Marrakesh Museum defined it as nothing more than a depository.³¹ Despite the existence of fifteen state museums and some other private museums, the widely held belief was that there were no museums in Morocco. This negation directed Pieprzak to conceive museums as unstable institutions with unclear boundaries and to look beyond the national purposes within the cultural scene. She discusses alternative institutions of art in Morocco as a form of resistance to the failed state museums. Different from Pieprzak's approach, this dissertation delves

28. Katarzyna Pieprzak, *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), <http://public.eblib.com/EBLPublic/PublicView.do?ptiID=548070>.

29. *Ibid.*, 13.

30. *Ibid.*, 14.

31. Pieprzak mentions that, when she started studying museums, she quickly encountered repeated narratives of failure. Just like the Moroccan case, there is a common belief in Turkey that the provincial museums are failed institutions that cannot even be considered museums.

into the problems and ambiguities of the Turkish nationalist discourse, which involved both remembrance and forgetting. It presents the ambiguity of museum spaces as a reflection of the problematic relationship of the Turkish state with its past.

The second field that this dissertation engages is the history of modern architecture in Turkey. The main source is Sibel Bozdoğan's *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*.³² The book presents the initial developments in Turkish modern architecture within their political and cultural context and offers an understanding of the emergence and evolution of modern architecture in Turkey from multiple perspectives. In so doing, it provides a rich conception of the architectural culture of the Early Republican period.

Studies on the period after the end of the single party regime in Turkey, on the other hand, are less comprehensive and quite recent. One of the most significant, also written by Sibel Bozdoğan,³³ is "Democracy, Development, and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s." This essay presents the architectural developments in the 1950s in relation to the impact of 'modernization theory' and the idea of development. Another scholar that studies the architectural scene in the 1950s, Ela Kaçel,³⁴ focuses on the work of Haluk Baysal - Melih Birsel Architects.

The articles "1950'lerden Bu Yana Mimari Paradigmaların Değişimi ve 'Reel' Mimarlık [Transformation of Architectural Paradigms and 'Factual' Architecture since 1950]" by Uğur Tanyeli and "Moderleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyet'in İmarı [Build up of the Republic in context of Modernization and Social Mobilization]" by İhsan Bilgin in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* present the

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

33. Sibel Bozdoğan, "Democracy, Development, and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s," in *Modernism and the Middle East : Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 116–139.

34. Ayşem Ela Kaçel, "Intellectualism and Consumerism : Ideologies, Practices and Criticisms of Common Sense Modernism in Postwar Turkey" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2009).

architectural scene in Turkey from the 1950s to the 1980s.³⁵ A more focused study on the 1960-1980 period is Atilla Yücel's "Pluralism Takes Command" in *Modern Turkish Architecture*. Yücel presents the important examples of the period and argues that the architectural scene was shaped by many different architectural styles.³⁶ While these articles are significant, they are not successful in making connections between architecture and the political and social context and in the use of interpretive theories. Bülent Batuman's work on the 1960-1980 period is a significant contribution that discusses the built environment in relation to the cultural and political context, however, it primarily concentrates on urban issues.³⁷

One of the most important sources for studying modern architecture in Turkey is the three volume work of Şevki Vanlı, an architect who practiced architecture from the late 1950s through the 1990s.³⁸ In this comprehensive work, published two years before his death, modern architecture in Turkey from the 1920s to the contemporary period is presented with rich visual material and reflections on the creation of a 'local' modern architecture. While this work is published in 2006, it reflects the ideas and debates of the second half of the twentieth century as the story was told by an immediate witness of the period. Some other important sources are Enis Kortan's two books, one focusing on the 1950s, and the other on the 1960s; and Bülent Özer's work

35. Uğur Tanyeli, "1950'lerden Bu Yana Mimari Paradigmaların Değişimi ve 'Reel' Mimarlık [Transformation of Architectural Paradigms and 'Factual' Architecture since 1950]," in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, ed. Yıldız Sey (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998), 235–254, İhsan Bilgin, "Moderleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyet'in İmarı [Build up of the Republic in the Context of Modernization and Social Mobilization]," in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998), 255–272

36. Atilla Yücel, "Pluralism Takes Command," in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin ([Philadelphia, Pa.]: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).

37. Bülent Batuman, "Organic Intellectuals of Urban Politics? Turkish Urban Professionals as Political Agents, 1960-1980," *Urban Studies* (Sage Publications, Ltd.) 45, no. 9 (2008).

38. Şevki Vanlı, *Mimariden Konuşmak: Bilinmek İstenmeyen 20. Yüzyıl Türk Mimarlığı : Eleştirel Bakış* (Ankara: Şevki Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı, 2006).

on the ideas of regionalism and universalism in the 1960s.³⁹ Rather than secondary references, these works constitute primary sources for a study of the period.

Some other important sources are the books that architects put together of their own projects. The collection of Doğan Tekeli - Sami Sisa works and Abdurrahman Hancı's *Buildings / Projects: 1945-2000* cover rich visual material and reflect the design approaches of the architects.⁴⁰ The book prepared by Uğur Tanyeli and Atilla Yücel on architect Turgut Cansever⁴¹ is also a very important study on the works of an individual architect. In addition to rich visual material and interviews with the architect, this work provides a careful interpretation of the projects of Turgut Cansever.

1.2 Historical Method

Instead of presenting the provincial museums as representatives of a single identity discourse, this dissertation uncovers the complexity of the discourse through the examination of their enigmatic spaces, which lack a clear and singular historical message. It traces the dynamics behind the perplexing situation that the Turkish state invested in construction of forty eight museum buildings within a twenty year time period and spontaneously abandoned them. Rather than taking it for granted, it scrutinizes the reasons why this (un)systematic construction activity, which implies an ambitious

39. Bülent Özer, *Rejyonelizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz, Üzerine Bir Deneme [An Essay on Regionalism, Universalism and Our Contemporary Architecture]* (Istanbul: Istanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, 1964); Enis Kortan, *Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi, 1950-1960 : XX. Yüzyılın Başından 1950' ye Kadar Olan Sürede Modern Mimarlığın Dünyadaki ve Türkiyedeki Gelişmesiyle Birlikte* (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1971); Enis Kortan, *Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi : (1960 - 1970) : 1960' larda Modern Mimarlıktaki Önemli Gelişmelerin ve Teorilerin Açıklanmasıyla Birlikte* (Ankara: O.D.T.U. Mimarlık Fakültesi Mimarlık Bölümü, 1974).

40. Doğan Tekeli and Sami Sisa, *Doğan Tekeli- Sami Sisa : projeler, yapılar 1954-1994* (Harbiye, Istanbul: YEM Yayınları, 1994); Abdurrahman Hancı, *Buildings / projects, 1945-2000* (Hadımköy, Istanbul: Literatür, 2008).

41. Uğur Tanyeli and Atilla Yücel, *Turgut Cansever : Düşünce Adamı ve Mimar* (Istanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007).

politics of remembrance, ended up creating fragmented display spaces that lack any historical message.

The neglected spaces of museums in Turkey have been widely defined as expressions of the loss of memory and incapability of claiming the past. They were not considered worthy of scholarly research and simply characterized as symbols of the failure of modernization and a thoughtless amnesia. According to Andreas Huyssen, however, amnesia is not simply a disinterest in history, it is a critical response to teleological history writing.⁴² Huyssen contends with the troublesome relationship of the postmodern condition with the past and points to the intriguing situation that in an era that has been severely criticized as forgetful, the museum institution enjoys an enormous interest and continues to expand throughout the world. He draws attention to the difficulty of talking about the coexistence of amnesia and this museum explosion.

Although Huyssen refers to the postmodern global context, his contention about the difficulty of talking about memory and amnesia together is relevant to the case of Turkish museums as they have also been associated with forgetfulness, while at the same time they were part of an ambitious memory project. Huyssen argues that, rather than a sign of imprudence, museums of the contemporary period constitute a reaction to the modernist historiographies through their chaotic, fragmentary and free-floating' structure. Similarly, the fragmentary and chaotic provincial museums of Turkey must be conceived as counter to the modernist conceptions of history as a linear and coherent phenomenon.

While this dissertation perceives the ambiguous state of Turkish museums as a response to the Western norms of history writing, it argues that this reaction must be understood beyond the dialectic relationship usually established between power and resistance. The reaction of the 'fragmented and free-floating' spaces of Turkish

42. Huyssen, *Twilight memories : Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, 2.

museums was far more complex than a thesis vs. anti-thesis equation or an opposition of the West and the East could explain. It was a result of the impossibility of creating a homogeneous history based on the discovery of a pure origin. In “Nietzsche, Genealogy and History”, Michel Foucault argues: “What is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissention of other things. It is disparity.”⁴³ This kind of a disparity led to ambiguities and contested discourses within Turkish historiography.

This study aims to present the complexity of the response of the archaeological and ethnographic museums in the 1960s and 70s. In order to explore this complexity it proposes a historical method that is influenced by two major theoretical inquiries. First one involves questioning the disciplinary boundaries of architecture as theorized by Gülsüm Baydar.⁴⁴ In her “Beyond Lack and Excess: Other Architectures, other Landscapes” Baydar problematizes the repeatedly asked question ‘What is architecture?’ through the ways in which architecture has been defined by inclusions and exclusions. She argues that “[the question] indicates a desire to carve a space for ‘architecture’ from an undecipherable plenitude that includes ‘non-architecture’”. This is a desire to delineate, to control, to judge.”⁴⁵ Baydar points out that, in the Western canon, architecture can only be identified when non-architecture is defined. Oppositions such as architecture vs. building, high style vs. vernacular, modern vs. primitive and Western architecture vs. non-Western architecture serve the purpose of defining the boundaries of architecture. In other words, the latter in the oppositional pair works as the constitutive edge of the former. Baydar challenges the hegemonic discourses and practices involved with these binaries and suggests that it is important

43. Michel Foucault, Donald F. Bouchard, and Sherry Simon, *Language, Counter-memory, Practice : Selected Essays and Interviews* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), 142.

44. Baydar Nalbantoğlu, “Beyond Lack and Excess: Other Architectures, Other Landscapes.”

45. *Ibid.*, 20.

to acknowledge the porousness and malleability of the boundaries.⁴⁶

Hegemonic Western constructions of architecture have been challenged especially with the impact of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1979) and a field of scholarship on modernization in the non-Western context has grown. The new scholarship challenge generalizations and biased interpretations of the non-West by showing the complexity of modernization, which created different conditions based on local particularities. This growing area of study has paved the way for the reconsideration of the Eurocentric view of 'modernism' as a global phenomenon.⁴⁷ However, these studies mostly focus on buildings that are attributed to certain architects as the single creators of these spaces. The disciplinary boundaries of architecture have rarely been questioned, and therefore many complex formations in the built environment, whose creators are either unknown, multiple or unconventional figures such as women architects or architects with various ethnicities, are mostly left unexplored.

The complex case of the museums in Turkey requires questioning the disciplinary boundaries and the acknowledgement of the boundaries' fluidity. Most of these buildings were designed by unconventional figures such as state officials. In addition to being a state official, the most prominent figure of museum design was a woman architect. More importantly, these spaces have been transformed to the extent that none of the designers would have imagined. Therefore, avoiding the dichotomies of architecture vs. non-architecture and museum vs. non-museum, this dissertation draws attention to what these unstable spaces had to say about the collective memories.

The second theoretical inquiry that shaped the historical method of this dissertation is the complex and contradictory relationship between the West and the East as suggested by Meltem Ahıska.⁴⁸ According to Ahıska, the response of Turkish mod-

46. Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "Beyond Lack and Excess: Other Architectures, Other Landscapes," 26.

47. Frank Ching, Mark Jarzombek, and Vikramaditya Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture* (Hoboken, N.J.: J. Wiley & Sons, 2007).

48. Ahıska, *Radyonun Sihirli Kapısı : Garbiyatçılık ve Politik Öznellik [Occidentalism in Turkey: Questions of Modernity and National Identity in Turkish Radio Broadcasting]*.

ernization to Western dominance was a “construing map to manage the border lines within complex realities.”⁴⁹ Ahıska explains this complexity in the Turkish case as follows:

Leaving Islam aside as a source of management and law, but reproducing it against non-muslims; advocating the modernization of women and redefining them, but keeping them in the frame of an ongoing patriarchal gender regime; trying to govern such a diverse and conflicting population with a strict nationalist doctrine that does not recognize the differences; on the one hand denying the political, economic and discursive dependence on the West, and on the other glorifying the Western civilization...⁵⁰

The case of provincial museums in Turkey can be added to Ahıska’s explanation of the contradictions of the modernization discourse in Turkey. The state called for establishing national museums as the representatives of modern Turkish identity, but did not make a clear decision about how this representation would be realized. It invested in so many museum buildings and spontaneously abandoned them. Instead of a simple negation, this situation reflects the unreconcilable relationship between the imagined homogeneous identity and the complexity and diversity of the collective memory. It is a conscious act of forgetting in order to “manage the border lines within the complex realities”.

In the Turkish modernization discourse, the West was both good and evil. It was to be embraced, but at the same time to be resisted. The negative western influence was encountered with implications of national difference and, this confrontation led to the reduction of the complexities of social life to a national expression that defined itself based on the timeless polarity of the East and the West.⁵¹ Ziya Gökalp’s *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (The Essentials of Turkism), as known as the theoretical basis

49. Ibid., 99.

50. ibid., 95. Ahıska’s view of this complex struggle for modernity can be defined in the context of postcolonial condition, also.

51. Meltem Ahıska, “Occidentalism and Registers of Truth: The Politics of Archives in Turkey,” *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 34 (2006): 26.

of the identity discourse, for example, formulated the renowned culture vs. civilization distinction, which implied the rejection of Western culture, but the embrace of civilization. According to this theory, culture and civilization were two opposite notions; the former constituting the essential and unchanging aspects of the Turkish people in the fields such as literature, language, religion and moral norms; whereas the latter was about an objective universal truth. Culture should be pure and devoid of any foreign influence, whereas civilization (technical and scientific innovations) reaches the level of contemporary advancement. Instead of a single and coherent discourse of Westernization and secularization, the modernization process in Turkey was burdened with polarized conceptions of culture and civilization, Islam and secularism, modernity and tradition, East and West.

Through the perspective of these two theoretical inquiries, - the questioning of the disciplinary boundaries and the unstable relationship between the East and the West - the historical method proposed in this dissertation presents the dichotomies relevant to the archaeological and ethnographic museums and discusses the ways contradicting notions operated together. In other words, it examines the ambiguity of the borderlines between binary oppositions. The dissertation is structured in six overlapping parts. The first part (Chapter 2) introduces the conflicting notions of archaeology vs. ethnography, universal vs. regional, architecture vs non-architecture, Islam vs. secularism, East vs. West and regionalism vs. nationalism through a detailed analysis of a specific museum (Kars Museum). Challenging the definition of these museums as inadequate - as either non-architecture or a non-museum, it explains them as fragmentary structures. Each of the remaining parts discusses a specific dichotomy introduced in the second chapter. The following two chapters (Chapters 3-4) discuss the dichotomies relevant to the architectural issues of universal vs. regional and architecture vs. non-architecture. The next two chapters (Chapters 5-6) present the binaries that shaped the debates about the remembrance of the past such as Islam vs. Secularism, East vs. West. The sixth part (Chapter 7) provides answers to the

questions about the reasons behind the fragmented structure of the museums through a discussion of the conflicting notions of regionalism and nationalism in the context of the 1960-1980 period. Although the six parts are not necessarily sequential, they are put in order based on a storyline. The first part introduces all the contradictions to be discussed, the following four parts lay out and analyze the contested notions and the last part provides concrete evidence that explains the reasons behind the complexity of the museum project.

1.3 Project Objectives

The provincial museums have been considered inadequate and their critique did not go beyond the disinterest of the Turkish state in cultural issues and the insufficiency of funds allocated for culture. Since they do not directly represent the official discourse, they were conceived as institutions with no ties to concerns of identity making processes. The second chapter of this dissertation suggests that the Turkish state envisioned museums that would represent a homogeneous identity, however, this project was never realized due to the contestations of the discourse. This chapter argues that, these contestations led to fragmentary museum spaces throughout the country rather than simply the creation of inadequate buildings.

The third chapter situates the museums within the architectural scene of the 1960-1980 period that was characterized by the tension between regionalism and universalism. During this period, tradition was conceived as an obstacle to progress within architectural discourse. The basic purpose of architecture was to ‘catch up with time’, and this could have been realized by following the latest design principles and techniques invented in the West. On the other hand, creating a local architecture was also crucial. Regionalist approaches were developed based on the climatic and natural aspects of the buildings’ location, the design of the Antalya Museum being a prime example. The building was imagined to be connected to a transcendental nature and a monumental and timeless cultural heritage, whereas it was envisioned

to be disconnected from the existing urban texture as the recent fabric was considered corrupt. While the building was intended to have links to the specific regional aspects of its location, through a universalist understanding of history that conceived nature and cultural heritage as frozen entities, the museum space was actually disconnected from its context.

The fourth chapter discusses the museum buildings designed by Erten Altaban, a woman architect, by questioning the disciplinary boundaries of architecture. It develops a critique of authorship in architecture through the perspectives of cosmopolitanism and feminism. By doing so, instead of involving Altaban within the masculinized system of modernity as another heroic creator, this chapter suggests that the museum buildings were shaped by the impact of multiple and unconventional figures and resulted in the formation of cosmopolitan memories.

The fifth chapter presents the multiplicity of points of view in the creation of official historiographies. While it explains the Turkish History Thesis in detail, instead of interpreting the museums based on this reference, it shows the multiple ways the thesis was transformed and reinterpreted according to different political and cultural views of the identity of the Turkish state. Through the examination of texts and images in 1960s periodicals *Önasya* and *Yön*, the former a right wing publication and the latter left wing, it shows how the tension between the modern and traditional, Islam and secularism continued to shape the memories of different political views in the 1960-1980 period. This chapter argues that this tension between the polarized views of the past led to the formation of ambiguous and fragmented memories.

The sixth chapter focuses on art historical texts raising questions such as: What is considered art in Turkish museums? Are archaeological and ethnographic artifacts art objects? It examines paradigmatic texts written in the early years of the Republic by Celal Esad Arseven as well as Oktay Aslanapa's art history texts of the 1960s. It also analyzes the literature of Western art and the myth of Anatolia in the identity discourse of leftist intellectuals. It presents the Museum of Ephesus as a reflection of

this discourse by examining the integration of art in the architectural design of the building. This chapter shows how the adoption of Western art (painting and sculpture) and efforts for its regionalization collaborated with the discourse of Anatolia (Blue Anatolia) and was in contradiction with the idea of Turkish Islamic art.

The seventh chapter presents the central project of museum construction in terms of the notion of a planned development model that was influential during the period. It shows how the idea of establishing a certain number of regional museums ended up with the construction of more than forty museums in the provinces due to the controversies about regional planning. It presents the prototype museum project as a reflection of the concerns about eliminating regional differences.

Rather than focusing on a single view as the sole shaper of the cultural scene, this dissertation presents the coexistence of contradictory views related to the modern museum spaces in Turkey. It lays out the conflicting ideas and analyzes the ways they stood next to each other. Oppositions of archaeology and ethnography, regionalism and universalism, architecture and non-architecture, Islam and secularism, East and West and regionalism and nationalism are problematized respectively in each chapter. It argues that the enigmatic spaces of the provincial museums challenge these oppositions and speak for the ‘forgotten’ memories.

Chapter 2

PROVINCIAL MUSEUMS: INADEQUATE OR FRAGMENTED?

As demonstrated by the example of the Atatürk Cultural Center (AKM), which only served for a total of seven years between 1969-1970 and between 1977-1983, cultural buildings were typical inadequate buildings of the period between 1950-1983 during which it became a fundamental political principle not to allocate resources to the public and social fields. Cultural and artistic activities, which were not sufficiently supported by public funding, were erected thanks to non-governmental initiatives. The Istanbul Festival [Istanbul International Music Festival], which was initiated and institutionalized by IKSİV (Istanbul Foundation of Culture and Arts), was immediately embraced by the metropolis' upper-middle classes thirsting for art and culture and rapidly became one of the leading art festivals of Europe.¹

In the third part of *Istanbul 1910-2010: City, Built Environment and Architectural Culture Exhibition*, entitled “1950-1983: Urban Implosion”, cultural buildings of the period are described as ‘inadequate’ based on the example of Atatürk Cultural Center (Figure 2.1). From this short passage, it is understood that the reason the curator of this part, İhsan Bilgin, characterizes cultural buildings as ‘inadequate’ is that the state did not supply enough funds for their construction. Bilgin not only defines the cultural buildings as deficient, but also emphasizes that this situation was typical during the 1950-1983 period. He argues satirically that not funding cultural and public activities was ‘a fundamental political principle’ during the 1950-1983 period in Turkey.

1. İhsan Bilgin, “1950-1983: Urban Implosion”, *Istanbul 1910-2010: City, Built Environment and Architectural Culture Exhibition September 15-November 20, 2010*. The exhibition took place in SantralIstanbul, a cultural complex at Istanbul Bilgi University. In the exhibition, Istanbul was examined in four periods; 1910-1930: The Waning of the Empire (curated by Günkut Akın), 1930-1950: The Republican Intervention (curated by Sibel Bozdoğan), 1950-1983: Urban Implosion (curated by İhsan Bilgin), 1983-2010: The Pressure of Global (curated by Tansel Korkmaz)



Figure 2.1: Atatürk Cultural Center, Istanbul

On the other hand, the project of Atatürk Cultural Center was started in 1946 by the Istanbul Municipality. The plan was to build an Opera House.² Since the Istanbul Municipality was not able to finish the project due to a lack of financial sources, the project was transferred to the Ministry of Public Works in 1956 and it was completed in 1969 as a cultural center.³ It is important to note that the construction of AKM (Atatürk Cultural Center) gained speed in the 1960s, when many modern museum buildings mushroomed all around Turkey.

From the mid 1960s to the 1980s, more than forty archaeological and ethnographic museums throughout Turkey were constructed.⁴ If not funding cultural and public activities was “a fundamental political principle” during the 1950-1983 period, like Bilgin has argued, how do we explain the construction of these museums? These buildings can certainly be considered inadequate just like the AKM, because they were paradoxically neglected and marginalized later by the state. However, this chapter

2. *Güzelleşen İstanbul*. (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1944).

3. Hayati Tabanlıoğlu, “Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yapısının Geçirdiği Aşamalar,” *Mimar* 8 (1982): 22.

4. Sade, “Türkiye’de Tasarlanmış Müze Yapıları [Designed Museum Buildings in Turkey].”

refuses to take for granted the inadequacy attributed to these buildings and investigates the political reasons behind this perplexing situation. It problematizes the case of the provincial museum, which have been both abandoned and embraced at the same time. In order to do this, it views these buildings from another perspective and argues that different from the display of the dominant narratives in the central museums, the fragmented spaces of archaeological and ethnographic museums in Turkey hint at the holes and gaps within the official historiography.

2.1 *Kars Museum*

In order to make an introductory presentation of the situation, the archaeological and ethnographic museum in the city of Kars (Figure 2.2) is examined in this chapter.⁵ This museum is one of the most extreme examples that presents physical, spatial and social marginalization of museum space and at the same time conveys a central voice that tries to present the museum's attachment to the overall cultural heritage of the country. In addition, it is one of the few museums that the initial purposes of cultural heritage management can be observed, since, despite the renovation of the interior spaces, the descriptive texts remain as they were written in the 1960s.

Kars is a remote provincial town to the East of Turkey near the Armenian border. The archaeological and ethnographic museum in the city of Kars is located at the outskirts of the town where the roads and buildings are devastated (Figure 2.3) and people live within unfinished concrete buildings on muddy streets. The museum building situated in this environment is separated from the rest of the landscape by the metal parapet that surrounds its garden. Different from the school building right next to it, the building of Kars Museum draws attention through its playful silhouette behind the trees. The building branches out in the garden by creating shadows due to the arrangement of its massing. The horizontal windows indicate its concern for a

5. Please visit <http://www.kars.gov.tr/360kars/sehirici/karsmuzesi/index.html> for a virtual tour of Kars Museum.

certain quality of natural light that illuminates the objects from above. The building was designed in the late 1970s by Erten Altaban, an architect who worked for the Directorate General of Cultural Assets and Museums at the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.⁶



Figure 2.2: Kars Museum, May 2010 (Photographs were taken by the author.)

The architectural attitude of the museum building constitutes interesting material for an understanding of modern architecture in postwar Turkey. In the second half of the twentieth century, new approaches arose in response to the early twentieth century modernism that produced monolithic blocks and identical forms in different cultural and geographic contexts. Huge blocks were replaced by fragmented compositions of smaller masses with concerns for human scale and adaption to the urban texture and the landscape. Kars Museum reflects these concerns with its composition of small masses that avert monotony and the arrangement of exhibition halls in different levels. The use of local material and natural lighting techniques also became important aspects of architectural design in the 1960s. Later, in the early 1980s,

6. In the 1970s, the institution's name was Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums at the Ministry of Culture. Erten Altaban, a woman architect, was a high ranking bureaucrat at this institution. Altaban will be examined in further detail in chapter four.

Kenneth Frampton defined this attitude as ‘critical regionalism’.⁷ He argued that the purpose of critical regionalism was to mediate between the universal civilization and the peculiarities of a specific location such as the quality of light, a tectonic derived from a particular structural mode, or topography.⁸ He also emphasized that critical regionalism was not about the revival of traditional figures that belong to the region. Rather, it was a quality expressed in the current situation of the specific location.⁹ The building of Kars Museum reflects some regionalist concerns with the use of natural light and its materials such as cut stone and travertine.

Another intriguing issue that places the building of Kars Museum within the architectural scene of the 1960s and 70s, is the figure attached to its exterior wall next to the entrance (Figure 2.4). Integration of plastic arts in architecture was a common attitude at the time in Turkey and Erten Altaban widely used ceramic art in her designs.¹⁰ She mostly worked with sculptor Cahit Koççoban, a state official, who worked for the Department of Museums and Antiquities like Altaban.¹¹ Koççoban designed the figure in Kars Museum.¹²

A museum building that reflects the aspects of modern architectural design of the 1960s and 70s within this devastated environment reveals so many questions. Who is this museum for? Why is it located there? What is the purpose of the state in building this museum in this part of the town? What kind of remembrance experience do these spaces offer?

7. Kenneth Frampton, “Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance,” in *The Anti-aesthetic : essays on postmodern culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Port Townsend, Wash.: Bay Press, 1983), 23.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Mevlana Cultural Center in Konya, Museum of Ephesus and Aphrodisias Museum are other buildings designed by Altaban with ceramic arts integrated.

11. Interview with Erten Altaban, December 15, 2010.

12. The use of plastic arts in architecture will be further analyzed in context of nationalism and identity search in Chapter six.



Figure 2.3: The built environment around Kars Museum, May 2010 (Photographs were taken by the author.)

Today, the newly renovated Kars museum happily welcomes tourist groups (Figures 2.5). Along with fifteen other cities, the city of Kars has been chosen as one of Turkey's culture cities in the 2023 Tourism Strategy and 'Brand City Action Plan 2013' is set by the Directorate of Culture and Tourism in Kars.¹³ In addition, *Anadolu Kültür*, a non-governmental organization, leads projects related to art and culture with concerns for participation and community development.¹⁴ Although *Anadolu Kültür* had some productive projects of education in the museum for the children and women of Kars, these efforts provide integration for only certain communities. The museum remains disconnected from the social and built environment it is located in. The tourist groups are brought by busses to the museum and taken back to their

13. Pelin Başaran, "Looking at Kars Through the Monument of Humanity," in *Cultural Policy and Management Yearbook 2010*, ed. Ayça İnce (Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2010).

14. www.anadolukultur.org

hotels, with minimal exposure to the environment around the museum. The inhabitants of the surrounding landscape are unaware of what is going on in this building. A woman in her 20s said; “They call it a museum, but I do not know what is inside.” A fifteen year old girl, who quit school due to economic reasons said, “They call it a museum. If I asked, they would not have led me in”.



Figure 2.4: ‘Life tree’ figure at the entrance of Kars Museum, May 2010 (Photographs were taken by the author.)

In Kars Museum, there are both archaeological and ethnographic collections (Figure 2.5), which is common in other provincial museums of Turkey. The displays are chronologically organized starting with items from Paleolithic ages to the 19th century, creating a temporal link between archaeological and ethnographic collections. After passing the entrance hall which contains an *Atatürk köşesi* (literally Atatürk’s corner)¹⁵ and the ticket office, the archaeological collection starts on the right hand side five steps down. The monotony of the whole space is broken by different ele-

15. A corner that is reserved for Atatürk, where his bust is placed on a podium and a quotation from him printed on the podium exists in many state buildings in Turkey. This reserved space is called *Atatürk köşesi* and it literally means ‘Atatürk’s corner’.

vations. Instead of partitioning walls, the spaces are separated from each other by different levels.



Figure 2.5: Kars Museum interior, May 2010 (Photographs were taken by the author.)

In chronological order, items from Paleolithic Age, Chalcolithic Age, Bronze Age, Urartu Civilization, Greek, Roman and Byzantine eras are displayed in the first floor of the museum. The chronological order in the archaeological exhibitions is broken at some point between two exhibition halls. A bell and two wooden doors that belonged to 19th century churches, which were built by the Russians,¹⁶ are placed between

16. The city of Kars was under the Russian rule for 40 years after the Ottoman-Russian War (1877-78).

the Bronze Age and Historical periods. This kind of a display brings to mind that the artifacts of Christianity were separated from the ethnographic collection, which is composed of Islamic objects, and were associated with the archaeological collections as non-Islamic heritage.¹⁷

Through the examination of the inscriptions on the displays in Kars Museum, it is possible to observe that the explanations about the collections do not reach beyond generic information. They do not tell specific stories about the objects on display. For example, the first inscription of the archaeological exhibition defines certain aspects of the Paleolithic age:

Prehistory, meaning the ages before history, is the longest time period among the human ages. It starts with the time that mankind created its earliest artifacts in a distant past and lasts until the invention of writing. . . . The people of the Paleolithic Age did not know metal and they used stone, wood and animal bones to make tools. . . . Hunting was an important act for the large families. The animal figures in the caves should be understood related to hunting rather than works of art. . . . or, in order to get successful results more easily, they organized the hunting rites that we can consider a sort of magic. . . . The pictures of women in the caves or the statues that show exaggerated breasts, hips and bellies of women must have aimed for the glorification of women as the symbol of fertility or the increase of birth. These might be related to magic or sorcery. Given the fact that the lives of mankind were short at that time, it is possible to understand the importance of birth. ¹⁸

The explanations lack any scholarly approach and contain contradictory and naive statements about Paleolithic hunting rituals and biased and simple justifications of women's images in the caves. This shows the museum's abandonment and marginal-

17. According to the conversations on May 9th, 2010 with the director of the museum, Necmettin Alp, and art historian Kaptan Yaşlı, the reason for this interruption is a technical problem. They mentioned that, "these items are recorded as part of the ethnographic collection, but due to their large dimensions, they did not fit in the spaces on the second floor, where ethnographic collection is exhibited." The technical problem is convincing, as the second floor is designed almost like a loft with a low ceiling. However, the display of church bell and doors in the archaeological exhibition halls still leave a question mark given the fact that the Christian heritage in the region continues to be a controversial issue for the cultural heritage management.

18. "Tarihten Önceki Çağlar [Prehistoric Ages]", Explanatory text in Kars Museum, translated by the author based on photographs taken on May 10, 2010.

ization and that it received very little attention by the museum practitioners. It is important to note, however, that this abandonment has implications beyond inadequacy and technical problems. It must be understood in relation to a conscious policy of forgetting. Memory is a representation of the past rather than its accurate reflection. The past does not exist purely in memory, it needs to be given voice to be recalled. However, there is a gap between the real experience and its representation. Instead of an unconscious forgetting, this gap is consciously shaped relevant to the social and cultural conditions of the present.¹⁹ The abandonment involved in Kars Museum implies a conscious act of ignoring the particular memories of the region, since they contain diverse ethnic and religious aspects, which were left out of the official narratives. Beyond a simple negligence, the inadequacy of these descriptive texts must be understood as reflections of a consciously organized forgetting.

The above text is a very generic one that says nothing about the specific region of Kars for more than half of the whole explanation. Then the only statement about Kars region is: “Primitive hunting tools of the Paleolithic ages such as axes, half axes, engraving tool, single engraving tool, double engraving tool that are made of stone are found in the surface research in central Kağızman, which is a town of our province and they are displayed in the display case number one in the museum.”²⁰ The text later continues to talk about the remains of the Paleolithic ages at the other regions of Turkey such as Karain of Antalya and Döngel Caves in Maraş and Musa Mountains in Hatay. By doing this, it is implied that the museum and the cultural heritage inside are tied to the rest of the cultural heritage in the country. There is no specific story told about the case of the Paleolithic finds in Kars. When one looks at the display cases, they will see no more information inside, except for small labels that contain the names of the tools, such as ‘Axe’ or ‘Engraving tool’. It is paradoxical

19. Andreas Huyssen, *Alacakaranlık Anıları: Bellek Yitimi Kültüründe Zamana Belirlemek [Twilight Memories: Marking time in a culture of amnesia]* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1999), 13.

20. “Tarihten Önceki Çağlar [Prehistoric Ages]”, Explanatory text in Kars Museum, translated by the author based on photographs taken on May 10, 2010.

that, the inadequacy of the text reflects an abandonment, while at the same time sounds very much in control of the politics of culture, which aims at blocking the particular aspects of the cultural heritage in this region.

Another text next to the display cases in Kars Museum explains Neolithic and Chalcolithic Ages, again with a generic language. After talking about the Neolithic Ages and its remains at several sites around Turkey for half a page, it is stated that Kars Museum did not contain any finds from the Neolithic ages. In this inscription, a biased sentence unrelated to the rest of the text reads as: “Anatolian Neolithic Civilization was much more advanced than the Near Eastern and Greek regions’ Neolithic civilization and art.”²¹ It is interesting that we learn about the advancement of Anatolian Neolithic age over Near Eastern and Greek regions from Kars Museum, in which no Neolithic item is displayed. This statement was not supported by any explanations about the reasons why the Anatolian Neolithic Age was more advanced. The statement implies a will to present Anatolia superior to the neighboring regions, even if material evidence of this does not exist in the museum. So, not only should the visitors know that they are in a museum of the Turkish state, but also it is expected that they think the cultural heritage of Turkey is superior to its neighboring regions. This statement seems to have concerns about reflecting the central politics of remembrance, though, it manifests it with a weak expression, even without showing any related objects.

In the museum, the Chalcolithic Age, was also defined in reference to various sites in Turkey concluding with one sentence that states: “Besides, a mono-color ceramic that belonged to this period was found in Ani of our province and it is displayed in the display case number one”²² Bronze Age and Urartu Civilization are explained broadly in the next two inscriptions with a lot of emphasis on places other than Kars

21. “Neolitik Çağ (Yeni veya Cilalı Taş Devri) [Neolithic Age]” Explanatory text in Kars Museum, translated by the author based on photographs taken on May 10, 2010.

22. “Kalkolitik (Maden-Taş) Çağı [Chalcolithic Ages]”, Explanatory text in Kars Museum, translated by the author based on photographs taken on May 10, 2010.

region and at the very end of the texts, one sentence is devoted in each inscription, to the finds of these periods in Ani²³, which is one of the most unique historical sites in Turkey with its distinguishing history, variety of cultural heritage and ethnic and religious background.

There is also a short explanation about Ani Ruins in the museum:

The city of Ani is located on the plateau of the River Arpaçay, which determines the border between Turkey and Russia, to 40 km East of Kars. It is a volcanic area that lies at the North-South axis. We learn from the historical sources that the name Ani originates from the Iranian deity Anahita (Ana'itis in Greek). Archaeological excavations show that Ani contained Chalcolithic, Bronze, and Urartu, Parth, Byzantine, Islamic, and Seljuk cultures. According to the written sources, the Kamsarakan (misspelled as Kamasarkan in the original text) Dynasty built a castle on a cliff in the fifth century AD. At the end of the fifth century, the city was taken from the Armenians by Bagratunis and the city was expanded beyond the city walls in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Although Ani was given to the Byzantines during the reign of Smbat III, Byzantine sovereignty was ended in 1041 by the capture of the city by Vahramvakiavuni.²⁴

The text is full of mistakes and misspellings. For example, River Arpaçay determines the Armenian border, not the Russian border with Turkey. In addition, it is widely known that Ani was the capital of Medieval Armenian Kingdom and that the city reached its most powerful stage economically and culturally during that period. But the museum inscription does not include the Armenian Kingdom among the list of civilizations that lived in Ani. The text tends to talk about Armenians only in presenting their failure and even that is problematic. The text states that “the city was taken from the Armenians by Bagratunis”, but Bagratuni Dynasty itself was a royal Armenian family. Also, misspelled in the text as ‘Vahramvakiavuni’, was ‘Vahram Pahlavuni’, who was the leader of the faction that opposed Ani’s incorporation into

23. Eski Tunç Çağı [Bronze Age] and Urartu Çağı [Urartu Period] Explanatory text in Kars Museum, translated by the author based on photographs taken on May 10, 2010.

24. “Ani Ören Yeri Hakkında Kısa Bilgi” [Brief Information about Ani Ruins], Explanatory text in Kars Museum, translated by the author based on photographs taken on May 10, 2010.

the Byzantine Empire.²⁵

The generic attitude of explanatory texts continues to be observed in the inscriptions of the ethnographic collections in Kars Museum. After briefly stating that the Seljuks introduced rug weaving to Anatolia at the time of the Malazgirt Battle in 1071, the text starts praising the Seljuk rugs in Konya Mevlana Museum and the Museum of Turkish Islamic Arts in Istanbul. It goes on to glorify the motifs of rugs in Konya, Bergama, Ladik, Kula, Basra, Gördes, Karaman and Polonez as the best examples of rugs in Anatolia. Other inscriptions provide broad information on calligraphy, metal work, costumes and ornaments and hose-girths-carpetbags. In these texts nothing specific about the items on display is mentioned. We see belongings of the people of Kars, but are not informed about their distinguishing aspects. Rather, the broader Anatolian culture is highlighted.

Being a border town is an important factor that makes Kars Museum a very extreme example in terms of the state's interest in connecting the cultural heritage of the region to the rest of the country. In her research on the recently controversial 'Monument of Humanity'²⁶ in the city of Kars, Pelin Başaran presents the city as a border town with devastating wars and ethnic struggle in its memories. She argues that the border towns fight against non-existent threats, because people who live across the border are considered opponents.²⁷ The strong central voice in Kars Museum can thus be understood as a will to control the boundary by presenting the cultural heritage as powerfully connected to the rest of the country. The museum

25. Thanks to Heghnar Watenpaugh for the information about the history of medieval Ani.

26. In 2006, the Municipality of Kars commissioned sculptor Mehmet Aksoy for the construction of a monument symbolizing peace as a counter-monument to the genocide monument in Armenia. The Council of Cultural and Natural Conservation decided to halt the construction in 2009 due to the location of the monument being a preservation area. In January 2011, when Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan visited Kars, he called the monument a 'freak' (*ucube*) and announced that he was going to support its demolition. Erdoğan's definition created a controversy and the topic was covered widely by both national and international media. (See "Two vast ugly block of stone" in *The Economist*, January 13th, 2011.)

27. Başaran, "'Looking at Kars Through the Monument of Humanity'."

is designated as a cultural space that is guarded against non-existent threats at the border.

2.2 History of Kars Museum and the Museum History of Turkey

The examination of Kars Museum in its historical and political context further explains the museum as part of a central structure. The birth of Kars Museum is related to an ambitious nationalist museological practice that started in the Early Republican period. After the foundation of the Republic, the Turkish state started to establish museums all around the country. People's Houses, which were the provincial institutions of the Republican People's Party that aimed to disseminate the cultural agenda to the periphery, were very effective in collecting archaeological and ethnographic items in the region they existed. Most of the collections in the provincial museums of Turkey were initially formed by the Museums and History Branches of these institutions.²⁸

While the first museum in Kars was opened after the closure of People's Houses in 1950, the archaeological and ethnographic collections of the museum was put together by the People's House in Kars. The former director Budak Demiral, and the Director of Education (*Milli Eğitim Müdürü*) Hasan Kartari opened the museum in 1959.²⁹

The stories of establishment of provincial museums are similar to each other. The archaeological and ethnographic collections were mostly put together by the locals, mostly teachers in the region, who were interested in historical artifacts.³⁰ In some

28. Neşe Gürallar Yeşilkaya, *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), 106-108.

29. The museum was opened as a small state office in 1959 in a room in the City Hall (*Vilayet Konağı*). As the collection was expanded, it was moved to Kümbet Mosque (former Havariler Church) (Figure 2.6) in 1964 and became a museum directorate in 1969. The modern building of Kars museum was completed in 1978 and the collection was opened to public in its new place in 1981. (<http://www.kultur.gov.tr/TR/belge/1-40630/kars-muzesi-mudurlugu.html> (accessed online January 18, 2011) The interior of the building was renovated in 2008. (Interview with Necmettin Alp (Museum Director), May 10, 2010)

30. See the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's website for brief histories of each local museum

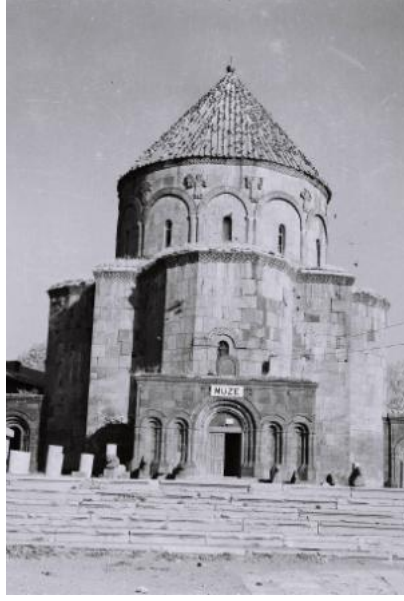


Figure 2.6: Havariler Church as Kars Museum (From the collection of Kars Museum art historian Kaptan Yaşlı)

cases the Directorate of Culture in Ankara assigned locals for the collection and preservation of antiquities. Most of the collections were created in the context of the works of Museums and History Branch of the People's Houses, but the People's Houses did not have the authorization to establish museums.³¹ Their duty was to help expand the collections in the existing museums, and if a museum was not present in their region, they were responsible for sending the items to the closest museum.³² It is intriguing that the People's Houses, which were the cultural institutions of the regime that were authorized for doing many things in educating the public and disseminating the modernist ideals of the state, were not allowed to establish museums. This indicates that the museological project was clearly distinguished from the main cultural

(www.kultur.gov.tr)

31. Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Halkevlerinde Müze, Tarih ve Folklor Çalışmaları Kılavuzu [Guide to Museum, History and Folklore in People's Houses]* (Ankara: CHP Halkevleri Yayınları, 1947).

32. *Ibid.*, 114.

project that aimed at creating the desired citizens of the Turkish state. It was an uncertain identity making process that contained controversies on the past of a new state, which was interested in the future rather than the past. In his discussion of the museum and the avant-garde, Andreas Huyssen states: “A culture that believed in the breakthrough toward an utterly new life in a revolutionized society could not be expected to have much use for the museum”³³

The museums were established in unoccupied Ottoman buildings such as madrasahs (Figure 2.7) and mosques that were transferred to the Ministry of Education in 1920, or the collections were kept in depots until the 1960s when they were provided with modern buildings.

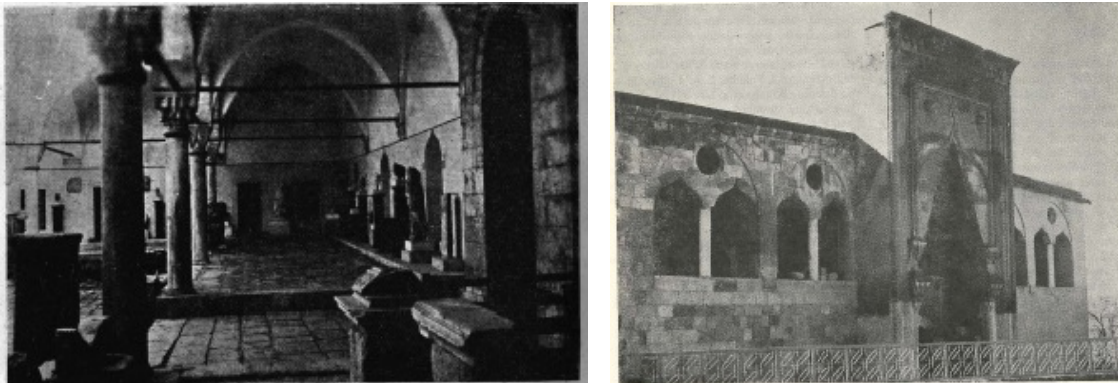


Figure 2.7: Muradiye Madrasah as Manisa Museum (left), Ak Madrasah as Niğde Museum (right)(Arık, *Halkevlerinde Müze, Tarih ve Folklor Çalışmaları Kılavuzu [Guide to Museum, History and Folklore in People's Houses]*)

The beginning of the museum history of Turkey dates back to 1846-1850, when Fethi Ahmet Paşa started to collect antiquities in St. Irene, then an armory, parallel with the mushrooming of the national museums in Europe.³⁴ In 1869, this collection

33. Huyssen, *Twilight memories : Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, 18.

34. Aziz Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin 100 üncü Yıl Dönümü [100th Anniversary of Turkish Museology]* (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu İstanbul'u sevenler grubu yayınlarından, 1947), 3-5.

was named *Müze-i Hümayun* (Imperial Museum) and the first museum catalog was published in 1871 in French. Saffet Paşa, who was the Minister of Education at the time, asked from all mayors to take good care of the antiquities within the boundaries of their provinces and to send them to the Imperial Museum safely.³⁵ Branches of the Imperial Museum were also opened in Bursa (1904) (Figure 2.8), Konya (1901) and Çanakkale (1911) during the Ottoman period.³⁶ In addition to these, museum branches in Sivas and Thessaloniki were opened and depots were created near the excavation sites in Kuşadası and Bergama before 1904.³⁷



Figure 2.8: Imperial Museum Bursa Branch (From the collection of Dimitris Loupis)

The imperial collection in St.Irene was moved to Tiled Kiosk in 1880 and Osman Hamdi Bey was assigned as the director of the museum in 1881.³⁸ When the Alexander Sarcophagus and twenty more sarcophagi were discovered in the excavations in

35. Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin 100 üncü Yıl Dönümü* [100th Anniversary of Turkish Museology].

36. *Türkiye Müzeleri* [Museums of Turkey], (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002)

37. Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış* [An Overview of Turkish Museology] (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1953), 4.

38. Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin 100 üncü Yıl Dönümü* [100th Anniversary of Turkish Museology], 9.

Sayda (1887) under the guidance of Osman Hamdi Bey, need for a larger space for the museum became evident and the government was convinced to construct a new building. The Imperial Museum, which was designed by Alexander Vallaury, was completed in three steps, the first part being opened in 1891, the second in 1902 and the final part in 1908.³⁹

According to Wendy Shaw, the Ottoman museum was an imitation of the European counterparts, that challenged the colonial power of 19th century Europe.⁴⁰ Shaw presents the Ottoman Imperial Museum as an alternative to the dominant practices of the display of positivist European historiographies with its own way of classification and display. In her study, she defines Ottoman will to protect antiquities within their boundaries as a manifestation of their ongoing sovereignty over the Greek and Roman heritage in the Mediterranean, which was considered the basis of European civilization according to Western historiographies.⁴¹

After the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, museological practice continued with different objectives according to the new political agenda. The Imperial Museum, renamed Istanbul Archaeological Museum in the Republican period, was separated into two in 1939. Turkish, Arabic and Persian collections that constituted the Islamic collection of the museum, were dispatched to other museums.⁴² Aziz Ogan, who was the director of Istanbul Archaeology Museum from 1931 to 1953, reflects his dissatisfaction about this separation and the decreasing power of the Council of Conservation (*Eski Eserleri Koruma Encümeni*), which was founded in the Imperial Museum in 1917, as the best experts of conservation left Istanbul for Ankara, the new center of the government.⁴³ In his book dedicated to the 100th

39. Ibid., 9-13.

40. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*.

41. Ibid.

42. Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin 100 üncü Yıl Dönümü [100th Anniversary of Turkish Museology]*, 19.

43. Ibid., 24-27.

anniversary of Turkish museology, published in 1947, Ogan does not talk about the museum practice outside of Istanbul, which was much more active in Ankara and he presents the Istanbul Archaeology Museum as an internationally known institution frequently emphasizing its prominent role among European Museums.⁴⁴

After the foundation of the National Assembly, the new government focused on making Ankara a cultural and political center. They started envisioning a museological project that is centered in Ankara but reached out to the remote regions of the country. In 1920, they established the Directorate of Culture (*Hars Müdürlüğü*).⁴⁵ The duties of this directorate were to protect and inspect antiquities, to improve the libraries, to determine the monuments and to collect Turkish ethnographic items.⁴⁶ The directorate declared the “Instructions About the Museums and Antiquities” (*Müzeler ve Asarı-Atika Hakkında Talimat*) in 1922.⁴⁷ According to these instructions, The Directorate of Culture had every right to do what had to be done related to the historical artifacts and the administration of the local museums was affiliated directly with the Directorate of Culture.⁴⁸ It was stated in the instructions:

Directors of National Education [in the provinces] are responsible for choosing the officers that the local museums and school museums need and for informing the ministry about their assignments. They will be in touch with the cultural administration [Directorate of Culture in Ankara] to get information about the historical artifacts in scientific basis and they are affiliated with cultural administration.⁴⁹

The instructions also stated that the museums were responsible for sending the records of any new artifact in the collection. These records were to include scientific

44. Ogan, *Türk Müzeciliğinin 100 üncü Yıl Dönümü [100th Anniversary of Turkish Museology]*, 19.

45. Arık, *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış [An Overview of Turkish Museology]*, 7.

46. Ibid.

47. Gerçek, *Türk Müzeciliği [Turkish Museology]*, 142.

48. Ibid., 142-143.

49. Ibid., 142.

explanations and photographs of the items. Among these instructions, a list of items that were to be collected was also included. It was stated that:

Clothing, old furniture, calligraphy, embellished books, embroidery, old guns, tiles, sarcophagi, grave stones, sculptures, vases, decorative furniture, inscriptions, coins and medallions, ivory, inlay and engravings and national and Islamic artifacts like these and items of all branches of fine arts will be collected and put in the museums. In addition, historical artifacts that come into the picture, which are not Islamic, will also be presented in the museums.⁵⁰

The initial activities for the establishment of provincial museums show a clear interest in taking control of the cultural heritage in the remote regions. Everyday items such as clothing and embroidery were defined as the articles to be collected in the museums. Another list of orders that was sent to the provinces by the Directorate of Culture reflects similar aspirations with the “Instructions about the Museums and Antiquities”.⁵¹ In this document, too, a lot of emphasis was put on the collection of the items of Ottoman daily life, which will later be defined as ethnography in the museum. The last two items of the list, on the other hand, reflects the role that the state assigned to cultural heritage. These two items ask the provincial governors about the situation of unregistered tribes and different races; “9. Are there tribes that were not housed in your region? If yes, collect information on them. 10. What kind of inconsistencies do you see in your region in terms of races? Collect information on their religious beliefs, moral principles and traditions.”⁵²

In his renowned *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson discusses how colonial empires of the 19th century used the census, the map and the museum in order to take control of the territories they occupied.⁵³ He shows how the definition of races and ethnicities, the land and geography, and the representation of a common history

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., 140-141.

52. Ibid., 141.

53. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 163-183.

can be instrumental in the creation of communities.⁵⁴ In the museum project of the early government of the Turkish state also, the census, the map and the museum functioned interlinked with one another.

In the list of items to be collected in the “Instructions about the Museums and Antiquities” more emphasis was put on the collection of the belongings of everyday life than the collection of archaeological remains. It was assumed that in the modern condition, these items were obsolete and should be presented in the museum as the representatives of the traditional past of the modern state. Interest in collecting religious items was not a new attitude, it started with the activities and thoughts of the Young Turks and became influential especially after the Young Turk Revolution in 1908.⁵⁵ In an environment that a Turkish identity independent from its Islamic content was being established, the Islamic artifacts were disconnected from their religious aspects and given new features within the museum as the representatives of aesthetic and historical values.⁵⁶

Ethnographic objects, according to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett become ethnographic because that aspect is attributed to them by the ethnographers.⁵⁷ They are objects that were detached from their time and place and everyday routines and put into another context. She argues that “They are ethnographic not because they were found in a Hungarian peasant household, Kwakiutl village or Rajasthani market rather than in Buckingham Palace or Michelangelo’s studio, but by virtue of the manner in which they have been detached . . .”⁵⁸ An Ottoman handwritten Qur’an or an Ottoman tiled vase can be considered ethnographic in Turkish museums, whereas

54. Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

55. Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihin Görselleştirilmesi [Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire]* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 242.

56. *Ibid.*, 292.

57. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture : Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 17-18.

58. *Ibid.*, 18.

they are presented as Islamic art in the European museums. Even in Turkey, the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul contains artifacts that would be considered ethnographic in other museums.

Ethnographic studies are mostly attributed to European travelers who visited the colonies especially during the late 19th century. They collected everyday items, which according to them were ‘primitive’ and Colonial Museums were established in European cities. These activities were realized in the name of science and with the purpose of explaining the steps of progress mankind had taken.⁵⁹ Similar to the European travelers’ attitude, the ethnographic items in Turkish museums were considered ethnographic because they were believed obsolete. Instead of defining these as collections of Islamic Art and creating a chronological link between archaeological finds and the recent artifacts, a border line was created between them. In addition, neither archaeological artifacts nor the Islamic heritage was considered art within the Turkish museums.

Another indicator of the importance of ethnographic collections during the early years of the Republic is the construction of the Ethnographic Museum in Ankara (Figure 2.9), which started as early as 1925.⁶⁰ In the aftermath of a devastating war, and despite the limited funds, the museum was constructed. It was located on top of a hill called Namazgah, which used to be a place for prayers in the religious holidays. Especially during the national resistance (1918-1922), it housed important national and religious ceremonies.⁶¹ Selection of this location indicates the interest of the state in the creation of an Islamic ceremony in representing the new state -

59. Anthony Allen Shelton, “Museums and Anthropologies: Practices and Narratives,” in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Pub., 2006), 65.

60. Mehmet Önder, “Ankara’da Milli Müze ve Yeri [National Museum and its Location in Ankara],” in *2. Milli kültür Şurası Bildirileri (5 - 8 Aralık 1989) [National Culture Council Proceedings (December 5-8, 1989)]* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990), 256.

61. Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, *Etnografya Müzesi Kılavuzu [Ethnography Museum Brochure]* (Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 1.

however, it celebrates an Islam that is defined and controlled by the state, instead of the autonomous practices of various sects throughout the country. This was ensured by taking the belongings of the dervish lodges and mosques from their functioning environments and putting them in the museum as obsolete objects.

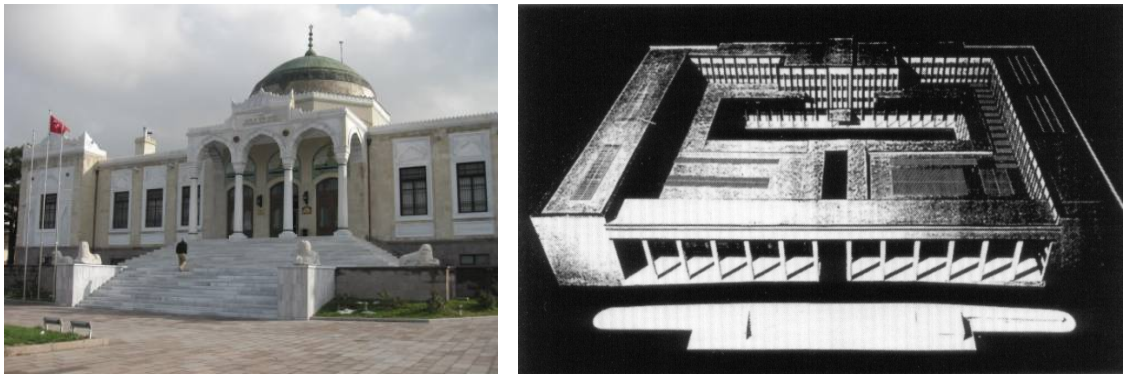


Figure 2.9: Ankara Ethnography Museum (left, photograph by the author on December 10, 2010), National Museum, Library and Science Academy Model (right, Bernd Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil : Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei, 1925-1955* [Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1998])

During the construction of the building, the museum was pronounced to be the State Museum, Public Museum, National Museum, Museum of Culture and was finally opened as an Ethnographic Museum in 1930.⁶² The existence of several names indicates the variety of concerns to be represented in the museum. It is interesting that finally, the museum takes a very specific name instead of referring to a broader representative idea such as the state, the public or the nation. The true material representative of these notions was undecided at the moment.

After the establishment of *Türk Tarih Tetkik Heyeti* (Turkish Historical Research Society) in 1931, new archaeological excavations started in central Anatolia (Alacahöyük, Boğazkale), correlated with the Turkish History Thesis that aimed at finding the ori-

62. Koşay, *Etnografya Müzesi Kılavuzu [Ethnography Museum Brochure]*, 1-2.

gins of the Turkish race in Prehistoric Anatolia. In 1933, another museum project was announced in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, promoting the finds of the Hittite civilization in Alacahöyük and Boğazkale.⁶³ It was to contain a National Museum, National Library and a Science Academy (Figure 2.9) and the architectural design for this museum was done by the Swiss architect Ernst Egli.⁶⁴ This time, the nation was to be represented by the pre-Islamic civilizations of Anatolia. Different from the architectural attitude of the Ethnographic Museum which was inspired by the traditional Ottoman architectural elements, the proposed design for the new museum did not contain any references to Islamic architecture. It was designed based on the principals of early twentieth century European modernism, which involved non-decorated monumental compositions with rhythmic arrangements that strengthen monumentality. The architectural attitude of the building clearly stated that the modern Turkish identity was to be a part of European integrity and distance itself from the Islamic tradition.

This building was never constructed. The museum was established in an Ottoman bedesten as the Hittite Museum (*Eti Müzesi*) in 1943, later named as the Ankara Archaeology Museum and finally took its recent name, the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, in 1968. A national museum was never established in Turkey.

It is important to note that what a national museum would have been for the Turkish state was never clear. The earlier ideas resulted in the construction of an institution devoted to Islamic culture, even though deprived of its religious function, and later a prehistoric past was claimed to be the representative of the new nation. Neither of them ended up representing the nation or the state. The former was the Ethnographic Museum and the latter the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations. Rather than creating a chronological link between prehistory and the recent Islamic past to

63. “Ankara’da Üç Büyük İrfan Müessesesi [Three Great Scientific Institutions in Ankara]”, *Cumhuriyet*, February 11, 1933

64. Ibid

create a national museum, these two collections; ethnography and archaeology were conceived as two opposite notions. The spatial representation of these two museums, the Ethnographic Museum reflecting the Ottoman architectural tradition, and the proposal for the National Museum having early twentieth century modernist aspects, also presents the opposition between archaeology and ethnography as conceived by the modernizers. The chronic binaries of Turkish modernization such as modern vs traditional and Islamic vs secular found its expression in a museum project displaying archaeology and ethnography as opposite others. Because the museum project involved the opening of museums in the remote regions with a central approach, archaeology and ethnography became the two main topics of museum collections throughout Turkey.⁶⁵

2.3 *Inadequate or Fragmented?*

Another threshold in the museum history of Turkey, which has not been taken into consideration in the previous scholarship, is the year 1960, when so many museum buildings began to be built in order to provide new spaces for the museums that were established in old buildings. Kars museum was one of those buildings. It is hard to talk about a specific and clear political discourse behind these constructions but the historical context helps us to understand the contradictory situation of the museological practice of the Turkish state since the beginning, especially with the dichotomies it included.

65. More than thirty archaeological and ethnographic museums including the ones in Adana (1924), Afyon (1931), Antalya (1923), Bergama (1924), Bursa (1923), Erzurum (1942), Gaziantep (1943), Hatay (1939), Izmir (1926), Kastamonu (1941), Konya (1904) and Manisa (1935), 8 small museum offices in Diyarbakir (1934), Edirne (1923), Efes (1934), Kayseri (1929), Niğde (1936), Sivas (1927), Tokat (1926), Van (1933) and 13 museum depots in Alaca (1935), Amasya (1926), Çanakkale (1932), Denizli (1932), Eskişehir (1943), Isparta (1935), İznik (1934), Kırşehir (1936), Kütahya (1936), Samsun (1933), Sinop (1926), Silifke (1935), Tire (1936) were established by 1944. Archaeological and ethnographic collections were often kept in the same buildings in the provincial museums, with some exceptions. Usually, unused buildings such as madrasahs and churches housed the early provincial museums. See Arık, *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış [An Overview of Turkish Museology]*, 70-71.

The ‘inadequacy’ of the cultural buildings, as defined by İhsan Bilgin, definitely implies problems - such as questions of identity and negotiations with the past - beyond the lack of funds. Symbolic structures always constitute sites of controversies and the intentions behind their erection are conceived and interpreted in different ways by different political, cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The variety of cultural heritage in Turkey constitutes a controversial field containing the traces of different religions, ethnicities and languages, which leads to conflict between official memories and public memory, because official memories tend to homogenize the past. The official accounts reduce the complexity and diversity of the existing culture to binary oppositions and this is reflected in the museums of Turkey as the dichotomy of archaeology and ethnography; archaeology reflecting the secular identity and ethnography standing for the traditional past with connotations of Islam and Ottoman everyday life. As the political power between the seculars and Islamists change, the role of archaeology and ethnography in national identity had changed. In other words, there has never been a single and stable historical discourse. Rather, the museum project of the Turkish state was a fragmented project as the outcome of a fragile and unstable identity discourse.

The question of why the cultural institutions were built and then abandoned still remains a central one in this study. While it is hard to find an accurate answer, an analysis of the dichotomies and their instability due to the political contingencies, contains clues about this inadequacy. In her article about the similarly abandoned case of the archives in Turkey, Meltem Ahiska develops a discussion of Occidentalism in order to understand the inadequate situation of the archives.⁶⁶ She argues that Occidentalism in Turkey produced a reified image of the West as the only possessor of modernity. According to her, Occidentalism renders the location of archives suspect due its openness to Western gaze and it curbs and even destroys the singularity that an archive reveals.⁶⁷ As representative structures that are open to the external gaze as

66. Ahiska, “Occidentalism and Registers of Truth: The Politics of Archives in Turkey,” 25-26.

67. *Ibid.*, 26.

well, the abandoned case of museums in Turkey can be understood in similar terms. Instead of conveying a singular narrative that represents the broader nation, Turkish museums reveal fragmented narratives that do not allow Western scrutiny to judge its modernity.

As shown by the example of Kars Museum and the initial formations of the two central museums Ankara Ethnography Museum and the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, the museological practice in Turkey tends to divide the collections instead of establishing links between them. A central single museum containing a linear historiography as the representative of the nation was never established. The fragmented nature of the historical narrative, which originated from the binary conceptions of the East and the West, modern and traditional, Islamic and secular resulted in creation of two separate institutions in the capital, and archaeological and ethnographic collections throughout Turkey as its extensions. These institutions refused to convey a complete and coherent identity discourse and this was reflected in their perplexing spaces. Therefore, this chapter argues, instead of inadequate, the provincial museums of Turkey are fragmented.

Chapter 3

REGIONALIZING THE UNIVERSAL: MUSEUM BUILDINGS WITHIN THE ARCHITECTURAL SCENE IN THE 1960S

That small-scale and small budget provincial museums remained marginal structures within the architectural scene does not mean their architects were completely unaware of architectural ideas and concepts. Like other Turkish architects, they were educated within the system of thoughts and architectural attitudes of the period. It is important to examine architecture in Turkey parallel with the main architectural issues around the world during the 1960-1980 period.

In the limited number of studies on this topic, the architectural scene in the 1960s and 70s in Turkey is defined as a pluralistic period with different stylistic approaches such as organicism, brutalism and regionalism.¹ It is accepted that, after the end of the single party regime in 1950, architecture was freed from issues of identity and became more interested in the social realities and solving problems related to subjects such as urbanism and housing.² Yet, architects in Turkey never gave up discussions and debates related to the search for a distinct identity. When viewed through the lens of the concept of regionalism, Turkish architecture was burdened with its relationship to a developed and imperialist West and its hegemonic influence on the rest of the world.

This chapter aims to show the ways regional belonging, tradition and perceptions of the past operated within the architectural discourse in the 1960s and 70s. It

1. Yücel, "Pluralism Takes Command."

2. Yücel, "Pluralism Takes Command"; İlhan Tekeli, "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey," in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin ([Philadelphia, Pa.]: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).

will argue that, modernity and tradition, and; the past and the future were conceived simply as binary oppositions by the architects of the period, however, the marginalized structures of museums point at complex relations with the past. In order to do this, first, the museum buildings constructed during this period will be presented in comparison to the previous display spaces. Second, the broader meaning of the concept of regionalism will be discussed as well as the way regionalism was conceived in Turkish architectural scene. Some architectural texts related to regionalism and tradition will be analyzed with a critical approach to their tendency to develop ideas based on the existence of a central and universal truth and its association with the West as both good and evil. Third, the meaning of Western imperialism in Turkey and throughout the world will be examined and the architects' response to Western imperialism will be presented. Finally, Antalya Museum will be analyzed in light of these ideas and in terms of the problem of the past and future as contradictory notions. Through this analysis, it will be argued that although the architects aimed to create a place that controls time, Antalya Museum represents the uncontrolled and complex memories that are unique to the historical layers that existed in the region.

3.1 Museum Buildings of the 1960s

Between early 1960s and early 1980s, forty eight modern museum buildings were constructed throughout Turkey³ to house archaeological and ethnographic collections most of which were created during the early years of the Republic. Archaeological and ethnographic collections were initially created during the Early Republican period and were displayed within unused Ottoman and Seljuk buildings or stored in depots

3. Database prepared based on the information in *Türkiye Müzeleri [Turkish Museums]*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002), Mehmet Önder, *Türkiye Müzeleri* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1995) and Önder, *The Museums of Turkey and Examples of the Masterpieces in the Museums* indicates this number. The information covered in these books and catalogues are now accessible in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's website (www.kultur.gov.tr).

(Figure 3.1).⁴ The construction of modern museums was first envisioned by the ICOM national committee. During the meetings held from June 5 to June 9, 1958, the committee included the construction of new museum buildings within the list of decisions.⁵

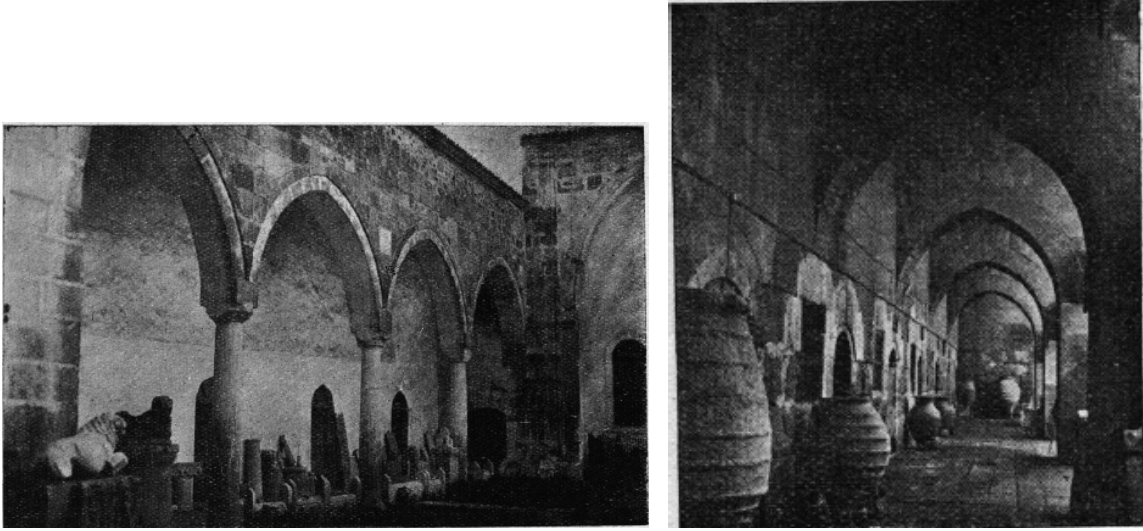


Figure 3.1: Sinop Alaaddin Madrasah (left), Kayseri Hunat Hatun Madrasah (right) Arık, *Halkevlerinde Müze, Tarih ve Folklor Çalışmaları Kılavuzu [Guide to Museum, History and Folklore in People's Houses]*

4. Twenty-one of these museums contain archaeological collections only, two of them hold ethnographic collections only and twenty-six of them have both archaeological and ethnographic collections. Twenty eight of these buildings replaced the collections that were established within emptied Ottoman or Seljuk buildings or depots during the Early Republican period. Important numbers of museums have always been opened in the history of Republican Turkey, yet, the high number of the construction of modern museum buildings during this twenty year period is what this research is specifically interested. Before the 1960s, Ankara Ethnographic Museum (1930), Bergama Museum (1936) an unrealized National Museum Project (1933) and Karatepe Open Air Museum in Adana (1957-1961) are the only modern buildings that were designed as museum spaces. After 1980, the museum construction slows down, whereas the number of museums in renovated historical buildings increases more than ever before (eg, Atatürk Houses, Modern Art Museums etc.). Constructions of most of the museum buildings that were opened during early 1980s were started in late 1970s, so I consider them within the architectural and political context of the 1960-1980 period.

5. ICOM Türkiye Milli Komitesi Haber Bülteni [ICOM Turkey National Committee News Bulletin], no:2, (1958), 17.

Among the people who attended this meeting were Mehmet Önder, Hikmet Gürçay and Raci Temizer. These people later became officials in the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums, which was the institution that sponsored the construction of the museums in the 1960s and 70s.

The decision to construct new museum buildings was related to Turkey's close relationship with the West after World War II. Turkey was a member of the United Nations since its foundation in 1945 and became a member of NATO in 1952. Its involvement with UNESCO and the establishment of ICOM Turkey in 1949 were important factors in the reorganization of museums in the 1960s. However, it is ironic that the architectural aspects of the museums reflect the spirit of the 1960s, a time period that architectural scene was shaped by the critique of the capitalist Western world. Architects of the period distanced themselves from the international style and developed new strategies based on concerns for regional differences and the natural environment.

While the systematic construction of so many museums brings in mind the existence of a clear cultural discourse, on the contrary, these museums are highly neglected and marginalized by the Turkish state as well as by scholars and the general public. Knowledge of these buildings is limited to conceptions of them as identical state buildings without architectural concerns. On the contrary, the museum buildings present different architectural aspects. Especially when compared to other state buildings, they draw attention with their architectural attitudes of the 1960s. While schools and hospitals are mostly composed of rhythmic window series on monolithic blocks, most of which were built based on prototype projects, these museum buildings present less monotonous structures formed by the articulation of smaller masses and asymmetrical façade compositions. Plain surfaces, concrete grills, horizontally or vertically designed linear windows also indicate concerns of climate, day lighting and proportional aspects of the 1960s.

Adana Museum, designed by Ulvi Özdemir⁶, a local architect, is an interesting example (Figures 3.2, 3.3, 3.4) that was constructed between 1966 and 1970 as Adana Regional Museum in Adana Culture Park.⁷ It is composed of opaque and semi-opaque rectangular masses arrayed around a transparent space that was designed to serve as the entrance hall at the first floor and a seating area on the second. A round staircase was placed inside the transparent volume.

The façade composition of Adana Museum was determined by concerns for day lighting. The exhibition halls are lit by indirect day light. At the first floor, horizontally placed linear windows along the top of the exhibition spaces let in refracted day light. On the second floor dim light is obtained through concrete grills placed on the exterior walls. Sibel Bozdoğan points out that, in the post war period, the concrete grill was commonly used to provide dim light and climate control in ‘tropicalized’ or ‘Mediterraneanized’ modernism in the Southern areas from the Caribbean to the Middle East and India.⁸ However she warns that these aspects need to be considered separate from the identity concerns and orientalist revivals of the traditional wooden grill that emerged later in the 1980s. These experiments were based on scientific ideas of climate and technical achievements in architecture.⁹ The climatic concerns in the case of the Adana Museum reflects the rationalist ideas in search of a scientific approach to the local conditions.

Before the Adana Archaeological Museum was built, the collections created back in the Early Republican period were displayed in Caferağa Madrasah, which used to be an educational building during the Ottoman Empire (Figure 3.5). The new building was to provide better physical conditions and display options for the archaeological

6. Thanks to Onur Erman of Çukurova University for this information.

7. Önder, *The Museums of Turkey and Examples of the Masterpieces in the Museums*, 11. Today, the name of the Museum is Adana Archaeological Museum.

8. Bozdoğan, “Democracy, Development, and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s,” 125.

9. *Ibid.*

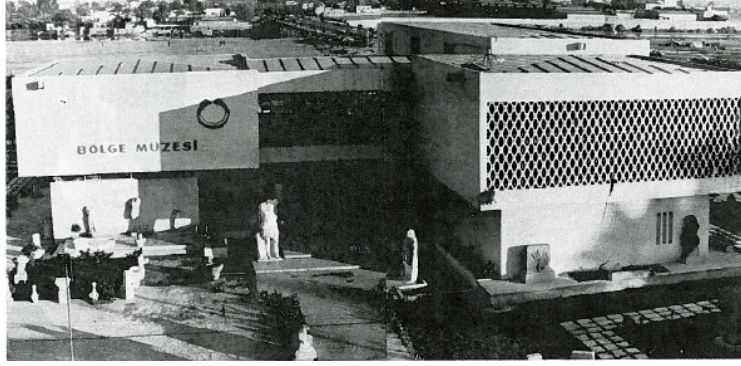


Figure 3.2: Adana Regional Museum (Önder, *The Museums of Turkey and Examples of the Masterpieces in the Museums*)

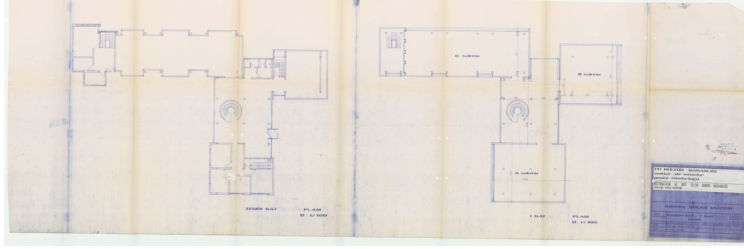


Figure 3.3: Adana Regional Museum plan (From the archives of the Directorate General of Cultural Assets and Museums)

collection. These concerns for the improvement of museum spaces were reflected in the publications of UNESCO that were translated into Turkish and published by the ICOM National Committee.¹⁰ The book *Müzelerin Teşkilatlanması: Pratik Öğütler* [*Organization of Museums: Practical Advice*], published in 1963,¹¹ contains a chapter

10. The first publication was Georges Henri Riviere, *Müzelerin Eğitimdeki Rolü Hakkında UNESCO Bölge Semineri* [*UNESCO Regional Seminar on the Role of Museums in Education*] (Istanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, 1962)

11. *Müzelerin Teşkilatlanması: Pratik Öğütler* [*Organization of Museums: Practical advice*] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1963) One copy of this book is found in the Restoration and Construction Works Division of The Department of Cultural Assets and Museums of the Ministry of Culture, where the architectural projects of modern museums were prepared.



Figure 3.4: Adana Archaeological Museum (Photographs were taken by the author in February, 2010)

on museum architecture entitled “Müze Mimarisi (Museum Architecture)” by Bruno Molajoli.¹²

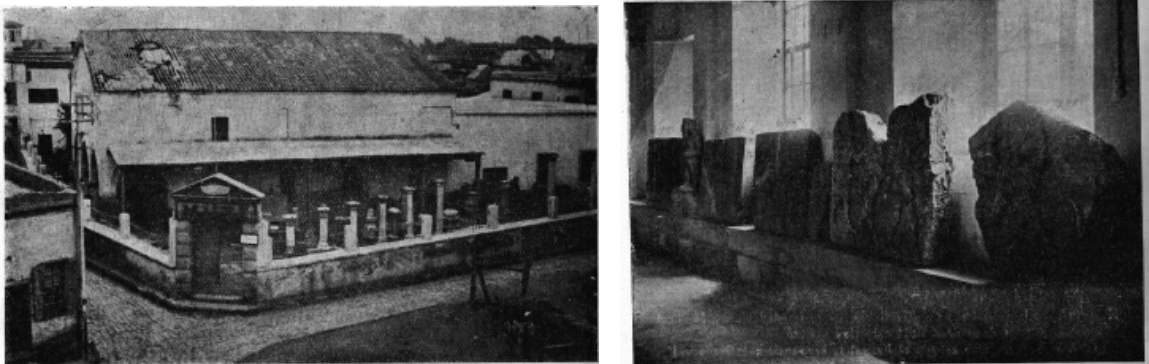


Figure 3.5: Caferaga Madrasah (Arık, *Halkevlerinde Müze, Tarih ve Folklor Çalışmaları Kılavuzu* [Guide to Museum, History and Folklore in People’s Houses])

The article comprehensively reflects on the issues that are relevant to the establishment of small scale museums such as the selection of location, lighting techniques,

12. Bruno Molajoli, “Müze Mimarisi [Museum Architecture],” in *Müzelerin teşkilatlanması: pratik öğütler* [Organization of Museums: Practical advice] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1963).

construction details and financial concerns, functional organization of spaces and display techniques. The whole article discusses the positive and negative aspects of different decisions related to these issues rather than suggesting particular solutions. It is possible to see the reflections of these thoughts in the provincial museums of Turkey. For example, the selection of locations of Turkish museums contained different approaches that were covered in this article. Some museums were built at the city centers with other state buildings (Sinop, Niğde), whereas others are out of the city centers (Antalya, Adana). Instead of certain political decisions, the economic and urban conditions of particular cities determined the location of museums.

One of the most important changes introduced by the new museum architecture of the 1960s and 70s was day lighting. While there are many museum buildings with regular windows at standard levels on their exterior walls such as the prototype museum project, the Bursa Archaeological Museum, the Aydın Museum and the İzmir Archaeological Museum (Figure 3.6), interesting examples of skylights, high level horizontal windows that get indirect light and concrete grills that provide dim light were widely used. In addition to the day lighting experiments observed in Adana Museum, Erten Altaban's buildings (Figure 3.7) stand out with their skylights.

A lot of the new buildings (28) replaced the collections formed during the Early Republic with modern spaces. The idea was to provide proper lighting and functional display and avoid humidity within new buildings, as opposed to the old madrasahs and mosques that the collections were housed previously. It is possible to have an idea about the former display spaces from the limited number of images we have today.¹³ Especially the arched colonnades of Ottoman and Seljuk buildings were used as display areas in the historical buildings (Figure 3.1). It is also possible to see that some display cases existed as seen on the image that shows the display in Çanakkale Museum Depot (Figure 3.8). With their thick and slightly curved wooden frame, these

13. Arık, *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış [An Overview of Turkish Museology]*.

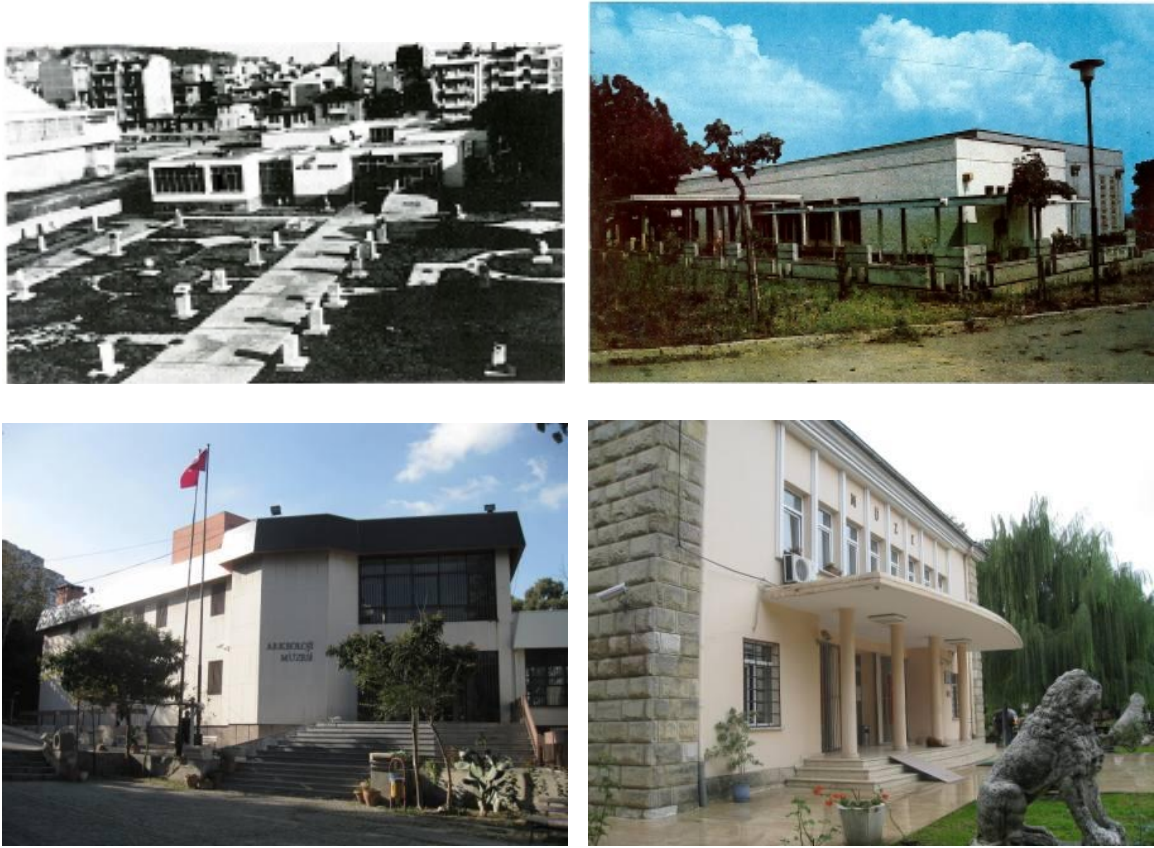


Figure 3.6: Aydın Museum (top left), Bursa Museum (top right) (Önder, *The Museums of Turkey and Examples of the Masterpieces in the Museums*), Sinop Museum (bottom right, October 2009) İzmir Archaeological Museum (bottom left, December, 2010)

display cases must have been considered outdated by the reformers of the 1960s. In the new spaces, more transparent and light display cases made of glass, metal and wood were employed (Figure 3.9).

3.2 The Architectural Scene in the 1960s

Regionalism is an important concept to be discussed in order to understand the architecture of the 1960s in Turkey and the world. The term regionalism in a broader sense is pertinent to the field of culture and issues of cultural identity, authenticity,



Figure 3.7: Niğde Museum (left, Mehmet Önder, *Türkiye Müzeleri* (Türkiye İş Bankası Cultural Publications, 1999)), Çanakkale Museum interior (Photograph was taken by the author in December 2009)

meaning and the structure and governance of the society. Cultural studies, cultural criticism, sociology, anthropology and philosophy (phenomenology and critical theory in particular), address regionalism, as they are concerned with modernization, modernity, globalization and technological development.¹⁴ It can be roughly defined as a resistance against the detrimental affect of modernism and globalization that underestimate the social and cultural particularities of a place.

The concept of regionalism in architecture was made popular by Kenneth Frampton in the 1980s as he developed on the idea of a “critical regionalism’, which was coined by Alex Tzonis and Liliane Lefaivre in 1981.¹⁵ Building upon Paul Ricoeur’s question: “how to become modern and to return to sources; how to revive an old, dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization?’¹⁶, Frampton proposed

14. Vincent B. Canizaro, *Architectural Regionalism : Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007).

15. Alex Tzonis and Liliane Lefaivre, “The Grid and the Pathway: An Introduction to the Work of Dimitris and Susana Antonakakis,” *Architecture in Greece*, no. 15 (1981): 178.

16. Paul Ricoeur, “Universal Civilization and National Cultures,” in *History and Truth* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 266-277.



Figure 3.8: Çanakkale museum depot (Arık, *Halkevlerinde Müze, Tarih ve Folklor Çalışmaları Kılavuzu [Guide to Museum, History and Folklore in People's Houses]*)

a strategy that mediates “the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of place.”¹⁷ According to this view, regionalism is about an awareness of issues such as the local light, a tectonic idea derived from an existing structure or the topography of the site.¹⁸

The concept of regionalism can be traced back to early 19th century. For example, Henry Russell Hitchcock defined gothic revival in the 19th century Europe as a regionalist response to the universalist ideals of the Greek revival.¹⁹ In some sources, the idea is even originated during the Roman period.²⁰ However, the basis of the concept of ‘critical regionalism’ is linked to Lewis Mumford, whose ideas shaped Alex

17. Frampton, “Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance,” 22.

18. Frampton’s point was close to post modernist critique of modernity and he agreed with post-modern critics that modernization has a destructive effect, but challenged their call for historic revival and figurative expression.

19. Henry Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), 112.

20. Canizaro, *Architectural Regionalism : Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*.

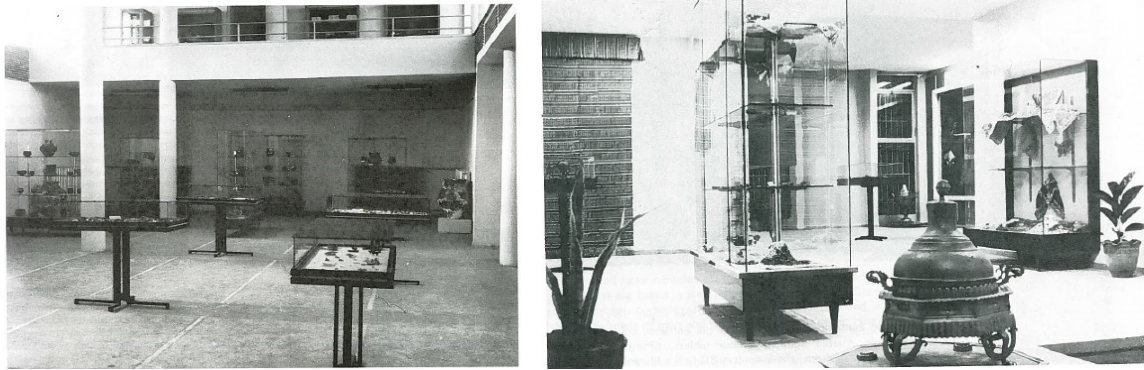


Figure 3.9: Erzurum Museum (left), Izmir Ethnographic Museum (right)(Önder, *The Museums of Turkey and Examples of the Masterpieces in the Museums*)

Tzonis and Liliane Lefaivre, and Kenneth Frampton's theories. Mumford presented his concerns about the problems of modern architecture and regionalism in his article "The Theory and Practice of Regionalism" in the *Sociological Review* as early as 1928.²¹ In his book *The South in Architecture*, Mumford mentioned that "in accepting the universal order of the machine, ... we have the duty to make it human and see that it incorporates more, not less, of those social and aesthetic elements that bind people sentimentally to their homes and their regions."²² His ideas established a subtle understanding of regionalism, which was different from a chauvinist and essentialist approach. Tzonis and Lefaivre; and Frampton built on this determination and suggested that, modern architecture seek ways to integrate the social, cultural and physical conditions of the locale with considerations of the human use of the space.

Regionalism can also be considered a phenomenon intrinsic to the modernist discourse, the dialectical outcome of modern development. In the 4th (1933) and 5th (1937) meetings of CIAM (Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne), the idea

21. Lewis Mumford, "The Theory and Practice of Regionalism," *Sociological Review* 20 (1928): 18-33.

22. Lewis Mumford, *The South in Architecture; The Dancy lectures, Alabama college, 1941* (New York: Harcourt, Brace / Co., 1941).

of regional contingency was defended by French architects, primarily by Le Corbusier, in response to tough German realists who dominated earlier CIAM meetings.²³ After CIAM VI in 1947, liberal idealism started to significantly overthrow the materialism of the earlier period. This approach affirmed that architecture should create an environment that is satisfactory for the emotional needs of people. CIAM IX in 1953 marked the shift towards a complex response to the problems of urban design and architecture with a consideration of belonging and identity.²⁴ At CIAM X, in 1956, the last CIAM meeting, a group of architects led by Alison and Peter Smithson, later known as Team X, determined the subject matter of the meeting and strengthened their position in suggesting a subtle relationship between architecture and the physical and social environment.

The establishment of Team X started with the support of important figures of CIAM: Sigfried Giedion and Walter Gropius. At the 8th meeting of CIAM (1951), it was decided to establish junior groups with participation of young architects from as many countries as possible in order to secure the continuity of CIAM. Young architects from this group, Bill Howell, Georges Candilis and Jaap Bakema, were assigned members of the CIAM as the representatives before TEAM X was established. A committee consisted of young architects (Jaap Bakema, Georges Candilis, Peter Smithson, Alison Smithson, Aldo van Eyck, Bill Howell, Rolf Guttman, John Voelcker and Shadrach Woods) was established for the preparation of the CIAM X. The committee was named Team X in 1954. In the 10th meeting, TEAM X manifested its position against old CIAM and highlighted the environmental and social concerns in architectural design, which led to the dissolution of CIAM in 1959.²⁵

While it is hard to talk about a single discourse, the young generation's main pur-

23. Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture : A Critical history* (London: Thames / Hudson, 1992), 270.

24. *Ibid.*, 271.

25. Jos Bosman, *Team 10 out of CIAM*, 2005, 246–251.

pose was to combine the modernist principles of CIAM with research into the social, economic, physical and psychological conditions of the locale.²⁶ They formulated the notion of ‘habitat’, which referred to an environment that could accommodate the ‘total and harmonious spiritual, intellectual and physical fulfillment’ of its inhabitants. The members of the group presented a common interest in creating environments that would restore the relations among the inhabitants and the buildings.²⁷ They were very much interested in the presentations of projects from Algiers, Chandigarh and Jamaica and willing to understand the local conditions and traditions of different cultures. They considered the new approach a more humane one compared to the attitude of CIAM. The British group, including Peter and Alison Smithson, who were to be the leading figures of TEAM X later, came up with the idea to replace the functional terms in the Athens Charter of CIAM; dwelling, work, transportation and recreation; with ‘house, street, district and city’, which they connected with ‘human association’.

Different from the previous generation, according to whom the building should have functioned as a machine, the projects of TEAM X architects were primarily concerned with the surrounding of the building. They were interested in the street life and the landscape and tried to make the buildings a part of human life. As a result of these concerns TEAM X architects enriched architectural design by eliminating the monotonous plans with long corridors and creating spatial compositions by the articulation of small masses instead of monolithic structures. By doing this, they aimed to create convenient environments for the human scale and for the urban and natural life surrounding the buildings. For example, about their design of the Lucas Headquarters in Solihull, England, which was settled on a green landscape, the Smithsons wrote: “the building steps forward, steps back, performs as it were a

26. Annie Pedret, “Aix-en-Provence 1953 CIAM IX: Discussing the Charter of Habitat,” in *Team 10 : 1953-81, in search of a utopia of the present*, ed. Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel (Rotterdam: NAI, 2005).

27. *Ibid.*, 20.

stately dance with the trees that lace the site on the lines of the old hedgerows; thus, the building form utilizes that sense of connection to place that the interpenetration of existing trees can transmit.”²⁸

This approach was reflected in the Turkish architectural scene in the 1960s and 70s. According to the writings of Enis Kortan, not only the Smithsons and TEAM X but also Aalvar Alto and Louis Kahn were among the influential architects in Turkey with their concerns for the social and physical environment in design.²⁹ Kortan explained this new attitude as an outcome of the critique of rationalism in architecture. As opposed to the huge masses of modern architecture that did not create relations with the human scale and the natural landscape, the new approach generated fragmented compositions by the articulation of small masses. In the context of this approach, small cubic forms gained precedence in Turkey. Many buildings with different functions were designed based on various combinations of cubes and this attitude was called the ‘architecture of cubes.’³⁰ The award winning designs of the period were especially dominated by this approach (Figure 3.10).

Modern architecture in early 20th century Turkey was dominated by a monumental European modernism. It was not until the 1950s that the international style was adopted in Turkey and modernist construction techniques were developed. The international style had a short life and started to be criticized in the late 1950s. That the new approach developed in response to the monolithic and identical blocks of the international style was defined as an ‘irrational’ attitude by Turkish architectural critics³¹ is striking as it indicates how concepts were defined in oppositional terms.

28. Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel, *Team 10 : 1953-81, In Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAI, 2005).

29. Kortan, *Türkiye’de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi : (1960 - 1970) : 1960’ larda Modern Mimarlıktaki Önemli Gelişmelerin ve Teorilerin Açıklanmasıyla Birlikte*.

30. Ibid., 70.

31. Enis Kortan talks about the articulated blocks of the 1960s as products of irrational attitude. *ibid.*, 27

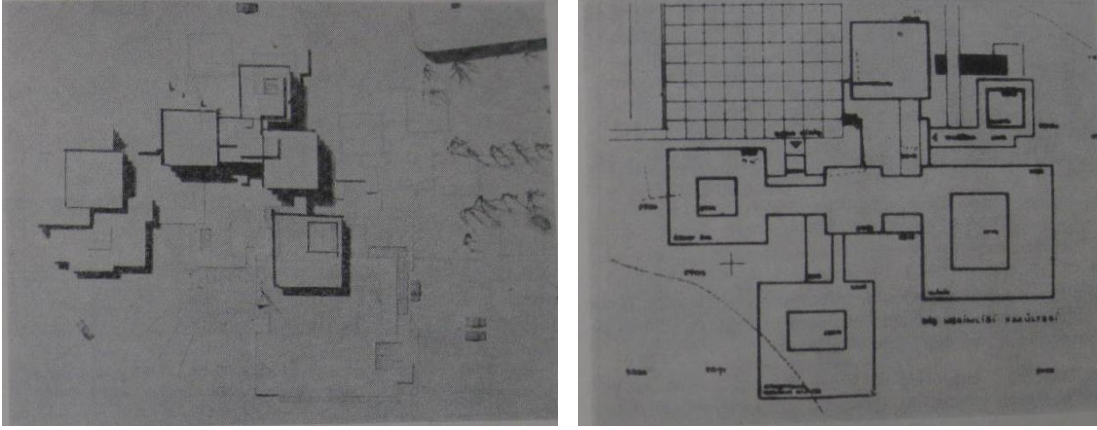


Figure 3.10: Edirne City Hall, 1965 (left), Faculty of Dentistry, 1965 (right) (Kortan, *Türkiye’de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi : (1960 - 1970) : 1960’ larda Modern Mimarlıktaki Önemli Gelişmelerin ve Teorilerin Açıklanmasıyla Birlikte*)

The oppositional definitions of concepts are also related to the existence of a Western dominance in shaping of architectural approaches. Although the response to modern architecture was common elsewhere in the world, the Western architectural historiographies presented this resistance as an essential component of non-Western architecture. It looked for authentic modernization processes and expected that the architecture of these countries make references to tradition, preferably in abstract forms of the past. The West viewed the Eastern countries as a stable place, where tradition is a timeless phenomenon, and this led to the conception of tradition as a burden of architecture and an obstacle to progress among Turkish designers and critics. Architectural theories developed under this pressure created oppositions of East vs West, tradition vs modernity and past vs future. Regionalism was also characterized as the opposite of universalism during the 1960s in Turkey.³²

Bülent Özer, one of the leading critics of architectural theory in the 1960s and

32. Kortan, *Türkiye’de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi : (1960 - 1970) : 1960’ larda Modern Mimarlıktaki Önemli Gelişmelerin ve Teorilerin Açıklanmasıyla Birlikte*; Özer, *Rejyonizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz, Üzerine Bir Deneme [An Essay on Regionalism, Universalism and Our Contemporary Architecture]*.

70s published the book *Rejyonalizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine Bir Deneme* (*An Essay on Regionalism, Universalism and Our Contemporary Architecture*) in 1964.³³ The author introduced the terms *rejyonalizm* and *üniversalizm* by adapting the English terms with slight adjustments to Turkish pronunciation, although Turkish words for these concepts already existed. Özer argues against both regionalism and universalism, claiming that these two attitudes cause architecture to distance itself from the real problems, which he phrases as *aktüel gerçekler*. Deriving the term *aktüel* from the English word ‘actual’ to explain the specific conditions of Turkey, Özer described ‘real architecture’ as the “accordance between the architectural necessities of the society and the actual means to correspond to these necessities.”³⁴ In other words, Özer suggested a pragmatic approach that served the factual problems within the frame of the tools and methods available in Turkey. According to this view, neither regionalism nor universalism was valid in the context of Turkey.

Özer was clearly against any historic reference in architecture and he presented the idea of regionalism as a threat to the achievement of an architecture that is freed from identity concerns. He called for an architecture that was based on the ‘actual necessities’ of Turkey, which he defined as the statistically based economic and social realities and the need for certain types of buildings such as schools, hospitals and housing. He was also against a universalist approach, which he described as an imitation of Western architecture that ignored the specific needs and means of the country. Despite his critical approach to universalism and the import of Western ideas into Turkish architecture, ironically he did not hesitate to introduce words ‘*rejyonalizm*’ and ‘*üniversalizm*’ from Western languages. In addition, Özer presents an unquestioned devotion to the idea of reason, which is a universal concept associated with the West. Although criticizing universalism as a style, he reproduced a universal

33. Özer, *Rejyonalizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz, Üzerine Bir Deneme* [*An Essay on Regionalism, Universalism and Our Contemporary Architecture*].

34. *Ibid.*, 84.

discourse through employing a pragmatic argument based on the power of reason.

For Özer, any traditional engagement in architecture was threatening. He severely criticized Doğan Kuban's text on regionalism for being romantic, utopic and inconsistent. In his article "Bizde Rejyonelizm Üzerine (On Our Regionalism)", Kuban formulated a regionalist approach based on the creation of an architecture that is indirectly connected to the historical, economic and cultural aspects of a region.³⁵ As most of the theoreticians of the period, Kuban was cautious about the possibility of historic pastiche and he argued that, regionalism was not about producing either reinforced concrete arches or sixteenth century mosques. Despite this, Özer accused Kuban of bringing back nationalist ideas to architecture and of being ambiguous. He labeled Kuban's ideas as harmful and backward thinking.

Özer's discourse was based on a polarized understanding of regionalism and universalism and his perception of Kuban's ideas reduced his balanced ideas on the creation of a local and modern architecture to a binary of modernity and tradition and positioned him on the tradition side of this opposition.

Another architect who discussed ideas of regionalism during this period was Şevki Vanlı, a prominent architect who was active in both writing and the construction scene. Vanlı's ideas contain an oppositional conception of modernity and tradition parallel with Özer. In his book *Bilinmek İstenmeyen 20. Yüzyıl Türk Mimarlığı (20th Century Modern Turkish Architecture that is Undesirable to Know)* Vanlı introduces the discussion of identity and place in architecture with these words:

To those who love architecture:

Architecture is a cultural process. The societies that remain out of the boundaries of the preeminent Western civilization in the 20th century are not self-confident, are being humiliated even by their own people and are losing their creativity and becoming others' followers.

Identity gains meaning only with a sense of belonging.

35. Doğan Kuban, "Bizde Rejyonelizm Üzerine [On Our Regionalism]," *Mimarlık ve Sanat Dergisi*, no. 1 (1961): 14.

I think the architect can be successful if s/he is the representative of the milieu they belong to within the hegemonic environment, but not as the representative of the hegemonic culture.

Despising and disregarding one's own milieu must be the major barrier to success.³⁶

Vanlı was concerned with the creation of a local architecture that challenged the Western aesthetic canons. While doing this, he was strongly against pastiche and direct historic references. In parallel with the idea of 'critical regionalism', he believed in the creation of local architecture without sentimental and ideological concerns. He called for indirect relationships between the local conditions and the 'universal' language of architecture. He argued that "There is no problem of identity in modernism, but there is problem of regional belonging".³⁷

Throughout his book, Vanlı develops a highly critical approach to 20th century Turkish architecture. He argues that many of the examples, with their references to traditional architecture, are in opposition with contemporary civilization. He accuses Aga Khan Trust of supporting cultural links between Islamic countries and doing this by offering abundant monetary rewards to traditionally inspired architecture that, according to Vanlı, is against latest advancements of modernity.³⁸ In his view, relations with tradition must be reflected in the abstract forms of rational design.³⁹

It is important to note, however, that abstraction is a problematic issue that affirms the expectations of the dominant narratives. Vikram Prakash argues that abstraction is a modernist conception that is obsessed with a linear understanding of time, based on the idea of origin. However skillfully created, abstraction does not offer either a unity of different cultures and different times or a universal truth. Rather, it strengthens the binary oppositions such as East vs. West, traditional vs. modern

36. Vanlı, *Mimariden Konuşmak: Bilinmek İstenmeyen 20. Yüzyıl Türk Mimarlığı : Eleştirel Bakış*.

37. Ibid., 36.

38. Ibid., 31.

39. Ibid., 35.

by attempting to define the native culture or the vernacular. In so doing, it defines static, timeless and petrified cultures.⁴⁰

Although Vanli argued that there was no problem of identity but rather a problem of regional belonging, his call for abstraction reflects concerns about identity in architecture. His was a conception of identity that was based on the idea of abstraction, which entailed a rational approach and an objective perspective. In other words, it was a call for universalizing the regional based on the aesthetic canons of modernism.

The architectural writings of the 1960s reflect a devotion to the supremacy of reason as a universal truth. They involve themselves in world civilization by adopting modern construction techniques and their related aesthetic conceptions. On the other hand they look for a unique and local architecture. While this process of modernization contains complex issues with subtly filtered subjectivities, the writings tend to reduce these complexities to dichotomies. Their search for a local architecture is framed around debates on tradition as an obstacle to progress and barrier to keeping up with the times.

3.3 The Impact of Western Imperialism

While the architectural discourse of the 1960-1980 period reflects modernist aspects, it is important to mention that this period was characterized by a transition from modernism to postmodernism. The social movements in the 1960s can be conceived as the first signs of postmodernism as they were critical of early 20th century modernism and commodity culture as its outcome. While, there is no consensus on how to evaluate the position of these movements, Andreas Huyssen's formulation of postmodernism, with distinctive explanations of the 1960s and 70s is helpful. According to Huyssen, postmodernism of the 1960s revitalized the European avant-garde. In contrast with this view the 1970s postmodernism contained, an uncritical and affirmative approach

40. Vikramaditya Prakash, *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier : The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 24-25.

and a redefined and non-modernist critical stance.⁴¹ The writings of Turkish architects must be understood in relation to 1960s postmodernism in Huyssen's terms, as they usually reproduced basic aspects of modernism.

As observed in the writings of the architects of the period, Western hegemony was a central issue in the shaping of architectural discourse. The Western impact took the form of American imperialism during the post-world war II era in Turkey. The end of the World War II, the beginning of cold war, the dissolving of nationalist and colonial regimes in Europe, the decolonization of the non-Western world and the establishment of the Third World all actively shaped the political scene. The American alliance against the Soviet bloc and Turkey's NATO membership was particularly important. Sibel Bozdoğan defines the architectural setting during the 1950s as the Americanization period.⁴² The International style grew stronger in the US as European modernists moved there during World War II, and the Turkish architects welcomed this influence in the 1950s. The Hilton Hotel in Istanbul (1950) was the first building in the international style with the partnership of S.O.M and Sedat Hakkı Eldem.

The emergence of modernization theory in American academia was an important factor in shaping of the interaction between the US and Turkey. Sibel Bozdoğan points out that "modernization theory was the work of American social scientists and 'area studies' experts who offered an academic foundation to the expansion of American political, military and economic interests throughout the World in the aftermath of World War II."⁴³ This theory suggested linear, predictable and scientific methods of organization to the developing world, with an assumption that all societies can be modernized based on a universal process.⁴⁴ The decolonizing nations and the new

41. Andreas Huyssen, *Mapping the Postmodern*, 1984, 16.

42. Bozdoğan, "Democracy, Development, and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s," 116.

43. *Ibid.*, 133.

44. Bozdoğan, "Democracy, Development, and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Cul-

emerging nation states of the period first embraced this intervention with optimistic views, but the predictions of modernization theory have failed and societies were modernized in their own ways.⁴⁵

The optimistic social environment that the American ‘modernization theory’ disseminated throughout the world began to dissolve in the 1960s. Social trauma caused by rapid urbanization, industrialization, migration and the marginalization of rural areas led to reactions against the American development model. Moreover, the peaceful image the United States created around the world began to lose its prestige during the mid 1960s due to its racist politics as well as the unfair situation created during the Vietnam War.⁴⁶ The African-American Civil Rights Movement and protests against Vietnam War in the US influenced the international mobilization.

The most influential uprisings of the period occurred in Paris in May 1968. The workers and students in France collaborated against the de Gaulle government’s authoritative politics in search of the social rights and better living conditions. The Tet Offensive in January 1968, the assassination of Martin Luther King in the US in April 1968 and the suppression of the Prague Spring by the Stalinist government were the international triggers of the leftist uprisings in Paris. The revolutionaries objected to the production of knowledge based on market conditions, which was the pragmatic attitude of the postwar period. They called for the free communication of knowledge and direct democracy.⁴⁷

Criticism of the capitalist development of architecture and urbanism was an important component of the uprisings. The Situationist International (S.I), a group of avant-garde critics, which was active between 1958 and 1969, influenced the May

ture in the 1950s,” 133.

45. Ibid.

46. Bağış Erten, “Türkiye’de 68 [Year 68 in Turkey],” in *Sol; Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce 8 [Left; Political Thought in Modern Turkey 8]*, ed. Taml Bora and Murat Gültekingil (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), 835.

47. Ibid., 837.

68 uprisings in France. This group was inspired by the ideas of Guy Debord, who developed a criticism of the capitalist lifestyle in his influential book *La Société du Spectacle* published in 1967. Debord, argued that the capitalist society was no longer real or authentic but it was defined through the representation of images. “The images detached from every aspect of life fuse in a common stream in which the unity of this life can no longer be reestablished’.⁴⁸ His suggestion was to restore real human life, politics and art through the construction of ‘situations’ defined as moments of life “concretely and deliberately constructed by the collective organization of a unitary ambience and a play of events.”⁴⁹

A big part of the non-Western world was going through decolonization and establishing new nation states during this period. The struggle against capitalism in the non-Western context took a slightly different shape and emerged as a battle against Western Imperialism including a critique of colonialism. A non-aligned movement that refused to be involved either in the capitalist bloc or the communist bloc during the cold war was established with the participation of countries such as Yugoslavia, India and Egypt among others. The leftist uprisings in Turkey situated their struggle close to the decolonizing nations. They sympathized with them and associated the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923) with their struggle in the 1960s. They considered the Turkish war as a model for struggle against Western imperialism.⁵⁰

The Chamber of Architects in Turkey defined its agenda based on the idea of an anti-imperialist and independent economy. It adopted a socially responsible role that aimed at providing the good of the public in construction projects and in urban development. The slogans on the annual reports such as “*Mimarlar Odası Toplum Hizmetinde* (The Chamber of Architects is in Public Service),”⁵¹ “*Kendi Gücümüze*

48. Guy Debord, *La Société du Spectacle* (Buchet-Chastel, 1967).

49. Tom McDonough, *The Situationists and the City* (London; New York: Verso, 2009).

50. Huyssen, *Mapping the Postmodern*, 840.

51. TMMOB Mimarlar Odası İstanbul Şubesi 16. Dönem Raporu Kapağı, 1970 [Chamber of Ar-

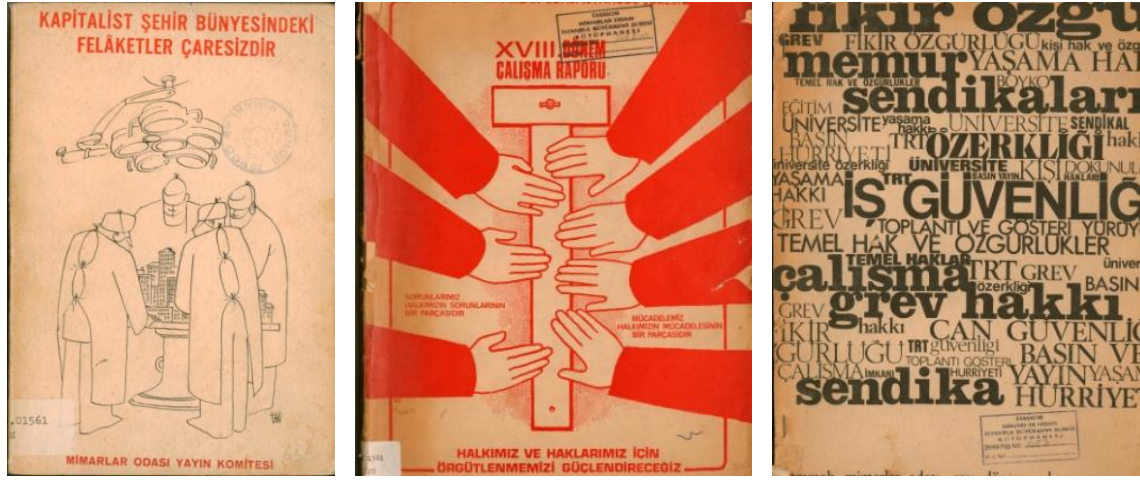


Figure 3.11: Covers of the annual reports of the Chamber of Architects

Dayanalım (Depend on our own power),”⁵² “*Kapitalist Şehir Bünyesindeki Felaketler Çaresizdir* (Disasters In Context of the Capitalist City Are Helpless)”⁵³ reflect the chamber’s ideals (Figure 3.11). The organization distanced itself from communist parties and socialist movements, and aligned its position with the nationalist and anti-imperialist view that defined itself as ‘left’ in the late 1960s. The 19th Report of the Ankara Branch of the Chamber of Architects explains the organization’s interest in leftist politics and at the same time in nationalism: “That our labor is in service of our public, depends on our country’s achievement of independence in every field and the end of the system which rests upon colonialism.”⁵⁴ Western imperialism was considered colonialism by the nationalist left in Turkey.

The chamber of architects also supported the idea of a planned development that was introduced by the new constitution in 1961 as a result of a military intervention on

chitects Istanbul Branch 16th Period Report Cover]

52. Ibid.

53. Mimarlar Odası Çalışma Raporu [Chamber of Architects Action Report], İstanbul, 1975

54. Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi 19. Dönem Çalışma Raporu [Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch Reports], 1975

May 27, 1960. The organization considered the army as the founder and protector of a planned urban development that was freed from the American dominance and based on the local conditions and economic needs of Turkey.⁵⁵ Reflections of this approach can be observed in the writings of Bülent Özer on regionalism, which challenged the Western impact. In his book, he suggested that the development plans be the basis of creating an architectural design for the needs of the country.⁵⁶

The attitude of the Chamber of Architects, just like the architectural theories of Bülent Özer, challenged the Western dominance, but at the same time reproduced the ideals of Western modernism with an undisputed assumption of a universal truth that is based on reason. Therefore, the period when many museum constructions took place in Turkey was characterized by a transition process, which criticized modernism but did not go beyond producing alternatives that pursued a modernist intellectual framework.

3.4 The Example of Antalya Museum as a Conclusion

As discussed in the first chapter, the formation of archaeological and ethnographic collections and their dissemination throughout Turkey reflected the homogenizing attitude of the historiography and rendered the complex memories in different regions into the dichotomy of archaeology and ethnography. The architectural design themes behind Antalya Museum provide an interesting discussion in presenting the oppositional perception of the past and the future and the regional and the universal. In line with the regionalist ideas of the period, which criticized a universalist approach in architecture, Antalya Museum's architects were concerned with the physical and social environment of the building. However, through their conception of the past and the cultural heritage as timeless and monumental phenomena, they ironically

55. Mimarlar Odası Çalışma Raporları [Chamber of Architects Reports]

56. Özer, *Rejyonizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz, Üzerine Bir Deneme [An Essay on Regionalism, Universalism and Our Contemporary Architecture]*.

reproduced a universalist discourse.

The project of Antalya Museum was commissioned to Doğan Tekeli and Sami Sisa as a result of an architectural competition, in which many established architectural offices participated. Tekeli and Sisa's project was awarded the first prize due to its applicability and the relations it suggested with the natural environment. The building was completed and opened to visitors in 1972.⁵⁷ It was located to the West of the city, where the urban settlement had not reached (Figure 3.12). The building sits next to a rock cliff facing the Mediterranean Sea to the South and sharp mountains (Bey Dağları) exist to the North. As the sketch clearly shows, the strict geometric character of the design is in sharp contrast to the intricacy of the existing city. The design manifests a rational attitude by regulated precise forms as opposed to the existing maze-like texture of the city. The strong horizontal effect in the design is chosen by the architects in contrast to the steep mountains in order to create a silhouette that compliments the natural surroundings.⁵⁸

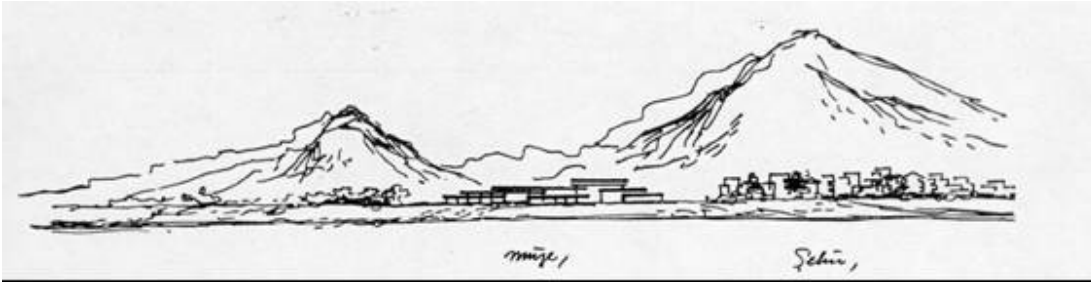


Figure 3.12: Antalya museum sketch by Tekeli-Sisa Architects, (Tekeli and Sisa, *Doğan Tekeli- Sami Sisa : projeler, yapılar 1954-1994*)

As the architects explain in their collection of works:

The display spaces are arranged around a courtyard in chronological order and their dimensions and forms are determined based on the functional necessities

57. Tekeli and Sisa, *Doğan Tekeli- Sami Sisa : projeler, yapılar 1954-1994*, 91

58. *ibid.*, 22

of the displays. These blocks that are disconnected from the urban life close by, open up to the incorrupt nature in the South and West leaving the visitor between the centuries long unchanging natural aspects and historical merits of the region. The whole building is covered with horizontal roof planes that are arranged in different levels based on the necessities. The spaces left between the different elevations of these planes provide smooth refracted light and natural ventilation. The strong horizontal effect of the roof plaques creates a nice contrast to the mountains behind and constitutes the plastic integrity.⁵⁹

The rationalist and modernist attitudes of the architects that aimed at controlling the space are reflected in the chronological order and shaping of the blocks based on the display of objects. However, these aspects can be seen in many of the museum buildings in different time periods. What makes Antalya Museum distinct is the relationship it suggests between space and time through the connection it establishes with its surroundings. The building closes itself to the recent urban texture and tries to communicate with a transcendent nature and history. To establish links with the past, which is considered to be intact, pure and immutable, the building avoids any connection with the present city that is considered a corrupt time and space. Instead, it opens up to a timeless nature. In monumentalizing the past and regarding the present as a valueless time that is to be forgotten during the spatial experience of the museum, the past and the present are conceived as contradictory notions.

This belief in the possibility of controlling time with a conception of past and present as two opposite notions is a misconception of modernity. The architecture of the Antalya Museum suggests a modern space with its rational and geometric character that houses history as a monumental phenomenon. The perspective sketch of the entrance hall of Antalya Museum denotes how rationally composed forms with their precise and prismatic volumes, surround the historical artifact (the ancient column) (Figure 3.13). The drawing emphasizes the assumed contrast between past and present by demonstrating architectural elements from the past (the ancient column) and the present (modern columns of the museum).

59. Ibid.

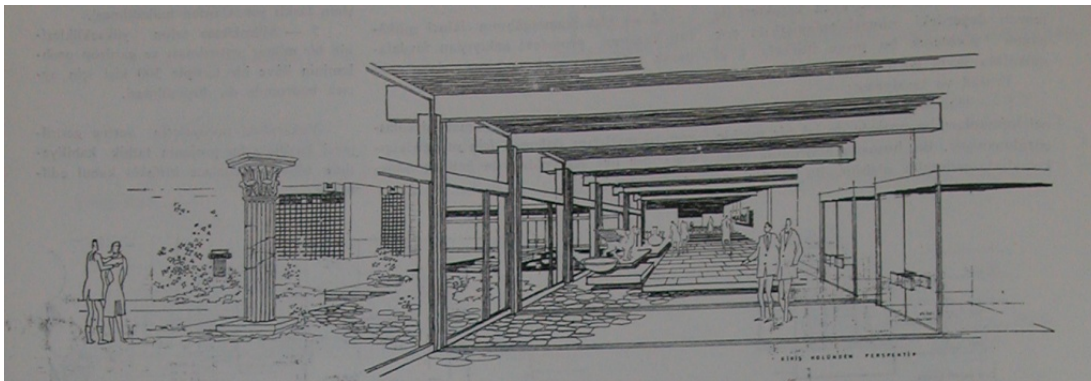


Figure 3.13: Antalya museum interior perspective by Tekeli-Sisa Architects (*Arkitekt*, 1966)

In his discussion on the two museum buildings, Palazzo Bianco in Genova (1950-51) and Treasury Museum of San Lorenzo (1952-56) by Franco Albini, Manfredo Tafuri presents the issue of the display of history in a modern space as a contradiction that the architects dealt with in postwar Italy.⁶⁰ He points out that the encounter between innovation and tradition was one of the most important themes to be discussed within the Italian architectural scene in the 1950s. Tafuri defines Albini's museum spaces as poetics created by the combination of a subtle surrealism and a technically faultless vocabulary and characterizes these as "ephemeral spaces for magically transported historical objects."⁶¹ While Tafuri reckons this combination as an accomplishment, he clearly conceives modernity and history as conflicting notions that came together as a result of a skillful design. He defines history as a timeless phenomenon as opposed to the transitoriness of modern space.

According to Henry Bergson, the rational understanding of history, which conceives time as a linear notion, is a misconception. He argues that the past and the present are intertwined, rather than sequential, and are simultaneously present in

60. Manfredo Tafuri, "History of Italian architecture, 1944-1985," chap. The Museum, History and Metaphor (1951-1967) in (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 49-52.

61. *Ibid.*, 50.

memories, which are representations of the past in the present. These representations are subjective, thus, they are being constantly changed and distorted based on individual interpretations.⁶² Far from being stable and timeless, history and memory are also transitory concepts and the relationship between memories and space is an unstable one that is constantly generating new memories through individual remembrances and forgettings.

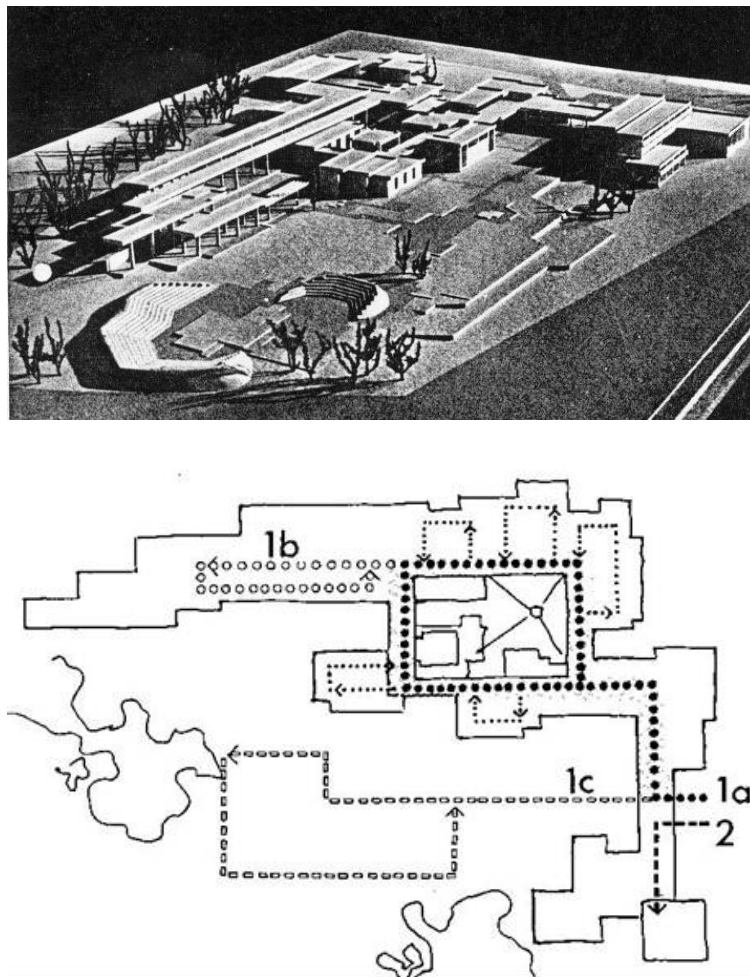


Figure 3.14: Antalya Museum model (top), Antalya Museum functional scheme (bottom) (Tekeli and Sisa, *Doğan Tekeli– Sami Sisa : projeler, yapılar 1954-1994*)

62. Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory* (London; New York: G. Allen & Co.; Macmillan co., 1912).

The architectural design of the Antalya Museum takes a regionalist position in the way it suggests a connection to the natural and traditional environment, and it tries to differentiate itself from universalist attitudes. However, it reproduces the dichotomies of a universalist approach by establishing a binary between the past and the present, tradition and modernity. While suggesting a relationship between the museum space and its natural and historical surrounding (“the incorrupt nature in the South and West leaving the visitor between the centuries long ‘unchanging’ natural aspects and historical merits of the region”), the building disconnects them through the conception of the past as ‘unchanging’ and ‘frozen’. By doing this, similar to the conception of Tafuri, the architects draw a clear line between the current display space and the object of display. In other words, the architects render the archaeological objects in the museum as frozen and dead artifacts. The objects were conceived as timeless and static, whereas modern space was evolving.

On the other hand, it is important to note that the Antalya Museum went through transformations due to the decisions of people who are not necessarily architects, in a manner that the designers never anticipated or would want to. It was altered by the extensions and closure of windows and new wall colors.⁶³ Through the uncontrolled interventions, the building produced a series of independent spaces. It proved that space is not stable nor is it in full control of the architects. With the complex spatial formations, the building challenges the suggested pattern of remembrance and hints at the complexity of memories in the region.

63. The museum was renovated in the end of 2000s and the new display is ambitious about presenting the cultural heritage of the Mediterranean Civilizations in Turkey. Argument of this chapter is relevant to the case of the museum before this renovation.



Figure 3.15: Antalya Museum, 2005 (Photograph was taken by the author.)

Chapter 4

AN ARCHITECT ON THE PERIPHERY: ERTEN ALTABAN

... (The) threatening question ... is whether architecture can ever be constituted as a complete, coherent and consistent field.¹

Understanding these provincial museums, which were left out of the architectural, historical and cultural canons and even considered non-existent, requires an interrogation of the disciplinary boundaries of architecture as a field. This entails a critique of authorship in architecture. Michel Foucault's question "What is necessary to its composition if a work is not something written by a person called an 'author'?"² provides a starting point for scrutinizing authorship and the museums in Turkey, which do not fit into existing canons.

In addition to being situated on the periphery and remaining out of the main canons of architectural historiography, some of the most interesting examples of the modern museums in Turkey were designed by Erten Altaban, a woman architect. While it is important to avoid creating another discourse of a master subject out of Altaban and involve her within the existing canons, the fact that woman architects remained peripheral to the architectural scene and architectural historiography cannot be taken for granted. This chapter suggests a critical approach to the perceptions of architecture as a stable and masculinized discipline realized by heroic figures.

In order to do this, the alternative approach Altaban introduced into museum

1. Gülsüm Baydar, "The Cultural Burden of Architecture," *Journal of Architectural Education* 57, no. 4 (2004): 19–27.

2. Michel Foucault, Donald F. Bouchard, and Sherry Simon, eds., "Language, Counter-memory, Practice : Selected Essays and Interviews," chap. What is an Author? In (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), 118.

design in Turkey is examined. Rather than conceiving Altaban's attitude as an essential female aspect, a subtle approach to her as an unconventional figure is developed through the lenses of cosmopolitanism and feminism. In the last one or two decades, cosmopolitanism has been redefined as a concept that addresses the complexities, which remained out of the dominant narratives and established canons of modernity, instead of the concept's commonsense use as "the citizen of the world", which implied a strong involvement within the system of modernity. Feminism on the other hand, obviously stands out as this chapter is on a woman architect; however, this is not the only reason. Feminism is useful as it offers a lens to criticize modernity as a system of masculinity that disregards particularities and points out the important impact of the marginalized structures in everyday life.

After some brief biographic information about Altaban, this chapter discusses her design approach based on the examples of the Museum of Ephesus, Niğde Museum and Çanakkale Museum. Secondly, it presents Altaban's take on authorship in architecture. In the third part, the integration of art and architecture in the buildings of Kars Museum and the Museum of Ephesus is discussed. In conclusion, it is suggested that these spaces constitute cosmopolitan and feminist spaces that provide room for fragmented remembrances.

4.1 *Erten Altaban*

Erten Altaban was born in Istanbul in 1938. She studied architecture at Istanbul Technical University and graduated in 1962. She was a successful student in high school, so she was encouraged by her teachers to go to Istanbul Technical University, which was the most competitive institution of higher education in Turkey at that time. She was placed fourth at the university exam and, thus, was given the chance to choose her department. She chose architecture due to her interest in art and painting.

Altaban graduated from the architecture school in 1962. After graduating she

worked for the Directorate of Planning at the Istanbul Municipality from 1962 to 1964. In 1964, she moved to London with her husband, Özcan Altaban, who was a graduate student. She worked for the London Housing Department for a year. Later they moved to Liverpool for Özcan's doctoral studies, where she worked for the City Architect, Ronald Bradburry from 1965 to 1968. Altaban considers this experience a very productive period in the beginning of her carrier.



Figure 4.1: Erten Altaban (The photograph on the left is from the publication of the Chamber of Architects, and the one on the right was taken by the author in December 2010.

In 1968, Altaban returned to Turkey and started her job at the Directorate General of Museums and Antiquities³ in Ankara. She chose this institution because she heard that there was an opportunity for the actual practice of architecture. In this department, she worked as the project architect from 1968 to 1978 and designed museums. After 1978, she was promoted to be responsible for the budget planning of the Ministry of Culture. In 1978, she became the assistant president of planning directorate, in 1982 the president of planning directorate, in 1988 the assistant un-

3. Today, Directorate General of Cultural Assets and Museums

dersecretary of culture, in 1993 consultant to the Ministry of Culture and retired in 1997 as the assistant undersecretary of culture.⁴

4.2 An Alternative Approach to Museum Design

Altaban was an interesting figure in her approach to museum design. Within the modernist canon, the spatial composition of museums is often based on the assumption that visitors would view the displays by following an uninterrupted walking route. For example, the architectural design of Antalya Museum, by Doğan Tekeli and Sami Sisa, who are mainstream male architects devoted to the principles of modernism, offers a clear route for the visitors (Figure 3.14). The museum space was conceived as a machine and functionality was considered as the most important issue in designing Antalya Museum.⁵ According to Altaban, however, while it was important in any kind of design, function was not the main issue in the spatial composition.

Instead of prioritizing display routes, for Altaban, designing display spaces started by thinking about the object and its lighting. She believed that the presentation of an object can be made powerful by a good lighting technique. In addition, her take on the visiting experience was quite different from the mainstream modernist approach. Instead of defining clear and linear directions, she aimed at making the museum visit a surprising and episodic experience. For example, in the Museum of Ephesus, she placed the Artemis Hall in a way that the visitors can see the sculptures behind a wooden grill but cannot approach directly (Figure 4.2). They have to make a detour to enter this space, which provides a privileged area with its proportions and lighting for viewing Artemis statues. She wanted the visitor to be excited and curious in the museum and make the effort to get closer and see these legendary artifacts.⁶

4. All the information about Erten Altaban's biography was obtained during an interview with her on December 15th, 2010.

5. Interview with Doğan Tekeli on 12.15.2009

6. Interview with Erten Altaban on December 15, 2010

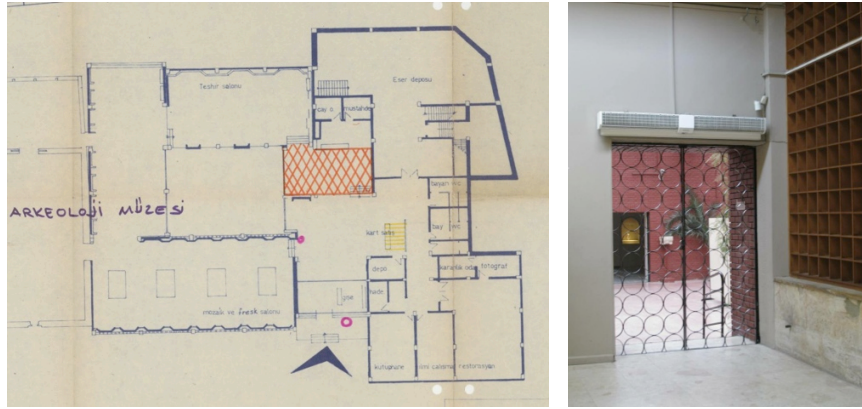


Figure 4.2: Museum of Ephesus plan (left), from the archives of the Directorate General of Cultural Assets and Museums), Museum of Ephesus interior, December 2010 (right), photograph was taken by the author.

When imagining the visitor's experience within the museum, she thought of an interrupted and contingent tour instead of a linear walk. She asked questions such as "Is the visitor going to take a break? Go to the courtyard? Drink something? How much time do they spend in one hall? Are they going to encounter another time period in the next hall?"⁷ She did not put an emphasis on viewing the objects in chronological order. Instead she considered possible breaks as well as imagined surprising encounters and transitions between different historical periods.

Different from mainstream modernist architects, her conception of spatial organization reflects an interest in the particularities and contingencies of a museum visit. Altaban considered the unexpected and unplanned human behavior and did not put emphasis on a straightforward museum visit. From a feminist perspective, it is possible to argue that Altaban's take on design was pertinent to the particularities of spatial experience, whereas Tekeli and Sisa's linear routes reflected the masculine aspects of modernity such as the belief in control of the flow of life without consideration of contingencies. For sure, a male architect could have designed like Altaban. Rather

7. Interview with Erten Altaban on December 15, 2010

than an essential female decision, Altaban's attitude was an alternative to modernist museum design, which is often obsessed with chronological display routes and the idea of controlling time.

The idealized assumptions of modernism that privileges rationality and reason has been criticized due to their association with a putative masculinity.⁸ In her essay in *Negotiating Domesticity*, Hilde Heynen argues that this approach was common in modern architectural discourse. Architects such as Hermann Muthesius, Adolf Loos and Henry van de Velde degraded 19th century eclecticism by defining it as 'effeminate'. They advocated simplicity, authenticity and integrity, and contrasted these qualities with the sentimentality, ornamentation and ostentatious pretensions associated with eclecticism.⁹

Altaban's interrupted display spaces must be understood as a criticism of the masculinized assumptions of modernity. While modern architecture fantasized purity and linearity, Altaban's approach produced a heterogeneity and abrupt interruptions through a recognition and acknowledgement of reality. However, rather than a counter argument to masculinity, this criticism manifests a self-determined and independent alternative. In their introduction to the Cosmopolitanism issue of *Public Culture*, Sheldon Pollock, Homi Bhabha, Carol Breckenridge and Dipesh Chakrabarty suggest a collaboration between cosmopolitanism and feminism. These authors associate a cosmopolitan approach with feminism, in the sense that they both are interested in the subjects that are left out of modernity and suggest the collaboration of these concepts as 'cosmofeminism.' They argue that both concepts challenge categories such

8. Traditionally Western philosophy linked reason with males. For a detailed presentation of this argument Heynen refers to Genevieve Lloyd, *The Man of Reason : "Male" and "Female" in Western Philosophy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984). Gülsüm Baydar also analyzes texts that associated modernity with masculinity by referring to Mark Wigley's analysis of Alberti's texts, Mark Wigley, "Untitled: The Housing of Gender," in *Sexuality and Space*, ed. Beatriz Colomina and Jennifer Bloomer (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992)

9. Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar, *Negotiating Domesticity : Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005).

as ‘universal,’ ‘theoretical,’ ‘abstract’ and ‘conceptual,’ which have been characterized as implicitly masculine because they are associated with mastery, distance from experience and indifference to specifics.¹⁰ However, these authors emphasize that, instead of an antidote to modernist constructs, cosmofeminism would be an autonomous criticism of the established canons.¹¹

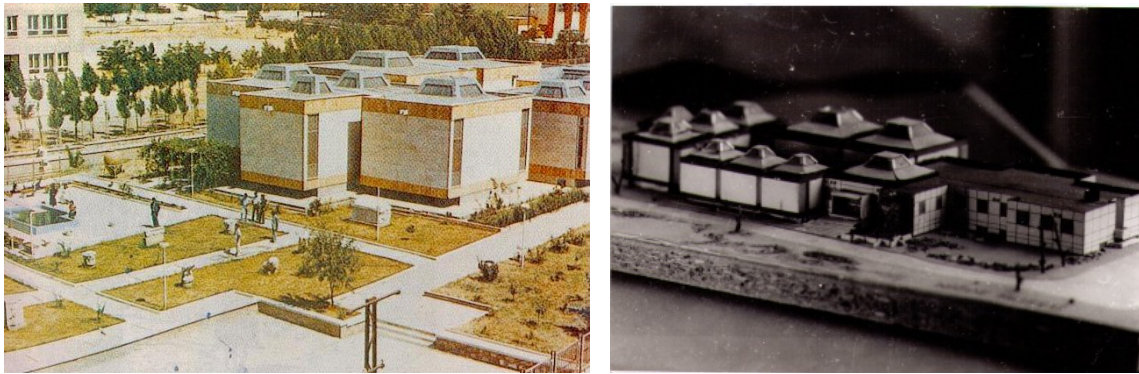


Figure 4.3: Niğde Museum in the 1990s (left) (Önder, *Türkiye Müzeleri*), Niğde Museum model (from the personal collection of Erten Altaban)

While cosmopolitanism is an old concept dating back to the ancient Greek philosophers, Pollock, Bhabha, Breckenridge and Chakrabarty suggest a revised understanding. Instead of the term’s association with the notion of ‘citizen of the world’, which implies a strong involvement with modernity, they propose that cosmopolitanisms are the practices that are excluded by modernity. They also criticize the more recent use of the term in the context of globalism, nationalism and multiculturalism that became influential due to the increasing encounters between different cultures.¹² According to these authors, multiculturalism implies the importance of cultural difference however, it entails an involvement with nationalism, whereas cosmopolitans are the disadvan-

10. Sheldon Pollock et al., “Cosmopolitanisms,” *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000): 583.

11. *Ibid.*, 585.

12. *Ibid.*, 578.

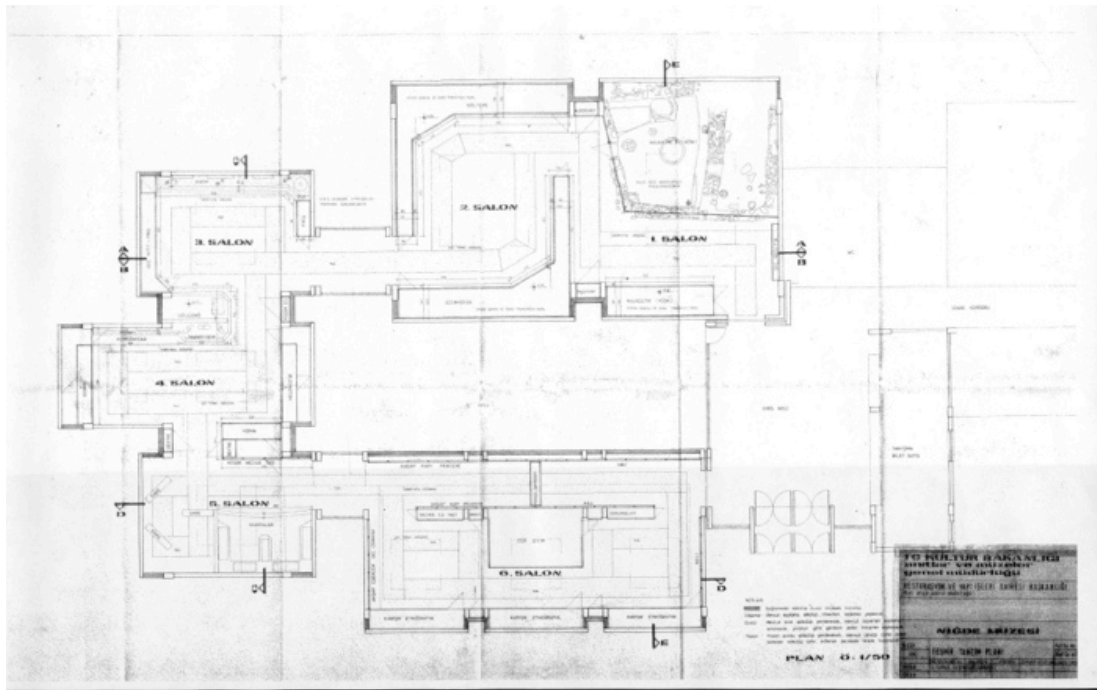


Figure 4.4: Niğde Museum plan (from the archives of the Directorate General of Cultural Assets and Museums)

tagged within the modernist system that are deprived of the amenities and convenience of national belonging.¹³

The alternative approach suggested by Altaban should be viewed as a cosmofeminist criticism due to its self-governed nature. Her rejection of being identified as a woman architect supports the autonomy of her understanding of architecture. She refuses to be defined as a woman architect, and mentions that she would not make the distinction female architect vs. male architect. Her design approach was not developed as a challenge to a male dominated design scene, but as an independent approach that offered contingent museum experiences, which implies a cosmopolitan perspective. One of the key aspects of cosmopolitanism according to Pollock et al.

13. Ibid., 582.



Figure 4.5: Çanakkale Museum, December, 2009 (Photograph was taken by the author.)

is that, “cosmopolitanism is not a circle created by culture diffused from a center, but that centers are everywhere and circumferences nowhere”.¹⁴ They tend to not describe cosmopolitanism as a definite theory, but propose that it is a useful lens to escape the dialectic of the general and the particular. Without crediting the dialectic of male and female, Altaban raised an alternative voice.

Niğde Museum and Çanakkale Museum buildings also reflect Altaban’s conceptions of interrupted visiting experiences in their architectural forms (Figures 4.3, 4.4, 4.5). Rather than being designed in plan, Altaban is interested in talking about the ways volumes are put together.¹⁵ Both Niğde Museum and Çanakkale Museum are composed of small masses that form a large whole, instead of having an assumed initial integrity of space that is to be carved out. As seen on the plan of Niğde Museum, there are interruptions between cubical spaces. In case of Çanakkale Museum, the breaks between the modular spaces are strengthened by creating different heights, where wide steps connect varying elevations (Figure 4.6).

The displays within these museums are strictly chronological, almost trying to make the interrupted spaces connect through the linear historiographies starting with the display of prehistoric Anatolia and continuing with Greek, Roman Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman artifacts. While both Niğde Museum and Çanakkale Museum

14. Pollock et al., “Cosmopolitanisms,” 588.

15. Interview with Erten Altaban on December 15, 2010



Figure 4.6: Çanakkale Museum interior, December 2009 (Photograph was taken by the author.)

contain specific artifacts from their region, through the similar chronological narratives they are rendered equal. For example, Niğde Museum is very close to Cappadocia, where early Christian churches has international significance, but there is no emphasis on such a theme in the museum. In Çanakkale Museum, layers of the city of Troy are exhibited, however, it feels exactly as if one is in any state archaeological museum.

Despite the uniqueness of Altaban's museum designs, it is important to note that fragmented architectural compositions were very common at the time. This attitude was introduced to the Turkish architectural scene in the 1960s and 70s. Some scholars defined it as an 'irrational' style¹⁶ since it was developed against the aggressive rationalism of high modernism. Team Ten architects were the central figures of

16. Kortan, *Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi : (1960 - 1970) : 1960' larda Modern Mimarlıktaki Önemli Gelişmelerin ve Teorilerin Açıklanmasıyla Birlikte.*

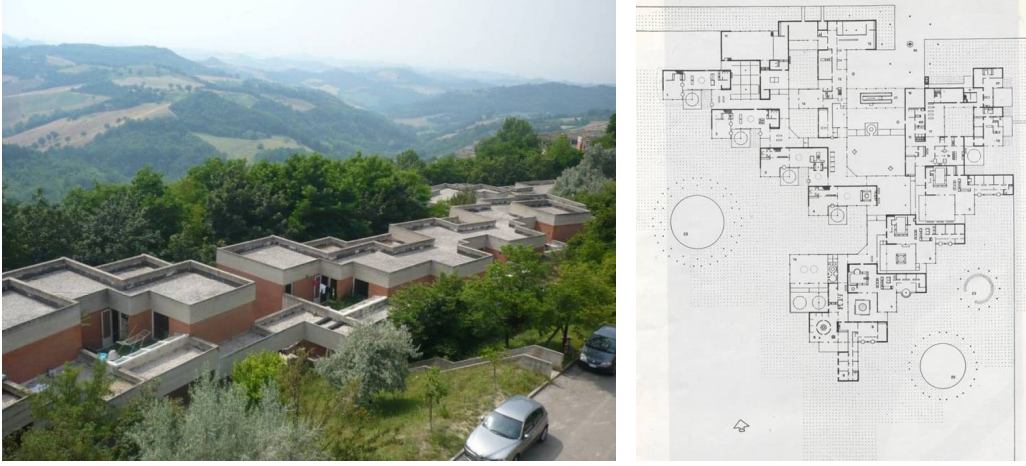


Figure 4.7: Free University of Urbino by Giancarlo de Carlo (left), the Municipal Orphanage by Aldo van Eyck (right), (Bosman, *Team 10 out of CIAM*)

this attitude. The Free University of Urbino by Giancarlo de Carlo (late 1960s) and the Municipal Orphanage by Aldo van Eyck (1955-60) can be considered influential examples with their fragmented structures (Figure 4.7).

The application of this attitude by Turkish architects was widely criticized as copying Western models without consideration of the local conditions and needs.¹⁷ However, this kind of criticism has proved to be unproductive in the last three decades with more balanced conceptions of the relationship between East and West. The concept of hybridity was subtly theorized by scholars such as Homi Bhabha in more positive terms instead of its earlier conceptions as degradation and corruption. In the case of the Niğde Museum, it is possible to argue that the building is a hybrid structure that was influenced by the dominant forms of the period and blended with the local characteristic of the built environment. Although it is completely changed today, the traditional environment with flat roofed cubic blocks at the time of the

17. Kortan, *Türkiye’de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi : (1960 - 1970) : 1960’larda Modern Mimarlıktaki Önemli Gelişmelerin ve Teorilerin Açıklanmasıyla Birlikte*; Özer, *Rejyonizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz, Üzerine Bir Deneme [An Essay on Regionalism, Universalism and Our Contemporary Architecture]*.

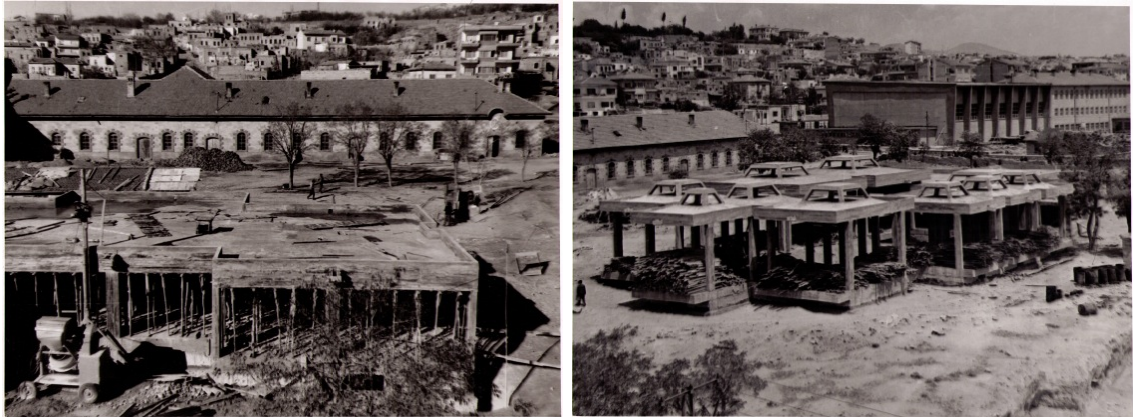


Figure 4.8: Niğde Museum under construction, 1970s (from the personal collection of Erten Altaban)

building's construction are seen in the pictures taken during the construction of the building (Figure 4.8). An association between the traditional texture and the museum building seems to clearly be present.

Altaban mentions that it is impossible to avoid the influence of both East and West. When explaining the design process, she refrains from suggesting clear frames of design attitudes and says,

First of all, I went to the site, talked to people and especially paid attention to the objects to be displayed and learned as much as I can about the objects. I observed the existing built environment and learned about the existing buildings. The new structure should reveal that it is new, but not dominate the existing old structures. It is impossible not to be influenced by the regional conditions, it has its own color, texture, stone. I felt and perceived the existing space and designed based on its influence on me. This is simply the architect's job.¹⁸

Instead of suggesting methods to deal with either the Western dominance or tradition, both of which were highly problematized in the main architectural debates,¹⁹

18. Interview with Erten Altaban on December 15, 2010

19. See Chapter Three.

Altaban chose to simply do her job. She was interested in practicing and she avoided making clear definitions about her approach. Sheldon Pollock, conceives the cosmopolitan as the practice rather than definitions and theories. He refers to Gramsci's words: "Not the citizen of the world, . . . but as producer of civilization" and rephrases it as: "Is it all possible to be universal without preaching universalism?"²⁰ It is possible to view Altaban's buildings as cosmopolitan practices that were left outside of mainstream architectural practice and even outside the boundaries of architecture as it is defined by central narratives.

4.3 Challenging Disciplinary Boundaries

The provincial museums in Turkey, which are physically located in remote regions, also remained peripheral to the scholarship of the history of modern architecture. Not only did they remain peripheral to history writing, they were excluded from architecture as a disciplinary field and considered "non-architecture." But what and who defines the boundaries of architecture? Are these museums not worthy of scholarly attention even if they do not function as the symbolic expression of a cultural identity?

In the context of a discussion of the boundaries of architecture, Gülsüm Baydar questions the relationship between culture and architecture.²¹ Referring to James Clifford's renowned *The Predicament of Culture*,²² she mentions that in the 19th century, culture and art were pursued by the protection and collection of the best and most interesting creations of mankind. Wholeness, continuity and essence were the concepts that informed 19th century Western art and culture.²³ Baydar continues her discussion by pointing out that postcolonial studies challenged the hegemonic and

20. Sheldon Pollock, "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History," *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000): 621.

21. Baydar, "The Cultural Burden of Architecture," 19.

22. James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture : Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

23. Baydar, "The Cultural Burden of Architecture," 19.

unifying attitude of Western art historiography and introduced influential concepts such as hybridity, decentering and transculturation, which helps understand the complex cases that have been marginalized in the fields of art and architectural history. Baydar draws attention to Homi Bhabha's call for understanding culture as an unstable and unsystematic phenomenon that is constructed in an "ambivalent space of enunciation and a discontinuous time of translation and negotiation."²⁴

These concepts are important in drawing attention to the provincial museums, as although they are excluded topics of investigation in the dominant literature, they indicate the instability and ambiguity of cultural identity in Turkey. An investigation of the peripheral museums suggests that, the problem cannot be viewed as an East-West dichotomy, but is a complex and de-centered situation of dominances and exclusions. The use of terms 'Western' and 'non-Western' are being problematized by the scholars but these terms are hardly avoidable if scholarly attention is paid to only the central examples of architectural history either in the East or in the West. This attitude leads to the reproduction of dominant architectural historiographies even in the so-called non-Western cultures and strengthens the West / non-West dichotomy.

The other reason these buildings were peripheralized is that they were designed by non-traditional actors of architecture. Many of them were designed by Erten Altaban, a woman architect, others were designed by architects who worked for the state, and all of them in fact were shaped and transformed by multiple actors such as the museum directors, museum officials or construction workers. Therefore, they point out that spaces are created over time by the participation of multiple actors instead of a single author.

In her essay in the book *Negotiating Domesticity*, which she coedited with Hilde Heynen, Gülsüm Baydar argues that the "Western architectural canon, which is based on the autonomy of the built object and the creativity of the architect as the master

24. Ibid., 20.

subject, marks a phallogocentric form of knowledge. This position naturalizes the dominant position of the male architect, the architect designed building and the Western world.”²⁵ In other words, Baydar argues that the determined boundaries of architecture as a discipline is a product of male dominated system of modernism and questions these boundaries from a feminist perspective.

Another critical statement of Erten Altaban was related to the issue of authorship in architecture. Altaban removed her name, which was inscribed at the entrance of the Museum of Ephesus, after finishing the construction. She refused to present herself as the single creator of this building and conceived this project as a collaborative work sponsored by the state. Once again, Altaban’s approach can be viewed as a cosmofeminist attitude that challenged the disciplinary boundaries of architecture, the autonomy of the built object and its creator as presumed by the modernist canon.

4.4 *The Integration of Art and Architecture*

Erten Altaban was interested in the integration of art and architecture. She collaborated with artists in the context of the projects of Kars Museum and the Museum of Ephesus (Figure 4.9). She worked with Cahit Koççoban, who was a sculptor working for the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums. Koççoban made the relief at the entrance of Kars Museum and the bronze cornice on the facade of the Museum of Ephesus. Another ceramic work, which was made by the local artist Bingül Başarır (Figure 4.10) is in the entrance hall of the Museum of Ephesus.²⁶

Altaban mentions that she was exposed to the use of plastic arts in architecture during her work with Ronald Bradbury in England. She was influenced by Bradbury’s search for decorative objects on empty walls and especially remembers that he wanted to see a clock on a plain concrete wall. While a clock was the symbol of modernity’s

25. Gülsüm Baydar, “Figures of Wo/man in Contemporary Architectural Discourse,” in *Negotiating domesticity : spatial productions of gender in modern architecture*, ed. Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 31.

26. Today, the museum shop is located in front of this ceramic.



Figure 4.9: High relief at the entrance of Kars Museum, May 2010 (left), Bronze-Copper relief on the Museum of Ephesus façade, December 2010 (right) (Photographs were taken by the author.)

break with the past and its obsession with the control of time, the art scene in Turkey was in search of the revival of the past to achieve modernization and preserve the local values at the same time.

Works of artists like Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu and Nurullah Berk exemplify the main issues of the Turkish art scene starting in the 1930s (Figures 4.11). The artists who adopted the ideals of modernist painting, were especially influenced by cubism and combined this modernist pattern with the traditional elements of Anatolia. The selected elements varied including historic sources such as Hittite civilization, Seljuk culture - considered the first Turkish and Islamic civilization in Anatolia and sources derived from recent rural life in Anatolia.²⁷

One of the most important examples of the integration of art and architecture in the postwar period is the Turkish Pavilion at Expo 58 in Brussels (Figure 4.12),

27. The art scene and cubist painting in Turkey will be critically discussed in Chapter Six.



Figure 4.10: Ceramic in the Museum of Ephesus, December 2010 (left) (Photograph was taken by the author), Bingül Başarır (right) (Photograph by Beyhan Özdemir, <http://www.fotoritim.com/yazi/beyhan-ozdemir-bir-kentin-sanat-insanlarina-fotograflarla-taniklik-etmek-tayfun-kocaman>)

which was designed by architects Utarit Izgi, Muhlis Türkmen, Hamdi Şensoy and İlhan Türegün. The pavilion was designed with a modernist ambition as reflected in its use of glass, metal and concrete. The advancement of Turkish construction techniques and the modernist architectural vision were presented in the international arena, while at the same time the intention was to distinguish the building through the use of traditionally referenced art. The two parts of the pavilion were connected to each other by a wall with a mosaic by Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu (Figure 4.12). This mosaic was composed of abstracted motifs of Anatolian culture.²⁸

In her article, where she examines the Expo'58 Pavillion at length, Sibel Bozdoğan points out that despite the internationalist emphasis in the Expo 58 as reflection of the political scene of the post WWII era, the nation states actually strengthened their national model as an agent of modernization.²⁹ She argues that, while the container of

28. Sibel Bozdoğan, "A Lost Icon of Turkish Modernism: Expo'58 Pavillion in Brussels," *Docomomo Journal*, no. 35 (2006): 66.

29. *Ibid.*, 67.



Figure 4.11: Ironing woman by Nurullah Berk (left), Composition by Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu (right)(Nurullah Berk, *Modern Painting and Sculpture in Turkey*. [[Ankara: Turkish Press Broadcasting / Tourist Dept., 1954])

the Turkish pavillion at Expo 58 represented the international ambitions of the Turkish state, the contents reproduced the republican constructions of Turkish national identity.³⁰

The bronze copper relief on the façade of the Museum of Ephesus is also a product of similar concerns. The relief is composed of abstracted figures of Anatolian rural culture (Figure 4.13). Artist Cahit Koççoban mentioned that “the relief reflects the synthesis of the city of Selçuk (current name of the ancient city of Ephesus) and the Anatolian civilizations”.³¹ The relief manifests an assumed connection between the

30. Ibid.

31. Email contact with Cahit Koççoban on April 15, 2011.

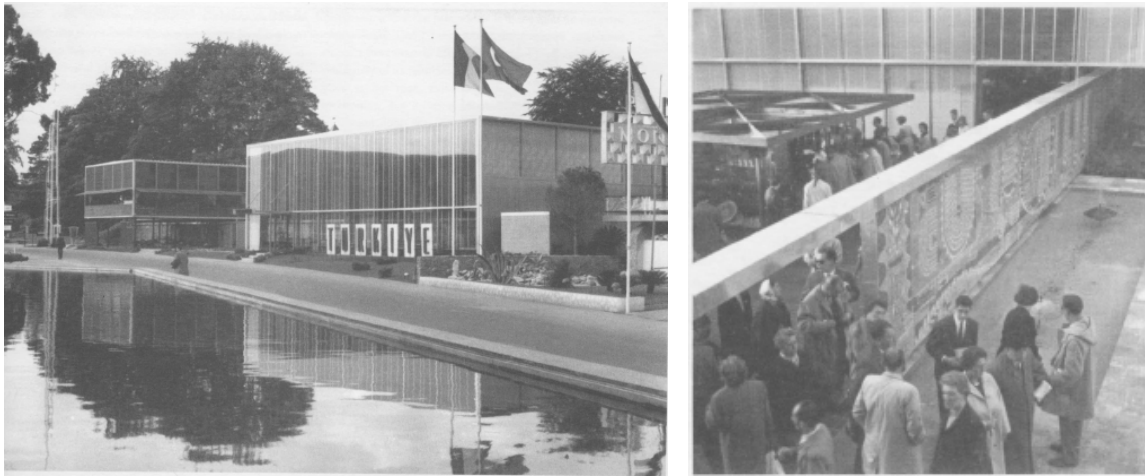


Figure 4.12: Turkish Pavillion at Expo '58 in Brussels (left), Mosaic wall decoration by Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu (right)(Sibel Bozdoğan, “A Lost Icon of Turkish Modernism: Expo'58 Pavillion in Brussels,” *Docomomo Journal*, no. 35 [2006])



Figure 4.13: Bronze-Copper Relief on the Museum of Ephesus facade, December 2010 (Photograph was taken by the author.)

memories of the ancient Greek city, whose ruins are housed in this state museum, and the region's recent rural culture. By doing this, it conveys the idea that the Museum of Ephesus, a state museum, possesses the past and future of the region.

The search for origins in art referenced various sources in Anatolia and even in Central Asia. The figure at the entrance of Kars Museum was an interpretation of the 'Life Tree' that was a traditional element used at the entrances of Seljuk buildings of the 12th and 13th centuries (Figure 4.14). The artist says that he did not consider this art piece as a specific reflection of the culture of Kars region, but that he aimed

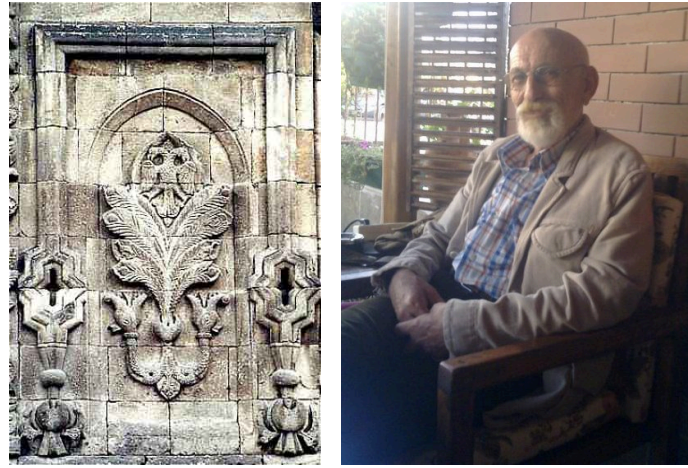


Figure 4.14: Tree of Life figure in Erzurum Çifte Minareli Madrasah (left) (from <http://www.mustafacambaz.com>), Cahit Koççoban (right)

at creating a figure that is relevant to everywhere.³² It is interesting that Koççoban considers this reference to Seljuk architecture as a broader statement, although the city of Kars is very close to the town of Malazgirt, which is considered the place the gates of Anatolia were opened to the Turks with the legendary Battle of Malazgirt that was undertaken by the Seljuk Turks in 1071. In other words, the history of Seljuk Turks has an important role in shaping of the specific memories of Kars region. However, in contrast to the minority cultures and memories in the region, Seljuk Turks have been one of the dominant cultural components of the imagined Turkish identity. Therefore the local memory of Seljuks was considered a broader cultural element that could fit 'everywhere' in the country.

The high relief at the entrance of the Kars Museum, therefore, symbolized the idea that the displays inside the building represent a broader identity rather than regional aspects. Relevant to the Turkification and Islamisation of Anatolia that started in the 11th century, the figure expresses the idea that one is entering a place where the

32. Email contact with Cahit Koççoban on April 15th.



Figure 4.15: Atatürk Corner, May 2010 (Photograph was taken by the author.)

integral identity of the Turkish state is presented. In addition to the display of objects and the ‘Life Tree’ figure, that the building belongs to the state is emphasized with an Atatürk corner at the entrance hall (Figure 4.15).

Both the Museum of Ephesus and Kars Museum contain tensions due to having been located at the borderlines between nation states. While The Museum of Ephesus bears the historical hostility between Greece and Turkey, Kars Museum is the victim of the conflict between Armenia and Turkey. These museums are created in relation to imaginary enemies and with intensions to tie them strongly to the rest of the country’s cultural heritage.³³



Figure 4.16: The built environment around Kars Museum, May 2010 (Photograph was taken by the author.)



Figure 4.17: Niğde Museum, December 2010 (Photographs were taken by the author.)

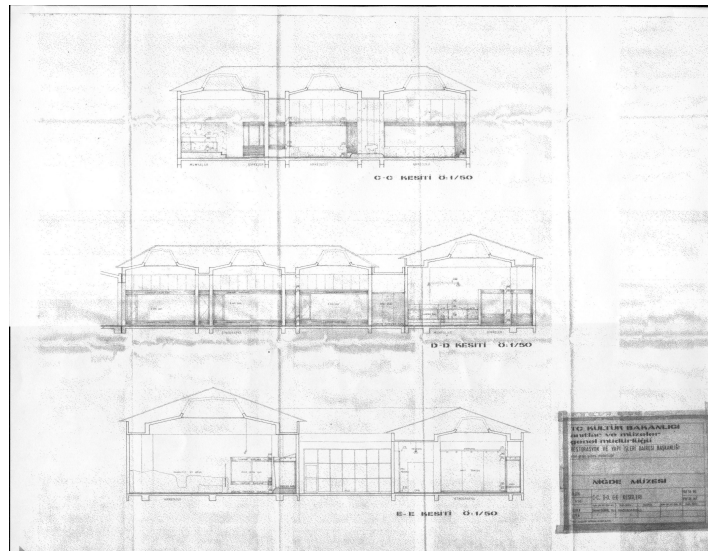


Figure 4.18: Niğde Museum renovation project, sections (from the archives of the Directorate General of Cultural Assets and Museums)

4.5 Conclusion

Despite the interest in centralization and the control of memories, both Kars Museum and the Museum of Ephesus took their own path of transformation and conveyed various messages independent of the symbolic figures attached to them. Kars Museum is in a very poor region, with people around who have no idea what the building stands for and what is inside (Figure 4.16). The poorly arranged display of objects in the building and its failure to connect to the surrounding built and social environment makes one think that it is impossible to control these remote spaces by a central administration, an architect, or an artist. The building was to reflect the central ideals of a homogeneous Anatolian culture, but it manifests its autonomous existence and denies the central memory project through its fragile and unstable structure. While the Museum of Ephesus is more decisive about functioning for central purposes,

33. See Chapter Two.



Figure 4.19: Niğde Museum, December 2010 (Photograph was taken by the author.)

that the recent museum shop is placed in front of the ceramic by totally ignoring its existence (Figure 4.10), indicates that buildings and spaces take shape without the full control of any master builder.

The transformation that Niğde Museum went through is especially striking (Figure 4.17). The museum's skylights and all the windows are closed (Figure 4.18, 4.19). The flat roofs were replaced by gabled ones, which cover the skylights. The museum director believed that the natural light should be completely blocked in the museum and he led this project of transformation.³⁴ Instead of daylight, the objects are lit by awkwardly designed artificial lighting. The transformation of these buildings by the

34. Fazlı Açıkgöz, "Müzecilik'te Başarıya Nasıl Ulaşılır? [How to Succeed in Museum Practice?]" (Müzecilik Eğitim Semineri [Museology Educational Seminar], 2007).

intervention of multiple figures, who are not necessarily architects, shows one more time that the modernist constructions of disciplinary boundaries and the existence of master builders need to be challenged.

With their woman architect, who discredited her own authorship and challenged established canons in designing museum space, the buildings of Erten Altaban are cosmofeminist structures. While they confront the masculine aspects of modern architecture, beyond simply responding to the dominance of the canon, they voice the universal concerns of the periphery. In other words, they provide spaces for cosmopolitan remembrances, the remembrance of unwanted memories of diverse ethnic and religious identities, with their abandoned plastic arts, interrupted display spaces and invisible authors.

While Altaban's buildings strongly reflect cosmofeminist aspects due to the architect's unconventional approach, it is possible to extend this argument to the broader museum project that is discussed in this dissertation. The museum project of the Turkish state involved non-traditional actors of architectural history (state officials), went through arbitrary transformations and ended up telling fragmented stories.

Chapter 5

CONTESTED MEMORIES: HUMANISM VS. THE TURKISH ISLAMIC SYNTHESIS

The only reason people want to be masters of the future is to change the past.¹

That the provincial museums in Turkey told fragmented stories was linked to the practices of remembrance, which contained contrasting ideas. The role of the Islamic and the pre-Islamic past in the building of a modern identity was disputed. Islam and secularism, East and West, modern and traditional were constantly being contested in search of a new identity. These oppositions became evident in the dominant collection themes of the provincial museums, which were archaeology and ethnography. While the former represented secular ideals, the latter conveyed the Islamic content of the modern identity. These contestations led to an ambiguous memory project and the formation of fragmented museum spaces.

This chapter lays out these contestations within the political and cultural scene in Turkey. While it primarily focuses on the 1960-1980 period, it also discusses the memory politics of early republican Turkey, as the contestations in the 1960s and 70s cannot be understood separately from the initial stages of the project of modernity. Although the new museum buildings were constructed in the 1960-1980 period, their content was created based on the early republican ideals of the creation of a homogeneous national identity.

Rather than a coherent and singular discourse, the memory project of the Turkish state contained oppositional ideas since the early republican period. This chapter shows these oppositions within the political scene through the discussion of the relationships with the past and the ways they operated in the creation of contradictory

1. From *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, Milan Kundera

political views. First, it introduces the initial tension between the seculars and Islamists in the postwar era, through a discussion of the shift from single party politics to democratic government. Second, it lays out the sharpening contrast between ideologies throughout the 1960s and 70s. Third, it shows how these oppositional views were actually created back in the early republican period. Through a complex understanding of the modernization process, this chapter argues that seemingly contradictory memories coexisted within the identity discourse and led to a contested and ambivalent memory project.

5.1 The Postwar Period: Formation of a Polarized Political Environment

After the end of World War II, the United States focused on manipulating Middle Eastern countries and keeping them away from the political influence of the Soviet Union. Among the many goals, it aimed to disseminate the principles of a liberal economy. The Marshall Plan, a financial aid program offered for the development of European and Middle Eastern countries without Soviet influence, gained the US power to manipulate the internal political decisions. In order to be able to take its share of Marshall aid, the ruling Republican People's Party (RPP) accepted the establishment of an opposition party in Turkey.² The Democrat Party (DP) was founded in 1946, pursued oppositional politics between 1946 and 1950 promising more freedom of economy and religion to the public and this led to its victory in the elections of 1950.³

During the initial years of the DP, the economy grew very fast and especially the peasants gained economic power due to the industrialization of agriculture. However, when the US ceased financial aid after 1955, the economy slowed down. The

2. Çağlar Keyder, "The Political Economy of Turkish Democracy," in *Turkey in Transition : New Perspectives*, ed. Irvin C. Schick and Ertuğrul Ahmet Tonak (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 38.

3. *Ibid.*, 39.

government tried borrowing from the US, but repayments were not successful, which caused a massive devaluation of Turkish currency in 1958. The liberal intelligentsia, who originally supported the DP against the authoritarian regime of the RPP, began to criticize the government. The DP had no tolerance for criticism and it reacted to it in anti-democratic ways. While the urban bourgeoisie condemned the DP, the peasants continued to support it as their income was still increasing. In addition, for the peasants, the DP emancipated them from the previous authoritarian state, which they conceived as a tax collector and associated with the *gandarme*.

In the 1950s, the Republican Party was recognized by the public as an obstacle to the practice of Islam as opposed to the Democrat Party, which made a reputation for freeing Islam from state regulations.⁴ In fact, Feroz Ahmad argues, Islam was instrumental for both parties in the competition for votes; however the Republican Party never was convincing, as the previous regulations of the party - such as making the *ezan* (call to prayer) and Quran in Turkish - established, since the 1930s, an irreversible anti-Islamic portrait of the party.⁵ According to Feroz Ahmad, neither of the parties had Islamic ideals, but they were labeled as two opposite directions, the DP with closer ties to Islam and the RP as the representative of the secular ideals of Kemalism.⁶

The opposition between Islam and secularism has always existed within the political scene in modern Turkey. When the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923, 'republic', as a government model that is associated with 'secularism' replaced 'caliphate' and 'Islamic' government. 'Republic' and 'secularism' was defined as the opposite of 'caliphate' and 'Islam'.⁷ However, the idea of the replacement of Islam with secularism

4. Ibid., 44.

5. Feroz Ahmad, *The Turkish Experiment in Democracy, 1950-1975* (London: Westview Press, for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1977).

6. Ibid.

7. Cemil Koçak, "Türk Milliyetçiliğinin İslam'la Buluşması: Büyük Doğu [Where Turkish Nationalism Meets Islam: The Great East]," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce 4 Milliyetçilik [Political*

is problematic because, these concepts actually coexisted. As the single party regime ended, the presence of Islam began to gain power.

Cemil Koçak points out that the first sign of the release of Islamic opposition was to allow the periodical *Büyük Doğu*⁸, which was forbidden in 1944, to operate again in 1945.⁹ While a diverse group of intellectuals were involved in the journal, it was directed by Necip Fazıl Kısakürek and gradually increased its Islamic content. For example, there were references to Saidi Nursi, leader of a religious sect, and statements against Atatürk.¹⁰ Another journal with Islamic emphasis that started publication in 1946 was *Millet*¹¹, which was directed by Cemal Kutay. *Millet* conducted a survey to find out whether Turkish people wanted to have courses on God and moral values in schools. The journal was known to be close to the Democrat Party, but also, a member of RPP called for taking control of religion from the state and giving it back to the congregation in an essay in *Millet*.¹²

In a meeting in Turkish National Assembly in 1946, some members of the RPP opened up discussions on religion and morality. Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, for example argued that some changes in the field of religion was necessary in fighting against communism.¹³ He suggested that nationalism and religion be brought together by reopening the tombs of the deceased heroes of Ottoman history.¹⁴ By doing this, the Islamic past, which had been previously ignored in search of a secular identity,

Thought in Modern Turkey 4 Nationalism], ed. Bora Tanıl and Murat Gültekingil (İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 601.

8. *Büyük Doğu* literally means “The Great East.”

9. Koçak, “Türk Milliyetçiliğinin İslam’la Buluşması: Büyük Doğu [Where Turkish Nationalism Meets Islam: The Great East],” 602.

10. *Ibid.*, 607.

11. *Millet* literally means nation.

12. Koçak, “Türk Milliyetçiliğinin İslam’la Buluşması: Büyük Doğu [Where Turkish Nationalism Meets Islam: The Great East],” 607.

13. *Ibid.*, 608.

14. *Ibid.*

was to be incorporated into the national unity.

As Cemil Koçak mentions, the problem was to reconcile these seemingly contradictory notions; secularism and Islam. Turkish nationalism took a very complex shape with the tension between the two concepts in the following years. The opposition of Islam and secularism showed up in different forms of polarization such as modern vs traditional, past vs future and left vs right within Turkish politics. These oppositions already existed during the early years of the republic, but they were not allowed to be expressed due to the strict control of the single party regime.

Turkish nationalism was commonly defined as a stable and clear notion with its racist overtones and rejection of Islam. Most of the academic studies assumed that it had a singular and direct impact on the shaping of institutions. When examined closer, it can be seen that Turkish nationalism has always been a vague concept that was constantly transformed. In another article, Cemil Koçak examines the role of race in Turkish nationalism and he presents its many characteristics. Koçak shows that some statements of Atatürk indicate a racist understanding of Turkish nationalism, whereas other quotations present his humanist and universal ideas on nationalism.¹⁵

5.2 The Sharpening of the Contrasting Ideas, 1960-1980

The contradictory ideas on race and religion led to a polarized political scene after the end of the single party regime. The left wing, for example, formulated a nationalism based on humanist thought. Leftists of the 1960s defined their struggle against American imperialism as the extension of the war of independence that was led by Atatürk and called for an independent economy against all imperial powers.¹⁶ The right wing intellectuals on the other hand, adopted racial implications and Islam in defining nationalism and the founding ideals of Atatürk.

The literary writings of Halikarnas Balıkcısı, who was a famous novelist, led to

15. Ibid., 38-40.

16. Ibid., 42.

the emergence of an unofficial historical discourse known as *Anadoluculuk* or *Mavi Anadolu* (Blue Anatolia). This view argued that humanist culture, which was admired by European civilization and considered the basis of modern Greece, had to be claimed by Turkey. According to Balıkcı, modern Turks were the descendants of the people of Ionia, Western Anatolia, who created the humanist culture in the 8th century BC. Balıkcı was very ambitious about defining Turkish identity based on Mediterranean culture. In his complete essays *Anadolu'nun Sesi*, he argued that Anatolia was not part of Asia, but it was part of the Mediterranean, which should have been considered a continent with its cultural and ethnic background.¹⁷

Another significant name who supported the Blueist ideals was Sabahattin Eyüboğlu. Eyüboğlu believed that the history of the Turkish public must be written based on the history of Anatolia, not on the past of Central Asia. He wrote in an essay:

Once we [Turkish public] were pagan, later we became Christians and later Muslims. People who built temples, churches and mosques were all the same. We also filled in the white theaters and the dark caravanserais. At times we were at the steppes, and at times in the blue sea. . . . We spoke 72 languages before we decided on Turkish.¹⁸

Sabahattin Eyüboğlu's documentary films also reflect his interest in linking antiquity to modern Anatolia. In his documentary film *Anadolu'da Roma Mozaikleri* (Roman Mosaics in Anatolia), he states;

Latin realism introduced everyday scenes into the floor frescoes. While wandering in Antakya today, after 1800 years, you can come across similar scenes. . . . Early people of Antioch were afraid of evil eye, just like the people of Antioch today. This mosaic should be protecting the household from the evil eye.¹⁹

Another aspect of the Blue Anatolia Thesis was to claim Ottoman culture roughly before the 16th century by associating it with Western culture. This view believed

17. Halikarnas Balıkcısı, *Bütün Eserleri 8 Anadolu'nun Sesi [Complete Essays 8 Anatolia's Voice]* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1984).

18. Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, *Mavi ve Kara: Denemeler* (Istanbul: Çan Yayınları, 1973).

19. Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, *Sanat Üzerine Denemeler ve Eleştiriler*, ed. Azra Erhat (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1981), 211.

that Islamic emphasis gained precedence only after the 16th century in the Ottoman Empire due to the territorial expansion to the East. In another documentary film entitled *Fatih Albümü* (Fatih Album)²⁰ Sabahattin Eyüboğlu describes the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II (1432-1481) as a humanist. According to Eyüboğlu, Mehmet II shared the Renaissance fashion that took Homer as the basis of humanism and claimed a kinship between Turks and Greeks. He argues, no other leader between Mehmet II and Atatürk established such a kinship because Ottoman culture retired into itself after the reign of Beyazıt, who was Mehmet II's son.²¹ Eyüboğlu argues:

... Ottoman art in the sixteenth century, ... , lost the freedom for improvement that it had during Mehmet II's sultanate and needed to echo itself within its disconnected universe until the Tanzimat²²

Eyüboğlu selectively chose the period of Ottoman history, when the empire was predominantly interested in the expansion towards the West, and incorporated this era to his modernist identity discourse in order to justify the Western component. This was a conscious act of remembrance and forgetting, which picked certain memories and weaved them into a linear history, that chooses to forget the multiple dimensions and the complexity of the past.

Azra Erhat was another significant figure of the Blueist discourse. In her book *Mavi Anadolu* (Blue Anatolia) she tells the stories of her trips to the Aegean and Mediterranean towns with an enthusiastic and nationalist tone: "We are the direct inheritors of the ancient culture. What a pity that Europe took this cultural heritage away from us."²³ In her book *Ecce Homo (İşte İnsan)* Erhat makes an analysis of Homer as the founder of humanism and tries to link these ideas to socialist and anti-imperialist ideals of the 1960s and to Atatürk. In order to do this, she needs to deal

20. *Fatih* literally means conquerer in Turkish. Sultan Mehmet II is known as Fatih Sultan Mehmet (Mehmet the Conquerer) because he took over Istanbul from the Byzantine Empire in 1453.

21. Eyüboğlu, *Sanat Üzerine Denemeler ve Eleştiriler*, 194.

22. *Ibid.*, 195.

23. Azra Erhat, *Mavi Anadolu* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1969), 22.

with the fact that this literature was already used by the enlightenment literature, which led to the rise of the European bourgeoisie, which Erhat was strictly opposed:

Everyone knows that after this revolution, only one class was able to gain their rights. The French Revolution established and improved the bourgeoisie. . . . They call it the Third World: non-developed, underdeveloped or developing countries. Now it is not just a class but the whole world revolting because revolution left Europe and reached Asia, America and Africa. . . . Our world started a war to secure human rights for everyone. . . . The revolutionary war the Third World started is called the War of Independence and Turkey is happy that it led the very first of these wars and triumphed.²⁴

Erhat makes the intended connection from Homer to anti-imperialism and then to Atatürk's War of Independence through the idea of revolution. She further justifies her point:

It was only him [Atatürk], who knew that the truth of the 1920s might change in the 1960s and that revolutions are infinite. In the words of Homer, they are immortal. And only he assigned one of his six arrows to represent revolution.²⁵

The blueists justified their politics of remembrance by relating their theories to Atatürk's ideals. This was usually done by associating the anti-imperialist view of the left wing in the 1960s and 70s with the anti-colonial resistance led by Atatürk in the 1920s. In addition, the Blue Anatolia Thesis and Atatürk's History Thesis of the 1930s were both interested in defining a modern identity based on the pre-Islamic cultures of Anatolia. They both claimed 15th century Ottoman culture, which they presumed to be Western oriented, as part of the modern Turkish identity. However, Atatürk's thesis was actually designated against Western historiography, which accepted antiquity as the origin of the European civilization. It aimed to prove, instead, that the world civilizations including the Mediterranean and European originated from the Turkish

24. Azra Erhat, *İşte İnsan (Ecce Homo)*. (Istanbul: Adam, 1984), 165.

25. *Ibid.*, 171.

race that came from Asia to Anatolia during the pre-historic times. The Blue Anatolia thesis on the other hand, was more interested in linking Turkish identity with Western humanism.

In the 1940s, especially with the significant role of Hasan Ali Yücel, as the Minister of Education, the humanist view gained precedence in the educational system in Turkey. Arif Müfit Mansel, a scholar of classical Greek history, led the preparation of a series of history books that focused on the Greek and Roman past of Anatolia.²⁶ While the humanist view was widely being taught at schools from the 1940s to the 1970s, another parallel view with Islamic emphasis was growing. The Ministry of Education published the Encyclopedia of Islam in 1939, which contained emphasis on the Seljuk and Turkish past of Anatolia.²⁷ The Islamist view criticized Humanist education due to its emphasis on Western history.

Although established as an apolitical and scientific institution, *Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü (TKAE)* (Institute for the Research of Turkish Culture) became one of the most effective forces in shaping of the highly ideological Turkish-Islamic Synthesis that predominated the cultural scene to the end of the 1970s. *TKAE* was founded in the October of 1961, following the military coup in 27 May 1960. Cemal Gürsel, then president of Turkey and one of the leading commanders of the military coup, established *TKAE*.²⁸ The institution was interested in topics such as local dialects, belief systems, material culture, craftsmanship and religion.²⁹

It is intriguing that a right wing historical view with Islamic emphasis grew out of the initiative of the 1960 coup, as this intervention is mostly linked to the emergence

26. Etienne Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) : Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine [From Turkish History Thesis to Turkish Islamic Synthesis in History Textbooks (1931-1993)]* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 55.

27. Ibid.

28. Arzu Öztürkmen, *Türkiye'de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik* (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998), 206.

29. Ibid.

of a leftist view in Turkey. In the beginning of 1960, the political environment in Turkey was very tense. The urban bourgeoisie and intellectuals, such as universities and the press, collaborated with the Republican Peoples Party against the Democrat Party's authoritarian politics, which pursued a populist politics relying on tradition and Islam.³⁰ In this highly charged context, with the open support of the intelligentsia and the RPP, the army seized power on May 27, 1960.³¹

Relations between the Democrat Party (DP) government and the army already had tensions in the 1950s. The army lost the prestige it enjoyed after the national resistance in the early 1920s and was expecting to regain its status with the improvement of the economic and social status of its officers. However, the high ranking members of the army were against technological improvements as they had concerns about adapting to a new structure. They collaborated with the DP government and the improvements were postponed until after the Turkish economy had grown. Despite the efforts of the high commanders, the lower ranking officers organized themselves and gained power to overthrow the government.³²

The officers believed that the DP government gave up the moral values of Turkish society in favor of materialist ambitions. In an interview, one of the members of the 1960 junta, Orhan Erkanlı accused the government of deceiving the nation and causing economic and social turmoil.³³ In the speech that delivered the news to the Turkish public on the morning of May 27, 1960 through Ankara Radio, it was mentioned that the army took over the administration in order to save democracy from crisis.³⁴ The majority of the officers agreed with the opposition (RPP) and collaborated with them

30. Keyder, "The Political Economy of Turkish Democracy," 45.

31. Ibid., 46.

32. Feroz Ahmad, *The making of Modern Turkey* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 121-126.

33. Cumhuriyet, July 20, 1960 from ibid., 125

34. Ibid.

to bring back a democratic system.³⁵ They invited a group of academics to prepare a new constitution. The constitution was released in 1961 and is known as the most democratic constitution of the Turkish state. It allowed many different political ideas to survive and gave way to the initial rise of leftist politics in Turkey.

However, another confusing incident is that, after the coup in 1960, 147 professors, who were later named as *147'ler* (147s) - were laid off by the Turkish universities with accusations of being leftists. Sabahattin Eyüboğlu and Azra Erhat were among those professors. Therefore, rather than a stable political power, the military regime in the early 1960s must be understood with an acknowledgement of the contradicting views it contained.

In the first issue of one of *TKAE's* publications, *Cultura Turcica*, it was stated that:

Its (*TKAE's*) aim is to carry on research and bring out the truths on all facets of Turkish culture taken as an indivisible whole. These studies will be conducted along strictly scientific lines, and be completely divorced from any political considerations or ambitions.'³⁶

However, especially with the regular participation of the historian İbrahim Kafesoğlu and the inclusion of other articles strictly against the humanist view in historical education - in some cases blaming the humanists of disseminating communism - the publications of *TKAE* gained political voice. The institute was mainly comprised of academics and it published three journals: *Cultura Turcica*, *Türk Kültürü* and *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*. İbrahim Kafesoğlu, was the leading historian who wrote for *Türk Kültürü* from 1962 to 1984.³⁷ As opposed to the foundation ideals of *TKAE*, the articles of İbrahim Kafesoğlu were more political than historical. His ideas had

35. Some radical officers such as Alpaslan Türkeş and Orhan Erkanlı sought to establish a military regime, similar to the other countries in the region.

36. Anonymous, *Cultura Turcica*, 1 (1964), 11.

37. Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) : Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine [From Turkish History Thesis to Turkish Islamic Synthesis in History Textbooks (1931-1993)]*.

parallels with the Turkish History Thesis of the 1930s. He aimed at proving the superiority of the Turkish race, promoting Kemalist reforms such as republic as a government system, women's rights and secularism, and presenting the significance of Turks within world history.

İbrahim Kafesoğlu was one of the leading figures in the establishment of *Aydınlar Ocağı* (Enlighteneds' Hearth) in 1970. This group was founded against the leftist influence of the student uprisings in 1968 in Europe. Its origins dated back to 1960 when the *Aydınlar Kulübü* (Enlighteneds' Club) was founded. Since the early 1960s, right wing Turkish politics was looking for an ideological basis for its struggle against the rise of leftist politics in Turkey.³⁸ The idea of a Turkish-Islamic Synthesis, which was coined by İbrahim Kafesoğlu, provided the basis for the integration of the two divisions (the Islamists and Turkists) of the right wing against left.³⁹

According to the Turkish Islamic Synthesis, Turkish identity was inseparable from Islam. Therefore, the historiography emphasized on the 9th and 10th centuries, which is the period when the Turks accepted Islam. Seljuk culture was also important to this view, as the Seljuk state was the first Islamic and Turkish state in Anatolia. Followers of the Turkish Islamic Synthesis defined an Atatürkism with emphasis on a race-based nationalism. However, they were strictly against humanist education. They believed that the Western view that was defined by the Republican People's Party (RPP) disseminated Marxist ideas through the work of the People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) during the 1930s and 40s.⁴⁰

The political scene in the 1960s and 70s was highly polarized between right and left wing politics. Both sides declared their adherence to the ideals of Atatürk and justified their cultural theories of Turkish identity based on carefully chosen ideas of Atatürk. The competition between the two sides can be found in the period-

38. Bozkurt Güvenç, *Türk-İslam Sentezi* (Istanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi, 1991), 188.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., 57.

cals published during the period. The leftist followers established the weekly *Yön*, while the right wing disseminated their ideas in journals such as *Türk Yurdu*, *Türk Kültürü* and *Önasya*.

In the beginning of the 1960s, the leftist view in Turkey gained power as it never had before. The military coup in 1960 was supported by leftist intellectuals and its aftermath was shaped by the collaboration of the military officers with academics, who were in favor of a planned national development with closer ties to the socialist system as opposed to the previous American alliance. In 1961, a socialist movement, *Yön Hareketi*, emerged, which was led by Doğan Avcıoğlu. Avcıoğlu established *Yön*, a weekly paper that operated from 1961 to 1967 and gained strength through the essays of a group of socialist intellectuals, such as Mümtaz Soysal, Çetin Altan, Hasan Cemal, İlhan Selçuk and Ahmet Taner Kışlalı. In the first issue of *Yön*, on December 21, 1961, a manifesto called *Yön Bildirisi* was published. The statement was signed by over one thousand people including some blueists such as Sabahattin Eyüboğlu and Melih Cevdet Anday. In this manifesto, Atatürk's etatist ideas were widely emphasized and Westernization was (re)adopted as the best way to achieve a comparable level with contemporary civilizations.⁴¹

Yön Bildirisi was composed of four main issues that aimed to improve the economic and political situation in Turkey. The first issue was a call for economic development that was considered the essential requisite to achieve the parity with the West; complete the project of education⁴², and improve democracy and justice. Westernization is presented as the best way of improving the level of contemporary civilization and economic development was the prerequisite for achieving the dissemination of the rational mind that was the basis of Western civilization.⁴³ According to the writers of

41. *Yön Bildirisi* (Yön Manifesto)

42. This entailed revitalizing humanist education in Village Institutes, that were established by the initiative of the Minister of National Education, Hasan Ali Yücel, in the 1940s.

43. *Yön Bildirisi* [Yön Manifesto], in *Yön*, no:1 (1961):?



Figure 5.1: *Yön* covers

the manifesto, culture and education were inseparable from economic development.

The second issue was on the need for the agreement on a philosophy of development by people who can be influential in shaping the ideas of the Turkish public, such as teachers, writers, unionists, entrepreneurs and administrators. The third issue was on adopting an etatist economic model in development, as this model was considered a better formulation for developing countries. It was believed that etatism would help regulate the system by bringing social justice. The fourth issue focused on the ways etatism can be realized based on the state's interference in economic development.⁴⁴

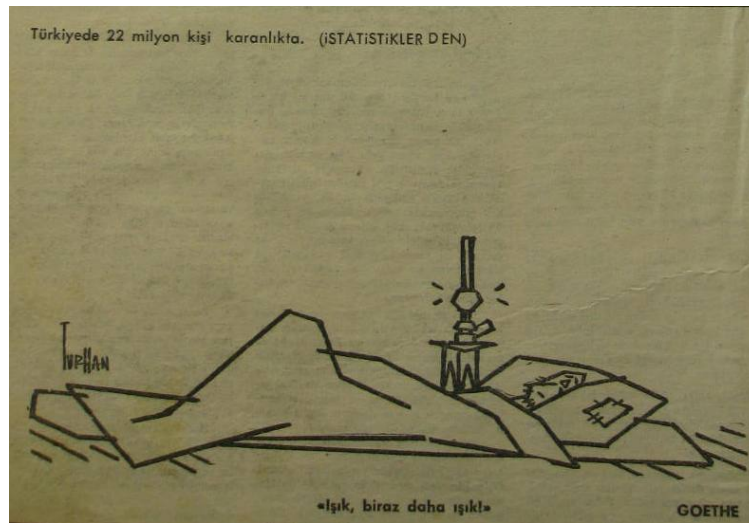


Figure 5.2: Cartoon by Turhan Selçuk, *Yön*, No:1 (1961) (Above: Twenty two million people in Turkey does not have access to light. Below: Light, more light! (Goethe))

The weekly *Yön*, determined a model for development with much emphasis on the Western mind and assumed that the Western mind is inseparable from a rational development model. The failure of the economic system and the existence of poverty were explained by the lack of a Western point of view. Turhan Selçuk's cartoon, published in the first issue of *Yön* is a good indicator of the established association

44. Ibid.

between poverty and the lack of Western rationality. The cartoon makes a sarcastic pun by delivering the statistical data that 22 million people did not have access to light in Turkey, and below, it quotes the German enlightenment thinker Goethe: “Light! More light!” (Figure 5.2).

Yön clearly defined its position in opposition to the group of people, who they called *gerici* (backward minded). The cartoon on the cover of the fifth issue (Figure 5.1) delivers this idea with a literal expression. In this drawing, communism is depicted as a piece of flame from the torch of the main principles of Atatürk held by a youthful hand. The needle of communism is ready to beat the *gerici*. The cartoon functions as a direct expression of the *Yön* intellectuals’ tendency to define themselves as ‘progressive’ in opposition to the ‘unprogressive’.

This opposition is very clearly reflected in an article titled “Kültür” (Culture). It was asserted that, in the National Library in Ankara, it was difficult to access leftist journals such as *Akis*, *Kim*, *Forum*, *Dost*, *Varlık* and *Devrimci*. Conversely, publications such as *Milli Yol*, *Yeni Istiklal*, *Düşünen Adam* and *Toprak*, which were defined by this article as backward, were accessible without any formalities. It was also mentioned that, the library did not even subscribe to the journal *Yön*.

The ‘unprogressive’ group was the right wing politicians who viewed national identity based on the Turkish race and the Islamic tradition. While these conservatives accused *Yön* intellectuals of refusing their origins in the name of Westernization, the left wing defined nationalism based on the vilification of Western Imperialism. In an article, “Bizim Milliyetçiliğimiz” (Our Nationalism) İlhan Selçuk explained ‘leftist nationalism’ as a movement that developed against the colonial intentions of capitalism in the Middle East, North Africa and underdeveloped countries in Asia and Africa.⁴⁵ He characterized the National Resistance of Turkey, before the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, as the very first and the most glorious anti-capitalist

45. İlhan Selçuk, “Bizim Milliyetçiliğimiz,” *Yön*, no. 3 (1962).

and anti-colonialist movement.

Yön covered issues related to decolonization processes in the 1960s and sympathized with the struggle of the Third World against colonialism and Western imperialism. Especially within the polarized environment of the cold war, the impartial politics of the Egyptian leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser and his etatist development model was followed and appreciated by *Yön*.⁴⁶ The other Third World leader *Yön* sympathized with was the Indian president Jawaharlal Nehru. The article entitled “Nehru’nun Sosyalizmi” (Nehru’s Socialism) began the discussion stating: “That a brilliant work is being undertaken within the democratic system in India today, is not because of the multi-party system or methods of planning. The success is a result of the existence of a decisive leader and his socialist mind.”⁴⁷

As reflected in the essay by Sabahattin Eyüboğlu “Neden Köy Enstitüsü?” (Why Village Institute?)⁴⁸, *Yön* was interested in reviving the humanist ideas and peasant romanticism of the 1940s with an emphasis on the cultivation of the peasant for development. Village Institutes were founded in 1940 by Hasan Ali Yücel, who was the minister of education from 1938 to 1946. The institutes aimed at training teachers for primary schools and pursued cultural and technical education in the rural areas. While practical training in fields such as agriculture and construction was undertaken, the cultural education was based on Western literary classics and humanist thought. Until they were closed in 1954, these institutions became very influential in the education of a generation throughout the country. The right wing was strictly against the activities of these institutes and they blamed the Village Institutes for disseminating communism.

The right wing individuals had a lot of power both in intellectual life and state institutions in the 1960s and 70s. The most influential figure in the restructuring of

46. Tümer Melih, “Nasır’ın Sosyalizmi [Nasser’s Socialism],” *Yön*, no. 1 (1961): 19.

47. Fatma Mansur, “Nehru’nun Sosyalizmi [Nehru’s Socialism],” *Yön*, no. 11 (1962): 17.

48. Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, “Neden Köy Enstitüsü? [Why Village Institutes?]” *Yön*, no. 1 (1961).

the provincial museums, Mehmet Önder, was close to the right wing communities. Önder was an art historian who started his career at Konya Museum in 1949. He served as the director of Konya Mevlana Museum until 1963. In 1964, he became the director of Antiquities and Museums in Ankara. From 1967 to 1974, he worked as the undersecretary of culture. Önder was a prolific writer on topics related to Turkish culture and museums. He is the author of the museum catalogs that cover all the museums of the country. The first catalog was published in 1977 and its updated versions were published in 1985 and 1992. In addition to these comprehensive catalogs, Önder prepared catalogs specifically for Konya Mevlana Museum and Atatürk Museums throughout Turkey.

Önder was a sufi and he wrote extensively on the 13th century Sufi mystic Mawlana (Rumi). While the religious sects were forbidden and the dervish lodges were closed after the foundation of the Republic, Sufism was privileged and adopted as a significant element of Turkish culture. Instead of closing, the Mawlana lodge was turned into a museum. Önder, emphasized the privileged status of Sufism within the Turkish state in his writings. The other topic Önder wrote extensively about was Atatürk and the national resistance. He also highlighted Atatürk's interest in sufi culture and his decision to turn the Mawlana lodge into a museum instead of closing it.⁴⁹

Önder used to write articles for *Önasya*, which was a monthly journal strictly against the socialist ideas and humanist view of history. *Önasya* was founded by Sadi Bayram, a journalist and archaeologist who worked for the Pious Endowments. It was published from 1965 to 1972.⁵⁰ In the introduction to the first issue of *Önasya*, it

49. Önder discusses the conversion of the Sufi Lodge to a museum in very positive terms and praises the state for privileging this sect. in Mehmet Önder, *Yeşil Kubbenin Gölgesinde* (Ankara: Dönmez Yayınları, 1995) Although not demolished as other lodges, turned into a museum, the Sufi lodge was deprived of its sacred functions and became a modern space, where the religious function was frozen and put into display. Rather than a functioning religious space, it was put in control of the state. However, it is interesting that today, Mewlana Museum receives millions of visitors, who pray and worship in the museum and the place continues to maintain its sacredness, despite attempts for its museumification.

50. Anonymous, "Sadi Bayram Kimdir? [Who is Sadi Bayram?]" <http://www.sadibayram.com>.

was mentioned that a new era of planned development in Turkey was to be reflected in the journal. The first issue was devoted to the İzmir International Fair, which is an industrial exposition that has taken place since 1927. Some emphasis on the development of tourism and the richness of cultural heritage was also included in the introduction to this first issue. *Önasya* later published articles that focused on the cultural heritage and issues of Turkish identity, whereas it covered fewer articles on economic development.

While the Yön intellectuals highlighted the statist ideals of Atatürk and associated them with humanist culture, *Önasya* writers justified their emphasis on a nationalism based on the Turkish race as an extension of Atatürk's ideas. Many issues of *Önasya* started with quotations from Atatürk, which were entitled "Atatürk Diyor ki:" (Atatürk Says So). Atatürk's words about how Turkey and Turkish people were viewed by the West, with negative implications such as backwardness and hostility; and his ambitions for reversing this view were quoted.⁵¹ The twenty seventh issue of *Önasya*, which was published in the November of 1967 was devoted to Atatürk and his ideas on international relations.

Önasya was unique in its emphasis on the racial background of Turkish identity and Islamic culture. The myth of Bozkurt, which was related to the Ergenekon Legend, had extensive role in the identity discourse of *Önasya*, to the extent that it was used as a graphic logo for the journal (Figure 5.3). The reasons for choosing the Bozkurt (Grey Wolf) as the symbol of Turkish nationalism was described in an article entitled "Türklük ve Bozkurt" (Turkishness and the Grey Wolf).⁵² It was mentioned that the wolf was a guide for Turks on the way to victory in the national Turkish legends. In addition, an analogy was made between the strength of the wolf as an animal and the role of the Turks as heroes in the modern world.

The emphasis on the racial links of the Turks was complemented with the discus-

51. See *Önasya* no:30, 1967 and no:76, 1972

52. Nejdet Sançar, "Türklük ve Bozkurt [Turkishness and the Grey Wolf]," *Önasya*, no. 25 (1967).



Figure 5.3: Graphic logo of *Önasya* (left), *Önasya* cover with the image of nomadic Turks of Central Asia (right), (*Önasya* no.25, 1967)

sions on Islamic heritage in *Önasya*. Enver Behnan Şapolyo, an art historian, wrote a series of articles on Islamic architecture. These articles mainly talked about the Ottoman architectural heritage with an attempt at defining these buildings as products of Turkishness instead of Ottoman culture. The articles were titled “Türklerde İmarethane”⁵³ (Turkish Public Kitchens), “Türklerde Vakıf”⁵⁴ (Turkish Trust), “Türk Çeşmeleri”⁵⁵ (Turkish Fountains). The article “Türklerde Vakıf”, for example, talks about the Ottoman waqf in historical continuity with the charitable activities of Uyghur Turks in Central Asia in the 8th century. In the article on the public kitchens, Şapolyo links the Ottoman *imarethanes* that provided food and health care for the poor with the Göktürk khan’s flag on his tent, which symbolized that the khan was willing to share his food with the public. In so doing, these articles connected the Islamic culture with the racial origins of Turkishness.

The most important issue that brought *Önasya* writers of all kinds together was their objections to communism and socialism. Just like the *Yön* community, who characterized themselves in opposition to a defined backward mind, *Önasya* contributors located themselves in contrast to socialism and the humanist view of history. A list of commands by the Soviet State to the communist agents from all over the world was published in *Önasya* as a warning against the communist ‘threat.’⁵⁶ In an article, Fethi Tevetoğlu vilified communism through an examination of Atatürk’s Soviet politics. He quoted the response of Atatürk to the Soviet commander. According to this quotation, Atatürk thought that it was impossible for communism to influence Turkey due to its religious tradition and social structure, which contained neither capitalists nor millions of workers. He believed that the religious basis in Turkey would not let

53. Enver Behnan Şapolyo, “Türklerde İmarethane [Turkish Public Kitchens],” *Önasya*, no. 25 (1967).

54. Enver Behnan Şapolyo, “Türklerde Vakıf [Turkish Trust],” *Önasya*, no. 26 (1967).

55. Enver Behnan Şapolyo, “Türk Çeşmeleri [Turkish Fountains],” *Önasya*, no. 27 (1967).

56. Fikri Alkan, “Komünistlere 18 Maddelik Talimat [Instructions for Communists],” *Önasya*, no. 35 (1968).

communism in and even would fight against it.⁵⁷

Önasya covered issues related to art, identity, cultural heritage and tourism more than Yön. The nationalist discourse *Önasya* developed was based on discussions about cultural heritage. The museums of Turkey were also an important topic for *Önasya*. In addition to Mehmet Önder, Hikmet Gürçay was a regular contributor with his essays on museums. According to a conversation with Emre Madran, who was the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums starting in the late 1970s, Mehmet Önder and Hikmet Gürçay were the two significant names along with Racit Temizer and Burhan Tezcan in the Directorate of Antiquities and Museums in the 1960s and 70s.⁵⁸

Most of the articles on the museums of Turkey in *Önasya* are indifferent texts that describe the current situation of museums. The ones written by Hikmet Gürçay cover some basic information about specific museums. Despite this general tendency, the essays of Mehmet Önder argue for the creation of a linear historiography starting from the 8th century B.C to the neolithic culture of Anatolia and Hittite civilization. Önder mentioned that each culture produced the next and this line continued with the creation of a unique Turkish civilization starting in the eleventh century by Seljuks and continued by the Ottomans. In his argument, the Greek, Roman and Byzantine past of Anatolia was dismissed.⁵⁹

5.3 The Coexistence of Contested Memories

While the polarization of the political and cultural scene is clearly observed in the oppositional relation between the left and right wing in the 1960s and 70s, the tension between Islam and secularism existed back in the early years of the Turkish Republic. It is commonly argued that, the early republican ideals of the Turkish state called

57. Fethi Tevetoğlu, "Atatürk'ün Sovyet Politikaları," *Önasya*, no. 3 (1965).

58. Interview with Emre Madran on December 3, 2010. (Eskişehir)

59. Mehmet Önder, "Türk Müzeciliği [Turkish Museology]," *Önasya*, no. 5 (1966): 16.

for a clear break with the Islamic past. However, when the museum project and the display practices of the early Republic are considered, the identity discourse and the memory project of the Turkish state was more complicated with the coexistence of oppositional ideas such as Islam vs. secularism, modern vs. traditional. Both Islamic and pre-Islamic objects were displayed in the early republican museums and exhibitions, although they were conceived as representatives of contrasting ideas.

According to the records of Afet İnan, one of Atatürk's adopted daughters who taught history at the school of music in Ankara, the Turkish History Thesis started in response to the French Enlightenment historian Joseph de Guignes' assertion that the Turks belonged to the yellow race, which Europeans considered a secondary human type.⁶⁰ When İnan told Atatürk about this assertion, he asked her to study it.⁶¹ In 1930, İnan gave a speech at the sixth General Assembly of *Türk Ocakları* (Turkish Hearths), an institution that was established in 1912 to develop and disseminate the idea of a Turkish identity. She argued that history was the most important notion for the strengthening of Turkish national pride. Based on some secondary sources that were written by European historians, she argued that the Turkish race was a glorious one that started Hittite civilization in Anatolia and even created Ancient Greek and Roman cultures.⁶² In the same meeting, two more speeches by Sadri Maksudi and Resit Galip supported İnan's points.⁶³

Right after this meeting, *Türk Tarih Tetkik Heyeti* (Turkish Historical Research Society) was established as a branch of the Turkish Hearth in June 4th, 1930.⁶⁴ The

60. Scott Redford, "What Have You Done for Anatolia Today?" In *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage on the Lands of Rum*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu and Sibel Bozdoğan (Brill, 2007), 243, 36; Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) : Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine [From Turkish History Thesis to Turkish Islamic Synthesis in History Textbooks (1931-1993)*, 243, 36.

61. Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) : Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine [From Turkish History Thesis to Turkish Islamic Synthesis in History Textbooks (1931-1993)*.

62. Uluğ İğdemir, *Cumhuriyetin 50. yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1973), 68.

63. Ibid., 73-79.

64. Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) : Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*

committee published *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları* (Main Tenets of Turkish History), in the end of 1930, one hundred copies of which were distributed to intellectuals and academics. A shorter version was published in 1931 called *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları: Methal Kısmı* (Introduction to the Main Tenets of Turkish History), thirty thousand copies of which were distributed around the country. This influential publication constituted the basis of the history taught at schools.⁶⁵

According to this theses the Turks were a race similar to the European races, who founded powerful states in Central Asia. Once the climatic aspects of their geography has changed, they left Central Asia and moved to different regions throughout the world and disseminated civilization in various places including China, India, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, Anatolia, Greece and Italy.⁶⁶ Thus, the thesis argued that Anatolia was the motherland of Turks since pre-historic times and the Anatolian civilizations including the prehistoric, ancient and modern were the descendants of Turks.⁶⁷ *Main Tenets of Turkish History*, covered minor information about the Ottoman History. The new Turkish history was based on the contribution that the Turks made as a race for the progress of mankind in the Neolithic ages and Ancient period.⁶⁸

Turkish Historical Research Society started archaeological excavations in central Anatolia with a specific interest in Hittite artifacts. Archaeology was highly supported and students were sent to Europe to study archaeology, as it was a scientific instrument to prove the Turkish History Thesis to the Western authority. The Second History Congress was organized as an international meeting with purpose of presenting these archaeological finds to the European scholars as proof of the history thesis.

[From *Turkish History Thesis to Turkish Islamic Synthesis in History Textbooks (1931-1993)*, 38.

65. Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) : Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine* [From *Turkish History Thesis to Turkish Islamic Synthesis in History Textbooks (1931-1993)*, 37.

66. Atakuman, "Cradle or Crucible: Anatolia and Archaeology in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic," 219.

67. Ibid.

68. Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) : Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine* [From *Turkish History Thesis to Turkish Islamic Synthesis in History Textbooks (1931-1993)*, 40.

The Second History Congress took place in 20-26 September 1937 in Dolmabahçe Palace. In addition to the paper presentations, an ambitious exhibition was created in the entrance hall. While the Turkish History Thesis put less emphasis on the Islamic past, and privileged the pre-Islamic cultures of Anatolia, the exhibition in the congress contained some Ottoman artifacts. Archaeological finds from the Neolithic period to the Sumer, Hittite, and Assyrian civilizations of Anatolia, Iran and Egypt area were presented as well as the 15th and 16th century Ottoman ceramic tiles and calligraphy (Figures 5.4, 5.5).

This exhibition was to represent Turkish national identity within the international scene from its claimed origins in pre-history, to the recent works of the Republic with a linear narrative.⁶⁹ While doing this, rather than fully neglecting the Islamic past, 15th and 16th centuries, which was considered the golden age of Ottoman culture, was included in the narrative. Therefore, despite the tension between the Islamic and the secular representations of the nation, their coexistence was inevitable.

This coexistence was, however, not without contestations and ambiguity. There were plans to turn the exhibition into a national museum, but it was never realized. In his article “Impossible Museum”, Ali Artun argues that, foundation of a national museum was difficult in Turkey, because there was no consensus on the narrative.⁷⁰ In other words, the memory project was dominated by an uncertainty due to contestations about what would be representative of the nation. However, rather than a disinterest in museums, this situation must be understood as a reflection of the ambiguity of the memory discourse.

The Turkish Historical Society conducted ambitious projects of archaeology, sent students to Europe to be educated in archaeology and started many excavations. The

69. Gülsen Sevinç Kaya and Ayşe Fazlıoğlu, “Müzecilik Tarihinde Önemli Bir İsim: Mehmet Yusuf Akyurt ve Dolmabahçe Sarayında Bir Sergi [A Significant Name in Museum History: Mehmet Yusuf Akyurt and an Exhibition in Dolmabahçe Palace],” *Milli Saraylar* (2004): 66.

70. Thanks to Ali Artun for bringing this to my attention. Also see Ali Artun, “Impossible Museum,” *Doxa* (July 2008): 60–72



Figure 5.4: Hittite Section at the Second Turkish History Congress Exhibition, (Kaya and Fazlıoğlu, “Müzecilik Tarihinde Önemli Bir İsim: Mehmet Yusuf Akyurt ve Dolmabahçe Sarayında Bir Sergi [A Significant Name in Museum History: Mehmet Yusuf Akyurt and an Exhibition in Dolmabahçe Palace]”)

establishment of a national museum, however, was not a primary issue in the Society’s agenda and this disinterest can also be observed in the History Congresses. The only paper given on museums was in the First History Congress by Halil Edhem, who was the director of Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Even this paper started with apologies because the topic of museums was an insignificant one compared to the ‘scientific’ papers that were discussed in the Congress.⁷¹ In this paper, Halil Edhem talked about the European museums at length and explained why a museum was an important institution. It also discusses why the Turkish state had to struggle to save the historical artifacts from being taken to European museums. In addition, Halil Edhem put a lot of emphasis on the existence of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum and the Islamic artifacts of medieval Anatolia, whereas he briefly mentioned

71. Halil Edhem, “Müzeler [Museums],” in *Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi [First Turkish History Congress]* (Istanbul: Türk Tarih Tetkik Cemiyeti, 1933), 532.



Figure 5.5: 16th century Ottoman ceramic tiles (on the left) and Ottoman calligraphy (on the right) at the Second Turkish History Congress Exhibition, (Kaya and Fazlıoğlu, “Müzecilik Tarihinde Önemli Bir İsim: Mehmet Yusuf Akyurt ve Dolmabahçe Sarayında Bir Sergi [A Significant Name in Museum History: Mehmet Yusuf Akyurt and an Exhibition in Dolmabahçe Palace]”)

the new excavations of the Hittite civilization and establishment of a Hittite museum in Ankara. He suggested that constructing a one story building for the protection and display of the new findings would have been sufficient for the moment.⁷²

That Halil Edhem put minor emphasis on the new excavations of the pre-historic Anatolia is intriguing, given that the rest of the papers presented at the congress were about these new findings and how they must be linked to the origins of the Turkish race. It is even more interesting that Edhem suggested the construction of a one story building for the display of the newly found objects, since these objects were highly valued by the Turkish History Society as representatives of the modern and secular Turkish identity. In contrast to Edhem’s modest suggestions, the state commissioned Austrian architect, Ernst Egli, to design a modern and monumental museum building to house the objects found in the new excavations in central Anatolia, which were

72. Ibid., 564-565.

predominantly Hittite artifacts.

The museum project was announced in 1933 in the daily *Cumhuriyet*.⁷³ According to the news, the realization of this huge project that contained a National Museum, a National Library and an Academy of Arts and Sciences, was decided by the national assembly. All these institutions were to be in one single building to be located on Çankırı Street in Ankara (Figure 2.9).⁷⁴ Ernst Egli, who worked for the Ministry of Education in Turkey at that time, was sent to Europe to make further research on building a modern museum that would provide the most contemporary (*en asri*) architectural attitudes.

According to the announcement in *Cumhuriyet*, many details were determined during the meeting of the national assembly. There were to be wide stairs approaching the building. Two big lion statues in Hittite style were to be placed at the entrance. The façade of the building was to be decorated with the Hittite reliefs that were found in the recent excavations. The museum, library and the offices of the academy were to be in the first floor and arranged around a courtyard. This courtyard was to be surrounded by eaves under which the tiles and reliefs that represent certain periods of Turkish history would be displayed. Also, busts of great Turkish people who served for their country were to be placed in between the reliefs and tiles.

The museum was to contain all the findings from the new excavations in central Anatolia, but it was to mainly focus on the Hittites and become the international center of Hittitology with advanced research on the art and language. Even the categorization of the display of the objects was decided. There was to be three main exhibition halls, the first of which contained writings, the second having monumental artifacts and the third housing smaller objects such as pottery.

73. A.S., “Ankara’da Üç Büyük İrfan Müessesesi... Milli Müze, Milli Kütüphane, İlimler ve Sanatlar Akademisi Vücutte Getiriliyor” [Three Great Institutions of Culture in Ankara National Museum, National Library, Academy of Arts and Sciences is being created] in *Cumhuriyet*, February 11, 1933.

74. Bernd Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil : Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei, 1925-1955* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1998).

Despite the importance of this elaborate and ambitious work, the project was never realized. The establishment of a museum to house the findings of the new archaeological excavations was not a straightforward process. There were competing ideas about how to display the objects of Hittite civilization. Instead of constructing a modern museum building that avoids any historical reference to Islamic architecture, which would be consistent with the secularisation discourse, two 16th century Ottoman buildings, *Kurşunlu Han* and *Mahmutpaşa Bedesteni*, were renovated.⁷⁵ to house the new findings on Anatolian Civilizations.⁷⁶

It is widely accepted that the nationalist politics in early Republican Turkey rejected the memories of the Islamic tradition and aimed to build a new identity based on the pre-Islamic culture of Anatolia. However, when the display practices are examined, it is obvious that the presentation of the new identity was ambiguous due to the coexistence of the contrasting ideas about Islam and secularism. That the material representation of the Turkish History Thesis, which rejected the recent Ottoman tradition, ended up being housed in an Ottoman building is ironic. The project for a monumental modern museum had failed whereas the idea of protecting an Ottoman building as the container of pre-Islamic Anatolian civilizations was realized. However, it is important to note that the museum in *Kurşunlu Han* and *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni*

75. The renovation of *Kurşunlu Han* and *Mahmutpaşa Bedesteni* continued from 1938 to 1968. In the mean time, beginning in 1943, parts of the building started to function as a museum, but it was not until 1968 that the museum took its final shape as the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations. The museum was partly opened as Eti (Hittite) Museum and later was named Ankara Archaeology Museum. It took its final name in 1968. Documents show that Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, Director of Culture, was the person who started the process of the renovation of the Han and the Bedesten to house the Hittite artifacts, which were increasing as the excavations started in central Anatolia in 1935. Koşay asked from the Ministry of Education a budget for the renovation of *Kurşunlu Han* and *Mahmutpaşa Bedesteni* to be a museum in 1936. According to his records, the Minister of Education, Saffet Arıkan, consulted with Bruno Taut, a German architect, who practiced in Turkey during the 1930s. Taut suggested that, with the same budget, it is possible to construct a new building. (1979) Koşay mentions in his memories that, he explained to Bruno Taut that he (Koşay) also wanted to save the Han and the Bedesten from disappearing and that Taut was willing to except this.

76. İnci Bayburtluoğlu, “Müze Belgelerine Göre Kuruluşundan Günümüze Kadar Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi [Museum of Anatolian Civilizations From its Foundation to Today],” *Ankara Dergisi*, no. 2 (1991): 100.

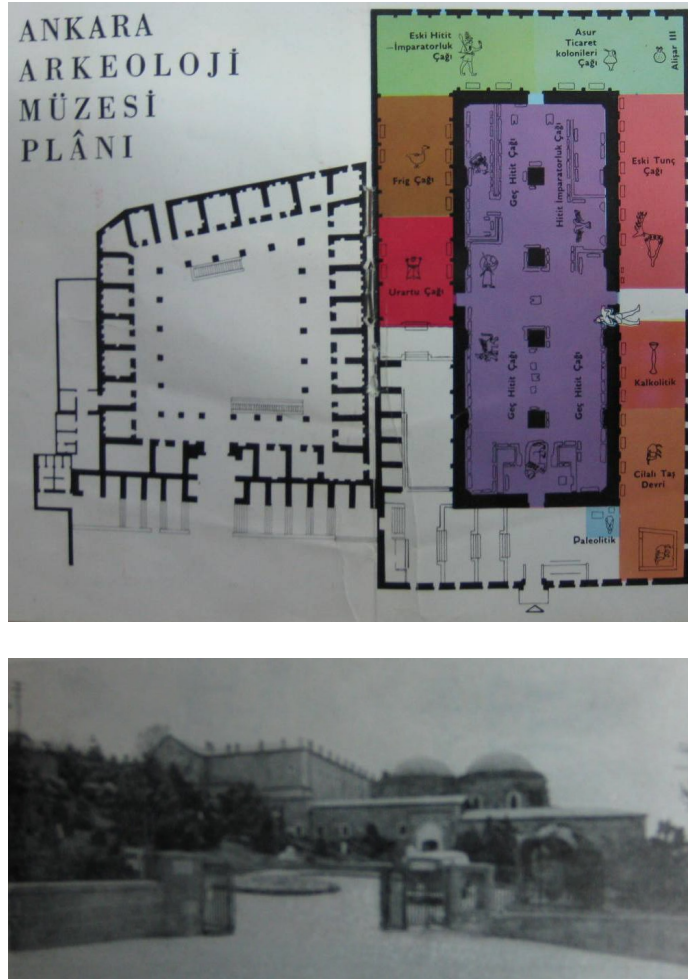


Figure 5.6: Ankara Archaeological Museum plan (top), Ankara Archaeological Museum (bottom) (Today, Anatolian Civilizations Museum), (Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, “Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi’nin (Yeni Adıyla Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi) İlk Kuruluş Safhası ile İlgili Anılar [Memories of the Initial Stages of Ankara Archaeology Museum’s Establishment],” in *Belleten*, 170 [Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1979])

were never named a national museum. At first, the museum was *Eti Müzesi* (Hittite Museum), later named Ankara Archaeological Museum and today it is called Museum of Anatolian Civilizations. There has been no consensus on what is representative of the nation.

Another attempt at establishing a national museum ended up with founding the Ethnographic Museum in Ankara. As discussed in chapter two, this museum was planned to be a national museum, a state museum, a public museum, however, the founders were not sure if the Islamic content represented a broader idea of the nation, the state or the public. Instead of a continuous display in a single national museum, archaeological and ethnographic collections became separate but coexisting representatives of modern Turkish identity in the central museums in Ankara, and in the provincial museums throughout Turkey. In other words, both the pre-Islamic and Islamic past are represented in Turkish museums.

Instead of understanding the makers of the identity discourse as a monolithic and stable group of people who agreed on everything, it is important to see the unstable character that was shaped by various ideas. There were always people who were interested in involving Islamic culture in building a new identity. Islam had been part of the Turkish identity but, instead of the way it was practiced autonomously by the late Ottomans, it was to be under the control of the state.

5.4 Conclusion

The polarization between the right wing and the left wing in the 1960-1980 period is inseparable from the earlier discussions of identity and memory in Turkey. This chapter presented the contestations within the politics of remembrance, specifically in the 1960-1980 period, but in relation to the initial memory project in the early republican Turkey. It showed the ambiguity of the memory discourse, which was reflected in a fragmented museum project. It laid out the specific ideas behind the creation of the dichotomy of archaeology and ethnography throughout the Turkish

museums.

The highly politicized intellectual scene in Turkey was shaped by the polarizations between the West and East, the progressive and unprogressive and the left and right wing politics. Groups of intellectuals defined their positions in opposition to each other. Namely the Western and progressive mind, that took place in the left wing politics put more emphasis on the pre-Islamic culture of Anatolia and the humanist tradition. The right wing, who developed the identity model Turkish-Islamic synthesis, put more emphasis on the Islamic heritage of Turkey. However, these oppositions coexisted and this was reflected in the Turkish museums that housed two types of collections: archaeology and ethnography.

The right and left wing in Turkey were in fact, “two sides of the same coin.”⁷⁷ While they defined themselves in opposition to each other, both sides looked for a homogeneous Turkish identity, whose origins were clearly defined. More importantly, both groups pursued hostility against the Western world, while at the same time aimed to reach the level of Western civilization. Leftists aimed to take back the Anatolian heritage from Western historiography and the right wing tried to prove its superiority. The coexistence of archaeology and ethnography in Turkish museums, the former representing the pre-Islamic heritage and the later symbolizing the Islamic culture of Turkey, is an indicator that seemingly opposite ideas were actually inseparable.

77. Slavoj Zizek uses the phrase, in his article on the recent events in Norway, to point out that the opposition between the rightist populism and liberal tolerance is a false one, that we are dealing with the two sides of the same coin”. Slavoj Zizek, *A Vile Logic to Anders Breivik’s Choice of Target*” in *Guardian*, 8.8.2011. Accessed online: 8.8.2011.

Chapter 6

ART HISTORIOGRAPHY AND TERRITORIAL UNITY

An examination of the two art historical narratives that were associated with right and left wing politics will provide a deeper understanding of the polarization of political ideas. One of the narratives created a chronological line of Turkish Islamic art, starting with the Uighur Turks and linking that to Seljuk and Ottoman art. According to this view, pure Turkishness and Islam were the indisputable aspects of this art, and thus, of modern Turkish identity. This narrative was linked to the right wing's 'Turkish-Islamic Synthesis.' The other narrative focused on Western art and aimed at engaging modern Turkish identity with Western humanism through the ancient culture of Anatolia. Painters, sculptors and literary intellectuals created this discourse, which linked the Greek and Latin cultures of Anatolia to modern Turkish identity. Creators of this view such as Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Azra Erhat and Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı (a.k.a. Halikarnas Balıkcısı) and the followers of these ideas suffered from their association with the left wing.

It is important to note that, different from the official History Thesis, the texts and discourses analyzed in this chapter are on art history. However, rather than presenting a clear distinction between history and art history, the complication of this kind of a separation will be discussed and the role of art in the museum will be problematized. In the state museums, archaeology and ethnography were mostly considered scientific objects that could be used in legitimizing the Turkish presence on the current territory. However, an ethnographic item in a Turkish museum can be considered Islamic art in a European museum. In a similar manner, an archaeological object, which is a scientific object utilized to prove the Turkish History Thesis, can be presented as a piece of art in a different, most likely Western, museological context. Another way to

view the problem of art in the archaeological and ethnographic museums of Turkey is that, the borderline between objects of high art and rural culture is mostly neglected when a masterpiece of Greek sculpture and an everyday tea cup are displayed in the same museum.

The main purpose of this chapter is to present the two art historical approaches (right wing and left wing) with a discussion of the ways they conceived high art and folk culture. This issue is emphasized because the holistic understanding of royal arts and the vernacular indicates a comprehensive reconstruction of the past, which implies a united territorial belonging and an incorporated identity. In order to show this architectural discourse this chapter will introduce the initial texts that emphasized the Turkish race as an essential and stable source of identity. Second, it presents the narrative of Turkish-Islamic art by engaging the discussion of high art and folk art. Third, it explains the opening of the Istanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum and its relation to Westernization discourse. It discusses the ways Western art was blended with indigenous Anatolian figures and the vagueness of the distinction between high art and folk art. It shows how the museum of Ephesus was a product of this view and reflected the territorial ambitions of the art history discourse. In conclusion, this chapter argues that both of these views inherited the belief in a static Turkish essence from the Vienna School, and looked for a united territory through organized remembrances.

6.1 *The Idea of an Essential Turkish Art in Art History Texts*

The first article that uncovered the racial roots of a “Turkish” art was written by Heinrich Glück in 1917 for the inauguration of the Hungarian Institute in Istanbul.¹ Glück aimed at connecting the traces of Turkic material culture of Central Asia -

1. Heinrich Glück, *Türkische Kunst*, vol. 1 (Budapest and Istanbul: Mitteilungen des Ungarischen Wissenschaftlichen Instituts in Konstantinopel, 1917) cited in Oya Pancaroğlu, “Formalism and the Academic Foundation of Turkish Art in the Early Twentieth Century,” in *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage on the Lands of Rum* (Brill, 2007), 67–78

what would mainly be the metal work and textile - to classical Ottoman art and architecture. He argued that the Turks brought their artistic production with them and also saved their racial characteristics when they migrated from Central Asia.²

This approach was a product of the Vienna School.³ Joseph Strzygowski, who led this new art historiography discourse, argued that the roots of late antique and medieval European art cannot be limited to the Mediterranean region but it extends to the Eastern parts of Asia. In 1917, Strzygowski published the book *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung: Ziergeschichtliche Untersuchungen über den Eintritt der Wander- und Nordvölker in die Treibhäuser geistigen Lebens*.⁴ In this book, he created an evolutionary narrative based on the idea that the Nomadic people of Northern regions of Asia brought their ornamental forms to the South, (to Mesopotamia and Egypt), to the “hot houses of spiritual life” as he puts it.⁵ Strzygowski defined Turks as Altai (Ancient Turks of the Altaic Sphere) and the Scythians as part of Aryan sphere. He presented his view of the importance of ancient Turkish art as a ground breaking interpretation and claimed that art history cannot be conceived without it.⁶ He developed his arguments based on the ornamental motifs of textile and metal work of the nomadic Turks. He presented, for example, the stucco decoration of 9th century Ibn Tulun Mosque in Cairo as an adapted version of nomadic Turkish motifs. Strzygowski further argued that the Seljuk and Ottoman art was a later stage of this integration of Nordic nomadic aspects into the Southern Islamic cultures.⁷ He

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 69.

4. Joseph Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung: Ziergeschichtliche Untersuchungen über den Eintritt der Wander- und Nordvölker in die Treibhäuser geistigen Lebens* [*Altai-Iran and the Migration of Nations: Ornament-Historical Investigations on the Entrance of Migrating and Northern Nations into the Hothouses of Spiritual Life*] (Leipzig, 1917) cited in Pancaroğlu, “Formalism and the Academic Foundation of Turkish Art in the Early Twentieth Century”

5. Ibid., 70.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

also maintained that the nomadic Turks saved the ‘essence’ of their art and culture wherever they went.⁸

Strzygowski’s purposes were ideological. He aimed at defining an Austro-German art by introducing the discussion of the Nomadic art against classical, imperial and humanist Western thought.⁹ Although he primarily aimed at promoting a Germanic race, his ideas received broad interest in Turkey. He was invited to write an article for the third volume of *Türkiyat Mecmuası*. He wrote a lengthy essay entitled “Türkler ve Orta Asya Sanatı Meselesi” (Turks and the Issue of Central Asian Art) which was published in 1926.¹⁰ In this essay he framed his arguments about a nomadic Turkish art based on the critique of humanist and classical Western thought. He maintained his earlier position and suggested that Western European cultures derived from Eastern European, Balkan and Central Asian origins.¹¹ Strzygowski criticized the humanist perspective by merely depending on the concrete evidence of the Mediterranean civilizations, and neglecting more transitory arts of the previous civilizations such as wooden structures, textile and metalwork. He likened this attitude to the case of Istanbul Archaeological Museum (which was established as the Imperial museum containing Greek and Roman findings) and warned the Turkish nation against being so proud of this museum and failing to look for their nomadic background.¹²

Strzygowski put the future relationship of Turkish art with European art as a problematic issue that needs to be framed carefully. He argued that European art, which according to him was also Mediterranean art, was not able to influence Turkish art during any period. He justified his position by pointing out that Turkish

8. Pancaroğlu, “Formalism and the Academic Foundation of Turkish Art in the Early Twentieth Century,” 70.

9. *Ibid.*, 72.

10. Joseph Strzygowski, *Türkler ve Orta Asya Sanatı Meselesi [Turks and the Issue of Central Asian Art]*, 1926-1933, 1-80.

11. *Ibid.*, 18.

12. *Ibid.*, 17-18.

art consistently avoided human figures and representational art since its pre-Islamic period.¹³ According to Stryzowski, a Turkish national museum must be established based on ideas contrary to the humanist attitude of European museums.¹⁴ The Turkish museum must collect the Turkish monuments and present traditional objects. He suggested that the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, which he defined as a European humanist museum, must continue to develop. He also argued that a purely Turkish museum, distinct from the European counterparts in connecting the metal works and textile art of Central Asia to Seljuk and Ottoman art, must be established either in Ankara or Konya.¹⁵

Stryzowski framed his arguments based on the opposition of Northern and Southern cultures. He associated the modern ‘East’ with a Nordic origin, and the “West” with Southern arts. He criticized Western art historiography in assuming that any artwork besides Southern culture was barbaric and inferior. Instead, he suggested that the temporary structures of the Nordic people such as tents, wooden structures and textiles deserve more serious attention.¹⁶ He mentioned in this article that art history needed to reach beyond the royal artistic ambitions and look for public art.¹⁷ Stryzowski brought out the discussion of high art (monumental and permanent artworks ordered by the rulers) and public art (tents, textile, metal work made by the folk). This idea was to be reflected in the book *Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art) written by Ernst Diez, who was a student of Stryzowski.¹⁸ Diez suggested that Turkish art must be categorized in two distinct groups; one was the imperial and sedentary

13. Ibid., 73.

14. Ibid., 79.

15. Ibid., 79, (Ankara and Konya were chosen because they were towns in Central Anatolia, where the origin of Turkishness was assumed to exist. Ankara was appropriate because it was the capital of the new state and Konya was relevant because it was the center of Seljuk art and architecture.)

16. Ibid., 74.

17. Ibid.

18. Ernst Diez, *Türk Sanatı, Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar* (Istanbul: Üniversite Matbaası, 1946).

Turkish-Islamic art and the other was the folk art of nomadic peoples.¹⁹

The idea that Turkish art was unique and sophisticated with its Turkic ‘essence’ - as opposed to its Western conceptions as inferior and barbaric - was an important heritage from the Vienna School. The main art historical texts were written based on the distinct character of Turkish art and these texts challenged its categorization under the generic term ‘Islamic Art.’²⁰ While the distinction between high art and folk art was clear in the discourse of the Vienna School, in the art historical texts and archaeological and ethnographic collections in the museums this distinction was not so well defined.

Celal Esad Arseven wrote one of the most influential art historical texts *Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art) first published in 1928. His opening paragraph in the 1961 edition of the book clearly defines his purpose as acquiring recognition for Turkish art in Western art historiography. Arseven stated:

Just like every nation, Turks also have arts that lived and evolved through their history. Unfortunately, the art historiographies of foreign milieu did not give the credit that this art, which has an important role within the arts of the world, deserved, not even covered Turkish art in art historical texts or only mentioned it briefly under the generic term Islamic Art.²¹

Arseven defined the Western conceptions of Islamic art in terms very close to the contemporary critique of Orientalism. He mentioned that the European art historiography did not pay attention to the subtleties of Islamic art in different contexts and argued that there was an “imaginary East” in the minds of Europeans.²² He maintained, “In the exhibitions in Europe and the US, ...it is possible to see an Egyptian overhang on a Turkish house, and an Iranian minaret next to a Moroccan

19. Ernst Diez and Oktay Aslanapa, *Türk Sanatı* (Istanbul, 1955).

20. Celâl Esad Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi, Menşeyinden Bugüne Kadar* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1961); Oktay Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971).

21. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi, Menşeyinden Bugüne Kadar*.

22. Ibid., 5.

dome, and all the Islamic motifs mixed up . . .”²³ However, rather than critiquing the dominating tendency of the Western perspective and its essentializing conceptions devoid of the considerations of context, he maintained a similar approach to present Turkish art as an essentially privileged and superior one compared to ‘other’ Islamic arts. He mentioned: “Turkish art is distinguished from them [Islamic arts] by simplicity, by lack of exaggeration and by consistent and logical composition of forms.”²⁴ Arseven’s purpose was to make Turkish art recognized within the Western circles of art historiography as one of the world’s great civilizations. He compared this task to the writing of Egyptian, Greek and Assyrian history.²⁵ While doing this, just like the Western counterparts, he conceived ‘other’ examples of Islamic art as backward based on a rational mindset of assessment of aesthetics. He mentioned that Arab art was drowned in detail, Iranian art was occupied with the fantasy of ornamentation and Indian art had the complexity of a religious mysticism.²⁶ Different from these forms of art, Turkish art was logical and simple. Therefore, from the perspective of a modernist and based on the norms of a rational mindset, it was superior.

Different from Strzygowski, Arseven put less emphasis on the nomadic arts of Central Asia and did not make a clear distinction between public art and monumental. For Arseven, uncovering the monumental art of Central Asia was crucial. He called for archaeological research in Central Asia and especially encouraged Turkish researchers to do this.²⁷ He wrote art history exclusively based on architecture and stressed monumental art. However, despite the emphasis he made on monumental art, Arseven developed arguments for connecting the nomadic tent with Seljuk architecture and even Byzantine and Roman architecture, neglecting the lines between

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., 7.

25. Ibid., 13.

26. Ibid., 6.

27. Ibid., 10.

nomadic art and sedentary, or folk art and monumental art.

Arseven suggested that the tents in Central Asia, Turkestan and Turkmenistan, which were still in use, must be analyzed to understand the connections between Turkish architecture and the Turkish tent. He explained the structural and spatial aspects of the Turkish tent in detail based on information from Professor Abdülkadir İnan, who saw Kazakh and Kyrgyz tents. Based on this material, the Turkish tent had a round plan of five to six meters in diameter at the bottom and a hole of about two meters in diameter. This opening was to get light and air in and to remove the smoke of the fire. Arseven made connections between the shape of the top of the tent and some sedentary architecture. He argued:

Round houses covered with domes that we see on the Assyrian reliefs are completely in shape of the Turkish tent. They even have air windows on top. The Seljuk cupolas in Anatolia are also in the tent shape. This shape, whose origin is in Central Asia, is spread throughout Byzantium and Rome. The Roman Pantheon is more or less this shape. It too has a hole on top to bring in light and air.²⁸

Arseven's arguments show his ambition to link the origins of Turkish art with the great monumental artworks. To be able to do this, distinctions between folk art and high art were neglected. Since the main purpose of Turkish art historiography was to be recognized by the West as a modern state, any cultural artifact, whether monumental or not, could be used in asserting a linear narrative. Regarding the shift from traditional miniature painting to Western painting, Wendy Shaw argues that, "when this shift happened, the older customs, either the elite arts or the common arts, were rendered under the umbrella term 'traditional' and recast as part of a past often perceived as static."²⁹ Similarly, Arseven viewed the past customs and cultures as stable and timeless notions from the perspective of a modernist historian. According

28. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi, Menşeinden Bugüne Kadar*, 27-28.

29. Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Ottoman Painting : Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic* (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011).

to him, the past was a remote point of reference that could be easily linked to the recent cultures to prove the essential greatness of Turkish art to the West.

6.2 *Turkish Islamic Art*

Different from Arseven, Oktay Aslanapa's narrative of Turkish Islamic art was clear about the line between high art and folk art. As a student of Ernst Diez, Aslanapa was from a younger generation of art historians. His book *Turkish Art and Architecture*, is an inclusive narrative of Turkish art that covers ceramic arts, metal work, glasswork, carpets, textile, miniature painting and calligraphy along with a comprehensive discussion of architecture. While it was different in its conception of high art and folk art, this book maintained the idea of a Turkic essence that was carried through the ages from Central Asia to Anatolia. In the opening paragraph of the first chapter, Aslanapa stated:

The Turks always brought their own culture and their own arts to the territories they conquered and settled in, and so changed the whole face of the country by stamping their own seal upon it. One cannot help noticing the unity and continuity of Turkish art of various different periods in territories stretching from Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan to Algiers and Budapest, and from the Crimea to Egypt.³⁰

Aslanapa created a continuous narrative of Turkish art starting with the Uighurs and connecting them to Seljuk and Ottoman art. He was primarily concerned with architectural examples, however, he also covered ceramics, metal work, glasswork, carpets, textile, miniature painting and calligraphy. Different from his predecessors Arseven and Strzygowski, Aslanapa put less emphasis on the Neolithic period. Instead, he started his narratives with the Uighurs (9th-10th centuries) and stressed the Seljuk art both in Iran (Great Seljuks) and Anatolia (Anatolian Seljuks) as the starting point of many of the Turkish arts. For example, he claimed that Turkish ceramic tiles' origin dated back to the Uighurs of the 9th century referring to the

30. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*.

excavations in the Turfan Oasis, which showed that Uighurs used grey-blue glazed bricks and glazed tiles for decorating their buildings.³¹ Later, blue tiles were developed by the Great Seljuks in Iran and the Anatolian Seljuks, and became the major element of Ottoman decorative arts.³²

Metalwork, Aslanapa mentioned, first appeared in Khurasan under the Great Seljuks. Trays, candlesticks and mirrors were some of the metalwork objects. In addition to gold and silver, bronze was widely used. The glass vases decorated with enamel and gold were also a characteristic object of art since the Great Seljuks. The art of carpet making, according to Aslanapa, was crucial as he conceived it as “one of the most valuable contributions of the Turks to world civilization and one of the most original creation of Turkish art.”³³ He also described Turkish textiles since the Seljuk period through the gold and silver embroidered silk, cotton and velvet cloths of the Sultans. Aslanapa covered miniature painting and calligraphy. He dated the origins of miniature painting to the Uighurs and calligraphy to the Seljuk period.

Aslanapa presented these arts as high art. He covered examples that belonged to the palaces and rulers. The examples he covered are displayed in European Art Museums and in Turkish Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul. As a ceramic work for example, a vase that is grouped under the name “Golden Horn Ware”, dated to around 15th century from the collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, is presented in the book (Figure 6.1). A Silver tray with an inscription in the name of Sultan Alp Arslan from the collections of Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Figure 6.1), carpets and rugs displayed in art museums³⁴ are presented as the royal artistic production of the Turkish nation.

31. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, 270.

32. *Ibid.*, 270-282.

33. *Ibid.*, 291.

34. For example, Gordes Prayer Rug, from Seattle Art Museum; Holbein carpet with pseudo-Kufic border from Philadelphia Museum of Art; Seljuk carpet from the Mosque of Aladdin in Konya from Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art.

It is intriguing that, these kinds of objects such as carpets, rugs, glass and metal work, are also found in ethnographic museums, and categorized as ethnographic objects rather than artworks. The Ankara Ethnography Museum for example contains the most sophisticated examples of velvet and silk clothing, embroidery, metal hardware such as silver coffee pots, jugs, braziers and cutlery, glass and ceramic tiled vases and decorative panels, carpets and rugs, inlaid wooden doors and minbars. Many ethnographic collections around the country contain similar examples of carpets, rugs, cloths, metal and glass works.



Figure 6.1: Golden Horn Ware, 15th century (left), Silver Tray (right), (Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*)

The Turkish Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul, which could partly be considered as the representation of Aslanapa's art historical texts, presents the Islamic art from the Umayyads to Seljuk and Ottoman art on the upper floors, and contains an ethnographic collection on the lower floors. A chronological display of everyday life of Turks through the demonstration of nomadic tents, classical Ottoman domestic life and a Westernized Ottoman living room setting is presented on the basement floor of the Turkish Islamic Art Museum. This display clearly establishes a different status

for art and ethnography, displaying what is considered art on the upper floors and ethnography in the basement.

The questions “What is art?” and “What is ethnography?” reach beyond the scope of this dissertation project, however, it is important that they are raised for an understanding of what was considered representative of the national identity. According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, ethnographic artifacts are objects created by ethnographers.³⁵ She argues:

Such objects become ethnography by virtue of being defined, segmented, detached and carried away by ethnographers. They are ethnographic not because they were found in a Hungarian peasant household, Kwakiutl village or Rajasthan market, rather than in Buckingham Palace or Michelangelo’s Studio, but by virtue of the manner in which they have been detached, for disciplines make their objects and in the process make themselves.³⁶

Museum of Turkish Islamic Art, chose the courtly artistic objects as the representative of Turkish Islamic identity, whereas it defined everyday use items and handcraftsmanship as an ethnographic representation of Turkish identity. Although making the distinctions clear, it is intriguing that an ethnographic collection existed in an art museum. While keeping a distance between the royal arts and everyday life, the museum establishes a relationship between the two. It presents an identity that is purely Turkish from the nomadic cultures to late Ottoman daily life. The everyday life helps connect the high art of the palaces to the cultures on the territory of the country. This approach can be viewed as a reflection of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis, which gained power at the end of the 1970s and became the most influential identity discourse in contemporary Turkey.

35. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture : Tourism, Museums and Heritage*.

36. *Ibid.*, 18.

6.3 Western art, the Myth of Anatolia and the Museum of Ephesus

The establishment of an art museum in Turkey was first attempted by Osman Hamdi Bey, founder of the Imperial Museum (Istanbul Archaeology Museum today) in Istanbul.³⁷ However, this institute was not realized until 1937, twenty-seven years after his death. The same year, the issue of an art museum was discussed in the Ottoman Assembly and it was decided to add 1000 Liras to the annual budget of the Imperial Museum to be spent on purchasing the paintings of the previous students of the art school, *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*, or commissioning reproductions in case originals were not available.³⁸ With the support of the government, the first art collection, *Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu*, was formed from 1910 to 1914.

This collection was put together for the educational purposes of the students of *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*. It was displayed in the halls of this school for the first time in 1915. After 1916, due to the negative effects of World War I, the collection was in a bad condition. In 1919, it was moved to the Imperial Museum and was not displayed until the opening of Istanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum in 1937.

When *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi* moved to Fındıklı Palace in 1926, the Ministry of Education planned the extension of the building for a Painting Museum and decided that valuable paintings in the Military Museum, National Palaces and other state institutions be bestowed to the museum. The purposes for this decision was explained to the Prime Minister as follows:

The fact that the presence of one or more painting museums among the museums that constitute the national treasures of all civilized nations has a very strong influence on the states and on the culture and aesthetic pleasures of the nation and of young people requires no explanations. I have taken into consideration the fact that, although the works to be found in the depot of Istanbul [Archaeological] Museum, in the Military Museum and other departments of the

37. Semra Germaner, *Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu'ndan Resim ve Heykel Müzesi'ne [From Elvah-ı Nakşiye Collection to The Museum of Painting and Sculpture]*, 2009, 19–29.

38. Halil Edhem Eldem and Gültekin Elibal, *Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1924), 19.

palaces are of quantity and quality to form a museum that is richer than painting museums in the Balkan states, and although even the smallest of European states are not exempt from the need for a painting museum, up to now, it had not been possible to gather these works and establish a painting museum. In order to meet this need, that is indispensable in the lives of all civilized nations, I have allotted the lateral part of the Fındıklı Palace in Istanbul as a painting museum and have allocated sufficient funds for the collection and classification of these works.³⁹

Ideas of the Minister of Education on the ways to ‘civilize’ the nation through the establishment of an art museum must have been convincing, given the Early Republican ideals were, in parallel, aspiring for the representation of a ‘civilized’ identity in the eyes of European states. Although the Minister’s request was approved, the establishment of the Painting and Sculpture Museum waited for another ten years. In 1936, the Academy of Fine Arts (formerly *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) organized an exhibition, “Half a century of Turkish Painting Exhibition”, which displayed the works of young artists of the Republican Period in addition to the *Elvah-ı Nakşiye* Collection. This exhibition was turned into a permanent collection and Istanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum was opened in the Princely Chamber (*Veliaht Dairesi*) of Dolmabahçe Palace on September 20th, 1937 by the order of Atatürk.

It is intriguing that the opening date of the Painting and Sculpture Museum, September 20, 1937, was the first day of the Second Turkish History Congress, where an exhibition of archaeological finds and the 15th and 16th century Ottoman ceramic tiles and calligraphy took place at the entrance hall of Dolmabahçe Palace (Figures 5.4, 5.5). This exhibition was to represent the new identity of the Turkish Republic to an international group of scholars.⁴⁰ Although there is no evidence the opening of the Painting and Sculpture Museum in the Princely Chamber of Dolmabahçe

39. Prime Minister’s Office, Republic Archive, document no 3845-134/1181 and dated 07/21/1926 cited in Nilüfer Öndin, *Cumhuriyet’in Kültür Politikası ve Sanat, 1923-1950* (Beyoğlu, Istanbul: İnsancıl Yayınları, 2003)

40. Kaya and Fazlıoğlu, “Müzecilik Tarihinde Önemli Bir İsim: Mehmet Yusuf Akyurt ve Dolmabahçe Sarayında Bir Sergi [A Significant Name in Museum History: Mehmet Yusuf Akyurt and an Exhibition in Dolmabahçe Palace],” 66.

Palace seems consciously formed in relation to the ‘scientific’ exhibition that took place next door.⁴¹

Whether or not the art collection complemented the historical exhibition of the Congress, the two collections were displayed according to different demands. The exhibition at the Congress aimed at proving the origins of the Turkish state within the new territorial borders through a historical narrative. The establishment ideas of the Painting and Sculpture Museum were more concerned with the education of the art students and the public. For example, in the magazine *Ar*, it was mentioned that “This museum will serve the civility (*terbiye*) of the public as well as art.”⁴² In another art magazine, Nurullah Berk, a prominent artist and one of the directors of Painting and Sculpture Museum, after praising the establishment of the museum, stated his wish that “the artistic education of the nation be pursued in a more effective way” with the efforts of the museum.⁴³ The main purpose of the art museum was to ‘civilize’ the viewer and create the ideal citizen, which is defined by the Republican elite as secular and Western.

It is possible to observe the concerns of Westernization through the narrative of painting and sculpture, as displayed in the museum. The narrative starts with the painting ‘Sultan Mahmut I and his retinue’ (18th century), which is a representative

41. Semra Germaner points out that Atatürk took a break from the Congress, stopped by the museum inauguration, got some information about the museum and went back to the Congress. Germaner, *Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu’ndan Resim ve Heykel Müzesi’ne [From Elvah-ı Nakşiye Collection to The Museum of Painting and Sculpture]*. According to the memoirs of Cevat Memduh Altar, who was the Director of the Department of Fine Arts at the Ministry of Education at the time, Atatürk urged the opening of this museum in 1937, without even waiting for the creation of a law. Cevat Memduh Altar, “1937’den 1987’ye Anılar [Memoirs from 1937 to 1987],” in *Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Resim ve Heykel Müzesi, 50. Yıl [Mimar Sinan University Painting and Sculpture Museum, 50th Anniversary]*, 3 (1987). Therefore, one might say that Atatürk wanted this art museum opened by the time of the International Congress and the museum collection complemented the History Congress’ exhibition.

42. “Türk Resim ve Heykel Galerisi [Turkish Painting and Sculpture Gallery],” *Ar*, no. 10 (1937): 4 cited in Germaner, *Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu’ndan Resim ve Heykel Müzesi’ne [From Elvah-ı Nakşiye Collection to The Museum of Painting and Sculpture]*

43. Nurullah Berk, *Güzel Sanatlar Galerisi ve Bir Temenni [Fine Arts Gallery and a Wish]*, 1938, 111–114.

of the shift from miniature painting to Western painting (Figure 6.2).⁴⁴ The painting, which depicts ceremonial principles of the palace, acquires both traditional methods and Western aspects. The idea of a direct representation of space was inappropriate within traditional Islamic culture. Therefore, nature and people were illustrated as abstract figures (Figure 6.2).⁴⁵ at the same time, a reflection of real space and the use of simple perspective is also seen in the way figures settle on the ground.



Figure 6.2: Sultan Mahmud and his retinue, 18th century (left), (Tomur Atagök and Semra Germaner, *Serginin Sergisi : Istanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi, 1937 Açılış Koleksiyonu = Exhibition's exhibition : Istanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum, 1937 opening collection* [Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2009]), Circumcision of Shehzade Beyazid and Jihangir, 16th century (right), (Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*)

In the museum catalog, Devrim Erbil mentions that the first impression of the paintings in the first hall was an admiration for nature, and that this indicated the beginning of a close relationship with Western painting.⁴⁶ In her book *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*,

44. Devrim Erbil, *Istanbul Resim Heykel Müzesi [Istanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum]*, 1965.

45. Ibid., 2.

46. Ibid.

Wendy Shaw presents a subtle way of understanding the shift from traditional art to Western painting in the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁷ According to Shaw, the existing art historiography is not very productive in explaining the transition from the traditional manuscript painting to Western painting and the use of the principles of perspective, because it often neglected the broader cultural and social changes at the time.⁴⁸ Instead of establishing a chronological and progressive storyline to explain the shift from manuscript painting (miniature painting) to oil on canvas painting, she points out that Ottoman perspectival painting was only indirectly linked to both of them. It emerged in the form of murals with *girih* pattern, which, unlike the manuscript painting, focused on the topics of landscape and nature.⁴⁹ The *girih* pattern as wall decoration was a geometric representational code that illustrates themes related to nature. Therefore, Shaw argues that the topics of landscape and nature already existed in Ottoman culture and instead of a direct import, Western painting was integrated into the Ottoman art scene as a translation.

The transformation of architectural and urban space beginning in the 18th century was a significant factor in the development of oil on canvas painting. Many European style of palaces decorated with Western furniture were built along the waterfront and the elites of Istanbul displayed oil on canvas paintings on their walls as a reflection of their interest in the European visual culture and expression of their affiliation with modern culture.⁵⁰ The Ottoman elite predominantly preferred the themes of landscape and nature as they were appropriate for their Islamic sensibilities.⁵¹

The shift from miniature painting to Western style painting and its gradual development is observed throughout the exhibits of the Painting and Sculpture Museum in

47. Shaw, *Ottoman Painting : Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid., 13.

50. Ibid., 19.

51. Ibid., 23.

chronological order. After displaying the 19th century Ottoman paintings as ‘primitives’, the exhibit continues with the early 20th century artists who were educated in Paris and brought the ideas of impressionism to Ottoman painting.⁵² Later, the paintings with the influence of cubism and constructivism are displayed. Turkish students, who were sent to Europe to study painting after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, brought these new movements back home.⁵³ In the 1930s, the painters started to blend the Western ideas and movements with the indigenous visual culture. Nurullah Berk, who was the leading figure of the ‘Group D’, which was formed in 1933-34, mentions that the new group of artists was to start a new era in Turkish painting and sculpture.⁵⁴ This group refused a sentimental and romantic approach in art, rejected impressionism, and called for a Turkish art that is a product of intellectual thought based on Western schools. The Group D artists aimed to create a unique Turkish art by blending the visual culture of Anatolia with Western techniques. According to Nurullah Berk, Group D reflected the ideals of a Kemalist Turkey, which distanced itself from the East and embraced the social and cultural institutions of the West.⁵⁵

Cemal Tollu, Zeki Faik Izer, Nurullah Berk, Elif Naci and Abidin Dino were the initial members of Group D. While they applied techniques that they learned in Europe, the artists developed a regionalist approach by merging traditional Turkish motifs with Western approaches. Images of rural life in Anatolia were the most common source of creativity for these painters. Nurullah Berk’s *Ütü Yapan Kadın* (Ironing Woman), Cemal Tollu’s *Çobanlar* (Shepherds), and Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu’s *Kompozisyon* (Composition) (Figure 4.11) are some of the prominent examples.

52. Nurullah Berk, *Istanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi = Le Musée de peinture et sculpture = Museum of painting and sculpture* ([Istanbul]: Akbank, 1972).

53. Ibid., 24.

54. Ibid., 30.

55. Ibid.

Many of the Group D painters participated in Homeland Tours (*Yurt Gezileri*) organization, during which the artists traveled to the remote regions of Anatolia to make paintings inspired by peasants and rural life.⁵⁶ These tours began in 1938 by the initiative of The Republican Party and lasted until 1943. The Republican Party expected the painters to create paintings of the Anatolian panorama, Turkish peasant and local motifs.⁵⁷ This was the time of a program of cultural Westernization through the education of the public. Hasan Ali Yücel, who was the Minister of Education in 1938 established Village Institutes, which reached remote regions and provided Western oriented education. Western literary classics were also translated into Turkish and introduced into the educational curricula. A new generation of cultural theorists including Nurullah Ataç and Sabahattin Eyüboğlu called for a Western influenced Anatolian humanism that reaches out the rural cultures and cultivates them.⁵⁸ Literary production of these theorists and intellectuals was a crucial support for the paintings of Group D.

While the Village Institutes were closed after the Republican Party lost power and the project of cultural education ceased, the myth of Anatolia gained a new dimension at the end of the 1950s in the writings of a group of ‘public intellectuals’ including Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, who was an important figure of the state sanctioned Anatolian humanism in the 1940s. Novelist Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı (Halikarnas Balıkcısı), Azra Erhat, who translated ancient Greek texts to Turkish and painters Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu and Eren Eyüboğlu were the significant figures who emphasized ancient Anatolia as the source of Western civilization and modern Turkish identity throughout

56. Shaw, *Ottoman Painting : Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*.

57. Elçin Poyraz, *Bir Çağdaştırma Misyonu: Ressamların Yurt Gezileri (1938-1943) [A Modernizing Mission: Painters' Homeland Tours (1938-1943)]*, February 2012, <http://www.altust.org/2011/12/bir-‘cagdaslastirma’-misyonu-ressamlarin-yurt-gezileri-1938-1943/>.

58. Can Bilsel, “‘Our Anatolia’: Organicism and the Making of Humanist Culture in Turkey,” in *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage on the Lands of Rum*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu and Sibel Bozdoğan (Brill, 2007), 228.

the 1950s and 60s.

The discourse of these intellectuals, which is called the Blue Anatolia movement, became influential in the perception of Western Anatolia and the ancient Greek heritage. The Blueists claimed the ancient past of Anatolia and argued that the Turks were the actual descendants of the ancient Greeks, thus the true owner of the humanist culture. In a radio interview, Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı stated:

Civilization went to the West from Anatolia. While the Gaul was still in barbarism 50 years BC, the father of the poem in the world, Homer, was writing and reading Iliad in 900 BC in Izmir (Smyrna). The father of history, Herodot [Herodotus], born in Bodrum [Halikarnassus], wrote the first historical narrative of the world in 500 BC. The father of European science, Thales, was born and wrote in Milet [Miletos]. The father of medicine, Hipokrat [Hippocrates] was also born and started medicine in Anatolia. We can enumerate other fathers of civilization who came from Anatolia, but it would take a conference of two to three hours. In short, the seeds of culture and civilization were sown in the Mediterranean from Anatolia.⁵⁹

Especially *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which Azra Erhat translated from Greek to Turkish, were significant texts for the blueists, since they were accepted as the basis of Western thought. Thus, Troia, which is thought to be the birth place of these texts, had a crucial role in the blueists' discourse. They claimed that the Turks were the descendants of Trojans. The conquest of Istanbul in the 15th century and the Battle of Gallipoli / Dardanelles in World War I were conceived as the revenge of Troy against the Greeks.⁶⁰ The National Resistance, which was led by Atatürk in the early 1920s against the Greeks were also considered the vengeance of Troy.⁶¹

The ownership of Western Anatolia and the Mediterranean Islands has always been a subject of dispute between Greece and Turkey. Claiming the ancient heritage

59. Halikarnas Balıkcısı, *İmbat Serinliği: Radyo Konuşmaları* (Yenişehir, Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 2002), 58 cited in Gür, "Political Excavations of the Anatolian Past: Nationalism and Archaeology in Turkey," 84

60. Ibid., 69.

61. Musa Seyirci, *Atatürk ve Çağdaş Müzeciliğimiz : (Atatürk'ün Anadolu Uygarlığına Bakışı* (Afyon: Türkeli Matbaası, 1981), For example, see.

of Anatolia was a way to pursue this conflict. The material culture of Western Anatolia was a showcase for asserting the ownership of the territory that contains this heritage.⁶²

The Museum of Ephesus can be read as the embodiment of the Blue Anatolia movement with the display of Greek and Roman artifacts and the artwork incorporated into its architectural design, that blend the ancient memories with the region's rural culture (Figure 6.3).⁶³ The museum space is a symbolic representation of a call for claiming the ancient Greek and Roman heritage back, which according to the blueists, was taken away from the Turks by the West.

Like the other architects of the period, Erten Altaban, architect of the Museum of Ephesus, was interested in the integration of art and architecture. She worked with two artists during the construction of this building. One of them was Bingül Başarır, who made the ceramic that is attached on the wall of the entrance hall (today, the wall of the museum shop) (Figure 4.10). The other artist who contributed to the design of the building was Cahit Koççoban. He made the bronze copper relief on the museum façade (Figure 4.13, 6.5). The relief is composed of abstract figures of Anatolian rural culture. Koççoban mentioned that “the relief reflects the synthesis of the city of Selçuk (current name of the ancient city of Ephesus) and the Anatolian civilizations’.⁶⁴ The relief symbolizes the connection of the memories of the ancient city of Ephesus with the everyday of the locals in the town of Selçuk. By doing this,

62. While the ancient Greek and Roman heritage was a tool for presenting Turkish identity as part of European modernism, this was problematic with its hostile attitude against the West, at the same time. The blueists were defining Turkish identity as a historical participant of the European enlightenment, however, they were also developing hostility against Western imperialism. They argued against Western intervention in the developing countries and established a ‘leftist’ stance that called for independent economies in Turkey and the Third World countries. The National Resistance of Turkey (1919-1922) was redefined as a battle against Western Imperialism in the 1960s.

63. Another intriguing issue is that the street the museum's entrance face is named *Uğur Mumcu Sevgi Yolu* (Uğur Mumcu Love Road). Given that the Blue Anatolia intellectuals and artists are associated with a leftist thought, naming of the street after a leftist hero's name might not be coincidental.

64. Email contact with Cahit Koççoban on April 15, 2011.



Figure 6.3: Museum of Ephesus, September 2011 (Photograph was taken by the author.)



Figure 6.4: Museum of Ephesus, December 2010 (Photograph was taken by the author.)

it was stated that the ancient heritage in Ephesus inherently belonged to the people of Selçuk.



Figure 6.5: Museum of Ephesus, September 2011 (Photograph was taken by the author.)

Beginning in the 1950s, architecture provided a significant venue for the application of arts and expression of the blueists' ideals. Many painters made ceramic, mosaic, glass or metal wall decorations. The integration of plastic arts in architecture was common at the time, as the architects were looking for ways to make modern architecture softer and accessible to public taste. Picasso, Matisse, Miro and Rivera were among the artists who worked with modernist architects.⁶⁵ In the case of Turkey,

65. Didem Yavuz, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: Mimarlık Sanat Birlikteliğinde 1950-1970

the wall paintings were used to establish links between modern architecture and local culture through artworks made by the abstraction of local motifs.

Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, was an important figure who made many mosaic wall decorations. One of the most important works by him was the mosaic he made for the Turkish Pavilion in Expo 58 in Brussels. (Figure 4.12). The Hilton Karagöz Bar wall painting (1954), the façade mosaic for Levent Residences (1956/57), the mosaic wall panel for NATO Central Headquarters (1959), the relief in Divan Hotel, the mosaic panel in Manifaturacılar Trade Center (1963-65) and the mosaic in Marmara Hotel (1967) are some of the examples of Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu's work.⁶⁶ Eren Eyüboğlu, Nurullah Berk, Füreyâ Koral, Mustafa Pilevneli and Nuri İyem were among the artists who created art works for architecture (Figure 6.6, 6.7).

Most of the above mentioned artists attended the Homeland Tours in the 1940s.⁶⁷ As a consequence, their work in the 1950s and 60s and even in the 70s reflected their interest in the abstraction of Anatolian figures. In addition, these artists were highly influenced by the Blue Anatolia ideas. Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu was Sabahattin Eyüboğlu's brother and he was very familiar with his ideas. His works can be viewed as the visual reflection of the Blue Anatolia discourse. The dominance of the color blue in the above mentioned artworks is another indicator that the artists were adherents of Blue Anatolia ideas.

Modernist abstraction was instrumental in blending memories of different times and distinct life styles. In the context of a museum space, this ambition is more evident. The display of ancient Greek and Roman heritage in the Museum of Ephesus was a modern way of representing memory. The objects were taken away from their cultural and historical contexts and placed inside modern containers, where they were

Aralığı [Architecture in the Republican Era: Integration of Art and Architecture in 1950-1970 Period],” *Mimarlık* November-December 2008 (2008).

66. Yavuz, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: Mimarlık Sanat Birlikteliğinde 1950-1970 Aralığı [Architecture in the Republican Era: Integration of Art and Architecture in 1950-1970 Period].”

67. Ibid.



Figure 6.6: Wall painting at Hilton Karagöz Bar by Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu (top); Birds panel at Divan Hotel by Füreyâ Koral (bottom) (Hancı, *Buildings / projects*, 1945-2000)



Figure 6.7: Bedri Rahmi Eyübođlu supervising the making of the mosaic in NATO Headquarters in Paris (top) (Hancı, *Buildings / projects, 1945-2000*); Mosaic at Manifaturacılar Trade Center by Bedri Rahmi Eyübođlu (bottom), (Yavuz, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: Mimarlık Sanat Birlikteliğinde 1950-1970 Aralığı [Architecture in the Republican Era: Integration of Art and Architecture in 1950-1970 Period]”)

abstract figures that represented ancient memories (Figure 6.8, 6.9). Similarly, the everyday rural life of the region was rendered into an abstract modern art attached to the facade of the museum. The ancient memories and the current peasant life were restored on an equal basis, independent of time and place. Both the ancient memories and the rural life were frozen in a timeless space, and in so doing, a putative ownership of the territory was established.

If we return to the problematic discussion of the distinctions between high art and folk culture in Turkish historiographies, it is possible to say that the blueists did not hesitate to render the historical heritage as a broad and static past and connect the most elite royal arts of the Greeks and Romans to the everyday customs of Anatolian rural life. In his essay on organicism and humanist culture in Turkey, Can Bilsel asks: “Why is this discourse [Anatolian humanism] so adamant in negating distinctions between ‘high’ and ‘popular’ cultures, the courtly artistic traditions of the past and the vernacular?”⁶⁸ Bilsel suggests, “. . . unlike the 19th century humanist education reforms in Europe, the aim of Anatolian Humanism was not the moral and aesthetic education of a bourgeoisie in the paradigms of high culture, but the achievement of a utopian, constructivist society.”⁶⁹ In other words, a united territory and a homogeneous identity was the main target of the blueists.

The humanists’ view of the public and rural life in Anatolia since the Homeland Tours in the 1940s reflects Bilsel’s suggestion. They aimed to cultivate the rural areas by educating them not only as ‘civilized’ citizens but also as absolute adherents of the identity that was envisioned by the state or later by the intellectuals. Although the painters were asked to observe and reflect on the realities of rural life in Anatolia during the Homeland Tours, a lot of their notes, sketches and paintings were censored⁷⁰ as they reflected the existence of divergent views that were threats to the

68. Bilsel, ““Our Anatolia”: Organicism and the Making of Humanist Culture in Turkey.”

69. *Ibid.*, 238.

70. Murat Ural, *Avni Arbaş* (Milli Reasürans Galerisi Yayını, 1998), 22.

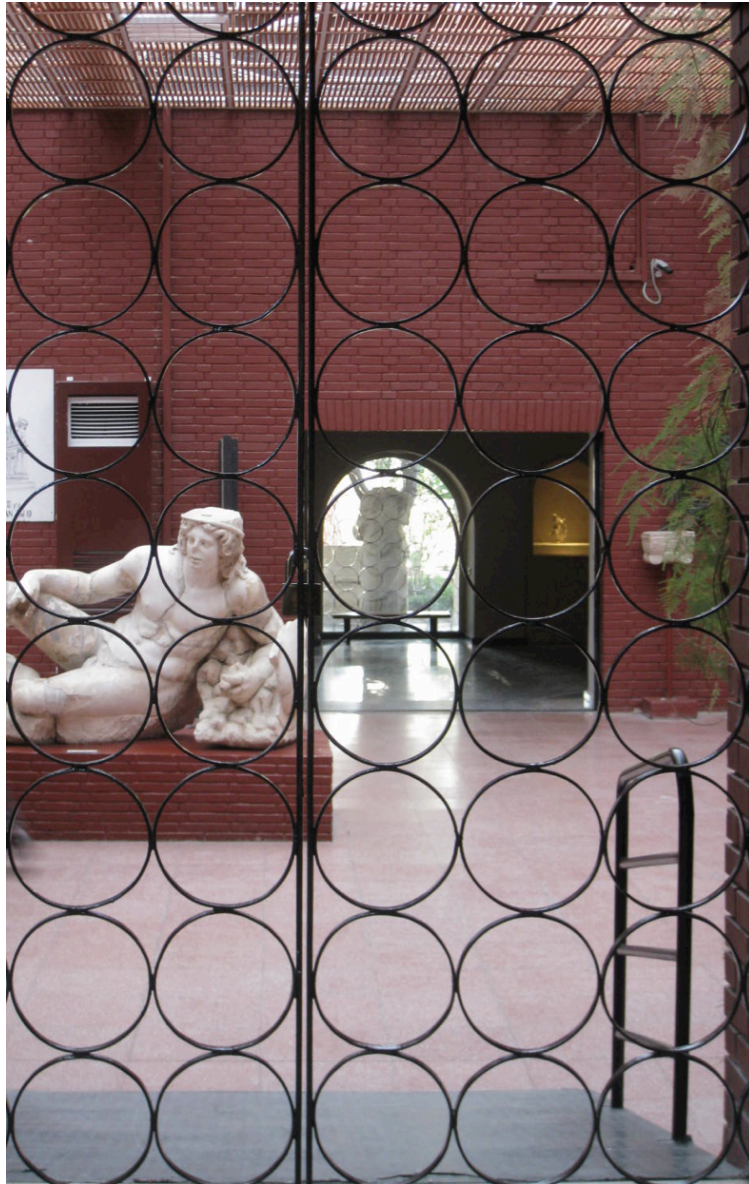


Figure 6.8: Museum of Ephesus, December 2010 (Photograph was taken by the author.)



Figure 6.9: Museum of Ephesus, December 2010 (Photograph was taken by the author.)

homogeneous narratives. The blueists, focused merely on the Western part of Turkey, tried to render this region as the single uniting basis of a homogeneous culture, and neglected the multiple layers of history within the Turkish state.

It is important to mention, however, that the Museum of Ephesus took a very different path than the blueists' vision. The display of artifacts is organized in seven different categories, each of which contains artifacts from different time periods, instead of an integrated chronological arrangement of the entire collection. For example the first hall, the 'Terrace Houses Hall' (*Yamaç Evler Salonu*), displays artifacts such as medical and cosmetic objects, furniture and utensils dating to Hellenistic and Roman periods. In the 'New Finds and Coins Hall' (*Yeni Buluntular ve Sikke Salonu*), a Roman period copy of the bust of Eros and findings from prehistoric period coexist. The entire collection is displayed as fragmented pieces within an interrupted display space. That the spatial design of the museum, which was done in 1968 by Erten Altaban, works for the fragmentary contemporary display techniques, is another indicator of the architect's cosmopolitan approach.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented the art historiography discourses in the identity making processes in Turkey as complex ones. Rather than talking about one single discourse, two main approaches to the past are analyzed in parallel. These two approaches were often at odds with each other. One of them suggested an identity that is strongly linked with the Islamic past (Seljuk and Ottoman cultures) of the Turkish state. According to this view, Islam was inseparable from Turkishness. This argument took a conservative political stance and was strictly against socialist and leftist ideas. The other narrative was interested in integrating with the West. They argued that the modern Turks were the descendants of the ancient Anatolian civilizations. They put a lot of emphasis on the Greek heritage in Western Anatolia and claimed that Turks owned humanist culture as the initial ideas of humanism are often tied back to the

literary works of Homer, who lived in Troia. While glorifying Western thought, this view maintained a 'utopic and constructivist' ideal that can be associated with a populist leftist approach aimed at creating a homogeneous society. The two narratives were quite different in terms of the question of what would be the source of a modern identity, however, they were similar in the way they believed in the existence of a pure Turkish essence that was carried through the ages. This attitude was the heritage of the Vienna School, which influenced Turkish history writing in the early 20th century. Both of the narratives neglected the complexity and the variety of the historical heritage and chose specific periods from history in order to create homogeneous narratives.

Chapter 7

**FROM REGIONAL MUSEUMS TO PROVINCIAL
MUSEUMS: THE SEARCH FOR A UNITED CULTURAL
HERITAGE**

The time period when many museums were built in Turkey was characterized by the idea of a ‘planned development’. After World War II, the US, as the ‘winner’ of the war, gained a dominant status in the world economy and initiated the establishment of international institutions such as the United Nations (UN), the International Money Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. These institutions, whose purpose was to reestablish the economic and political system after WWII, involved the most powerful European countries and the US, and constituted the capitalist block of the polarized cold war scene from the 1950s to the 1970s.¹ With the dominant impact of the US, these organizations aimed to disseminate the norms of a liberal economy to the developing countries in order to prevent the Soviet influence on these regions. They offered financial aid to these countries, however, they required them to prepare development plans to be able to receive any subsidy.

Along with other developing countries, Turkey embraced this economic development model in order to integrate with the world’s economic system. Turkey’s acceptance of the development model was especially linked to the military coup on May 27, 1960. The requirements of the international organizations, overlapped with the interests of the military regime and its supporters,² and the economic development model was immediately put into effect by the establishment of the State Planning Or-

1. Funda Barbaros and İsmail Doğa Karatepe, *60’lı Yıllarda Türkiye’ye ‘Planlamadan’ Bakış [Viewing Turkey Through the Perspective of Planning in the 1960s]*, 2009, 265.

2. Ibid., 269.

ganization (SPO) in 1960. The construction of over forty museum buildings from the 1960s to the 1980s was related to the adoption of this planned development model. A restructuring plan for the museums of Turkey was prepared by a committee of museum directors and officials who worked for the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums.³

This chapter aims to situate the construction of these museums, within the frame of a political background that was shaped by the idea of development. It draws attention to the controversies and contestations related to the development plans particularly regarding the idea of regional planning. First, it will explain the plans prepared for the restructuring of museums starting with the establishment of ICOM National Committee in 1949 and continuing with the plans that were made by the Antiquities and Museums Committee under the National Education Council of Planning.⁴ It will show how the structure of the Ministry of Education (later Ministry of Culture) was unstable and the lines between education, culture and tourism were ambiguous. Second, it will focus on the development plans for tourism and the vision of the touristic identity of Turkey as a developed country. It will show the ways industrialization and cultural heritage were inseparable issues for the touristic identity of Turkey. Third, the background of the idea of a planned development will be discussed and the prototype museum project of the early 1960s will be presented. Through this analysis, it will be argued that the inadequacy of the museum spaces throughout Turkey was the result of an ambiguous museum project that involved forgetting. However, rather than an unconscious negligence, this was an attentive forgetting that was related to the contestations regarding regional differences.

3. “Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Çalışmaları I” [Antiquities and Museums Committee Action I], January 30, 1961. Directorate General of State Archives, Republican Archives, Ankara.

4. “Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Çalışmaları” [Antiquities and Museums Committee Action], January 30-February 14, 1961. Directorate General of State Archives, Republican Archives, Ankara.

7.1 *Restructuring Museums in Turkey*

The International Council of Museums (ICOM) was established on the initiative of Chauncey J. Hamlin - then president of the Buffalo Museum of Science in the US - and the support of UNESCO (United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization) after World War II. The first meeting took place in Paris in 1946 and the second meeting, which was the first General Assembly, was held in Mexico in 1947.⁵ The purpose of ICOM, was to set the standards for museums at an international level. It created national committees throughout the world, the one in Turkey being established in 1949.⁶ The national committee was to represent the Turkish museums in the international arena and establish relations with the center of ICOM and other national committees in the world. It was also responsible for improving museums in Turkey.⁷

The members of the committee were museum directors and officials who worked for the Ministry of Education Department of Antiquities and Museums. These individuals such as, Hikmet Gürçay, who was a Branch Director at the Department of Antiquities and Museums at the time; Raci Temizer, then director of Ankara Archaeological Museum⁸; and Mehmet Önder, then director of Konya Museum, were influential figures in restructuring of museums in the 1960s as the officials at the Department of Antiquities and Museums.⁹ As Director General of Antiquities and Museums between 1964 and 1967, Mehmet Önder was a particularly significant figure. During this

5. Anonymous, "1946-1947: Icom is Born," March 2012, <http://icom.museum/who-we-are/the-organisation/history.html>.

6. Güzel, "Türkiye'de 1950 - 1960 Arasında Kültür Politikaları ve Müzelere Etkileri [Cultural Politics in Turkey Between 1950 - 1960 and their Influence on Museums]."

7. "Milletlerarası Müzeler Konseyi (ICOM) Türkiye Milli Komitesi Talimatnamesi [International Council of Museums (ICOM) Turkish National Committee Guidelines]" in ICOM Türkiye Milli Komitesi Haber Bülteni [ICOM Turkey National Committee News Bulletin], no:1, (1958), 10.

8. Today the name of this museum is Anatolian Civilizations Museum.

9. Interview with Emre Madran on December 2, 2010.

time period, he started the construction of more than twenty museums and opened some of them for display.¹⁰ In 1967, he became assistant to the undersecretary of culture at the Ministry of Education and in 1969 he was appointed undersecretary of culture.¹¹ While it is impossible to argue that there was a single political view within the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums, the significant role of Mehmet Önder and Hikmet Gürçay suggests that right wing intellectuals with more interest in a historical narrative based on the Turkish and Islamic cultures, in other words, the Seljuk and Ottoman past, influenced the shaping of museums in the 1960s.

Given that the military coup in 1960 was linked to left wing intellectuals, and left wing politics gained some power during this period, it is possible to think that the restructuring of museums in the 1960s was shaped by, *Anadoluculuk*, the leftists' memory discourse, which they associated with Kemalist identity. The initial plans for the restructuring of the museums, which began under the military government might have contained ideas of extending the cultural politics of early republican Turkey, as the army associated itself with the heroic memories of the National Resistance of the 1920s and called for bringing back the modernist ideals of the early republic. The collections of these new buildings were created during the early republican period as representatives of a homogeneous and modern identity, so the restructuring in the 1960s can be linked to early republican ideals. However, the most influential figures who participated in museum planning in the 1960s were right wing intellectuals. While this powerful group promoted the Islamic past instead of the pagan cultures of Anatolia, they also associated their discourse with Atatürk's nationalist politics. Rather than the dominance of a single ideology, the existing polarizations (Islam vs secularism, tradition vs modernism) within the Turkish identity discourse surfaced and operated together in shaping of museums.

10. Mehmet Yardımcı, "Mehmet Önder'in Hayatı," in *Milli Kültür Araştırmaları*, ed. Mehmet Yardımcı (Kültür Bakanlığı, 1996), 1.

11. *Ibid.*, 2.

The institutions of the state, including the army, were comprised of people from both left and right. For example, Alpaslan Türkeş, one of the generals who led the coup was a conservative nationalist. Cemal Gürsel, who had good relations with leftist intellectuals, established the organization *Türk Kültürü*, which later initiated the idea of a Turkish Islamic Synthesis. Therefore, it is important to understand that the members of state institutions espoused conflicting ideologies. An undersecretary of culture at the time, Murat Katoğlu, who can be considered a leftist intellectual in the context of the 1960s, mentioned that Mehmet Önder was responsible for implanting ethnographic items the museums.¹² Although this is not true, and ethnographic collections existed in Turkish museums since the 1920s¹³, Katoğlu attributed the display of Islamic content to the right wing of the political scene. This suggests that there existed a polarization of the right and left wing in the Department of Antiquities and Museums, the former being associated with Islamic culture and the latter with the pre-Islamic past of Anatolia.

Individuals from contrasting political and cultural views coexisted within the committees, which made decisions about the restructuring of the museums. The construction of museum buildings was first envisioned by the ICOM National Committee,¹⁴ which included museum professionals such as Mehmet Önder, Hikmet Gürçay, Tahsin Öz and Elif Naci.¹⁵ During the meetings held from June 5-9, 1958, the committee included the need for new museum buildings within the list of decisions. In the meeting, it was stated that:

12. Interview with Murat Katoğlu on April 29, 2010.

13. See Chapter 2

14. ICOM National Committee was financially supported by the Ministry of Culture according to Milletlerarası Müzeler Konseyi (ICOM) Türkiye Milli Komitesi Talimatnamesi [International Council of Museums (ICOM) Turkish National Committee Guidelines] in ICOM Türkiye Milli Komitesi Haber Bülteni [ICOM Turkey National Committee News Bulletin], no:1, (1958), 17-18.

15. Müzeler Konseyi (ICOM) Türkiye Milli Komitesi Talimatnamesi [International Council of Museums (ICOM) Turkish National Committee Guidelines] in ICOM Türkiye Milli Komitesi Haber Bülteni [ICOM Turkey National Committee News Bulletin], no:1, (1958), 17-18.

In Turkish museums, about a million artifacts were collected since 1923, which was the date the Republic of Turkey was founded. Although it was predicted that this amount would increase by the new excavations, the museums are deprived of modern buildings that could save these artifacts and house scientific research. The ICOM National Committee takes the responsibility to inform the government through the Ministry of Education that modern state museums as deserved by these artifacts that constitute the actual treasure and capital of tourism, must be constructed.¹⁶

Although it was mentioned in this meeting, the construction of new buildings had to wait until the 1960s, as a significant amount of funds were allocated for the conservation and restoration of the existing architectural heritage. It is striking that many Ottoman and Seljuk tombs, madrasahs, mosques and bedestens (vaulted markets) were repaired and restored between 1950 and 1957.¹⁷ It is not surprising that the state financed the restoration of Islamic heritage and supported religious culture in the 1950s, given that the most important promise of the Democrat Party in asking for votes was to free religion from the restrictions and regulations of the single party period.

The plans for the construction of modern museums were prepared during the meetings undertaken from January 30th to February 14th in 1961, a time period when Turkey was under military administration.¹⁸ These plans reflect the initial enthusiasm for the idea of planning, following the May 1960 military coup, as they were made before the release of the first five-year development plan of the State Planning Organization for the 1963-68 period. Museum planning was realized by the Department of Antiquities and Museums Committee for a ten year period. The committee included the acting General Director Rüstem Duyuran, Kemal Balkan,

16. Ibid.

17. "1950-57 Yılları Arasında Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Umum Müdürlüğü Abide Tescil Faaliyeti" [Registry of Monuments by the Department of Antiquities and Museums between 1950-1957], Republican Archives.

18. After the Military Intervention on May 27, 1960, a military government was established under General Cemal Gürsel. This military government period ended on November 20, 1961 with a coalition between Republican Party and Justice Party, which was a successor of the Democrat Party.

Semavi Eyice, Kemal Güngör, Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, Mehmet Önder, Tahsin Özgüç, Kamil Su, Raci Temizer, Reşit Saffet Atabinen, Arif Müfit Mansel and Tahsin Öz most of whom were members of ICOM Turkey.¹⁹

The committee set a general framework for planning the restructuring of museums. This was a comprehensive work including the organization of museums, acquisition and conservation of the objects, museum staff, display, education, monuments, excavations and scientific trips, promotion and advertising, folklore and ethnography, budget and revisions in the functioning of the Department of Antiquities and Museums. A ten year program was created in the context of these plans, which were discussed during a series of meetings starting on January 30, 1961.²⁰

In the context of planning the organization of museums, the committee suggested a hierarchical administrative model. It was decided that there would be museum depots, museum offices, museum directorates and regional directorates. Twelve cities were chosen for regional museums. These were Ankara, Istanbul, Konya, Izmir, Antalya, Afyon-Denizli, Çukurova, Kayseri, Karadeniz²¹, Diyarbakır, Erzurum and Van. Two more regional museums were to be established in cities selected by the Ministry of Education depending on the progress of the project.²²

On the sixth day of the series of meetings, a detailed plan of museum construction and repair was made. According to this plan, twenty four museum directorates including regional museums, twenty museum offices and fourteen museum depots were to be restored or constructed and the amount of funds for each project was determined.²³ In

19. “Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Çalışmaları I” [Antiquities and Museums Committee Action I], January 30, 1961. Directorate General of State Archives, Republican Archives, Ankara.

20. “Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Çalışmaları II” [Antiquities and Museums Committee Action II], January 31, 1961. Directorate General of State Archives, Republican Archives, Ankara.

21. Karadeniz is not a city but name of a region (Black Sea Region).

22. “Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Çalışmaları IV” [Antiquities and Museums Committee Action IV], February 2, 1961. Directorate General of State Archives, Republican Archives, Ankara.

23. “Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Çalışmaları V” [Antiquities and Museums Committee Action V], February 4, 1961. Directorate General of State Archives, Republican Archives, Ankara.

addition, six new museums - some of them museum depots - were planned. The next meeting dealt with establishing libraries in the museums or improving the existing museum libraries, and creating photograph and film centers.²⁴ In the eighth meeting, the committee made decisions about purchasing antiquities. They determined an annual budget to be used in acquiring artifacts for the museums and suggested the regulation of the system of purchasing for the museums. It was also suggested that the antiquity trade should be under the control of museums.²⁵

In the ninth meeting, the issue of personnel in the museums was discussed. The personnel was grouped under three categories: scientific personnel, administrative personnel and personnel to be trained (students, interns) and funds for their education and employment was determined.²⁶ In the eleventh meeting, the number of conservators, architects, designers, painters and photographers to be hired for the project of the restructuring of museums were decided.²⁷

Education and research in the museums and the museums' role in public education were the topics of the twelveth meeting. Among the concerns were that the museums did not fully function for the education of the public due to the lack of organization. The committee suggested that museums and schools coordinate better and the students' visits to the museums become more productive. In order to realize this goal, their recommendation was to train teachers so that they could explain the artifacts on display to the students. They suggested that teachers give some of their lectures in the museum by using the objects and other material that the museums may provide,

24. "Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Çalışmaları VI" [Antiquities and Museums Committee Action VI], February 6, 1961. Directorate General of State Archives, Republican Archives, Ankara.

25. "Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Çalışmaları VIII" [Antiquities and Museums Committee Action VIII], February 8, 1961. Directorate General of State Archives, Republican Archives, Ankara.

26. "Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Çalışmaları IX" [Antiquities and Museums Committee Action IX], February 9, 1961. Directorate General of State Archives, Republican Archives, Ankara.

27. "Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Çalışmaları XI" [Antiquities and Museums Committee Action XI], February 11, 1961. Directorate General of State Archives, Republican Archives, Ankara.

such as photographs and films.²⁸ Another suggestion was to have fifteen minute radio programs every week on museums.²⁹ Also, communication and collaboration with Turkish cultural organizations was advised.³⁰ However, the details of this issue was postponed to a future meeting, which would take place after the Public Education Committee prepared a report on their requests from the museums.

Not unlike the five-year development plans of the SPO, the museum planning was to take different directions and result in a dissimilar situation from what the planners envisioned.³¹ While twelve regional museums were planned to be built in specifically chosen cities, over forty museum buildings were constructed from 1960 to 1980 (Figure 7.1). In his presentation at the Seventh Turkish History Congress, Uçankuş stated:

The goal was to construct eight to ten regional museums that were modern and in line with the Western examples. These museums were to be in Istanbul, Bursa, Izmir, Afyon, Antalya, Ankara, Konya, Adana, Kayseri and Erzurum. After sometime, citizens in the village, in the city or the parliament started to intervene arbitrarily. Some of the constructions never started, some of them were delayed, their plans and projects were changed. New constructions started at places that were never planned. Today, there are 20 complete and about 20 ongoing museum constructions in Turkey.³²

Uçankuş refers to his conversations with the technical staff of the Directorate of Antiquities and Museums for the number of museum constructions during the

28. "Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Çalışmaları XII" [Antiquities and Museums Committee Action XII], February 13, 1961. Directorate General of State Archives, Republican Archives, Ankara.

29. Ibid. The proceedings of this meeting is incomplete. Idea of radio programs is the first item of a longer list. The rest of the list must be in missing pages.

30. "Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Komitesi Çalışmaları XIII" [Antiquities and Museums Committee Action XIII], February 14, 1961. Directorate General of State Archives, Republican Archives, Ankara.

31. Ten of the planned regional museums were realized. These were Konya (1962), Izmir (1984), Antalya (1964-72), Afyon (1971), Adana (1966-70), Kayseri (1969), Sinop (1970), Diyarbakır (1993), Erzurum (1967), Van (1972). Museums in Kayseri, Erzurum and Sinop were built based on a prototype architectural project.

32. Hasan Uçankuş, *Türkiye'de Bölge Müzelerinin Kuruluşu Üstüne Bir Deneme [An Essay on the Establishment of Regional Museums in Turkey]*, 1973, 1001.

were eight general directorates under it including the Directorate of Antiquities and Museums, Directorate of Fine Arts, Directorate of Libraries, Directorate of State Drama, Directorate of State Opera, Directorate of National Libraries and Directorate of Public Education.

Despite the appearance of a clear organization, this structure was very unstable. The distinctions between education and culture, and later culture and tourism were unclear for the governments. The indecisiveness about these differences led to a process of constant transformation, merging and dissociation of branches. In 1971, after another military intervention (March 12, 1971), when culture was separated from education, the Ministry of Culture was founded and Talat Halman, a professor of literature, was appointed as the Minister.³³ The Ministry of Education's Undersecretariat of Culture was transferred to the Ministry of Culture with its eight directorates³⁴ and the first undersecretary of culture was Bozkurt Güvenç.³⁵ It is paradoxical that the coup in 1971 was against leftist uprisings empowered by the regulations of the 1961 coup, but the minister and the undersecretary of culture the of the military administration were leftist intellectuals. At the time, Mehmet Önder, an intellectual associated with the right wing was also influential in the department. This is an important indicator that the state's institutions contained people with various points of view, as opposed to having a single and stable perspective on culture. This complex structure and existence of different views of culture and heritage is a significant reason for the ambiguous state of provincial museums and other cultural activities in Turkey.

It is interesting to note that the instability and disagreements continued to exist within the administrative institutions of culture even after the establishment of the

33. Gerçek, *Türk Müzeciliği [Turkish Museology]*.

34. Selçuk Kantarcıoğlu, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümet Programlarında Kültür* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1987).

35. Gerçek, *Türk Müzeciliği [Turkish Museology]*, 190.

Ministry of Culture. The Ministry of Culture was dissolved in 1972 and was put under the Prime Ministry as the Undersecretary of Culture and was reestablished as the Ministry of Culture within the same year. In 1977, it was merged back with the Ministry of Education. In 1978 Ministry of Culture became independent again. After the military coup in 1980, this time the Ministry of Culture was merged with the Ministry of Tourism in 1981 under the military administration.³⁶ These mergers and dissociations have continued until today.

7.2 *Tourism Development Plans*

The construction of museums in the 1960s was related to the tourism development in this period. Hasan Uçankuş, then director of Afyon Regional Museum, mentioned in the paper he gave at the 7th Turkish History Congress in 1970, that the museum buildings were built due to the increasing touristic attraction.³⁷ The idea of development also influenced museum professionals. In the same paper, Uçankuş argued that Turkey needed to develop and the museums could contribute to the material and spiritual growth of the country.³⁸

Tourism as an industrial field emerged in Turkey at the end of the 1950s. The Ministry of Press, Publication and Tourism was founded in 1957 and tourism development became an important subject of economic growth. Azra Erhat mentions in her 1979 edition *Karya'dan Pamfilya'ya Mavi Yolculuk* that her suggestions and wishes about promoting and improving the Aegean coast in terms of tourism and education in her earlier publications *Mavi Anadolu* (Blue Anatolia, 1957) and *Mavi Yolculuk* (Blue Voyage, 1962), were realized in the past 20 years.³⁹

36. Kantarcıoğlu, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümet Programlarında Kültür*.

37. Uçankuş, *Türkiye'de Bölge Müzelerinin Kuruluşu Üstüne Bir Deneme [An Essay on the Establishment of Regional Museums in Turkey]*, 1001.

38. Ibid., 1003.

39. Azra Erhat, *Mavi Yolculuk : Karya'dan Pamfilya'ya* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1979).

In the context of the five year development plans, a five year tourism development plan was undertaken by the State Planning Organization Tourism Specialization Committee in the early 1960s.⁴⁰ During this period, the funds allocated for tourism were increased ten times from the 1950-60 period.⁴¹ The plan covered various issues in purpose of starting and developing the tourism industry in Turkey. An inventory of existing facilities, determination of regions, investments for medical tourism and touristic assets such as museums, monuments, national parks and historic houses, transportation, investment for souvenir making, education of tourism personnel, advertisement, promotion, folklore and festivals were considered to be worked on. Although it was mentioned that ten touristic regions were already determined, the plan focuses on only five of these regions; Marmara, Aegean, Antalya, Çukurova-Antakya, Middle Anatolia.⁴² As a defensive statement against the critique of regional divisions in planning, it was mentioned that the separation of regions would facilitate the implementation of the plans.⁴³

While it touched upon the cultural heritage and natural beauty, the plan was primarily concerned with establishing a system of tourism with all the required facilities and creating an industry with a significant contribution to the economic growth. Although it was acknowledged that the tourism industry depended on the cultural and natural heritage in Turkey, according to the tourism planning committee, the level of development of the country was more important - it must have modern facilities for accommodation, leisure places, convenient transportation and roads.⁴⁴

In forming this plan, the tourism planning committee sought other examples. One of the members of the committee visited Greece in 1962 and prepared a report.

40. Turizm Özel İhtisas Komisyonu [Tourism Specialized Committee], Beş Yıllık Turizm Planı (1963-1967) [Five Year Tourism Plan], DPT Kütüphanesi [SPO Library].

41. Ibid, 4.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid, 5.

44. Ibid, 2.

According to this document, the trip aimed at learning about the tourism and advertisement plan of Greece. In addition, collaborative transportation projects that connect the Eastern and the Western side of the Aegean were proposed in order to bring the tourists of Greece to Turkey.⁴⁵ Transportation projects with other countries in the Mediterranean such as Israel, were also considered for improving sea, air and ground transportation in the Mediterranean as was the establishment of a partnership of ferry business with Greece and Israel.⁴⁶

The vision of the tourism plan was to create a touristic image that was modern and developed with local values. However, this cultural heritage was blended into a strictly rational politics of touristic marketing. A lengthy and detailed plan was made for the promotion and selling of handcrafted merchandise, for example. In support of this activity, research trips were made to Western Anatolia in order to explore the local handicrafts of the region.⁴⁷ The findings of this trip were rationally categorized and methods for their production and marketing were suggested.

In order to promote the production of handicrafts, tourism plans suggested that the Rural Arts Lab (*Köy Sanatları Laboratuvarları*) of the Ministry of Agriculture, which was founded in 1960, be improved and the efficiency of the production of crafts in villages be increased. Another contribution this plan expected was from the Women's Institutes (*Kız Enstitüleri*).⁴⁸ The plan stated:

If the needle laces (*oya*) can be used as ornament in accordance with today's fashion by the work of the Women's Institute, the art of needle lace can be es-

45. Ayhan Çilingiroğlu, "Turizm Konusunda Yunanistan'a Yapılan Ziyaret Hakkında Rapor [Report on the Visit to Greece Regarding Tourism]" (1962). (Accessed April 2010 in SPO Library)

46. Turizm Özel İhtisas Komisyonu [Tourism Specialized Committee], *Beş Yıllık Turizm Planı (1963-1967)* [Five Year Tourism Plan], DPT Kütüphanesi [SPO Library].

47. The handicrafts were grouped under titles such as textile crafts, wooden crafts, crafts made of straw (baskets, hats, garden furniture), earthenware (pitchers, pots and pans, decorative objects), stone work, metal work, leather crafts, crafts made of marine products and shells based on the material they were made of. Each group was examined under subgroups.

48. Women's Institutes were college level schools, where women were educated in domestic fields such as sewing, cooking, embroidery and house management to teach in Girls Vocational Schools.

established as an affordable, valuable and desirable merchandise. We should immediately start collecting samples from touristic cities such as Kütahya, Afyon, Denizli, Aydın, Muğla and utilize these collections in making new lace ornaments. Otherwise, . . . the laces that are precious memories of our history will eventually be lost.⁴⁹

The plans offered a rational mindset for transforming indigenous culture to a commodity. By doing this, they envisioned a national identity that was unquestionably rational, developed and institutionalized. The local culture was crucial in the context of this plan, however, it was put into the frame of a rational structure of development. Macide Gönül's study on rationalizing the embroidery motifs is an interesting example of the reflection of these efforts in an ethnographer's work. Gönül's book *Türk Elişi Sanatı, XVI-XIX. Yüzyıl, (Turkish Artisanry, XVI-XIX Century)*, which was published in 1973, analyzes an embroidery collection from Topkapı Palace.⁵⁰ It explains various methods of making embroidery by using geometric schemes. For example different procedures of *mürver* (literally elderberry) work (Figure 7.2) was explained and shown by geometric figures (Figure 7.3).⁵¹

Beyond teaching these methods at schools and training programs and efficient production of them in studios, establishing rational methods for making of embroidery was an attempt to structure the cultural heritage of the modern state. This kind of a structure was related to the ideals of the tourism plans, which aimed at the creation of the touristic image of a systematically developed modern country with a well managed cultural heritage.

The ideals of the tourism plans were also reflected in periodicals that were published by the Directorate General of Press and Information in Western languages (German, French and English) for promoting Turkey as a touristic destination. *Turkey*

49. Turizm Özel İhtisas Komisyonu [Tourism Specialized Committee], Beş Yıllık Turizm Planı (1963-1967) [Five Year Tourism Plan], DPT Kütüphanesi [SPO Library].

50. Macide Gönül, *Türk Elişleri Sanatı, XVI-XIX yüzyıl* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1973).

51. Ibid., 43-46.

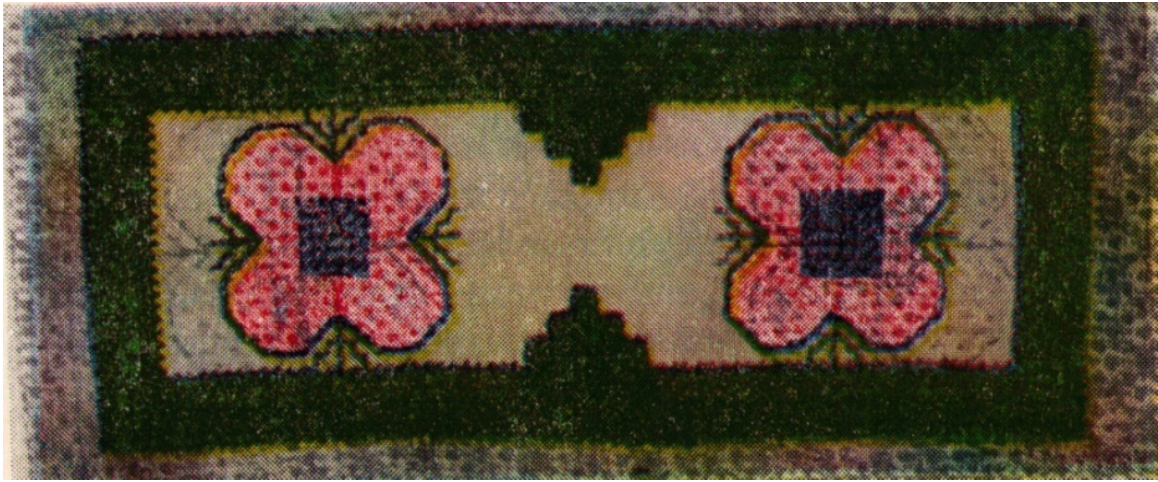


Figure 7.2: *Mürver* work (Gönül, *Türk Elişleri Sanatı*, XVI-XIX yüzyıl)

Today, Turkey Towards Future and *Turkey* were instrumental throughout late 1960s, 70s and 80s. In these magazines, two themes were covered side by side: cultural heritage and industrial development. For example, the magazine *Turkey* published in 1977 starts with a large image of Dam Keban (Figure 7.4), which was built at the time as an outcome of the development plans. This issue contained essays related to museums, ancient sites and sites of natural beauty, drama and poetry together with articles about the level of development and Westernization including, one on Dam Keban and another on Turkey's NATO membership.⁵² An article on accomplished Turkish women was also included as a reflection of the modern image of Turkey. The cover of one of the issues of *Turkey Towards Future* also presents the image of a developed Turkey through the display of a laborer in front of an industrial scene⁵³ (Figure 7.5). In addition to cultural and natural heritage, the presentation of economic growth and modernization was a crucial part of the touristic identity.

In another issue of *Turkey Towards Future*, beach tourism in Turkey was presented

52. *Turkey*, May-June, 1977

53. *Die Türkei Im Werden* [German version of *Turkey Towards Future*], circa 1970s

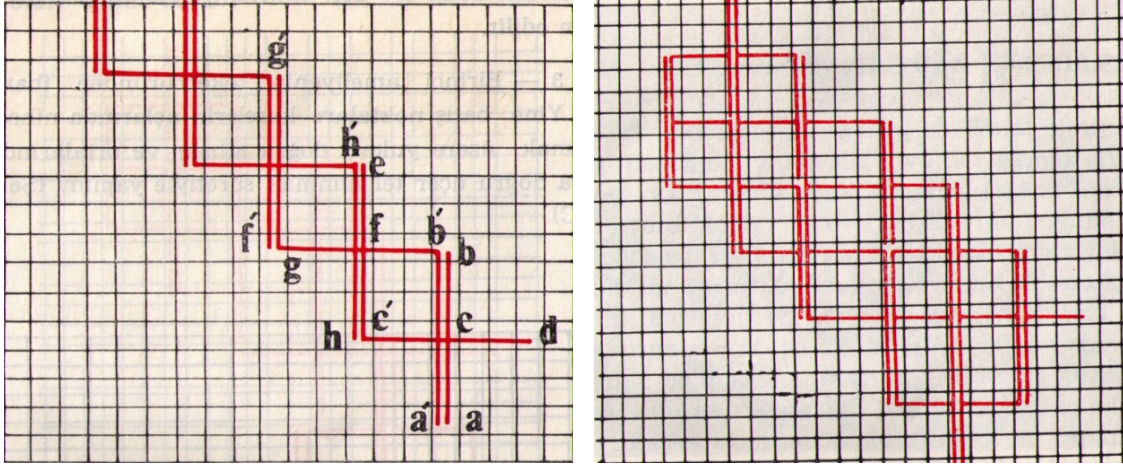


Figure 7.3: Graphics explaining embroidery methods (Gönül, *Türk Elişleri Sanatı, XVI-XIX yüzyıl*)

with the image of a modern hotel building next to a beach (Figure 7.6). Building modern touristic facilities was the most important topic of tourism development plans. Numerous studies were done by the SPO to find out the quantity and quality of existing hotel rooms and the number of rooms and facilities to be built were determined. Modern and clean spaces of accommodation and leisure were to be the reflection of the level of civilization and development in Turkey. Natural beauty, cultural heritage and modern spaces were to be combined for a complete representation of the touristic environment.

Presentation of the cultural and natural heritage was inseparable from the display of development in tourism magazines. This approach continued over the decades and in the 1980s, tourism in Turkey became one of the most significant industries.⁵⁴ The presentation of an integrated identity; an industrialized country with unique local values, is also observed in the above mentioned publications in the 1980s. A two

54. In 1985, many international newspapers and magazines covered Turkey as a tourist destination. See *Turizm Patlaması ve Yankıları* [Tourism Explosion and its Influence], (Ankara: Basın Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü Yayını, 198?)



Figure 7.4: Dam Keban (*Turkey*, May-June, 1977)



Figure 7.5: Cover of *Die Türkei Im Werden*, circa 1970s



Figure 7.6: Modern touristic facilities (*Turkey Towards Future*, no:3, 1977).

page image in a *Turkey Towards Future* clearly makes this statement by presenting the picture of a huge factory with the local crafts and natural and historical heritage (Figure 7.7).⁵⁵ Even the discourse of Blue Anatolia was revitalized in the 1980s and the color blue was adopted as the visual representative of Turkey in reference to the Mediterranean sea.⁵⁶

7.3 The Idea of Planned Development and the Problem of Regional Planning

Economic development theory emerged after World War II in relation to the purposes of reestablishing the world's economic system.⁵⁷ With the dominant role of the US,

55. *Turkey Towards Future*, circa 1980s

56. Eventually beach tourism and modern hotels dominated the touristic activities and the tourist sites that featured cultural heritage fell behind.

57. Ayşe Trak, *Development Literature and Writers from Underdeveloped Countries: The Case of Turkey*, 1985, 89–102.



Figure 7.7: Industrial facilities with cultural heritage (*Turkey Towards Future*, 1980s).

this theory was utilized by the international organizations such as IMF and World Bank, in proposing rational development models to ‘underdeveloped’ countries. One of the most characteristic assumptions of the economic development theory was to divide the world into two as developed and underdeveloped countries.⁵⁸ However, the development economists had to face the impossibility of making this distinction. They separated the world into two based on quantitative information, but this led to false assumptions as the complexities and particularities of certain regions were underestimated. In that case, sociological, anthropological and psychological studies were incorporated, however, it was still impossible to establish generalized facts to be used in a single model.⁵⁹ The goal was to take the underdeveloped countries to the ‘level’ of Western standards. Without considering the quality of life in a specific society, its social structure and lifestyle was modeled after those of the West and it was expected to reach this goal based on a linear and progressive plan.

Economic development theory was complemented with modernization theory, which was the social sciences version.⁶⁰ The work of American social scientists and ‘area studies’ experts who offered an academic foundation to the expansion of American political, military and economic interests throughout the World in the aftermath of World War II constituted Modernization Theory.⁶¹ Similar to the development model, this theory suggested linear, predictable and scientific methods of organization to the developing world, with an assumption that all societies can be modernized based on a universal process.⁶² Modernization theory collaborated with economic development by doing research related to the social and cultural issues of different regions. The idea

58. Trak, *Development Literature and Writers from Underdeveloped Countries: The Case of Turkey*, 90.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Bozdoğan, “Democracy, Development, and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s,” 133.

62. Ibid.

was to strengthen development by focusing on both social issues and economic problems. However, the social sciences research pursued the same scientific perspective in approaching social problems. Both theories promoted the idea that underdeveloped countries can achieve economic growth through scientific methods that are created based on qualitative and quantitative data.

The idea of development in the 1945-1970 period was also inseparable from the system of nation states. The United States, depending on the power it gained after World War II, accepted this system as the best model and imposed this idea throughout the World.⁶³ The idea of development was applied at the national scale and regional and local differences were neglected.⁶⁴ This model was easily accepted by the decolonizing states and the other developing countries as it provided tangible hopes for a prosperous future through the application of a rational method, while at the same time allowed protection of national values and secured an ‘independent’ growth inside the determined borders.⁶⁵

Not unlike the other developing countries, nationalist connotations of development was important for the Turkish state. The governments and planners commonly emphasized notions of ‘independent development’ and ‘national development’. The planners appointed at the State Planning Organization established their status as the brain power of the state, who in addition to contributing to economic development protected the values of the country.⁶⁶

Although the SPO planners had nationalist concerns and their plans were at a

63. Barbaros and Karatepe, *60'lı Yıllarda Türkiye'ye 'Planlamadan' Bakış [Viewing Turkey Through the Perspective of Planning in the 1960s]*, 266.

64. Ibid., 265.

65. Çağlar Keyder, *Ulusal Kalkınmacılığın İflası* (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1993).

66. For example the planners tried to use pure Turkish language both in their personal conversations and in establishing planning nomenclature. They tried to avoid Arabic and French words and even asked from Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu, TDK) to help them find or produce Turkish words for specific concepts. Günel Kansu, *Planlı Yıllar: Anılarla DPT'nin Öyküsü [Planned Years: The Story of SPO]* (İstanbul: Kültür yayınları, 2004), 214

national scale, the idea of regional planning in their projects attracted criticism and doubts. According to other nationalist groups, the notion of regional planning might separate the nation into regions.⁶⁷ In response to this critique, many of the plans emphasized that regional planning was part of the national plan. In the second issue of the publication of SPO, *Planlama* (literally Planning) it was mentioned that:

The Department of Planning utilizes the technique of regional planning in order to achieve a balanced development throughout the country. With regional planning, economic and social structure is defined in the context of a plan on a regional scale. However, regional planning is considered a part of the national plan.⁶⁸

In the same article, three regional projects were mentioned based on their specific problems and potential. The first of them was “Underdeveloped regions approached with social concerns.” This project focused on the East and Southeast Turkey. Although this plan emphasized that regional planning was part of the national plan, the project was eventually canceled due to the ethnic variety in the region, which was critical to the idea of the unity of the nation.⁶⁹ The other two projects; one on the industrialization and urbanization of East Marmara and Antalya regions as a potential for development, also failed and were never realized.⁷⁰

The problem of regional planning was controversial in the case of museums, too. The idea of establishing regional museums received similar criticism about any possible emphasis on regional differences. Hasan Uçankuş’ paper on museum planning in the 1960s, given at the 7th History Congress in 1970, reflects the controversy about the establishment of regional museums.⁷¹ In response to this criticism, Uçankuş advocated regional museums. He criticized the divergence from the original plan, that

67. Kansu, *Planlı Yıllar: Anılarla DPT'nin Öyküsü [Planned Years: The Story of SPO]*, 127.

68. Anonymous, “Bölge Planlaması [Regional Planning],” *Planlama [Planning]*, no. 2 (1962): 22.

69. Kansu, *Planlı Yıllar: Anılarla DPT'nin Öyküsü [Planned Years: The Story of SPO]*, 127.

70. *Ibid.*, 129.

71. Uçankuş, *Türkiye’de Bölge Müzelerinin Kuruluşu Üstüne Bir Deneme [An Essay on the Establishment of Regional Museums in Turkey]*.

suggested twelve regional museums, and instead, built many small museums in almost every provincial city. Referring to the descriptions made by ICOM, Uçankuş argued that regional museums did not solely focus on the cultural aspects of the specific region, but they contained broader cultural heritage:

In Anatolia civilizations and cultures were accumulated on top of each other, lived side by side and collided with each other. Separating them and displaying in different museums is difficult and dangerous. Therefore, we should establish museums with general or united programs instead of focused ones.⁷²

Uçankuş' definition of cultural heritage can be understood in terms of the 'Anatolian Civilizations Discourse' as discussed by Ash Gür. In her article on the perceptions of archaeology in Turkey, Gür points out that the Anatolian Civilizations Discourse, as an outcome of the will to establish strong connections between the landscape of the country and the historical narrative, referred to the "peoples of Anatolia' as a collective, primordial identity of those living in the territory now known as Turkey."⁷³ The Anatolian Civilizations discourse was a useful tool in responding to the criticism of regional museums. It was a way to say that regional differences must be conceived as a united structure under the umbrella of one identity.

Despite his conception of the regional museums as representatives of a united identity, in the same paper Uçankuş suggested that regional museums could have emphasized some local issues in addition to the broader heritage.⁷⁴ He argued that this was even mandatory in some cases. For example, he suggested that the artifacts of Urartu civilization that are found in Karaz, and the Eastern Anatolian public culture and ethnography should be highlighted in the museums of Van and Erzurum. In addition, according to Uçankuş, Kültepe findings in Kayseri, Late Hittite artifacts

72. Ibid., 1009.

73. Gür, "Political Excavations of the Anatolian Past: Nationalism and Archaeology in Turkey," 72.

74. Uçankuş, *Türkiye'de Bölge Müzelerinin Kuruluşu Üstüne Bir Deneme [An Essay on the Establishment of Regional Museums in Turkey]*, 1009.

in Adana, the Seljuk period and Neolithic art in Konya, the Paleolithic ages and Roman period in Antalya, Phrygian cities and Roman artifacts in Afyon, and the Byzantine and Ottoman art in Istanbul could have been stressed.⁷⁵ Uçankuş was trying to propose a subtle way of displaying regional differences without separating the nation. However, the variety of cultural heritage due to the multiplicity of memories of different religions and ethnicities was a controversial and sensitive issue in a country that has always been in search of a homogeneous national identity. Any representation that implied the diversity was seen dangerous for the unity of the nation.

7.4 The Prototype Museum Project

The concerns for the representation of regional differences were reflected in the first museum project that was designed in the context of the restructuring of the museums. It was a prototype museum project, which was built in seven cities from 1966 to 1971. It was built in Yalvaç (1966), Erzurum (1967), Alanya (1967), Gaziantep (1969), Kayseri (1969) and Edirne (1971), which are provincial cities with very different regional, climatic, cultural and historical aspects (Figure 7.8). This initial museum design was a precaution against the possibility of an emphasis on regional differences. The prototype provided ‘equal’ spaces for each museum and united the cultural heritage of them in one single architectural image that was inspired by traditional Ottoman architecture.

The use of prototype projects in Turkey was common at that period for other typologies such as schools and hospitals due to the financial constraints. This approach was the result of a pragmatic attitude that actually brought more expenses in the long run as the buildings did not sustain certain functional and technical needs. Using a prototype for museum buildings is particularly problematic as museums are cultural buildings with concerns related to the issue of historical heritage. Depending

⁷⁵ Uçankuş, *Türkiye’de Bölge Müzelerinin Kuruluşu Üstüne Bir Deneme [An Essay on the Establishment of Regional Museums in Turkey]*, 1009.



Figure 7.8: Map showing the provinces in which the prototype was executed.

on their content and particular social conditions, various themes shape the design. The museum prototype itself reflects this irony through its architectural references to Ottoman architecture. The open display space of the museum was covered with abstracted Ottoman portico (*revak*) (Figure 7.9) and façade was designed partly by stone covering (Figure 7.10) that referenced Ottoman masonry. The main concept of the design of the project was to create a local character taken from traditional architectural elements; however, paradoxically it ended up rendering the regional differences under an abstracted image of Ottoman architecture. Instead of creating a distinctive character, the use of traditional elements helped establish a centralized image of the state museum in different locations.

İhsan Kıyığı, who worked for the Department of Antiquities and Museums in the early 1960s as an architect, designed the prototype. The building was composed of rectangular halls with different heights (Figure 7.11). A central exhibition hall as high as two stories was surrounded by an open display area at one side, and a corridor-like exhibition hall on the other (Figure 7.11). The roof of the exhibition corridor was



Figure 7.9: Open display space of the prototype museum in Kayseri (From the personal collection of Hikmet Eldek).



Figure 7.10: Stone covered columns of the portico (From the personal collection of Hikmet Eldek).

designed as a terrace that was accessed through the ethnography hall at the second floor. At the second floor, was an ethnography hall right on top of the entrance and an inner balcony looking down to the main exhibition hall (Figure 7.12).

With an open display area and a terrace, the building seems to have been designed for a warm climate. It was first applied in Yalvaç, a town to the South of Turkey with a mild climate. However, around the same time it was also constructed in Erzurum, a city in Eastern Turkey with a reputation for being the coldest city in the country. In addition to underestimating climatic differences, it was assumed that the physical and historical aspects of cultural heritage are all the same in different cities.

Archaeology and ethnography were set as two generic themes for the museums throughout Turkey since the Early Republican period and it was assumed that similar pieces of display could be exhibited in a prototype space without any considerations of their particular historical and cultural meanings as well as their physical aspects. Trying to fit the cultural heritage of different localities into one generic container was an insincere effort to respond to the critiques about the establishment of regional museums. Instead of an expression of the inability to create appropriate spaces for cultural heritage, this approach must be interpreted as a conscious project of forgetting. Complex and particular memories of each region were repressed in order to centralize the cultural heritage under a stable narrative based on the generic themes: archaeology and ethnography.

On the other hand, the narrative was not a single and stable one that all the administrators agreed upon. Cultural heritage had a very broad and inclusive definition as a united phenomenon containing selective historical layers for different views of history. The details about the content of the museums were never fully discussed. The past was defined under the umbrella term of tradition, which was a transcendental phenomenon, disconnected from the present.

The choice of referencing elements of Islamic architecture in the prototype building is consistent with Mehmet Önder's view of Turkish history and identity. Notably he

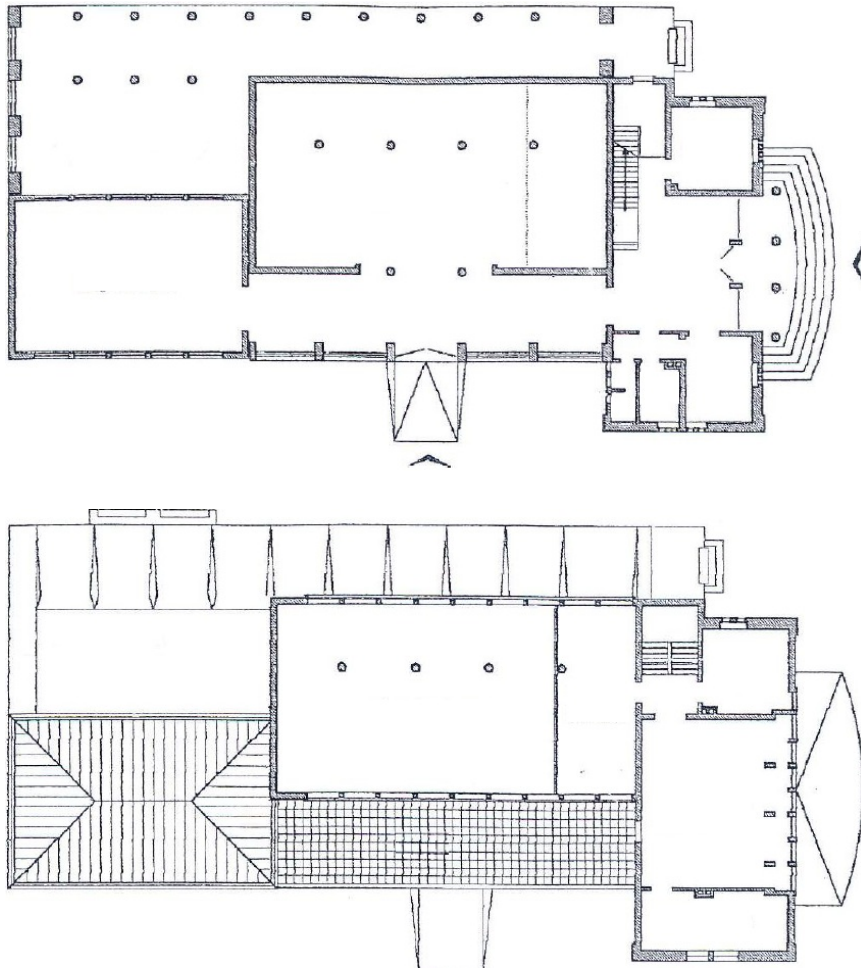


Figure 7.11: From top to bottom; The prototype museum in Kayseri (From the personal collection of Hikmet Eldek); The prototype first floor plan; Second floor plan (Yıldız, “Türkiye’de Müze Yapılarında Uygulanmış Tip Projelerin Koleksiyonlar ve Coğrafi Farklılıklar Açısından İncelenmesi [An Analysis of the Prototype Museum Project Based on the Collections and Geographic Differences]”)



Figure 7.12: Interior of the prototype in Kayseri (From the personal collection of Hikmet Eldek).

was the General Director of Antiquities and Museums, when the prototype was being constructed in seven cities. Therefore, it is possible to say that the prototype aimed to render regional differences under an Islamic identity no matter what was inside the museum. The objects of display belonged to a frozen past that did not require distinctions. The Islamic past was chosen from the historical layers as an umbrella concept to represent a unified cultural heritage.

7.5 Conclusion

Given the fact that it started with a prototype project, the initial stages of the museum construction in the 1960-1980 period was strict about setting an equal basis for the regional museums. Although the idea of regional organization of museums was criticized as a threat to the unity of the national identity, in fact the main purpose of this idea was to establish a central organization that can be easily administered

from a single pivotal position. In other words, rather than establishing museums with emphasis on the particularities of their region, the initial project aimed at founding a central structure for management of cultural heritage.

The early 1960s in Turkey was characterized by ambitions for an economic development that was inseparable from nationalism. As Çağlar Keyder pointed out, the development economics was embraced in Turkey, like in other developing countries, due to two main reasons: One was the absolute belief in the possibility of prospering through the realization of rational plans and the other was the idea of an independent national development. However, the regional partitioning that the scientific mind required for managing the complexity was conceived as a threat by the nationalist component of the ambitions for development. It was conceived as a trap that the Western world used in order to damage the national unity of the country. The concept of region was perceived as a danger and this led to a controversial and ambiguous political environment, which paralyzed the main decisions related to the regional organization of museums.

The project of regional planning with a prototype museum project evolved into the construction of numerous museums in many provinces with a variety of design attitudes. As opposed to the singular approach of the prototype that ignored the particularities of each local museum, later in the 60s and early 70s, Erten Altaban introduced museum designs with insights on the display of specific objects and the physical and social conditions of the museum building. Different from the designing process of the prototype, Altaban went to the construction sites, did research on the collection and the social and physical environment, and suggested specific designs for different museums. For example, the display of Artemis statues had a significant role in shaping of the interior design of the Museum of Ephesus (Figure 7.13). Altaban put the Artemis hall behind a wooden lattice, where the statues can be seen behind this transparent screen but cannot be approached unless a detour was made to get close. This approach determined the main aspects of spatial organization in the Museum of

Ephesus.



Figure 7.13: Display of the Artemis in the Museum of Ephesus, September 2011. Originally, the wooden lattice was made to display the statue behind this transparent screen and provoke the visitors to make the effort to approach the hall. The plasterboard, seen in this picture behind the Artemis, was made later in the 1990s. (Photograph was taken by the author.)

The other examples by Altaban also reflect specific concerns about the regional aspects. For example, her Niğde Museum was proportioned in relation to the flat roofed cubic structures of the vernacular environment (Figure 4.8). In addition, she developed a specific approach for each museum as seen on Çanakkale and Kars Museums (Figures 2.2, 4.5).

The regional organization of the museums was criticized by causing separation,

however, ironically, this criticism led to an even more fragmented structure with museums in almost every province. It was preferred by the government to have numerous museums to prevent the drawing of regional borders. Breaking down of the concept of region into smaller pieces were to help avoid separation and, instead of regional museums, provincial museums were to save the unity of the cultural identity.

However, while trying to unite the cultural heritage by breaking down the regional structure to a provincial one, this ambiguous memory discourse made room for particular remembrances in specific regions. Instead of being univocal places that display linear histories, these spaces constituted places for fragmented remembrances.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

This dissertation subverts the commonly held understanding of the archaeological and ethnographic museums in the provinces of Turkey as a failed cultural project of the 1960s to 1980s, which has defined them as non-museums and non-architecture. It views these museums as significant spaces that reflect a fragmented memory project and suggests that these buildings are what some commentators would call cosmopolitan structures. It is important to repeat here that, in their article “Cosmopolitanisms”, Sheldon Pollock, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Homi Bhabha and Carol Breckenridge suggest that cosmopolitanism is a critique of modernity, which is beyond a counter argument that pursues the modernist binary constructs of thesis and anti-thesis. They conceive cosmopolitanisms as independent realities that are left out of modernist imaginations. According to them, cosmopolitans are “the victims of modernity, . . . , bereft of those comforts and customs of national belonging,”¹ rather than the theory’s Western implications of the ‘citizen of the world’, which reflects a strong involvement with the modernist system. Through the non-linear stories told in fragmentary display spaces, the provincial museums in Turkey constitute cosmopolitan structures that speak for the diverse memories in the region, which were left out of modernist historiographies.

For example, Kars Museum, in which multiple layers of cultural heritage of the region are excluded and the objects are presented with generic explanations, speaks about the neglected memories through an obscure display. The objects in Kars Museum are presented with vague explanations that are hardly relevant to the dis-

1. Pollock et al., “Cosmopolitanisms,” 582.

plays. The descriptive texts contain generic information about the cultural heritage in Turkey, rather than specific information about the objects on display. While this was an attempt to exhibit the museum's artifacts with a strong connection to the rest of the country's cultural heritage, due to the lack of a clear narrative and the deficiency of historic knowledge in the texts, it ironically provided spaces for subjective remembrances in the museum. Instead of conveying ideas that support the official history discourse, the museum space leaves the visitor with questions. The viewers of the museum become intrigued by the obscurity of the story and the gaps within the display and start searching for the history of the city and the region. Thus, instead of directly teaching, the abandoned and deficient display somewhat unintentionally leads to a more effective learning experience by generating questions and discussion among the visitors.

Returning to the arguments in "Cosmofeminism," the authors assert that modernity teaches us that "something may be X or not-X, but not somewhere in between."² Within the modern system, cosmopolitan practices were viewed as "mixtures of things believed to have been previously unmixed and on that account, in the eyes of many (such as nationalists), all the more authentic."³ They argue that modernity is an attempt to separate and purify realms that have never really been separate or pure. According to this view, different historical cosmopolitanisms might reveal "a cultural illogic for modernity that makes perfectly good non-modern sense."⁴

The abandoned spaces of provincial museums in Turkey offer a 'cultural illogic that makes good non-modern sense'. They reflect the multiplicity of memories and the complexity of cultural heritage with their impure spaces that do not fit into the modernist canons. These buildings have been either devastated or transformed into poor quality containers throughout the past decades (Figures 8.1, 8.2). Multiple

2. Pollock et al., "Cosmopolitanisms," 587.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

figures intervened in their renovations including museum directors, officials at the Ministry of Culture, construction workers, all of whom were not necessarily architects. In addition to their unstable structures, museums designed by Erten Altaban such as the ones in Niğde, Çanakkale and Kars reflect this complexity through the alternative approaches, such as the interrupted display spaces their unconventional architect offered.⁵ They remind us that there has never been a pure museum, historiography or architecture as defined by modernity and that these buildings subvert the modernist museum and linear story telling.

These erratic structures, which have constantly been subject to change, should be viewed as the embodiment of fragmented memories and the impossibility of linear histories. This fragmentary situation is pertinent to both the official history and local remembrances. In his book *Realms of Memory*, Pierre Nora argues that in contrast with history, memory is a lively, and therefore fragile notion. According to Nora, history is a modern method that disenchant and freezes vital memories by redefining and categorizing them.⁶ This dissertation does not draw upon this kind of a binary between history and memory, even as it conceives memory as a volatile notion that is also pertinent to history. In other words, it does not view the fragmentary nature of the Turkish official history separate from the fragility of local memories. Rather, it conceives of them linked and argues that the ambiguous and fragmentary nature of the official history was a direct reflection of the complexity of public memory. It was a result of the impossibility of creating linear histories due to the multiplicity and subjectivity of remembrances.

The fragmented stories and the abandoned spaces of the provincial museums move beyond simply responding to modernist historiographies by suggesting their antithesis. Pollock, Bhabha, Chakrabarty and Brekenridge associate a cosmopolitan ap-

5. See Chapter 4.

6. Pierre Nora and Lawrence D Kritzman, "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," in *Realms of Memory* (Columbia University Press, 1996), 1–20.



Figure 8.1: Adana Museum interior, February 2010 (Photograph was taken by the author.)



Figure 8.2: Niğde Museum, December 2010 (above), Antalya Museum, August 2005 (below)
(Photographs were taken by the author.)

proach with feminism, in the sense that both of these criticisms are interested in the subjects that are left out of modernity. However they argue, “Any cosmofeminism would have to create a critically engaged space that is not just a screen for globalization or an antidote to nationalism, but is rather a focus on the projects of the intimate sphere conceived as part of the cosmopolitan.”⁷ Through this collaboration, they suggest a cosmofeminism that reflects a situated universalism that would interact with other situated universalisms, instead of interrogating presumed universalisms. The memories that the provincial museums in Turkey offer, therefore, are situated universal claims rather than merely interrogations of a hypothetical universalism. Their quiet and ghostly spaces with poor exhibition designs constitute venues for raising questions about the history of the region and for discussions of the cultural heritage, which lead to cosmofeminist remembrances.

These authors suggest that cosmopolitanism is not an idea, but is found in infinite ways of being - and in that sense, we have always been cosmopolitan. However, according to this view, this mode of being has been threatened by the efforts of purification. This dissertation suggests that the provincial museums with their impure and fragmented structures be acknowledged and accorded with. Their very existence is a statement that the blurry areas left out of modernity play a significant role in everyday practice. Over forty museum buildings throughout Turkey manifest cosmofeminist memories, which were considered to be insignificant by modernist historiographies. However, these memories are universal, more so than any putative universalist claim that modernity would have. They stand for the real and vital memories instead of imagined ones.

Instead of suggesting a proper way to display the archaeological and ethnographic collections in Turkey, this study proposes a reconciliation with the current situation to take advantage of the fragmented stories offered in these museums. Historians

7. Pollock et al., “Cosmopolitanisms,” 584.

and archaeologists often look for a narrative historical display in these museums, and degrade them due to the lack of proper explanations about the objects and even chronological mistakes.⁸ Their critique can be overcome by what Andreas Huyssen calls a ‘productive forgetting.’⁹ In other words, the museum spaces and displays can be ‘improved’ by replacing the descriptive texts by new ones and correcting the chronological errors. However, this kind of an improvement would not go beyond creating alternative narratives, which would still comprise ‘forgettings,’ because such histories are subjective and vulnerable. Therefore, instead of suggesting a complete and coherent display method, this dissertation proposes that these museums continue to provide venues for cosmofeminist remembrances.

It is important to point out, however, that the efforts for central administration of the provincial museums constitute a drawback for the operation of these institutions. It is crucial that the state acknowledge the impossibility of the current system and give more authority to the local administrators in the management of the museums. The central structure presumes that the museums in different regions have the same purposes, tries to administer them based on a single management model, and prevents the realization of local initiatives. These museums, each of which have particular collections and purposes of display must be managed by the locals, so that the museums are shaped based on the historical, cultural and social characteristics of the region they belong to and by doing this, strengthen their cosmofeminist status.

While this dissertation examined the buildings of provincial museums as part of a central structure, further research on specific museums in relation to the local histories is needed. A productive approach would be to pick one museum from each region and analyze them comparatively based on their particular cultural and social contexts. This kind of a study would require reviewing local publications and documents and

8. During the field trips undertaken for this dissertation project, many of the museums were visited together with the historians and archaeologists, who were fellows at Koç University’s Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations. These critiques were heard from them, during these visits.

9. Huyssen, *Twilight memories : Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, 5.

interacting with individuals in each region. More thorough understandings of the stories of specific museums would be provided by this kind of a study.

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