# IDEALIZATION OF THE LAND:

## FORMING THE NEW RURAL SETTLEMENTS IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD OF TURKEY 1923-1950

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**Abstract**

Early republican Turkey placed the Rural in the centre of state's nationalization and modernization programs that caused significant impact on the countryside. The state took the emergence of Turkish Peasantry to the agenda of agriculture-grounded economy plans in accordance with the new welfare ideals. At the same time, it aimed to transform the country which was increasingly confronted with the Wars, population exchanges, deportations and underdevelopment since the late 19th Century. Nonetheless, the regime most of the time highlighted and preserved cultural connotations of the rural lifestyle and village community. Rural people of Turkey witnessed several state implementations such as programs for social progress and economic recovery, as well as modernist planning strategies strongly carried the tones of nation building. ***"Idealization of the Land: Forming the New Rural Settlements in the Early Republican Period of Turkey, 1923-1950"*** demonstrates the motivations and tactics of the Kemalist regime to control the rural population within the frame of development programs and demographic shaping for a solid Turkish identity and an ideal citizenship loyal to the state. It sheds light on the implementations of new rural settlements built especially after the 1934 Settlement Law, with a geographical focus on two cities – Izmir and Elazığ that had different socio-economic and ethnic status in the state program. All in all, this thesis manifests the importance of the new rural settlements amongst Turkey's modernization and nationalization processes in the Early Republican years, and presents the value of these architectonic forms in the architectural culture of Turkey.

**Keywords:** nation building, modernization, social engineering, demographic planning, rural modernism, architectural history of Turkey, settlement planning, rural architecture.

**Zusammenfassung**

Die frühe republikanische Türkei stellte das Ländliche in den Mittelpunkt ihrer Nationalisierungs- und Modernisierungsprogramme. Diese hatten erhebliche Auswirkungen auf die Rurale Landschaft des Landes. Der Staat nahm die Entstehung der türkischen Bauernschaft in Übereinstimmung mit den neuen sozialstaatlichen Wohlfahrtsidealen auf die Tagesordnung landwirtschaftlich fundierter Wirtschaftspläne und zielte gleichzeitig darauf ab, das Land grundlegend zu verändern, das seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts zunehmend mit Kriegen, Bevölkerungsaustauschen, Deportationen und Unterentwicklung konfrontiert war. Dennoch versuchte das junge Regime überwiegend kulturelle Konnotationen des ländlichen Lebensstils und der Dorfgemeinschaft hervorzuheben und zu bewahren. Die Landbevölkerung der Türkei war Zeuge und "Gegenstand" vieler staatlicher Programme, die etwa auf sozialen Fortschritt und wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung abzielten, sowie modernistische Planungsstrategien, die klar den Klang des Nation Building an sich trugen. ***"Idealization of the Land: Forming the New Rural Settlements in the Early Republican Period of Turkey, 1923-1950"*** beleuchtet die Motivationen und Taktiken des kemalistischen Regimes, die ländliche Bevölkerung im Rahmen von Entwicklungsprogrammen zu kontrollieren und durch demografische Eingriffe für eine solide türkische Identität, ein „ideales Staatssubjekt", das dem Staat treu bleibt, zu sorgen. Die Arbeit wirft Licht auf die Gestaltung und Umsetzung neuer ländlicher Siedlungen, die speziell nach dem Siedlungsgesetz von 1934 errichtet wurden, mit einem geografischen Schwerpunkt auf zwei Städten - Izmir und Elazığ, die im staatlichen Programm einen unterschiedlichen sozioökonomischen und ethnischen Status hatten. Zusammengefasst arbeitet diese Dissertation die Bedeutung der neuen ländlichen Siedlungen für die Modernisierungs- und Verstaatlichungsprozesse der Türkei in den frühen republikanischen Jahren heraus und zeigt den Wert dieser architektonischen Formen in der Architekturkultur der Türkei auf.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Nationsbildung, Modernisierung, Social Engineering, demografische Planung, ländliche Moderne, Architekturgeschichte der Türkei, Siedlungsplanung, ländliche Architektur.

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***Abbreviations***

**RPP:** Republican People's Party
(*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)*

**TBMM:** Grand National Assembly of Turkey
(Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi)

**TCBCA:** State Archives of Turkey, Republican Archive of Prime Ministry of Turkey
(*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Arsivleri, Basbakanlik Cumhuriyet Arsivi)*

**TCBOA***:* State Archives of Turkey, Ottoman Archive of Prime Ministry of Turkey
(*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Arsivleri, Basbakanlik Osmanli Arsivi)*

# *INTRODUCTION*

**Figure I.1.** The new rural settlement in Harbato Village, 1936, Diyarbakır, eastern Turkey.[1] (*Arkitekt*, 1936)

## *Introduction to the Theme and the Thesis Statement*

In 1936, Turkish architect Zeki Sayar described the new rural settlement in Diyarbakır[2] as one of the models for the state's goal for an idealized countryside through the modernization and nationalization of rural life.[3] However, the new settlement of Harbato Village in Diyarbakır was merely an agglomeration of houses located on a bare landscape. It contained only houses and had no school, nursery or mosque, yet the houses were sanitary, large, and completed as the state intended. The new settlement's white-washed

[1] Zeki Sayar, 'İç Kolonizasyon: Kolonisation Intérieure', *Arkitekt*, 62.2 (1936), 46–51 (p. 47).
[2] In 1936, Diyarbakır was still a Kurdish populated city, of which the majority were deported after the 1934 Settlement Law. The rural districts and villages of the province were largely re-populated with the Turkish-speaking Balkan immigrants during the second half of 1930s. *Umumi Müfettişler Konferansı'nda Görüşülen ve Dahiliye Vekâleti'ni İgilendiren İşlere Dair Toplantı Zabıtları ile Rapor ve Hulâsası 1936*, ed. by M. Bülent Varlık and Cemil Koçak, Dipnot Yayınları Yakın Tarih, 91 6, 1. Baskı (Ankara: Dipnot, 2010).; Uğur Ümit Üngör, *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Veli Yadirgi, *The Political Economy of the Kurds of Turkey: From the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*, 2017; Joost Jongerden, *The Settlement Issue in Turkey and the Kurds: An Analysis of Spatical Policies, Modernity and War* (Brill, 2007).
[3] Sayar, 'İç Kolonizasyon: Kolonisation Intérieure', pp. 46–47.

walls and hipped and tiled roofs were radically different from the adobe plastered walls and earth-shelters of the traditional rural houses of Diyarbakır and its surroundings. New residents of the village were state supported immigrants and were placed in this rough landscape that belonged to people whose language, customs and traditions were completely different from the newcomers. Among many others, Harbato Village was a remarkable example of the creation of an idealized land that dramatically changed the rural landscape and inhabitant's lives.

This thesis, grounded in a critical historiography of the Early Republican Period of Turkey, investigates the formation of rural settlements as components of nation building and modernization projects. These projects began from the proclamation of the republic under the government of the Republican People's Party (RPP) in 1923 and were continued until the transition from the RPP's government to the Democrat Party in 1950. The dissertation focuses, in particular, on interventions that took place in the 1930s, when demographic planning based on the Turkification of the country was central to the development programs of the RPP's one-party government. Finally, it presents the position of rural settlements in early republican ideology by placing them within the architectural history and architectural culture of Turkey.

The Early Republican Period of Turkey referring to the years from 1923 to 1950, has typically been defined by the Eurocentric statist attempts of the RPP to reform the demographic, economic, and cultural realms of the country in which the majority still inhabited rural regions. During the first years of the republic, unavoidable circumstances – the lack of any form of urbanization, industrialization, or infrastructure, inherited from Ottoman Empire – led the state to focus on rural communities in the formation of a new structure based on ideals of nationalization and modernization for the whole country. Following social and political reforms intended to construct a nation state and to distance the country from all imperial aspects of the Ottoman state, the regime of 1930s legislated a series of policies improving the country towards a "Modern" status, as well as to reinforce the central government, not only in developing cities, but also in towns and villages.[4] First, the political and economic context of the country, and second the socio-

[4] Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, ed. by Ahmet Kuyaş, Yapı Kredi Yayınları Cogito, 1713 117, 7. baskı (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005), İstanbul; Feroz Ahmad, *From Empire to Republic: Essays on the Late Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, İstanbul Bilgi University Press; History, 218-219. 25–26, 1st ed. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2008), İstanbul; Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of*

cultural picture of Anatolia and east Thrace were reflected in planning and construction interventions for the modern Turkish village in rural society space. In other words, the state ran programs building new rural settlements and reconstructing demolished villages and promoted studies on cultural and social facets of rural life. The idea was to develop the village community in order to achieve the state's objectives.

The making of the modern Turkish village was a significant field of building practice, closely bound with the realization of the modernized and nationalized rural ideal. The early republican cadre – politicians and elites – mostly followed Eurocentric examples for a developed countryside. German-speaking experts, who participated in architectural and urban planning projects as well as in scientific studies, became influential figures in the exchange of knowledge during the process of shaping the new republican environment, not only in the urban forms but also in the rural. [5]

Besides, the modernization and nationalization of the countryside through the establishment of genuine "Turkish Village" was repeatedly discussed by Turkish architects and planners who heralded local and regional aspects in architectural concepts in order to sustain the rural community, culturally and economically.[6]

On the other hand, the state principally founded new rural settlements with sanitary, economical, immediate and effortless solutions. It integrated demographic programs such as the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in the first years of the republic, and the deportation of Kurds from Eastern provinces to other regions of the country and the encouragement of immigration of Turkish-speaking people from Balkan countries into Turkey starting from the early 1930s. In other words, the new rural settlements were considered planned places for an idealized land that was modernized in terms of space and Turkified in terms of the nation.

Moreover, planned rural settlements and land idealization are not subjects unique to Turkey. Nationalization and Modernization of other societies and countries also led to

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*Modern Turkey* (Oxford University Press, 1961); Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, New rev. ed (London ; New York: I.B. Tauris : Distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1998), London ; New York.

[5] Eurocentric aspects, early republican state channeled for the welfare and political strength, can be discussed in various cases. Here, the thesis subject reads the state's intentions via village planning and rural program in this time period.

[6] For a specific reading on the reactions of Turkish architects to the government's program for village planning, 1930s and 1940s' volumes of magazines such as *Arkitekt* and *Ülkü* provide significant resource.

radical changes in the human landscape. Even though they are distinguished by their historical, geographical and cultural contexts, there are still common impulses and general outcomes of Modernity. Especially within the first half of the 20th Century, practices of governing the rural were characterized by similar practices in transforming the rural landscape on behalf of the nation states. Addressing a prevailing point of Modernity debates, this thesis places the Turkish case within the worldwide relations and refers to the global vocabulary as the groundwork for understanding the patterns and motivations of programs in Turkey from a transcultural comparison platform.

As discussed above, the study inquires: **How were the modernization and nationalization processes of Turkey reflected in the formation of new rural settlements during the early republican period?** In order to achieve a far-reaching discussion on the topic, this thesis answers the question from different perspectives and examines it through the following sub-questions:

- How were modernization and nationalization processes reflected in the rural landscape starting from the late 19th Century to the end of World War II within European debates that influenced Turkey?
- What were the *a priori* motives for nationalizing and modernizing Turkey from the beginning of the 20th Century?
- What were the *a priori* motives for generating the "modern Turkish village" during the early republican period of Turkey?
- How did the German-speaking figures play a role in forming the rural settlements during the early republican period of Turkey?
- How did the new rural settlements vary in architectural form, and how was their architectonic formation instrumentalized in order to govern rural Turkey during the early republican period?

This thesis intends to build on the other studies by contextualizing the research subject from a transnational viewpoint, offering in-depth explanations of the fundamentals of the early republican ideology that manifested itself in the formation of the rural landscape, and finally by criticizing the early republican state structure that implemented the nation-building and modernization tactics.

In detail, the study aims:

- to analyze land idealization and rural planning as the practices of modernity and to investigate the parallels with other nation building and modernization processes.
- to evaluate the debate on planned rural settlements as the man-made forms of rural architecture constructed in early republican Turkey.
- to explore the conflicts between the foundational theories on the modern Turkish village and the reality of state implementations in the countryside.
- to evaluate the interactions between German-speaking actors and Turkish architects, city planners and politicians discussing the making of the modern Turkish village. Also, to address the dimensions of the debate which were considered not only by the Turkish state and intelligentsia, but also by the foreign intelligentsia who participated in the modernization projects of early republican cadre.
- and, finally to expand the topic through field research in order to grasp a concrete idea of the subject, and to be able to convey a consequential approach on current cases.

***Significance of the Thesis Research***

Many scholars have thoroughly examined the architectural historiography of early republican period of Turkey, engaging the themes of culture, politics, social and economic transformations. Some of these researchers have recently contributed to the presentation of rural architecture and planning, as well as the reformation of the village community within the frame of early republican dynamics. Yet, this research aims to involve various perspectives to uncover the layers of village planning and fill in critical blanks in Turkey's architectural culture and history.

Asım Karaömerlioğlu approaches the subject by focusing on the emerging peasantry ideals during the early republican period and introducing the accomplishments, as well as the deficiencies of the process. He concentrates on the programs of state's changing

structure and the village theme in the discourses of early republican intelligentsia.[7] Related to the Karaömerlioğlu's studies, this thesis research also emphasizes the impact of the transformation of the state on village – as a rural community and administrative and economic rural entity. Furthermore, it considers the village theme from architecture and planning perspectives as well. In other words, this thesis shed the lights on motives of architectural planning in villages as rural settlements strongly connected to the social, economic, cultural, and ideological circumstances of the country.

Ali Cengizkan presents the motivations for building new rural settlements and reconstructing the pre-existing villages during the time of population exchange, examining the legislative traditions which had been established during the late Ottoman Period in the beginning of the 20th Century. Through archival documents he exposes the interventions from the legal stage to implementation. Besides the explanatory quality of the research, Cengizkan includes drawn materials – maps, architectural plans and site plans – that are helpful to architecturally evaluate the settlements. Although he limits his research to the theme of population exchange, the study is a starting point for grasping the state's early operations of village planning during the first years of the republic.[8]

Cengizkan's contribution helps this thesis to empirically formulate an architectural historiography of planned rural settlements during the early republican period of Turkey. It provides an archival foundation of previous implementations for this thesis that broadly focuses on the time period of 1930s. Another difference between the two studies is the scope of the subjects: Cengizkan's demographic and political focus is population exchange, whereas this study takes population exchange as one of the various demographic and political actions that had significant influence on the formation of these particular settlements in rural Turkey.

Zeynep Eres opens up the discussion of planned rural settlements built in east Thrace in early republican Turkey by emphasizing their value as crucial subjects of the cultural heritage of Turkey. She also documents the historiography of planned rural settlements

[7] M. Asim Karaömerlioğlu, 'The People's Houses and the Cult of the Peasant in Turkey', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34.4 (1998), 67–91; Asım Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycü Söylem*, Araştırma-İnceleme Dizisi, 200, 1. baskı (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: İletişim, 2006).
[8] Ali Cengizkan, *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri*, 1. baskı (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Mimarlık Fakültesi, 2004); Ali Cengizkan, 'Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kırsal Yerleşim Sorunları: Ahi Mes'ud Numune Köyü', *Arredomento Mimarlık*, 06, 2004, 110–19.

from the first years of the republic with a view to the previous practices through wholistic archival research. In her field research in the region she catalogues not only houses, but also other building typologies in the villages. Eres' study demonstrates the facets of architectural planning of the settlements in empirical way. Like Ali Cengizkan, Eres also provides architectural plans and site plans of the settlements, with a specific focus on east Thrace.[9]

Similarly, this dissertation shares Eres's point of view on the values of planned rural settlements in the Early Republican Period of Turkey, and also demonstrates a series of documentation on construction of new villages and reconstruction of pre-existing ones. However, it sets distinction from Eres's study through the highlighting of rural settlements in the Turkification and modernization programs of the RPP in 1930s. Therefore, this study weights the 1934 Settlement Law, and investigates its nationalization and modernization tones that shaped planning strategies. This angle also utilizes field research in İzmir and Elazığ where Turkification and modernization were emphasized, and the 1934 Settlement Law was implemented differently in particular ways.

Moreover, Zeynep Kezer fills a significant gap in Turkey's architectural history with her study on the position of Elazığ in early republican politics, pointing out its strategical development in the strengthening of governmental power over the people in this region. Her contribution furthers the discussion on forceful state interventions, referring not only to the physical suppression of Kurds, but also the cultural propagation of "Turkishness". Kezer's study also clearly exemplifies the role of architecture in the state's interventions and top-down decisions during the nation building processes.[10]

Related to this point of view, this thesis underlines the instrumentalization of architecture in early republican Turkey's self-legitimation steps by investigating village planning.

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[9] Zeynep Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu' (unpublished Dissertation, Istanbul Technical University, 2008); Zeynep Eres, 'Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Çağdaş Kırsal Kimliğin Örneklenmesi: Planlı Göçmen Köyleri', *Mimarlık*, Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı, 375.Ocak-Şubat (2014) <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=389&RecID=3306>; Zeynep Eres, 'Muratlı: Bir Cumhuriyet Köyü', *Mimarlık*, Kırdan / Kentten, 386.Kasım-Aralık (2015) <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=400&RecID=3798>.

[10] Kezer, 'Spatializing Difference'. See also: Zeynep Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey: State, Space, and Ideology in the Early Republic*, Culture Politics and the Built Environment (Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), pp. 157–236.

With a similar intention, it examines examples in Elazığ through the city's continuously changing demographics and their place in the Turkification and modernization programs of the RPP. Nonetheless, the subject of this thesis comprises cases broader scape in Turkey geographically focusing on Elazığ and İzmir, and architecturally pointing to the practice of rural settlements in the hiterlands of these two cities.

Another crucial point which highlights the originality of this dissertation, is to demonstrate the possible relations between village planning in the Early Republican Period of Turkey and modernization and nationalization attempts concurrently occurred in the European context. Thereby it offers to examine Turkey's specific case in comparison with other incidents through which the knowhow was often transferred to the early republican language.

All in all, this thesis uses a total approach to architectonic actions for building the new rural settlements built in the 1930s in Turkey. The key studies introduced above, play an important role in developing the research subject. But this study directs towards an unspoken, new dimension of the theme by showing the genuine bond between 'Nationalization and Modernization of Turkey' and 'Formation of the New Rural Settlements' in this time period, and by introducing the planning examples in İzmir and Elazığ which have not been specifically and differentially included in the debate before.

### *Thesis Scope in Time*

The study concentrates on developments in the late 19th Century through the first half of the 20th Century, with a particular emphasis on the early republican period, beginning with the proclamation of the republic on the 29th of October 1923, and ending with the ascension of the government of the Democrat Party on the 14th of May 1950. In 1930, a multi-party system was briefly attempted under the government of the RPP. It was dissolved in November by president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.[11] This was the turning point when the RPP established complete political influence over the country and as official legitimation of the Kemalist regime. The early republican period therefore can be further divided into two periods: 1923 to 1930 and 1930 to 1950.

[11] For further reading on short multi-party period during early republican years see Walter Fritz Weiker, *Political Tutelage and Democracy in Turkey: The Free Party and its Aftermath* (Leiden: Brill, 1973).

In order to detail the topic, this field research and the predominant literature on constructed rural settlements tend to focus on the period beginning with the 1934 Settlement Law that regulated the operations to the early years of 1940 when construction gradually ended. During this period specifically, the interventions were grounded in the Turkification of people as well as the modernization of the rural landscape.

### *Thesis Scope in Place*

Field research conducted in two cities of Turkey: **İzmir** and **Elazığ**.

**İzmir**, Turkey's third largest city, is located in Western Turkey. At the beginning of the 20th Century its population consisted mostly of Ottoman Greeks and Levantine groups. The city and its hinterlands were equipped with modern infrastructure and railways due to the agricultural trade. After the Turco-Greek War from 1919 to 1922, the city and its rural districts were mostly evacuated. During the first years of the republic, the city was organized for housing Turks coming from Greece as a part of population exchange agreements. The Turkish state built several rural settlements and neighborhoods and reconstructed demolished villages for the locals and incoming people.[12]

In accordance with the 1934 Settlement Law, the state continued to construct villages and quarters in the agriculturally productive rural areas and districts in İzmir to house Turco-Bulgarians and Turco-Romanians who were encouraged to immigrate into the country during the 1930s. Taşkesik, Havuzbaşı and Yeniköy are settlements that show the conditions of this operation today. The findings are presented in detail.

**Elazığ** is a large city in eastern Turkey. It had been mostly populated by Armenians, Kurds and Jews. Harpoot – the historic center of Elazığ – was also home to many Christian missionaries starting from the late 19th Century. During World War I, Armenians and Kurds were violently deported from the region, thus the area was

[12] See: Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880* (Minneapolis ; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Feryal Tansuğ, 'The Greek Community of İzmir/Smyrna in an Age of Transition: The Relationship between Ottoman Centre-Local Governance and the İzmir/Smyrna Greeks, 1840–1866', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 38.1 (2011), 41–72 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2011.559002>; Ellinor Morack, 'Fear and Loathing in "Gavur" İzmir: Emotions in Early Republican Memories of the Greek Occupation (1919–22)', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 49.1 (2017), 71–89 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743816001148>; Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922 - 1934*, Middle East Studies - History, Politics, and Law (New York : London: Routledge, 2006).

depopulated by the Ottoman state. During the early republican period of Turkey, the Kurdish population still dominated Elazığ and the other cities in its hinterland. Revolts in this period led to Elazığ becoming a target of the regime's political, economic, and demographic projects. The city also became an important center for a railway network that allowed the government to exert control over rural districts in the East.[13]

All these factors altered the rural landscape in Elazığ and its surroundings. The Kurdish villages were evacuated, populations were deported to the other regions, and the government built new rural settlements in the surroundings of former Armenian and Kurdish villages to house Turco-Romanian immigrants.

Among ten new rural settlements confirmed by archival research, four – Kövenk (Mollakendi), Perçenç (Akçakiraz), Vertetil (Yazıkonak) and Etminik (Altınçevre) – are introduced in this thesis survey related to the recent conditions of the settlements that still facilitate the documentation of houses built in the early republican period.

### *Thesis Structure*

This study approaches the thesis subject through:

- Part 1 – Idealization of the Land: Introduction to the concepts and definitions for Nationalization and Modernization as the facets of Modernity, and Introduction to the land idealization through specific forms that had influences on the planned rural settlements in early republican Turkey.
- Part 2 – Introduction to Early Republican Period of Turkey: Introduction to the Nationalization and Modernization Concepts in Turkey's history in the early 20th Century. Introduction to architecture and planning motives of early republican Turkey.
- Part 3 – Planning the Village: Socio-cultural, economic, and architectural concepts for planning the modern Turkish village in early republican Turkey. Practices of rural settlements aiming to realize the modern Turkish village, and the conflicts in the frame of their operation in early republican Turkey.

[13] See: Tacy Atkinson, *'The German, the Turk and the Devil Made a Triple Alliance': Harpoot Diaries, 1908 - 1917*, Armenian Genocide Documentation Series (Princeton, NJ: Gomidas Inst, 2000); Jongerden; Yadirgi; Kezer, 'Spatializing Difference'.

In the first Chapter, the research subject is contextualized within the theoretical and historical background. Idealization of the countryside and rural landscape is discussed as a symptom of modernity from the late 19th Century until the mid 20th Century. The literature on urban theories and practices that took rural development into consideration in this period is reviewed. The subject is expanded with a focus on the relationship between the land and the nation building process that used rural motifs to define national identity. Agrarian politics in nation building practices and modernization projects, and their implementation in the field of rural architecture are analyzed within the period between the beginning of the 20th Century and the end of World War II. Accordingly, cases from the German-speaking countries – Germany, Austria and Switzerland – are specifically introduced to explore the main motives of German-speaking figures who played a role in rural planning and village architecture in early republican Turkey.

The second chapter presents *a priori* patterns of the nationalization process in Turkey. It seeks to answer questions such as how Anatolia became a reference point in defining Turkish identity and which notions were used for instrumentalizing the nation building in early republican Turkey. Furthermore, the third chapter introduces general approaches in building and planning practices that were integral to the modernization process of the country. It underlines the representation of early republican ideology, not only in the urban space like planning the capital city Ankara, but also in rural space such as in reconstructing small Anatolian cities and towns, building railways, highways and bridges in the countryside.

The fourth chapter focuses on the formation of the village and the rural community in socio-cultural, economic and architectural aspects. Socio-cultural planning of Turkish village is detailed with the efforts of the Republican People's Party and their special program of the *People's House and its Village Affairs' Branch.* This was meant to engage local communities with specialists who participated in the socio-cultural reconstruction of the rural community. In this context, newspapers and magazines are examined as tools for the education of rural people, and the establishment of the Village Institutes is reviewed as a new schooling model for the village children. Economic planning of Turkish village is illustrated in the economic development concepts during the first years of the republic, including statist solutions during the 1930s, and country planning grounded in agricultural development and agricultural industry. The architectural

conceptualization of Turkish village is specified within the debates on village architecture and the rural house that were underlined as the origin of national identity, as well as the architectural practice to modernize the countryside by the Turkish architects.

The fifth chapter explores the influence of German-speaking figures – Ernst Reuter, Ernst Egli and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky – on planning the modern Turkish village. Ernst Reuter contributed to rural planning by introducing modernist planning tools into the programs and accompanying government legislation. He also emphasized the significance of villages and small rural towns as administrative units in Turkey. Ernst Egli participated in the theory and practice of rural development not only in the frame of planning the village and small Anatolian rural towns, he also underlined the stylistic authenticity of the Turkish rural house and pointed out its cultural value in identifying Anatolian life. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky developed school prototypes for Anatolian villages during her short stay in the early republican period. Her conceptions paved the way for the realization of *Village Institutes,* which were the most intense attempts to develop the rural life within the community rather than through top-down state directives.

The sixth chapter principally describes the building practice of villages constructed during the early republic. In the first section of this chapter, early legislation – the 1924 Village Law and the 1926 Settlement Law – regarding village construction and the practices of these organizations are discussed with a focus on the role of population exchange. The settlements, built in Manisa, İzmir, Samsun, Bursa, Adana, Antalya, Mersin, Izmit and Ankara, are explained with reference to original archival research. The second section of this chapter analyzes operations beginning with the 1934 Settlement Law, in particular how its regulations were reflected in changes to the rural landscape. Government decisions regarding the new population program and accompanying the new village construction program are examined critically. Moreover, the practices of the 1934 Settlement Law are investigated by presenting documents, including the regulations, news, official announcements and journal articles. The third section of this chapter presents the state operations in constructing new rural settlements in İzmir and Elazığ with a deeper focus on the positions of the two cities in nation building and modernization projects. Lastly, a historiography of the villages – Yeniköy, Havuzbasi and Taskesik in İzmir; Kövenk, Vertetil, Etminik and Percenc in Elazığ – in which the field research has been conducted is introduced with official documents, describing architectonic details,

such as the settlement organization, housing typology, construction techniques and materials.

***Methodology and Sources***

The thesis study stated above has been carried out with the following methods and strategies:

- **Literature Analysis:** The study requires a broad literature analysis in order to contextualize the thesis subject in the field of architectural history together with modernity narratives during the first half of the 20th Century. Therefore, the literature review consists of the history and theory of modernity and nationalism and their extensions towards the rural scenery in the scope of the early 20th Century. It includes the historiography of architectural implementations related to these motives. The literature on Turkey's political history also constitutes a crucial part of the thesis research.
- **Archival Research and Document Analysis**: Archival documents, official announcements, bylaws, government regulations, reports and historical articles in local newspapers, periodicals and journals are the primary sources used in this study. Therefore, a considerable amount of historical data has been reviewed in order to illustrate different phases, aspects, and concepts of the planned rural settlements in early republican Turkey. Moreover, personal documents such as dairies, sketches, notes and other official documents have been included in the research to assure the contribution of the particular actors to the thesis subject.
- **Field Research:** The thesis includes spatial analysis of seven villages in İzmir and Elazığ. Accordingly, the field research includes site planning; the building program; the house typology and plan arrangement; the use of space; the building material; comparison of current and former conditions of the site; and interview with the residents to grasp the use of space and memory of space among the people.

The thesis research has been carried out in a number of institutions, libraries and archives in which the sources of the thesis subject have been explored and examined:

- **Libraries:**
  1. University Library of TU Berlin
  2. Berlin State Library
  3. Library of Grand National Assembly of Turkey
  4. Library of Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University
  5. Library of Istanbul Bogazici University
  6. Library of Faculty of Political Science, Ankara University
  7. Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul, Atatürk Library
  8. National Library of Ankara
  9. National Library of İzmir
  10. City Library of İzmir
- **Institutions:**
  1. Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning of Turkey
  2. Interior Ministry of Turkey, Department of Village Affairs,
  3. Torbalı City Museum, İzmir
  4. Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre of Torbalı, İzmir
  5. Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre of Bayındır, İzmir
- **Archives:**
  1. State Archives of Turkey, Republican Archive of Prime Ministry of Turkey
  2. Archives of İzmir City Museum
  3. Archives of ETH Zurich, *Nachlass Ernst Eglis*
  4. Archives of University of Applied Arts Vienna, *Nachlass Margarete Schütte-Lihotzkys*

# PART I

## Idealization of the Land

# CHAPTER 1

## CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE LAND: INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN MODERNITY, NATIONALIZATION AND MODERNIZATION

This chapter aims to bridge the theory and history of modernity, nationalization and modernization with land idealization as a concept among these interconnections. It concentrates that the idealization of the country life as an alternative way for radicalized urbanization emerged from particular transformations in the economic, social and – as a matter of the fact – the urban sphere in and after the 19th Century. Beside romanticized references, the idealization of the rural life was reflected in state interventions and served as a legitimation of development programs for the country planning at the beginning of the 20th Century, and land idealization was mostly characterized by formal and informal practices of the modernity, nationalization and modernization. In this chapter the objective is to discuss these narratives and their correlations by consolidating the land idealization in a critical context.

Here, nationalism is discussed in order to determine its specific interpretations for the conception of the land. The pathway first leads us to the theoretical connection between nationalist ideas and the modernity processes, then to localizing of the land as a tangible, solid notion in the nationalization and modernization projects. Therefore, the theme "internal colonization", which refers to the practices of nationalism and modernism, is opened up and defined in the sense of place-people relationships.

After a description of the connections between these notions, the topic of this chapter extends to a spatial direction – the direction of the land planning and architecture. The idealization of the countryside is discussed from the point of view of architectural tendencies, urban theories, and how both of these took rural development into consideration from the beginning of the 20th Century to the end of the Second World War.

Related to this, the agrarian politics of nation states that emerged in this period become crucial for the study: State regulations for agrarian improvement were put on the agenda in the name of nationalization and modernization goals. Rural development, as well as country life, was idealized as a significant nation-building tool. At the same time, it was considered an economic and social shift for many counties and their peoples. Here, rural regulations and their reflections on the built environment as well as the conceptualization of the rural space are analyzed with a specific focus on German-speaking countries that the thesis subject will build on this connection in a later chapter by tracing the interventions of German-speaking expatriates in conceptualization of the land in early republican Turkey within the particular frame of village planning.

### 1.1. Nationalism as a "Consequence of Modernity"

The term "modernity" refers to "to modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence".[14] It is associated with "great discoveries in the physical sciences; the industrialization of production; immense demographic upheavals; rapid and often cataclysmic urban growth; increasingly powerful nation states; an ever-expanding, drastically fluctuating capitalist market."[15] the society of modern times, which contains "the subjects as well as the objects of modernization"[16], is divided by the new institutions, and separated from the tradition in a "radicalized and universalized way"[17].

The facts which disconnect the new organizations from traditional social orders in modern society vary in such forms as the extreme rapidity and the large scope of change in conditions, the diffusion and interconnection of this social transformation, and their political, economic reflexes.[18]

The rise of nation states, as a political reflex – particularly starting from the 19th Century – changed the institutions of modern life while other structures shaped the modernity at the same time. The nation state also created an emotional bond between people and

[14] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Reprint (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), p. 1.
[15] Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air, The Experience of Modernity* (London, UK: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 16.
[16] Berman, p. 16.
[17] Giddens, p. 3.
[18] Giddens, p. 6.

political organizations by promoting the concept of nationalism ensued "the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due the nation state."[19] Therefore, the citizenship transformed into the strong consciousness of being a part of a national community. During this social, economic and administrative alteration, nationalism and modernity blend into each other as a result of their integral relations. Hans Kohn describes this convergence from an historiographic synopsis:

> In the 19th Century Europe and America and in the 20th Century Asia and Africa have the people identified themselves with the nation, civilization with the national civilization, their life and survival with the life and survival of the nationality. From this time on nationalism has dominated the impulses and attitudes of the masses, and at the same time served as the justification for the authority of the state and the legitimation of its use of force, both against its own citizens and against other states.[20]

In addition to this, the bond of nationalism and modernity exists in the creation of national identity, which has been in many cases a task for the elites. A nationalist motto usually consists of several essential elements that refer to a specific culture. During social renewals, defining these elements, building up a national consciousness in the society and forming a communal identity are considered an important task by the intelligentsia.

Max Weber relates the intelligentsia to the conception of the nation in the framework of power and domination over people. The power and domination relate to the idea of nation *qua* a collective mission[21], which naturally includes cultural components, and conducting nation-building conveniently for a specific group during the self-determination process. The intelligentsia support and/or develop the idea of nation as "a group of men who by virtue of their peculiarity have special access to certain achievements considered to be 'culture values', and who therefore usurp the leadership of a 'culture community'"[22] while promoting the political primacy of the state. Additionally, John Breuilly agrees:

> [Especially in the non-Western World the] intelligentsia can construct a new political identity from nationalist ideology which makes the Western claims to independence and freedom whilst at the same time relating those claims to a distinct national identity which is asserted to be of equal value with anything to be found in the West. Within this framework this intelligentsia can literally feel itself 'at home' and can, as

[19] Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Toronto, Canada: Princeton, N.J. : Van Nostrand, 1955), p. 9.
[20] Kohn, p.11.
[21] Max Weber, *The Nation,* 1948 in: *Nationalism*, ed. by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, Oxford Readers (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 24.
[22] Weber, in: Hutchinson and Smith, p. 25.

> nationalists, play a leading role in directing the fight for independence and re-creating the national culture in its fullest form.[23]

Ellie Kendorie adds to this point of view that the elite, especially in the middle and far eastern societies, locate themselves in the place of a counter-power against the previous state while they voluntarily assume the duty of building the nation. However, at the same time, they contradictorily divide themselves from the rest of the society.[24]

Thus, forming a national identity happens in a multi-layered atmosphere that stimulates different dynamics in the whole of society. This formation also includes attempts to bridge the past and the present when society has already experienced a swift shift in political and social life. The belonging problem, an ordinary symptom of modernity due to expeditious changes, is eased through determined nationalism. Finally, nationalist movements contribute to modernization through the catalyzation of the complexity of modernity.

As described above, nationalism provide a sense of identity and path forward. It leads to a focus on reform in education, the economy and socio-cultural facets of the modern state. The connection between nationalism, modernity, modernization, and industrialization, emerges from an unbalanced but clear break from the previous social conduct which had been sacred. In other words, the links exist in the case of "the erosion of the given intimate structures of traditional society, an erosion inherent in the size, mobility, and general ecology and organizations of industrial society, or even of a society moving in this direction"[25]. Hence nationalism as a remediable phenomenon[26] cements the modern social structure. It uses the power of unexpected historical incidence by merging the new ideologies into social metamorphosis for a specific group of people.[27]

When examining the historical context, during the time in which nationalism and modernity build off of each other, nation-building developed into a dynamic process that

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[23] John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 415.
[24] Ellie Kendouri, *Nationalism and Self-Determination,* in: Hutchinson and Smith, p.55
[25] Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change : The Nature of Human Society* (London, UK: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, 1964), p. 157.
[26] Gellner, p. 166.
[27] Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, 'Introduction: From the Moment of Social History to the Work of Cultural Representation', in *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. by Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 9.

triggered different reflexes in the *zeitgeist* of the 19th and 20th Centuries. One of these was that being a nation was taken as the logical or essential fact, as natural as the existence of the people. Therefore, nation-building resulted in not only an organized political action to transform governmental and social lives, but also as an emotional tool to bond society to the existential struggle for the current state.

Ernest Renan, in 1882, defined this idea as a common sacred value, while he defined the *nation* as the great matter for which people desired and sacrificed, in which people encompasses their lives from the past to the future:

> A nation is therefore a large-scale solidarity, constituted by feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future. It presupposes a past; it summarized, however, in the present to make a tangible fact, namely, consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life. A nation's existence is, if you will pardon the metaphor, a daily plebiscite, just as an individual's existence is a perpetual affirmation of life. ... The wish of nations is, all in all, the sole legitimate criterion, the one to which one must always return.[28]

As put by Ernest Renan, the will for legitimation created a new agenda for political struggles as well as national wars. Independence became a significant component of national spirits or essences. It was considered as solemn as the nation itself when the self-rule of the people came into question.[29]

During nation-building processes, self-realization is generally sought through cultural, ethnic and folkloric characteristics. Therefore, the purpose of the legitimation is partly to identify the customs, traditional routines, rituals and collective history in a particular society. These produced symbols evoke the national identity and provide the sentimental ground for nationalism. Nationalist symbols are "something transmitted from the past and secured as a collective belonging, something reproduced in myriad imperceptible ways, grounded in everydayness and mundane experience."[30] With this concept, national symbols become comprehensible for a wide range of people. Likewise, Karl Deutsch expresses that nationalism is cultivated through "informal social arrangements, pressure of group opinion, and the prestige of national symbols".[31] He adds: the strong connection

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[28] Ernest Renan, *What is a Nation?* [Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?], 1882, in: *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. by Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 53.
[29] Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, p. 4.
[30] Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, p. 22.
[31] Karl Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication,* 1966, in: Hutchinson and Smith, p. 28.

between symbolic notions in the common and nationalist agendas is a significant tool for social communication and a powerful principle during the nation building process to create the idea of the state. [32]

From this point of view, one can interpret nationalist symbols as (re-)produced elements which assist the diffusion of the idea of nation throughout the natural, organic, and uncomplicated social relationships in civic life, as well as symbols used *qua* political notions for the state legitimation. Thus, nationalist symbols consist of ideas such as a shared past fostering a sense of belonging, a common language, the economic survival of the community, and social gathering in a defined territory that belongs to the community.

### 1.2. Territory and the Idea of *Heimat* in the Nationalist Concept

Anthony Giddens refers to the nation state as a "bordered power-container" of modern times, and he adds: "a nation … only exists when a state has a unified administrative reach over the territory which its sovereignty is claimed."[33] Hence, the territory refers not only the demarcation of a specific land, it also emerges as an important hinge for the concept of nation: Being a critical aspect of nationalism, national territory is determined with a terrestrial form in which the national myth has been formed by triumph, the continuity of history in the present, and the promises for the future. From this point of view, a national territory consists of political, geographical and cultural borders. When it is established, political assurances lead to a "particular spatial and social location among other territorial nations. … "Living together" and being "rooted" in a particular terrain and soil become the criteria for citizenship and the basis of political community."[34]

During the legitimation process of the nations, the chosen land confers a "moral geography" in which the people have right to live, perform their present and future. With Anthony D. Smith's words, nations "define social space within which members must live and work, and demarcate historic territory that locates a community in time and space."[35] The demarcated historic territory is "the place of one's birth and childhood, the extension

[32] Karl Deutsch, in: Hutchinson and Smith, pp. 27-28.
[33] Anthony Giddens, *The Nation as Power Container,* 1985, in: Hutchinson and Smith, p. 34.
[34] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, Ethnonationalism in Comparative Perspective (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), p. 117.
[35] Smith, *National Identity*, p. 16.

of hearth and home. It is the place one's ancestors and of the heroes and cultures of one's antiquity."[36]

Thus, the authorization of national territory transforms the chosen land into an idealized place that services a vital bond between the *patria* and spatial connotations of the state. And, a collective – shared – history, tradition and custom make that chosen land the "home" for the state's people.

In this context, national territory refers to a historical land with a potential for the future and a place where the legitimation of nation is sought. It represents the borders determined by "a set of institutional forms of governance"[37] and provided for the nation state, which is "sanctioned by law and direct control of the means of internal and external violence"[38]. The national territory evolved into a fundamental spatial component of the nation, and it was presented as the sphere encompassing the spirit of the culture that forms the new state.

Furthermore, being an inseparable element of nationalism, the territory gains its substance within the tangible and intangible descriptions of the nation state. Herein the idea of *Heimat* clarifies these sentimental, topographical and/or geographical themes in the nationalist concept. The lexical meaning – "the country, a part of the country or a place in the country where one is born, grown up or one feels home due to his residence."[39] – defines how *Heimat* can be understood as the emotion of "being at home". More specifically, it is a configured and (re-)organized environment providing the feeling of security (*Geborgenheit*), and a social, cultural and/or geographical sphere without any alienation and externalization of the individual himself. It performs as a shelter, a place for identity and a place for the legitimate actions of the citizens in the nation-state.[40] At

[36] Smith, *National Identity*, p. 16.
[37] Giddens, 1985, in: Hutchinson and Smith, p. 35.
[38] Giddens, 1985, in: Hutchinson and Smith, p. 35.
[39] Here, the lexical meaning of *Heimat* is translated from German into English. The original text of the definition is: "**Heimat: a)** Land, Landesteil od. Ort, in dem man [geboren u.] aufgewachsen ist od. sich durch ständigen Aufenthalt zu Hause fühlt. Duden, Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, Band 3: Fas – Hev, 1993, Duden Verlag, Berlin, Germany, p. 1510.
[40] Ina-Maria Greverus, *Der territoriale Mensch: Ein literaturanthropologischer Versuch zum Heimatphänomen* (Frankfurt Am Mein, Germany: Athenäum Verlag, 1972), p. 32.

the same time, in terms of ideology it means "the sentimental demeanor for a harmonic unity which has been lost and sought"[41].

The term of *Heimat* first referred to a legitimated area for a particular lordship or canton in which this lordship or canton had any right to live by birth, marriage and possessions obtained with money. Starting from the late 18th Century, this theme has been studied as a scientific subject in various disciplines, especially in ideological and political contexts. The awareness and the sensibility towards the term had come into question in political systems.[42] Initially the consciousness of *Heimat* was transmitted mostly through lingual mediums such as literature and art, or it was taken as a notion between myth and science. Later on, its values have been framed (and/or re-framed) within social and cultural programs.[43]

Likewise, Rudolf Karl Schmidt explains the concept in terms of the political, economic and hence social transformation of Germany between the late 18th and 19th Centuries. According to Schmidt, *Heimat* had originally referred to rural life in literature and was considered a theme tied to the countryside, peasantry and village. Moreover, in the period of the emancipation of serfs, which caused an economic revolution across Western Europe, the term especially became a political topic. The economic and social struggle of the peasants also impacted the urban scene in the 19th Century: industrialization of regions such as the Rhineland, Ruhr, Saxony and Silesia led to the dissolution and rearrangement of peasant communities in rural areas and wiped out small agriculture in the countryside.[44] For these reasons, migration to the industrialized cities from rural areas created a class that labored mostly in dreadful conditions and had to cope with a new urban life. By the end of the 19th Century *Heimat* became a romanticized subject, pointing to a "lost and sought" homeland, much more than a rural conception.

Furthermore, the romantic attitude towards *Heimat* was also created by intellectuals in the modern metropolis: In the beginning of the 20th Century, emerging skepticism towards

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[41] Greverus, *Der territoriale Mensch: Ein literaturanthropologischer Versuch zum Heimatphänomen*, p. 46.
[42] Greverus, *Der territoriale Mensch: Ein Literaturanthropologischer Versuch zum Heimatphänomen*, p. 28.
[43] Greverus, *Der Territoriale Mensch: Ein Literaturanthropologischer Versuch Zum Heimatphänomen*, p. 46.
[44] Rudolf Karl Schmidt, 'Zur Heimatideologie', Das Heft, Zeitschrift für Literatur und Kunst, 6 (1965), pp. 36–39.

the outcomes of modernity led to the perception of the urban setting and its technological metamorphosis as an alienating atmosphere for the man. Professional life became more organized and functional while individual lost authenticity through the standardization of life in cities. The mechanization of life led to an estrangement from the essential and vital one, and a demolition of the relationship between man and nature, and hence man and community.[45] Thus, reconnection to the natural bonds of humanity became a critical issue within the dynamics of modern society.

Ferdinand Tönnies' analysis of societal relationships opens a critical window to the subject of *Heimat*. He emphasizes that there are two types of unity among people: The society (*Gesellschaft*) and the community (*Gemeinschaft*). He describes society (*Gesellschaft*) "as a purely mechanical construction, existing in the mind"[46] whereas he signifies the community (*Gemeinschaft*) as "all kinds of social co-existence that are familiar, comfortable and exclusive"[47]. The society, as "a mechanical aggregate and artifact"[48] differs from the community that is "a living organism in its own right."[49] Tönnies underlines that the community is defined by a motivational togetherness of people, unlike the society is formed and planned by the dynamics of an organized sphere.

Here, the argument can be carried forward with characteristics of urban and rural life. The simple pattern of the community happens in the village through neighborhood: "the closeness of the dwellings, the common fields, even the way the holdings run alongside each other, cause the people to meet and get used to each other and to develop intimate acquaintance."[50] In the village (and in the small rural town) people have similar conditions of work and craft, similar interests and opportunity to those in their own social scene. On the other hand, the city has various economic and social dimensions created by "manmade" relationships through which urban life serves city dwellers.[51]

Following Tönnies' point of view, the widespread idea arose that the lack of community life in cities separated people from one another and the increasing speed of daily lives

[45] Fritz Pappenheim, *The Alienation of Modern Man: An Interpretation Based on Marx and Tönnies/ Fritz Pappenheim.* (New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1968), pp. 31–32.
[46] Ferdinand Tönnies and José Harris, *Community and Civil Society*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 17.
[47] Tönnies and Harris, p. 18.
[48] Tönnies and Harris, p. 19.
[49] Tönnies and Harris, p. 19.
[50] Tönnies and Harris, p. 28.
[51] Pappenheim, pp. 56–58.

created a drifting character of man. Unlike in rural life, which was intimate and simple, the man had to trail in the urban scene, which was unusual and chaotic. He was disconnected from his origin and root and "floated" in time and space.

Thereby, the mechanization of life and the lack of the feelings of community and security resulted in the intellectual pursuit of that which was lost from mundane life. Ideas of the floating and rootlessness of the individual were also themes in Martin Heidegger's early studies, and he firstly examined the fundamental root of a man as the place where he calls "home". Thus, the only possible way for man to achieve fulfilment is to live somewhere he feels at home and has neighbors who also feel at home.[52] Thus, the floating and rootlessness of the modern man emerged as the pursuit for the "lost home". Heidegger's interpretation of *Heimat* was the concept as "philosophically, through a retrieval of archaic thinking, and politically, through a re-territorialization of a lost homeland."[53]

Heidegger's definition of *Heimat* was also the solution for rootlessness of man. The opposition of rootlessness is being rooted in a particular place and time; being rooted in a land and in the history. He examined the idea of existence – *Dasein* – by linking the idea of rootedness "whose authentic meaning was historical rather than geological or topographical"[54] and he developed "a model for a way of thinking through a connection between autochthony and history."[55] The autochthony represented in Heidegger's writing is:

> something concealed, mysterious, and chthonic whose meaning lies hidden beneath the surface of the earth, or rather whose meaning needs to be worked out in a confrontation with its concealment in order to grant one authentic identity. At what is most concealed, the earth in this sense becomes an origin, an origin whose power helps to shape the fate of an individual and the destiny of a *Volk*."[56]

[52] *Martin Heidegger und seine Heimat*, ed. by Alfred Denker, Martin Heidegger, and Elsbeth Büchin (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2005), p. 28.
[53] Charles R Bambach, *Heidegger's Roots: Nietzsche, National Socialism, and the Greeks* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005), p. 50.
[54] Bambach, p. 18.
[55] Bambach, p. 18.
[56] Bambach, p. 19.

Here, the rootedness became the notion that had a strong bond to history.[57] By connecting the two "... Heidegger wanted to provide a philosophical framework for German destiny configured in the language of the hero and the fatherland."[58]

The landscape where the German people were rooted was chosen as the Black Forest[59] in Heidegger's texts and he addressed it as the *Heimat* to struggle for. Related to this, by the beginning of the 20th Century the concept of "Germania" emerged as the idealized sphere for the union of the German people.[60] Germania and Black Forest symbolically signified the German *Heimat,* referring to both its micro and macro cosmos. These references clarified that the concept of *Heimat* had a strong connection to the land and the rural landscape. In other words, the essence of the concept was rooted in the rural surrounding and the perception of this rural sphere as homeland. Erich Ewald, an engineer and aerial photographer in Weimar Republic and in the period of National Socialism, documented German cities and rural regions[61] and called the attention to the idea of *Heimat* as a national landscape. He believed that *Heimat* represented a landscape bounded with the *Volk* via history and tradition, and he argued for strengthening the relationship between this national landscape and the people. Therefore, *Heimat* was not only a philosophical and literary notion, but also a fact, a tangible place to analyze and improve for the benefit of the people.[62]

These ideas developed into the conception of *Heimat* adopted by the right-wing intellectuals and National Socialists of the 1930s. Because, "against the capitalist definition of human being as an isolated consumer and spectator, right-wing revolutionaries seek to affirm the political identity of the self as a member of a *Volksgemeinschaft*[63] with roots in a landscape and a homeland. … They conceive of the individual as a member of a nation, a community, and a race."[64]

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[57] Bambach, p. 20.
[58] Bambach, p. 32.
[59] Bambach, p. 60.
[60] Lothar Gall, *Die Germania als Symbol nationaler Identität im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), pp. 20, 54, 22, 56.
[61] *Natur und Moderne um 1900: Räume-Repräsentationen-Medien*, ed. by Adam Paulsen and Anna Sandberg, Edition Kulturwissenschaft, Bd. 23 (Bielefeld: transcript, 2013), p. 293.
[62] Erich Ewald, *Das Gesicht der deutschen Heimat : Landschaft und Baukunst* (Weimar, Germany: Verlag von Erich Ewald, 1928), pp. 8, 45.
[63] "The Community of People".
[64] Bambach, p. 21.

The conceptual components of *Heimat* – the new German *mythos* of the Earth –, emerged as the legitimation discourse in National Socialist Germany[65] and were used in many other nationalist programs in the first half of the century.

Consequently, the association between *Heimat* and territory was established within the nationalist concept: the idea of *Heimat* was a way of understanding the national territory, while states conducted nation building programs in the early 20th Century, especially in the legitimation process of the Second World War in the thirties. From this point of view, the relation between two narratives of nationalism – *Heimat* and territory – leads us to another repercussion of modernity: the idealization of one's country's land, demonstrating that the land had much greater message than being a demarcated area during building the nation.

### 1.3. Roots of Nationalization and Modernization of the Land and Its Practices

From the late 18th century, nationalization of land was advocated for by idealists such as Thomas Spence. He and the other scholars who introduced the term "land nationalization" engaged in this debate from a socialist perspective. Spence emphasized that the land belonged equally to all: as a matter of course, everyone had common right to work on it, live on it, and to pass it down to future generations. The land existed as an innate heritage of man, which could not to be merited. This was the fundamental reason that poverty of land contradicted man's nature. Everyone initially had right and freedom for an egalitarian life on the land they were born, since it was the origin of man's terra, and this was the law of nature.[66]

In the 19th Century, Spence's perspective on the land nationalization had developed into the idea that the "public primarily had the possession of land".[67] This egalitarian concept had been affirmed in utopian social debates. That was the interpretation that framed rural life as (firstly) a social and (secondly) a cultural aspect. The Spencean scheme was

[65] Bambach, p. 50.
[66] Thomas Spence, *Das Gemeineigentum am Boden*, trans. by F. Eichmann (Leibzig, Germany: Hirschfeld, 1904), p. 23.; T. M. Parssinen, 'Thomas Spence and the Origin of English Land Nationalization', Journal of the History of Ideas, 34.1 (1973), p. 136.
[67] Parssinen, p. 138.

examined, first, as a romantic study on rurality of the state's land;[68] Second, it was altered into "a practical and pressing issue for social reformers".[69] Here M. Beer's interpretation of the reformation of countryside is crucial: he emphasized in the introduction of "The Pioneers of Land Reform" that "the modern land reform movement" was set apart from former interventions in its goals to encourage a modern community life in the countryside (he used the term communism), private possession of the land "with a view to increase the number of farmers and, generally, to improve the condition of the laboring population."[70] Following the Spencean idea, he envisioned that the economic advantages of civil society and the advantages of the egalitarian life in the country could be combined. In this regard, "cancelling the social compact and expropriating the landlords and restoring the land to its rightful heirs" would lead the people to freely "trade and manufacture, a flourishing agriculture, and complete democracy" in which people were socially connected.

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[68] Spencean discourse emerged, in many senses – and in cultural, social and economic terms, as espousing root of rural idyll and the movement of "back to the land" in England during the next century. Raymond Williams' analysis on rural romanticism in *The Country and the City* demonstrated an "active and continuous history" of relations between the country and the city starting with Industrial Revolution that dominated the metamorphosis of both urban and rural life. Raymond Williams proclaimed that even the urbanization, industrialization in the cities and agrarian capitalism in the country took power over traditional peasantry and this way of life in the country, the idealization of rural life and the rural idyll had the influence on the society. See Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York, USA: Oxford University Press, 1975). As Burchardt explains, Williams underlined that the contrast between country and city that had crucial place in English literature, referring to changes in the agrarian economy and its reflections on social and cultural milieu, and the rurality that became the crucial theme for English nationality during the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. See Burchardt, "Agricultural History, Rural History, or Countryside History?", p. 474.
Another significant representation of rurality appears in George Sturt's writings. In *Change in the Village* written in 1912, Sturt observed the economic and social transformation of Bourne with romanticist eyes. He described the changes in the traditional village community due to the capitalist shift in the town. He criticized the collapsing traditional peasant system after the "common land" was priced by private investors. As a result of this, communal life alternated in commercial life in the village where one should have acquainted with three crucial concepts: "a spiritual rebirth, an intellectual expansion and political power". See John Burnett, "Introduction", in *Change in the Village* (Dover, N.H: Caliban Books, 1984), pp. xi–xiv. He presented the peasant system in economic terms to point out commercial changes, embraced by private dominancy in the countryside. See George Sturt, *Change in the Village* (Dover, N.H: Caliban Books, 1984), pp. 76-83. Sturt literally emphasized the rural idyll saying that: "in all these ways the parish, if not a true village, seemed quite a country place twenty years ago, and its people were country people. Yet there was another side to the picture. The charm of it was a generalized one – I think an impersonal one; for with the thought of individual persons who might illustrate it there comes too often into my memory a touch of sordidness, if not in connection then in another; so that I suspect myself, not for the first time, of sentimentality. Was the social atmosphere after all anything but a creation of my own dreams? Was the village life really idyllic? ... Not for a moment can I pretend that it was." See Sturt, p. 7.
[69] Parssinen, p. 138.
[70] M. Beer, 'Introduction', in *The Pioneers of Land Reform* (London, UK: G. Bell & Sons, 1920), p. v.

Spencean thought arose in that the land restoration had been resolved in the social and economic aspects. At the same time, it transformed into much more rational theme adopting his ideas into spatial planning of the rural country. His contribution paved the way for the primary form of the nationalization and modernization of the countryside. Starting from the 20th Century, the image of a country life that people were accustomed to, grew also into a pragmatic demand for an alternative sphere produced by social, cultural and spatial potential of the modernizing world. In other words, Spencean concepts about possession of the land transformed into rational interventions in order to attain functional solutions for social and spatial issues in the city and countryside.

### 1.3.1. Garden City Movement in the Early 20th Century

One of the first attempts to implement the spatial elements of the Spencean point of view was developed in the Garden City concept founded, theorized and realized by Ebenezer Howard at the beginning of the 20th Century. According to Lewis Mumford, Ebenezer Howard evaluated Spencean principles and created a scheme that accomplished a "universal quality".[71] In this scheme, Howard sought to combine the urban and rural patterns and embraced these two phenomena – the urban and the rural – as one whole to seek a solution for social, economic and cultural problems in the city and in the country. Mumford notes that "Howard attacked the whole problem of the city's development, not merely its physical growth but the interrelationship of urban functions within the community and the integration of urban and rural patterns, for the vitalizing of urban life on one hand the intellectual and social improvement of rural life on the other."[72] That is to say, the Garden City concept was grounded in the idea of an equalized populace who lived in a harmonic place where one could access the social and cultural facilities of the big city, and at the same time the dignity of nature for a healthy life; "fresh air, sunlight, pleasant vistas, quiet nights".[73]

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[71] Lewis Mumford, 'Garden City Idea and Modern Planning', in *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* (London, UK: Faber, 1965), pp. 29, 33. Mumford emphasizes that "… he (Ebenezer Howard) was in tradition of a group of early 19th Century writers: Spence, the land reformer, who sought the nationalization of land; James Buckingham, who had published a plan for a model industrial town in 1848; Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who had pointed the necessity for a more systematic plan of colonization for distant lands". Mumford, p. 29.

[72] Mumford, p. 35.

[73] Mumford, p. 33.

Howard principally asked the question of "how to restore the people to the land"[74] and formed his concept around making the country as attractive as the city in the sense of the social, economic and cultural milieu:

> Whatever may have been the causes which have operated in the past, and are operating now, to draw the people into the cities, those causes may all be summed up as "attractions"; and it is obvious, therefore, no remedy can possibly be effective which will not present to the people, or at least to considerable portions of them, greater "attractions" than our cities now possess, so that the force of the old "attractions" which are to be created. Each city may be regarded as a magnet, each person as a needle; and, so viewed, it is at once seen that nothing short of the discovery of a method for constructing magnets of yet greater power than our cities possess can be effective for redistributing the population in a spontaneous and healthy manner.
>
> So presented, the problem may appear at first sight to be difficult, if not impossible, of solution. "What", some may be disposed to ask, "can possibly be done to make the country more attractive to a workaday people than the town – to make wages, or at least the standard of physical comfort, higher in the country than in the town; to secure in the country equal possibilities of social intercourse, and to make the prospects of advancement for the average man or woman equal, not to say superior, to those enjoyed in our large cities? [75]

Conceptualizing the beneficial aspects of urban and rural patterns, Howard suggested an alternative model that could function without problems of the city, such as overgrowth, disorganization and misplacement of industry, housing and culture zones, and hence the degeneration of social, cultural and moral life, and problems of the country, including poverty, lack of infrastructure, social facilities and cultural dynamism of the city life. He formulized a hybrid configuration that would also contribute to social, cultural and economic progress. Howard stated that: "Town and country must be married, and out of this joyous union will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilization."[76]

"A marriage between town and country" did not only refer to a physical conjunction of these two spatial patterns, but it also referred to a moral bridge in society that could awaken the sense of belonging through the community life of country that withered away in the big cities. Therefore, the Garden City that Ebenezer Howard represented was considered a model for town planning and a new type of society by the political authorities and administrators. This important dimension of Howard's proposal re-

[74] Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, ed. by F. J. Osborn (London, UK: Faber, 1965), p. 44.
[75] Ebenezer Howard, p. 45.
[76] Ebenezer Howard, p. 48.

awakened a new socialist consciousness of the Spencean idea of the "nationalization of land" within the country.

One year after Ebenezer Howard introduced the Garden City concept in his first book "To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform" in 1898[77] the Garden City Association was founded in England in 1899. The association guided the legislation of town planning starting from 1909 and evaluated laws enacted in 1919, 1925 and 1932, including The New Towns Act in 1946 which was a part of the 1945 Labor Administration.[78]

In 1903, the First Garden City Limited was founded[79]; in 1904 Architect Raymond Unwin and his partner Barry Parker introduced a plan for the first garden city for Letchworth in the northern part of London. According to the proposed town plan, the total area was 1200 acres for 30,000 people, or 35,000 including the surrounding villages and the population engaged in agricultural activities. The site consisted of a central square in the heart of the town and easy to access from any direction, a station close to the central square, a main avenue connected to the open space in front of the station and leading to the central square and municipal buildings, side roads leading to the main avenue, adapted to the amount of traffic and bringing charm to the town with landscape design. Letchworth Park and Norton Common were preserved as open spaces for inhabitants, a factory was situated with direct access to the railway on the expandable site of the town and surrounded by belts of trees in order to prevent noise, dust and smoke from reaching the town, and buildings for various infrastructure and administration and residential zones were included.[80] **(Figure 1.1, Figure 1.2.)**

Architect Thomas Adams, manager and secretary of the First Garden City Limited, described the general design as a first model of Howard's concept introduced in *Cities of To-Morrow*[81]. He emphasized that the conditions and the character of the site were

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[77] F. J. Osborn, 'Preface by F. J. Osborn', in *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* (London, UK: Faber, 1965), p. 9.

[78] Dennis Hardy, *From Garden Cities to New Towns: Campaigning for Town and Country Planning, 1899-1946*, Studies in History, Planning, and the Environment, 13, 1st ed. (London ; New York: E & FN Spon, 1991), p. 4. Name of the Garden City Association changed into Garden Cities and Town Planning Association in 1909, and later it became The Town and Country Planning Association in 1941. See Hardy, p. 4.

[79] Hardy, p. 49.

[80] Thomas Adams, 'The First Garden City : Notes on Plan of Proposed Town' (The First Garden City Limited, 1904).

[81] Ebenezer Howard's book 'To-morrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform' was edited and re-titled as 'Garden Cities of To-Morrow' in 1902. V. Stephen Ward, 'The Garden City Introduced', in *The Garden*

considered a significant design tool since they would develop the town within its own natural setting:

> A glance at the map of the Garden City Estate will show that the site chosen for the First Garden City is already bisected by a railway, crossed by main roads, and well stocked with features of interest, while an examination of contour lines shown on the town plan will reveal its undulating character. Under such circumstances, any attempt to follow some preconceived plan, such as that suggested in "Garden Cities of To-Morrow", would have entailed very heavy expenditure in adapting to it levels of the site, and creating new features of interest or beauty, which when made, must take many years to grow to perfection. The plan has therefore been prepared in a spirit of respect for what already exists, and in accord with the contour of the land, and it can be carried out without the destruction of any of standing trees, or of such existing features as Letchworth Park and Norton Common. [82]

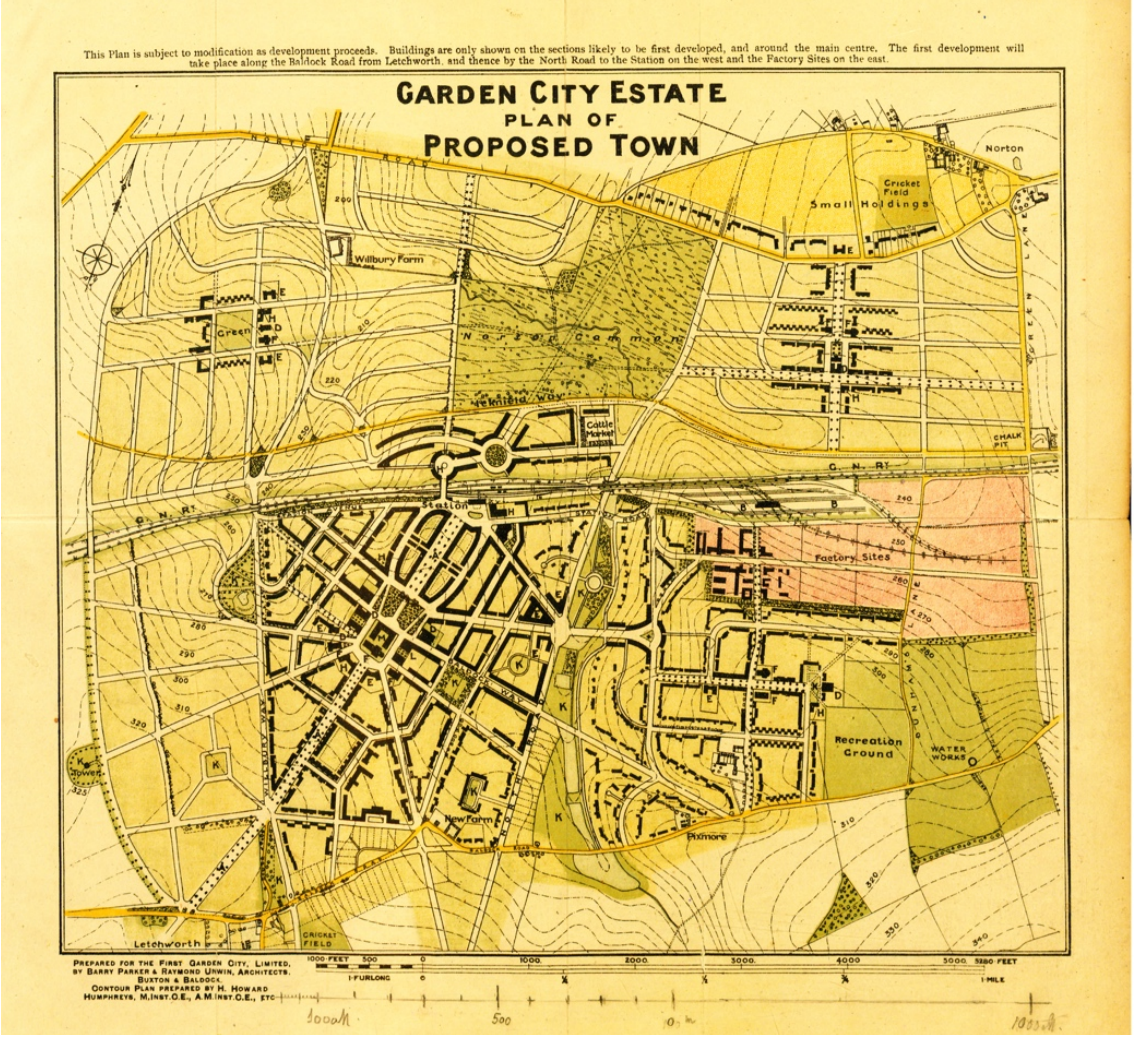


**Figure 1.1.** Site plan of Garden City Letchworth.[83] (Adams, 1904)

*City: Past, Present and Future*, ed. by V. Stephen Ward, Studies in History, Planning, and the Environment, First Edition (London, UK: E & FN Spon, 1992), p. 4.

[82] Adams.

[83] Adams.

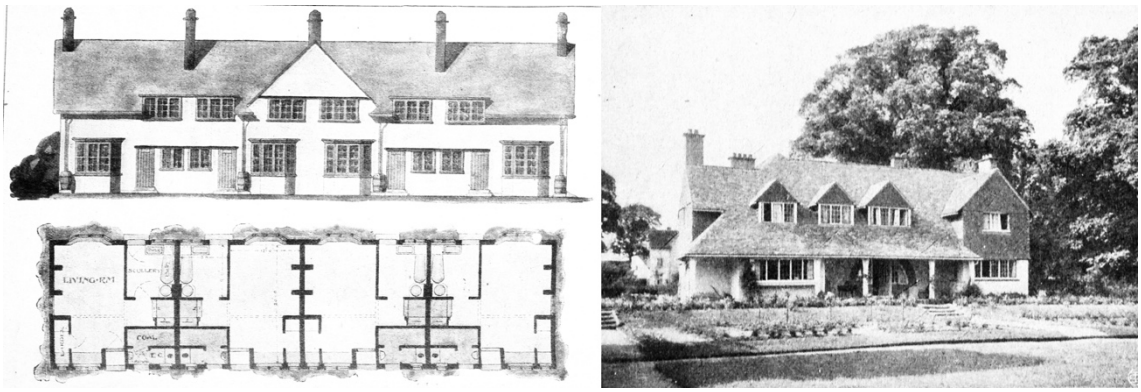

**Figure 1.2.** Housing typologies in Letchworth. (On the left) drawing of a semi-detached house, (on the right) view of the houses.[84] (Kampffmeyer, 1909)

Starting from the early 20th Century, the Garden City scheme spread as the new generation method for town planning and the tool for an alternative to accelerated city growth. The Garden City campaign, started in England, was supported not only by the Garden City Association, but at the same time, by the parliament and press. They believed that "many countries in Europe, the United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have come consistently the warmest of tributes to the soundness and the practicability of the Garden City scheme."[85] The movement started in 1899 and lasted until 1946 (especially in England), and formed itself under particular political conditions: its roots traced back to Spencean ideology, a socialist approach to land nationalization. Thus, the first wave was backed by "utopian socialists, agrarian socialists, sectarians and anarchists" and focused on community building, together with a rational scheme for urban growth. During the 1940s, however it was mostly employed by state propaganda leaving behind the utopian point of view.[86]

Translation of the Garden City concept into other languages precipitated its internationality and variability under different cultural, economic and political goals. The German form of the movement appeared almost simultaneously, as the

[84] Hans Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung* (Leibzig, Germany: B. G. Teuber, 1909), p. 27,30.
[85] Aneurin Willams and others, *Town-Planning in Theory and Practice : A Report of a Conference Arranged by the Garden City Association, Held at the Guildhall, London, on October 25th, 1907, under the Presidency of the Lord Mayor of London* (London, UK, 1909), p. 66.
[86] Hardy, pp. 297–98.; Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, UK ; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), p. 91.; see also Robert Beevers, *The Garden City Utopia: A Critical Biography of Ebenezer Howard* (London: Macmillan, 1988).

*Gartenstadtbewegung* after observing the Letchworth Garden City, as well as garden villages Port Sunlight, Bournville and Eastwick, and garden suburbs Hampstead and Harborne.[87]

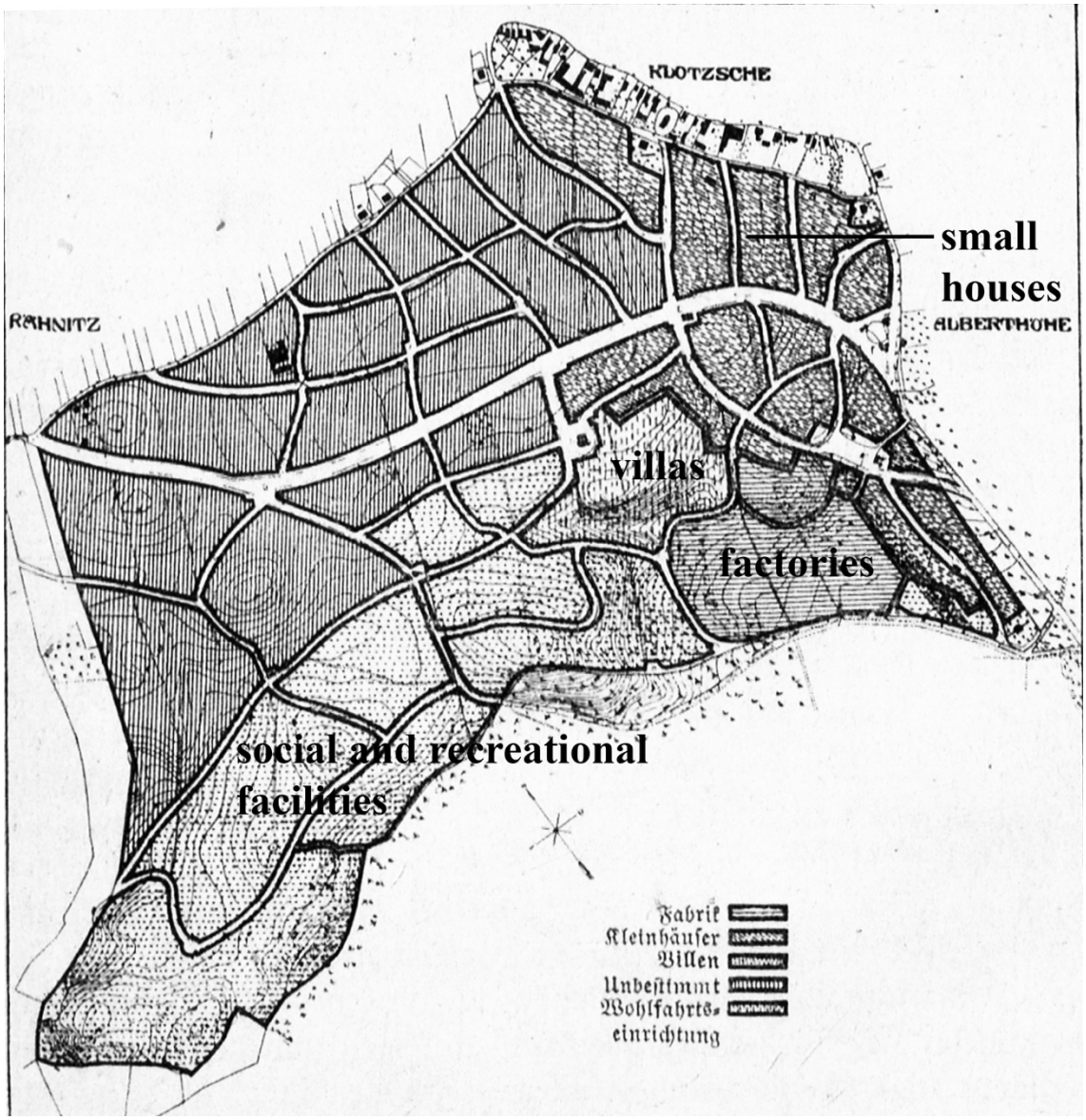


**Figure 1.3.** Site Plan of First German Garden City Hellerau.[88] (After Kampffmeyer, 1909)

In 1902, *die deutsche Gartenstadtgesellschaft* - the German Garden City Association was founded by experts including Hans Kampffmeyer and Franz Oppenheimer. The

[87] Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, pp. 14–41.
[88] Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, p. 52.

association first adopted Howard's principles and the Letchworth model, which was considered an archetype for the German Garden Cities to be built.[89]

In 1908, the head of the *Deutschen Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst* – The Ateliers of German Craftsmanship – Karl Schmidt introduced Hellerau as the ideal place for the first German Garden City –a garden suburb and industrial village 6,5 km northern of Dresden. Hellerau was to be cultivated for economic industry as well as developed socially and culturally.[90] Schmidt was influenced by Arts and Craft Movement, including William Morris and John Ruskin.

The Hellerau commission, led by Theodor Fischer, Henrich Tessenow, Hermann Muthesius, Richard Riemerschmidt and Otto Gussmann, was responsible for land planning, landscape design, formation of housing typologies and construction. The settlement plan was evaluated by Richard Riemerschmidt in 1909. He proposed a garden-village with facilities such as a common area for gardening, a market, playgrounds, laundry, library and a guesthouse that could be also used as a gathering space by the inhabitants. Similar to the Garden City Letchworth, factories were separated from the residential area by a green zone so that the dwellers would not be confronted with the smoke and pollution from the industrial zone in their daily life. Housing in Hellerau was to accommodate low-income earners with a controlled rent increase. In addition to the permanent residents of the village, *Die Gartenstadtgesellschaft* offered low-rent houses to be used as summer houses with a garden for poorer Dresden city residents. Other meaningful details include the land houses, designed by Herman Muthesius and Theodor Fischer, and workers' houses, designed by Richard Riemerschmidt. They were planned with room for flexibility, so that owners would be able to make slight changes during the construction if needed.[91] **(Figure 1.3, Figure 1.4)**

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[89] Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, p. 46.
The German Garden City Association visited the English garden cities New Earswick, Port Sunlight, Bournville, Letchworth and Hampstead, under the leadership of Hans Kampffmeyer. In addition to in Kampffmeyer's book, the excursion was also published in 1909 in *Gartenstadt* – the official journal of *Die deutsche Gartenstadtgesellschaft,* firstly published in 1903. See Hans Kampffmeyer, 'Unsere soziale Studienreise nach England', *Gartenstadt*, 2 (1909), 80–84 (pp. 80–84). Paul Schmidt also wrote about the excursion to England in *Der Städtebau* in 1910. See Paul Schmidt, 'Die Studienreise der deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft Nach England', *Der Städtebau*, 5 (1910), 53–54 (pp. 53–54).
[90] Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, p. 52.
[91] Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, pp. 52–60.

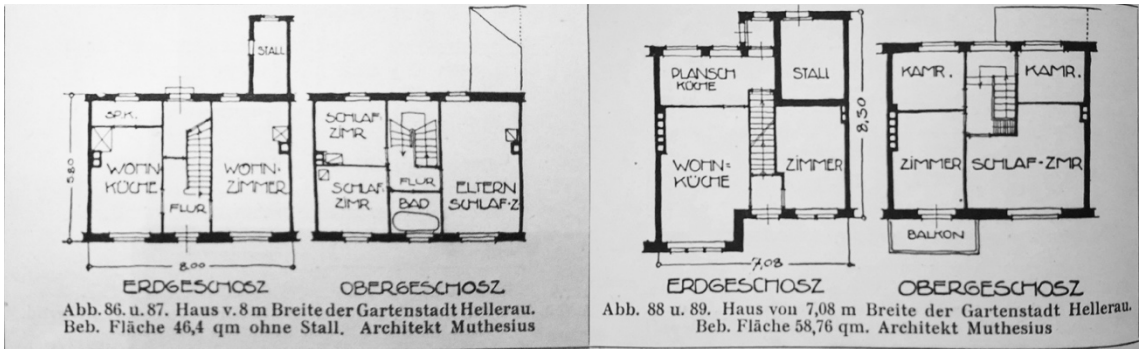


**Figure 1.4.** Plans of houses in Garden City Hellerau, designed by Hermann Muthesius.[92] (Kampffmeyer, 1909)

According to Hans Kampffmeyer, although the Garden City Movement was a new rational and universal approach to town planning, there were several aspects of the German Garden Cities that differed from their English counterparts. Urban growth in Germany had another dynamic than England where city development had occurred faster and on a greater scale. This meant that the English Garden City Movement was implemented in an "experimental and liberal way", together with entrepreneurs and governors, but the German Garden Cities were realized through state intervention. Yet the Garden City Movement paved the way for a new idea of affordable settlements and a balancing of the population between the city and the country. Moreover, with the Garden City Movement the intention was to advance an internal colonization model that resulted in the decentralization of industry, and hence an egalitarian division of labor in the countryside. In other words, these settlements integrated cultural and technological advantages of the city with planned agriculture and industry in the country. Therefore, by 1909 in Germany there were a considerable number of settlements built according to Garden City principles with the support of architects, planners, politicians, scientists, artists, and entrepreneurs in industrial and agricultural fields.[93] (**Figure 1.5)**

[92] Hermann Muthesius, *Kleinhaus und Kleinsiedlung*, 2. Auflage (München: F. Bruckmann A.-G., 1920), pp. 57, 58.
[93] Kampffmeyer, *Die Gartenstadtbewegung*, pp. 61–62.

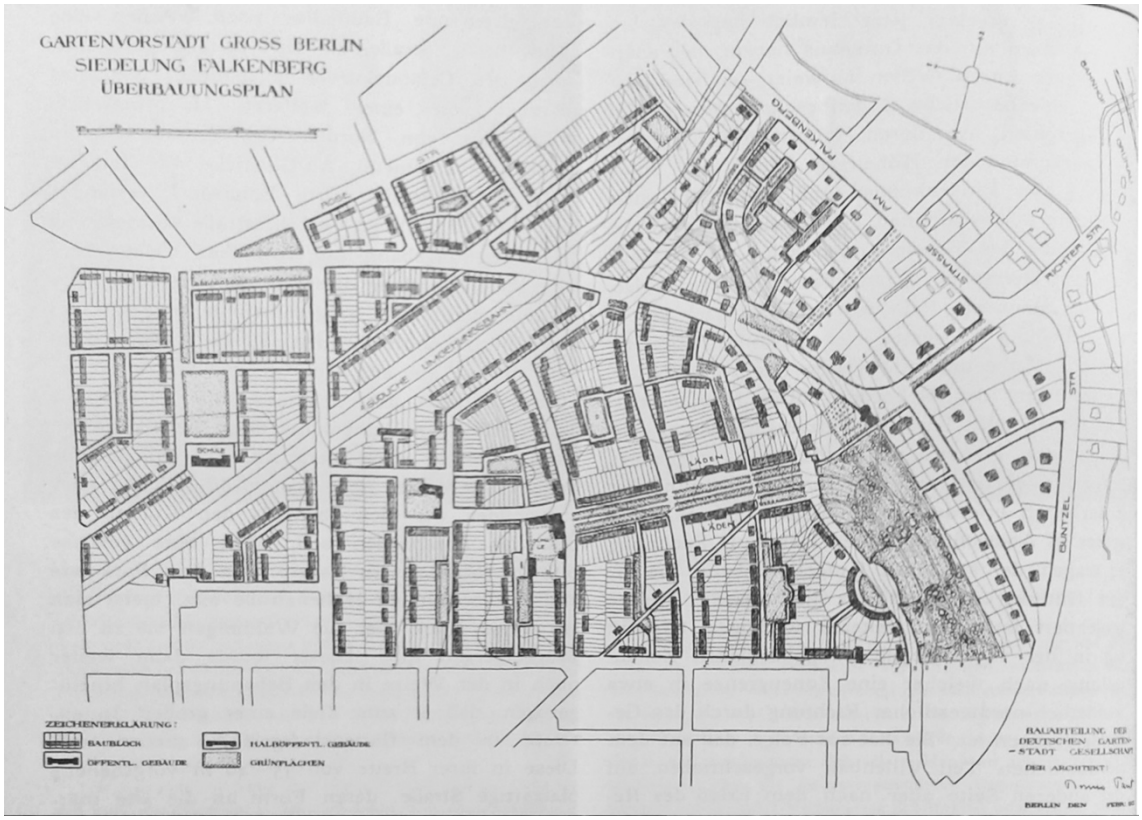


**Figure 1.5.** Garden City Falkenberg, built in 1913-1916. Site plan and a partial model of the settlement, designed by Bruno Taut.[94] (*Gartenstadt,* 1911)

Although Howard's utopia emerged from notions such as living in a community and in a culturally and economically equal society, some implementations of his ideas concentrated on a common problem at the turn of the 20th Century: Garden Cities were considered a clever solution for housing the rapidly increasing population in large cities. The translation of the concept in France in the early 1900s – *les cités jardins*, was introduced by Georges Benoit Lévy (1880-1971) in his book *La Cité-jardin* published in 1904. In 1903 the Association of French Garden Cities – *Association Française des Cités Jardins* – was founded by Charles Gide and Charles Rist, with a focus not on the social utopian side of Howard's concept, but on the necessity of a town planning program. The organization *Museé Social* and Association of French Garden Cities worked

[94]'Die Gartenvorstadt Falkenberg bei Berlin', *Gartenstadt : Mittleilungen der deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft*, 10.Dezember (1911), 80–84 (p. 82). 'Die Gartenvorstadt Falkenberg bei Berlin : 1. Bauperiode', *Gartenstadt : Mittleilungen der deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft*, 11.Juni (1912), 111–18 (p. 112).

collaboratively to evaluate and adapt Howard's urbanization ideas for the quarters of industrial workers.[95]

On the other hand, the concept was also advocated by socialists like Henri Sellier (1883-1943), who proclaimed that the *Cités Jardins* would be places for new, reformist community life in the Parisian suburbs. Especially after the First World War, the concept was implemented in reconstruction areas such as Reims and in the extension of the city in the 1920s. This approach paved the way for a particular understanding of Garden Cities in France as urban forms of suburban satellites in which the social reformers and bourgeois could discreetly control the movements of the middle-class. Therefore, unlike the British projects that were founded for not only an answer for uncontrolled urban growth, but also for emergence of a new social and cultural community life, late examples of *Cités Jardins* were built as affordable housing communities in the *banlieue* of Paris.[96]

The earliest concepts of the Garden City – either in the Ebenezer Howard's purist forms, the German and French versions mentioned here, or other notable examples such as Japanese[97], Australian[98] and American[99] interpretations, created a pathway for land idealization as spatial legitimation. Howard's formula was considered the fundamental scheme for the new town planning, not only in terms of urbanity, but also in terms of political interventions starting from the beginning of the 20th Century and continued until the second half of the century.

In many cases, however, Howard's approach lost its socialist character and evolved into a transcription to house masses into state-planned and controlled areas. The internationality and rationality of the scheme allowed it to be adopted in territorial models

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[95] Jean Pierre Gaudin, 'The French Garden City', in *The Garden City : Past, Present and Future*, ed. by V. Stephen Ward (London: E & FN Spon, 1992), pp. 52–68 (pp. 52–53). Frank Jost, *Gartenstädte in der Region Paris: Stadterneuerung von Siedlungen der 20er und 30er Jahre zwischen Modernisierung u. Abriss*, Arbeitshefte des Institutes f. Stadt- u. Regionalplanung der TU Berlin, 47 (Berlin: TU/Univ. Bibliothek, 1993), p. 32.

[96] Gaudin, pp. 55–63.

[97] Shun-Ichi Watanabe, 'Planning History in Japan', *Urban History*, 7 (1980), 63–75 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0963926800004521>. Shun-Ichi Watanabe, 'The Japanese Garden City', in *The Garden City : Past, Present and Future*, ed. by V. Stephen Ward (London: E & FN Spon, 1992), pp. 69–87.

[98] Robert Freestone, *Model Communities: The Garden City Movement in Australia* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1989). Robert Freestone, 'The Australian Garden City', in *The Garden City : Past, Present and Future*, ed. by V. Stephen Ward (London: E & FN Spon, 1992), pp. 107–26.

[99] Daniel Schaffer, *Garden Cities for America: The Radburn Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982). Daniel Schaffer, 'The American Garden City', in *The Garden City : Past, Present and Future*, ed. by V. Stephen Ward (London: E & FN Spon, 1992), pp. 127–45.

of politically diverging authorities all over the world. In other words, the Garden City model developed into a significant architectural tool in its spatial characteristics during the various nationalization and modernization programs introduced by states in their legitimation politics.

### 1.3.2. Internal Colonization: An Overview towards the Conception

In the beginning of the 20th Century nationalist and modernist operations formulated through the ruralist attempts of the states gained a persuasive aspect reasoning to uncontrollable circumstances of the rural crisis. Among others, "rural depopulation, anxieties about urbanization and the impact of the agricultural depression"[100] were common issues that brought the rurality in the debate. Regeneration of the countryside turned into a critical program, and controversially modernization in the agricultural life appeared in social, economic and cultural discussions. In other words, it was believed that education and practice for cultivating a country's land would result in significant improvement that would also help to solve other problems such as poverty, rural depopulation, and deviation with the cultural and national agenda of the state.[101] The cultural and national agenda included an investigation of rural tradition and, at the same time, facets of rural tradition were strongly echoed in the nation building propaganda. This puzzle firstly carried the rural idealism to the place to be justified by pragmatic goals, such as modernization of the agrarian areas; secondly it again triggered the romanticization of the countryside, a conspicious approach since the 19th Century.

Following this point of view, Internal Colonization –an approach to the idealization of country's land – was derived from the nationalization and modernization processes of nation states during the first half of the 20th Century. Furthermore, it became the practice of rural development as an alternative way to economically, politically and socially regulate the rural population. It has been agreed that the term Internal Colonialism is related to political, social and economic differentiations between regions of a state due to the unequal results of the state development, and affects the destitute and disadvantaged

[100] Jeremy Burchardt, 'Editorial: Rurality, Modernity and National Identity between Wars', *Cambridge University Press*, Rural History, 21.2 (2010), p. 147. Burchardt, 'Agricultural History, Rural History, or Countryside History?', pp. 465–81.
[101] Burchardt, 'Editorial: Rurality, Modernity and National Identity between Wars', p. 147.

minority groups in the society. In terms of sociological discourse, Internal Colonialism has two significant variations that connect the state actions of Internal Colonization and the concept of Internal Colonialism itself:

> (1) They reject the assumption that industrial development will, in the long run, produce integrated society, bound together common culture and by equality of citizenship rights; (2) regional inequalities are not temporary but necessary features of industrial society. In colonialism the relationship between metropolis and colony is unequal and exploitative; in internal colonialism the relationship between the core and its geographical periphery is also exploitative. An internal colony produces wealth for the benefit of those areas most closely associated with the state. The members of these colonies may be differentiated by ethnicity, religion, language or some other cultural variable; they are then overtly or covertly excluded from prestigious social and political positions which are dominated by members of the metropolis.[102, 103]

Michael Hechter clarifies the definition of Internal Colonialism and he reiterates that the non-parallel industrial development in the core and periphery regions caused societal inequalities. Thus, here the periphery, and/or the rural regions, are typically in the position of the colony by the core metropolis within the state territoriality.[104] Within the concept of Internal Colonialism, nationalism plays a significant role in bridging the core and the periphery, which have been detached in the sense of economic and social advantages. The function of nationalism is to exercise the controlling power of governmental acts in the peripheral regions through political organization. However, this sort of organization is mostly based on a "cultural similarity" between groups, and "the perception of a distinctive ethnic identity in the peripheral group" that resulted in a malintegration. This unsuccessful or defective assimilation of heterogeneous elements into the societal whole[105] emerged from the biased position of the periphery. In this way, the internal colony materializes due to the common presumptions of industrial society and the state

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[102] Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill, and S. Bryan Turner, 'Internal Colonialism', *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* (London, UK: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 113.

[103] Internal colonialism was applied to the Celtic region for national adaptation within the British nationalism. Furthermore, Gordon Marshall emphasizes that the concept has been engaged with "White-Black relations in the United States, Indian-White and Indian-Mestizo relations in Latin America, and has also been used to describe the exploitative relationships between the Soviet States and Soviet society (particularly the conditions of the peasantry under forced collectivization and working class under imposed industrialization)". Gordon Marshall, 'Internal Colonialism', in *A Dictionary of Sociology*, ed. by Gordon Marshall (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 323–24 (pp. 323–24).

[104] Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, International Library of Sociology (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 9.

[105] Oxford Dictionaries, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/malintegration.

actions based on the ideal of political and social unification of two groups.[106] For Hechter, Internal Colonialism is another way of peripheralization that has explicit relationships with circumstances like: "(1) the degree of administrative integration, (2) the extensiveness of citizenship in the periphery, (3) the prestige of the peripheral culture, (4) the existence of the geographical contiguity, (5) the length of the association between the periphery and the core."[107]

In addition to this, the term Internal Colonialism was firstly used and underlined as a societal theme by Marxist theorists in the beginning of the 20th Century, such as Vladimir I. Lenin (1870-1924) and Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). Gramscian interpretation of the term Internal Colonialism is formulated in the definition of hegemony. Gramsci restates: "the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as domination and as intellectual and moral leadership".[108] This formulation emerges from a "decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity".[109] From this point of view, hegemony has an alliance with economic and cultural domination in a society.

In order to clarify his theory, Gramsci discussed the economic dynamics in northern and southern Italy after the unification – *Risorgimento* – [110] by placing capital in the center of his analysis. He emphasized the social differences between the North with its cities, and the countryside of the South. The most significant separation between south and north were the capital holders, with small peasants and feudal groups in the south, and the landlords controlling mass agriculture for the industrial production in the north. Thus, by the beginning of the 20th Century, southern cities turned into small towns with a semi-feudal agrarian structure, in comparison to the northern cities in which a capitalist bourgeoisie had arisen. With a Gramscian analysis, the result of this situation was that southern part of Italy functioned to supply goods for the North, but had not experienced

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[106] Hechter, p. 34.
[107] Hechter, p. 349.
[108] Antonio Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. by Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London, UK: Lowerence & Wishart, 1971), p. 161. in: *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, ed. by Chantal Mouffe (London ; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), pp. 9–10.
[109] Mouffe, p. 10.
[110] **Risorgimento:** (Italian: "Rising Again"), 19th-Century movement for Italian unification that culminated in the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861. The Risorgimento was an ideological and literary movement that helped to arouse the national consciousness of the Italian people, and it led to a series of political events that freed the Italian states from foreign domination and united them politically. See, https://www.britannica.com/event/Risorgimento.

a capitalist evolution concurrently to the northern region. Therefore, southern Italy took shape as an internal colony both economically and culturally.[111]

All in all, the proximity between Gramscian theory of cultural division in society and Hechterian theory on the cultural division of labor demonstrates the fundamental elements of the concept of Internal Colonialism as an administrative model in nation-states. Michael Hechter builds on Gramsci's ideas by theorizing class differentiations and economic disparities between the core and the periphery within the borders of a nation-state. He also underlines that Internal Colonialism is distinct from internal colonization while Internal Colonization develops further in the sense of planning and additional consequences past the internal colonial model. He repeats that Internal Colonialism is defined with "the political incorporation of culturally distinct groups by the core"; Internal Colonization, on the other hand, has a spatial scope to rule over the groups in "the settlement of previously unoccupied territories within state borders."[112]

Similar to Hechter's interpretation, Liesbeth van de Grift describes how "Internal Colonization most frequently referred to the settlement of groups of people loyal to the metropolis, usually in frontier areas, in order to ensure security and encourage the economic development of semi-or unoccupied land within national borders."[113] In other words, Internal Colonization emerged from "centralized state control" that was conceived as an integration tactic for peripheral groups in order to manage the people in these regions within the nationalization and modernization schemes.

These scholars acknowledge that the internal colonial model grew out of the economic dynamics of the end of 19th Century, especially in Europe. The spatial realization of this intervention, that is to say Internal Colonization, "had been primarily driven by individuals or private organizations, which conceived of these experiments as part of a transitional stage to a more stable, 'healthy' or 'just' society"[114].

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[111] Gramsci, pp. 264–82. *Gramsci and Italy's Passive Revolution*, ed. by John A. Davis and Antonio Gramsci (London: Croom Helm, 1979), p. 18. Christine Buci-Glucksmann, 'State, Transition and Passive Revolution', in *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, ed. by Chantal Mouffe (London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), pp. 207–36 (pp. 216–17).

[112] Hechter, p. 34. See Footnote 2.

[113] Liesbeth van de Grift, 'Introduction: Theories and Practices of Internal Colonization, the Cultivation of Lands and People in the Age of Modern Territoraliality', International Journal of History, 3.2 (2015), p. 141. www.history-culture-modernity.org.

[114] Grift, 'Introduction: Theories and Practices of Internal Colonization, the Cultivation of Lands and People in the Age of Modern Territoraliality', p. 142.

In the beginning of the 20th Century, especially after the First World War, Internal Colonization became a widespread government intervention in peripheral areas to settle a planned population. It was not only an idealistic solution to nationalization, but also a pragmatic way to modernize the rural population in order to increase the state-beneficial factors in these regions.

The First World War and the economic crisis at the end of 1920s led states to engage in more governmental involvement in development, not only in economic plans; but also in the re-formulation of national identity and achieving modernity. The programs carried out by state were widely implemented on the settlement problem.

During the interwar years, this sort of interventions developed into large projects that included an expanded program of planning the land, implementing infrastructure, and settling the people. The colonization of internal groups mostly took place within the aim of cultivating rural areas, thus in the aim of modernizing society in these territories that "were often far from empty, but instead populated (if sparsely) by people with diverse national or ethnic backgrounds and ways of life was often disregarded. The rural world itself became a site of scientific and social experimentation, as the cases of internal colonization demonstrate."[115] Therefore, the land became a key subject matter as a tool by which national integration and economic progress of underdeveloped rural regions were legitimated. Namely, the land gained significance as a place where the nation-state combined the narratives of the past, present and future.

On the other hand, the concepts used for the legitimation of Internal Colonization brought about another discussion: The rural was affirmed and endorsed by state politics, as stated by urbanists and experts going back to the previous century. In other words, the popularity of internal colonial activities evolved the concept into another way of idealizing land for governmental, national and modernist interventions.

It was argued that rural characteristics emerged as an answer to the national identity problematic. Connected to the attempts for an internal colonial model, idealization of the rural – with its all dimensions in nationalization and modernization programs – was linked to various other dynamics, such as cultural and societal conditions, economic

[115] Grift, 'Introduction: Theories and Practices of Internal Colonization, the Cultivation of Lands and People in the Age of Modern Territoraliality', p. 143.

development and the political orientation of the nationally identified population. It was the matter of fact that this idealization became a common topic in the reshaping of the built environment in the countryside, not only in highly urbanized countries, but also in fledgling states.

### *1.3.2.1. Practices of Internal Colonization – Italy in the Fascist Era*

The interwar years witnessed various agrarian interventions of authorities, or Internal Colonization in practice. Cultivating the wastelands and settling the rural population in these areas occurred in the development programs of states for the purpose of achieving national progress. As Grift notes, "democratic, fascist, national socialist and communist regimes alike perceived of these projects as the exemplification if their political values and ideologies."[116]

Between 1928 and 1940 in Italy, several rural settlements and new agriculture towns were built as part of the agrarian development program of the National Fascist Party that was carried out across the country. Modernization of rural areas emerged as a theme of state propaganda to incorporate the peasantry into the regime's program, and this was achieved by bringing fascist institutions to the countryside. On the other hand, since the late 19th Century the rural population had been suffering from the domination of the metropolis over the economy. Thus, a pluralist reorganization of rural Italy was needed in order to bring about economic growth and sustainability. [117]

The program began with public works in small Italian towns and villages: Infrastructure in the rural areas was modernized and new farmhouses were built. But primarily, land reclamation and new town planning in the Pontine Marshes were placed on the fascist agenda with a concentration on agricultural productivity and hygiene in the areas to be reclaimed, and building the new rural settlements to house agriculture workers and

[116] Liesbeth van de Grift, 'Cultivating Land and People: Internal Colonization in Interwar Europe', in *Governing the Rural in Interwar Europe*, ed. by Liesbeth van de Grift and Amalia Ribi Forclaz (New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), pp. 68–92 (p. 69).
[117] Diane Yvonne Ghirardo, *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). Daniela Spiegel, *Die Città Nuove des Agro Pontino im Rahmen der faschistischen Staatsarchitektur*, Berliner Beiträge zur Bauforschung und Denkmalpflege, 7 (Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2010). See also, Özge Sezer, 'Imagining the Fascist City: A Comparison between Rome and New Towns in the Pontine Marshes during the Fascist Era', in *History Takes Place: Rome: Dynamics of Urban Change*, ed. by Anna Hofmann and Martin Zimmermann (Berlin: Jovis Berlin, 2016), pp. 96–107.

peasants.[118] The reclamation started with draining water in the site, followed by constructing new drainage systems, bridges, and canals. The network of public roads and the infrastructure for electricity and telecommunication were built. The land was parceled into family farms, "equipped with a two-story brick farm-house, stables, a barn, an access road, irrigation ditches, a well, a small vineyard, fencing, and electricity."[119] In other words, the fascist government intended to accomplish an "agricultural, medical, and social utopia"[120] in the region.

The constructing of five New Towns in the Pontine Marshes created a new rural district in this area: The towns were arranged within a regional system, with Littoria as the capital of the province and the other towns—Sabaudia, Pontinia, Aprilia, and Pomezia—as satellites of the capital. They were planned with an orthogonal pattern, focusing the public square in the center. The frontier of each town was defined by a closing road that also determined the size of the settlement.[121] This was a principal matter, because, "it [the town] would not grow beyond this road in order to retain its characteristics as a rural center."[122] Particularly the new towns were planned with the objective that growth would be controlled by the authorities. During the reclamation program agricultural workers from all over the country settled in this area, and by the end of the 1930s the population of colonists housed in the Pontine Marshes grow from 5,000 to 30,000.[123]

The reclamation of the land and the development of the settlements in the Pontine Marshes demonstrate the concrete plans of Italian Fascism. Although the principles of the program were declared as realizing agricultural progress in these areas and improving hygienic conditions for the inhabitants, the new towns were organized in a scheme through which the state could direct public activities. These projects also included the housing of unemployed agricultural workers from all rural regions of Italy into these controlled settlements. Consequently, the new towns emerged as a clear example of the

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[118] Carl Schmidt, 'Land Reclamation in Fascist Italy', *The Academy of Political Science*, 52 (1937), 340–63. See also, Ruth Sterling Frost, 'The Reclamation of the Pontine Marshes', *American Geographical Society*, 24 (1934), 584–95.
[119] Frank Snowden, 'Latina Province, 1944–1950', *Sage Publications*, 43. Relief in the Aftermath of War (2008), 509–26 (p. 510).
[120] Snowden, p. 509.
[121] Ghirardo, pp. 68–69.
[122] Ghirardo, p. 60.
[123] Federico Caprotti, *Mussolini's Cities: Internal Colonialism in Italy, 1930-1939* (Youngstown, N.Y: Cambria Press, 2007), p. 165.

practice of internal colonization, in which the demonstration of fascism occupied a foremost prominent position.

### *1.3.2.2. Practices of Internal Colonization – Germany in the Beginning of the 20th Century*

The origin of internal colonization in Germany emerged from the economic and social inequality between the provinces of the German Empire. Industrialization of the Rhine region and agrarian reforms led to migration from the east to the west during the 19th Century. Due to depopulation, seasonal workers from Polish territories were replaced with German workers in agricultural areas in the east. However, this was just a temporary solution for the agricultural economy, and also seen as a political weakness against the Polish peril in the eastern provinces. Therefore, in 1886, West Prussia and Posen legislated a settlement commission in which the rules and rights of the farm owner were defined. In 1891, the Royal Prussian Settlement Commission – *Königlich-Preussische Ansiedlungskommision* was established. These two organizations brought about internal colonization through settlements in the border provinces.[124]

Dieter Gessner noted that the internal colonization programs in Germany evolved out of changing dynamics of economy, as in the production of agriculture, to the nationalization of Polish borders: "In the realm of domestic politics, agrarian protectionism promoted a conservative alliance of the 'productive estates', since even heavy industry occasionally tended to be protectionist. In this manner chancellors from Bismarck to von Bulow succeeded in checking the spread of social democracy."[125]

At the beginning of the 20th Century, internal colonization in Germany was considered not only a path for alternate settlement in the countryside but was also a model for Germanizing and developing the rural population economically in specific regions, such as Prussia, Saxony and Silesia. According to early scholars who guided the debate, there were three aims for an internal colonization:

1. Colonization of marshlands for cultivation,

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[124] Dieter Gessner, 'Agrarian Protectionism in the Weimar Republic', *Sage Publications*, 12.4 (1977), 759–78 (p. 761).
[125] Gessner, p. 763.

2. Colonization of different states in Germany and cities of Prussia with the aim to achieve an egalitarian economy through agriculture,

3. Colonization of east regions to politically strengthen the German elements in the eastern cities against the Polish population, and also achieve an egalitarian economy in this area based on agriculture.[126]

Hereby the colonization of marshes was successful in Oldenburg from 1898 to 1908 with an aim to create an agricultural field. Mecklenburg and some Prussian provinces were colonized in order to achieve an egalitarian agricultural economy. Especially in Mecklenburg, where there existed a large industrial economy, it was also intended to be an interior colony based on agriculture with a planned settlement for the German-origin land-workers. In Prussia the colonization was privately initiated. Especially in the western Prussia and Posen from 1890 to 1908, over 600,000 sites were parceled and 12,495 private agricultural plots were created and sold to the people with low credits. The largest colony was established in Pomerania province where the settlement was organized for agricultural workers and families. With the assistance of the Pomeranian Settlement Association – *Die Pommersche Ansiedlungsgesellschaft*, in this region several agricultural colonies were founded by 1908.[127]

In the western Prussia and Posen, rural colonies were founded for "national" reasons. In order to strength the "German element" in the region and to get an edge in the economic area over Polish authorities, German rural settlements were established in this periphery. In 1886, the Settlement Commission of West Prussia and Posen legislated that the commission, as the colonizer, bought and separated the manors, built new farmsteads and sold them to the settler under their control. Until the end of 1907, more than 1,400 agricultural fields located in 600 new villages were constructed by the private investors and the general commission. In addition to the aim of German economic dominance in the West Prussian region, the goal was also German dominance in population through colonization along the border with rural settlements.[128]

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[126] B. K., 'Die innere Kolonisation, ihre wirtschaftlichen Ziele und Erfolge', *Gartenstadt: Mittleilungen der deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft*, 3.März (1910), 26–30 (p. 27).
[127] K., p. 29.
[128] K., p. 30.

Nevertheless, in the early 20th Century in Silesia, which had been populated by Germans and Poles to nationalize the area on behalf of each side, the colonization program gained political and economic importance. This was because the region developed an agriculture and mining industry earlier than the other provinces on the eastern frontier, and the political tension between German and Polish authorities caused an increase of the refugees in the area. Right after the First World War, within the governance of Weimar Republic, Silesia was the target of new housing legislation with the goal of Germanizing the region. In 1919, the Silesian government put the new internal colonization program on the agenda and propagated the absorption of the Polish population and Germanization of the land. Within this operation the Silesian government and the Weimar state built model farmhouses for the German workers starting in 1919. In 1921, the state legislated the Farmworker Housing Law, which emerged from the rural housing program of Weimar Republic and promoted German farmers, especially on the frontiers. Ernst May (1886-1970), who was the state architect of Breslau, planned the rural settlements and housing typologies for the peasant worker. He evoked a national image of the German and Silesian, by keeping vernacular notions at the heart of his design.[129]

In addition to the economic modernization of rural Silesia and the nationalization of the region on behalf of Germany, Ernst May pointed out another dimension of the movement: He advocated that living on the land would be healthier than living in the small rental apartments in the big cities. Families should have gardens in order to supply at least their daily food requirements. In the big cities, speculation of land and high prices would not allow this. Furthermore, small settlements in rural areas would be also the solution to the centralization of the population. In 1919, Ernst May announced that the Silesian Rural Association – *Schlesische Landgesellschaft*, already planned infrastructure for almost 40 sites for small rural settlements in the region.[130]

[129] Susan R. Henderson, 'Ernst May and the Campaign to Resettle the Countryside: Rural Housing in Silesia, 1919-1925', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 61.2 (2002), 188–211 (pp. 190–92).
[130] Ernst May, 'Ländliche Kleinsiedlungen der schlesischen Landgesellschaft in der Provinz Schlesien', *Der Städtebau*, 1.Februar (1919), 84–86 (p. 84).

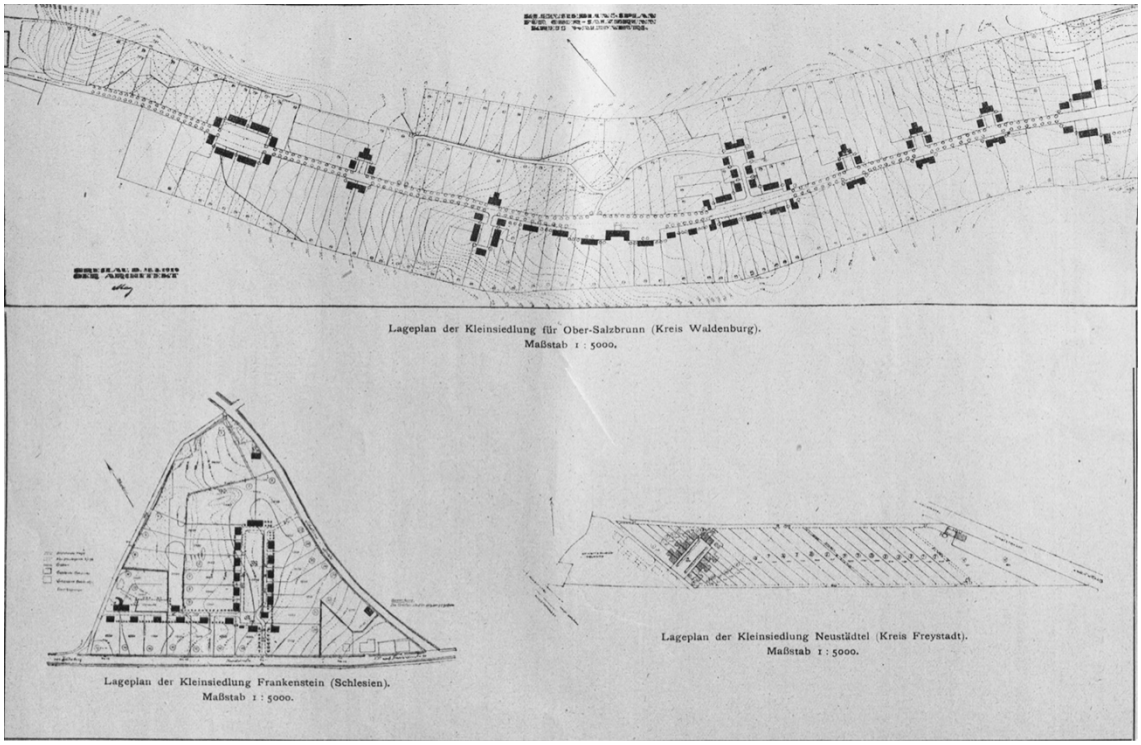


**Figure 1.6**. Small rural settlements – *ländliche Kleinsiedlungen* in Ober-salzburn, Frankenstein and Freystadt in Silesia Province, planned by Ernst May in 1919.[131] (*Der Städtebau*, 1919)

Ernst May proposed the settlements according to a rational scheme including modern facilities in the infrastructure. **(Figure 1.6)** Beyond the settlement scheme, a significant part of his projects were housing typologies with a vernacular taste using local building methods and local building materials. **(Figure 1.7)** According to Susan Henderson in the early 1920s, Ernst May created "a cultural and aesthetic model of interior colonization" in Silesia.[132]

In 1931, the head of municipal planning and government architect of Stuttgart, D. Schleicher, campaigned for the support of small agriculture and rural settlements, in which the settler would have their own garden to sustain their own nourishment. Schleicher accepted that internal colonization in the rural areas based on an agricultural economy involved a longer process. Therefore, he proposed settling the rural population in garden-communities where they would labor as a secondary occupation – *Nebenberuf.*

[131] Ernst May, 'Ländliche Kleinsiedlungen der schlesischen Landgesellschaft in der Provinz Schlesien', *Der Städtebau*, 1.Februar (1919), 84–86 (p. Tafel 45).
[132] May, pp. 84–85. Henderson, p. 195.

And in this way, problems such as decentralization of industry, hence the population, and control of over-industrialization in particular regions would be solved.[133]

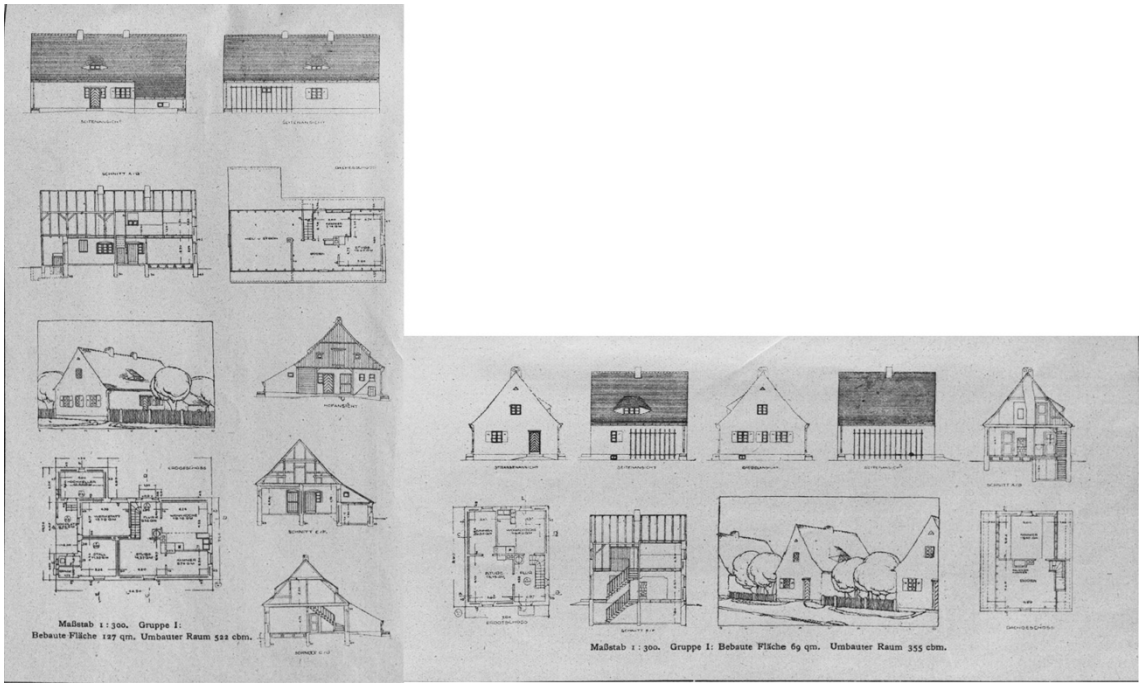


**Figure 1.7.** Housing typology I for the small rural settlements in Silesia, planned by Ernst May in 1919.[134] (*Der Städtebau*, 1919)

### *1.3.2.3. Practices of Internal Colonization – Germany in the National Socialist Era*

Without any doubt, the Great Depression had a crucial influence on the reform of the rural economy and its sustainability in Weimar politics. However, anti-urbanist propaganda that arose during the First World War declared the non-German population (Poles, Jews and other ethnical groups) on the frontiers as "harmful to the 'national character'" and paved the way for what national socialist adopted in their campaign in the countryside.[135] Concepts like, "going back to the rural roots" and "blood and soil" appeared in National Socialists' messaging to boost their political power in the countryside. Until the party announced its land reform agricultural plan in 1930, the Nazi intelligentsia advocated for land reform, which essentially involved middle class German farmers and workers in the

[133] D. Schleicher, 'Binnenkolonisation und Städtebau. Von Stadtbaurat und Regierungsbaumeister A. D. Schleicher, Stuttgart', *Gartenstadt: Mittleilungen der deutschen Gartenstadtgesellschaft*, 1.Januar (1931), 1–4 (pp. 1–2).
[134] May, p. Tafel 46-47.
[135] Hall, pp. 116–17.

rural areas controlling the enlargement in the estates.[136] In addition to Nazi romanticization of the land and farming[137], Adolf Hitler pointed to the German peasantry as a milestone for the economic sustainability and development of the country. He affirmed that German peasants produced the "secure" and "healthy" food supply for German *Volk* and provided a significant mass for labor. Therefore, during the 1920s many public mouthpieces like the *Völkische Bauernschaft* and the *Völkischer Beobachter* became the tools for rural propaganda of the National Socialist German Worker's Party.[138,139]

In targeting the rural population, national socialists also pursued the spatial interpretations of their ideology in order to colonize the country in political and economic terms. Moreover, from the late 1930s to the early 1940s, the Nazi government instrumentalized colonization in territorial planning. During the Second World War, the Germans occupied Polish regions partly with the goals of internal colonization, in the form of building new settlements and villages, as well as the reconstruction of sold towns. These interventions also included the replacement of non-Germanic people with the German *Volk* in these territories.[140] According to Gerhard Fehl, new planned settlements built under the Nazi

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[136] Johnpeter Horst Grill, 'The Nazi Party's Rural Propaganda before 1928', *Central European History*, 15.2 (1982), 149–85 (pp. 153–55).

[137] Johnpeter Horst Grill mentions the Artamanen organization in the frame of the romantization of the German rural and operations on behalf of National Socialists: "All of the active Nazi rural agitators supported the efforts of the Artamanen to convert rural romanticism into reality. The Artamanen organization was founded in Saxony in 1924 by Bruno Tanzmann, the driving force behind the *völkisch* rural education program, and Wilhelm Kotzde, the leader of the right-wing youth group Adler und Falken. The purpose of the organization was to further rural regeneration and eliminate Polish rural workers from estates in eastern Germany. The urban youth were urged to work on eastern German estates during the summer, and farmers were encouraged to participate in the *völkisch* rural education program. As early as 1924-25 some Artamanen were already Nazi party members. By 1926, Nazis like Otto Strasser and Erich Rosikat were praising the Artamanen for establishing a link between urban and rural Germany. … But the Artamanen movement never provided the Nazi party with a mass base since the Artamanen only numbered about two thousand members in 1929." Grill, pp. 177–78.

[138] Grill, pp. 163–65.

[139] For the further reading on political background of internal colonization and its impact in rural space during the early 20th Century in Germany see also Uwe Mai, *'Rasse und Raum': Agrarpolitik, Sozial- und Raumplanung im NS-Staat*, Sammlung Schöningh zur Geschichte und Gegenwart (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002), pp. 16–48.

[140] Gerhard Wolf, 'The East as Historical Imagination and the Germanization Policies of the Third Reich', in *Hitler's Geographies: The Spatialities of the Third Reich*, ed. by Paolo Giaccaria and Claudio Minca (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), pp. 93–109 (pp. 95–105).

regime had the stylistic repertoire from Howard's Garden City but stood in complete contrast to Howard's socially reformist perspective.[141]

Rural towns and villages along the eastern border were significant in the realization of Nazi ideological aims for the national space – the *Deutsche Lebensraum*. Also, they became the models for Nazi experiments in agricultural development that were supposed to improve the country's economy. Nazi authorities in the eastern provinces believed that in order to reform the whole territory it was needed to reform the *Volk*, who were seen as racially disaggregated from non-Germanic groups.[142]

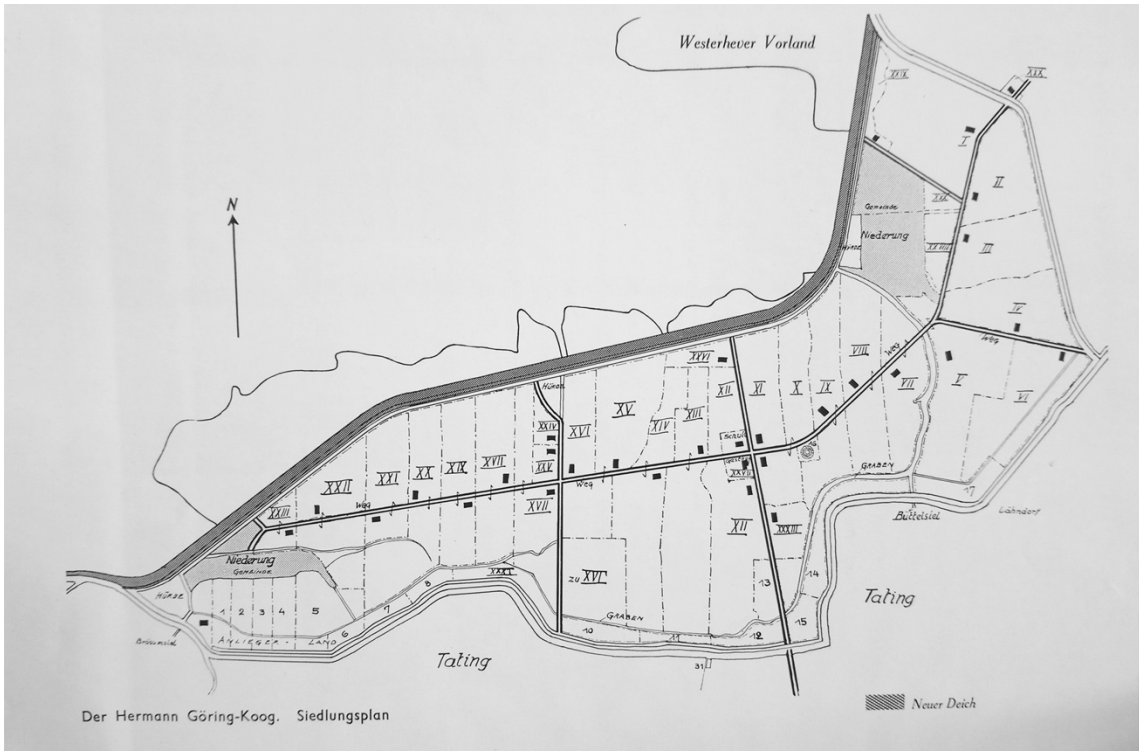


**Figure 1.8**. Settlement plan of Hermann-Göring-Koog.[143] (Gauleiter, 1935)

As another strategy in 1933, the reclamation of Prussian province Schleswig-Holstein's coast was planned in order to gain a "New Land" – *Neuland* consisting of 30,000 hectares of area where the rural dwellings and manufacturers would be established for almost 10,000 people. In the frame of the colonization politics of the regime, the symbolic

[141] Gerhard Fehl, 'The Nazi Garden City', in *The Garden City: Past, Present and Future* (London: E & FN Spon, 1992), pp. 88–106 (p. 88).
[142] Fehl, pp. 93–95.
[143] *Der Hermann Göring-Koog: Denkschrift Anläßlich der Einweihung Ende Oktober 1935*, ed. by Oberpräsident u. Gauleiter v. Schleswig-Holstein (Berin-Schöneberg: Felgentreff, 1935), p. 12.

settlements, like Adolf-Hitler-Koog and Hermann Göring Koog, started to arise with the view towards the Second World War.[144] **(Figure 1.8)**

**Figure 1.9.** One of the farmhouses under construction.[145] (Gauleiter, 1935)

Since agricultural economy and settlement politics were at the center of National Socialism ideology, gaining new lands and cultivating them for the German *Volk* made the reclamation projects in Schleswig-Holstein much more crucial. Therefore, after the area was diked, the first settlement, Adolf-Hitler-Koog, started to be constructed. It was aimed to build the settlement with local materials and techniques so that the inhabitants could be involved in the building phase in accordance with the notions of German peasant life. In this respect, architect Ernst Prinz designed the farmhouses considering the spatial necessities and agricultural activities of settlers, including local tradition and the continuity of rural culture. From 1935 to 1938, the site was equipped with not only farmhouses (**Figure 9)** and community houses, but also infrastructure such as electricity and water networks. Reclaiming the land and building farmer's towns like Adolf-Hitler-

[144] Frank Trende, *Neuland! War aas Zauberwort: Neue Deiche in Hitlers Namen* (Heide: Boyens, 2011), pp. 20–21. *Der Hermann Göring-Koog : Denkschrift anläßlich der Einweihung Ende Oktober 1935*, ed. by Oberpräsident u. Gauleiter v. Schleswig-Holstein (Berin-Schöneberg: Felgentreff, 1935), pp. 1–10.
[145] *Der Hermann Göring-Koog: Denkschrift anläßlich der Einweihung Ende Oktober 1935*, ed. by Oberpräsident u. Gauleiter v. Schleswig-Holstein (Berin-Schöneberg: Felgentreff, 1935), p. 14.

Koog and Hermann-Göring-Koog in the region also emerged from a collective activity in that the settlers, craftsmen and workers participated in the construction process of German *Lebensraum*.[146]

The National Socialist territorial planning was grounded in two particular themes: First, to Germanize the ethnically diverse population (including the Jews and the Poles on the eastern border). After the occupation of Warthegau in 1939, the governor Arthur Grieser announced that the province would become a smaller-scale-model of the "Greater German Empire" within the internal colonization programs, as described by Catherine Epstein.[147] The program firstly aimed to realize Warthegau as an attraction for Germans, and also propagated to establish a social infrastructure that would elevate German culture and the German lifestyle. In order to fulfill the planned building activity, Polish and Jewish properties were expropriated and German minorities in the Slavic, Baltic and other Soviet Union countries repatriated in the area.[148] The second focus of Nazi regional planning was on the decentralization of industry, a sustainable economy based on agricultural growth, and modernized space for German people not only in larger cities but also in rural areas. Especially in the Warthegau planning, the *Lebensraum* was created through the control of people and their economic activities, which was seen in different places on various scales, from planning of cities to the small villages.[149]

Following this, the totalitarian form of space was echoed in geographer Walter Christaller's "The Theory of Central Place" in which he wrote about the eastern provinces in 1941.[150] He introduced a central order in a geometrical scheme through which the distribution of the goods, transportation, and control of administration would be ideally conducted. According to his proposal, the central pattern was to repeat itself in different

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[146] Trende, pp. 43–56. *Neulandhalle, Adolf Hitler-Koog*, ed. by vom Gauleiter u. Oberpräsidenten d. Proviny Schleswig-Holstein (Berlin-Schöneberg: Felgentreff, 1935), pp. 5–6.
[147] Catherine Epstein, 'Germanization in the Warthegau: Germans, Jews and Poles and the Making of a "German" Gau', in *Heimat, Region, and Empire: Spatial Identities under National Socialism*, ed. by Claus-Christian W. Szejnmann and Maiken Umbach, The Holocaust and Its Contexts (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 93–111 (p. 93).
[148] Epstein.
[149] Oliver Werner, 'Conceptions, Competences and Limits of German Regional Planning during the Four Year Plan, 1936-1940', in *Heimat, Region, and Empire: Spatial Indentities under National Socialism*, ed. by Claus-Christian W. Szejnmann and Maiken Umbach, The Holocaust and Its Contexts (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 166–84 (pp. 166–68).
[150] Walter Christaller, *Struktur und Gestaltung Der zentralen Orte des deutschen Ostes: Die zentralen Orte in den Ostgebieten und ihre Kultur-und Marktbereiche*, Gemeinschaftswerk im Auftrage der Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft für Raumforschung, Teil 1 (Leipzig: K.F. Koehler Verlag, 1941).

spatial forms since it could be derived for and produced in various scales. It was a symbolic form that could be implemented in the eastern provinces in order to colonize the population on behalf of the regime.[151]

### *1.3.2.4. Practices of Internal Colonization in the Worldwide Context*

Land reclamation, agrarian development and/or housing people in planned settlements was repeated in different geographical and political contexts by various regimes and state authorities. Nationalization and modernization of a rural populace occurred in several ways: In Sweden, especially after the split from Norway in 1905, the authority encouraged internal colonization models that were grounded in agricultural rural settlements in the northern regions of the country. Within these programs it was similarly aimed to reclaim marsh areas and create plowable land where small farmers and land laborers could live. Likewise, in the 1920s, the Dutch government restored the Zuiderzee and cultivated polders in this region as a central modernizing project. During the 1930s, even post-war, the gained land was developed into cultivable areas where farmers were settled.[152]

In addition to the spatial practices of internal colonization that played a critical role in forming and locating the populace, internal colonization also evolved into a powerful engine for developing nation-states in the process of self-determination and establishment of an economic scheme. In this respect, modernizing and nationalizing the rural in Romania occurred as a clear instance of this after the unification of the Romanian kingdoms following the end of the First World War. The new post-war Romanian state, which expanded its territorial land, and had comparably more diversity among the rural population and an agrarian dominated economy. That led to the necessity of policy-making regarding the peasantry not only in economic terms but also social and cultural terms. Therefore, starting from the 1920s, the Romanian countryside became the subject of social engineering, and the transformation of village life guided government implementations in rural planning. This resulted in the emergence of new villages or

[151] Mechtild Rössler, 'Applied Geography and Area Research in Nazi Soceity: Central Place Theory and Planning, 1933-1945', in *Hitler's Geographies: The Spatialities of the Third Reich*, ed. by Paolo Giaccaria and Claudio Minca (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), pp. 182–97 (pp. 184–90).
[152] Grift, 'Cultivating Land and People : Internal Colonization in Interwar Europe'.

village parts in which living conditions were improved in healthier and more hygienic ways for the inhabitants.[153] However, at the end of 1930s, socially improving Romanian rural life transformed into a stage for the totalitarian regime under the King Carol II. Some of the model rural settlements built in early 1930s were destroyed and rebuilt according to the new planning ideals of the King's authority.[154]

Starting from the early 20th Century, the practices of internal colonization dominated the planning of the rural areas in several cases, and in countries within comparable political perspectives. The methods on every scale – from country planning to the small rural settlements – the ideals were grounded in regulating the movement of the rural populace in their economic, social and political character. That is to say, the implementations of internal colonization not only in Europe but also in the modernization and nation building programs in Russia[155], spatial politics in the American New Deal in the USA, and after the Second World War in the Israeli Kibbutz[156], and so forth, all followed a pattern which impacted and transformed rural life in cultural, social and economic terms.

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[153] Raluca Muşat, '"To Cure, Uplift and Ennoble the Village": Militant Sociology in the Romanian Countryside, 1934–1938', *East European Politics and Societies*, 27.3 (2012), 353–75. In this article Raluca Muşat discusses the reformist approach of sociologist Dimitri Gusti and the ruralist movement, he generated in Romania during the 1930s.

[154] Raluca Muşat, 'Lessons for Modern Living: Planned Rural Communities in Interwar Romania, Turkey and Italy', *Journal of Modern European History*, 13.4 (2015), 534–48 (pp. 537–41); Raluca Muşat, 'The "Social Museum" of Village Life', in *Governing the Rural in Interwar Europe*, ed. by Amalia Ribi Forclaz and Liesbeth van de Grift (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 117–41.

[155] For agrarian politics under the Tsarist regime, see Hans Rogger, *Russia in the Age of Modernisation and Revolution, 1881-1917*, Longman History of Russia (London ; New York: Longman, 1983), pp. 71–99. Gareth Popkins, 'Peasant Experiences of the Late Tsarist State: District Congresses of Land Captains, Provincial Boards and the Legal Appeals Process, 1891-1917', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 78.1 (2000), 90–114. For the place of peasantry in the 1917 Revolution in Russia see Orlando Figes, 'The Russian Revolution of 1917 and Its Language in the Village', *The Russian Review*, 56.July (1997), 323–45. Amalendu Guha, 'Lenin on the Agrarian Question', *Social Scientist*, 5.9 (1977), 61–80. The projects of Hannes Meyer in the Soviet Union plays crucial role in demonstrating the ideals of planning and also the internal colonization practices in the country. Hannes Meyer was firstly commissioned of reconstruction and development plan of Moscow in 1931-1932. Afterwards he developed several plans for the rural regions within the Soviet territory: Planning of Satellite town of Nishniy-Kurinsk in 1932, Development Plan of Sozgorod Gorki in 1932, Development Plan of the Capital of Birobidjan State in 1933-1934 and Planning for industrial zone of Perm in 1934; see Claude Schnaidt, *Hannes Meyer: Bauten, Projekte und Schriften; Buildings, Projects and Writings* (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1965), pp. 61–76.

[156] Here Israeli Kibbutz is considered as a concept in terms of rural community. The concept can be also interpreted as a spatial practice of internal colonization from many angles. For a further reading on this perspective see Paula Rayman, *The Kibbutz Community and Nation Building* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1981).; Tal Simons and Paul Ingram, 'Organization and Ideology: Kibbutzim and Hired Labor, 1951-1965', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 42.4 (1997), 784–813.; C.W. Efroymson, 'Collective Agriculture in Israel', *Journal of Political Economy*, 58.1 (1950), 30–46.; Amitai Etzioni, 'Agrarianism in Israel's Party System', *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue Canadienne d'Economique et de Science Politique,* 23.3 (1957), 363–75.; Elihu Katz and S. N. Eisenstadt, 'Some Sociological Observations on the Response of Israeli Organizations to New Immigrants',

In sum, internal colonization – in theory and practice – occurred as another agent of the nation-building and modernization narratives of states in a strong wave during the first half of the 20th Century. The implementations usually demonstrated the similarity in the operations across countries and in different socio-cultural and economic circumstances of the peoples. The common ground of the discussion was that the land was idealized in respect to nationalization and the political orientation of the rural people on behalf of the authorities. In addition to this, the rural masses were thoroughly instrumentalized in the development schemes of the countries.

Likewise, the theoretical ground of the interrelation between modernity, nationalism and modernization is discussed in order to characterize the general impulse for "forming the new rural settlements in early republican Turkey", the spatial concepts for land idealization, such as architectural interventions of internal colonization, and different implementations of the Garden City movement. All of these became significant facets of operations in Turkey during the early republican period from 1923 to 1950, not only in ideology but also in terms of active building practice in the countryside. Thus, the review of the topic in the worldwide context builds a bridge between Turkey and the other countries, who see narratives were considered ideal and pragmatic resources for the nation-building and modernization projects of the early republican authorities in Turkey.

## 1.4. Conceptualization of the Rural Space in German-Speaking Countries in the Early 20th Century

In the discussions above, Garden Cities for a better community life in the countryside and agrarian rural settlements in the frame of internal colonization become the examples to demonstrate that the state's space – here I would like to use the word "land" – was idealized as having a strong connection to changes in the political realm within the *Zeitgeist* of the 20th Century. Nonetheless, conceptualization of the land, especially

*Administrative Science Quarterly*, 5.1 (1960), 113–33.; Israel Bartal, 'Farming the Land on Three Continents: Bilu, Am Oylom, and Yefe-Nahar', *Jewish History*, 21.3/4 (2007), 249–61.; for the reading on the scheme of organizations, see Josh van Soer and Michael Marek, *Kibbuzhandbuch: Leben und Arbeiten in Kibbuz und Moshav ; Hinweise für Volunteers*, 5. Aufl (Stuttgart: Zündhölzchen Verl, 1985).; Richard Kauffmann's works in Kibbutz and early Israeli rural settlements play a crucial role to grasp the subject in architectural and planning terms. See also M. Uriel Adiv, 'Richard Kauffmann (1887-1958): Das Architektonische Gesamtwerk' (Dissertation, Technische Universität Berlin: Fachbereich 8 Architektur, 1985).

conceptualization of the rural space, needs to be focused in an architectural context in the particular geographical and cultural context of German-speaking countries that directly affected the arguments in Turkey during the first half of the 20th Century.

Here, the particular conceptions such as nationalization of the rural house, rural development versus city development, and internal colonization in German-speaking countries in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century will be reviewed in order to demonstrate the influence of ideas and practices translated into the Turkish case by figures from German-speaking countries in the early republican period.

### 1.4.1. Germany

#### *1.4.1.1. Early Concept of "Das deutsche Haus" and Rural Germany in the Late 19th Century*

Roots of the conceptualization of rural space were inherently bounded with preconditions of cultural identity-seeking and an alternative city-country planning. Numerous straightforward commentaries, reviews and observations can be found in particular writings of urban criticism and pursuits of cultural tradition by artists, architects, city planners who were actually willing to reform the space, as well as by politicians starting from the late 19th Century. Namely, scholars who pointed to the rural idyll in architecture and planning introduced a new consideration of country life that echoed in urban theory: Among many others who followed parallel paths, Theodor Fritsch's "*die Stadt der Zukunft"* in 1896, Herman Muthesius's "*das englische Haus"* in 1904 and Heinrich Tessenow's writings from 1909 to 1919 on the housing and town planning show a wholistic approach towards the creation of an archetype for an improved urbanism that would restore country and city life.

By the end of the 19th Century, seeking particularity in culture through tradition had been manifested within the architectural vocabulary. Rudolf Henning's book "The German House and its Historical Development" – *Das deutsche Haus in seiner historischen Entwickelung (1882)* demonstrated the will to find a deep-rooted endemic identity in the frame of architectural history and architectural culture focusing on the analysis of characteristics of "The German House". First of all, he proposed etymological research on the word "house" in Germanic languages – as well as in Latin– in order to testify that

the German house and its evaluation at the time had been the heart of tradition and culture; in other words, a deep-analysis of the "dwelling architecture" would also elucidate the roots of German culture and tradition. He especially emphasized that the farmhouse still shows culture and tradition, "as the earth continuously let its trees and bushes grow."[157]

Three years after Henning published his work, Otto Lasius introduced another work of research about the idealization of the German rural house, focusing on the Friesian farmer house and its architectonic improvement during the last four centuries with the same enthusiasm. Lasius observed the rural house through a traditionalist lens similar to Justus Möser[158] an 18th-Century social theorist. Moser had discussed the Patriotic Phantasies – *patriotische Phantasien (1778-1786)* in his writings, as well as land houses in Osnabruck (the Farmer's Houses of Osnabruck are the Best in the Sense of their Plan – *"Die Häuser des Landmanns im oßnabrücklischen sind in ihrem Plan die besten"*[159]). Lasius adopted Möser's point of view in his evaluation of the Saxon-Westphalian farmhouse not only in its architectonic sense, but also in its cultural and social context.[160] Lasius wanted to uncover customs and living habits through the arrangements of space in the Friesian farmhouse with a focus on localities in the building forms, aiming to join the discussion about "the German house" that scholars like Rudolf Henning had already started.[161]

In addition to the perspectives grounded in the rural idyll, the actual conditions of country life were directly bound with the dynamics of the agricultural economy and its agents in the countryside. Rural society was composed of landowners, small-manufacturers and farmers, land workers and temporary laborers, all with diverse living circumstances socially and economically. Relatedly, at the end of 19th Century in the German countryside, the architectural repertoire consisted of the houses of landowners and farmhouses of local agricultural producers, small houses for the agricultural workers (*Landarbeiterkate*) and buildings for seasonal workers (*Schnitterkasern*). However,

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[157] Rudolf Henning, *Das deutsche Haus in seiner historischen Entwickelung* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1882), pp. 1–7.

[158] For a further reading on Justus Möser and the translation of his idea into German nationalism up till the early 20th Century, see Robert R. Ergang, 'Möser and the Rise of National Thought in Germany', *The Journal of Modern History*, 5.2 (1933), 172–96.

[159] Justus Möser, *patriotische Phantasien*, ed. by Voigts Jenny von, 1. Auflage (Berlin: Nicolai, 1786), VIERTER TEIL (BD. 4 VON 4), p. 144, HAB Wolfenbüttel <http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/show/moeser_phantasien04_1786>.

[160] Möser, VIERTER TEIL (BD. 4 VON 4), pp. 144–46.

[161] Otto Lasius, *Das friesische Bauernhaus in seiner Entwickelung während der letzten Vier Jahrhunderte* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1885), pp. V–VI.

despite the rural uprising in 1848 that led to land workers having labor contracts stipulating an improvement in the working conditions, the movement catalyzed more capitalistic interventions in rural life[162] that resulted in a mass migration into the industrial towns and big cities from the countryside.

Therewith, by the beginning of 20th Century agricultural labor in the countryside was replaced by industrial labor in towns and cities. Hence, depopulation in rural areas became a central problem that led to the dramatic increase of population in urban areas at the same time. The flow from country to city led to a crisis in re-forming the social and cultural realm of the urban sphere, the need for more space for the new-comers, and also the necessity of new food sources for the swiftly growing urban dwellers.

### *1.4.1.2. Theodor Fritsch and "die Stadt der Zukunft"*

The arguments about the uncontrolled expansion of cities were fundamentally grounded in the need to evaluate planning theories and practices. These planning theories had the objective of achieving harmony between city and country life and involved a reaction against the problems that "modern life" had brought into the urban sphere. From this point of view, Theodor Fritsch's proposal focused on the problems of city and country life and the loss of harmony in both milieus economically, socially and culturally.

In "*die Stadt der Zukunft"*, Theodor Fritsch began his argument with an emphasis on the adversities of modern cities: he pointed out that most of the cities had been developed through villages and suburbs without any rational consideration or principles. Unplanned growth of the city resulted in increasing number of dwellings for a rampant populace and loss of functioning infrastructure, hygiene, comfort, or charm. This form of urbanization occurred because the city had not been organized according to particular zones with well-defined functions. Instead it had an incoherent building program such as "a factory next to a castle, barracks next to an art center – *Kunst-Tempel*, a slaughterhouse next to a school, a brothel next to a church".[163] He believed that a city should be more than a

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[162] Hans-Jürgen Rach, *Bauernhaus, Landarbeiterkaten und Schnitterkaserne : Zur Geschichte von Bauen und Wohnen der ländlichen Agrarproduzenten in der magdeburger Börde des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1974), pp. 65–77.; http://www.landarbeiter.eu/

[163] Theodor Fritsch, *Die Stadt der Zukunft* (Leibzig, Germany: Verlag von Theodor Fitsch, 1896), p. 4, Getty Center Library <https://archive.org/details/diestadtderzukun00frit>.

conglomeration of buildings and people. It should have a physical character with rational structure, equipped thoughtfully, and grown without losing its fundamental rules of development program.[164]

The ideal city Theodor Fritsch presented was an industrially oriented city where ateliers and centers of manufacturing were adequately connected to the heart of the city, with residential areas connected by railways, and where the all facilities – "power stations for electricity and lightening, a central water supply, network for public transportation" – and cultural / social facilities – "theaters, museums, schools, hospitals, housing for workers and public officers" –flourished.[165] Then Fritsch presented a semi-circular form for a rational city that allowed a planned and controlled development. Especially the zoning of the city according to differing functions avoided the chaotic urban life that he described. For an industrial city, he represented a well-defined factory zone outside of the center, separated from residential area by a green belt as was suggested in Howard's Garden City.[166]

Within the zoning, he introduced a spatial hierarchy divided into seven levels in a central geometry. In the first level, the memorial public building was located in the center of the ideal urban settlements that Fritsch called "the middle square" – *Mittelplatz*. Following that, he included the villas in the monumental style in the second circle; single houses and architecturally sophisticated apartment buildings in the third circle; apartment buildings and stores in the fourth circle; houses for workers, small ateliers and manufacturing buildings in the fifth circle, factories, farms and stockyards in the sixth circle; and market gardens and small rental gardens in the seventh circle.[167] **(Figure 1.10)**

[164] Fritsch, p. 5.
[165] Fritsch, pp. 9-10.
[166] Fritsch, p. 27.
[167] Fritsch, p. 11.

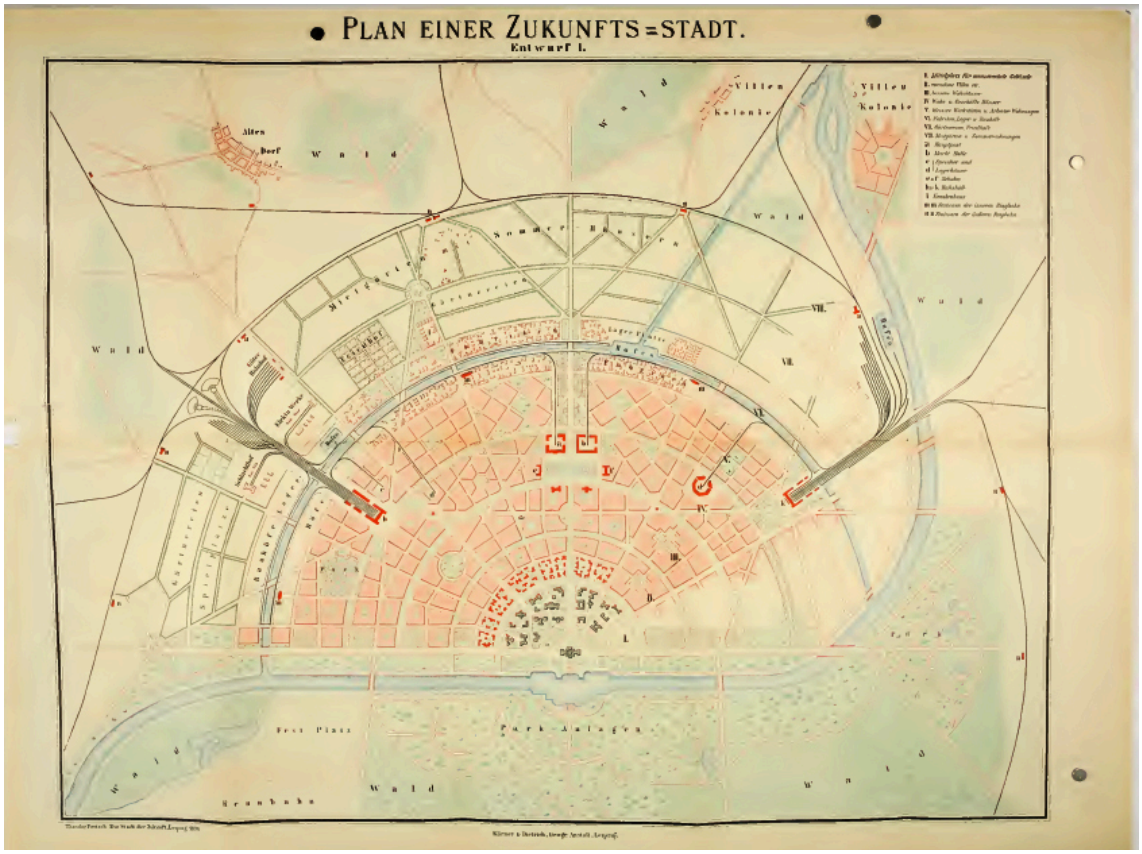


**Figure 1.10.** Theodor Fritsch' Ideal City, *Die Stadt der Zukunft.*[168] (Fritsch, 1896)

Furthermore, the definition of the relationship between the country and city was a critical topic in the book. According to Theodor Fritsch, the new social perception was that agriculture and rural life contributed to national strength and health. Thus "going back to the country" became an approved approach over "migration to the city".[169] Following this point of view, Fritsch did not completely separate the rural zone from the city, although it was located outside of the central zone. In the plan he suggested rural mediums in and around the center like parks, gardens and agricultural fields, so that the rigid border between city and country would be removed and a "crystallization of a rural life" would arise in the city as well.[170]

Although with "*die Stadt der Zukunft,*" Theodor Fritsch made a proposal similar to the Garden City that Ebenezer Howard introduced in "*To-morrow"* in 1898, he did not have a clear answer for the centralization of particular urban functions in the rural area and a

[168] Fritsch.
[169] Fritsch, p. 6.
[170] Fritsch, p. 17.

model for harmonic rural-city life, while they were the roots of Howard's idea in the English Garden City. However, Fritsch had pointed out the problems of urbanization of German cities and suggested possibilities for going back to the country using the urbanist vocabulary.[171]

### *1.4.1.3. "Going back to the Country": Analysis of the German House and Development of the New Housing Concepts*

At the beginning of the century the idea of "going back to the country" was revived in new analysis of the German house that was synonymous with the rural house. For example, in his book "The German House and Its Contents" – *Das deutsche Haus and sein Hausrat (1906)* Rudolf Meringer repeated the perspectives of Otto Lasius and Rudolf Henning, who advocated two decades ago that the farmhouse emerged as a form through which folkloric essence had been carried on and had still occurred via the remarkable example of the German house. Like other traditionalists, Meringer pointed to a historical analysis of German farmhouse including not only its architectural components, but also the etymological evaluation of the word related to the habits and customs. He described German rural house and farmhouse as a cultural and national typology among other contextual examples in Europe. He used a detailed architectural vocabulary consisting of geographically categorized typologies, historical development in form and function, construction materials, interior arrangements and decoration.[172] This kind of formulation of the rural house – farmhouse in functional terms, but within the discussion of the "rural" as a cultural phenomenon that echoed by many other scholars of the early 20th Century in Germany.

In addition to the German farmhouse and its idealized historical evaluation as a native building practice by German scholars, Hermann Muthesius[173] introduced a "modern"

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[171] After Ebenezer Howard's proposal for Garden City, the movement had also shifted in Germany adapting the characteristics into the Germany's case. See the *"Garden City Movement in the Early 20th Century"* in this chapter.

[172] Rudolf Meringer, *Das deutsche Haus und sein Hausrat* (Leipzig: B. G. Teuber, 1906).

[173] Being a government architect, Hermann Muthesius joined the state's education program, and moved towards the arts, craft and their trades in the frame of *Kunstgewerbe* and *Handwerk* associations from 1903-1907. The aim was to regenerate art and craftsmanship within the proto-industrial production of modern consumer economy and to serve them for the traditional German middle class. As a vigorous supporter of Arts and Crafts Movement, heralded in England by John Ruskin and William Morris at the end of the 19th Century, Hermann Muthesius (peculiarly) consulted state's interventions in the arts schools that were

architectonic form, the Country House – *Landhaus*, which included cultural aspects for the German upper-middle class who were willing to move to the countryside, and also theoretically alternated to the urban house and apartment blocks in rapidly changing cities. He illustrated the English country house in his work The English House – "*das englische Haus" (1904)* as a typology of which architectural and stylistic components could be ideally translated and transformed into an clear formula in German countryside.[174] Hermann Muthesius favored the English Arts and Craft Movement and its echoes in English country houses and new Garden Cities[175]. He stressed that the movement resounded in several areas of modern life, as well as in architectural culture, particularly in the "building of [the] modern house".[176]

In the book introduction, Muthesius presented his study, based on architectural analysis of the "modern English House" improved since 1860. Due to the analysis and representation of English house, Hermann Muthesius focused on three qualifications: the location on the site, construction methods and materials, and interior design, relating all to cultural aspects. He outlined the importance of site location for the single house as well as the benefit for the inhabitant:

> The most valuable fact, experienced with living in a single house, is a closer interrelation with the nature in that one is spiritually and physically healthier. That is considered even for the single houses in the city, comparable to the apartments. It is not only that these types of houses occur as a substantial connection between the

grounded in more economic motivations instead of a reform of the theory of design and aesthetics. See John V. Maciuika, 'Art in the Age of Government Intervention: Hermann Muthesius, Sachlichkeit, and the State, 1897-1907', *German Studies Review*, 21.2 (1998), 285–308. In 1907, Muthesius promoted the establishment of the *deutscher Werkbund*, which became an important platform for modernist artists, architects and also industrial entrepreneurs, including Peter Behrens, Bruno Paul, Peter Behrens, Theodor Fischer, Josef Hoffmann, Richard Riemerschmidt, Heinrich Tessenow, Henry van de Velde and later Mies van der Rohe. The organization gradually paved the way for the founding of "Bauhaus". See Roland Günter, *Der deutsche Werkbund und seine Mitglieder 1907 - 2007: Ein Beitrag des deutschen Werkbunds zur Kulturhauptstadt Ruhr im Jahr 2010*, 1. Auflage (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2009).

[174] Fedor Roth, *Hermann Muthesius und die Idee der harmonischen Kultur: Kultur als Einheit des künstlerischen Stils in allen Lebensäusserungen eines Volkes* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2001), pp. 105–35.

[175] Inside the book Muthesius also included the English Garden City movement, the aim of its association and the constructed new settlements. He emphasized that the movement sought to depopulate unplanned and bad-conditioned metropolis, to repopulate the country and to sustain it with the existing bias for country-life in the English culture. See Hermann Muthesius, *Das englische Haus: Entwickelung, Bedingungen, Anlage, Aufbau, Einrichtung und Innenraum* (Berlin, Germany: Ernst Wasmuth, 1904), p. 204.

[176] Hermann Muthesius, 'Das englische Haus der Gegenwart', *Der Baumeister*, 1.Oktober (1904), 6–9 (p. 6).

> user and the nature but also, they supply a direct access to a fresher environment.[177] (Emphasis added.)

Muthesius continued that the English house, studied since the second half of 19th Century, represents the traditional building style, and was an example for "national" architecture in the countryside. He believed that this way of implementing rural architecture would be an example for improving a coherent and lasting concept in the German house:

> It has many preconditions that the materialization is represented due to living habits in English way; that the spatial, climatic and geographic conditions fit each other; that the artistic style is completely a production derived from a local, native and regional development of building tradition. This is the reason of that the English house should be considered as a prime exemplar for determining and developing the conditions of German-House; the design principles of English house should lead to improve styling of German-House.[178] (Emphasis added.)

In his later writings, he acknowledged that the German country house was a relatively new concept, derived from the idea of "going back to the country" from the city. He pointed out that the urban folk needed to continue their same living habits in better conditions in the countryside. They carried the spirit of the town in the country, but they did not naturally belong to the land as countryside dwellers. Therefore, they would require several qualities that should be considered by the architect. He stressed that those who had lived in an apartment in the city should not feel uncomfortable in the country house; the country house should be furnished with all modern equipment that a city-dweller had been accustomed to.[179] The design principles that Hermann Muthesius defined for the country house were based on the site location, the functional arrangement of interior space related to the sunlight and weather, and organization of exterior – garden as the fundamental component integral to the country house.

Muthesius emphasized the garden as one of the most crucial characteristics of a country house that defined the major difference to city dwellings. He presented the garden as an extension of the design and offered here a complete arrangement with terraces and small

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[177] Muthesius, *das englische Haus: Entwickelung, Bedingungen, Anlage, Aufbau, Einrichtung und Innenraum*, p. 6. Author's translation.
[178] Muthesius, *das englische Haus: Entwickelung, Bedingungen, Anlage, Aufbau, Einrichtung und Innenraum*, p. 10. Autor's translation.
[179] Hermann Muthesius, 'Die Lage des Landhauses zur Sonne und zum Garten', *Der Baumeister*, 1.Oktober (1907), 1–6, 19–23 (pp. 1–2).

structures like pavilions and fountain ponds, so that the dwellers could appreciate contact with nature. In order to adopt the country life, he also broached the use of the garden for planting.[180]

With its stylistic approaches, Muthesius' country house represented an eclectic architectural practice: He included a miscellaneous set of rural motives, particularly inspired by the German farmhouse that had been documented by other traditionalist scholars since the last decades. He composed a definite geometrical frame, furnishing it with local features such as local bricks (*Backstein*) on the façade arrangement, shed-dormers (*Schleppgauben*), red-brick clothing (*Ziegelbekleidung*) on the gables, the German *Kantenmuster* on the window-frames and red-brick pattern on the walls of garden entrance.[181] Moreover, Muthesius' country house appeared as organization of both the interior – the plan, architectonic form the house –, and exterior, with the garden that became an essential element within the whole design, as much as the country house itself.

The German country house in Muthesius' proposals undoubtedly demonstrated a synthesis of rurality and modernity repeated in several alternative plans for the obstacles presented by housing in the city and country. That is to say, whereas Hermann Muthesius suggested a living form in the countryside for the German upper-middle class, the formulation that idealized the country life, or at least the harmony between city and country, was echoed in the theory and practice of civil architecture for the middle and lower class of German society as well. Starting from the beginning of the century, the typology *Kleinsiedlung* – a small settlement mostly consisting of single-family houses in particularly non-urban areas – came about through the continued prominence of the rural; the advantages of living in the countryside in social, cultural and economic terms, while at the same time it was a political instrument for managing the populace through planning, as discussed above. **(Figure 1.11)**

[180] Muthesius, 'Die Lage des Landhauses zur Sonne und zum Garten', pp. 19–21.; H. J., 'Landhaus und Garten', *Der Baumeister*, Mai (1907), 94–95.
[181] Laurent Stalder, *Hermann Muthesius 1861 - 1927: das Landhaus als kulturgeschichtlicher Entwurf*, Studien und Texte zur Geschichte der Architekturtheorie (Zürich: Gta Verlag, 2008), p. 104.

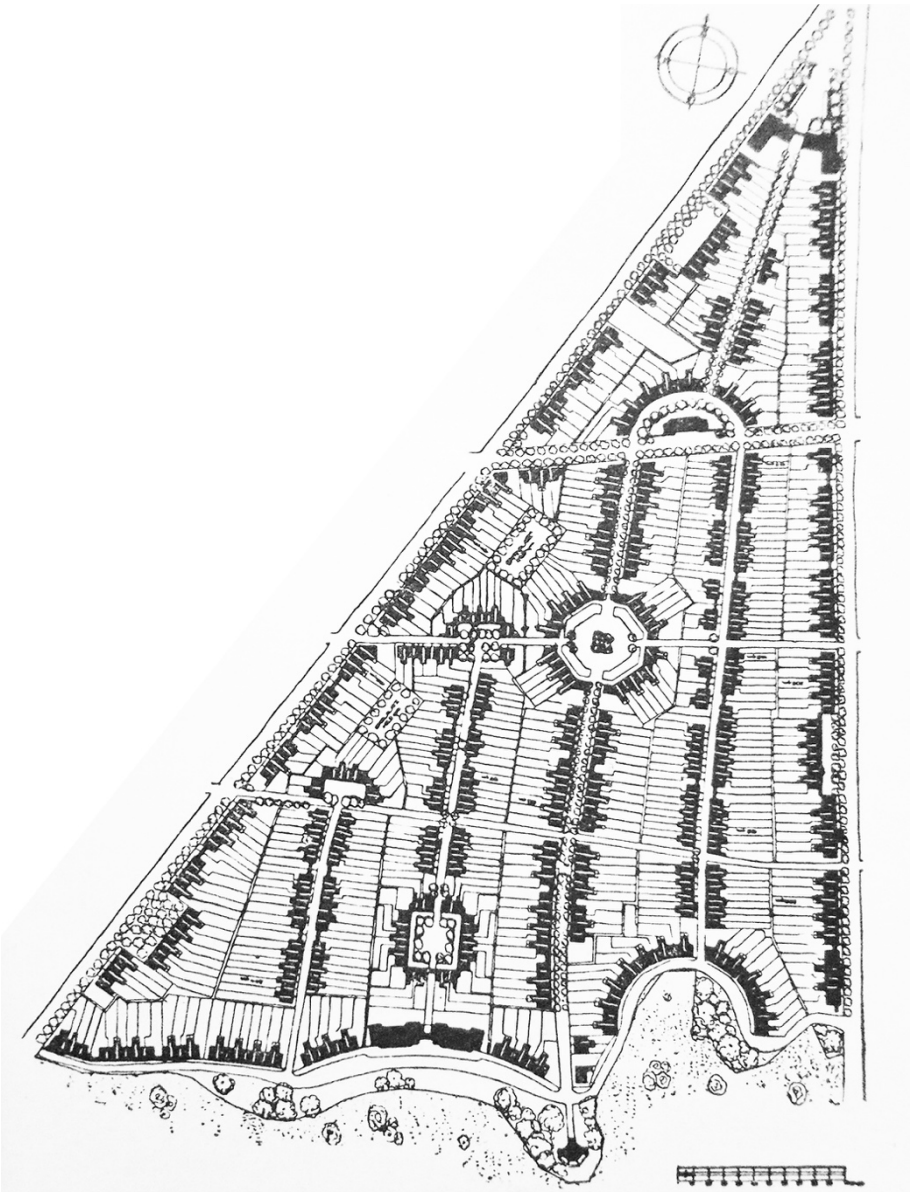

**Figure 1.11.** *Kleinsiedlung*, Hermsdorf, Berlin, 1919, architects Rudolf Eberstadt and Hermann Muthesius.[182] (Muthesius, 1920)

Moreover, "going back to the country", was loudly proclaimed in Heinrich Tessenow's writings as well as his practice of architecture. In 1909, Tessenow published *Der Wohnhausbau* – The Dwelling Architecture, in the same year that he was involved in the building the first German Garden City, Hellerau, by planning several housing typologies. In 1916, he published *Hausbau und dergleichen* – House Architecture (and the like) and in 1919 he published *Handwerk and Kleinstadt* – Craftsmanship and Town while he was

[182] Muthesius, *Kleinhaus und Kleinsiedlung*, p. 205.

teaching in Vienna. Although the publications stressed improving the living conditions of German middle class, Tessenow sought a solution to the affordable housing problem with an emphasis on the inclusion of country life and "German tradition" into the dwelling culture. In *Wohnhausbau* – The Dwelling Architecture, Tessenow introduced the small house as a dwelling concept for workers and the petit bourgeois – *Kleinbürger* that would emerge in the rural areas and play a crucial role in connecting the city to the countryside. He proposed several typologies of single houses, row-houses and semidetached houses with plain geometry in architectonic form, local material use and construction methods in building, and the garden as the major component in the design-concept.[183]

According to Michael Hays, Tessenow's typologies appeared in a characteristic way of using "tradition" in architecture; it was different from recreating the memory of rural culture, and even different than the nostalgia towards forgotten forms of communal life. Heinrich Tessenow sought a building culture from a perspective of individuality in modest architectonic forms for the German middle class in the countryside. [184] Moreover, the tradition in his works, in cultural terms, was a "romantic anti-capitalism" based on values from earlier times, a re-evaluation of the Future via the Past referring to the "community memory" in the rural sphere rather than the modern metropolis. Particularly in his book Craftsmanship and Town – *Handwerk und Kleinstadt (1919)* Tessenow described the harmony of small town that differed socially and culturally from a village and city, and still formed itself with a pre-industrial economy based on artisan production methods. He believed that craft and labor were distinctly physical in the village, whereas they were seemingly highbrow in the metropolis. According to Tessenow:

> The town is earthly as well as the craftsman is humane. … (To the contrary) the metropolis has been never maternal. It's not been more than a trade center, transportation center, place of entertainment etc. It's been a world's midpoint in the sense of representation. … (On the other hand) there is no doubt that the town provides a better living circumstances and a much more intellectual – or humane life than the village.[185]

[183] Heinrich Tessenow, *Wohnhausbau*, ed. by Theodor Böll, Gesamtausgabe / Heinrich Tessenow, Bd. 1 (Weimar: Edition M, 2008).
[184] K. Michael Hays, 'Tessenow's Architecture as National Allegory: Critique of Capitalism or Protofascism?', *Assemblage*, 8. February (1989), 104–23 (p. 112).
[185] Heinrich Tessenow, *Handwerk und Kleinstadt*, ed. by Theodor Böll, Heinrich Tessenow Gesamtausgabe, Band 3 (Lambrechtshagen: edition m, 2013), pp. 42, 44.

Therefore, the town Tessenow idealized provided a corresponding settlement where the middle class populace would develop and flourish surrounded by a domestic atmosphere.[186] In other words, by introducing the *Kleinstadt*, he conceived of an ideological realm in which the German small bourgeois and middle class were firmly bridged with the concepts such as "populism, craft, habit, community and the like"[187] in order to create the harmony of culture – *Harmonie der Kultur* spreading through all layers of the society.

Following the interwar years, discussions on architectural history and theory were basically founded on the search for a compromise for building practice not only in the economical frame. But the legitimation of culture, nation and power continued to be the standpoint of architectural operations. In addition to several examples given above, at the end of the 1930s it was reiterated that one could find the native roots of a *heimatliches Leben* – a homelike living in the cultural originality of the German peasantry and peasant-house. It was argued that this was the case because, "the origin of the nationhood in the peasantry became entrenched with the native soil since inexhaustible life-source of the real nationhood existed (!)"[188]. Beyond the assimilation politics of the era, the concept of rurality served as a melting pot in which history, tradition and the continuity of culture would theoretically re-generate.

The idealization of country life dominated discussions in architectural history and theory. This involved on one hand, analysis of the peasant-life and rural architecture, and on the other hand the introduction of a new building vocabulary, such as typologies of country houses for petit bourgeois, small rural houses for workers and modest controllable settlements. Most of the time, architectural operations were adopted to repopulate the countryside and balance the economy in rural areas including engraining in the *Heimatkunst* functional and practical – so called modern – needs with local and traditional aesthetics. All in all, the close relationship between these architectonic forms and the discussions about uncontrolled urban growth, loss of harmony in the city and country, economic and social problems in German society, and finally, the search for a cultural

[186] Tessenow, *Handwerk und Kleinstadt*, pp. 30–36; Hays, pp. 113–14.
[187] Hays, p. 114.
[188] The governor of Magdeburg Fritz Markmann had a preference to the book. It was quoted from the preference. In: Erich Wolfrom, *Das Bauernhaus im magdeburger Land*, magdeburger Kultur- und Wirtschaftsleben, 13 (Magdeburg: Die Stadt Magdeburg, 1937), p. 3.

module for the national identity merged into each other as becoming the significant consequences of the modern life. Briefly, starting from the second half of 19th Century, the reflections of modernity had a clear pattern that repeated along two axes; the pursuit of economic progress among social classes in the framework of capitalism, and the creation of a cultural (or "national") identity. The echoes of these projects formed the land and the countryside in particular.

### 1.4.2. Austria

#### *1.4.2.1. The Austrian Rural House as the National Artifact*

Similar to other central European states, the Austrian Empire was experienced the preconditions for a re-generation of the agricultural economy in the countryside from the beginning of the 19th Century. Previously, budgetary commissions had promoted noble landowners in regions like Lower Austria, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, which had been superior in agricultural production. Later, legislation also encompassed other provinces and private manufacturers, and government interventions gained control over producers in rural areas within the agricultural reform. However, the agriculture reform resulted in problems for the manufacturing of agrarian goods, and the organization of the agrarian market. The market had been characterized by centralization, and the empire called for reforms for the decentralization of goods into other regions. In addition to these economic changes, Austrian authorities created an education program in agriculture – land planning in accordance with agricultural production followed by the establishment of schools for agrarian theory and practice in particular regions. The education program concentrated on the rural economy and the rural lifestyle. Austrian scholars also advocated the adaptation of the reforms from rural Germany that were implemented after the freeing of the peasantry in 1848. At the end of the 19th Century, agriculture became a significant field-study at the University of Natural Resources and Life Science – *Hochschule für Bodenkultur* in Vienna. Rurality emerged in Austrian academia, mainly in economic

terms with the intention of "development of people" from limited living standards and in the pursuit of the re-population of the countryside.[189]

Moreover, the Austrian rural livelihood embodied agricultural labor. The objective was to control this labor in order to decentralize the state economy, to boost agrarian manufacturing in the countryside and to balance the industrial grounded production. Regulations directed towards the agrarian populace more or less consisted of credit reform, funding of cooperatives and improvement of legal infrastructure. It was believed that problems of rural folks would be solved after the implementation of these concepts into social politics.[190]

Parallel to the interventions for the Germanization of east Prussian from the late 19th Century, those living in the border regions of the crown land played a crucial role in the nationalization program of the empire. But here, infiltration of foreign ethnic groups represented a risk for the degeneration of the Austrian nobility.[191] Therefore, nationalization appeared in the form of patriotism towards the crown, embracing local groups in the imperial territory as a united people under the empire, as Benno Immendörffer and Siegmund Schneider presented in the book "My Austria, My Homeland" – *Mein Österreich, Mein Heimatland,* in which Austro-Hungary was described in its cultural, ethnographic and socio-economic layers in 1914. The book advocated the idea of national unity with an emphasis on rurality:

> South and North, West and East – The charms of each region combine itself to furnish our Homeland with the most effective contrasts of beauty of the most remarkable landscape. In any second land of Europe the (splendid) transition divinely takes place from the northern grey (sky) to the southern charm of the sun, as it happens in Austria.[192]

Architecture, the idealization of Austrian landscape, peasantry and the rural living were central themes of the book of the Engineers and Architects Chamber of Austria published in 1906. The chamber presented their research on Austro-Hungarian farmhouses not only

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[189] Sigmund Frauendorfer, *Ideengeschichte der Agrarwirtschaft und Agrarpolitik im deutschen Sprachgebiet: Band I, von den Anfängen bis zum ersten Weltkrieg* (München: Bayerischer Landwirtschaftsverlag, 1957), pp. 490–96.
[190] Frauendorfer, p. 402.
[191] Frauendorfer, p. 390.
[192] *Mein Österreich, Mein Heimatland: Illustrierte Volks- und Vaterlandskunde des österreichischen Kaiserstaates*, ed. by Siegmund Schneider and Benno Imendörffer, 1. Auf. (Wien: Verlag für vaterländliche Literatur, 1914), BAND I, p. XXI. Author's translation.

in the crown lands but also in the frontier districts, with the contributions of several academic scholars and state commissioners, including German and Swiss architects, engineers and administrators. The study of Austro-Hungarian farmhouse comprised two sections: historical evaluation, and ethnographic and geographic variations; and construction methods, building processes and decorative forms. The book was presented with elaborate architectural drawings, illustrations and pictures of existing examples.

In the book, the research on farmhouses consisted of the analysis on folkloric and linguistic terms that naturally engaged with the national economy. Therefore, the contributors focused on not only on the cultural perspectives of Austro-Hungarian farmhouses, but also on building techniques, construction methods, functions of particular spaces and decorative components. With this examination of houses in several rural regions in the country, they aimed to submit a typological map for the farmhouse. The topic – the Austro-Hungarian Farmhouse – was studied by architects, as it had a distinct architectonic style and characteristic ornamentation that had not been entirely exhibited. The farmhouse was also studied by engineers since the examples included educational and pragmatic construction methods that could still be adapted into the repertoire of rural architecture. Agrarian economists also took interest in the topic given that the farmhouse appeared as a form in its specific social and cultural context demonstrating the living conditions and habits of agrarian populace.[193] It was pointed out that the "farmhouse" represented a spatial organism through which one could track the native culture:

> That natural and folkloric house is, in every country, the Farmhouse, from the well-built large farms to poor cottages of smallholders. This folkloric house is an inseparable part of the People, being just related like the language or a folk song, like the tradition and the custom. …The farmhouse of the various countries with which we are led back to much more remote strata of history of national development, besides the playful or idealizing nature of our interest in it, only lately become the subject of serious and industrious research. Not only the living circumstance of agrarian population was of great value to be taken into consideration. … But these modest and, so to speak, naturally developed houses emerge as the direct biological evidences (of folks). … the impression of authenticity and simplicity which stamps it here as a natural form, originates from this organic

[193] *Das Bauernhaus in Österreich - Ungarn und in seinen Grenzgebieten*, ed. by Österr. Ingenieur- und Architekten-Verein (Wien: Verlad des österr. Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereins in Wien und von Gerhard Kühtmann in Dresden, 1906), pp. XII–XIV.

connection of the farmhouse with its inhabitants.[194] (Emphasis added.)

In 1903, Julius Lippert – a historian from Austrian Bohemia, introduced the idealization of small town and the rural house, using the Bohemian Braunau and its civil architecture as an example. He presented the town as a traditional urban form in which man originated himself, and the rural house as a cultural space in which man tracked his customs and connection to his heritage. He introduced research on the old town and dwellings within the historical characteristics of the region. Lippert also pointed out that the rural house – particularly the farmhouse – serves as the essence of the dwelling, adapted into the town. He related living space to living habits, also adapted from the rural to the urban. Lippert continued studying the kinship between the town house and the rural house in various building practices in the region, and noted the rural details in the town house, such as the similarities in the plan arrangements and ornamentations on the house-doors and the windows.[195] In other words, Lippert's work underlined and argued that the common ideal in German-speaking lands that the cultural origins lied behind the rurality, by the beginning of the century.

### *1.4.2.2. Forming the National Landscape in Austria*

During the First World War, the question of the development of the agrarian populace was raised again, especially considering the economic veins in rural Austria. The problem of food sources increased until the end of the War, and the condition in Austro-Hungarian lands led scholars to the countryside again: improving agricultural production and maintaining the inland market was a critical target in the national economy. No doubt, ideals for the agrarian development were confirmed in particular programs in rural areas, such as the cultivation of land and support for the labor in the countryside. Therefore, during the interwar years, Austro-Hungarian authorities promoted internal colonization in agricultural and the construction of rural settlements for agricultural workers and peasant families invited from all over the country.[196] Relatedly, in 1918 Emanuel Hugo

[194] Österr. Ingenieur- und Architekten-Verein, pp. 3–4. Author's translation.
[195] Julius Lippert, *Hausbaustudien in einer Kleinstadt (Braunau in Böhmen)* (Prag: Calve, 1903), pp. 3, 13–23.
[196] Emanuel Hugo Vogel, *Innere Kolonisation und Landarbeiterfrage in Oesterreich nach dem Kriege. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der landwirtschaflichen Kriegerheimstätten* (Berlin : Wien: Deutsche Landbuchhandlung : Buchhandlung für Land- und Forstwirschaft, 1918), pp. 5–9, 15.

Vogel from the University of Vienna proposed internal colonization based on agricultural labor especially in the frontier regions of the country. He advocated the creation of small rural settlements for peasant families who had lived in poverty since the beginning of the century. Vogel also suggested including war veterans with agrarian labors within these planned settlements and he referenced German models in the eastern provinces.[197]

After the conciliation with the Hungarian Kingdoms in 1918 and the short-term attempt for a union with Germany in 1919, Austria re-visited agrarian issues in legislation, calling for an urgent on solution to the food shortage problems in the post-war weakened economy. Most of the time, German models were pragmatically replicated in the development plans in rural areas. Additionally, the Austrian authority adopted the agrarian nationalism that was promoted in German countryside in order to achieve agricultural dominance in economy, and also to adapt the rural populace to the legitimation of the state policies in particular regions (as discussed above).[198] Until the alliance with NS Germany in 1938, the Austrian state established a land idealization policy that stressed the socially and religiously bounded constitution echoed in social politics in agricultural organizations under a nationalist symbolism. Like the Blood and Soil – *Blut und Boden* metaphor in Germany during the Nazi regime, rural labor and agricultural production also emerged as the fundamental theme relating to population policies and the program to prevent the contraction of rural folks descended from the peasantry.[199]

In the 1930s, reflections of agrarian idealism on the architectural discussion repeatedly took place in the analysis of Austrian farmhouse in the nationally re-determined landscape of the country. It was believed that new research on Austrian farmhouse regenerated not only the spatial debate of agrarian life, but also indicated a "work of local history". This cultural history told the story of this particular architectonic form in the frame of the *Heimatbewegung,* which was a part of a state organized public training program in the villages aiming to educate small farmers in social and cultural topics.[200] Following the

[197] Vogel, pp. 52–54, 146–48.
[198] Heinz Haushofer, *Ideengeschichte der Agrarwirtschaft und Agrarpolitik im deutschen Sprachgebiet: Band II, Vom ersten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart* (München: Bayerischer Landwirtschaftsverlag, 1958), pp. 296–300.
[199] Haushofer, p. 303.
[200] Eduard Kriechbaum, *Das Bauernhaus in Oberösterreich* (Stuttgart: J. Engelhorns Nachf. Stutgart, 1933), pp. 6–7.

viewpoint that the other scholars introduced in the beginning of the century, Eduard Kriechbaum presented the Austrian farmhouse as the form in which one could find the origin of the other architectonic forms, like the city-house, and one could experience the tradition of homeland.[201] He included the farmhouse in the preservation of *Heimat*'s monuments in addition to previous studies on buildings of high culture such as churches, castles, city halls, city gates and (later) civil architecture. He also pointed out the clarity of farmhouse within architectonic forms in that they demonstrate the roots of folkloric motives and also emerge as a living "experience of national connectivity".[202]

Moreover, by 1930s land idealization was manifested with a stronger tone of national identity in the sense of culture and space. Elizabeth Cronin argues that the national and cultural motivation was particularly demonstrated by the Alpine rural space to idealize the Austrian *Heimat*. The photographic documentation of the Alpine landscape, peasants and villages propagated the rural idyll in the service of national legitimation stressing the authenticity of being more Austrian than German. However, after the annexation of Austria to Germany in 1938 it transformed into testifying a German identity. [203]

From 1938 to 1945, with Austria as the new *Reichgau* of Germany, Nazi policy followed in both rural and urban realms in accordance with ideology of the National Socialist state. Here, the architectural and city planning re-organization of Vienna was a crucial topic exposing the limits of land idealization and its reflections on space. Especially the development plan of Vienna led to new settlements in a specific area of the city, apart from the renovation of the transportation network, canalization, boulevards, municipal water, gas and electricity.[204] In this area, the authority transmitted the idea of rural idyll in precise forms and propagated the rural life with its design principles.

During the adhesion of Austria to Germany, the settlement forms such as garden cities, village communities and political or religiously-oriented settlements – *Gefolgschaftssiedlung* that were instrumentalized to control and develop the *Volksgemeinschaft* on behalf of the authority, were adapted in the Austrian-scape. Also,

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[201] Kriechbaum, pp. 77–84.
[202] Kriechbaum, p. 85.
[203] Elizabeth Cronin, 'The Problem of German Identity in 1930s Austria and the Influence of Austrian Heimat Photography', in *Representations of German Identity*, ed. by Deborah Barnstone, Ascher and Thomas O. Haakenson (Berlin: Peter Lang AG., 2013), I, 153–75 (p. 164).
[204] Ingeburg Weinberger, *NS-Siedlungen in Wien: Projekte Realisierungen Ideologietransfer*, Wiener Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, Band 7 (Wien: Lit, 2015), p. 113.

the common discussion, based on the idealization of the "single house" in the late 1930s in Austria as well as in Germany, continued in the formulation of these settlements along the urban sphere – especially in and around Vienna. From 1938 to 1945, the National-Socialist tone dominated the architectural vocabulary with a mixture of urban and rural ideals along with the construction of several settlements in various typologies.[205]

First, the *Stadtrandsiedlung* – peripheral settlements like Dankopfersiedlung and Kriegsopfersiedlung were implemented within the National Socialist development plan of Vienna in 1938. Although the housing typologies varied, the settlements had a similar characteristic of a planned rural settlement with clear borders around the site, single or double houses with yards, and the same particular design principle in the houses with slight alterations on the building parts.[206] Nevertheless, the National Socialist construction in between the city and rural continued with community settlements (Lockerweise and Am Freihof), garden cities (Wienerfeld, the East and the West), workers' settlements (Holzwerbersiedlung), and garden settlements for elites (Fasangarten).[207]

All in all, the idealization of the land in Austria from the 19th Century to the end of the Second World War tracked a similar path to Germany in its rural politics and echoes on the rural space. Internal colonization ideals along the frontiers and an emphasis on the cultural identity of the peasantry appeared in a similar form as the German examples. However, the Austrian countryside differed in terms of ethnicity, and national and cultural community. Although German identities were promoted by the Austrian authorities as a dominant characteristic of the Austrian folk, the consequences for the urban and rural space that can be traced through rurality and land idealization, were entirely distinct.

### 1.4.3. Switzerland

#### *1.4.3.1. The Structure of Rural Landscape in Switzerland in the Late 19th Century*

In Switzerland, agricultural education had a major influence in forming the ideal for the Swiss countryside, similar to Austria during the 19th Century. Especially Zürich University was oriented around the School for Agriculture and Forestry after legislation

[205] Weinberger, p. 209.
[206] Weinberger, p. 214.
[207] For a detailed reading see Weinberger, pp. 222–49.

in 1869 that the Swiss agriculture associations from each canton would become the authority for changes in policy towards the peasantry. Apart from this, agriculture had been analyzed for improvement within the marketing and manufacturing courses, and agrarian life in social and cultural terms was also put on the research agenda by the end of the 19th Century. By the 1870s, winter-schools were organized in order to observe the rural life and to examine the possibilities for the development of agricultural cooperatives.[208] In the beginning of the 20th Century, especially during the war years and afterwards, the country maintained a high level of agricultural production in Europe, and was not vitally affected by the economic crisis during the interwar years. In addition to this, the socialist and statist *Zeitgeist* in 1920s in East and Central Europe did not dramatically impact Swiss policy in agricultural development. This fact also demonstrated that Switzerland continued to bolster agrarian capital and furthered modernist interventions in the Swiss countryside.[209] From 1850 to 1950, the development of the Swiss countryside included the goal of a better-cultivated land for the peasantry by constructing watering channels and drainages.[210]

Although the Swiss methodology for the inclusion of agriculture in the national economy was similar to Germany and Austria, in Switzerland the freedom of peasantry and the early establishment of peasant associations and unions played a crucial role in generating a uniform agricultural structure politically and economically. On the other hand, modern Swiss society, which did not have a distinct social class system compared to the rest of Europe, seeped into the agrarian community in social and cultural aspects. That is to say, the urban populace in Switzerland mostly had roots in the peasantry. The bond between city and country had never been completely broken and industry and labor did not effectively centralize in the urban areas as it happened in other states in Europe to catalyze rural development. This resulted in the unique characteristics of the situation in Switzerland, where the peasant folk never emerged as a labor class, but rather as a social and cultural institution.[211]

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[208] Frauendorfer, pp. 499–500.
[209] Haushofer, pp. 338–40.
[210] Heinrich Christoph Affolter and Christian Pfister, *Das tiefere Berner Mittelland*, Die Bauernhäuser der Schweiz die Bauernhäuser des Kantons Bern, = La maison rurale en Suisse = Les maisons rurales de Suisse = La casa rurale in Svizzera = La maison paysanne suisse = La casa rurale nella Svizzera / hrsg. von der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde; 29 ; 3 (Bern: Stämpfli, 2013), p. 15.
[211] Frauendorfer, pp. 509–11.

Thus, the agrarian politics of Swiss authorities from late 19th Century to the end of the Second World War continued according to capitalistic principles in terms of production in the countryside with a policy of liberalism towards the peasantry. This also went hand in hand with the social and economic self-identification of Swiss peasants and with the Swiss elites who saw the rural space along two axes: a place that fed the veins of agrarian and pre-industrial production and hence the country's economy, and a place where the land was idealized and represented a cultural theme in the realm of self-determination in Europe.

### *1.4.3.2. The Farmhouse and Village as the Hearth of Swiss Culture*

In 1900, Hermann Walser wrote that whoever wanted to learn about the homeland should seek the human craft, the living customs and characters of the native. In other words, to understand and connect with the roots of culture, the man should go towards the rural settlements not to cities. He introduced Swiss rural settlements (in particular in the region around Bern) from an "anthropo-geographic" point of view by describing the villages, farmhouses and rural landscape through his personal experiences.[212]

On the other hand, he defined a village not only as an arrangement of dwellings and production buildings for a rural community in the countryside, but it also as a place that included the sense of a particular partition for property and land-use. He declared "a village is a small state"[213] and the farmhouses and farm complexes in the village consisted of the core of the rural economy and, having a closer relationship with the nature and culture, needed to be preserved. Walser presented the Bernese villages within a categorization based on geographic differentiations such as villages in the mountain and villages in the lowland. He defined village houses by building material such as wooden houses or stone houses. He also tracked the various ethnicities in the Swiss countryside through the village names relating that phenomena to the village forms, houses and agrarian activities.[214]

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[212] Hermann Walser, *Dörfer und Einzelhöfe zwischen Jura und Alpen im Kanton Bern* (Bern: Buchdruckerei Wyß, 1900), pp. 4–9.
[213] Walser, p. 4.
[214] Walser.

Besides, it was emphasized in the architectural research that existing Swiss Villages and farmhouses defined the essence of Swiss culture. Rurality was also introduced in and around the cities with a similar tone of German examples. Again, Swiss scholars stressed that the problems of modernity echoed in the new formulation of urban life in culture and society and transformed the sources of economy, pointing out the industrial improvement in urban areas versus the decline of agrarian enterprises. What the Swiss scholar also agreed upon was: the loss of harmony between the city and countryside in terms of built environment. Therefore, garden settlements were introduced as an alternative model to city housing with an emphasis on the physical relationship between nature and the inhabitants.[215]

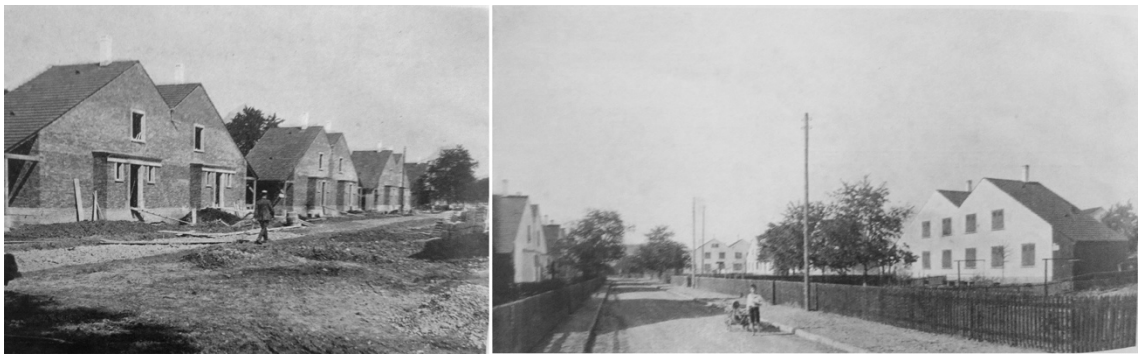

**Figure 1.12.** (On the left) the building process of the houses in the Gartenfreud, (on the right) a view from one of the major streets of the settlement.[216] (Die Siedlung der Heimstätten-Genossenschaft 'Gartenfreund' Riehen, 1923)

Following that, from 1920 to 1923 the garden settlement "Gartenfreund" was built in Basel as a homestead cooperative – *Heimstättengenossenschaft* that first started with the tenants who rented the field for small gardening. The fundamental idea was to establish a garden community consisting of affordable houses that also included modern living standards in a *heimatlich* – homely atmosphere. Architects Bercher and Tamm prepared four housing typologies in different sizes (from three-rooms houses to six-room houses) proposing a range of profiles for the families. The aims of the project were announced in those mottos: 1. The affordable house; 2. The healthy house; 3. The livable house; and 4.

[215] *Die Siedlung der Heimstätten-Genossenschaft 'Gartenfreund' Riehen; Nach d. Plänen d. Architekten Bercher & Tamm in Basel* (Basel: Buchdruckerei zum Basler Berichthaus, 1923), pp. 4–5.
[216] *Die Siedlung der Heimstätten-Genossenschaft 'Gartenfreund' Riehen; Nach d. Plänen d. Architekten Bercher & Tamm in Basel*, pp. 8, 12.

The garden as the fundamental part of the house.[217] **(Figure 1.12, Figure 1.13, Figure 1.14)**

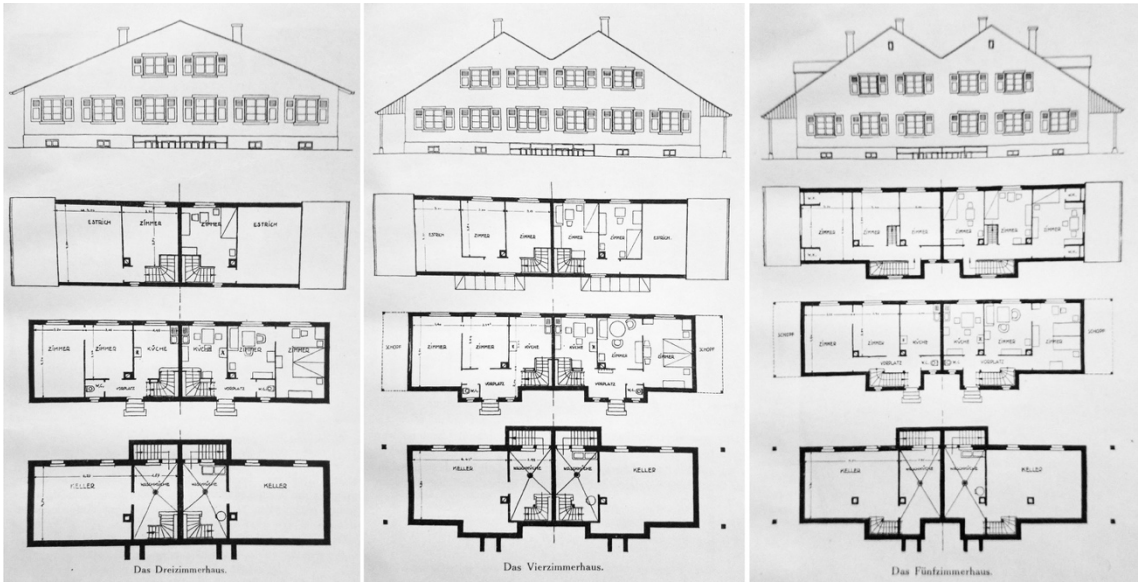


**Figure 1.13.** Three plan types for the houses of Gartenfreund.[218] (Die Siedlung der Heimstätten-Genossenschaft 'Gartenfreund' Riehen, 1923)

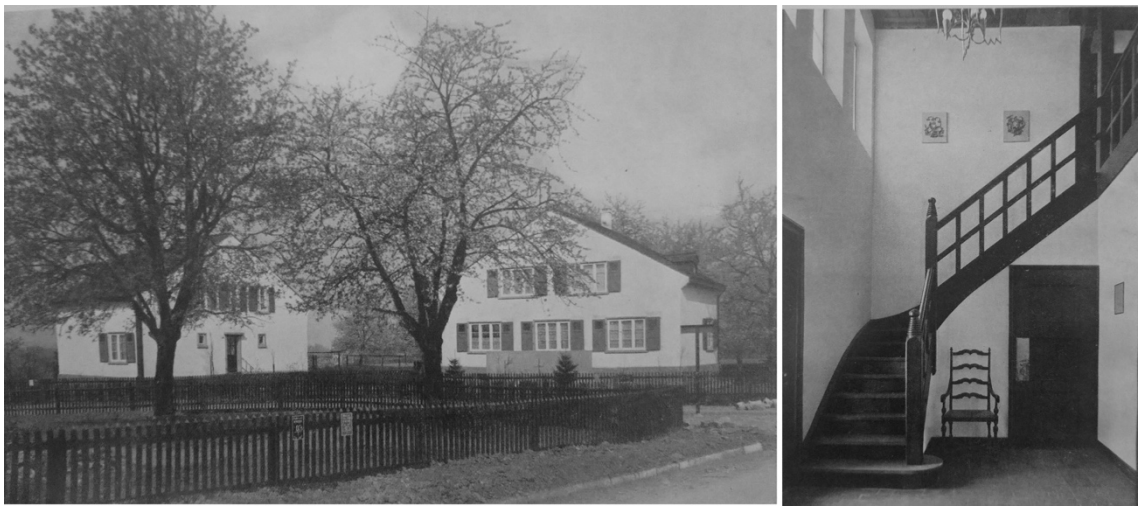

**Figure 1.14.** (On the left) exterior and (on the right) interior views of the houses.[219] (Die Siedlung der Heimstätten-Genossenschaft 'Gartenfreund' Riehen, 1923)

[217] *Die Siedlung der Heimstätten-Genossenschaft 'Gartenfreund' Riehen; Nach d. Plänen d. Architekten Bercher & Tamm in Basel*, pp. 7–16.
[218] *Die Siedlung der Heimstätten-Genossenschaft 'Gartenfreund' Riehen; Nach d. Plänen d. Architekten Bercher & Tamm in Basel*, pp. 13, 11, 21.
[219] *Die Siedlung der Heimstätten-Genossenschaft 'Gartenfreund' Riehen; Nach d. Plänen d. Architekten Bercher & Tamm in Basel*, pp. 22, 32.

The garden settlement Gartenfreund demonstrated another dimension of land idealization, in that the Swiss scholars promoted the Garden City movement and adapted it with specific alterations to the Swiss building vocabulary. But the cultural landscape grounded in rurality led to a continuation of existing rural structures instead of new architectonic forms. The tone of peasantry, villages and the rural panorama were glorified in pastoral expressions, as well as in their form-analysis.

Beside the architectural efforts to identify the nation and progress through the rural Switzerland, two publications on folkloric art in 1940 and 1942 appeared in the most fitting place for the cultural and national narrations: Hans Jenny introduced the farmhouse, village, and rural decorative arts in the *Heimatbuch* - the book called the "Farmhouse, Peasant's Craftworks, Mountain Churches, Village Images" *(Das Bauernhaus, bäuerliche Kleinkunst, Bergkirchen, Dorfbilder)* with the endeavor of demonstrating the essence of Swiss art. He promoted the exploration of land through the rural landscape by visiting villages and small towns and observing their traditions and customs. Jenny proposed the cultural preservation of the homeland and the maintenance of rural architecture as a significant motive.[220] He presented the book in four sections – Stone House, Wooden House, the Combination of Stone and Wooden House, Mountain Churches and the Examples of Craftsmanship Arts, including detailed drawings and also paintings, in which Jenny idyllically illustrated the rural landscape.

In addition to Hans Jenny's point of view, the book "The Folk Art in Bernese Farmhouse" - *Volkskunst am berner Bauernhaus* by Christian Rubi published in 1942, referred to the Swiss rurality by instrumentalizing rural architecture. Rubi was reintroduced the farmhouse built in the region of Bern since the 18th Century as an important piece of Swiss folkloric arts. Likewise, he presented the farmhouse in accordance with its geographical characteristics, construction methods and materials, and building partitions. Rubi stated the objectives of the book as such: the first was to demonstrate folk art in the Bernese farmhouse in historical and cultural terms, and the second was to mirror the beauty of landscape and its heritage to the rural man.[221]

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[220] Hans Jenny, *Das Bauernhaus, bäuerliche Kleinkunst, Bergkirchen, Dorfbilder* (Chur: Bischofberger in Komm, 1940), pp. 3–6.
[221] Christian Rubi, *Volkskunst am berner Bauernhaus* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1942), p. 9.

Herewith, it is shown that the conception of land idealization in Switzerland differed from other German-speaking countries in the time span from the 19th Century up to the mid-20th Century. The state structure and agrarian system in the country improved conditions on behalf of the Swiss authority and citizens at the same time. That is to say, in Switzerland a dramatic transformation in political realm, as well as urban and rural realms did not occur whereas those dramatic transformations led to movements in the countryside in Germany and Austria. But, without any doubt, the Swiss countryside, the peasantry and the rural life were similarly idealized within the framework of culture, self-determination and alternatives to the urbanity. Therefore, the Switzerland example demonstrated another perspective of land idealization in the German-speaking sphere in Europe, that had significant influence in conceptualization of Turkish village as a crucial component of country planning in early republican Turkey, and as a core theme of this study.

# PART II

## Introduction to the Early Republican Period of Turkey

# CHAPTER 2

# NATION BUILDING AND MODERNIZATION IN TURKEY: EARLY MOTIVATIONS

This chapter concentrates on the motivation of Turkish elites to pursue nation-building and development programs, starting from the beginning of the 20th Century. It illustrates a holistic picture, from the establishment of nation-building and modernization agendas, to their implementation in built environment in the Anatolian landscape.

The roots of early republican ideology were nourished by nationalist theories of the 19th Century and were crystallized in government activities in the countryside. This chapter specifically points out how the nationalist agents were used as powerful tools in the modernization process of the country, and it briefly introduces the methods and conceptions echoed in the rural sphere during the early republican period.

## 2.1. Beginning of Turkish Nationalism and "Anatolia" before Early Republican Turkey

Examining the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of 20th Century in terms of political changes in the region helps to explain what Anatolia meant, how the rurality of Anatolia appeared in the process of nationalizing and modernizing the state, and hence, the people of the state. The incidents between the declaration of the Second Constitution after the Young Turk Revolution on the 23rd of July 1908 and the Proclamation of the Republic on the 29th of October 1923 generated the ideological background for the land idealization practices of the 1930s of the republican regime –the Republican People's Party and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938)– who had the strongest political power in Turkey's political history. The theme "Going towards Anatolia" had become the base of constructing the Turkish nationality starting from the last years of Ottoman Empire and was maintained during early republican nation-building operations. Namely, the word "Anatolia" also expressed a common conception binding the Late Ottoman intelligentsia

and Early Republican elites. In order to grasp the emergence of Turkish nationalism and its relations to the idealization of Anatolian land and its people it is crucial to review the position of the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman society in the world context (especially in European relations) on the verge of 20th century.

The 19th Century was characterized by rapid cultural and social changes grounded in science and technology, as well as economic and industrial shifts in the Western Countries. This change resulted in the widening of territorial borders and the secession of smaller regions into national unities. The Ottoman Empire was located along the expanding territories of European and Russian powers, ruling over lands from the Balkans to the Arabian Peninsula. In order to protect this territory, Ottoman Empire had to adapt its form of state as well as privileges granted in economy and politics. The Ottoman state became strongly theocratic and coercive for the first time. In the late 19th Century, tense conditions in and out of the Ottoman territories caused the first revolts against the imperial authority held by young Ottoman elites. New political groups were organized under several operations in the beginning of the 20th Century,[222] and "The Young Turk Uprising" took place in an atmosphere that Ottoman Empire declined to resist.[223]

The uprising was commenced by the Party of Union and Progress, led by groups who were interested in the social transformations in Paris, Berlin and Moscow. The Independence Declaration of Bulgaria in 1878 was also an important motivation for the Young Turks. But the work of the uprising cadre consisted only of small adaptations to popular concepts in European societies. Therefore, the Young Turks and the Party of Union and Progress failed to develop a particular social theory or a lasting ideology. During this period there was no clear consensus in how to achieve cultural and social progress. Only Turkish nationalism, with an emphasis on Ottomanism, appeared as a

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[222] Sina Akşin, *Jön Türkler ve İttihat ve Terrakki*, 5. Baskı (İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, 2014). ŞerifMardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, Makaleler, 4, 1. baskı (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991), pp. 94–100, Cağaloğlu, İstanbul.

[223] Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, ed. by Ahmet Kuyaş, Yapı Kredi Yayınları Cogito, 1713 117, 7. Baskı (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005), pp. 389–390. Stanford Jay Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808 - 1975*, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Stanford Shaw; Vol. 2, 1. publ. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1978), pp. 172–272. See also Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*, Library of Modern Middle East Studies, v. 87 (London ; New York : New York: I. B. Tauris ; Distributed in the United States exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). Stefano Taglia, *Intellectuals and Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Young Turks on the Challenges of Modernity*, SOAS/Routledge Studies on the Middle East, 23 (London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2015).

crucial intersection point of the political perspectives of the second constitutional era.[224] According to Uzer, there is an additional facet explaining the emergence of Turkish nationalism in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries: He highlights the political strength among non-Turkish Christian and Muslim ethnic groups in this time period. These groups gradually started to gain their independence or to leave the political body of the Ottoman State. Therefore, since the second half of the 19th Century, "nationalist movements among Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, and Arabs downplayed the ideologies of Ottomanism and Islamism, making them irrelevant."[225]

Nevertheless, the second constitutional period, which was brought to the empire by the interventions of different ethnic-religious groups in the political realm, resulted in two significant events that dominated the later years: the first was the establishment of a political party separate from the Ottoman Dynasty and other imperial and religious institutions. The second was the construction of a concept of Turkish nationalism that surfaced and gradually spread among the elites. Although at first nationalist concepts emerged from ideas of reunification of Ottoman populations under Islam, awareness of the Turkish people appeared in national discussions. Until the late 19th Century there was no name and lingual term that defined Turkish people in Ottoman institutions. This was the first time that Turkish people were declared as a particular nation alongside other groups in the Empire.[226] Starting from 1870s, creating a "Turkish Homeland" evolved into a crucial maneuver for internal politics that was principally concentrated on the image of "Turkish Anatolia". At the end of Abdul Hamid II's reign (from the 31st of August 1876 to the 27th of April 1909) Anatolia was asserted as the homeland of Ottoman Turks.[227]

Furthermore, the first signs of Turkish nationalism occurred among Turkic groups in Russia under the Tsarist regime by the 1860s. In particular, the Tatar population in Tsarist Russia asserted themselves as "Turkish", influenced the Ottoman elites in the pursuit of

[224] Mardin, *Bütün eserleri diszisi. 1*, p. 21.Berkes, *Türkiye'de çağdaşlaşma*, pp. 393–401.
[225] Umut Uzer, *An Intellectual History of Turkish Nationalism: Between Turkish Ethnicity and Islamic Identity* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2016), p. 16.
[226] Berkes, *Türkiye'de çağdaşlaşma*, p. 405. François Georgeon also emphasizes this new perspective. He adds that around 1900s the word "Turk" still referred to an offensive term in the speaking language in Istanbul. It was connoted as coarse-provincial. François Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi 1900-1930*, trans. by Ali Berktay, Tarih, 26, 2. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), p. 32.
[227] David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876-1908* (London; Totowa, N.J: Cass, 1977), pp. 50-55.

a cultural identity.[228] Yusuf Akçura, a Turkish-Tatar intellectual, born in Simbrisk in Russian Empire, first gained prominence by establishing the concept of Pan-Turkism during the Young Turks' interventions. Afterwards, he participated in the nation-building projects of early republican Turkey.[229]

In 1904, Akçura declared his ideas on Pan-Turkism for the first time in the article *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* – Three Approaches to the Politics – published in Cairo in the Journal *Türk* – Turk. He discussed three political concepts in the Ottoman State: Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism. He advocated that Turkish nationalism should dominate the heterogeneous national patterns of Ottoman Empire and Turkic ethnic notions should be emphasized in order to assert Turkish nationality. He addressed the middle Asian roots and the migration of Turkic folks as a common national myth that could be used as a tool for unification. At the same time, he pointed to the Anatolia where the population of Turkmen nomads and Turkish-origin villagers nearly comprised the majority. He claimed to trace the cultural life of Anatolia to archaic times in order to assert a Turkish Homeland. This led to the first consciousness of the rural population in Turkey[230] – the population that had suffered from wars, underdevelopment and the monopoly of privileged foreigners and feudal landlords since the 18th Century. However, Akçura offered a narrow perspective by referring only to the Turkish population in Anatolia, despite the fact that various ethnic groups existed here before the Turkish-origin people. He never offered solutions to the problems that were grounded on the various claims of diverse populations all over the Ottoman terrain.

As mentioned above, during the Second Constitutional Era the political realm served as a polyphonic stage for a diverse range of ideas and concepts that also dominated cultural life. Political and public organizations produced ideas through several mediums:

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[228] Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-ı Hürriyet: Kartpostallarla İkinci Meşrutiyet 1908-1913*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 57, 1. baskı (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2004), p. 333.

[229] François Georgeon briefly narrates the biography of Yusuf Akçura: He was born as a son of a Tatar bourgeois family in Russia in the verge of Ottoman-Russian War in 1877-1878. After he studied political science in the Sorbonne in 1900-1903, he settled in Russia and joined the Bolshevik Revolution in 1905. He was banished by tsarist regime. Short after the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, he was exiled into Istanbul. He was involved in politics during the independence movements of Ottoman states such as Turco-Italian War in 1911-1912, Balkan Wars in 1912-1913. After the First World War, he joined Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the assembly of Turkey's Independence War. With the proclamation of Turkish Republic Yusuf Akçura served for Kemalist regime during the rest of his life. See François Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri, Yusuf Akçura: (1876-1935)*, Tarih Vakfi Yurt Yayınları, 40, 2. Baskı (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfi Yurt Yayınları, 1996), p. 6.

[230] Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri, Yusuf Akçura*, pp. 37–50.

modernist concepts such as the modern state, the economy, secularism and religion, nationalism, and socialism were discussed and political texts were translated and published into the Ottoman language.[231] This was a colorful platform, developed through a populist approach with political interventions drew attention to the social and economic needs of the people. It lasted until the Party of Union and Progress built a government that dominated other ethnic groups.[232]

The associations founded during the Second Constitutional Period, *Türk Derneği* – Turkish Association (1908)*, Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti* – Association for Turkish Homeland (1911) and *Türk Ocağı* – the Turkish Hearths (1912) were intended to strengthen Turkish nationalism. Starting from 1912, *Türk Ocağı* – the Turkish Hearths and its journal *Türk Yurdu* – Turkish Homeland aimed to form a theoretical basis for Turkish nationality and to develop it into a strong ideology.[233]

In 1913, the journal *Halka Doğru* – Towards the People was founded by the same group of intelligentsias associated with the journal *Türk Yurdu*, with Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura in its cadre. Both journals *Halka Doğru* and *Türk Yurdu* concentrated on the "People" and "Peasantry". They intended to bind the "Turkish elites" to "rural plebeians" by simplifying their language and discussing the social and economic problems of rural Anatolia. It was urgent for the authors that the elites direct their attention towards the people in order to understand and solve their problems. In other words, the elites should glorify the people in order to glorify the nation. This formula carried over during the early republican period and reflected the powerful bind between Populism and Turkish Nationalism.[234]

This synthesis was echoed in the approach of Ziya Gökalp[235], whose method to construct the ideal of Turkish nationalism appeared clearly in early republican operations. Gökalp

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[231] Yusuf Akçura, *Yeni Türk Devletinin Öncüleri: 1928 Yılı Yazıları* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1981), p. 188, and Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi 1900-1930*, pp. 23–37.
[232] Douglas A. Howard, *The History of Turkey*, The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2001), pp. 76–80.
[233] Füsun Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği, Türk Ocakları, 1912-1931*, Araştırma-Inceleme Dizisi, 47, 1. Baskı (İstanbul: İletişim, 1997), p. 51.
[234] Georgeon, *Türk milliyetçiliğinin kökenleri Yusuf Akçura*, pp. 60–72.
[235] François Georgeon briefly outlines the biography of Ziya Gökalp: He was born in the east Anatolian province Diyarbakir as a son of a public servant in the Ottoman Empire. He went to public schools and came to Istanbul for further education. Here, he became interested in literature, philosophy and politics. He was involved in the Young Turks movement in 1908 and he was active in the Party of Union and Progress.

introduced an entire program of Turkism in his essays written between 1911 and 1918 and 1922 and 1924[236]. He outlined how elites should approach the "people":

> One of the fundamental principles of Turkism is the drive towards 'going to the people' …. What is meant by going to the people? Who are to go to these people?
>
> The intellectuals and the thinkers of a nation constitute its elite. The members of the elite are separated from the masses by their higher education and learning. It is they who ought to go to the people. But why? Some would answer: In order to carry culture to the mass. But, as we have shown elsewhere, culture is something, which is alive only among the people themselves. The elite are those who lack it. Then, how can the elite, lacking culture, carry culture to the common people who are a living embodiment of culture?
>
> To answer the question, let us first answer the following questions: what do the elite and the people have? The elite are the carriers of civilization and the people the holders of culture. Therefore, the elite's approach to the people should only have following two purposes: to receive a training in culture from the people and to carry the civilization to them. Yes, it is only with these two purposes that the elite should go to the people. The elite will find culture only there and nowhere else…[237]

And he continued:

> To reach the people in a real sense, they (the elite) must live amongst the people and get the national culture from the people. The only way to do this is for the nationalist youth to go to the villages as schoolteachers. Those who are not young should at least go to the towns in Anatolia. The Ottoman elite will become a national elite only by completely assimilating the folk culture.
>
> The second aim of going towards the people is to carry civilization to the people. The people lack civilization and the elite have its keys. But the civilization that they should carry to the people as a precious contribution will not be Oriental civilization or its offshoot, Ottoman civilization, but Western civilization, …[238]

The fundamental principles of Turkish Nationalism in Gökalp's texts pointed more to cultural self-assertion and language than race and ethnic origins.[239] He distinguished between the people and the elite, but there were still no normative definitions to delineate classes or ethnicities. Gökalp mainly underlined concepts of *"Hars ve Medeniyet"*[240] –

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His first essays were published in nationalist and populist journals such as *Halka Doğru* and *Türk Yurdu*. Georgeon, *Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesi 1900-1930*, pp. 92–93.

[236] Niyazi Berkes, 'Translator's Introduction', in *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization : Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, by Zıya Gökalp (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 13. Niyazi Berkes referred for a list on Ziya Gökalp's essays to Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp* (Westport, Conn: Hyperion Press, 1979), p. 174.

[237] Zıya Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, trans. by Niyazi Berkes (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 259.

[238] Gökalp, pp. 261–62.

[239] Taha Parla, Füsun Üstel, and Sabir Yücesoy, *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye'de korporatizm*, İletişim Yayınları Araştırma İnceleme Dizisi, 76 9, 3. baskı (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), p. 31.

[240] Gökalp, pp. 89–109.

Culture and Civilization and aimed to apply these concepts by "going towards the people".

Here populism differed in meaning and practice from European (and Russian) contexts. Both Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura interpreted the term in the sense of Ottoman societal patterns: The class conflict in modernized societies that brought about radical changes in cultural, economic and public life emerged as a completely different case than in the Ottoman realm. The empire did not consist of a class grounded society— it included several communities where differences and definitions were ambiguous. According to Yusuf Akçura's description on Ottoman-Turkish society, it embodied two classes: the people's class that comprised smallholding farmers and villagers, agricultural laborers, craftsmen and small traders, and the (economically) ruling class, including public servants, merchants, landlords.[241]

In other words, Yusuf Akçura categorized communities according to their economic positions in Ottoman society, while Ziya Gökalp identified the people in terms of their status in the construction of culture and civilization. Although they approached the problem via different paths, they both focused on the Turkish population in rural Anatolia. Yusuf Akçura's and Ziya Gökalp's viewpoints developed into the perception of Turkish villagers, smallholders, agriculture laborers as an emerging group (or class) whose living conditions were claimed to be improved, and at the same time, whose cultural origins were appropriated in order to testify to Turkism in Anatolia.

In addition to this, a significant study documenting Turkish Anatolia motivated Turkish intelligentsia. In 1913, Hungarian scholar Béla Horváth conducted a research trip in Anatolia, starting from Istanbul and ending in Konya. During his excursion, Horváth observed the living conditions and daily habits of Anatolian Turks, Turkmen nomads, and settlers in the villages. This was not only an ethnographical collection of data— the narratives Horvath introduced, generally illustrated the social and economic conditions

[241] Georgeon, *Türk milliyetçiliğinin kökenleri Yusuf Akçura*, pp. 90–91. Here Georgeon referred to Yusuf Akçura's writings in *Halka Doğru* in 1930. See also Yusuf Akçura, 'Halka', *Halka Doğru*, I (1930), pp. 22–23, 25, 27, 30.

of rural life in Anatolia. He described Anatolia as a place for "a composition of peoples", who surprisingly merged in their diverse characteristics.[242]

Horváth's observations of the region from Istanbul to Konya included details on rural architecture and building traditions that reflected the living conditions of rural populations. He introduced the Tatarian village, organized according to a central plan consisting of a square in the heart of the village with small single houses arranged around the square, as well as the Circassian village, organized according to a main axis on which the small single houses were built. Horváth described another architectural element that occurred in every village he visited: *Köy Odası* – The Village Room. He described this building as a simple, one-room house in which the villagers gathered.[243]

Horváth's excursion played a crucial role in observing Anatolian rural life on the verge of the First World War. He introduced the environment of villages and small rural towns that differed in their social and economic circumstances. For the first time, he brought to light the daily life of the rural population within its cultural context and exposed their poverty and lack of awareness of a social and economic class conflict.

During the First War, the nostalgia for "Anatolia as the Turkish Homeland" appeared suddenly among Turkish elites, politicians and military officers, continuing with the Turkish War of Independence between 1919 and 1923. The seizure of Ottoman terrain, especially the majority of Anatolia and Eastern Thrace united Anatolian populations in building up a counter-attack against the occupation forces. It developed into a collective defense and struggle that consolidated communities, political parties, ethnic and religious groups and peoples.[244]

The organization against the occupation forces and the Ottoman Dynasty were led by military officers discharged from the Ottoman Army and Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), who guided this group starting with congresses in the north and north-eastern Anatolia. They

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[242] Béla Horváth, *Anadolu 1913*, trans. by Tarık Demirkan, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 36 (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1996), pp. V–VI.
[243] Horváth, p. 8.
[244] Douglas A. Howard, pp. 80–84. Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, pp. 468–69. For further reading on the political circumstances of Anatolian terrain in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War, see also *The Gallipoli Campaign: The Turkish Perspective*, ed. by Metin Gürcan and Robert Johnson, Routledge Studies in First World War History (London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), Haluk Oral, *Gallipoli 1915: Through Turkish Eyes*, 1st ed (Beyoğlu, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2007), Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War*, Cambridge Military Histories (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

declared that they rejected the dynasty to conduct the state. They also called on the politicians, elites, merchants and landlords to unite against the occupation.[245] They expected to create a consciousness of a struggle for an independent state among, ruling groups first, and second, the people. The establishment of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara on the 23rd of April, 1920 strengthened the political and administrational dimension of the war in Anatolia and Thrace Region, which emerged from army operations supported by several civil movements.[246] In other words, the First World War and, immediately afterwards, War of Independence created a collective myth, which was considered the greatest tool for the emerging nation by the republican intelligentsia and politicians.

Starting from the second half of 19th Century, the desire for a Turkish Anatolia developed from various political changes. The transformation from a multi-national Ottoman Empire to the nation-state Turkey was not only a change in regime. Rather, it triggered the consciousness for unity in society, and brought the rural population into the center of the picture as the majority of the emerging state. Bernard Lewis interpreted that although the War of Independence and the creation of Turkish state were impulses of the First World War, they were also reactions against the Ottoman authorities. The accomplishments of civil organizations in Anatolia during the war and the establishment of a new parliament in Ankara caused a shift in focus from the European provinces of Ottoman Empire to Anatolia during the negotiation of the borders for the Republic of Turkey.[247] This was a significant reflection of the fact that Anatolia became not only the administrative center of Turkey, but also it constituted the emotional center of the new Turkish nation.[248] Constructing the rural Anatolia appeared as an idea in the late Ottoman period, but systematic programs for changes in rural society and the rural built environment did not occur until the early republican years. Nevertheless, it is crucial to point out that the political situation inside and outside of the empire from the late 19th Century and early 20th Century assisted to create the fundament for the nation – the

[245] M. Kemal Atatürk, *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri: Açıklamalı Dizin İle* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006), pp. 1–6.
[246] Douglas A. Howard, pp. 84–90.
[247] For further reading on peace conferences between 1919-1923, see Andrew Mango, *From the Sultan to Atatürk: Turkey*, Haus Histories (London: Haus Publishing, 2009). For the correspondences during the peace conferences in Lausanne Treaty, see also Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk, 1919-1927: Tam Metin*, ed. by Mustafa Bayram Mısır (Ankara: Palme Yayınları;, 2010), pp. 674–712.
[248] Lewis, pp. 478–79.

Turkish people, and its idealized land – Anatolia. This paved the way for early republican nationalism and land idealization of a "Turkish Anatolia".

## 2.2. Early Republican Interpretations of Turkish Nationalism and Anatolia

The efforts towards nationalization and modernization during the early republican period evolved from the interventions since the late 19th Century among the Ottoman elites, military officers and politicians. This developed into a complete concentration on the whole land and the new definition of "Turkey's Anatolia".[249]

The process after the First World War carried the country towards "becoming Turkey" in terms of a modern state: the War of Independence (against the occupation forces of World War I in the Anatolia and in eastern Thrace) and later Greco-Turkish War created a collective memory of victory which united the people who fought, in fact, without a national awareness. The determination of Turkey's borders defined a national territory, which included Anatolia and the east of Thrace Region. Turkey's map after the negotiation of Lausanne Treaty on the 23rd of July 1923 showed the Turkish state as well as the land that was to be thoroughly nationalized, namely Turkified.

The nationalization approach of early republican Turkey cemented the idea that the nation consisted of an imagined community that would have the will to build its own national state. This approach guided state campaigns to affirm Turkey's land as a whole nation. The concept of Turkish Anatolia was legitimated during the dramatic and didactic nation-building process[250] of early republican Turkey, concentrating on the outcome of a nation of Anatolian people united in Turkey.

The new regime constructed a national historicism, which unconditionally rejected the Ottoman Empire. Turkish Anatolia culturally referred to the people rooted in archaic central Asian Turkic tribes who migrated to Anatolia and Thrace and blended here with

[249] Here I use the term 'Turkey's Anatolia' to include in the geographical reference of eastern Thrace, remained within the Republic of Turkey's border after the Treaty of Lausanne.

[250] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, 17. [reprint] (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 75–84. Anthony Smith explains the 'dramatic' and 'didactic' patterns in the nation-building process. He introduced the Pan-Turkism and Turanism in the late Ottoman period as an exemplary idea for dramatic and didactic practices. He claimed that both Pan-Turkism and Turanism pointed to roots and the homeland to the central Asia. The migration from central Asia and settling in the Anatolia and Balkans became a collective history and myth among the idea. And this conception demonstrated the dramatic narrative in historical context, and the didactic narrative to pass through to the future generations.

the ancient peoples. Common cultural habits and common language (such as Turkish), resulted from living closely for centuries under the Turkish-speaking majority. This historical reading was used as a tool to cement the idea of a Turkified Anatolia. This formula was clearly declared in the speech of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1930: "The Turkish Nation is the Turkey's People who established the Republic of Turkey"[251]. Here "Republic of Turkey" was meant in terms of national territory, and the people, settled in this terrain and spoke Turkish language, were considered "Turkish" independently from their ethnic, cultural and social differences.

The early republican approach to Turkish nationalism shaped itself in the new pursuit to melt the ethnic and cultural differences in the pot of Turkification. İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, who was another early republican intellectual supporting Turkish nationalism during the 1930s and 1940s, sought a solution for the definition of Turkish nationalism in his texts published in several mouthpieces of the Kemalist regime. He declared "the idea of a nation emerged from the idea of history, the idea of genesis and the idea of evolution."[252] He believed that the nation, which was the foundation of a bridge to connect the past, present and future, had a dynamic structure; there was no other nation in the world without a common memory and history, and without a promising future.[253] He added that "the culture and tradition belonged to the nation, however, the civilization belonged to all nations"[254]; it was an inter-national goal to achieve.

Similar to Ziya Gökalp's "Culture and Civilization" definition above, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu endeavored to construct a national ideology including cultural aspects, and its development towards a higher civilization. Again, he theorized that civilization occurred as the result of an empirical process, nevertheless culture emerged and was nourished by *de facto* habits of peoples. Thus, culture demonstrated the very essential character of a nation. In order to be acquainted with the essence of nation – the culture, which one could discover by "going towards the people", ought to be the most important movement. An ideal folk consisted of the common cultural values between the people,

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[251] In: A Afetinan, *Medeni bilgiler ve M. Kemal Atatürk'ün el yazıları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1998), p. 18, Ankara.
[252] İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Millet Nedir?, Türk'e Doğru* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil, Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1994), p. 369.
[253] Baltacıoğlu, *Millet Nedir?, Türk'e Doğru*, pp. 369–70.
[254] İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Milleti Anla!, Türk'e Doğru* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil, Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1994), p. 247.

who preserved the fundamental elements of culture, and élites who transmitted civilization. Having this point of view, the balance of culture and civilization was to unite the population under the Turkish nation.[255]

Following this perspective, the Turkification and modernization of Anatolia occurred in several ways: This method accomplished the agenda of the new state, and justified the regime's interventions observing, displaying, reconstructing and improving rural Anatolian people and their living conditions. At the same time, the common perspective saw the new regime's ideology as a *sine qua non* synthesis of nationalism and populism. According to Şerif Mardin, early republican objectives existed in a realm where the self-recognition of a nation had not completely arisen itself, and where the forms of social classes did not exist as they had in western societies. However, early republican ideology – namely Kemalism[256] – systematically blended nationalism and a form of populism that would not develop into class differentiation in the Western sense.[257]

The accepted program in the 1935 fourth congress of the Republican People's Party, which was established in 1919 and the political face of the new regime, generated the crystallized relationship between the party, state and Kemalism with this statement: "The main lines of our intentions, not only for a few years, but for the future as well, are here put together in a compact form. All these principles, which are the fundamentals of the Party, constitute Kemalism." Party principles were declared repeatedly and emphatically: the homeland, the nation, the constitution of the state and public rights:

> Fatherland (homeland) is the sacred country within our present political boundaries, where the Turkish nation lives with its ancient and illustrious history, and with its past glories still living in the depths of its soil. Fatherland is a Unity, which does not accept separation under any circumstance.
>
> The Nation is political composed of citizens bound together with the bonds of language, culture and ideal.
>
> (Statement for the constitution of the state:) Turkey is a nationalist, populist[258], state socialist, secular and revolutionary Republic.

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[255] İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Problemler, Türk'e Doğru* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil, Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1994), p. 23.

[256] The principles of Kemalism which dominated the early republican years, were embodied in six precepts: Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Secularism, Statism and Reformism. (Munis) Tekinalp, *Kemalizm* (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Gazete ve Matbaası, 1936).

[257] Şerif Mardin, *Bütün eserleri diszisi. 3: İdeoloji*, İletişim yayınları, 191, 3. baskı (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), p. 98, Cağaloğlu, İstanbul.

[258] Translators' note: "i.e. dependent upon popular sovereignty".

…

(Statement for the public rights:) It is one of the important principles of our Party to safeguard the individual and social rights of liberty, of equality, of inviolability, and of property. These rights are with the bounds of the State's authority.[259]

During the first period – from establishment in 1919 to the one-party regime of Republican People's Party in 1930 – Kemalist ideology had a populist character, and with the plurality in parliament, unified diverse folks under the Republic of Turkey.[260] After 1930, the ideology slightly shifted from one of populism to that of nationalism, in order to strengthen the idea of a Turkish Anatolia that idealized Anatolian land on behalf of the "Turkish" population and the Kemalist state.

### 2.2.1. The Ankara Archaeological Museum, Turkish Historical Society and Turkish Language Association

The efforts of the intelligentsia to determine a Turkish Anatolia starting in the late Ottoman period, gained momentum in the early republican ideology. These attempts occurred principally in institutional forms, as well as in the construction operations of the state. Proof of Turkishness was first sought in historic and linguistic roots of the existing population. Starting with the establishment of the Archaeological Museum in the republican capital city Ankara in 1921, then continuing with the Turkish Historical Society in 1931 and Turkish Language Association in 1932, state institutions served for purpose of proving a form of "Turkism" that had been blended with other civilizations and cultivated in Anatolia for ages.

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[259] John Parker and Charles Smith, trans., 'Appendix: Program of Republican People's Party', in *Modern Turkey*, 1. ed. (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1940), pp. 235–251 (pp. 235–236).
Another resource which points to the strong bond between Kemalism, the RPP and the Turkish state was written by Malik Evrenol in 1936. In his book "Revolutionary Turkey", Evrenol introduced the party program, state reforms, the economic, industrial and cultural developments and the role of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to the English-speaking public. Malik Evrenol, *Revolutionary Turkey* (Ankara: Istanbul: Librairie Hachette, 1936), Ankara: Istanbul.

[260] Nazan Maksudyan emphasizes the period, the authoritarianism started to appear, in terms of emergence of Turkish nationalism. She pointed to the Law on the Maintance of Order – *Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu* in 1925 which restricted opposition in parliament. In 1927, in the second Party Congress of RPP, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk read the *Nutuk* (the Speech on the incidents from the beginning of Independence War in 1919 to the proclamation of Turkish Republic in 1923). This paved the way for the authoritarian regime emphasizing Ataturk's competence and Kemalism, that ruled the following years. See Nazan Maksudyan, *Türklüğü Ölçmek: Bilimkurgusal Antropoloji ve Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Irkçı Çehresi, 1925-1939*, İlk basım (Beyoğlu, İstanbul: Metis, 2005), pp. 40–42.

One of the earliest institutions for research on Anatolian cultures was the Ankara Archaeological Museum[261], founded in 1921, aiming to narrate an ancient storyline of the Anatolian people. The main purpose emerged from the idea to create a museum for the Hittite Civilization in Ankara. At this time the intelligentsia was moving from Istanbul to Ankara in order to be involved in the establishment of the new state and to follow the new parliament.[262] In the first years, the Hittite monuments around Ankara were placed in the museum. Afterwards the collection expanded itself to the monuments of ancient civilizations from all over the country.[263]

The priority placed on Hittite studies by the Ankara Archaeological Museum represented another intention of early republican nationalist ideology: showcasing Ankara and its surrounding region as the geographical center of Hittite civilization. Placing the capital city of the new Turkey in the heart of this archaic civilization connected the past to the future. This thinking supported the testimony that Anatolian people inherited the land, the culture, and the tradition from past civilizations, and they merited carrying this heritage to the future.[264]

The Ankara Archaeological Museum is early evidence of the state intention to connect today's people to the cultural roots of Anatolia in ancient civilizations by erasing the memory of Ottoman history and underlining the archaic one. At the same time, archaeological research undertaken by the state aimed to construct a substantial bond

[261] The museum later renamed as "Museum for Anatolian Civilizations".

[262] Hittite research started in 1905 by Theodor Makridi, who was in charge of the Royal Museum in Istanbul, and German philologist Hugo Winckler, an Assyriologist and Associate Professor of Semitic Languages in Berlin. Makridi and Winckler studied in Bogazkoy. In 1907, the German Archaeological Institute participated in the excavations on the site. The team – Otto Puchstein, Heinrich Kohl, Daniel Krencker, Ludwig Curtius, and Erich Puchstein – studied the temples, city walls and city gates until 1912. Jürgen Seeher and Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, eds., *'Hattuşa'da 106 Yıl': Hitit Kazılarının Fotoğraflarla Öyküsü = '106 Years in Hattusha': Photographs Tell the Story of the Excavations in the Hittite Capital*, Yapı Kredi yayınları, 3712, 1. baskı (Beyoğlu, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları : DAI, 2012), pp. 23–71, Beyoğlu, İstanbul.
The excavation started again in 1931 with a team of Dr. Kurt Bittel and the support of the German Archaeological Institute and the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft until 1939. During this period the Hittite Palace buildings and fortification walls were excavated. Seeher and Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, pp. 72–89.
The excavations were discontinued due to the Second World War and restarted in 1952 by Kurt Bittel. The research was extended by Peter Neve between 1978 and 1993 and by Jürgen Seeher between 1994 and 2005. The studies on site are continued by Andreas Schachner since 2005.

[263] Raci Temizer, *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1966), p. 1.

[264] Bozdoğan also states that: "it was postulated that the first indigenous people of Anatolia, the Hittites, were in fact ancestors of Turks." Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Studies in Modernity and National Identity (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), p. 243.

between the people and western culture, since 18th Century archaeology arose as a vigorous tool for self-determination of national identity among European societies.[265]

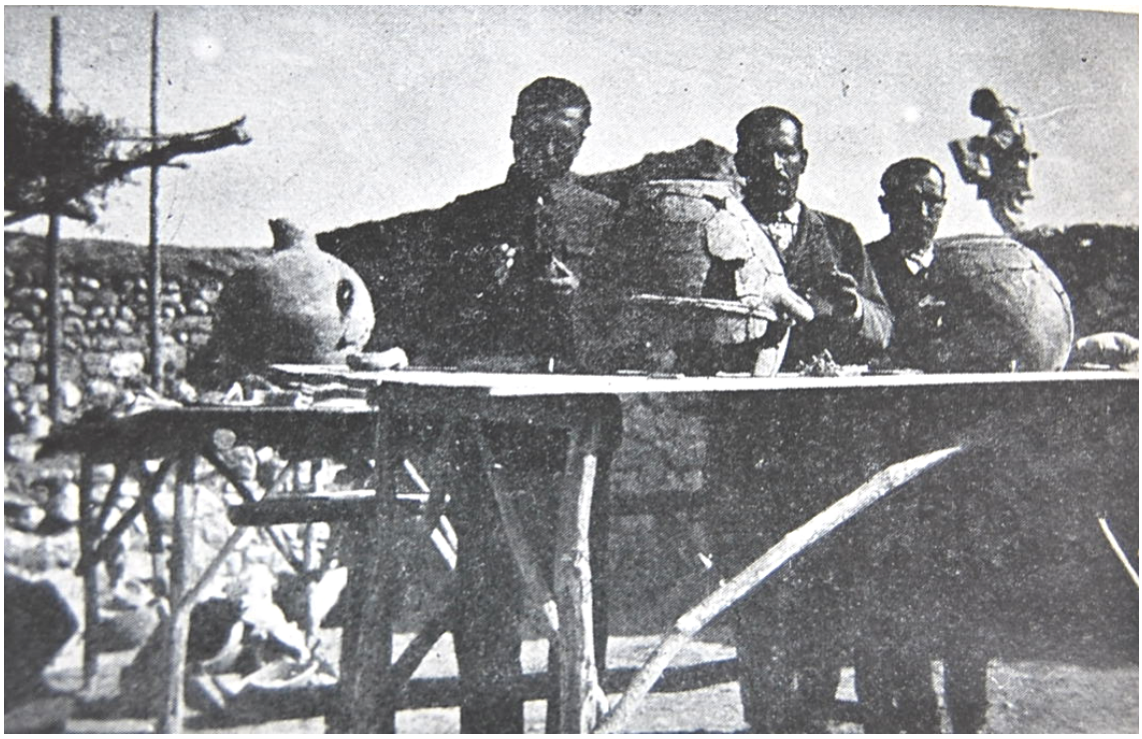

**Figure 2.1.** Alacahoyuk Excavation, local workers repairing pots.[266] (Cumhuriyet, 1938)

Since the 18th century, Antiquity had been idealized as the roots of European culture. Excavations directed by German and English scholars in the Ottoman territories showed Ottoman Intelligentsia that fields like archaeology, anthropology and ethnography serve to justify nationalist theories in the West. Following this tradition, early republican intelligentsia aspired to construct another bridge between Turkey's people, who were one of the first inhabitants in Anatolia according to Turkish scholars,[267] and the European civilizations. **(Figure 2.1.)** The archaeological heritage of Anatolia, which had been

[265] For a reading on archaeology as a tool for nationalism, see Bruce G. Trigger, "Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist", *Man*, 19 (1984), 355 <doi:10.2307/2802176>. For further reading on how archaeology was instrumentalized in early republican Turkey's nation building program, see Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, "Archaeology as a Source of National Pride in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic", *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 31 (2006), 381–393. See also Serpil Akkaya, *Sumerer, Hethiter und Trojaner – Urahnen der anatolischen Türken? Eine rezeptionsgeschichtliche Betrachtung der Rolle antiker Kulturen in den Identitätskonzeptionen der Atatürk'schen Reformpolitik*, Thesis series, 1. Aufl (Innsbruck: Innsbruck Univ. Press, 2012).

[266] *Cumhuriyet, Resimli Almanak* (İstanbul: İstanbul Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1938), İstanbul.

[267] Hamit Sadi, *İktisadi Türkiye: Tabii, Beşeri ve Mevzii Coğrafya Tetkikleri*, Yüksek İktisat ve Ticaret Mektebi, 14 (İstanbul: Ahmet Sait Matbaası, 1932), p. 51.

considered the origin of Western society, was also affirmed by Turkish authorities as a shared element between Turkey and Europe. According to Can Bilsel, this approach demonstrated the desire of the nation, which rooted itself in archaic ancestors in Anatolia and central Asia, to seek a connection to European civilizations.[268]

Furthermore, in 1930, the Ethnography Museum of Ankara was founded to present components of Anatolian culture studied in empirical research across the country. The Ankara Archaeological Museum and the Ethnography Museum of Ankara joined under the publication *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* – The Journal for Turkish History, Archaeology and Ethnography, in 1933. The journal reported on new research led by Turkish organizations and documented archaeological findings and ethnographical analysis. In the first issue, Reşit Galip (Mustafa Reşit Baydur) – the minister of education – announced that "this journal targets to disclose archaeological studies, to be a communication tool between local and foreigner scholars, to record historical, archaeological and ethnographical news about Anatolia which contains a great, untouched treasure, and to report them abroad".[269] Turkish history research was maintained by the Turkish Hearths Research Committee for Turkish History – *Türkocağı Türk Tarihi Tetkik Encümeni* from 1930. This committee consisted of historians and politicians such as Yusuf Akçura, Halil Ethem Eldem, Ayşe Afetinan, Reşit Galip, Samih Rifat and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. In 1931, they released the first stage of the study on Turkish history called *Türk Tarihinin Anahatları* – Outline of Turkish History[270]. In the same year the committee founded the Turkish Historical Society with a focus on research about Turkish History.[271]

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[268] S. M. Can Bilsel, '"Our Anatolia": Organicism And The Making Of Humanist Culture In Turkey', in *Muqarnas, Volume 24 Muqarnas, Volume 24 History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the 'Lands of Rum'*, ed. by Gülru Necipoglu Bozdoğan (Brill Academic Publishers, 2007), pp. 223–242 (p. 224) <doi:10.1163/ej.9789004163201.i-310.39>.

[269] Reşit Galip, 'Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi Niçin Çıkıyor?', *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, Temmuz.1 (1933), p. 4.

[270] The Turkish histoty hypothesis was presented in publication by Ayşe Afetinan in 1931, with the title of Prolegomena to an Outlıne of Turkish History – Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları, Methal Kısmı. See (Ayşe) Afetinan, "Afet İnan: Prolegomena to an Outline of Turkish History", in *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945): Texts and Commentaries*, ed. by Ahmet Ersoy, Maciej Górny, and Vangelis Kechriotis, trans. by Ahmet Ersoy (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 54–61.

[271] Büşra Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, İletişim Yayınları 880, Araştırma İnceleme Dizisi, 139 (İstanbul, Turkey: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), pp. 139–80.

Reşit Galip briefly presented the fundamental hypothesis about Turkish History: According to the theory, the direction of relationship dynamics between Europe and Asia had hitherto been introduced as a flow from the West to the East. However, on the contrary, a flow from the East to the West had historically been more prevalent. During the archaic ages Turkic tribes had moved from Central Asia to the West, where they settled and took on new cultural qualities due to the conditions they confronted in different environments. Anatolia emerged as a region where the majority of migrated tribes had settled, since it was geographically midway on the path of migration. Therefore, the Turkification of Anatolia had begun since Paleolithic ages, and the masses had gradually Turkified for centuries, turning Anatolia into the land purely representing Turks. In fact, Anatolia exhibited a Turkish history as early as central Asia.[272]

The Turkish Historical Society crystallized the idea of the "Roots of Turkism in Anatolia", and they strongly depended on the hypothesis above. This led academics to focus on folklore and ethnography studies as well as archaeological and historical research in order to testify to a parallel history belonging to Turkic folks in Anatolia.

The establishment of the Turkish Language Association - *Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti* in July of 1932 was another endeavor of Turkish Historical Society to create a testimony to Turkish Anatolia. The Alphabet Reform in 1928[273] paved the way for constituting a new language theory related to the Turkish history hypothesis. Changing lettering from the Arab alphabet to the Latin-origin alphabet emerged as a step in continuing the process of language reform, which also included replacing Arab-origin words with Turkish-origin words.[274]

In October 1932, the First Turkish Language Congress was assembled. During the conferences, the committee concentrated on discussions about the history of Turkish language, strategies for its development and systematic research that would elevate Turkish language to a prestigious place among other languages in the world. First,

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[272] Reşit Galip, 'Türk Tarih Tarih İnkılabı ve Yabancı Tezler', Birinci Teşrin. Sayı 9 (1933), pp. 167–168, and Maksudyan, pp. 56–62.

[273] Yeşim Bayar introduces the Alphabet Reform from the perspective in which Language politics were instrumentalized in the nation-building projects. See Yeşim Bayar, *Formation of the Turkish Nation-State, 1920-1938* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 54–58.

[274] İsa Öztürk, *Harf Devrimi ve Sonuçları: Deneme* (İstanbul: Adam, 2004), and *Harf İnkılabı, 1928-1938: Tarih, Tahlil, Tasvir*, C.H.P. Beşiktaş Halkevi Yayınları, Sayı 1 (İstanbul: İstanbul: Kader Basımevi, 1938), İstanbul.

differences between written and spoken language should be reconciled. Then, with the help of a thorough analysis of dialects and articulations of idioms seen in different parts of the country, Turkish language should be reformed into a more populist and nationalist adaptation.[275]

Likewise, the hypothesis of Turkish History, brought forward by scholars of the Turkish Historical Society, the committee of First Language Congress developed a theory on Turkish language – The Sun Language Theory. According to this theory, Turkish language contained features belonging to both Indo-European and Semitic languages, and in fact, the origin of Turkish language had arisen as the genesis of these languages. In other words, scholars proposed that primal Turkic languages appeared as the ancestors of all human languages.[276] The Sun Language Theory represented early republican ideology in terms of forming a well-established nation whose roots referred to essences of other cultures. Together with history thesis, language studies aimed to position Turkish people in the center of all civilization, and especially to point to the common ancestors with Western civilizations.[277]

Accordingly, between 1932 and 1934, the Turkish Language Association conducted research on dictionary, grammar, syntax and etymology of spoken and written language in Anatolia. At the same time, the association established a committee which collected the words in spoken Turkish and sought replacements for foreign expressions in the language. They believed that the essence of Turkish was being spoken among Turkoman nomads or Turkic-origin villagers in the country.[278] Therefore, the research team travelled across the country to discover new dialects, accents and vocabulary. The scholars lived with the villagers in order to grasp the authenticity of the language and they categorized and compiled materials by region.[279] This approach ushered in a physical connection

[275] Samih Rifat (Yalnızgil), 'Birinci Gün, 26 Eylül 1932 Pazartesi, Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti Reisi Samih Rifat Beyin Açma Nutku' (İstanbul Devlet Matbaası, 1933), pp. 1–10.
[276] Hüseyin Sadoğlu, *Türkiye'de Ulusçuluk ve Dil Politikaları*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 44, 1. baskı (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003), pp. 246–63.
[277] Can Bilsel also comments on the Sun Language Theory: Can Bilsel, p. 225.
[278] Ömer Asım Aksoy, 'Derleme ve Tarama Kolu Çalışmaları (1932-1972)', in *Atatürk'ün Türk Dil Kurumu ve Sonrası*, ed. by Sevgi Özel, Haldun Özen, and Ali Püsküllüoğlu (İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1986), pp. 7–26 (pp. 9–11).
[279] Ahmet Caferoğlu, *Anadolu Dialektolojisi Üzerine Malzeme I: Balıkesir, Manisa, Afyonkarahisar, Isparta, Aydın, İzmir, Burdur, Antalya, Muğla, Denizli, Kütahya Vilayetleri Ağızları*, Edebiyat Fakültesi Dil Seminerleri, 105 (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1940), pp. VII–XI.

between the intelligentsia and rural people that was realized not only in theory, but also in practice.

### 2.2.2. The People's House

Language studies and research on archaeology, ethnography and history were not the only fields in which scholars focused projects on rural Anatolia. There were also institutional and organizational programs, particularly due to the one-party government of RPP from 1930[280] to 1945 that completely defined the acts of the state[281]. In the third congress of RPP in 1931, it was agreed to establish the People's House – *Halkevi*[282], which would serve the political and ideological endeavors of the RPP, and hence the state, not only in cities but also in small towns all over the country. The introduction of the People's House's program was designed as an agent for approaching the masses:

> The principles which summarize the essentials of the Turkish state and the revolutions of Atatürk are to discard deleterious and negative facts from the country and the people, to operate positive science and modern technology in all fields, to preserve the national character of the country and the people, to raise Turkish people up to the greatest civilization that they've merited, to increase the population and enrich it to a higher wealth level.
>
> It was necessary that the great revolution of Atatürk approach to the hearth of People. The revolution was leading us to a new life and in a new direction. It was our duty to unite the People in ideology and its process, to inspire them in development and to display their unique qualities in their essence by inducing a new perspective on life.
>
> According to RPP, it was crucial to step our people up through the public education except from the state education, having adopted the particular ways of our people. Therefore, it was thought that the new perspectives in the social and cultural sphere will be nourished by a new and national institution which will emerge from the elements of our own society. This idea resulted in the regulations for the People's House in the third congress of the Party in 1931. After a long examination, the instruction of organization was gridded. According to this guide the People's House establish in nine branches: 1. Language, Literature, History; 2. Fine Arts; 3. Performance Arts; 4. Sport; 5. Social Assistance; 6. Public Training Schools and Courses; 7. Library and Publication; 8. Village Affairs (*Köycüler*); 9. Museum and

[280] Free Republican Party (or Liberal Republican Party) – *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası* was established by Fethi Okyar. in August 1930. However, it was dissolved after four months due to their strong opposition to Kemalist reforms. For the reading on the multi-party experience in early republican Turkey, see Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *Serbest Fırka Hatıraları*, İletişim Yayınları Anı Dizisi, 253 15, 3. bs (İstanbul: İletişim, 1994), İstanbul.Osman Okyar and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Fethi Okyar'ın Anıları: Atatürk-Okyar ve Çok Partili Türkiye* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür yayınları, 1999).

[281] See footnotes *174* and *175*

[282] People's House – *Halkevi* can also be translated as *Volkeshaus* in accordance with establishment and operation policies.

> Exhibition. All of these branches have the missions to widen and develop the essence of the society.[283]

The organization, officially established in 1932 in 14 city centers, emerged from a program based on Kemalist reforms directed towards the people, especially in rural areas where the majority of the population were settled. Base on a short-term multi-party experience in 1930 it was believed that that the principles of Kemalism were not adopted by the people. At first, the People House were meant to realize "Kemalist Revolutions" not only in the big cities, but also in small towns and villages by providing adult education. In order to make scientific observations about this kind of organization and to learn how to improve the national model, scholars were sent to Germany and Central European countries where state's houses became a significant place for public schooling during the 1930s.[284] Although the form of organization was defined as a "Public Education Center", it was *de facto* aimed to develop it into state's local agent to govern, hence to control the population in the countryside.

On the other hand, the People's House provided a platform for Turkish intelligentsia to reach the villagers, provincials and their culture. In other words, besides the political and ideological aims, the organization intended to bridge the differentiated groups of society. This resulted in the founding of 379 People Houses[285] in the cities and towns, the equipping of education programs in accordance with the peasantist discourse of the early republican agenda.[286]

In sum, the People's House served as a space to spread the ideology of state – namely the ideology of Republican People's Party, and to construct the bond between the people and elites. When re-emphasizing early republican nationalist discourse, it was believed that the national culture was rooted in rurality while the elites held the keys to improving in a modernized landscape. Here the People's House was perceived as a shared place to bring

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[283] *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Onbeşinci Yıl Kıtabı* (Ankara: TBMM, 1938), p. 15. Author's translation.
[284] M. Asim Karaömerlioğlu, 'The People's Houses and the Cult of the Peasant in Turkey', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34 (1998), 67–91 (p. 69).
[285] Asım Karaömerlioğlu, p. 56. Referring to: Ilhan Başgöz, *Türkiye'nin eğitim çikmazi ve Atatürk* (Istanbul: Pan, 2005), p. 198.
[286] İlhan Tekeli and Gencay Şaylan, 'Türkiye'de Halkçılık İdeolojisinin Evrimi', *Toplum ve Bilim Dergisi*, 6–7.Yaz-Güz (1978), 111–56 (p. 83).; Asım Karaömerlioğlu, pp. 56–60. For further reading on the establishment and function of People's House during early republican years, see Nurcan Toksoy, *Halkevleri: Bir Kültürel Kalkınma Modeli Olarak* (Kavaklıdere, Ankara: Orion Yayınevi, 2007).

these two essences of the society together. With the program of the RPP and People's House served as an awakening to Anatolia for artists, academics and officials who then left the big cities such as Istanbul and Ankara. The mobilization of intelligentsia caused the idealization of Anatolian land, and, at the same time, initiated the discussion on the social and economic problems of Anatolian people.

### 2.2.3. Idealization of Anatolian Land in Art and Literature

Institutional organizations of the republican state occurred in several fields in addition to academic research and adult education programs in the countryside. One of the crucial examples of these interventions was the Gazi Education Institute, founded in 1929 in Ankara, which prepared students for teacher training in the countryside. After graduation, young teachers had worked in secondary schools in small towns and also elementary schools in the villages and small rural towns of Anatolian cities.

**Figure 2.2.** (On the left) "Woman in the Village"[287], **(**on the right) "Old and New Ankara" from the student Exhibition in 1934.[288] (*Ülkü*, 1934)

Moreover, in 1932 the Art Department of the Gazi Education Institute was founded by educationist İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, who aimed to generate a new movement in Art that emphasized the theme Anatolia. The educators in this department concentrated on the Anatolian people, their living conditions, built environment, and the landscape. Malik

[287] İsmail Hakkı (Tonguç), 'Malik Bey ve Talebesinin Resim Sergisi', *Ülkü*, 16.Haziran (1934), 296–303 (p. 297).
[288] (Tonguç), p. 297.

Aksel worked in the institute as a painter and an art historian and pioneered the movement of "Anatolia in Turkish Art". In 1934, Malik Aksel and his students organized an exhibition in the People's House in Ankara under the theme of the Anatolian landscape and people. After this performance several artists looked to "Anatolia" for thematic material in art.[289] **(Figure 2.2)**

The Republican People's Party and People's House initiated a program between 1938 and 1944 called Homeland Excursions – *Yurt Gezileri.* According to the program, the artists were encouraged to travel in the country in order to include folkloric elements and cultural and national motifs in art. It was aimed that artists' observations reflected on the canvas would be the result of an empirical research about the land. They were supported and awarded by the state.[290]

The first Homeland Excursion started after the legal decision of Republican People's Party on the 27th of July 1938. According to the bylaw, the goal was an organization for artistic research about "Homeland" focusing on confirming the "Beauty" of Anatolia in ten different cities. The artists who participated in the excursions, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, Cemal Tollu, Mahmut Cuda, Hikmet Onat, Hamit Göreli, Feyhaman Duran, Ali Avni Çelebi, Sami Yetik, Zeki Kocamemi, Saim Özeren and Abidin Dino, were chosen by a committee of the Fine Arts Academy in Istanbul. Each of them was sent to different cities and came back with a considerable amount of artwork about landscape and cultural/local symbols of the cities and towns.[291] **(Figure 2.3)**

Artist Mahmut Cuda who was sent to Trabzon in 1938 explained the significance of the "Homeland Excursions" from a different perspective:

> Our homeland is a bourn, which all ways of the beauty of nature gather in. Our people had the essence of aesthetic desire, which needs to be awoken.
>
> On the other hand, there are severe issues: Our artists are deprived of a material future. In every field first step towards the improvement is the slowest and the hardest one. In this case, artists have accomplished to take the responsibilities and they will continue do their part at all costs. However, leaving them alone decelerates

[289] Kaya Özsezgin, *Cumhuriyetin 75 Yılında Türk Resmi*, Türkiye İş Bankası, Kültür Yayınları ; Cumhuriyet Dizisi, Genel yayın no. 436. 20 (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1999), p. 43. Sezer Tansuğ, *Çağdaş Türk sanatı*, 3. basım (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1993), p. 171.
[290] Sezer Tansuğ, p. 216.
[291] Kıymet Giray, 'Yurdu Gezen Türk Ressamları-1: 1939-1944 Yurt Gezileri', *Türkiye'de Sanat*, 18.Mart-Nisan (1995), 34–38 (pp. 34–35).

> the national improvement as well. No one complies with it. Thus, it is very urgent and necessary to support the artists.
>
> This has been the motivation that Republican People's Party has aimed to ascertain the beauty of our homeland, to stress the benefits of art to the people and to support the future of artists with this fond.[292]

Namely, Homeland Excursions attracted the attention of artists in that, on one hand, they could participate in the nation-building project of the state by becoming aqcuainted with the daily lives and customs of Anatolian people, and on the other hand, they were glad to get the state's support. Either artists involved supported the ideological facet of RPP's program, or they considered the "Homeland Excursions" as a point of access to a prestigious position in their field. In both cases, this enterprise resulted in an acquaintance between artists and the people. Painter Refik Epikman stressed this fact in *Ülkü*, the journal that served as a mouthpiece for the RPP during the 1930s:

> This program (Homeland Excursions) which connects the people to art and artists, will, no doubt, generate a new movement in (Turkish) art. The party (RPP) places the importance of art with supportive and incentive attitude that leaves very positive impact on the people. A growing amount of comments from people demonstrating their will to be enlightened by art, appears to be the greatest evidence of this impact."[293]

"Homeland Excursions" were not the only enterprise concentrating on Anatolia in art. Art and sculpture exhibitions organized by the People's House between 1936 and 1938 motivated artists to travel to Anatolian cities, small towns and villages, to live with the locals and to exchange cultural notions.[294] In other words, artists pictured and hence documented rural Turkey, exhibiting the locality and variety of culture in different parts of the country. This methodology led to a consciousness between the elites who generally had tended towards westernization, and the people who had withdrawn into themselves for centuries.

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[292] Mehmet Cuda, 'Ressamlar Taze Bir Gayretle Çalışıyorlar', *Arkitekt*, 101–102.5–6 (1939), 135 (p. 135). Author's translation.
[293] Refik Epikman, 'Türk Ressamlarının Yurt Gezisi', *Ülkü*, 21.Temmuz (1939), 461–62 (p. 461). Author's translation.
[294] Kıymet Giray, 'Örneklerle Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatı', in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatından Örnekler: 22 Ekim - 03 Aralık 2003 Ankara Devlet Resim ve Heykel Müzesi Sergi Kataloğu* (Ankara: TC Merkez Bankası - Kültür Bakanlığı, 2003), p. 7.

**Figure 2.3.** (On the left) "Malatya", 1938, Ali Avni Çelebi, [295] (on the right) "Trabzon", 1938, Mahmut Cuda.[296] (*Arkitekt*, 1939)

In addition to this, an artist collaboration– *D Grubu* founded in 1933 by Zeki Faik İzer, Nurullah Berk, Elif Naci, Cemal Tollu, Abidin Dino and Zühtü Müridoğlu, also concentrated on the theme "Anatolia in Art". In their first exhibition, they declared the necessity for a new approach, which went further than the crystallized impressionist tendency in Turkish art and neared the abstraction of cubist and constructivist forms. In 1934, Turgut Zaim and Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu became involved the group. They emphasized the analysis of folkloric materials and coded them using the cubist abstraction.[297] This movement in art carried the discussion from only picturing and documenting Anatolia to evolving this theme into an artistic progress by synthesizing local narratives and modernist art movement.

In 1941, a new group – *Yeniler Grubu* was founded among young artists such as Nuri İyem, Avni Arbaş, Selim Turan, and later Nejad Devrim and Abidin Dino. The repertoire of this group expanded the Anatolian theme from an idealized land to political criticism by introducing the rural life from a realistic perspective. This differed from D Group that presented Anatolian figures only from a formalistic point of view. Emphasizing an aesthetical version of socio-realism, the group took a more critical position towards the state by illustrating the problems in the countryside.[298]

[295] 'Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Resim Sergisi', *Arkitekt*, 101–102.5–6 (1939), 128–34 (p. 129).
[296] 'Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Resim Sergisi', p. 129.
[297] Sezer Tansuğ, p. 181.
[298] Kaya Özsezgin, *Cumhuriyetin Elli Yılında Plastik Sanatlar* (Tunca Sanat, 2010), p. 111.

Another dimension in the idealization of Anatolian Land emerged in Turkish literature beginning in the first years of republic following the nationalist wave. The nationalist and populist approach, formed during the last years of Ottoman Empire and advocated by Ziya Gökalp, shaped this dimension in literature during the early republican period.[299] As in the field of art, the theme of Anatolia was placed in the center of literature. Rural Anatolia, small towns and villages emerged as the scenery for bringing the people's living circumstances and their issues to light in a realistic way. The facts of peasantry and village life, their cultural, societal and moral transformation in the verge of evolution from feudalism to capitalism and the practices pursued during this process, were portrayed particularly after 1950. However, early republican literature also projected rural life with the objective of demonstrating its transformation, and at the same time, its position in nation building and modernization enterprises.[300]

Literature on rurality, referred to the concept "towards the People" as well as the other mediums. Texts on Anatolian people and their way of living had another value, in addition to depicting circumstances in the rural realm and as populist enlightenment among elites. The authors, who portrayed rural life, believed that their texts emerged as crucial tools for the people to contact their own lives.

According to İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu "early republican literature", as well as art in other disciplines based on rural narratives provided a critical function in society. In his writings Towards Turk in the Literature – *Edebiyatta Türk'e Doğru* he stressed the idea of "Art for the People":

> The assignment of literature is a genuine duty in the society. … Like economy and technics, literature is a beneficial discipline for the society. … The masses, literature addressed, is the People. The people, themselves, are the entity, which is not influenced by the separation related to wealth, status and education. Thus, the literature work, addressed the large masses, remains forever.[301]

The theme Anatolia and Anatolian people in early republican literature appeared in different ways, such as in the representation of Kemalist approaches and criticism of

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[299] Ramazan Kaplan, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Romanında Köy*, Kaynak Eserler, 32, 3. baskı (Kızılay, Ankara: Akçağ, 1997), p. 43.
[300] Ahmet Oktay, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Edebiyatı*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları; Sanat-Edebiyat Dizisi / Yayımlar Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1562. 69–6 (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1993), p. 129, Ankara.
[301] İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Edebiyatta Türk'e Doğru, Türk'e Doğru* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil, Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1994), p. 82. Author's translation.

intelligentsia, social, economic and political inequality, and realistic perspective towards the social life of rural people.[302]

Asım Karaömerlioğlu categorized the peasantry theme related to Anatolia in Turkish literature under these three authors: Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu represented the Kemalist perspective; Sabahattin Ali introduced a socialist point of view; and Memduh Şevket Esendal thematically addressed the populist approach. In his 1932 novel "The Stranger" – *Yaban,* Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu portrayed for the first time the conflict between intellectuals and rural people. He pointed to the problems of the Anatolian peasant and aimed to convince the early republican elites of the significance of peasantry. At the same time, he backed the operations of the Kemalist Revolution and ideology in the countryside. As a result of this, he drew the attention of Kemalist intelligentsia during 1930s.[303]

In "The Stranger", the author writes a storyline around the main character Ahmet Cemal who was a well-educated military officer, fought in the First World War, and afterwards participated in the Turkish War of Independence. He decides to settle in one of his soldier's village in the center of Anatolia. He describes the village as "a frozen part of the earth" and "an ancient Hittite ruin", and criticizes the relations between the officers and the villagers:

> The reason for this, young Turkish intellectual, is you! What did you ever do for this devastated realm and this mass of deprived humanity? For years you sucked his blood and threw him back to the hard earth like pulp, and now you come and find in yourself the right to loathe him.[304]
>
> Anatolian people had a soul, you couldn't touch it. They had a mind, you couldn't enlighten. They had a body, you couldn't nourish. They had a land to live on, you couldn't cultivate. You gave them up to the hands of ignorance, poverty and drought. They grew like weed between hard earth and dry sky. Now, you came here with a hook to harvest. What did you ever plant to harvest, these nettles or dry hawthorns? Of course, they prick to your feet! Look, you are bleeding and you are wincing with pain. You are boiling with rage. This thing, grates you, is all your fault, it is all your fault![305]

[302] Carole Leslie Rathbun, "The Village in the Turkish Novel and Short Story 1920 to 1955" (unpublished Thesis (Ph. D.), Princeton University, 1968), pp. 21–22.
[303] Asım Karaömerlioğlu, pp. 153–55.
[304] Carole Leslie Rathbun translated this part in her Ph. D. thesis. See Rathbun, p. 38. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, Y. Kadri Karaosmanoğlu Bütün Eserleri Dizisi, 1, 34. baskı (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999), p. 100.
[305] Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, p. 100. Author's translation.

Emphasis on the ignorance towards the Turkish peasant and rural people produced the idea that the distance between elites and people must be broken in order to begin the populist enlightenment among all layers of society. Elites should go to the people by considering the real facts, not just idealizing them, but also providing them a developed realm. This point of view spread further with the idea that continued progress in society and building the new Turkish nation were completely dependent on the circumstances of Turkish peasantry.[306]

The critical position of the relationship between intelligentsia and rural population also appeared in Sabahattin Ali's works. In contrast to Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's acceptance of Kemalist ideology, which directed the rural population to a community without any social class, Sabahattin Ali did not support this idea or romanticize the rural life. Instead, he addressed the realities among the rural people in a bitter sense: Sabahattin Ali pointed to the social and economic struggle of the Turkish peasant. According to Rathbun, he "concentrated more on a portrayal of political and social injustice suffered by a passive and uninformed peasantry."[307] His novel *Kuyucaklı Yusuf*, written in 1937, was considered one of the earliest works issued about the Turkish village, rural people and again their relationships with Turkish elites from a socio-realistic perspective. This criticism to the circumstances of peasants and villagers was addressed in Memed, My Hawk – *İnce Memed*, written by Yaşar Kemal in 1955, similarly to Ali's approach, through a bitter relationship and struggle between the state, villagers, bandits and landlords.[308]

The theme of Anatolia was also reflected in music, as in art and literature, through cultural narratives and folkloric motifs. The research and studies on Turkish music were initiated to seek a national form blended with folk music. However, the state enterprise supported Westernization in music, hence the polyphony in Turkish music. Therefore, starting from the first years of Republic, several German and Central European musicologists such as Ernst Pratosnus, Eduard Zuckmayer, Licco Amar, Carl Ebert, David Zirkin, Georg

[306] Asım Karaömerlioğlu, pp. 160–61.
[307] Rathbun, p. 22.
[308] Yaşar Kemal, *Memed, My Hawk*, trans. by Edouard Roditi, New York Review Books Classics (New York: New York Review Books, 2005).

Marcowitch, Paul Hindemith and Béla Bartók were invited to the country to produce a Western-Turkish synthesis in music.[309]

Nevertheless, comprehensive research on Turkish folk music was conducted by Turkish scholar Adnan Saygun and Hungarian scholar Béla Bartók, who was invited to the country in 1936. In several excursions throughout the country, Saygun and Bartok collected local motifs and generated an archive of Turkish folk music in the Ankara State Conservatory. This study motivated Turkish musicians who were willing forming a national art. Béla Bartók analyzed the folkloric melodies and sought to create a synthesis between them and polyphonic Western music. This created a consciousness of Anatolian folk music culture among the elites.[310]

The methodology of Béla Bartók's field research was crucial. He categorized each piece according to its place and the executant. His analysis on local melodies referred not only to ethno-musicological vocabulary. He also noted the cultural and social status of the people and the characteristics of the villages, and he collected the information in terms of literature, linguistic, history and folklore. He sought to display the cultural characteristics by studying the layers of Anatolian melodies.[311]

Béla Bartók's approach to the national music fulfilled early republican aims: He believed that it was urgent to collect folkloric themes from Anatolia in order to generate a national Turkish music. Researching these motifs and exhibiting them would foster the national consciousness. He believed that the real folkloric tunes were rendered not in cities but in the villages, hence the national melodies emerged in the Anatolian rural. According to Barók, this was the reason why the melodies in a village had the greatest artistic quality and they would become the classical pieces.[312] Following his concept, in 1936, the People's House organized "Culture Excursions" into small towns and villages to understand folkloric melodies with sense of a cultural archaeology.[313]

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[309] During the early republican years, Turkish music was forbidden in the state radio. The state policy was ambiguous, since the studies on folkloric music was carried out by scholars all over the country. See Fethiye Erbay and Mutlu Erbay, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi (1923-1938), Atatürk'ün Sanat Politikası*, 1. basım (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2006), p. 150.
[310] Sezer Tansuğ, p. 216.
[311] Béla Bartók, *Küçük asya'dan türk halk musıkisi*, trans. by Bülent Aksoy, Pan Yayıncılık, 16 (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1991), p. 8, İstanbul.
[312] Béla Bartók, 'İkinci Konferans: Halk Müziği Hakkında Bela Bartok'un (3) Konferansı, Ankara Halkevi Neşriyatı, Ar Şubesi' (Recep Ulusoğlu Basımevi, Ankara, 1937), p. 19.
[313] Bartók, *Küçük asya'dan türk halk musıkisi*, p. 9.

Bartók and Saygun presented the hypothesis that Turkish music was based on the Pentatonic scale[314] which would place Turkish music in the European-Asian category and separate it from Ottoman music. They announced that Pentatonism appeared as the essence of Turkish folk music and it was reflected in other cultures from Turkic folks. Similar to the Turkish history hypothesis, Adnan Saygun and Béla Bartók promoted that Pentanonism, found in the Turkish folk music in Anatolia, arose in central Asia and followed the same path of Turkic folks. Thus, Turkish folk music contained the essence of a universal music, and hence a universal culture.[315]

However, the compilation of folk music did not reach the public until musician and folklorist Muzaffer Sarısözen accessed the archived songs that Saygun and Bartok collected. Sarısözen started a new choir, Sounds of the Homeland – *Yurttan Sesler Korosu* in the Ankara State Conservatory in 1947. The choir was broadcasted in the state radio and carried Turkish folk music to the people for the first time.[316]

Consequently, during 1930s and 1940s the theme Anatolia, which appeared prominently in state politics, projects, institutional organizations and studies, was considered a greatest significant subject matter for artistic practice in different areas. Typically, early republican intelligentsia and artists collected narratives that either supported the Kemalist ideology and its actions or not, but they leaned, in any case, on Anatolian people. This resulted in grounding the nation on the Anatolian cultural landscape by observing the rural people and their livelihoods. Indeed, some of these artistic and scientific interventions also paved the way for operations modernizing the land and influencing the rural population on behalf of the republican regime.

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[314] 'Pentatonic Scale (Music)', *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., 2014) <https://www.britannica.com/art/pentatonic-scale>.
[315] A. Ahmet (Saygun), *Türk Halk Musikisinde Pentatonism* (İstanbul: Nümune Matbaası, 1936), pp. 5–6.
[316] Niyazi Yılmaz, *Türk Halk Müziğinin Kurucu Hocası Muzaffer Sarısözen* (Ankara: Ocak Yayınları, 1996), pp. 16–20.

# CHAPTER 3

# INTRODUCTION TO EARLY REPUBLICAN ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

This chapter introduces the impetus for the formation of an architectural culture and new planning strategies in the context of nation-building and modernization in early republican Turkey. Parallel to new agendas in the political structure; the institutional organization of the republican state, the foundation of a state mechanism for social change, architecture also emerged as a pivotal aspect of the cultural agenda. Early republican planning concentrated on the search for methods to generate a modernized and nationalized built environment.

This chapter introduces the conceptual schemes and operations in architecture and planning in the cities and countryside. It presents an overview of the circumstances of the country grounded in historical, theoretical and pragmatic facts of the village planning from a larger scope during the early republican period.

## 3.1. Early Republican Architecture in the Context of Nation-Building and Modernization

In the early republican era, architecture was as a crucial tool for structuring the modernization and nationalization of the country. Although the new republican ideology sought particular features in the built environment, the inherited late Ottoman characteristics formed the first years' architectural basis.

Particularly after 1908, when the Party of Progress and Union took power of the second constitutional government in the Ottoman Empire, a new architectural style emerged from an ideological aspiration and cultural ambiguity. The "Turkification of Ottoman forms" within the modernist building agenda became a methodology: modern building techniques and design principles were synthesized with the folkloric motifs as decorative elements. It was a concept similar to the 19$^{th}$ Century's revivalist genre of European

Architecture in Ottoman forms, with up-to-date methods in the modern construction of offices, banks, and schools[317]. This approach in architecture, called National Architecture Renaissance – *Milli Mimari Rönesansı* characterizes the building program since the second constitutional era of Ottoman Empire continued in the first years of republican architecture. The "national" style in architecture, seen in several public buildings in Anatolian cities during 1920s, point to an obscure eclecticism, referring to the last years of Ottoman Empire and the new republic at the same time.[318]

Nevertheless, Ottoman revivalism fell out of favor in the national architectural discourse among early republican writers at the end of 1920s. Celal Esad Arseven's book Turkish Art – *Türk Sanatı*, first published in 1928 by the Turkish Hearths – *Türk Ocakları*, presented republican nationalism in architectural discourse. Instead of grounding the theory of Turkish architectural history in Ottomanism as was emphasized by the previous generation of scholars, Arseven argued that Ottoman architectural monuments refer to only one period in Turkish history that also is rooted in central Asia and pre-Ottoman Anatolia. In the preface of the book he stated that Turkish Art had been considered a component of Islamic Art and hence devalued by art historians for ages. He continued: Turkish Art, however, was original due to the culture it inhabited, just as Arab and Persian Art are unique in Islamic Art, differing from one another. Therefore, it was necessary to re-define Turkish Art, separating it from Islamic Art practices and tracing its origin to the pre-Islamic period:

> We see similarities in the decorative motifs between today and pre-Islamic period of Turks in the central Asia. Therefore, in order to grasp the development of Turkish

[317] Sibe Bozdoğan introduces the theoretical background of Ottoman Revivalism grounding it in the late 19th Century and describing it as a movement that arose especially among non-Muslim architects. Starting from the first reformist operations in the Ottoman state (referring to the Tanzimat Era from 1839 to 1876), Ottoman architecture faced the challenge of new building programs that never existed in the tradition in terms of form and function. As a result of this, in 1873 the album *Usul-i Mimariyi Osmani* – Principles of Ottoman Architecture was published after a study of state artists and architects, introducing classical Ottoman architecture with detailed drawings. The album paved the way for a nationalist architecture during the second constitutional era, this time including the Ziya Gokalp's nationalism approach: a synthesis of national culture and western civilization. Hence this architecture appeared as the culture which represented through classical and traditional Ottoman motifs, and as the civilization which was represented in new building typologies, techniques and design principles. Sibel Bozdoğan, "Turkish Architecture between Ottomanism and Modernisim 1873-1931", in *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey: Encounters with Europe 1850-1950*, ed. by Anna Frangoudaki and Caglar Keyder, Social and Historical Studies on Greece and Turkey (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), pp. 114–22.

[318] This comment was inspired by Sibel Bozdoğan. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, pp. 16–55. For a further reading on the First National Architecture Style, see Yıldırım Yavuz and Süha Özkan, 'Finding a National Idiom: The First National Style', in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. by Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), pp. 51–67.

> art, we need to study it as a whole, starting from pre-historic and pre-Islamic period till today.
> …
> Turkish Art, which emerged in central Asia, has retained its original artistic character since all periods. However, it has been influenced by other arts and altered by change in the environment, daily life and other circumstances for hundreds of years. Thus, we see three ages of Turkish art:
> 1. Turkish Art in Pre-Historic period
> 2. Turkish Art in Central Asia and Anatolia in Pre-Islamic Period
> 3. Turkish Art in Central Asia and Anatolia in Islamic Period
>
> Turkish Art in Anatolia in Islamic Period is also studied in two titles: Seljuk and Ottoman Art."[319]

Arseven proposed a theory that concentrated on non-Islamic and non-Ottoman roots of Turkish art and architecture. He also cultivated the secularist republican image through de-marking Islamic elements in Turkish architectural history. Indeed, he put vernacular architecture on the agenda for the first time, including a chapter for the Turkish House in his book. Although Arseven did not offer a focused analysis of civil architecture in rural Anatolia, he crucially emphasized the rural house as an "Anatolian form" evolved since ancient times – the Hittites –[320] and he generated a discussion on Turkish Art and Architecture which involved the repertoire of rural motifs in Anatolia.

Starting from the 1920s the pursuit of a "national" and "modern" architecture that advocated the republican ideology, dominated the architectural atmosphere in Turkey. However, disagreement continued in the discussion regarding style, Turkishness and modernization. As mentioned previously, the first years of the republic were dominated by institutional and political reforms intended to establish the structure and administration of the new nation state. The reinforced political power of the RPP in 1930 shifted the focus of the primary political objectives, namely to the fundamental goal of achieving an improved civilization under the umbrella of a powerful nation state. Therefore, the building activities of the state developed into a significant tool not only for modernization, but also for nationalization of the population. After the transition period of 1920s, in 1930s, building and planning the country occurred as a part of two central aims: one was

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[319] Celal Esad Arseven, *Türk Sanatı* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevı, 1970), pp. 7. Author's translation.
[320] Arseven, pp. 104–18. Sibel Bozdoğan comments on Celal Esad Arseven's approach here: Bozdoğan, 'Turkish Architecture between Ottomanism and Modernisim 1873-1931', p. 123. For further reading on Celal Esad Arseven and his view on emergence of Turkish Art and Architecture, see B. O. Celal (Esad) (Arseven), 'Türk Sanatı', *Mimar*, 31.07 (1933), 219–20.Celal (Esad) (Arseven), 'Büyük İnkılap Önünde Milli Mimari Meselesi', *Mimar*, 06 (30) (1933), 163–64.

the broadening of republican ideology, and the other was the implementation of a statist economy.[321]

Although the Great Depression played an important role in the strategies for forming the built environment from cities to the countryside, at the same time, the enthusiasm for the accomplishments of the Kemalist reforms dominated the realm of this era. More specifically, the state operations directed the architecture to describe the "old" and the "new" culture, emphasizing the replacement of the "old" with the "new". While the "new" referred to the republican reforms and was affirmed as a progressive path, the "old" was rebuffed as the remnants of a demolished empire. A radical disengagement between the new and the old characterized both ideology and form. Thus, the modernist approach of early 20th Century for Turkish architecture superseded Ottoman revivalism. In other words, the authorities unconditionally rejected the architectural culture that referenced Islamic roots in order to complete the transition to Western culture.

Westernization in architecture, aimed by the Kemalist regime, was mostly achieved by architects, city planners and experts coming from German-speaking countries who played a crucial role in forming the built environment starting from 1925 till the late 1950s. The scale and quality of their works presented not only utilitarian solutions for Turkey's urbanization and development needs in the countryside. They also served as symbolic agents for the modernization aspirations of the early republican regime. German-speaking actors took part in the urban planning, designing the public buildings and the demonstration spaces for the republic such as public parks and squares. Although it was declared that these experts were welcome as the transmitters of modernist architecture, most of them did not practice the "Modernism", which indeed began to lose its avant-garde status in art and architecture in the 1930s. German and Austrian architects and planners, most of the time offered rapid functional solutions for various necessities in the building program determined by the early republican agenda. These experts developed the typologies that emerged with the new state's program without a prior consideration of modernist aesthetics. Nevertheless, they were appreciated as modern artifacts by the

[321] Afife Batur, *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey during the 20th Century*, 1st ed (Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005), pp. 8–10. Afife Batur, 'To Be Modern: Search for A Republican Architecture', in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. by Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), pp. 68–93 (pp. 68–69).

early republican cadre who were not as well acquainted with avant-garde art and architecture as the European counterparts.[322]

In 1925, the German architect Carl Christoph Lörcher was entrusted with the urban planning of Ankara, and until 1928, the plan he proposed shaped the capital city of the new republic. In 1928, German architect and planner Hermann Jansen assumed the duty of building the Kemalist Ankara. Within Jansen's urban plan, between 1927 and1935, the Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister designed the government quarter, comprised of a traditional approach in a monumental sense. In 1927, the Austrian architect and planner Ernst Egli was invited as a master architect for the educational building by the Turkish state. In 1930, he became the director of the Architecture Department of the Fine Arts Academy in Istanbul. Later, Bruno Taut, Martin Wagner, Ernst Reuter, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Wilhelm Schütte and many other experts participated in the construction for Turkey during the early republican years. Starting from the late 20s, Turkish architects were, most of the time, replaced by their German-speaking colleagues in the practice of realizing built environment for republican government.[323]

At first, this realm dominated by German-speaking individuals, pushed Turkish architects to follow a form of architectural "modernism" that was either a repetition of the European avant-garde of early 1920s, or a synthesis of monumentalism and functionalism. Some of the young Turkish architects contributed in the production of the new regime's architecture. **(Figure 3.1, 3.2, 3.3)** Although they were comparably qualified, the field of practice had been limited for Turkish architects. They had to compete and compromise in a building market led by German-speakers. As a result, Turkish architects and planners directed their work to different areas in practice and theory.[324]

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[322] Batur, *A Concise History*, pp. 18–24. For a general reading on German-speaking architects during the early republican period, see Bernd Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil: Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei, 1925-1955* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1998)., Burcu Dogramaci, *Kulturtransfer und nationale Identität: Deutschsprachige Architekten, Stadtplaner und Bildhauer in der Türkei nach 1927* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2008)., and Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

[323] Here German-speaking actors and their impulse on Turkish architectural realm are briefly discussed in a general context. Their influence on rurality and rural settlements will be discussed in following chapters in detail focusing on works of Ernst Reuter, Ernst Egli and Margarete Schütte Lihotzky during their stay in Turkey.

[324] For further comments on this subject, see İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı, 1923-1938* (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2010), pp. 32–33., and İlhan Tekeli, 'The Social Context of the Development of Architecture In Turkey', in *Modern Turkish Architecture*, ed. by Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), pp. 9–33 (p. 18).

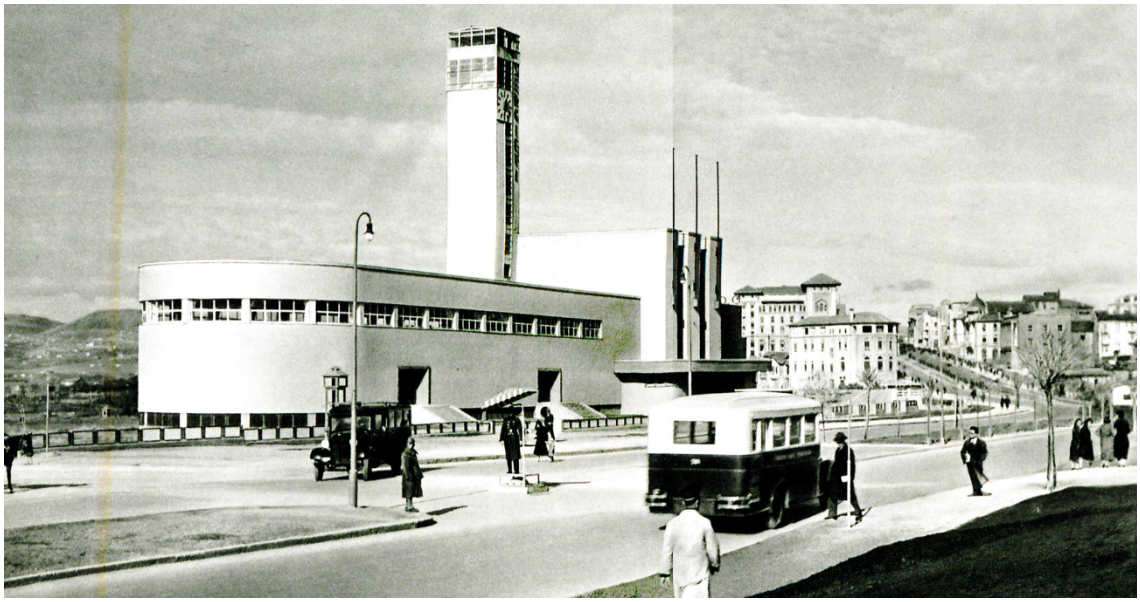

**Figure 3.1** Ankara Exhibition Hall, designed by architect Şevki Balmumcu, built in 1933.[325] (Fotoğraflarla Türkiye, 1936)

**Figure 3.2.** Ankara Railway Station, designed by architect Şekip Akalın, built in 1935-1937.[326] (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1938)

[325] *Fotoğraflarla Türkiye, La Turquie En Image, Turkey in Pictures, Die Türkei Im Bild* (Ankara: Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü, 1936).
[326] 'Ankara Construit', *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 25–26.Août-Octobre (1938), 28–31 (p. 29).

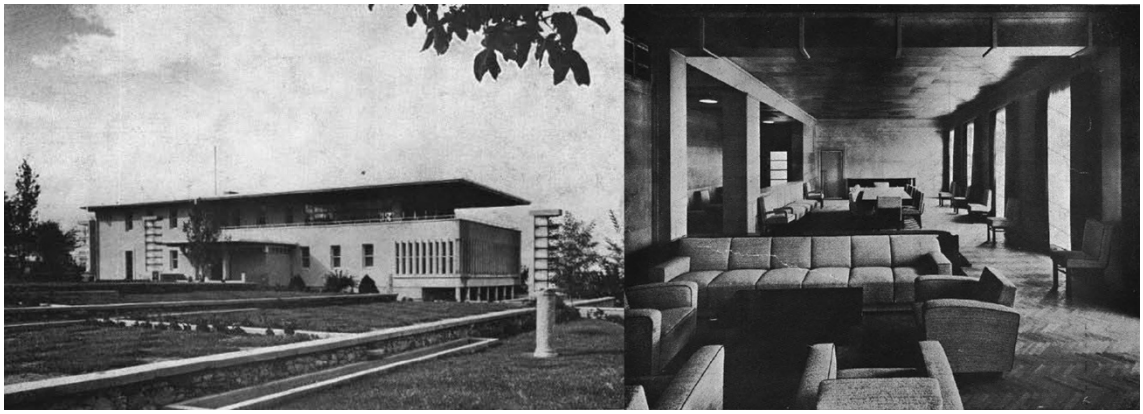

**Figure 3.3.** Mansion for Foreign Affairs in Ankara, designed by architect Seyfi Arkan, built in 1934.[327] (*Arkitekt*, 1935)

Following that, most Turkish architects concentrated on private projects such as apartment buildings and family houses for private clients. **(Figure 3.4, Figure 3.5)** They re-considered and re-evaluated the modern living conditions in the housing concept, pointing to the modernist aesthetics in the living space for a "progressing Turkish culture" and "modern Turkish family". Turkish architects, who implemented modernist approaches in housing design, declared it as "Cubic Architecture"[328]. Referring only a stylistic term, "Cubic Architecture" brought about another ambiguity in architectural practice, since it was not considered an in-depth analysis but rather an aesthetical designation.[329]

In 1939, architect Behçet Ünsal disapproved the expression of the "Cubic" style and called to separate the term from Modern architecture:

> Our wooden houses with a large *sofa*[330] have become hard to live in because the living conditions in machine age have been altered. This is why it is necessary to move into the new style home, apartment houses with a rounded façade, nook windows. However, our cubic buildings do not look like to the ones, which keep up with the social transformation of the world. The cubic building, we all are displeasured with, is a caricature. It is a result of a commercial concern. These

[327] Seyfi Arkan, 'Hariciye Köşkü', *Arkitekt*, 11–12.59–60 (1935), 311–16 (pp. 311, 315).
[328] Sibel Bozdoğan comments on 'Cubic Architecture' here: Sibel Bozdoğan, 'The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Archtiectural Culture: An Overview', in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, Publications on the Near East (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), pp. 133–56 (p. 137).
[329] Early republican novelist Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu also narrated and criticized the will of modernist design so called 'cubic style' in his book Ankara. See Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004).
[330] *Sofa* refers to a semi-private hall, and most of the time, a living room in the traditional Turkish house.

> buildings have no convenient plan. They drenched no Sun, their positioning to the site is incorrect. One can connect with the green through only pot plants. Such an unhealthy building…
>
> Calling this irrational and bizarre building 'cubic', we actually caricaturize all the inconveniencies and obstacles. We shouldn't confuse this ambiguous style with the modern style, which includes improved techniques and ideas of our age. Therefore, we should use the term Modern Architecture in order to refer to an artifact which is rational and up-to-date.[331]

Sibel Bozdoğan highlights that early republican approaches in architecture, based on Modernism, were mainly perceived in two ways by Turkish intelligentsia: Modernism for the revolution in architecture, and Modernism for the architecture of revolution. The first statement introduced an aspiration for a "new" built environment via Modernist architecture, the second one proposed a "new" building form and program for the institutions of the "republican revolution". Both ways asserted that modernist style and its aesthetic represented a specific political orientation, which would connect Turkey to a more developed part of the world.[332] "Modern Architecture" emerged as an essential device for the nation state and it was applied as a top-down program by the republican authority and elites. This fact restrained the spread of critical and progressive modernism in the architectural culture of Turkey. Indeed, "Modern Architecture" became a term for modern forms and agents of the republican project and hence the agents of legitimation for the new regime.[333]

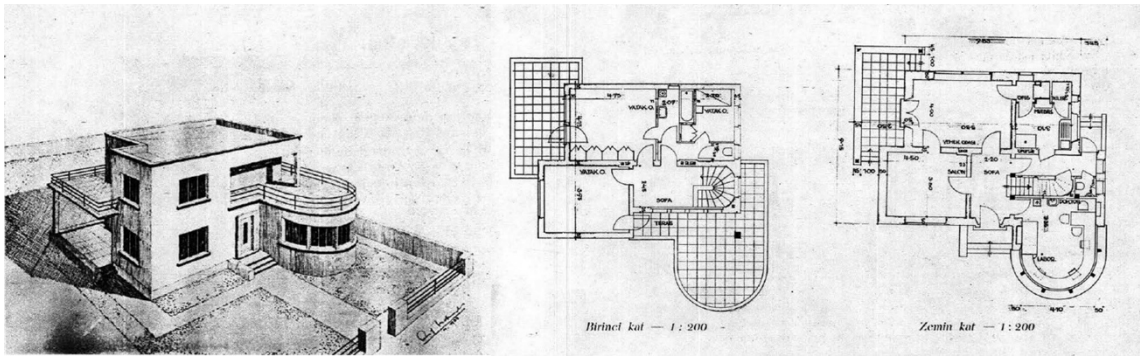


**Figure 3.4.** Single house for Celal B. in Yenişehir, Ankara, designed by architect Arif Hikmet Holtay, 1932.[334] (*Mimar*, 1932)

[331] Behçet Ünsal, 'Kübik Yapı ve Konfor', *Arkitekt*, 99–100.03–04 (1939), 60–62 (p. 60). Author's translation.
[332] Sibel Bozdoğan, 'Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı' (unpublished Lecture Notes, Istanbul Bilgi University, Master Program in Architectural Design, 2009).
[333] Bozdoğan, 'The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Archtiectural Culture: An Overview', p. 138.
[334] Arif Hikmet (Holtay), 'Dr. Celal B. Evi', *Mimar*, 22.10 (1932), 286–87 (p. 287).

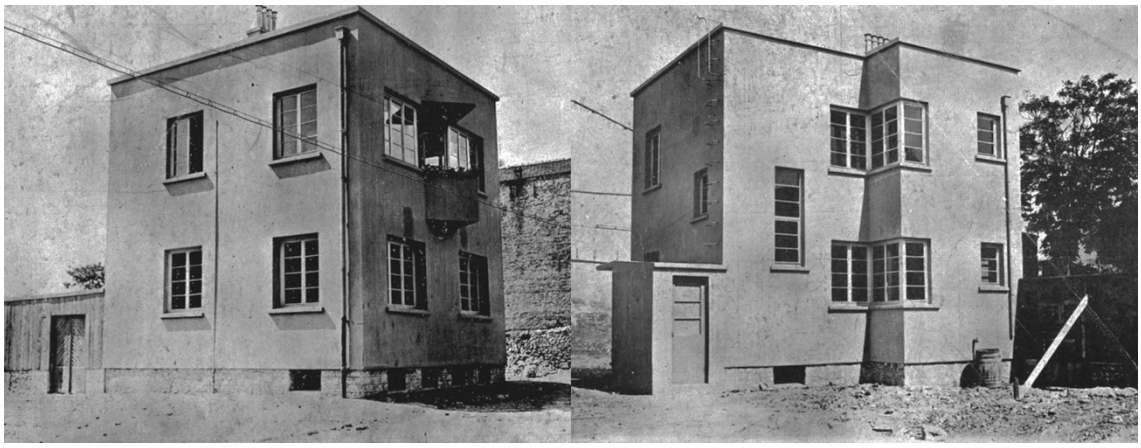

**Figure 3.5.** Single house for H. Ziya Bey in Samatya, Istanbul, designed by architect Abidin Mortaş, 1931.[335] (*Mimar*, 1931)

Nevertheless, the so called "cubic style" that Turkish architects applied in private projects, and the "architecture of revolution" that Turkish authorities affirmed as the state architecture, both started to be criticized in the aesthetic concept, based on functional and rational fulfilment deprived of the national notions. This time the intelligentsia argued that it led to alienation in its design.

Turkish scholars questioned the form and style, detached from a familiar pattern, initiating the discussion on a national and modernized Turkish architecture. In 1933, architects called for a new synthesis, diverging from the "Architecture of Revolution" from Ottoman revivalism and also from "Modernism" applied by foreign architects: They saw Ottoman architecture as a medieval practice that had lost its value. But reading and analyzing the past with utilitarian and "modern" eyes could be essential for a national architecture completely consisting of "Turkish soul". They believed that "Architecture of Turkish Revolution" would be achieved only by Turkish architects. European architects should contribute in Turkish architecture in terms of technique and methods, but they could not determine the national character, while Turkish architects could accomplish the cultural and national success with Turkish mindset.[336]

In the journal *Mimar* (later *Arkitekt*), scholars asserted that "modern and national building is the most beautiful building, of which convenience in the place has been proved after a

[335] Abidin (Mortaş), 'H. Ziya Bey Evi', *Mimar*, 08.08 (1931), 255–60 (pp. 257–58).
[336] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, pp. 56–61; Bozdoğan, 'Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı'.

rational study. (But) It is the fact that each country has its own architecture so as it has its own (national) character."[337] Disconnection in the contemporary style and lack of locality in existing buildings and planning were perceived as the greatest problem in the architectural realm. Therefore, the "Folk Architecture" should be put on the agenda of Turkish architecture. At least, local and regional notions should be considered in design.

The pursuit of an original Turkish architecture continued in the synthesis of a "modern" and "national" one. İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu introduced three principles that Turkish architecture should consist of: One, modern techniques and structure (such as reinforced concrete). Two, the exclusion of medieval Turkish motives, with three, an emphasis on Turkishness in composition.[338]

Baltacıoğlu pointed to Bruno Taut's building for the Faculty of Language and History in Ankara University as a realization of the principles for a modern and national Turkish architecture. He endorsed Bruno Taut and his architecture stating that he was "a German who is not Turkish but conceives the Turkish dream better than a Turkish architect".[339]

İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu insisted on the search for traditional approaches in Turkish architecture, concentrating not on the decoration but rather the function, structure and material use. Therefore, a historical building should be analyzed in terms of its general plan and location, its building material, its architectural details and the relationship between these details with "rational eyes".[340] He believed that "Turkishness" would be performed in local details of the building, like it had been performed in "traditional Turkish house" since ages.[341]

Another important figure, Sedad Hakkı Eldem, continued the discussion of "national" and "modern" Turkish architecture further than in the silent debates of the 1930s. Eldem studied architecture in the Academy of Fine Arts Istanbul and graduated in 1928. In 1929, he travelled in Europe and became acquainted with avant-garde groups. During this

[337] Behçet and Bedrettin, 'Türk İnkılap Mimarisi', *Mimar*, 33–34.09–10 (1933), 265–66.
[338] İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, 'Mimaride Türk'e Doğru, 9 Temmuz 1941', in *Türk'e Doğru* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil, Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1994), pp. 111–14 (p. 113).
[339] Baltacıoğlu, 'Mimaride Türk'e Doğru, 9 Temmuz 1941', p. 114.
[340] İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, 'Mimaride Türklük, 15 Ağustos 1942', in *Türk'e Doğru* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil, Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1994), pp. 115–18 (pp. 117–18).
[341] İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, 'Evde Türk'e Doğru, (Tarihsiz)', in *Türk'e Doğru* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil, Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1994), pp. 119–22 (p. 120).

vacation he developed a form of early vernacular modernism, drawing country houses, typically placed in an imagined Anatolian landscape reaching to the sea.

According to Sibel Bozdoğan, Sedad Hakkı Eldem's concept for a national architecture in these drawings was rooted in being a part of Mediterranean culture and aesthetic movement – "Blue Anatolia Movement". This movement was carried on by Turkish artists in 1960s, who sought the roots of Turkish culture in the ancient Anatolian civilizations. However, he did not include a categorization for the building tradition of Anatolian houses.[342]

In 1933, Sedad Hakkı Eldem began working on the seminar for a national architecture – *Milli Mimari Semineri* as the assistant of Ernst Egli, the head of the Architecture Faculty in the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. He focused on civil architecture, especially the concept of the Turkish House. Without addressing class hierarchy, he analyzed traditional houses from the mansions on the Bosporus to small village houses in the outskirts of Istanbul.[343]

Starting from his studies with Ernst Egli, Sedad Hakkı Eldem constructed his theories on modern Turkish architecture. In his article, "Towards a National [native] Architecture" – *Yerli Mimariye Dogru*, published in 1940 in *Arkitekt* – the mouthpiece of architectural realm of Turkey since 1931 – Eldem highlighted the emergence of an architectural style that reflected the locality by emphasizing cultural and national elements with modern techniques and construction. Indeed, he described a rigid architectural model focused on locality: He proposed reaching a consensus on a native architectural style that should then be supported by the regime as well as it had been in Germany and Italy. The authorities should concentrate on building politics nourished by local ideas and conceptions in the building program. According to Eldem, the program should also be based on local material, climate and soil, and carried out by local architects, engineers, technicians and

[342] Sibel Bozdoğan, 'Unutulmuş Bir Başka Sedad Eldem Çizgisi: Makine Çağına Karşı Lirik Bir Anadolu/Akdeniz Modernizmi', in *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 2: Retrospektif*, ed. by Bülent Tanju and Uğur Tanyeli (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2009), pp. 14–23 (pp. 20–21).
[343] Esra Akcan, 'Eldem, Arseven, Egli ve "Türk Evi" Tezinin Algılanan Nesnelliği', in *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 2: Retrospektif*, ed. by Bülent Tanju and Uğur Tanyeli (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2009), pp. 47–53 (p. 47).

laborers. Thereafter, the national architecture would profit in the economy, industry, as well as in the educational, ethical and cultural realms of the society.[344]

In fact, Eldem insisted on a determined architectural style, which could avoid evolving from ambiguity. He believed that during the first years of the republican reforms, foreigners working in the country had the duty to shape the built environment in order to quickly fulfil the needs of the country. He argued that by the end of 30s, however, Turkish architecture was equipped to construct a native style both in theory and practice.[345]

Eldem's reflections on the 1930s' Kemalist projects for the architectural sphere pointed to a common sense for the discussion. Turkish architects and intellectuals, in terms of the national – "native" in Eldem's words – culture, continuously criticized the politics, the state architecture and the built environment, even though they enthusiastically participated in the reformist era. However, architects, intellectuals and the authorities agreed on the idea of "Modern" in the sense in which the early republican achievements were centered around. Gülsüm Baydar (Nalbantoğlu) convincingly explains the eccentricity of the "Modern" in early republican culture, as well as architecture:

> In the early years of nation building, economic reconstruction, and enrichment, when the vast majority of the population dwelt in villages and small towns, the critique of capitalist production had no urgency, at least in the field of architecture. It is not surprising, therefore, that the discourse and practice of early republican Turkish architects embodied a rhetoric of modernity very different from that of their European counterparts. Not suffering significantly from the ills of massive urbanization, capitalism, and the environmental impacts of technological growth, their utopia was based not on a critique of the present, but on hopes filling a cultural void created by self-conscious denial of the immediate past.[346]

The challenge for Turkish architects in this period was to form an alternative realm for their participation. They pointed to the problems in republican projects in terms of the emergence of a Turkish architecture, with the desire to position themselves in the market. Together with this fact, the effort of German-speaking experts in the field of built environment encouraged the materialization of a culturally distinct Turkish architecture.

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[344] Sedad (Hakkı) Eldem, 'Yerli Mimariye Doğru', *Arkitekt*, 111–112.03–04 (1940), 69–74. For further reading on Sedad Hakki Eldem see also, Sibel Bozdoğan, Süha Özkan, and Engin Yenal, *Sedad Eldem: Architect in Turkey*, Architects in the Third World (Singapore : New York, N.Y., U.S.A: Concept Media ; Aperture, 1987).

[345] 'Milli Mimari Meselesi', *Arkitekt*, 105–106.09–10 (1939), 220–23 (p. 221).

[346] Gulsum Baydar Nalbantoglu, 'Between Civilization and Culture: Appropriation of Traditional Dwelling Forms in Early Republican Turkey', *Journal of Architectural Education (1984-)*, 47.2 (1993), 66 (p. 70).

Another angle of the discussion connected the rurality and urban language: The rural Anatolia and the cities in the countryside were both considered as a source of national identity in architectural culture and a place to be modernized. Together with urbanization projects in Anatolian cities, notions of rural architecture were also studied. Here architecture emerged as another tool to justify a Turkish Anatolia as in other disciplines during the early republican era.

### 3.2 Ankara: Planning for the Republic

Anthony D. Smith states that modernizing reforms on the social and cultural stage of early republican Turkey targeted the cities and countryside in order to redefine the Turkish nation as a territorial political community of which "Anatolian people" made up an ethnic state.[347] Reconstruction of Anatolian cities and countryside, and particularly the construction of Ankara as the republican capital, undeniably emerged from the wish in Turkish history to create the architecture and urban planning that would play a crucial role to build a "republican realm of memory"[348], as described by Pierre Nora. Therefore, one can interpret that Ankara developed into the monumental example of the Kemalist project starting from the early 20s. The city was a demonstration the Anatolian myth of the nation-building and modernization program of the state on a smaller scale, showing what was to be accomplished in the entire country.

The making of Ankara as the capital of Turkey had various dimension in the political, strategical and ideological sense. Separating the new state from Istanbul was a significant act, demonstrating the rejection of imperial space by the republican intelligentsia. Ilhan Tekeli notes that shifting from the imperial capital Istanbul to the republican capital Ankara occurred as a result of seeking a new formula for Westernization that sought to distinguish the state from the Ottoman Empire, which republican elites identified as decadent and decrepit.[349] As a matter of the fact, early republican authority sought to be

[347] Smith, *National Identity*, p. 104.
[348] Pierre Nora, *Hafıza Mekanları*, trans. by Mehmet Emin Özcan (İstanbul: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 2006), p. 12.
[349] İlhan Tekeli, 'Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması', in *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, ed. by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, trans. by Nurettin Elhüseyni, 2. Basım (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi Yurt Yayınları, 1999), pp. 136–52 (p. 146).

located in a place where the new formula of modernization and nation building could be actualized and legitimized all together.[350]

First of all, Ankara was the heart of command during the War of Independence and Greco-Turkish War. When the Grand National Assembly was formed on the 23rd of April 1920, the city also gained an administration function. And in the 1924 Constitution, within the second article, it was declared, "Ankara is the capital city of the State of Turkey"[351]. Starting from the late 1920s and during 1930s, the city emerged as the center of the "national, modern and progressive" Turkish state. According to Afife Batur, making Ankara the capital city of Turkey was firstly a political decision. It was an act that emphasized the identity and power of the new regime and its contrast to the previous one. It was a radical, ideological and revolutionary choice establishing a stark disengagement from Istanbul – the city that was cosmopolitan, monarchic and identified as Ottoman. Moreover, Ankara stood as the only city where history and identity was born with the War of Independence and thereafter with the new regime, as opposed to Istanbul, which had been already a historical world-city.[352]

The German ambassador Rudolf Nadolny, who assisted with not only diplomatic relations between two countries, but also introduced the German-speaking lobby to the Turkish state[353], noted another significant reason for the choice of Ankara as a capital city. He agreed that there had been many justifications, such as Ankara's strategic location and its identification as a starting point of the new Turkish state, but he also emphasized that Ankara was a Turkish-populated city compared to Istanbul or other larger and developed cities in Anatolia. The ethnic diversity of Istanbul – a city where the Levantines and non-Muslim groups dominated economic, social and cultural life, would not support the development a nation state as imagined by the republican elites.[354] Therefore, Ankara also

[350] See Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey*, pp. 23–24.
[351] TBMM, *Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu*, 1924. The constitution is dated 20/4/1340(1924) and numbered 491. The 2nd Article is: "Islam is the religion of the State of Turkey. Turkish is the official language of the State of Turkey. Ankara is the capital city of the State of Turkey." (Türkiye devletinin dini İslâmdır; resmi dili Türkçedir, makkarı Ankara şehridir.)
[352] Afife Batur, 'Ankara'nın Başkent Oluşu ve Kentsel Oluşu: Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türk Mimarlığı', *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1984), p. 1384.
[353] Zeynep Kezer introduces Nadolny's contribution in German-Turkish diplomacy during the early years of the republic and she displays the origin of the relationships between Turkish government and German-speaking expatriates here: Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey*, pp. 60–68.
[354] Rudolf Nadolny, *Mein Beitrag* (Wiesbaden: Limes Verlag, 1955), p. 95.

emerged as a place where the state could identify itself as Turkish and could hence realize the ideal of Turkish Anatolia.

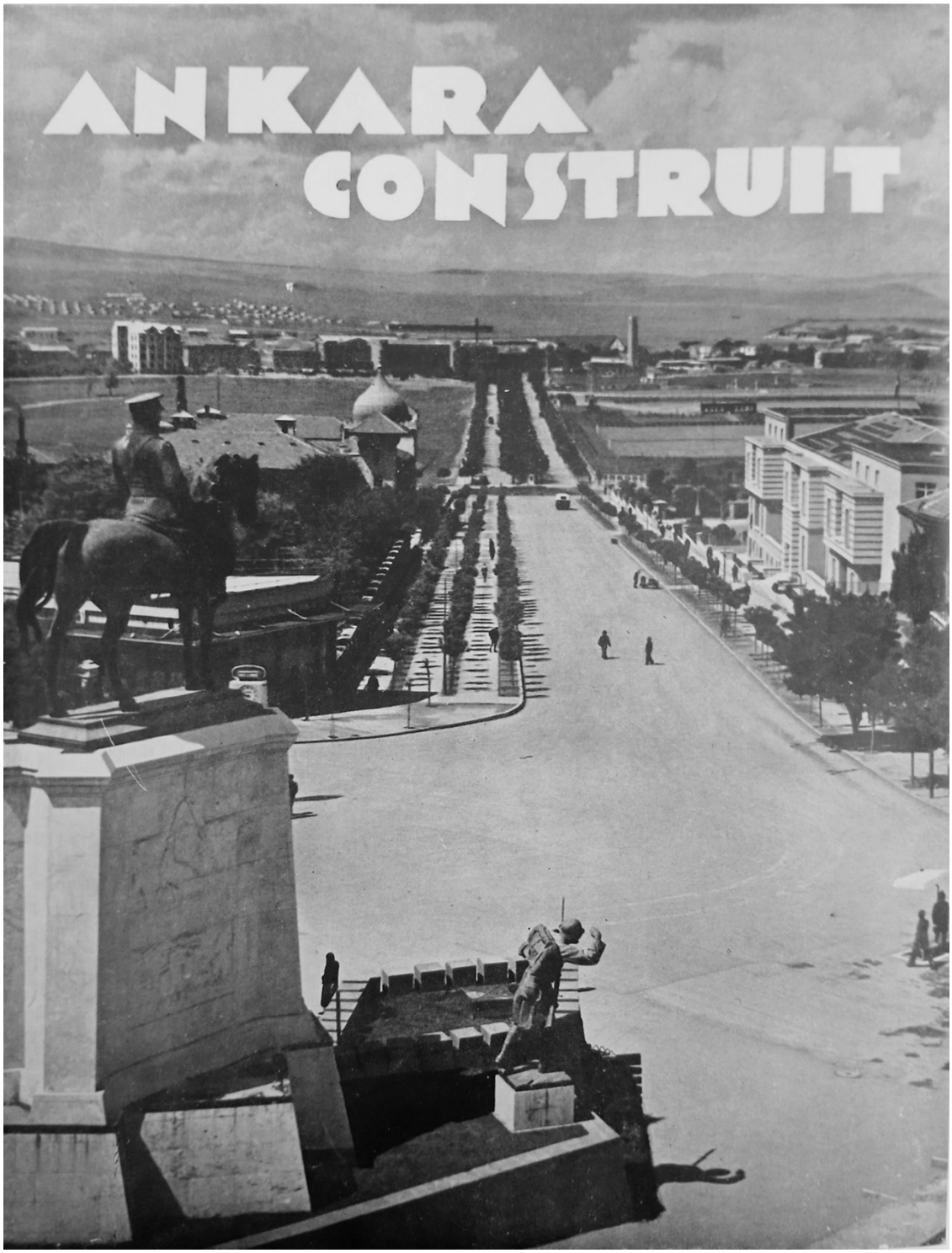


**Figure 3.6.** *Ankara Construit*, a view from Ulus (Nation) Square in 1930s.[355] The large boulevards meet in the new administration quarter of Ankara, with a statue of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1937)

[355] 'Ankara Constriut', *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 19.Juin (1937), 30–32 (p. 30).

The Istanbul-Ankara separation was illustrated in many mediums during the early republican years. For instance, in the magazine La Turquie Kemaliste – published in French, German and English –, the piece titled "*Ankara Construit*" – Ankara (is being) built – depicted the construction in the city. **(Figure 3.6)** After this, the landscape from the country, including Istanbul, was also portrayed with pictures in the following sections. It was unquestionable, however, that building the capital city Ankara was the most crucial theme in the magazine, rather than expressing nostalgia towards other towns of the country. Among the subjects Istanbul, furthermore, was given as much significance as any other towns in the country, not emphasizing its Ottoman heritage.

In short, construction of Ankara was believed to be the source of national identity. It evolved into the representation of the modernization project of the new regime, as well as nationalization and hence Turkification of the country. In other words, starting from the early years of the republic, Ankara was modernized by architectonic agents, and nationalized by administrational agents. The making of Ankara was considered the space for Westernization, Modernization, and nation building dreams that lasted for several decades.

Nevertheless, during the time that the rhetoric of Ankara was developed, there were not only ideological reasons to reshape the Anatolian city into a capital of new Turkey. There were also pragmatic intentions for an overall reconstruction, architecturally and institutionally. The new population influx, which first consisted of the republican elites and politicians, then foreign experts, ambassadors, and also bureaucratic laborers, generated a major demand for a new built environment during the early years of the republic. Also, new building construction was urgently needed to implement the new administrative apparatus of the state.

These new dynamics, which necessitated the urbanization of Ankara according to modern and national goals, triggered negotiations on a development plan in 1924, in accordance with law number 583. The Act was crucial, since it later evolved into a basic law for the urban growth and planning of other cities as well. This also shows that Ankara became the model for Anatolia as the center of the republic in administrational terms, but also as the stage for the republican building activities. During the meetings there were several problems that were the focus of the members of parliament. But the main task was to

determine the function of the old-town and the construction of a new-town, assessing the potential of expropriation for housing, finding resources for expropriation and estimating prices, and the controlling speculation on the real estate market. In consequence, a law governing "building a new-town", "expropriating for housing and other urban needs with a consideration of paying the precedent value of the land" was enacted.[356] This law paved the way for the first master plan for Ankara, proposed by Dr. Carl Ch. Lörcher who worked as a member of the architecture and planning committee (Baukommission) in the municipality of Istanbul (*İstanbul Şehremaneti*) in 1925.

Lörcher situated the new plan on the southern edge of the old town, centering the new railway station and establishing a direct vein to the governmental quarter and parliament at the end of the axis. The road system was simply structured in different divisions according to the function of each area. The main boulevard started from the railway station and extended to the government quarter and the parliament in the south. In the east, in Çankaya, he proposed a housing quarter for the inhabitants of the new Ankara, including the government members and officers. Furthermore, the plan included facilities for a modern urban life, such as a boulevard for commercial activities with three-story buildings, a forum equipped with ministries, museums, and libraries, a national park on the highest part of the land next to the railway station with a monumental building and statue, and electrically-illuminated streets.[357] **(Figure 3.7, Figure 3.8)**

In 1927, the government organized a competition among three urban experts - Leon Jausseley – French architect and urban planner who had planned the extension of Barcelona in 1907, Josef Brix – German urban planner and academic who had lectured in city planning in the Technical University of Charlottenburg in Berlin, and Hermann Jansen – German architect and urban planner who became well-known after he had won the new urban planning competition of Berlin in 1910. After three entrants submitted

[356] Fehmi Yavuz and Ruşen Keleş, 'Başkent Ankara Için Elli Yıl Önce Çıkarılan 583 Sayılı Yasa Üzerinde Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde Yapılan Görüşmeler', *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 29.05 (1974), 1–32 (pp. 1–2). For the Law numbered 583 see the document, 'TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Cilt 15, S. 259-268', 1924. For further reading on early negotiation on urbanization of Ankara see also, Fehmi Yavuz, 'Cumhuriyet Devri Ankarasının İmarında Birinci Merhale, 1923-1938 Arsa Meselesi', *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 05.01 (1950), 282–97. and Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkentin İmarı: Ankara, 1929-1939* (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1993).

[357] Carl Ch. Lörcher, 'Das neue Regierungsviertel der Stadt Angora, von Carl Ch. Lörcher, B.D.A. Charlottenburg', *Der Städtebau*, 9–10 (1925), 144–45.

proposal plans, in 1928, the Turkish government agreed that Hermann Jansen should become Ankara's new planner.[358]

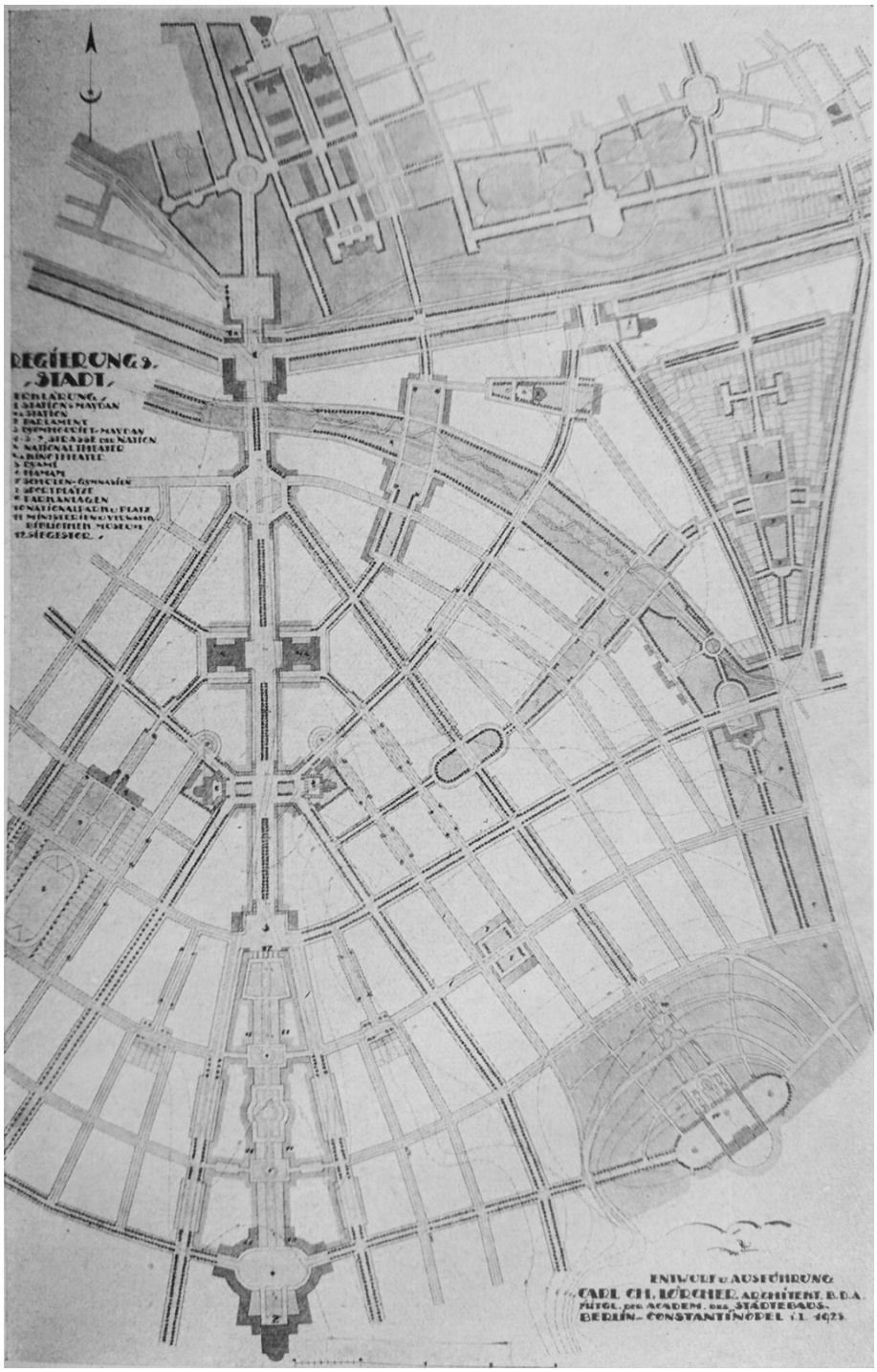


**Figure 3.7.** Lörcher's Master Plan for the capital city Ankara.[359] (*Der Städtebau,* 1925)

[358] *Ankara Şehrinin Profesör M. Jausseley, Jansen ve Brix TaraflarındanYapılan Plan ve Projelerine Ait İzahnameler* (Ankara: Hakimiyeti Milliye Matbaası, 1929), pp. 3–4.
[359] Lörcher, p. 144.

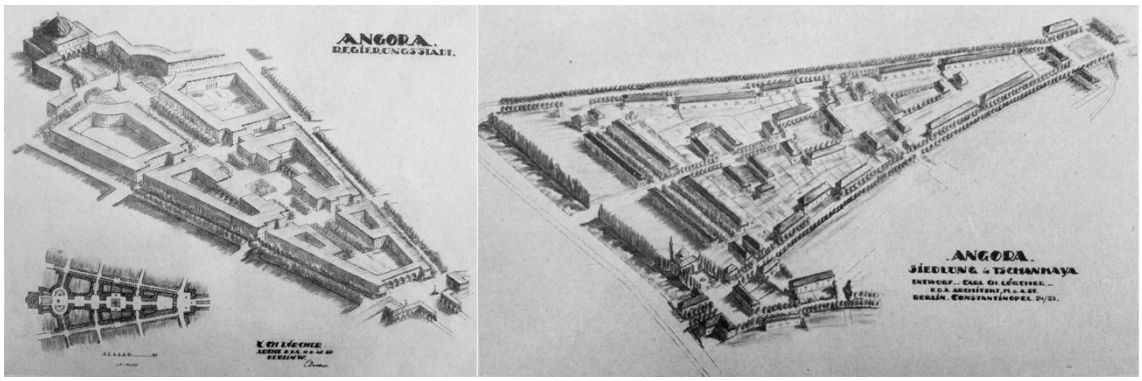


**Figure 3.8.** (On the left) Lörcher's Plan for the government quarter, (on the right) Lörcher's Plan for the housing quarter in Çankaya.[360] (*Der Städtebau,* 1925)

Jansen's first project decided on the Citadel area as the center of the city, especially for nation building activities. He aimed to present the old town with its landmark – the Citadel as a symbolic hearth of the capital city of new Turkey:

> Citadel will be placed in the center of the national life in cultural and political terms and it will be preserved for the next generations. The Citadel will play a similar role as in Capitol area in Rome. And, Turkey will be a respected country as well as any other European countries. Each bastion of the Citadel will be named with a Turkish city that involved in reconstruction.[361] (Emphasis added)

Having the center in the Citadel, Jansen arranged the city by separating it into old and new towns on the north-south axis. In the proposed plan, he located the new town around the old town – on the south, west and south-west side of old Ankara, with sections for the government quarter, universities, residential areas for high and middle classes, workers' quarters and industrial area, airport, and a stadium. Moreover, the plan was grounded on the "social and hygienic" requirements of a modern city: The industrial area was located on west, so that that inhabitants would not encounter smoke and other environmental difficulties. The recreational areas such as artificial lakes and parks were designed according to inhabitants needs. Streets were arranged so as to allow maximum sunlight.

[360] Lörcher, p. 145.
[361] Hermann Jansen, 'Berlin Mühendis Mektebi Alisi Müderrislerinden Prof. Dr. h.c. Hermann Jansen'in Ankara Şehri İmar Projesi İzahı', in *Ankara Şehrinin Profesör M. Jausseley, Jansen ve Brix TaraflarındanYapılan Plan ve Projelerine Ait İzahnameler* (Ankara: Hakimiyeti Milliye Matbaası, 1929), pp. 135–58 (p. 137). Author's translation.

He also proposed a residential project on the north-eastern part of the city, assuming the population would reach up to 300 thousand inhabitants.[362] **(Figure 3.9, Figure 3.10)**

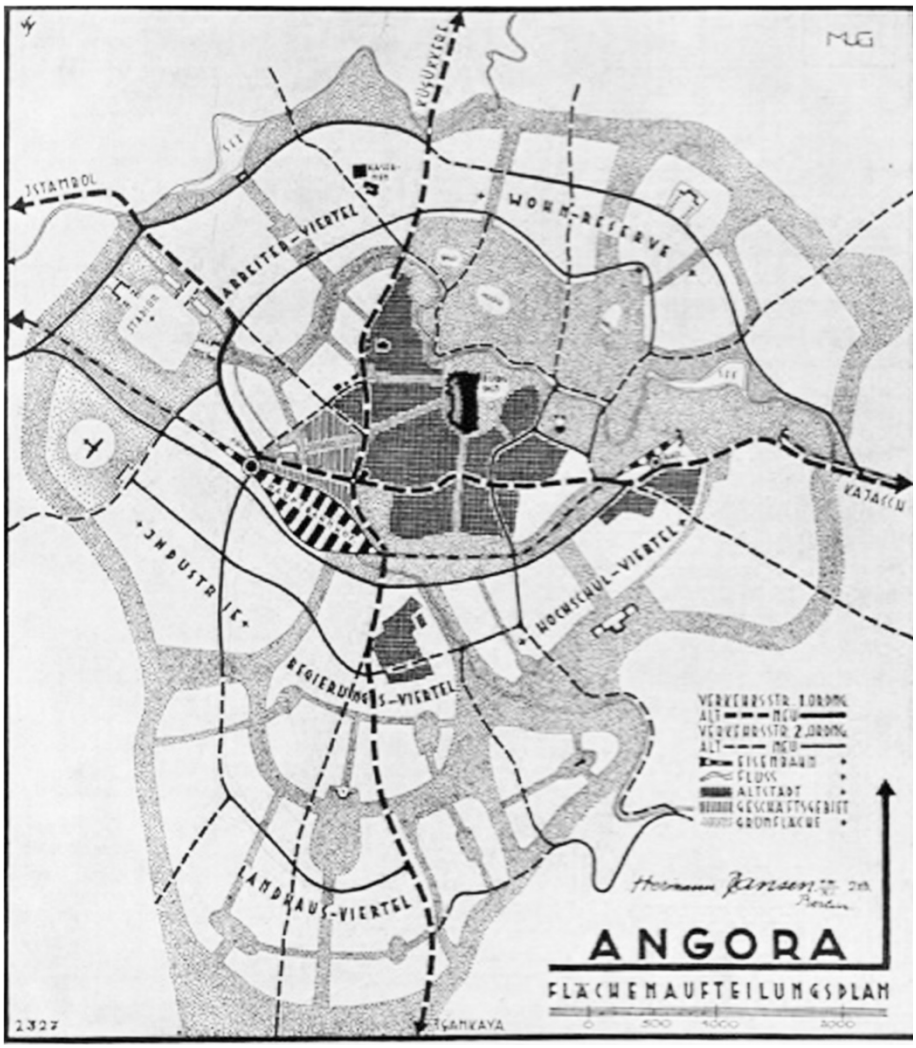


**Figure 3.9.** Hermann Jansen's Master Plan for Ankara.[363] (*Der Städtebau,* 1929)

The significance of Jansen's plan was that it introduced a zoning system that took into account the varying land uses. He drew lines of demarcation between each zone with green areas. From this point of view, Jansen's Ankara plan contained notions of the Garden-City concept that he practiced in planning of Frohnau, Dahlem and Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin in the beginning of the 20th Century.[364] The zones of the new city were formed as if each fragment was equipped with modern urban features such as large

[362] Jansen, pp. 138–39. and Burhan Arif, 'Ankara'nın İmarı Projesi', *Mimar*, 26.02 (1933), 48–49.
[363] 'Hermann Jansen, zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag', *Der Städtebau*, 10 (1929), 269–84 (pp. 269).
[364] Bernd Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil: Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei, 1925-1955* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1998), p. 67.

boulevards meeting the square and public parks, alongside monumental, institutional and residential buildings in the city.

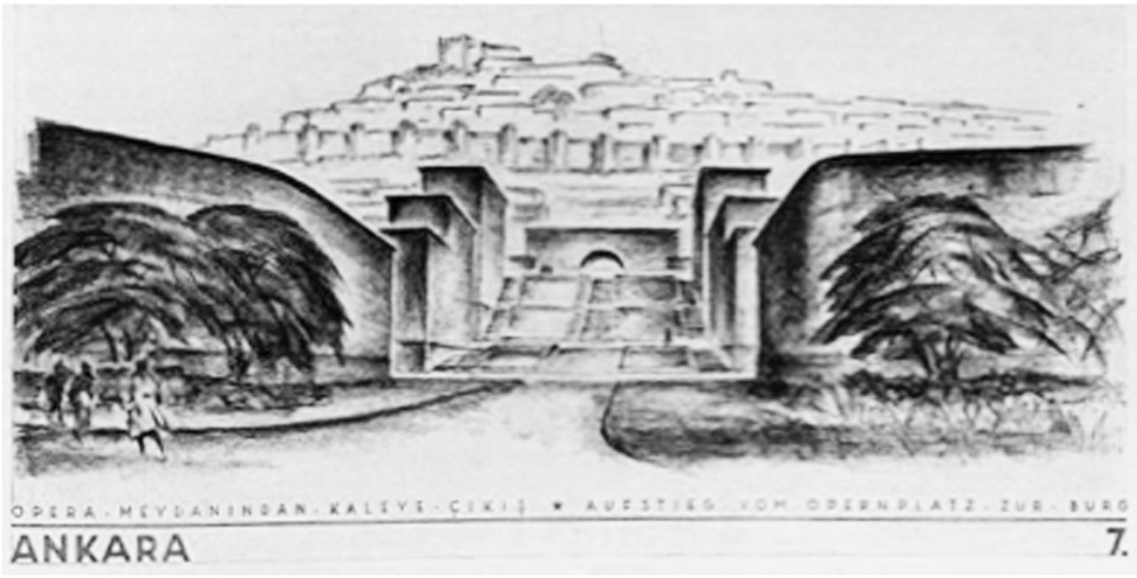


**Figure 3.10.** Citadel and Opera Square in Jansen's plan.[365] (*Der Städtebau,* 1929)

Although Jansen centered his plan around the old town and Citadel area and touted its representative function as cited above, the city grew in the new town. Priority was placed on the construction of republican monuments, possibly due to political wills of the authority. The separation of these areas emerged due to serious urban obstacles. The physical disconnection between the old and new towns was reflected in the building of the socio-cultural structure of the city during the early republican years and even later. Zeynep Kezer criticizes this kind of segregation:

> Jansen sought to buffer "Old Ankara" away from the "New Ankara" with greenbelts because he believed that old quarters, which imparted to each city a unique character, had to be protected and wanted to prevent speculation, which had torn the historic fabric of European cities in the late 19th Century. He also recognized how central the image of the "Old Ankara" and, especially, that of the Citadel (albeit in its pared down form) was to republican foundation myths and sought to preserve it as a vessel for the nation's collective memory. However, the circulation pattern he proposed, rather than protecting the "Old Ankara", effectively severed it from the rest of the growing capital, isolating it as through it were an island.[366]

[365] 'Hermann Jansen, zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag', p. 283.
[366] Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey*, p. 35.

Hermann Jansen developed the first proposal plan until 1938, particularly detailing the government quarter, Güven Park and Gençlik Park, Stadium and Forum, University quarter, and housing areas in Çankaya and *Bahçeli Evler* (the Garden Houses) – a model planning for cooperative housing.[367] **(Figure 3.11)** And, during the 1930s several architects participated in the implementation of the plan.

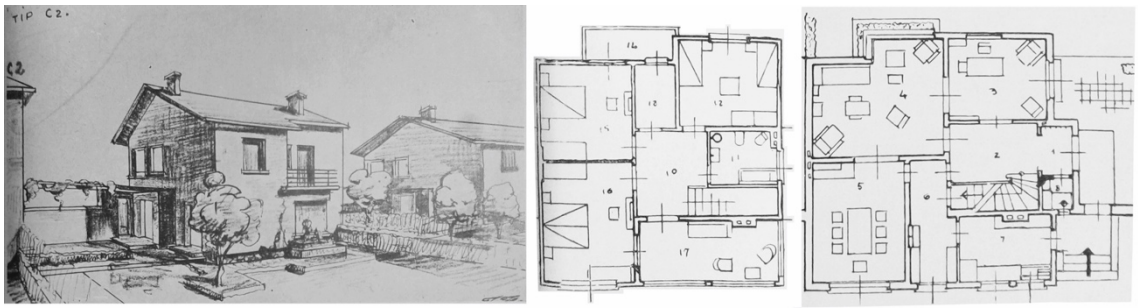


**Figure 3.11.** Drawings of housing typology for Association of Garden Houses – Ankara Bahçeli Evler Kooperatifi.[368] (*Belediyeler Dergisi*, 1937)

Firstly, Robert Oerley who worked for the ministry of Public Health assisted on the project until 1933,[369] and Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister were commissioned for the Ministry Quarter in accordance with the Jansen's scheme. Additionally, he designed the presidential residence in Çankaya, the statue of Güven Park (sculptures by Anton Hanak), the building for the Ministry of Defense, the Land Credit Bank – *Emlak Kredi Bankası*, the Central Bank – *Merkez Bankası* and the Grand National Assembly. Starting in 1927, Holzmeister carried out a monumentalism in which the material use, proportion and scale evolved into a representative architecture, and fulfilled the early republican stance. Ernst Egli, who worked for the ministry of Education and later in the Architecture Faculty of the Fine Arts Academy of Istanbul, designed the university and training buildings, and high schools. He introduced a particular functionalism into the education

[367] Bernd Nicolai notes that Hermann Jansen's was commenced in Germany, accusing the similarity with the previous Lörcher's proposal. Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil*.
[368] 'Şehrimizin İmarinda Büyük Bir Kuvvet, Yapı Kooperatifleri', *Belediyeler Dergisi*, 26–27.09–10 (1937), 56–61 (p. 59).
[369] Ali Cengizkan, *Modernin Saati: 20. Yüzyılda Modernleşme ve Demokratikleşme Pratiğinde Mimarlar, Kamusal Mekan ve Konut Mimarlığı*, 1. baskı (Çankaya, Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği 1927, 2002), pp. 72–73. Ali Cengizkan points to the role of Robert Oerley in Ankara's master plan and its realization, also to the speculations about professional relationship between Hermann Jansen and Robert Oerley.

buildings with a design of solid-void arrangements following plain and naturally colored surfaces.[370, 371]

Starting in 1924, Turkey's capital city reflected republican ideology in the built environment in various ways. The possibilities of making Turkey "national" and "modern" attracted many foreign allies, especially Russian and German companions who gathered in Ankara in the early 1930s to join the construction efforts. One of the significant documentations of this enterprise was the film "The Hearth of Turkey" that was shot in Ankara in 1933 and 1934 by Russian director Sergei Yutkevich. The producers aimed to make a documentary film focusing on the meeting of Russian and Turkish allies, and the new political and cultural conditions that brought the two countries closer. Therefore, Ankara became the set for Yutkevich. The city was depicted through the old town on the hills, people who lived alongside monuments of the earliest Anatolian civilization, Hittites, the new town equipped with the new lives of republicans demonstrating in the parks, squares, boulevards with residential buildings, "modern" houses, and schools, and institutes for the influencing the social and cultural realm. In Yutkevich's words, "this film was introducing today's national Turkey, her new cultural sphere, and the success she achieved in the field of national progress" [372] (Emphasis added).

Turkish authorities, with the support of foreign intelligentsia, put all efforts into reshaping the country, starting from Ankara. Again, ambassador Nadolny's words on Ankara – first the city in poverty, and later the city in progress of modernization – tactually illustrate this endeavor to make the capital city in the image of new Turkey:

> The mountains were shining in all colors, but the landscape was dull and gloomy. The land was cultivated with only miserable villages built out of clay. Finally, we

[370] Here, Egli's contribution to republican Ankara's construction is very briefly mentioned. His participation in architectural projects with a focus on conceptualization of Turkish Village will be discussed in the fifth chapter in detail.

[371] Besides Robert Oerley, Clemens Holzmeister and Ernst Egli, there were several German-speaking figures who played crucial roles in forming early republican Ankara. For a further reading on German-speaking expatriates during the republican period of Turkey, see the scholars: Akcan, *Architecture in Translation*.; Dogramaci, *Kulturtransfer und nationale Identität*.; Bernd Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil: Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei, 1925-1955* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1998).; Oya Atalay Franck and Ernst Egli, *Architektur und Politik: Ernst Egli und die türkische Moderne 1927 - 1940*, Architektonisches Wissen (Zürich: gta Verlag, 2012).; Leylâ Alpagut, *Cumhuriyetin Mimarı Ernst Arnold Egli: Türkiye Yılları, Anılar ve Ankara Için Yapılar* (Esenler, İstanbul: Boyut, 2012).

[372] 'Türkiye'nin Kalbi İsimli Film Hazırlanıyor', *Cumhuriyet* (İstanbul, Ocak 1934), p. 2. (Dated 11 January 1934) Zeynep Kezer also mentions the influence of Yutkevich's movie, see Kezer, *Building Modern Turkey*, pp. 70–72.

> arrived in Ankara. Between the railway station and the city, along the road to the city center there was a large swamp. The city consisted of a castle located on the hill, lots of clay-houses and a few brick houses. The big and new building was the Parliament building.
>
> …
>
> Today, Ankara is a city with almost 300.000 inhabitants. A German Professor Dr. Jansen from Technical University Charlottenburg (Berlin) laid out the urban planning and conducted the implementation. The swamp was drained and on the one side, the road of a park, on the other side a race ground has been built. The rivers have been purified, and the Malaria has been wiped out. The railway has been renewed, and near it a great hotel has been built. ... The small houses in the city have been demolished and lots of new buildings are taking their places. The ministries and foreign affairs have let their representative palaces be built. Large boulevards facilitate vehicles. On the top of the city, on Elmadağ, the building for republican president has been situated. A corresponding development, even though not in the same scale, has occurred almost all cities of Turkey.
>
> In Ankara I realized that I came to Turkey in the right time. … The new capital has been the symbol of the new world.[373]

In sum, Ankara appeared, in the strictest sense, as great struggle for the republican cadre to reshape a dreary Anatolian city. The speed of the urbanization was interpreted in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's statement in his novel "Ankara" written in 1934: "(the city) was developing at an unprecedented pace. From Taşhan to Samanpazarı, from Samanpazarı to Cebeci, from Cebeci to Yenişehir, from Yenişehir to Kavaklıdere, on the whole area, apartment buildings, houses, public halls were rising up as if they all were springing from the earth."[374] Symbolic meanings of Ankara dominated the construction in architectonic terms during the early republican years. Thus, the city was a building laboratory in which the legitimation of state and its administration were manifested, hence experienced, and the typologies were produced for other Anatolian cities having the progressive and nationalist goals.

### 3.3. From the City to the Country: Planning Anatolian Cities and Towns

The symbolism of "constructing" Anatolia was generated in various ways, with a great emphasis architectural transformation and planning of the towns and small cities during the early republican era. Being the major territory of the country, Anatolia was decided as the place to re-build and to house the people, and as a large scene for state interventions

[373] Nadolny, pp. 94–96. Author's translation.
[374] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, p. 127.

in the name of modernization. In other words, Anatolian towns were taken into the republican agenda in the context of country planning, including in modern transportation, based on railway construction that occurred until the late 1940s. The railway construction represented progress in techniques which connected the whole land, not only transporting goods, infrastructures and people, but also transporting culture and development between the Turkish folk (in the cities and in the villages).

Relatedly, in 1931, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk announced the primary transportation program of the RPP:

> Within the projects, Turkish government contained, all terrains of the homeland will be connected by the railways in a certain time period. The whole homeland will become an iron mass. Railways are a much more significant weapon of our country than the rifle and cannon. … (They) are the roads to the well-fare and civilization of Turkish people.[375] (Emphasis added.)

The theme of transportation firmly addressed the transformation of rural areas in the pursuit of modernism; in other words, in pursuit of the industrial and agricultural development of the country in which the rural populace was the majority. Therefore, a functional conveyance network, based on a railway system reaching all parts of the country, was prioritized in the country planning and architectonic enhancement of urban and rural areas.

From this point of view, with the constructing roads for the country the state targeted two strategies: Early republican operations took over the late Ottoman enterprises which had been dominated by foreign companies and discontinued due to the First World War, the War of Independence, and the Greco-Turkish War in the early 1920s. The first strategy was to fulfil the urgent need for a transportation network, which appeared to be in line with military goals, and later fundamentally associated with the national economic development plan to be implemented in a previously agricultural context. The second strategy referred to how the transportation network played a crucial role in urbanizing rural Anatolia by bridging the villages and small towns to larger cities in each region, and those cities to the capital Ankara. Therefore, an effective transportation structure would blur the cultural and social contrasts between regions and cities of the country, and also

[375] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Hâkimiyeti Milliye* (Ankara, 15 Şubat 1931). Also in: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri: I-III* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006), pp. 394. Author's translation.

to control the people who differed in particular aspects, such as in their ethnic, economic, or socio-cultural characteristics.[376]

Between 1922 and 1948, the early republican state concentrated on the construction of the railroads as a part of the ed the cultivation of land for agricultural production, industrial manufacturing and development program for Anatolia. The program also included mining activities, and socio-cultural engineering in the countryside. After 1933, the government introduced a new policy in railway projects that monopolized and nationalized the lines that were built and operated by foreigners and also favored Turkish construction firms for the building of new lines. Starting from the early 1930s, the republican state controlled railway operations and considered the transportation program as an inseparable part of the statist agenda. In 1948[377], 60 lines connected towns and cities to the harbors in the west, north, and south coasts of Turkey.[378]

In the architectonic sense, transportation objects – the railroads, bridges and stations – especially in the small Anatolian towns and cities became the analogical figures of technology, engineering, and progress in the context of national modernization. Those elements were considered signatures of the transformative hands of republican ideology in rural Turkey, where any type of modern infrastructure had not previously existed.[379] **(Figure 3.12)** Therefore, the construction of railroads, bridges, tunnels and terminals in

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[376] Özge Sezer, 'Railways and Bridges as Expression of Rural in Early Republican Period, 1930-1945 (Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kırsalın İfadesi Bağlamında Demiryolları ve Köprüler)' (unpublished Master Thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2010), pp. 128–47; Özge Sezer, 'Modernizasyon Düşleri; Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiyesi'nde Anadolu Kırsalında İstasyon Yapıları ve Köprüler', in *International Symposium on Theorıes of Art / Design and Aesthetics, 19-21 October 2011 Faculty of Fine Arts Antalya University Turkey, Papers* (Antalya: Akdeniz Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi Dekanlığı, 2012), pp. 278–85.

[377] In 1948, Turkey obtained Marshall Plan aid, leading another epoch in the transportation politics that shifted from railroads to highways. For further reading on the operations of Marshall Plan in Turkey from 1948 to 1952, see Senem Üstün, "Turkey and the Marshall Plan: Strive for Aid", *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations (Milletlerarası Münasebetler Türk Yıllığı)*, 27.0 (1997), 31–52.

[378] İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Cumhuriyetin Harcı III: Modernitenin Altyapısı Oluşurken*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları ; Siyaset Bilimi, 39 4, 1. baskı (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2003), pp. 288–92. And S. C. Wyatt, 'Turkey: The Economic Situation and Five Years Plan', *International Affairs*, 13.6 (1934), 826–44 (p. 832).

[379] It must be noted here that in the beginning of the 20th Century some implementations of the incomplete Anatolia-Bagdad Railway project in the Eastern regions of Ottoman state were seen as political targets against the ethnic groups in that region. On the other hand, starting from the late 19th Century in the west Anatolia, in the hinterland of İzmir (including the cities Manisa and Aydın) – the most significant harbor after Istanbul – the railway network had been constructed by British and French companies. This network contained the rural areas in order to control the production and transfer of agricultural and mining goods from the region to the mainland. The Ottoman state was allowed to use this railway network only for military purposes.

the towns and cities were celebrated by the Turkish intelligentsia and early republican authority as material examples of the regime's achievements in rural Turkey.

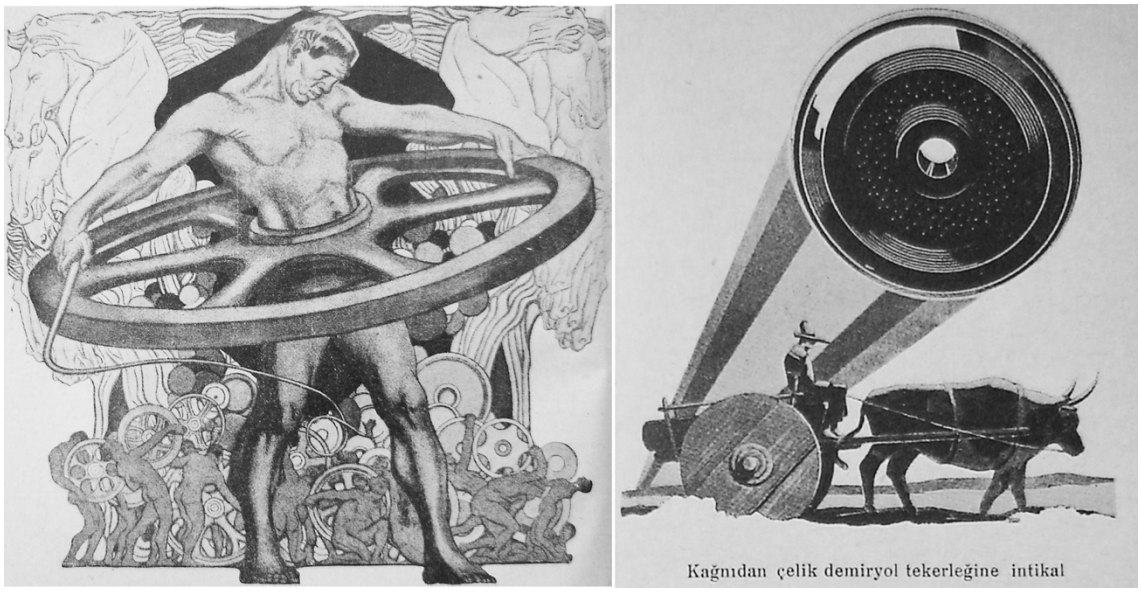


**Figure 3.12.** Two illustrations showing railway construction in the country.[380] (*Demiryollar Mecmuası*, 1932)

The representative meaning of modern transportation echoed in the urbanization of Anatolia, and also in the aesthetic changes the countryside. Road construction and bridges represented a sort of modernist fabrication by romanticizing the technology and craftsmanship. Additionally, the terminal buildings in Anatolian cities and towns emerged as the architectonic structures of this production and agents of republican ideology in the countryside. Especially in 1930s, when the statist economy dominated architectural and urban changes, station buildings arose in a particular aesthetic form referencing an early central European modernism that highlighted the arrangement of clear rectangular volumes, minimal repetition on the façade, plain coating on the external surfaces, and functional organization of the interior. The new railway stations developed into a unique urban element in the countryside since their function was to connect the country to the city. The railway route and terminal buildings in Anatolian cities and towns emerged as the core of planning, centering transportation in the project of urbanization. **(Figure 3.13, Figure 3.14, Figure 3.15)**

[380] *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, 85. İkinci Teşrin (1932), 78, 92.

**Figure 3.13.** A small rural town Kemah, Erzincan, eastern Turkey. The railway and the station built in 1937.[381] (T.C. Nafia Vekaleti Demiryollar ve Limanlar İnşaat Dairesi, 1938)

**Figure 3.14.** Railway station in Sivas, built in 1933, as an example of the building typology for Anatolian city terminals.[382](*Demiryollar Mecmuası*, 1933)

[381] T.C. Nafia Vekaleti Demiryollar ve Limanlar İnşaat Dairesi, *Ankara-Erzurum Demiryolunun Sivas-Erzincan Kısmının İşletmeye Açılma Hatıralarından* (Ankara: Nafia Vekaleti Tercüme ve Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1938), SON TEŞRIN.

[382] 'Sivas İstasyonu', *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, 104–105 (1933), p. 81.

**Figure 3.15.** Railway station in Diyarbakır, built in 1932, as an example of the building typology for Anatolian city terminals.[383] (*Demiryollar Mecmuası*, 1932)

Reconstruction of the cities and towns in rural Anatolia took over the strategy that the republican regime legitimated itself via the building activities in the countryside as well as it implemented the interventions of the development plan in cultural, social and economic terms. In 1930, with law number 1580, municipalities were defined as local administrations that were formed in accordance with the public needs in the cities and towns. The same law held all municipalities responsible for setting a budget with the Bank of Municipalities – *Belediyeler Bankası* that promoted the financial operations of various urbanization projects. Later, the law number 2290, enacted in 1933, organized the municipal establishment principles of towns and cities, including the legislation for roads and public buildings. The law also obliged the municipalities to have establish a city plan consisting of future development schemes. With law number 2497, enacted in 1934, the municipalities had the right of eminent domain for infrastructure and public projects in their districts, such as vehicle roads and pedestrian ways, electricity and water mains, hospitals and health clinics, railway stations, schools, public education centers, parks, and bazaar areas .[384]

After the establishment of the Urbanism Department in the Ministry of Public Works in 1935[385], projects of the Anatolian towns were accomplished in accordance with the

[383] 'Diyarbakır İstasyonu', *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, 87 (1932), p. 65.
[384] 'Geçen 4 Yılda Yapılan İşler', *Belediyeler Dergisi*, 1.6 (1936), 30–36 (pp. 30–32).
[385] Celal Ulusan, 'Şehir İmar Planları Nasıl Tanzim Edilmelidir', *Belediyeler Dergisi*, 32 (1939), 37–57 (p. 41).

country planning and announced in the journals promoted by the state. *Belediyeler Dergisi* – The Journal of Municipalities and *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi* – The Journal of Public Works became the significant mouthpieces that introduced new laws and regulations, presented the current debates on urbanity and projects completed in the frame of the statist program. Architects and planners in the Ministry of Public Works published articles about modern planning principles, alternative schemes, and urbanization issues in the country as well as the on-going construction works and concept projects for the towns and cities.

Relatedly, in 1939, Celal Ulusan – city and town planner in the Ministry of Public Works – announced the principles of modern city planning, concentrating on the projects which were completed and the design projects outlined by Turkish and foreign professionals.[386] He described the basic guidelines of town planning in the countryside, such as the goals of town planning, the growth of towns, and industrial and agricultural targets. He elaborated that a useful and pragmatic plan included detailed research on various elements that should also be shown in the drafts:

> 1. Topographic setup of the town, 2. Population of the town (increase, density and division), 3. Field of the town (land-use and land-value), 4. Designation of the industrial area, 5. Designation of the area for public buildings and schools, 6. Condition of existing dwellings, 7. Condition of existing transportation system, 8. Condition of existing roads, 9. Advantageous areas for the shipment, 10. Harbors and their particulars, 11. Railroads, gateways and terminals, 12. Stations for aerial transportation, 13. Parks and recreational areas, 14. Historical and new monuments, 15. Lighting, decoration and arbor of the streets, 16. Condition of houses, their facades and gardens, 17. Mains water and electricity, 18. Canalization system and sewage discharge stations, 19. Waste, its transportation and disposal stations.[387]

In addition to the fundamental components of the town planning, Ulusan advocated for affordable housing and small settlements for new quarters of the town and emphasized the importance of construction field research. He outlined the analysis for the location of the garden settlements that workers and public officers would inhabit. At the same time, Ulusan suggested various housing and settlement typologies in accordance with the inhabitant profiles, not only describing garden settlements but also apartment blocks within the arrangement of gardens, playgrounds and recreational areas. Depending on the

[386] Ulusan, 'Şehir İmar Planları Nasıl Tanzim Edilmelidir', pp. 42–44.
[387] Ulusan, 'Şehir İmar Planları Nasıl Tanzim Edilmelidir', p. 38. Author's translation.

needs of dwellers he laid out three typologies for new housing quarters in the towns: group or detached houses and blocks, single houses and blocks, and garden-houses.[388]

Thereafter, a significant proportion of plans for Anatolian provinces and towns[389] were created with respect to these categorizations of planning. These categories included the local, components of the site, the economic and cultural potential of the area, and "modernist", utilitarian proposals for the architectonic form. Most of the drawings included a "republican" center where the major public buildings – the governorship, municipal building, the People's House and school – the square and the park were to be placed, including with a memorial statue. It was also determined that the "republican" center of town should be located along the axis of main boulevards connected to the railway station. Especially in the planning of small towns, garden settlements in which the inhabitants could engage in small-scale agricultural activity were promoted as dwelling models. **(Figure 3.16, Figure 3.17, Figure 3.18, Figure 3.19)**

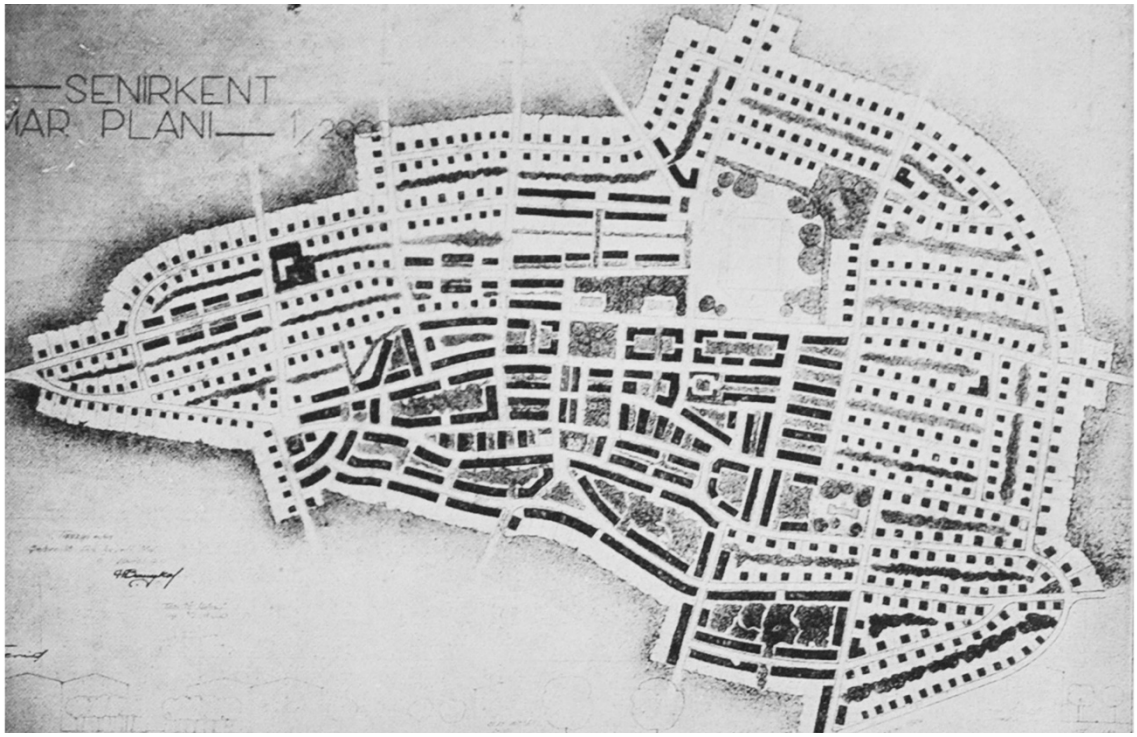


**Figure 3.16.** Town plan of Senirkent, Isparta south-western Turkey, planned by the officials of Ministry of Public Works.[390] (*Belediyeler Dergisi*, 1940)

[388] Ulusan, 'Şehir İmar Planları Nasıl Tanzim Edilmelidir', pp. 45–46, 52, 54.
[389] Celal Ulusan was announcing that plans of 18 cities and 44 towns had been accomplished by the end of 1939.
[390] H. Baykal, 'Senirkent Kasabası İmar Planına Ait Rapor', *Belediyeler Dergisi*, 62.10 (1940), 42–43.

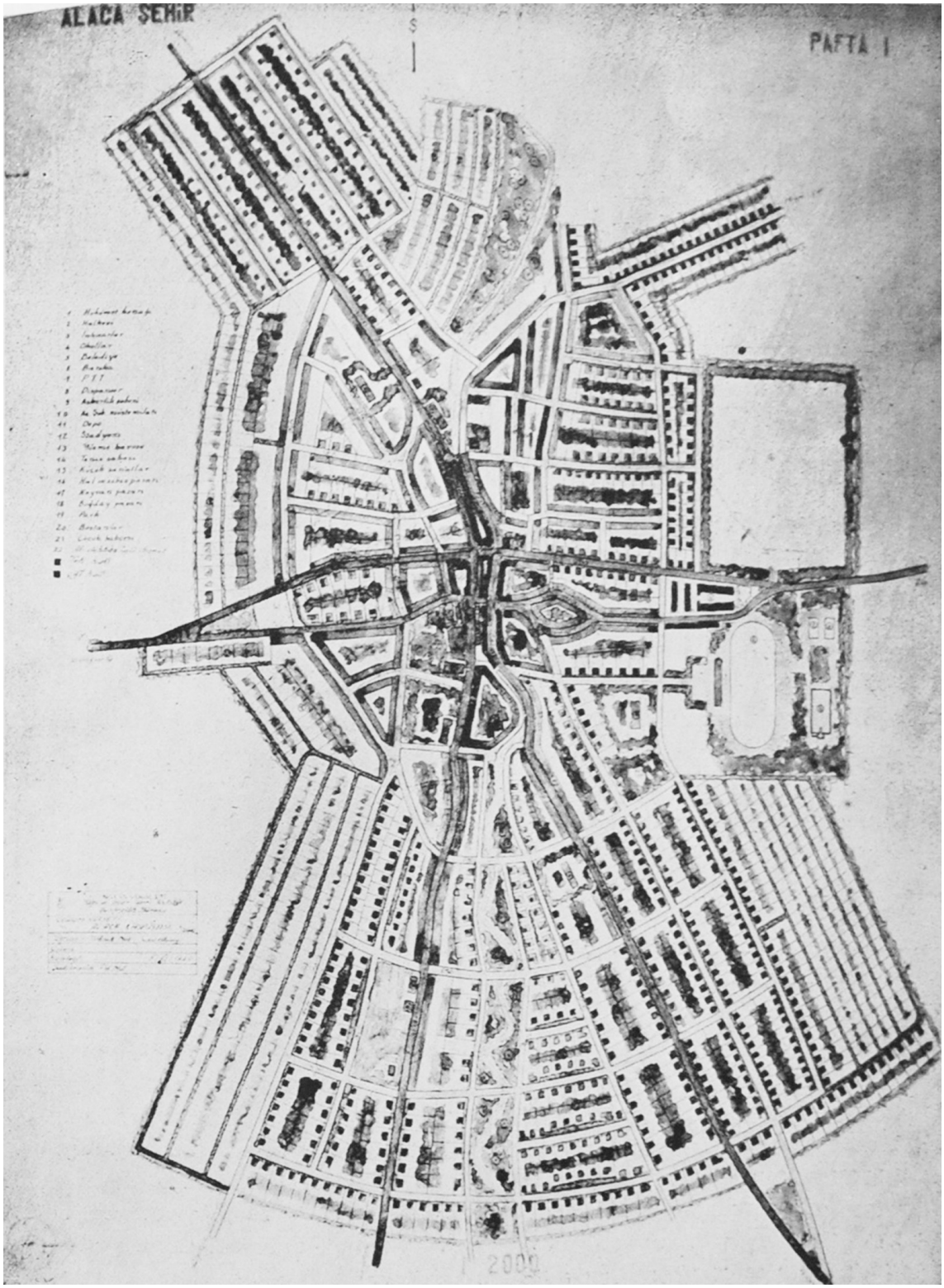


**Figure 3.17.** Town plan of Alaca Corum, northern Turkey, planned by the officials of Ministry of Public Works.[391] (*Belediyeler Dergisi*, 1942)

[391] 'Alaca Kasabası İmar Planı Avan Projesi İzahat Raporu', *Belediyeler Dergisi*, 62.10 (1942), 30–32.

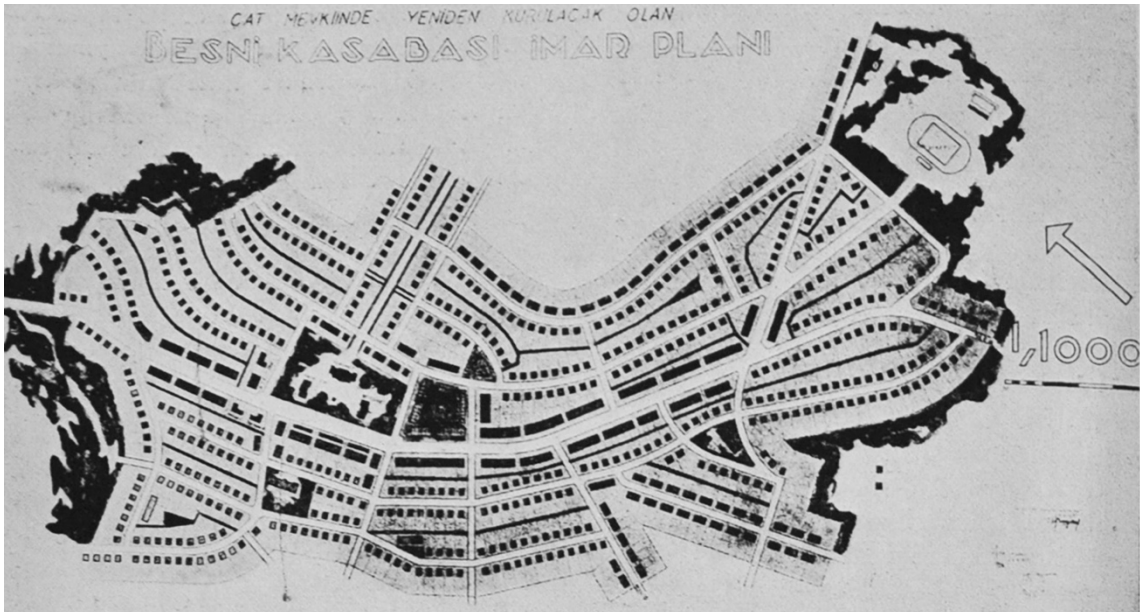


**Figure 3.18.** Town plan of Besni, Adiyaman, south-eastern Turkey, planned by the officials of Ministry of Public Works.[392] (*Belediyeler Dergisi*, 1940)

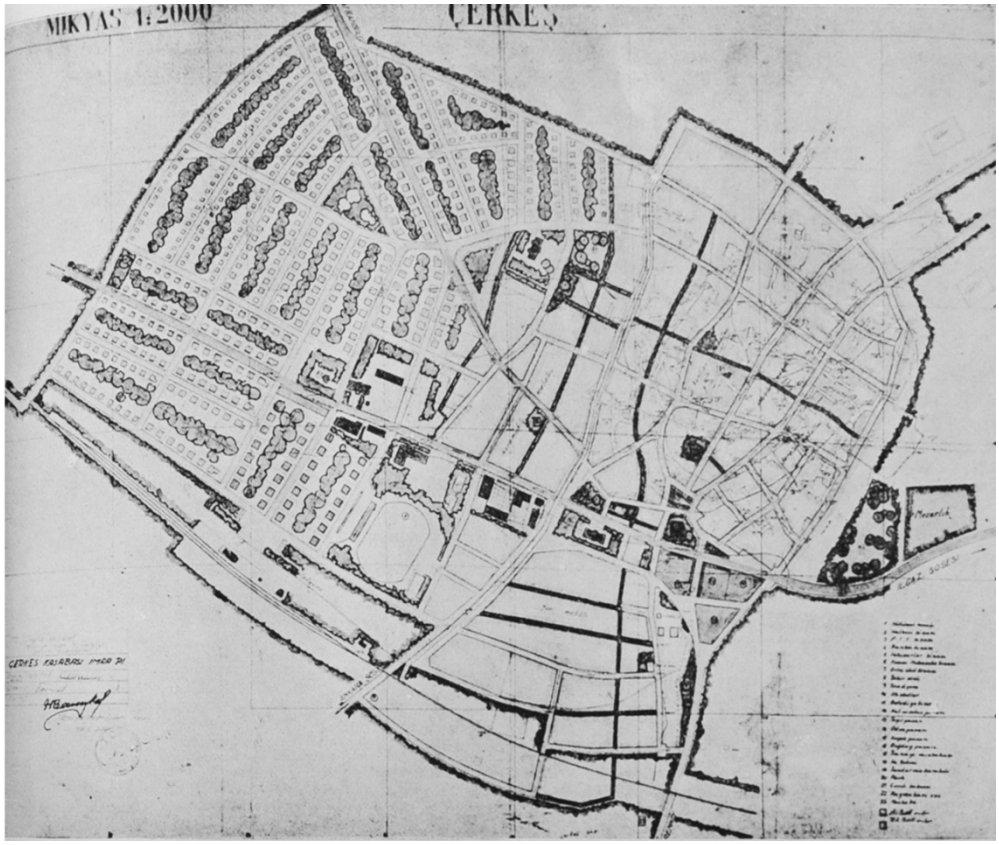


**Figure 3.19.** Town plan of Çerkeş, Çankırı, northern Turkey, planned by the officials of Ministry of Public Works.[393] (*Belediyeler Dergisi*, 1940)

[392] 'Besni Yeni Şehir ve İmar Planı Hakkında Rapordur', *Belediyeler Dergisi*, 62.10 (1940), 46–48.
[393] Celal Ulusan, 'Çerkeş Kasabası Kati İmar Planı İzahat Raporu', *Belediyeler Dergisi*, 62.10 (1940), 26–27.

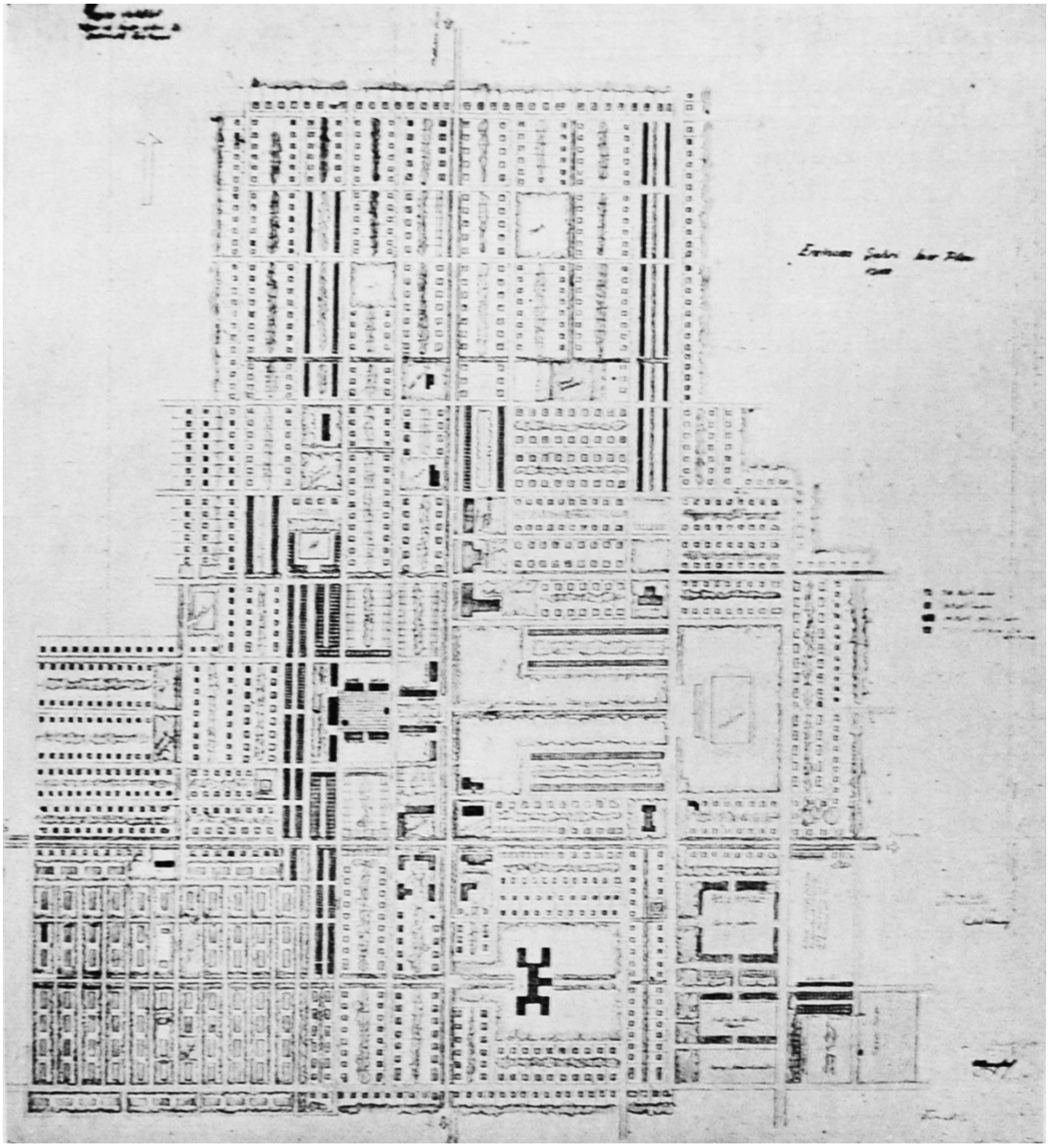

**Figure 3.20.** Urban plan of Erzincan in the east of Turkey, planned by the officials of Ministry of Public Affairs.[394] (*Belediyeler Dergisi*, 1940)

On the other hand, the urban development schemes of the Anatolian provinces were envisioned to include modern planning concepts such as functional zoning, defining the location of industrial utilities and separating that area from the city center, as well as varying dwelling types to fit the inhabitant profiles. **(Figure 3.20, Figure 3.21)** But similarly to the concept followed in the new rural towns, Anatolian cities also contained a recognizable center where republican symbolism dominated the design with particular

[394] Celal Ulusan, 'Erzincan İmar Planı İzahat Raporu', *Belediyeler Dergisi*, 62.10 (1940), 58–59.

landmarks such as buildings for the governorship, the People House, the republican square and park.

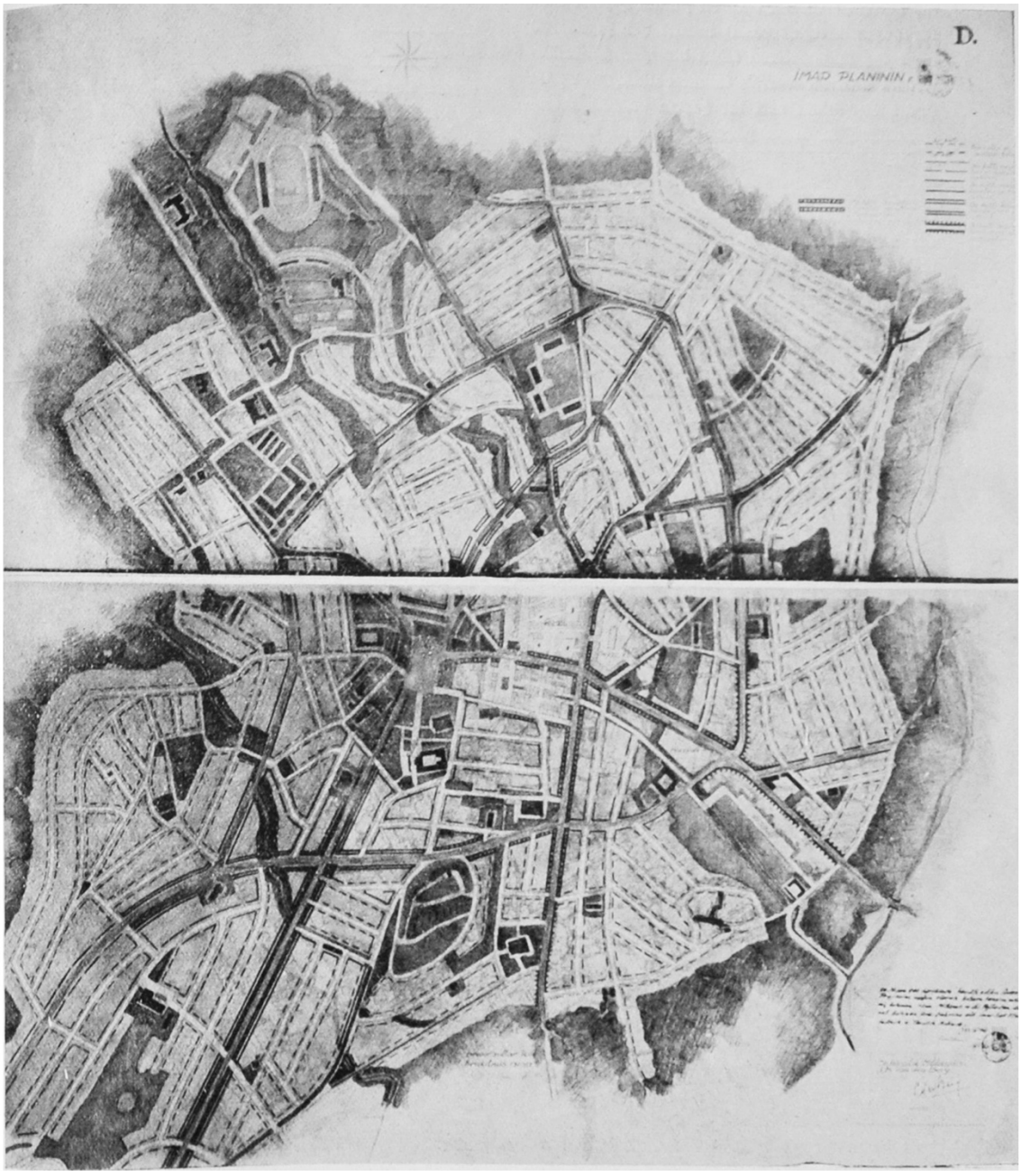


**Figure 3.21.** Urban plan of Sivas in the east of Turkey, planned by Martin Wagner. The two schemes demonstrate the different conceptions for the planning.[395] (*Belediyeler Dergisi*, 1940)

In conclusion, one can interpret that main objective of the state was to urbanize the agriculturally dependent rural Anatolian provinces. Therefore, each province was

[395] Wandenberg, 'Sivas Şehrinin İmar Planı ve İzahı', *Belediyeler Dergisi*, 65.01 (1941), 27–38.

included in a regional development program that outlined industrial enterprises, mining and agricultural activities. No doubt, the well-connected transportation system developed the cities into the centers for their rural districts and villages, however not only in cultural, societal and economic terms. Anatolian cities served as the centers and the urban apparatus with which the state strengthen its position to control over the rural areas. Similar to the cities, the new towns were also planned as stable urban forms that allowed the state to remain the people in the controlled rural realm.

# PART III

## Planning the Turkish Village

# CHAPTER 4

# PLANNING THE TURKISH VILLAGE: CONCEPTUALIZATION

The definition of "Village" in the early republican vocabulary occurred in two dimensions of state operations: On the one hand, the village, together with all its spatial significance, was considered to be the cultural and societal center of the nation-building agenda. On the other hand, it referred to the core of statist economy that was grounded in agricultural growth and sufficiency, supported by the agrarian industry, as well as mining activities, in order to achieve the modernization goals of republican regime. From this point of view, the village was instrumentalized as the space for rurality and was characterized by the culture of Turkish Anatolia that formed basis for national determination and unity. At the same time, it became the space for economic and social interventions of the state.

The village – as the core of Anatolian rural space during the early republican period – was designated to form the rural realm not only architecturally but also in socio-cultural, economic and ethnic terms. In order to grasp the motivations driving the policies for new rural settlements, this chapter introduces a historiography of the village discourse in early republican Turkey.

Socio-cultural and economic planning of the village can be seen in the context of state interventions and legislation that were formulated by the Turkish intelligentsia and politically dominated groups in this chapter. The concepts for village and village houses presented by Turkish architects and town-planners are discussed, including the architectural debates in conceptualization of the Turkish village. Thus, the chapter aims to present the ideas and concepts that paved the way for the architectural practice of republican villages in the 1930s.

## 4.1. Socio-Cultural Planning of Turkish Village

### 4.1.1. The People's House and Village Affairs' Branch

To begin with, the establishment of the People's House in 1932 and its organization scheme brought state operations to rural Anatolia and facilitated an immediate consideration of Turkish Village, its existing condition, and its eventual socio-cultural improvement.[396] The institution was organized in nine branches, including the Village Affairs – *Köycüler Kolu*. The particular goal of this division was to bridge the peasant population in the Anatolian countryside with the Turkish intelligentsia and to carry through the program of the Republican People's Party and the state. This branch would also organize the platform that brought the people from the city closer to those in the villages. Relatedly, in 1932 a formula – the Village Camps – was introduced in order develop the cultural and social interaction between people in the city and the country:

> Can't we start a campaign and send people, who camp next to the city, who get bored by idleness, or drowse their time in the coffee shops, to the villages?
>
> We let them camp in the villages, we require each educated person to teach one villager how to read and write. And we let them be awarded to consider this duty as an ideal one.
>
> In this way, the youth of the city will get to know the village and the villagers, and the villagers will warm to the youth of city. And, this will bridge the village and the city.
>
> The youth of the city will internalize the (republican) revolution by taking this social responsibility. In the villages they will organize programs involving performances, conferences, plays, sport festivals, and bring cultural instruments such as gramophone, radio, photography and cinema that will foster village development and speed it like a great engine.
>
> If there are teachers, agricultural experts and doctors in the village camps, then they will not only transform the village in (socio-cultural) conditions, but also in sanitation and agriculture.
>
> In short, the Village Camps will be the "camps of revolution".[397] (Emphasis added)

With this objective in mind, the branch of Village Affairs supported peasantry studies as an extension of the state organization in the countryside. This branch essentially concentrated on the improvement of rural culture by bringing art and craftsmanship to the village with the participants consisting of villagers and city people. They also focused on

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[396] See also the Second Chapter *"2.2.2. The People's House"*.
[397] V. N., 'Köy Kampları', *Kadro*, 1.1 (1932), 42–43. Author's translation.

the problems in the village in order to bring about modern change and progress of the rural built environment. For that purpose, the Village Affairs departments of the People's Houses organized excursions that were intended to establish the connection between the urbanite and rural people who culturally and socially were culturally and socially distant from each other.[398]

The results of the excursions were enthusiastically introduced in the publication series called Village Surveys – *Köy Tetkikleri* contributed by the RPP and the institution. The scholars particularly concentrated on the geographic and historic characteristics of the villages including an analysis of the economic and socio-cultural circumstances of the inhabitants. Together with customs and daily habits, the ceremonies and rituals of the villagers was a significant focus of the research in order to understand rural life and the social structures in the rural community. It was believed that "a survey in the village might not be followed with methods such as wandering around the village, talking with the villagers and spending pleasant time in the coffee house as a guest. But one should earn the confidence and trust of the villagers."[399] Namely, the researcher – observer, who was most of the time the school principle and teacher, should participate in the village life with the inhabitants.

In 1936, the Village Affairs Branch of the Ankara People's House published research on Küçükyozgat Village in Ankara province. The survey report consisted of data such as the overall situation (the location, population, geographic characteristics), culture (educational background, operations of the People's House in the village, and folkloric elements), sanitary conditions, socio-economic status (customs and daily life, subsistence level, consumption patterns and landownership), and the agricultural and craftsmanship activities (forestry, corn cultivation, weaving as well as forging, blacksmithing, carpentry and shoe-making). The dwelling architecture and settlement organization were described, including the sanitary conditions of the village. The roads were regular, there was no canalization system, but each house had a lavatory. The houses were made of clay brick

[398] Anıl Çeçen, *Atatürk'ün Kültür Kurumu Halkevleri* (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2000), p. 127.
[399] Ankara Halkevi, 'Birkaç Söz', in *Küçükyozgat Köyü: Köy Tetkiki*, Ankara Halkevi Neşriyatı Köycüler Şubesi, 17/2 (Ankara: Ankara Halkevi, 1936), pp. 3–4 (p. 3). Author's translation.

and stone. They were usually one-story earth sheltered houses that consisted of two rooms and an entrance hall, open to the barn and the toilet.[400] **(Figure 4.1, Figure 4.2)**

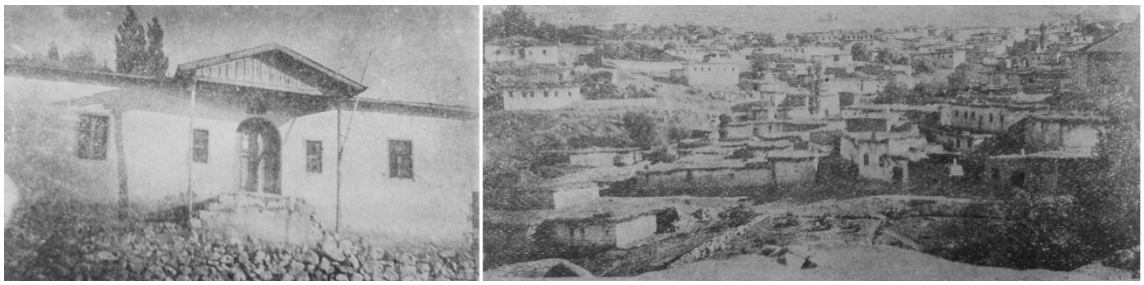

**Figure 4.1.** The school and general view of Küçükyozgat Village, Ankara, 1936.[401] (Güleç, 1936)

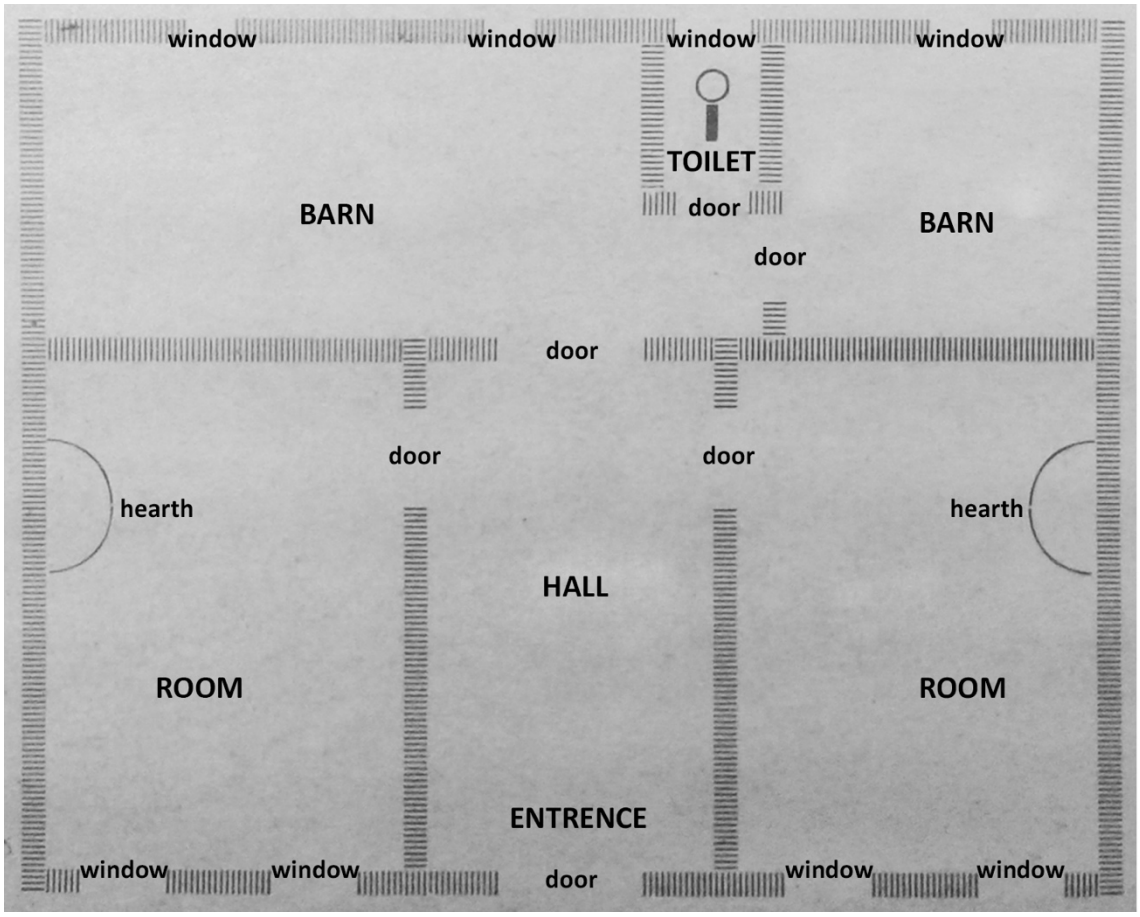


**Figure 4.2.** Plan of a village house in Küçükyozgat, Ankara, 1936; demonstrated in the survey report.[402] (After Güleç, 1936)

[400] Alaettin Güleç, *Küçükyozgat Köyü: Köy Tetkiki*, Ankara Halkevi Neşriyatı Köycüler Şubesi, 17/2 (Ankara: Ankara Halkevi, 1936).
[401] Güleç, pp. 10, 26.
[402] Güleç, p. 20.

In another report about villages in Kırşehir – an Anatolian city in the south of Ankara – the village principal Hulusi Özen promoted a modernizing social program for the village and the people:

> In both villages people are spending spare time and holidays gathering in the coffee houses and having idle talks. Against all the odds, the Village Affairs Branch of the People's House organizes conferences and some performances two to three times in a year in order to awaken a cultural awareness among the villagers. Yet, the municipality should (also) get involved in building a library and a reading room where the (up-to-date) newspapers, magazines, brochures and books are served for the villagers, and the seminars and plays are held by the village's teachers and students. In this way, people grow accustomed to the innovation and modern viewpoints.[403] (Emphasis added.)

### 4.1.2. Actors in Socio-Cultural Planning of Turkish Village

In addition to the Village Surveys, organized by the Village Affair's Branch, the mouthpiece of the People's House – the journal *Ülkü* featured village development through materials such as articles, reports, drawings and images about the circumstances of the Turkish villages and proposals for their ideal future forms. In this respect, architect Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu made one of the significant contributions for this section: In his early writings in *Ülkü,* Kozanoğlu presented the village, addressed the cultural roots of Turkish people, and advocated for ethnic, social and economic changes through the republican reforms. He called on the Turkish elite to uplift the modern rural populace by reconstructing the Turkish village:

> (In our villages) there are brothers who have forgotten their own language and speak another one. There are citizens who consider, indeed, it an insult to be called Turkish. We have to reconstruct our villages, we have to make our brothers speak (Turkish), dress (modern) and make them live (in better conditions) like us.[404] (Emphasis added.)

What Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu presented was a generic approach, saying that early republican intelligentsia should plan the village as an inclusive socio-cultural form, separated from the cities and towns. In other words, the villager should continue to live in his own settlement – in the village, in order not to invade the cities and towns. He declared "all circumstances, the villager connected to his settlement, should remain in the

[403] Hulusi Özen, *Köy Tetkikleri: Genezin ve Göynük*, Kırşehir Halkevi Neşriyatından, 7–8 (Kırşehir: Köy Basımevi, 1941), p. 6. Author's translation.
[404] Abdullah Ziya (Kozanoğlu), 'Köy Mimarisi', *Ülkü*, 7. Ağustos (1933), 37–41 (p. 40).

village, otherwise the villager thrusts into the cities and towns to seek these conditions."[405] (Emphasis added) The village was defined in cultural, social, ethnic and economic terms by elites who considered it as an entirely distinct system, different from any other urban orders. Therefore, village planning and the urbanization of Anatolian cities were, most of the time, tied in a very limited field of practice.

Furthermore, Nusret Kemal Köymen, village sociologist and the editor of the village affairs section in *Ülkü*, described the principles of rural planning centered on the building of the Turkish village. In his articles and books Nusret Kemal Köymen often introduced a concept of the village grounded in republican ideology and emphasizing a sort of socio-cultural populist realm. He became one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the village campaign starting from the early 1930s. In 1933, he called for the social and cultural mobilization of rural Anatolia:

> 41.000 villages are spread out on almost 800.000 $km^2$-field (of the country). There are neither schools, nor post office and markets in 37.000 of them. In these 41.000 villages live 12 million people. Only two per cent of them can read and write. The most intelligent ones use only 500 words to think and talk. Only of them, those who came back from the military service, know the country and are aware of the circumstances around it. There are some who have never been out of their village. Since the social capabilities are too low, then the economic situation of the village is also unsatisfactory. Here it is the general view of our country and the village puzzle.[406]

His solution to the "village puzzle" was to organize socio-cultural and economic aspects of the village. He continued: the socio-cultural and economic conditions of the village should be strengthened in order to achieve a democratic society with no unequal division of classes unlike in Western societies and where democracy is firmly established. In this way, the peasantry would also foster Turkish democracy.[407] Therefore, educational improvement of the rural people played the most significant role to resolving problems in the countryside, and hence to nationalizing and modernizing the Anatolian village. Moreover, Köymen summarized the aims of this kind of operation in the following points:

1. to increase the income of the villager, to point each villager to a consciousness of their place in the national economy.

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[405] (Kozanoğlu), 'Köy Mimarisi', p. 38.
[406] Nusret Kemal (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük* (Ankara: Tarık Edip Kütüphanesi, 1934), p. 46. Author's translation.
[407] (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük*, p. 48.

2. to improve the social standards of the villager (in terms of morality, community life, ideals, cooperation, entertainment, eagerness to work, customs, and so on.)
3. to educate the villagers in grasping the republican revolutions and regime, and in being an independent citizen.
4. to educate the villager in being a rational, secular, open minded and "civilized" individual.
5. to discipline the villager in being conventional and "faithful Turk" to his nation and tradition.
6. to discipline the villager in learning his physical and intellectual skills.[408]

Köymen focused on "to discipline" the village and villager in different ways using the tools of adult education strongly associated with the Village Affairs Branch in the People's House. In addition to school-oriented education, he suggested educating the village people through specific journals, newspapers and radio programs, associations for villager-journalists, travelling theathers, libraries, exhibitions and conferences informing about the agriculture, domestic economy, sanitary and hygiene, village fairs demonstrating the local productions and model farms, and religious books written to offer moral guidance. Köymen emphasized the need for public health maintained by travelling dentists, nurses and doctors and the necessity of a market, café and post office in the villages.[409]

Furthermore, Köymen announced a new profession – The Village Mentors – *Köy Rehberleri* in order to fulfil these duties in the village. A village mentor should be well informed in culture, tradition and civilization so that he could successfully act as a transmitter between the under-developed and developed parts of the society. In this capacity, the mentors would gather the villagers to give lectures in topics including literature, history, geography, agriculture and public health. Although the mentors would focus on the cultural improvement in the village, they also operate the economic activities in the village. They would support and control the ateliers in which villagers produces local goods, as well as the products the villager would buy from the village shop and from

[408] (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük*, p. 50.
[409] (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük*, pp. 55–56.

markets outside of his village. In this regard, they would assist in sustaining and growing culture and the economy.[410]

To educate the Village Mentors, Köymen proposed establishing an institute where they would be trained in themes such as science and sanitation, social geography and physical geography, the history of civilizations, history of Turkey and history of Turkish folk culture, agriculture and village economy, morality and religious philosophy, secular morality, sociality and state philosophy, principles of village education, examples from other countries, and the Village Act and judicial instructions.[411] Students would also train in the villages of Anatolia, and successful ones would be sent to Mexico[412], Denmark, the Soviet Union and the United States, where the peasantry was emerging, for further education.[413] In other words, Köymen addressed the village campaign as the crucial operation, which consisted of not only the republican regime's interventions and regulations, but was also a populistic project, undertaken by the rural and urban populace together. Köymen developed a method for solving the obstacles of the underdeveloped countryside by placing the "village" in the center.

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[410] (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük*, pp. 59–62.

[411] Villagers' education had been examined for a particular purpose since the first years of the Turkish republic. In 1924, John Dewey was invited to the country due to preparing a report about the educational plan of Turkey. Within this report, Dewey suggested that the village education should be organized in accordance with regional circumstances, schools should not only be where lectures took place, but they should be the centers of the cultural and social life in the villages. Schools should include health care services in which doctors would take care of the village inhabitants and also educate them in sanitation. John Dewey, *Türkiye Maarifi Hakkında Rapor*, ed. by Hasan Ali Yücel, T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, Ana Programa Hazırlıklar, B.1 (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1939), pp. 2–20 <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/eyayin/GAZETELER/WEB/KUTUPHANEDE%20BULUNAN%20DIJITAL%20KAYNAKLAR/KITAPLAR/DIGER%20YAYINLAR/197000571%20TURKIYE%20MAARIFI%20HAKKINDA%20RAPOR%20(JOHN%20DEWEY)/0000_0000%20TURKIYE%20MAARIFI%20HAKKINDA%20RAPOR%20(JOHN%20DEWEY).pdf>. Dewey introduced the village school and the village teacher as the generating factors in the rural. Following Dewey's ideas, the Ministry of Education regulated the law numbered 789 in 03.04.1926 that allowed establishing the Schools for Village Teachers Training. TBMM, *Maarif Teşkilâtına Dair Kanun*, 1926 <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc004/kanuntbmmc00400789.pdf>.

[412] Nusret Kemal Köymen published a book – Village Affairs in Mexico – *Meksika'da Köycülük* in 1934 chronicling the development of the peasantry and rural revolution in Mexico. He recounted state operations after 1910 and the state program between 1920 and 1933, and he presented the community life in the village in socio-cultural terms, public education in the village, and the significant role of the village school and the village teachers in the economic development of the village. He advocated for the Mexican model of rural modernization, and sought to adapt and translate it into the early republican project. Nusret Kemal (Köymen), *Meksika'da Köycülük* (Ankara: Tarık Edip Kütüphanesi, 1934).

[413] (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük*, pp. 64–67.

Following that, in his book The Principles of Village Affairs – *Köycülük Esasları,* 1934, Köymen presented the village as rural extention of the modern city of which development had been particularly studied since the end of 19th Century. However, Köymen's definitions of city and village were quite different in social, cultural and economic terms. He addressed centering the modern village in the urbanization discourse as a part of sustainable and well-controlled country planning. According to Nusret Kemal Köymen, the village is a core of the country, and the city is a complex central form in which these cores are concentrated:

> The difference between the village and the city is the life and operations, namely their functions: The village is a self-contained and bordered homeland-nucleus considering the production, consumption and labor relations in cultural, social, economic, industrial and administrational fields. However, the city is an administrational, cultural, social, economic, financial and industrial center and a geographical country-piece consisting of villages, which are related to each other geographically, culturally, socially and economically. In this respect, many communication functions are concentrated in the city, which exists not only for itself but also for the surrounding.[414]

He added that the village had existed as a very essential form of community life, with varying structures such as a smaller village with a smaller community and a larger village with a bigger population in more complex administrative and social apparatus. From this point of view, Köymen represented the village as "the oldest, fundamental and native society"[415] He believed that urban growth had been concentrated in the cities since the last century, resulting in a disorganized economic and socio-cultural environment in the village. However, the emergence of nationalist, populist and self-sufficient approaches grounded on the improvement of the village structure in the last decades.[416] The aim of

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[414] Nusret Kemal (Köymen), *Köycülük Esasları* (Ankara: Tarık Edip Kütüphanesi, 1934), p. 12. Author's translation.

[415] (Köymen), *Köycülük Esasları*, p. 10.

[416] (Köymen), *Köycülük Esasları*, pp. 12–13. Nusret Köymen discussed the conception of village in terms of peasants' movements starting from the mid 19th Century. He exemplified the peasants' movement in Denmark in 1849 and he stated that the movement resulted in social and cultural improvement. Another significant incident was the revolt of Mexican peasants in 1910 and its reflections on the agricultural development program in 1912. He also addressed 1917 revolution as a crucial threshold for the Russian peasantry but Köymen considered that the movement started among the Russian peasants and shifted to the worker class. Therefore, it transformed into a revolution in the cities not in the villages. On the other hand, the urbanization of the European cities held the peasantry backwards in the political and economic frame, and European states, nowadays, concentrated on cities more than rural areas since the infrastructure in the cities had been already prepared for the country development. Thus he suggested that the new improved peasant civilization emerged in the West in Mexico and in the East in Turkey.(Köymen), *Köycülük Esasları*, pp. 15–16.

the Village Affairs, Nusret Köymen introduced, was to center the village in country planning that consisting of the various development objectives of the republican agenda.

According to this idea, the village was not only an agricultural sphere in which the raw materials or local goods were being produced. It was a complete unit in which commodities were produced to serve the essential needs of people. Then with the rest of production and labor, the village contributed to the national economy in its geographical scope. The village would be furnished with all the equipment needed for its own local circumstances, resulting in an enduring system resitant to social and economic obstacles.[417]

Another crucial point, Köymen emphasized, was that in this sort of system, the villager would have his own property. With the land and a house, he was independent and responsible for his economic and social situation. Also, in this scheme the villager did not require the assistance of the state with the cultural, social, economic, administrational and municipal affairs. The state was involved only in the infrastructure of the village and in providing transportation, security, health and educational services to the village. In exchange for this work of the state, the villager paid taxes and joined the military service. In this formula the city served for the equipment and professionals for the state's services to the village. And the industry, built in the city, was cooperated with agriculture and manufacture in surrounding villages.[418]

At the same time Köymen advocated for an industrial production model in the villages. He suggested a smaller scale industry, taking place in houses and on farms where the villagers would labor with their family. Unlike the city where the worker class arose due to industry, this method would create a strong Turkish peasant class and develop culture and society. In other words, in the city the worker relied on the factory for day-wages, but in the village-people committed to their work because work was also a part of custom and daily habits. Therefore, the agricultural small industry could propser in the village and also help form cultural values in the countryside.[419]

In addition to characterizing the village as more or less the opposite of urbanity, Nusret Kemal Köymen sought solutions for the rural population who arrived in the cities in

[417] (Köymen), *Köycülük Esasları*, p. 22.
[418] (Köymen), *Köycülük Esasları*, pp. 22–24.
[419] (Köymen), *Köycülük Esasları*, pp. 25–26.

several instances. He introduced the "Villager House" – *Köylü Hanı,* a particular lodging in cities where the villager was accommodated for short periods to sell their products, take care of legal and administrative affairs, hospital services, seek work, etc. He believed that "villagers, visited the city, were more skilled, civilized, and open-eyed people", they were capable to grasp republican ideals and practice good manners during their sojourn. He addressed the Village Affairs Branch of People's House about the rural populace in the urban sphere. Köymen proposed building the "Villagers' Houses" as "a laboratory and a communication centre" for village affairs similar to the programs operated by the People's Houses all over the country.[420]

An ideal "Villager's House" should be constructed with natural building materials and local methods used in the villages, so that it would be a representative modern, standardized building built with modest, traditional techniques. The house would also contain a library, reading room and space for cultural events such as agricultural exhibitions, educational films and conferences, shadow plays and theater performances. Moreover, the Villager's House would be administrated by a director, who would manage an adult education program (particularly for rural people), and, who organized hygienic living conditions for the visitors.[421]

Köymen promoted the Villager's House as a crucial communication bridge between rural people and the intelligentsia. The cultural program and living circumstances would acquaint these two groups, and the villager would be exposed to the educational programs in the villages managed by the republican regime and its agents. In this way, the villager, who had experience in the village house, would volunteer for socio-cultural activities, brought by the elites from the city to the countryside.[422]

However, Köymen's approach supported, once again, the control-mechanism of republican cadre towards the Turkish peasantry and village society to coerce their participation in the project of the "achievement of a more civilized and modernized populace". It was provacative that he proposed for the villager and the urbanite a sterilized sphere in which they congregated together and came up with the governing tactics for the villager. He tenaciously supported the idea, which kept the villager away from

[420] (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük*, pp. 86–87.
[421] (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük*, pp. 87–88.
[422] (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük*, p. 88.

"recklessly" wandering in the streets of the city, limiting his actions and urban activities to one particular place.

### 4.1.3. Newspapers and Magazines for the Socio-Cultural Planning of the Turkish Village

In addition to the practical implementations, research and conceptual approaches to forming the Turkish village during the early republican period, village newspapers and magazines arose as an additional mouthpiece for public education in rural society, promoting and demonstrating the republican accomplishments and ideals for Turkish peasantry, villages and rural people. Starting from the alphabet reform in 1928, Turkish elites were inspired to create publications for the villagers. The new media would include issues about village life and the villagers' problems in order to communicate with the rural people. Therefore, the Villager's Newspaper – *Köylünün Gazetesi* – first published in 1929, and the Homeland – *Yurt* – first published in 1933, were complimentarily distributed to the villages by the state.[423]

Following that, periodicals such as *Karınca*, *Köy Dergisi* and *Köy Postası* which informed the people and the elites at the same time, included articles, reports and observations about conditions in the villages, the obstacles that rural populace encountered, development methods for the agricultural realm in the countryside and methods for the socio-cultural improvement of the peasants with a remarkable tone of statist politics.

In 1934, the Turkish Cooperatives' Association published the magazine *Karınca* that introduced the state operations in the countryside, aiming to answer problems of Turkish peasantry and bridging the elites with the rural people. It was underlined that the authority – elites and republican state – should approach Turkish peasants by seeking to speak "the same language". Thus, the scholars promoted discussing agricultural labor and challenges in the countryside with the peasants themselves, to examine and consider their needs. And, republican intellectuals proposed bringing up the subjects that peasants hadn't yet demanded. Only this way would it be possible to comprehend the obstacles posed by rural

[423] Türkan Çetin, 'Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycülük Politikaları: Köye Doğru Hareketi', in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*, Bilanço' 98 Yayın Dizisi (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), pp. 213–30 (pp. 215; footnote 24 and 25).

life in socio-cultural terms, to develop and modernize the Turkish village, and to implement statist reforms in rural Anatolia.

Like the Village Surveys organized by the Village Affair's Branch of People's Houses all over the country, these articles and reports also portrayed the social and cultural the life in the rural Anatolia and promoted a sort of "village journalism" keeping the agenda of agricultural projects in the villages. In this respect, Dr. Cevdet Nasuhi Savran's article about a small Anatolian village – *Katrancı Köyü* demonstrated the position of the "Village Journalists", or the republican intelligentsia who were not only the observers but also the guides of civilization.

Savran approvingly narrated the visit and participated in the village committee of the RPP. He started with a geographical characterization of the region and continued the report by describing the village: The committee arrived at the region by railway and then took the highway and the ridgeway, passing poorly groomed fields, vineyards and orchards. They found the village hidden in the alcove of the Taurus Mountains. *Katrancı* village, where only 15 families lived, struggled, like any other Anatolian village, with poverty, illiteracy and ignorance, and it was clear that here the republican reforms had not yet been accomplished in the community. While they were approaching the village from the rippled path, they noticed houses with collapsed roofs, half-ruined walls and chimneys. When the villagers saw the committee approaching, they rushed out from their homes to gather around them. The villagers were hospitable, let the committee rest under a tree and served them food and drink. The villagers and the committee started to discuss the village's problems: the lack of infrastructure, and poor living and sanitation conditions, poverty in agricultural production, the absence of school and educational institutions. As Savran stated, while they were leaving the village, they came across women weaving a rug with colorful, traditional motifs. The scene was remarkable for him, the beauty and the strength of the village women and the customs reflected on their daily work inspired him to re-declare the cultural abundance of Anatolian people, and to affirm their value in the nation-building and modernization projects.[424]

[424] Cevdet Nasuhi Savran, 'Yurdun Bucaklarından: Kantrancı Köyü', *Karınca: Türk Kooperatifçilik Cemiyetinin Aylık Mecmuası*, 14.Haziran (1935), 5–6.

The article was crucial to comprehend the viewpoint of republican intelligentsia towards the Anatolian rural life and to understand the socio-cultural aspects of planning the Turkish village in the early republican period. Similar to others, the visiting committee that Dr. Cevdet Nasuhi Savran participated in served as the group of observers of the rural culture, and at the same time, as pioneers for a modern civilization in the *Katrancı* village. On the one hand, Savran's report confirmed the need for the development of the social and cultural status of Turkish village. On the other hand, it demonstrated that this kind of change (the socio-cultural reformation) in the Turkish village could not be accomplished unless economic progress was achieved. In other words, the villager should be educated, equipped with social reforms and nourished with the rural tradition and culture that should also be maintained in the village. At the same time, an economic shift in the village – with the modernization of agricultural production process, legislative adjustment of the landownership, opportunities and advantages for the manufacturing and marketing of the rural products – should support the rise of the village in both economic, social and cultural frames. And then it would be possible that the Turkish peasantry and the peasant class in the Turkish society would emerge as they had in Western society.

The idea that the village economy controlled the socio-cultural sphere dominated discourse, especially after the first programs in the Anatolian countryside in the 1930s. During the late 1930s and the early 1940s, magazines and newspapers addressed to the Turkish village and villager concentrated on news about modernization projects in the rural Anatolia, and articles about the new agricultural methods and production, and small agrarian industry models in the countryside. Village Journal – *Köy Dergisi,* first published in 1939, and Village Post – *Köy Postası*, first published in 1944 became the major media outlets informing the villagers (and the elites who were engaged with the village) about village affairs, operations by state. They also educated about topics such as hygiene, health, home-economy, childcare, social and cultural activities in the village.

In the first issue of the Village Journal - *Köy Dergisi,* founders Kadri Kemal Kop, Murat Sertoglu and Necaettin Atasagon announced that the doctrines and aims of the journal were to serve for village, villager and the intelligentsia according to the major principles of the RPP. Because,

> The village is an administrational unit of a country, but it is the general configuration of Turkey. Seeing and analyzing the village and learning from it means learning (understanding) the whole country.
>
> With this magazine, we will introduce the village of yesterday and today, and the model villages which the republican regime will create from now on.[425] (Emphasis added.)

**Figure 4.3.** (On the left) magazine cover of *Karınca*, the third issue, 1934, (on the right) magazine cover of *Köy Postası* the 53-54th issue, 1948.

Accordingly, the periodical included reports about the projects that continued in agriculture fields in particular regions, and articles about current circumstances, progress and future programs in small towns and villages in Anatolia. In the late 1940s, the connection between the socio-cultural atmosphere and economic circumstances in the Turkish village was more effectively established, and generally echoed in these mediums. In that respect, in addition to the news, informative commentaries for villagers, and literature columns for short stories, poems and myths about the village culture and village life, the Village Post – *Köy Postası* – introduced the program of travelling village courses

[425] Kadri Kop Kemal, Murad Sertoğlu, and Necaettin Atasagon, 'Köy Dergisi'nin Prensip ve Gayesi', *Köy Dergisi*, 1.1 (1939), p. 2. Author's translation.

in order to import professional knowledge and build a cultural and economic bridge between the city and country. It was announced that women were to train in needlecraft, and men were to train in carpentry and forging within the program maintained by the Ministry of Education. By presenting practical information about craftsmanship, the goal was to create the opportunities for the villager away from agrarian fields, and to sustain the village in its terrain.[426] **(Figure 4.3)**

### 4.1.4. The Village Institutes: Turkish Village between Socio-Cultural and Economic Planning

Until the 1940s, the village was principally in the center of discussion of the development of rural Anatolia using the tools such as analysis of the social and economic structure of village life and the cultural narratives in the village. Therefore, the early republican intelligentsia and regime focused on the reconstruction of rural patterns in the framework of nationalization and modernization programs and sought to realize these sort of changes by linking the social, economic and architectural infrastructure to the village. Therefore, the 1930s witnessed various empiric operations, including the education program for the villagers[427] in order to bolster the Turkish village. In the 1930s climate the concensus was that villagers should be promoted and instructed in accordance with the daily needs in their villages. And, starting from the second half of the 1930s the theme of education played a crucial role in village planning.

Between 1935 and 1937, İsmail Hakkı Tonguç – General Director of Elementry Education, and Saffet Arıkan – Minister of National Education prepared the program for the Village Schools. The report about the concept and the qualification of teachers and trainers in the village schools was released: the schools would be organized according to provincial circumstances to serve the children in the region. The schools would be equipped with fields for agricultural training, laboratories, and ateliers, in addition to rooms for seminars, lectures and artistic activities, as well as dormitories. The teacher-candidates should be chosen from the village youth and were to be educated in a similar

[426] İsmet Hulusi İmset, 'Köye Gidelim', *Köy Postası*, 52.09 (1948), 13.
[427] See footenote 74.

atmosphere to the village life. In this way the teachers would serve as role models for not only the children but also the adults in the village.[428]

This report formulated the law numbered 3238 – The Village Educators Law on the 11st of June 1937.[429] From 1937 to 1939, in the villages of İzmir, Eskisehir, Kirklareli and Kastamonu, the first educator schools were established to train candidates who had finished their military duty and had already been inclined to engage in agricultural work in their villages. After three years, the project became law on the 17th of April 1940 with the law numbered 3803[430], and the Village Institutes officially started up in rural Anatolia and Trace.[431] **(Figure 4.4)**

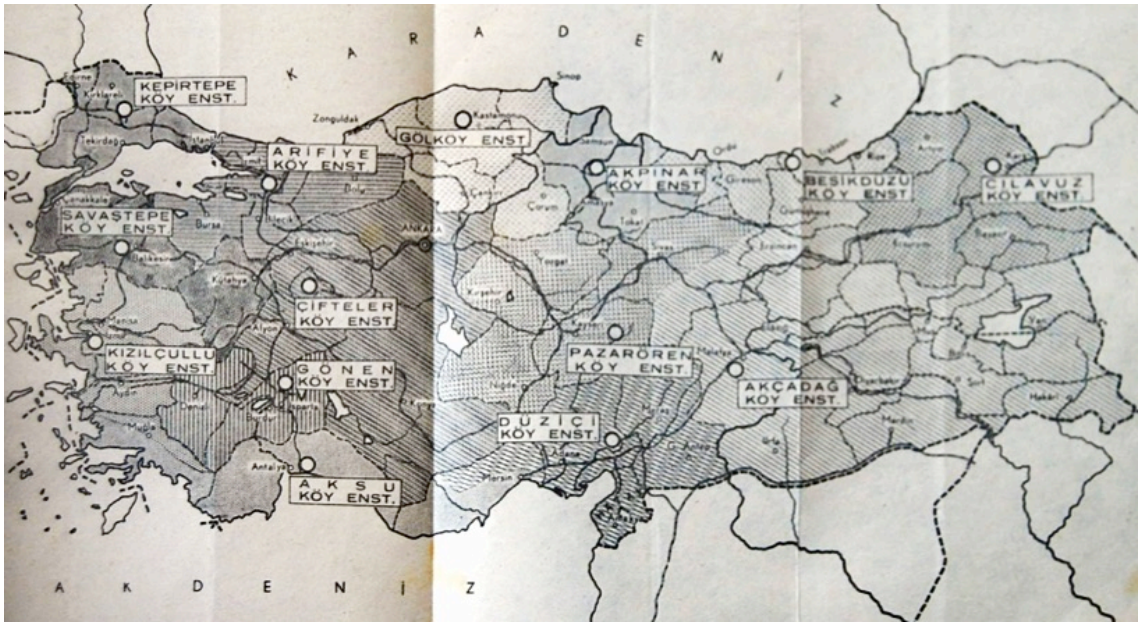

**Figure 4.4.** The Village Institutes in 1941 in Turkey.[432]

[428] Bekir Semerci, 'Yeni Arayışlar', in *Köy Enstitüleri: Amaçlar İlkeler Uygulamalar*, ed. by Mustafa Aydoğan, Tanıtım Dizisi, 1 (İstanbul: Köy Enstitüleri ve Çağdaş Eğitim Vakfı Yayınları, 1997), pp. 18–27 (pp. 23–25).

[429] The Village Educators Law, numbered 3238. TBMM, *Köy Eğitmenleri Kanunu*, 1937 <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc017/kanuntbmmc017/kanuntbmmc01703238.pdf>.

[430] The Village Institutes Law, numbered 3803. TBMM, *Köy Enstitüleri Kanunu*, 1940, pp. 233-237 <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc021/kanuntbmmc021/kanuntbmmc02103803.pdf>.

[431] Seval Kocak and Gulsun Atanur Baskan, 'Village Institutes and Life-Long Learning', *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 46 (2012), 5937–40 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.08.009>.

[432] 'Köy Enstitülerinin Bulundukları Yerlerle Bölgelerine Giren Vilayetleri Gösteren Harita', *Köy Enstitüleri Dergisi*, 1.1 (1941).

The law introduced the concept for the institutes: The aim was to to train village teachers and the other professionals in issues related to the village affairs. The education lasted five years, and the students would be directed into the different fields according to with their relevant skills. The teachers who graduated from the village institutes would be responsible for all educational activities in the village where they worked. Namely, they would not only lecture in the village schools, they would also instruct the villagers in technical procedures and practices of agrarian production in the provided fields, orchards and ateliers.[433]

Until the state closed the institutes in 1954, it was intended to establish a substantial education network by separating the country in four regions and organizing the village institutes as the pioneering units in each district. According to İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, the program, run in the institutes, was grounded in teaching the students particular practices related to the region, Additionally, the training also addressed social and natural sciences, agriculture, art and sport activities, introductory excursions for learning about the country, and especially methods for the improvement of literacy in the villages.[434] In other words, the program provided the education to regenerate the Turkish village and transform its social and economic dynamics. In this way, the village institutes were the centers of "learning by doing" for the villagers and included the rural populace into the development plan in a pragmatic manner that was carried on by the Turkish elite.[435]

In particular, from 1935 (the first drafts of the organization) to 1946 (the first multi-party elections) the project basically promoted teaching the villagers to sustain rural life with mottos such as "controlling and exploiting nature", "increasing productivity", "developing technology", "being rational", and directly connecting the backwardness and ignorance of the rural populace in socio-cultural frame with "the incompetence of the peasants in their struggle against the rural environment." [436] Fay Kirby also summarized this process, pointing to the pragmatic and empirical methods led by the institutes. But he highlighted that the genuine goals underlining the concept were "developing modern

[433] TBMM, *Köy Enstitüleri Kanunu*, p. 233.
[434] İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, *Eğitim Yolu ile Canlandırılacak Köy*, 2. Baskı (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1947), p. 506.
[435] For the comment, see also M. Asim Karaömerlioğlu, 'The Village Institutes Experience in Turkey', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 25.1 (1998), 47–73.
[436] M. Asim Karaömerlioğlu, p. 63.

values in the Turkish society", "generating the national culture", "professionalizing in the economic life" and "improving the country's economy" by positioning the village in the center of all courses of action.[437]

The dynamism, brought by the village institutes in the rural Turkey, helped to improve both socio-cultural and economic conditions. The operation paved the way for analyzing the layers of rural society from an insider perspective. In this respect, one of the convincing figures was Mahmut Makal who introduced his book "Our Village" – *Bizim Köy* in 1950, and two years later "From My Village" – *Köyümden* portraying the village in several dimensions. He pointed out that Turkish village appeared to be neither a socio-cultural project nor an economic nucleus in the rural Anatolia. Makal demonstrated the village a holistic organism consisting of cultural, social, economic and ethnic themes. For the first time the village was narrated by the insider, particularly when Makal presented Demirci Village, where he was born, and Nürgüz village, where he worked as a teacher after he graduated from Ivriz Village Institute in Konya. At the end of 1940s, Makal's works also gained political significance due to his critical reading of early republican programs for the emerging Turkish peasantry.[438] Makal clearly discussed the obstacles in the statist program from the villagers' perspective. His work consisted of several chapters about the social, cultural and economic details of village life and political positions of the villagers.[439]

The village institutes and the progress they brought about in the Turkish countryside established a bridge between many actors such as the politicians, urban intelligentsia, villagers and feudal landowners. The village institutes created the potentiality for a bottom-up rise instead of the top-down implementations of Kemalist regime. Within the political climate of 1950s, however the existence of institutes and their power in the countryside were considered as the threat to governmental prepotency. Although impact

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[437] Fay Kirby, *Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri*, trans. by Niyazi Berkes, 3. Baskı (İstanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi, 2010), p. 269.

[438] He was accused by the Turkish government for the 'Communist Propaganda' in 1950 and jailed for two months. See Lewis Thomas J., 'Foreword', in *A Village in Anatolia*, 1. Edition (London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co. Ltd., 1954), pp. ix–xii (p. xi).

[439] In 1954 Mahmut Makal's books "Our Village" – *Bizim Köy* and "From My Village" – *Köyümden* were compiled and translated into English as one book called 'A Village in Anatolia' with the contributions of Lewis V. Thomas and social anthropologist Paul Stirling. Mahmut Makal, *A Village in Anatolia*, ed. by Paul Stirling, trans. by Sir Wyndham Deedes, 1. Edition (London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co. Ltd., 1954).

of the project was echoed in the later years, the institutes continued to be a romanticized ideal in the rural Turkey.

## 4.2. Economic Planning of the Turkish Village

### 4.2.1. Concepts of Economic Planning during the First Years of Republic and the "Turkish Village"

The economy policy was contemplated the reformation of rural Turkey starting from the early years of the republic. During the 1930s the economic planning of Turkish village was framed in keeping the village community in its socio-cultural sphere and improving production activities locally by developing the modern infrastructure in the rural areas. According to Caglar Keyder, in the 1940s the village was still traditionally organized in social and economic aspects. The exceptions to this were minor regions in Anatolia where rural households engaged in local trade. These areas had been included in the market since the late 19th Century by foreign merchandise groups, and non-Muslim citizens had been deported since the years of the First World War.[440]

Considering that the rural populace was the majority of the country[441], the populist approach to economic policy at the time implied another significant dimension of village planning in the 1920s. On the 1st of March 1922, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk – the first republican president of Turkey gave a speech that became a motto referring to the Turkish villager, and was used as a significant propaganda statement by many politicians in the following years:

> The real warden and governor of Turkey is the villager, who is the real producer. Then the villager deserves prosperity and wealth more than anyone else. Therefore, the government of Grand National Assembly of Turkey directs economic policy to construct the foundations of this aim.[442] (Emphasis added.)

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[440] Caglar Keyder, 'Genesis of Petty Commodity Production in Agriculture: The Case of Turkey', in *Culture and Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages*, ed. by Paul Stirling (Huntingdon: Eothen, 1993), pp. 171–86 (pp. 171–72).

[441] Around 1923, the populace of Turkey largely consisted of landowners, small agriculture holders and non-landowner villagers, especially after the Armenians and Greeks who were traditionally holding the trade and capital network, were forced to leave during the wars.

[442] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Atatürk'ün söylev ve demeçleri*, p. 239. Ayse Afeinan introduced her book, published for the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of Turkish Republic with the title of Our Villages – Köylerimiz, with the same quotation. Ayşe Afetinan, *Cumhuriyet'in Ellinci Yılı Için: Köylerimiz*, 36 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1978), XVI, p. VII. Author's translation.

The first attempt to improve the conditions of "the real warden and governor of Turkey" was the First Economy Congress in İzmir from the 17th of February to the 4th of March 1923, before the 23rd of October 1923 when the Republic of Turkey was officially proclaimed. The congress was fundamentally grounded on determining the economic principles of the new Turkish state, of which the majority were living in the villages and towns, laboring with small agricultural households, in craftsmanship or small manufacturing.[443] According to statistics, in 1923, 10,3 million of the 13,6 million total population of Turkey were agricultural holders, small landowners or landless peasants, and living in the small rural towns or villages.[444]

Although the program to restore industry emerged as the larger theme during the meetings, the foodstock via agrarian activities formed an important part of the congress. This directed topics of discussion to rural areas, particularly to the strategies for regenerating economic life in the villages. With the initial operations, the aim was to bring about economic recovery in the country, addressing obstacles such as reforming and consolidating the network and resources of the national economy, and providing a sustainable market for local and regional producers.[445] Thus, the state gradually planned

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[443] 'İktisat Esaslarımız: 17 Şubat 339 - 4 Mart 339 Tarihine Kadar İzmir'de Toplanan İlk Türk İktisat Kongresinde Kabul Olunan Esaslar ve İrat Olunan Nutuklar', in *İzmir İktisat Kongresi, 17 Şubat - 4 Mart 1923*, ed. by Ayşe Afetinan, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları XVI. Dizi, 46 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1982), pp. 17–90.

[444] *İstatistik Göstergeler - Statistical Indicators, 1923-1992*, 1682 (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1994), p. 8. See also, Oya Köymen, 'Cumhuriyet Döneminde Tarımsal Yapı ve Tarım Politikaları', in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere*, Bilanço' 98 Yayın Dizisi (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), pp. 1–30 (p. 1).
According to a report in 1932, in 1927 the population was still 13,650 million living in only 40 locations, with the higher density in the west Anatolia, east Thrace. There were 13 cities with the population of over 30 thousand people, which was 12% of the whole population. The big cities in which industry and trade relatively dominated the regions, were Istanbul, Bursa, İzmir, Ankara, Konya and Adana. Among the whole population 5,8 million people were considered in an occupational group, and 4,3 million of this group were in agriculture. The other 8,2 million people were villagers who labored in agrarian fields and households. Hamit Sadi, pp. 38, 42–49.

[445] The state primarily focused on industrial growth in the agenda, nevertheless there were several attempts to increase the quality and quantity of agricultural production. First of all, the Agriculture Ministry operated stations for seed improvement in 1926 in Eskisehir, Adana, Adapazari, Edirne and Ankara. From 1927, the new seeds were exported and studied in these stations. In addition to this, starting from 1925, the Agriculture Ministry established exemplar farms in order to demonstrate the new techniques and methods in agriculture and become a model in their regions. *Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi Yayını: Türk Ziraat Tarihine Bir Bakış* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1938), p. 282., and İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, 'Devletçilik Dönemi Tarım Politikalari (Modernleşme Çabaları)', in *75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere* (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), pp. 43–56 (p. 47–49; references 24, 25, 26 and 29).

to construct a better infrastructure to boost the economic life and sustain this improvement. The government passed laws pertaining to the conditions for the agriculture laborers including legal agreements between the landowners and agrarian workers, and it took a step towards new regulations for landownership-reform.[446]

In this respect, the first regularization occurred in the Village Law numbered 442 on 18th of March 1924, declaring the village a legal entity for the first time.[447] In addition to this, in order to revive production in the villages, on the 21st of April 1924, within the law numbered 498, the government encouraged farmers and smallholders from the same region to cooperate in the agrarian fields.[448] And, in the law numbered 1470 on the 28th of May 1929, the Agricultural Credit Cooperatives was enacted by the state to maintain the production of the farmers and villagers who held arable lands.[449]

During the first years of the republic, the village development dealt with obstacles stemming from the economic depression until the beginning of 1930s. The economic policy of the state tended to concetrate on industry, promoting the manufacturing of industrial raw material for internal and external markets instead of supporting agriculture-based production, the occupation of the majority of the population.[450] The villagers, who were smallholders and laborers in agrarian farms, confronted severe circumstances that

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[446] Ayşe Afetinan. Caglar Keyder introduces the İzmir Economy Congress as the step for the "encouragement of industry" pointing out that the congress echoed the 1913 Law for the Encouragement of Industry which was still kept in the agenda during the first years of the republic. See also, Çağlar Keyder, *The Definition of a Peripheral Economy: Turkey, 1923-1929*, Studies in Modern Capitalism = Etudes Sur Le Capitalisme Moderne (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York : Paris: Cambridge University Press ; Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1981), pp. 25, 57–58.

[447] *Köy Kanunu*, 1924, pp. 237–60 <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.3.442.pdf>. See also Gafur Soylu, *Köy Nedir ve Nasıl İdare Edilir*, 2. Basılış (İstanbul: Marifet Basımevi, 1940), pp. 7–27.

[448] TBMM, *İtibarı Zirai Birliği Kanunu*, 1924, pp. 396–97 (p. 396) <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc002/kanuntbmmc002/kanuntbmmc00200498.pdf>.

[449] *Zirai Kredi Kooperatıfleri Kanunu*, 1929 <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/1208.pdf>. On the 21st of October 1935, the law for Agricultural Credit Cooperatives established within the new law numbered 2836 including a larger state control in the credits and partnerships. See TBMM, *Tarım Kredi Kooperatifleri Kanunu*, 1935, pp. 764–69 <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc015/kanuntbmmc015/kanuntbmmc01502836.pdf>. For a further reading on the structure of agricultural cooperatives in Turkey's history see also Özlem Kocabaş Yıldırır, *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Kooperatifçilik Düşüncesinin Gelişimi*, Libra Kitap, 35, 1. baskı (Osmanbey, İstanbul: Libra Kitap, 2010).

[450] Until early 1930s, the government focused on judicial arrangements for the production of industrial raw materials such as tobacco, sugar, and cotton which were produced by the landowners and smallholders in particular areas. Especially during the years of economic depression, the aim was to adjust the production of agricultural material and industrial raw material, and to strengthen the sstatist tone in the economy with new regulations. See Hamit Bey, *Devlet İnhisarlarına Müteallik Mevzuat*, İnhisarlar Umum Müdürlüğü Hukuk Müşavirliği, I, II (İstanbul: İnhisarlar Matbaası, 1932). See also Oya Oya Köymen, pp. 10–12.

prompted the government to seek solutions for underdeveloped areas. Following that, on the 5th of January 1931, the first Agricultural Congress was assembled in Ankara with councils of several agricultural regions, the Economy Ministry and the state banks. They concentrated on answers to topics such as technical backwardness in agrarian activities, new economic resources for farmers and villagers, transportation of agrarian goods, improvement of the market, enhancement in the quality of agricultural production, promotion of agricultural education and professions, engagement with foreign markets, and difficulties in the living conditions of villagers.[451] The decisions made in the congress are seen in the first and second industrial plans in 1933 and 1936[452], and directed the policy for economic planning of Turkish villages during the 1930s.

### 4.2.2. "Kadro" and the Statist Ideas in Economic Planning of the Turkish Village

In addition to the governmental interventions in the rural economy, a group of intellectuals gathered under the journal the *Kadro* – Cadre, that was published from 1932 to 1935 and supported the populist and statist operations for improvement in rural Turkey. İsmail Hüsrev Tökin, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Vedat Nedim Tör, Burhan Asaf Belge and the novelist Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu concentrated on the village economy from statist and populist perspectives, promoting the RPP's, hence the state's implementations. From this point of view, the group associated with *Kadro*, represented the economic dimension of republican ideology by introducing the village as the center of the development plan, and the core of social categorization in Turkey.[453]

The group pointed to the legitimatized definition of republican ideals in theory and practice. Building a new country during the depression could not be considered only a

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[451] *İhtisas Raporları: 1931 Birinci Türkiye Ziraat Kongresi* (Ankara: Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti, 1931), I. During the First Agriculture Congress, the National Economy and Appropriations Association organized an international exhibition for agricultural technology, inviting foreign allies such as Russia and Hungary. See Türkan Çetin, '1929 Dünya Ekonomik Bunalimi Sonrası Türkiye'nin Tarım Politikasında Arayışlar: Birinci Türkiye Ziraat Kongresi', *DEÜ Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2.6–7 (1996), 213–26 (p. 214).

[452] According to Ayse Afetinan, Turkey's first industry plan formed in 1933 for a period of five years and focused on the program for sstatist operations in industrial fields related to agriculture. The second industry plan, formed in 1936, intended to apply to a larger area than the agriculture based improvement, but it concentrated on government enterprises and the encouragement of private associations in industry as well as it aimed to maintain the adjustments in agrarian economy. *Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin İkinci Sanayi Planı 1936*, XVI (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973), XXI, pp. VII–X.

[453] İlhan Tekeli and Gencay Şaylan, 'Türkiye'de Halkçılık İdeolojisinin Evrimi', *Toplum ve Bilim Dergisi*, 6–7. Yaz-Güz (1978), 111–56.

political matter, but the economic circumstances should be also involved in the formation of the state structure. The statist perspective would resolve the actual and future problems and achieve prosperity and socio-cultural reinforcement. According to Şevket Süreyya Aydemir:

> The first duty of the state should have intervened (-and controlled) the national economy in the frame of (and in accordance with) the national and international status not promoting only one limited class (referring to the privileged classes in Ottoman State as an instance). The state would be the organization, which represented and regulated the people at the same time, namely it would emerge from the people but conduct the public life, build the economic accumulations and adopt them on behalf of the people.[454] (Emphasis added)

Within an article series in the *Kadro*, İsmail Hüsrev Tökin specifically analyzed the national economy with the village as the core-theme, and detailed the village economy around several topics such as ground rent and land ownership in rural areas[455], feudality and its impacts in rural Turkey[456], economic changes in village life[457], land reform and land provision for villagers[458], cooperatives[459] and other forms of agricultural enterprises in Anatolia[460]. In these articles Tökin presented the fundamental problem that the national capital had been remained in the cities instead of the villages. Thus, the Turkish village, even though it was the key form of settlement for most of the population, was underdeveloped, with economic problems and difficulties in the socio-cultural sphere. He advocated statist reforms in the village economy beginning with the land and landowners,

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[454] Şevket Süreyya (Aydemir), *İnkılâp ve Kadro: İnkılâbın Ideolojisi* (Ankara: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1932), p. 109. Author's translation.
[455] İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Türkiye Köy İktisadiyatında Toprak Rantı', *Kadro*, 4.Nisan (1932), 10–14.
[456] İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Türkiye'de Toprak Ağalığı', *Kadro*, 9.Eylül (1932), 23–29., and İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Şark Vilayetlerinde Derebeylik', *Kadro*, 11.İkinci Teşrin (1932), 22–29.
[457] İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Anadolu Köyünde Bünye Tahavvülü', *Kadro*, 14.Şubat (1933), 18–24.
[458] İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Türk Köylüsü Bir Toprak Reformu Bekliyor', *Kadro*, 21.Eylül (1933), 21–24., and İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Türk Köylüsünü Topraklandırmalı. Fakat Nasıl?', *Kadro*, 23.İkinci Teşrin (1933), 33–39.
[459] Vedat Nedim (Tör), 'Millet İktisadiyatı: Köylü Kazanmalıdır.', *Kadro*, 33.Eylül (1934), 11–15. According to Vedat Nedim Tör agricultural cooperatives, encouraged by the state, assisted small producers not only in connecting them with the market, but the cooperatives also provided modern agrarian technical equipment and methods.
[460] İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Anadolu'da Zirai İşletme Şekilleri', *Kadro*, 24.Birinci Kanun (1933), 25–32.

in addition to the re-organization of agricultural labor in the villages and the class definition of the village population.[461]

İsmail Hüsrev Tökin highlighted that statist reforms should begin with land provision for villagers who did not hold cultivated land already. The aim was to rationalize the agrarian production by connecting the villager to the land and thus to increase national income. It was also believed that the implementations of an ideal land reform would extinguish every aspect of social polarization, which prevented the emergence of national integrity. Statist land reform would bring about the land provision on behalf of the villager and forge national cooperation in agricultural labor.[462] It was put forward that the state should encourage villagers and farmers in technical and organizational issues such as quality improvement in agricultural production, affordable credit, and profitable marketing advantages. However, landownership remained a problem in social and economic stratification, and a large scope of legislative reorganization was needed in order to consolidate the economy in rural areas.[463]

Relatedly, in the early 1930s, there were varying profiles of landowners in Turkey depending on their location. First, in the eastern regions, feudal structure was still maintained and dominated by the aghas – landowners who held the villages and the surrounding cultivated land. Second, in the western and middle regions of Anatolia especially, sharecroppers who did not own an agrarian land worked together with the landowners. Third, in the industrially developed areas such as Adana, İzmir and Istanbul, agricultural producers who were also landowners ran farms equipped with modernized technology and employed the villagers. Fourth, throughout Anatolia, there were self-contained smallholdings, run by families with a limited amount of cultivated land such as vineyards and orchards. Considering these circumstances, scholars pointed to the potential for technical and legislative reforms in rural Turkey. They principally advocated for state interventions to modernize agricultural production and the education of villagers. They also argued for the provision of land for all villagers to remove the privilege of

[461] İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Millet İçinde Sınıf Meselesi II', *Kadro*, 26.Şubat (1934), 20–26.
[462] İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), 'Milli İktisat Tetkikleri: Türk Köylüsünü Topraklandırmalı. Fakat Nasıl?', p. 33.
[463] İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), p. 21.

feudality in particular regions and to fix the economic balance between the different social groups in the country.[464]

In sum, the group gathered around the *Kadro,* urged republican reforms. At the same time, they campaigned for a realistic path in rural development, highlighting the village as the economic center point of the country. Thus, the discussions, continued in the journal, inspired efforts to bring about the emergence of Turkey's peasant class and fulfill their social and economic potential, as had occurred in Europe and Russia but not previously in Turkish societal history.

### 4.2.3. The mid-1930s and The First Congress for Village and Agricultural Development in 1938

Starting from the mid-30s, contributions from republican intellectuals regarding the planning of the Turkish village and seeking solutions for the economic disadvantages of the villager resulted in acceleration of regulations. Indeed, the legislative proceedings started with two early acts: First, the government declared on the 2nd of June 1929 in the law numbered 1505 that the agricultural lands that belonged to the people displaced from eastern provinces to the West, were to be provided to villagers, migrants, and refugees. On the 13th of March 1930, the recorder of deeds announced the new ordinance that the government would distribute ownerless lands seized after the deportation of Greek populace to the local and exchanged people.[465] But these developments were not sufficient to bring economic advancement to the countryside.

On the 14th of June 1934, the Settlement Law numbered 2510 was enacted for organizing housing in the rural areas as well as regulating the cultivated land distribution for the exchanged population encouraging them to move to the areas where the Kurdish populace dominated.[466] Namely, within the law and its regulations enacted in 1936, the goal was to ease ethnic conflict that had emerged between the republican authority and the people in

[464] İsmail Hüsrev (Tökin), pp. 22, 24.
[465] Tapu Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü, 'Mübadil ve Yerli Ahaliye Tevzi Edilen Arazi Kayıtları Hakkında Tamim', *Resmi Gazete* (Ankara, 13 March 1930), section 1444, p. 8765.
[466] TBMM, *İskan Kanunu*, 1934 <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/2733.pdf>., and 'İskan Kanunu', *Resmi Gazete* (Ankara, 04 1934), section 2733, pp. 4003–9.

the eastern regions since the late 1920s.[467] Moreover, the settlement law condemned property in order to provide agricultural fields for the people who agreed to settle in the places chosen by the governors. This became one of the first examples of state expropriation of private lands in the eastern provinces.[468, 469]

Nevertheless, legal interventions in the economic planning of the village were implemented parallel to land reform and scientific analysis for the benefit of development and sustainability in agriculture. Within the law numbered 2291, enacted on the 10th of June 1933, the Higher Institute of Agriculture was founded in Ankara and agriculturist professor Friedrich Falke (1871-1948) became the president of the institute. Its objective was to educate the students in the fields of Agriculture, Veterinary, Natural Science, Agricultural Craftsmanship and Forestry.[470]

The institute focused on technology and methods in agrarian production that could be easily transmitted to farmers and agricultural workers by the students who would train in the farms and villages during their education.[471] **(Figure 4.5)** In addition to this, the institute promulgated several research and practical instructions for agrarian people. Starting from 1934, under the directorship of Otto Gerngross who was the head of Faculty for Agricultural Technology, the institute published a series of instructing books – Guide to the Farmer – *Çiftçiye Öğütler* for farmers and agricultural producers.[472]

In 1935, Friedrich Falke announced that the institute was to play a critical role in the development of an academic organization for scientific applications to agriculture. He advocated that Turkish science should follow two significant directions: First, scholars should concentrate on the land, the people and their particular problems in order to develop the national scientific perspective on agricultural growth. Second, they should

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[467] Uğur Ümit Üngör pointed out that the settlement law, enacted in 1934, ruled for the deportation of the Kurdish population and also the polarization of the country in two; Turkish west and Kurdish east. Üngör, pp. 153–54.
[468] For this comment see also, Asım Karaömerlioğlu, pp. 120–21.
[469] The 1934 Settlement Law and its impact on the rural built environment is discussed in detail in *"Building the Republican Villages"* in the sixth chapter.
[470] Kerim Çağlar Ömer, *Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü: Kanunlar, Kararnameler, Bütçe ve Talimatnameler*, T.C. Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü Neşriyatı, 101 (Ankara: Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü Basımevi, 1940), pp. 11–13.
[471] Çağlar, pp. 37, 61–62.
[472] Otto Gerngross, *Şarap Kurulması: Bağbozumundan İçkiyi Elde Edinceye Kadar Şarap İçin Yapılacak İşler Hakkında Çiftçiye Öğütler - Weinbereitung: Ratgeber für den praktischen Landwirt zur richtigen Behandlung des Weines von der Traubenlese bis zum fertigen Getränk*, trans. by Turgut Küşat, Çiftçiye Öğütler, 1 (Ankara: Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü Basımevi, 1934).

get acquantied with the global debates, technology and methodology in order to achieve the recognition in the scientific world. Friedrich Falke was pointing to these two objectives as the fundamental principles of the institute and its program.[473]

**Figure 4.5.** Villagers and students, working together in the field.[474] (*Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi Yayını,* 1938)

The Higher Institute of Agriculture, the Bank of Agriculture and cooperatives collaborated to found the Agriculture Associations[475] in order to respond to the problems in the countryside and to organize villagers and farmers in each village in accordance with local circumstances. It was believed that the organs of associations in the villages would serve for instructing the people in more sufficient methods and techniques in agriculture, provide the equipment for more profitable production and assist them with handling their goods in the market.[476]

Even though since the first years of the republic the state had been seeking to advance agriculture by building seed improvement stations, organizing the distribution of

[473] Friedrich Falke, 'Die Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule Ankara am Schluss ihres zweiten Studienjahres', *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 9.Octobre (1935), 2–9 (pp. 2–3).
[474] *Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi Yayını: Türk Ziraat Tarihine Bir Bakış*.
[475] Agriculture Associations was founded on 15th May 1957 with law numbered 6964. TBMM, *Ziraat Odaları ve Ziraat Odaları Birliği Kanunu*, 1957, pp. 3119–35 <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.3.6964.pdf>.
[476] Alaettin Topçubaşı Cemil, 'Köy Tarım Odaları ve Tarımsal Kredi Kooperatifleri', *Karınca: Türk Kooperatifçilik Cemiyetinin Aylık Mecmuası*, 15.Temmuz (1935), 16–19.

developed seeds to the peasants, founding animal farms to revive the stockbreeding, fighting against agricultural diseases, organizing the forestry affairs and plantations,[477] in 1934 there were only 63.936 members from 2550 villages in agriculture cooperatives, through which the state and institutional organizations provided assistance to the producers.[478] Nevertheless, these endeavors paved the way for the first Village and Agricultural Development Congress in 1938. On the 29th of December 1938, the commissions reported on topics of vineyards and orchards agriculture, field agriculture, animal breeding and forage, forestry, agricultural handicraft, marketing, agricultural education, including organizations in the villages, state regulations and advices.[479] During the congress, the consensus emerged that the country's economy was fundamentally based on the peasantry and depended on the development of village community. In addition to strengthening the relationship between agricultural production and industry, the congress explored options to increase the quality of production, to rationalize and modernize agrarian activities, and to integrate local goods into foreign markets. To this end, delegates presented the organizational structures of agricultural cooperatives in the USA, Latin America, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. In particular, they pointed to peasant associations in Switzerland as a model for Turkey.[480]

The commission reports illustrated the condition of the Turkish peasantry, methods for increasing agrarian production, adjustments and necessary regulations in governmental organizations and initiatives in agriculture, and the state support for farmers and agricultural craftsmen. The decisions highlighted crucial points for village planning: First of all, it stressed the urgency of land provision for landless peasants, following the cadastral planning of cultivated fields in and around the villages. Then the delegates decided on programs for improving the physical condition of villages, such as land reclamation around rural areas, and the rehabilitation and restoration of hygiene and sanitation in village houses. In addition to these, it was put forward to provide more radios in the villages, and to broadcast for and about village life in the national media.[481]

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[477] *Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi Yayını: Türk Ziraat Tarihine Bir Bakış*, p. 300.
[478] Topçubaşı, p. 17.
[479] *Birinci Köy Kalkınma Kongresi Komisyonlar Mazbatası* (Ankara: TBMM, 1938), p. 2, TBMM Kütüphanesi, 75-920.
[480] *Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi: Belgeler* (Ankara: T.C. Ziraat Vekaleti, 1938), pp. 69–91.
[481] *Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi: Belgeler*, pp. 337–40.

The congress had a significant impact on village life, because the situation in rural Turkey was put into a much more realistic agenda in the country planning by directing to the village community in the economic realm. Furthermore, at the end of the 1930s, the studies comprised a holistic perspective, displaying not only the village's socio-cultural aspects and capacities, but also its place in the economic development and modernization of the country.

### 4.2.4. Economic Planning of Turkish Village at the End of Early Republican Period

By the end of 1930s, the republican authorities re-emphasized the targets of rural planning and reformation of Turkish village and Turkish peasantry. State politics focused on comprehensive land reform, interventions in the village economy enabling peasants to participate in production of agricultural industry, management of sustainable, sufficient life in the villages to prevent unrestrained rural depopulation, and the political pacification and control of rural population in the villages. Government operations were still a major force in rural areas and were promoted by scholars who presented their ideas for the improvement of the village economy.

Among these scholars, Nusret Kemal Köymen presented the argument that industrialization in rural areas and its organization in villages would induce progress in the countryside. He proposed to provide work for industrial laborers in rural areas instead of establishing industry around the cities. In this way, the village would prosper and resolutely integrate with the country's economy.

> Turkey, with about 80 per cent of her population living in villages, only few little industrialized cities and with all the lessons she is learning from costly and painful experiences of the Western World and the new technical possibilities is building her new industries away from big cities.
>
> As there are but few big cities in Turkey to lure away the more enterprising should leaving villages as living cemeteries where old people eke out a meagre living from depleted soil, the question of "rural exodus" is unknown in Turkey. And the new rising tide of rural industrialization is promising a better future to village and agriculture.
>
> The motto of the Turkish Revolution is not "Back to the land" but "Forward to the progressive village.[482]

[482] Nusret Kemal Köymen, 'Forward to the Progressive Village', *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 32.Avril (1939), 15–18 (p. 18).

Köymen also published his book called Solutions for Rise of Turkish Village – *Türk Köyünü Yükseltme Çareleri* in 1939, highlighting the fundamental problems of the village community in achieving "modern facilities and circumstances, production, consumption, participation in the state economy, welfare and knowledge"[483]. Repeatedly in the book he proposed the promotion ofsupporting industrialization in rural areas and organizing the village in accordance with the industrial enterprises, which would be built to provide the villagers another occupation outside agriculture. In this way, more of the country's population in the villages would benefit from better living conditions. He also pointed to industrial towns in Europe, the USA and Mexico that had been built since the late 19th Century. With these as examples, he suggested similar town-models fitted to the community of the Turkish village and adapted in their industrial activities.[484]

However, in the 1940s the reality in Turkish villages did meet this expectation, and the economic and socio-cultural conditions were still severe. As Çağlar Keyder lucidly explained: "The village was often the only life-world, and all national and world concerns were filtered through its structure; market transactions were few and infrequent; most of the output was for household's own consumption or for local exchange; hardly any of the productive inputs required for a technology of wooden plough and a team of oxen were purchased from outside the domestic sphere."[485] And, undoubtedly the common ground for the state, republican intelligentsia, farmers, producers and villagers was the land reform besides other enterprises.

There had been a few steps made towards land provision regulations when the village was formed as an administrational legal entity[486], but the war years' politics and economic instability had the result that the Turkish government regularly shelved legislation for effective land reform. Landless villagers among the rural populace still was still a crucial theme until 1945. In addition to this, in the mid-40s the RPP recognized their declining political domination, and with land reform the party aimed to regain the support of the rural masses. Relatedly, on the 11th of June 1945, the law numbered 4753 – Land Provision for Farmers was enacted in the parliament, becoming the greatest propaganda tool for the RPP in the 1945's election. The regulation aimed to cultivate the agriculture-

[483] Nusret Kemal Köymen, *Türk Köyünü Yükseltme Çareleri* (Ankara: Çankaya Matbaası, 1939), p. 8.
[484] Nusret Kemal Köymen, *Türk Köyünü Yükseltme Çareleri*, pp. 14–21.
[485] Caglar Keyder, pp. 171–72.
[486] Soylu, pp. 52–53.

based economy and support peasant families in the country. According to the law, villagers who were only agrarian workers, renters or sharecroppers, farmers who did not own sufficient fields for the production, graduate students from Higher Institute of Agriculture who did not own arable fields, nomads as well as immigrants would be provided the land by the state.[487]

According to Asım Karaömerlioğlu, the land reform passed in 1945, was not truly politically radical in its implementations in rural Turkey. Indeed, it was a strictly conventional program to keep villagers in their villages and reinforce a group, aimed for the landownership, on behalf of the regime. Moreover, the land reform availed to prevent the rise of potential leftist and radical political oppositions, and to secure the privilege of the state in a country of which people had not been urbanized, or culturally and socially diversified.[488]

The date of the law corresponded to another significant point in the beginning of the post-war period. Especially from 1945 to 1960, the economic dynamics surrounding Turkey appeared in two forms: the socialist formula of Soviet Union, and the capitalist formula of the Western countries. As Turkey decided to step up to Western Europe and the USA, the economic structure promptly constrained major adjustments. Sinan Yıldırmaz highlights that this period very dramatically echoed throughout the Turkish peasantry, hence in Turkish village. Right after the statist land reform, in 1947 Economic Development Plan of Turkey the government adapted private enterprise instead of domestic capital in order to make inroads into the trade of Turkish industry and commerce with the international market economy.[489]

The law for land provision introduced a step for statist approaches to the economic planning of Turkish village with the consideration of agricultural development. However, less than a decade after the implementation of this reform, the state adopted capitalist solutions, resulting in a concentration on cities and urbanization. In other words, the transformation of state's mentality in economy because of alternatives and preferences in the post-war period is reflected in the village society as an impediment to possibilities of

[487] *Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu*, 1945 <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/6032.pdf>.
[488] Asım Karaömerlioğlu, p. 143.
[489] Sinan Yıldırmaz, *Politics and the Peasantry in Post-War Turkey: Social History, Culture and Modernization*, Library of Ottoman Studies, 46 (London New York: I.B. Tauris, 2017), pp. 53, 55.

improvement for the majority of population. On a larger scale, the decisions taken after 1945 caused the depopulation of rural Turkey and centralization of labor in the cities.

### 4.3. Turkish Architects and City Planners Analyzing the Discourse: Concepts for the Village and the Village House

Starting from the early years of republic, the socio-cultural and economic programs led to the regeneration of rural life and improvement of the village community. In addition to this, the village was considered the spatial core in the countryside and its architecture was to be improved. Thus, during the 1930s, Turkish architects introduced various ideas on forming the rural settlements and rural dwellings considering architecture as a powerful agent for the development program in the rural Anatolia.

The village discourse in architecture had several inputs, but in early 1930s, among Turkish architects it evolved into a criticism of the state's interventions, arguing that the spatial organization of new villages were alien and conflicting with the needs of villagers.[490] Indeed, some scholars introduced a new profession – village architect – who concentrated on the theme particularly. Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu presented the "village architect" who would follow contemporary developments in design and construction and conform the expectations of peasants to a national sensitivity. He believed that village architecture arose from inside, thus the architect should be acquainted with the village environment. "The village is constructed with its own stone, soil and wood."[491] He presented a scheme for an ideal settlement with descriptions of state's new building program.

The site plan consisted of rectangular parts that formed a square. In the center, there was a public square, coffee house, and a school. The village houses were located around the center. These houses were relatively larger and much more articulated than existing village houses and had direct access to the agricultural fields. The public square served for social organizations such as touring theatres and cinemas. In the center of the square the coffee house, which included a library, became a gathering space for the villagers.

[490] Sıdıka Çetin, 'Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köyün Modernizasyonu, Örnek Köyler Üzerinden Okuma', *Arredomento Mimarlık*, 2003, 99–105 (pp. 101–2).
[491] Abdullah Ziya (Kozanoğlu), 'Köy Mimarisi', *Ülkü*, 5.Haziran (1933), 370–74 (p. 370).

According to Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu the coffee house emerged as the "modern temple of the villager" [492]. **(Figure 4.6)**

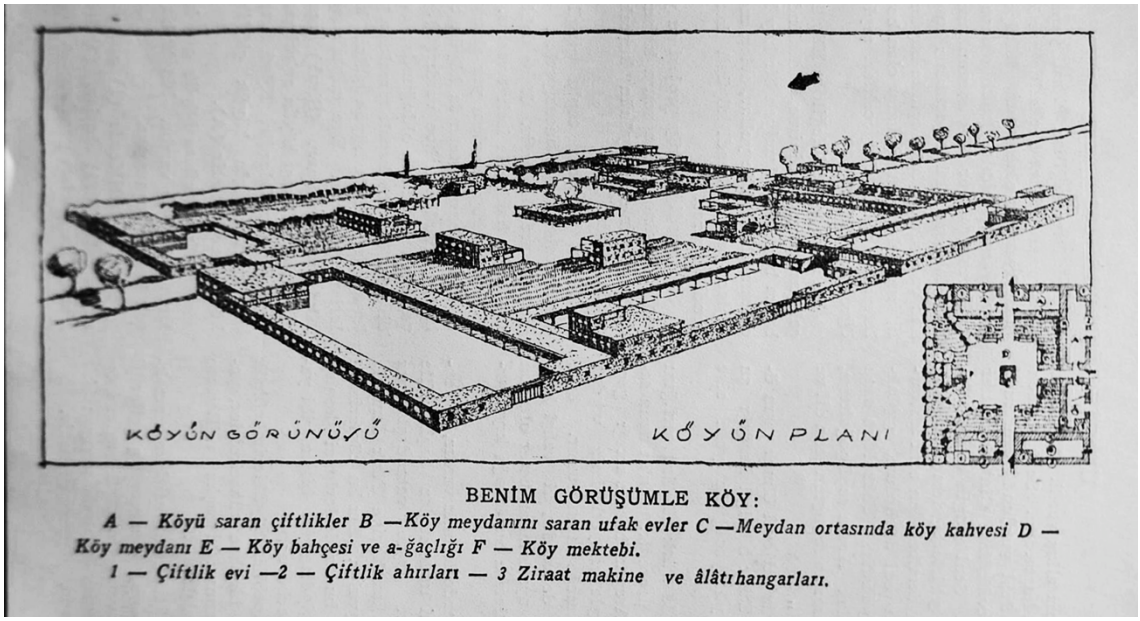


**Figure 4.6.** "The Village from my point of view", proposed by architect Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu in 1933.[493] (*Ülkü*, 1933)

The architect proposed the local materials and building methods for the construction of the village. Thus, he believed that the "national" component of the village would be accomplished. Also, he advocated delivering modern living standards to the village. Then, the villager would participate in modernization project in his own territory, apart from city-dwellers. In other words, Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu was suggesting a built environment produced with tactics adapted to rural Turkey.

The village proposals comprised components of the republican development program. Yet, religious institutions, which still had a large impact on village communities, were intentionally not represented in models for the projects. Strongly affirming the secular agenda of Kemalist regime, most of the ideal village planning did not emphasize a spatial organization that could take the place of sacred space. Not only the religious image of a mosque, but also its social impact on the Islamic community were considered a threat to authority. No doubt, the mosque was a provocative symbol against modernization, and

[492] (Kozanoğlu), 'Köy Mimarisi', p. 38.
[493] (Kozanoğlu), 'Köy Mimarisi', p. 39.

the aim was that villagers would ideally be attached to the social activities defined by governmental program to civilize the community in a modern sense.[494]

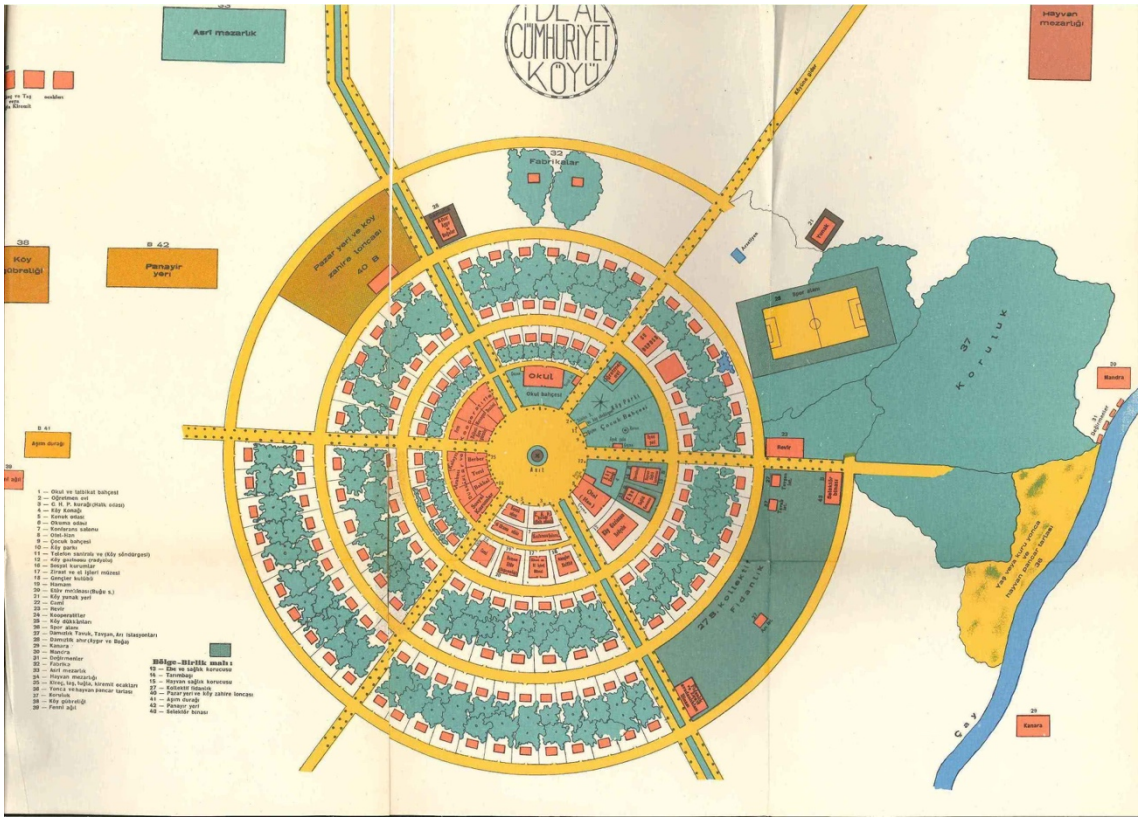


**Figure 4.7.** "The Ideal Republican Village" proposed by Kazim Dirik.[495]

Gülsüm Baydar (Nalbantoğlu) discusses these conceptual projects grounded in the national and regional research. She points out that these approaches were absolutely incomparable and different to the existing villages in Anatolia. Scenarios, under the theme of "ideal villages" were schematic adaptations of "Ideal City" concept introduced in Europe from the end the 19th century.[496] Likewise, the "Ideal Republican Village" (*İdeal Cumhuriyet Köyü*)[497] **(Figure 4.7)** presented in the early 1930s by Kazım Dirik, the governor of İzmir, was a blueprint of Ebenezer Howard's "Garden City" diagram, adapted to the concept of republican village. The proposal was developed from the center with a monumental emphasis on the periphery. The first segment included public places such as

[494] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, p. 116.
[495] Kazım Dirik, *İdeal Cumhuriyet Köyü*, TCBCA, 30.1.0.0/111.705.8.
[496] Gülsüm Nalbantoğlu Baydar, 'Silent Interruptions: Urban Encounters with Rural Turkey', in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, Publications on the Near East, 3 (Seattle: London: University of Washington Press, 1997), pp. 192–210 (p. 153).
[497] Dirik, TCBCA, 30.1.0.0/111.705.8. (With the Permission of TCBCA)

the school, hospital, mosque, guesthouse and village hotel, village bar, the village association and the agriculture office, and the RPP's house. The village houses were located in the second segment. The third segment consisted of the market area, factories, sport fields, fairground, coppice and medical center. A cemetery and village rubbish dump were located outside of the circular organization. All segments had axial connections with each other.

Another diagram of ideal village planning was proposed by Burhan Arif Ongun (1902-1980) in 1935. In the project, the housing area was organized parallel to the village center, which introduced the public program along an axis. Two symmetrical public squares were located in the center, and in between were the bazaar, village association, schools, gendarmerie, village club, museum and a fountain. Another architect Abidin Mortaş described Burhan Arif Ongun's project in a framework of an organic relationship with Western industrial city concepts, and he declared: "Cities which are settled according to feasible and science-based state plans, can have a mechanism to control residential and industrial demand of population in a cultural and also sustainable context. Village planning, grounded on this formation, is substantial."[498]

However, neither cities nor villages were able to develop in accordance with European models. Also, the social structure, presented with the building program, contrasted with the real circumstances in the country. The formula was ambiguous: the architects, on the one hand, emphasized the sustainability maintained by the regional and traditional structure of rural life. On the other hand, they argued that villagers were "the people of Today" who needed to be modernized. Thus, Abidin Mortaş asserted that village planning should fit the modest and pure living habits of the settlers, but also should be equipped with contemporary components of modern life. Accordingly, general planning should be considered by professionals such as architects, however, the settler should determine the details of the spatial organization himself.[499] **(Figure 4. 8)**

[498] Abidin Mortaş, 'Köy Projesi: Mimar Burhan Arif', *Arkitekt*, 59–60.11–12 (1935), 320.
[499] Mortaş, 'Köy Projesi: Mimar Burhan Arif'.

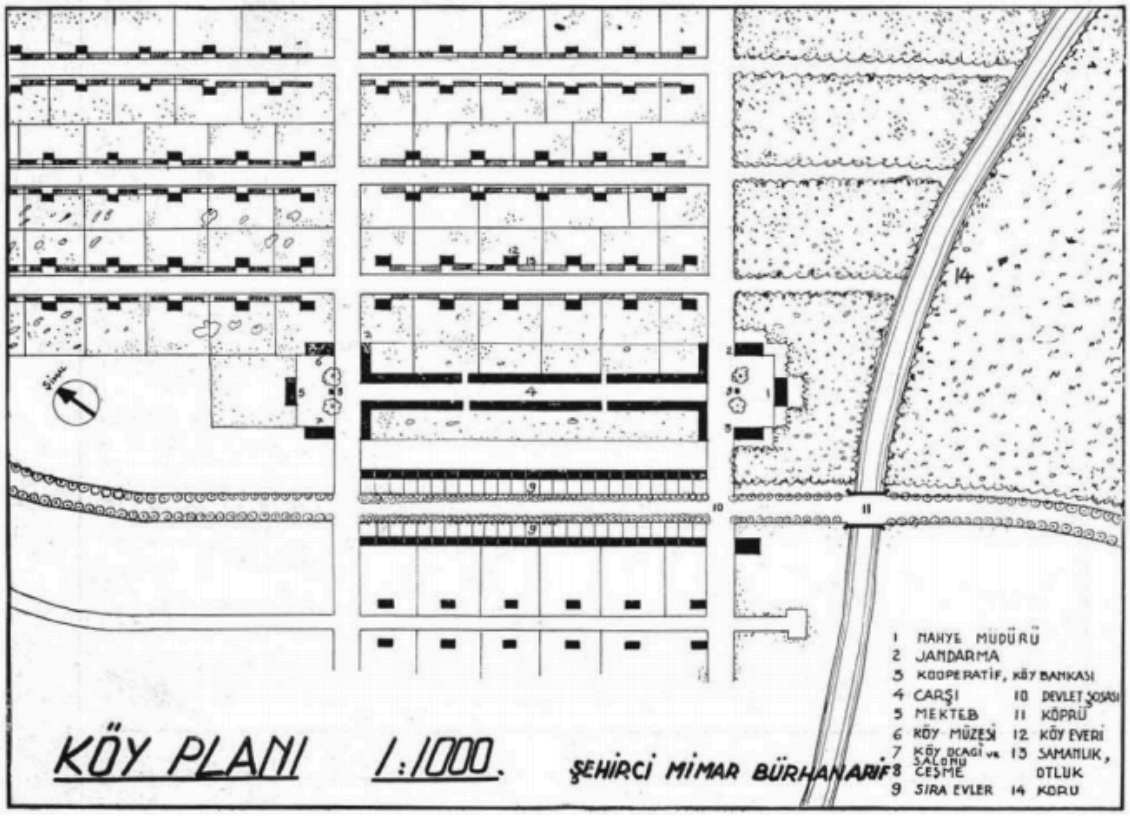


**Figure 4.8.** Village plan, proposed by Burhan Arif Ongun in 1935.[500] (*Arkitekt*, 1935)

Moreover, architect Zeki Sayar maintained that the tools of modern architecture and planning should be implemented in the countryside in order to form a culturally and socially improved rural life. To substantiate his ideas, Zeki Sayar referred to Germany's agricultural colonies, established for industrial workers to turn back to the countryside, and he enthusiastically supported the operation that accomplished the economic agenda and national goals at the same time. According to Zeki Sayar, "… nation building with agricultural colonies shows an aim for a new lifestyle in the countryside"[501], and this approach could also be adapted to Turkey's landscape. A systematic practice of "Internal Colonization" could help the state achieve the economic, national and socio-cultural transformation of rural Turkey. Zeki Sayar elaborated on the internal colonization model equipped with modern notions in contrast to the tradition and locality in order to civilize the villagers' lifestyle in the countryside:

> Although we must consider the habits and lifestyles of peasants when we are constructing the new villages, we should not hesitate to go against these traditions

[500] Mortaş, 'Köy Projesi: Mimar Burhan Arif'.
[501] Zeki Sayar, 'İç Kolonizasyon: Başka Memleketlerde', *Arkitekt*, 68.8 (1936), 231–35 (p. 232).

> wherever they crash with contemporary social and hygienic standards. The new village plans should also provide the users with the means of civilized living. A revolution in lifestyles is also necessary to teach them to sleep on individual beds rather than together on the earth, to teach them to use chairs and tables rather than sitting and eating on the floor. Kitchens, stoves, and bathrooms should be standardized into a number of different types so as to obtain the most economic and functional results.[502]

According to Sayar, an ideal settlement was organized by three architectural components: standardization, variety in typology, and utilitarian perspective in material-use. A new lifestyle in the villages would be furnished in the buildings, which were constructed with the most economic and functional methods. Variation in the housing typology would provide a better living standard for each family. And he suggested involving concrete in the construction of the rural houses instead of traditional and regional building techniques and materials.[503] The architect believed the tools of modern architecture to be a spatial translation for the modern construction of Turkish society in the countryside.

By the end of 1930s, it was more apparent that discussions on the village had two sides: One side believed that the new villages should serve as a rational planning mechanism for rural people in order to adapt their lifestyle to contemporary standards. The other side agreed that ideal rural settlements should concentrate on traditional living habits of villagers together with regional building aspects, which could provide a sustainable life in the countryside and avoid alienation in the village community.

Architect Abidin Mortaş, who participated in the architectural competition for the village house in 1935[504], introduced a project based on regional and traditional aspects with contemporary needs. He criticized the new village construction, arguing that the new village houses still needed to be modified to include familiar organizations to the inhabitants. Therefore, the design of the "village house" was a crucial theme of the idea of the settlement and would directly affect the peasantry life. Besides, rural settlements, which were developed according to urbanized qualities, would cause alienation among

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[502] Sayar, 'İç Kolonizasyon: Kolonisation Intérieure', p. 47. Quoted from Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, p. 101. Author's translation.
[503] Sayar, 'İç Kolonizasyon: Kolonisation Intérieure'.
[504] In 1935 the RPP and People's House organized an architectural competition for village house in order to fulfil the needs for new rural settlements and houses built for mostly Balkan immigrants in the frame of the 1934 Settlement Law. The competition and its consequences are discussed in the Chapter 6 Planning the Turkish Village: Architectural Practice. See "6.2.2. Villages of the 1934 Settlement Law" in the sixth chapter.

villagers.[505] He also proposed a settlement enclosed in a rational geometrical organization: The plan consisted of two areas – housing areas and public space – separated by the main road towards the village. The building program in the public area consisted of a square, a school, the village council, a coffee house, the market and a mosque. Agricultural activities would be placed in the other quarter. And, each house would be located in a garden of equal plots. **(Figure 4.9)**

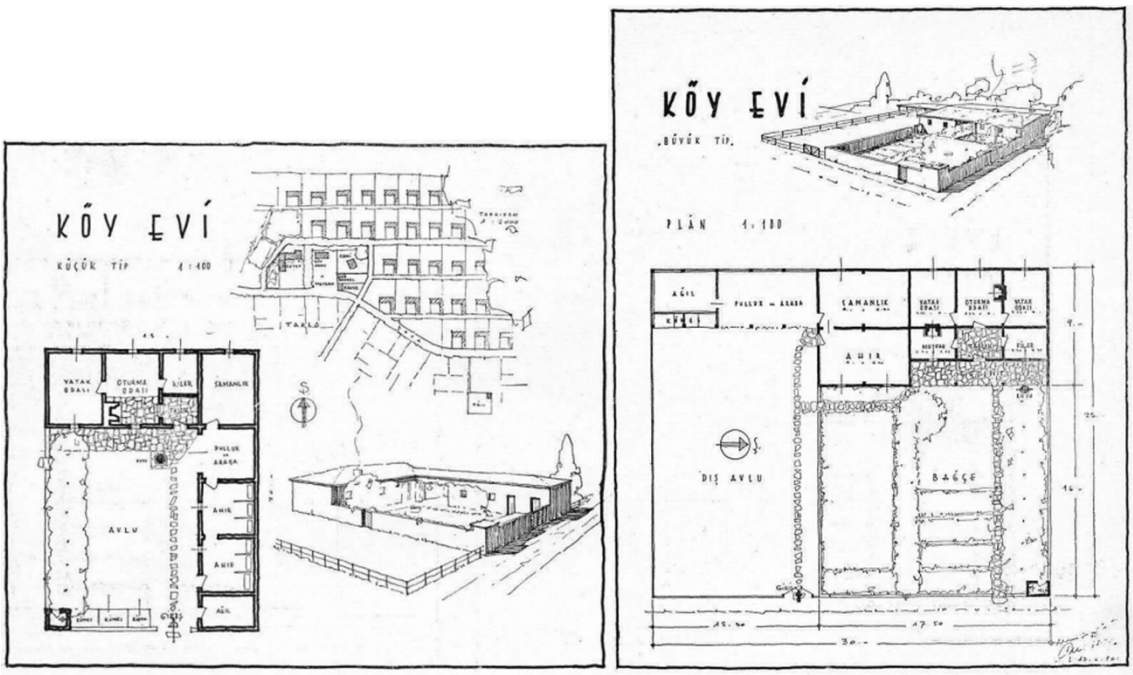


**Figure 4.9.** Drawings of a village house, and a village plan, proposed by architect Abidin Mortas.[506] (*Arkitekt*, 1940)

As well as the complete settlements for the ideal villages, the dwelling unit emerged as a significant topic among Turkish architects. State's planned settlements, which were often a group of houses in organized parcels, practically made the Village House the *kernel* of the whole implementation so that it was even seen as genesis of the modernization in the settlement. There were two fundamental viewpoints: The first was based on vernacular aspects emphasizing that the traditional and regional customs should determine the design

[505] Abidin Mortaş, 'Köy Evi Tipleri', *Arkitekt*, 109–110.1–2 (1940), 8–9 (p. 1940).
[506] Mortaş, 'Köy Evi Tipleri'.

concept of village house. The other proposed a modernized interior adapted to the agrarian livelihood in the countryside.[507]

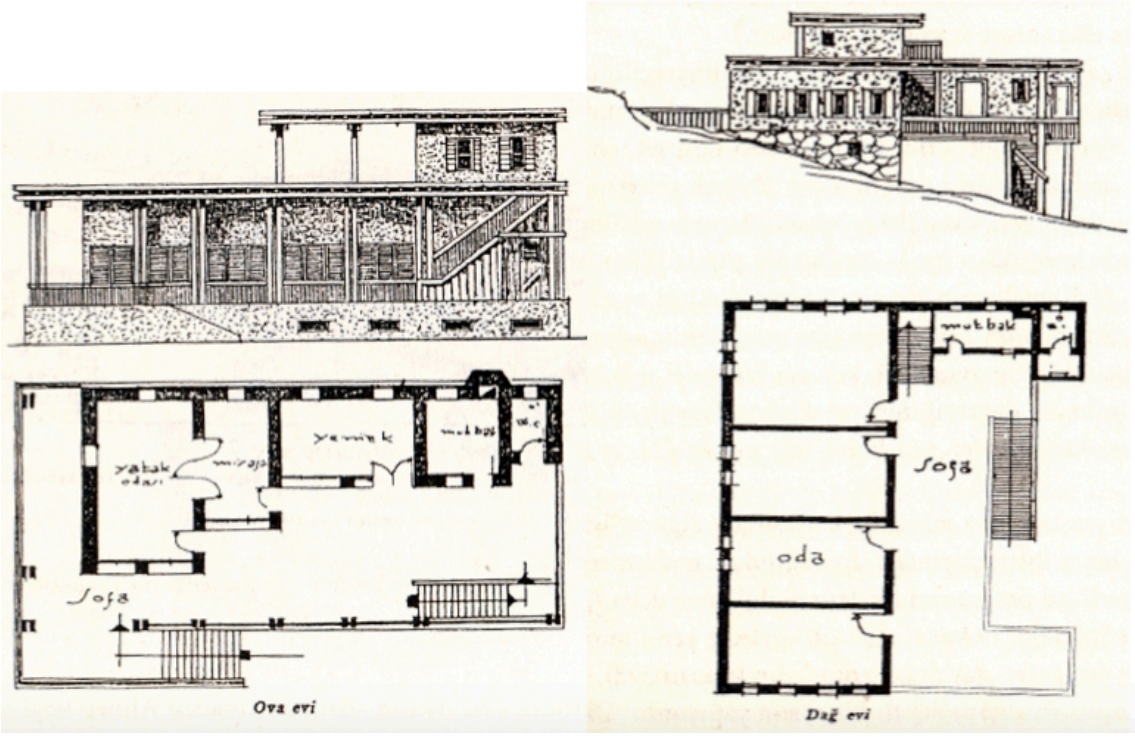


**Figure 4.10.** Two typologies of village house; house in the lowland and house in the highland, proposed by architect Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu.[508] (*Ülkü*, 1934)

Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu believed that state's housing operation in the rural areas ignored regional aspects, and this alienated the villagers to their environment. Then, he suggested concentrating on local components to form the village house and teaching the villagers how to build their own houses with the vernacular materials and methods in order to maintain their living conditions. The traditional and accustomed nature of the villager would show the real Turkish culture, and only this way the villager would feel attached to the Turkish nation and goals of the new republican regime.[509] Accordingly, he developed two plans for the village house considering the environmental conditions and local materials in the design.[510] The lowland house consisted of a bedroom with a hall, a

[507] Özge Sezer, 'The Village House: Planning the Rural Life in Early Republican Turkey', in *Spaces / Times / Peoples: Domesticity, Dwelling and Architectural History; Mekanlar / Zamanlar / Insanlar: Evsellik, Ev, Barinma ve Mimarlik Tarihi*, ed. by Lale Özgenel (Ankara: ODTÜ Basım Işliği, 2016), pp. 51–60.
[508] Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, 'Gün Geçiminde Kerpiç Köy Yapısı', *Ülkü*, 13.2 (1934), 66–70 (p. 68).
[509] Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, 'Köy Evleri Proje ve Yapıları İçin Toplu Rapor', *Arkitekt*, 55–56.07–08 (1935), 203–4 (p. 203).
[510] Kozanoğlu, 'Gün Geçiminde Kerpiç Köy Yapısı'.

dining room, kitchen and toilet aligned around the semi-open terrace. The stairs brought the second level of the house in which the architect suggested placing another room and a larger terrace. The highland house consisted of four rooms, kitchen and toilet aligned around the semi-open terrace. Likewise, the architect proposed the inclusion of a second level with a room and terrace. The construction materials and techniques would also use local methods, such as timber, stone or adobe. **(Figure 4.10)**

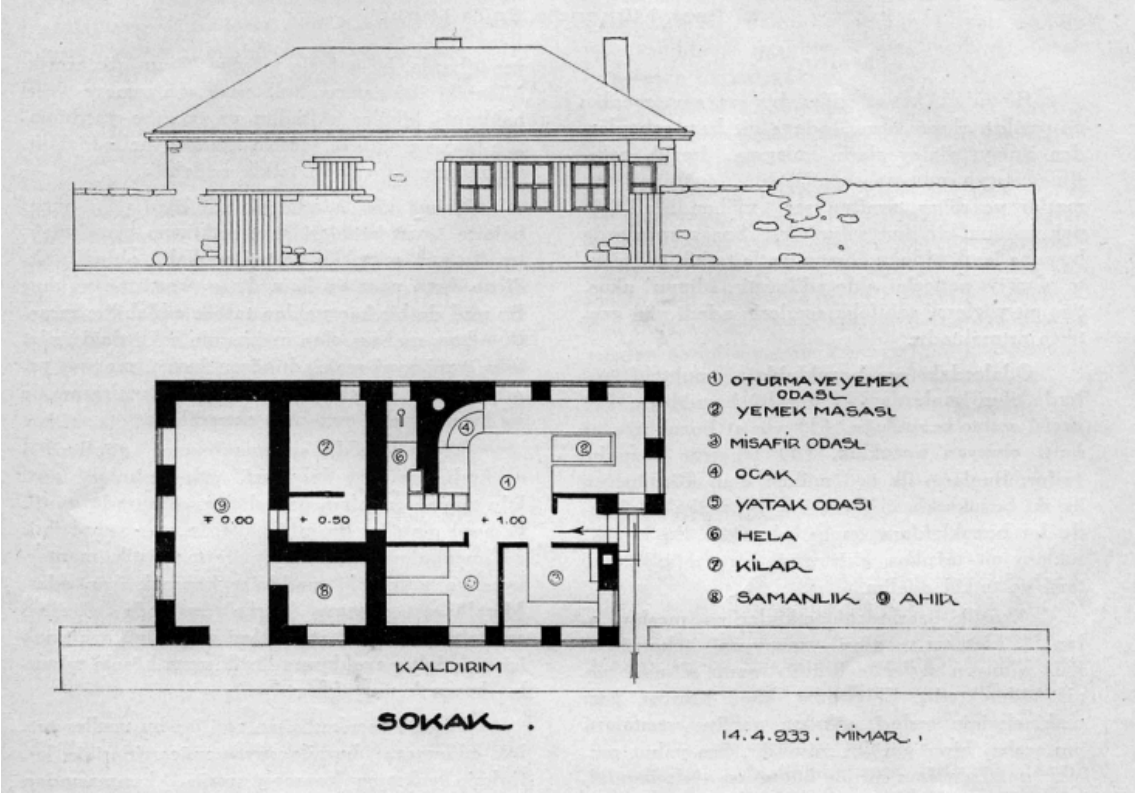


**Figure 4.11.** Village house, proposed by architect Arif Hikmet (Koyunoğlu). (*Arkitekt*, 1933)

On the other hand, architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu (1888-1982) designed a village house with a spatial organization evoking a lifestyle between the city and the countryside. The furnished plan included a large kitchen, a living and dining area (1,2,4), a guest room (3), a bedroom (5), toilet (6), cellar (7), barn (8) and corral (9). Although the architect proposed a determined interior with modernized furnishings for the villagers, the construction materials and techniques would be vernacular. In detail, he was suggesting a stone masonry building, with timber separation walls and roof.[511] **(Figure 4.11)**

[511] Arif Hikmet, 'Köy Evi', *Arkitekt*, 35.11 (1933), 357.

According to Gülsüm Baydar (Nalbantoğlu), Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, was inspired by principles of *Existenzminimum*, which was also an influential approach in urban house design in those years. It was apparent with the plan scheme, the organization of spaces, and furnishing, had minimalist language. However, unlike the proposal of Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, the idea was not to reference the actual living conditions and traditions of villagers.[512]

In sum, Turkish elites (here architects, city planners and politicians) participated in construction of the rural lifestyle within the framework of modernization and nationalization programs and through scenarios of idealized rural settlements and houses. According to the republican cadre, on one hand, the rural milieu was in great need of economic and socio-cultural development. On the other hand, the rural village was considered the cultural core where the Turkish "nation" hibernated. Despite the different approaches to the village house, based on standardization, vernacular concepts, and the synthesis of modernist and traditional views, the discouse on the Turkish village was meant to establish the "national architecture for rural people" with a nostalgic tone. In theory, housing the rural population in planned settlements emerged as a constructive operation that centered around providing the villagers with a built environment and improved living conditions. However, the discussions and the concepts remained ambiguous, either advocating the *status quo* of accustomed rural life or forgoing traditions in favor of a modernized habitat.

[512] Gulsum Baydar Nalbantoğlu, 'Between Civilization and Culture: Appropriation of Traditional Dwelling Forms in Early Republican Turkey', *Journal of Architectural Education (1984-)*, 47.2 (1993), 66–74 (pp. 71–72) <https://doi.org/10.2307/1425168>.

# CHAPER 5

# PLANNING THE TURKISH VILLAGE: CONTRIBUTIONS OF GERMAN-SPEAKING EXPATRIATES

German-speaking expatriates played a crucial role in country planning during the early republican period of Turkey. Firstly, they were experts in field such as agriculture, economy, and urbanism—fields that Turkish scholars had not been as well acquainted with as their European colleagues. Secondly, their translation of the Western language into the republican modernization of Turkey was welcomed. Finally, German-speaking expatriates participated in the discussion about the Turkish Village as a subject of both socio-cultural and economic structures of planning. But they also contributed to the introduction of the village community in architectonic frameworks, re-defining the civil building tradition within the terms of rural architecture. This entailed implementing modern urbanist components to the rural space and improving the rural education via architectural alternatives.[513] In this chapter, three expatriates are introduced with their contributions to village planning during the early republican period of Turkey.

The first is Ernst Reuter who, during his stay between 1938 and 1946, concentrated on the urbanization of Turkey, particularly in municipal forms. He presented the village for the first time as an inseparable part of the administrative network of the country, and maintained the reform in the rural areas via urban agents.

The second contributer Ernst Egli addresed the village in the search for traditional civil architecture starting from the first years of his professorship in Istanbul Fine Arts Academy in 1927. He introduced the village house as the fundamental architectonic case in the countryside, pointing to its place in cultural topography during the early republican

[513] For a comprehensive reading on German-speaking expatriates who participated in forming Turkey during the early republican years, see Akcan; Dogramaci; Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil*; *Bir Başkentin Oluşumu: Avusturyalı, Alman ve İsviçreli Mimarların Ankara'daki İzleri = Das Werden einer Hauptstadt ; Spuren deutschsprachiger Architekten in Ankara*, ed. by Leyla Alpagut and Achim Wagner (Ankara: Goethe-Inst. [u.a.], 2011).

period of Turkey. Additionally, during his assignment as state's architect in the Ministry of Education, Egli presented several school projects for Anatolian villages.

The last individual to be presented is Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky whose duty was the school architecture for Anatolian villages during her short stay between 1938-1940. Her contribution included the conceptual perspective, in addition to the consideration of the implementation of projects in the villages. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky presented a methodology in design of village schools that evolved into a particular building concept in rural Anatolia.

## 5.1. Ernst Reuter: Village Planning within the Urbanist Frame

Ernst Reuter's political historiography and his approach to modern urban planning has been previously introduced by historians and urban theorists.[514] Among these works, a particular category is dedicated to his contribution to early republican Turkey's urbanist interventions. During Ernst Reuter's exile in Turkey, from 1935 to 1946, the village community still comprised the majority of the country. His ideas regarding urbanization, governmental organizations and, country planning in general had an influence on the village structure among the other fragments of administrative units in Turkey. Therefore, a concentrated look to the village topic in Reuter's writings present another angle of his work that has not been analyzed in depth, and this will help to understand his contributions to the attempts for rural development during the republican period.

### 5.1.1. Biography

Ernst Reuter was born in 1889 in Apenrade, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. From 1907 to 1912, he studied History, Geography, Economy and German Literature in Magdeburg, Munich, and Münster in Germany. In 1912, he was active in in the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), and worked with the education commission of the organization. In the first year of the World War I, he participated in the foundation of anti-war association *Neues Vaterland* – The New Homeland – that was subsequently shut down

[514] Klaus Harpprecht, Hans E. Hirschfeld, Hans Reichhardt, Reiner Möckelmann, David Barclay, Heinz Reif, (and including many other scholars) have contributed to introducing Ernst Reuter's historiography in their books.

by the German military authority in 1915. Ernst Reuter was conscripted in the German Army from 1915 to 1916.[515] After two years under the Russian authority and witnessing the 1917 Revolution, Ernst Reuter cooperated with the foundation of the Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and became its first chairman until the end of 1918. When he returned to Germany in Weimar Republic in 1918, he became associated with the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) until 1921.[516]

Between 1922 and 1926 he was the editor in *Freiheit* – Freedom, and *Vorwärts* – Forward, two important mouthpieces for social democrats in the Weimar Republic. This resulted in Ernst Reuter's expulsion from the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), and a short association with Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USPD), which was a left wing fraction of Social Democrat Party of Germany. In 1923 Reuter resumed his participation in the Social Democratic Party of Germany.[517]

In October 1926, Ernst Reuter was elected city councillor of Berlin as the head of Department of Public Transportation with 114 out of 123 votes from the members.[518] When Ernst Reuter started his duty in Berlin's city parliament, the public transportation program necessitated an affordable and well organized network to serve the residential areas in the centre and also connect the inner city to the outskirts. Reuter directed the foundation of governmental investment for Berlin's public transportation, and the extensions of the subways.[519] In 1929, Ernst Reuter and a group of professionals, including the architect Martin Wagner, organized an excursion to the United States concentrating on American cities in the north. The group observed transportation, urban

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[515] Ernst Reuter, *Aus Reden und Schriften*, ed. by Hans E. Hirschfeld and Hans J. Reichhardt, (Berlin:Colloquium Verlag, 1963), p. 9; *Ernst Reuter 1889-1953: Oberbürgermeister und regierender Bürgermeister von Berlin 1948-1953; Eine Ausstellung des Landesarchivs Belin in Zussammenarbeit mit der Senatskanzlei anlässlich des 50. Todestages von Ernst Reuter, 23. September bis 30. Oktober 2003* (Berlin: Landesarchiv Berlin, 2003), pp. 9–11.

[516] Ernst Reuter, *Aus Reden und Schriften*, ed. by Hans E. Hirschfeld and Hans J. Reichhardt, (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1963), pp. 35–36.

[517] Hans J. Reichhardt briefly introduces the political climate in Weimar Republic starting from Ernst Reuter's return in Germany, and he points to his political journey between 1922 and 1926. Hans J. Reichhardt, 'Artikel zur Entwicklung des Kommunismus und zur Innenpolitik', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1922 bis 1946*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), II.

[518] 'Wahl zum Stadtrat am 28. Oktober 1926, in: Stenographische Berichte ..., JG. 1926, 36. Sitzung, s.949', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1922 bis 1946*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), II, 219.

[519] Felix Escher, 'Ernst Reuter und die Gründung der berliner Verkehrsbetriebe BVG', in *Ernst Reuter: Kommunalpolitiker und Gesellschaftsreformer 1921-1953*, ed. by Heinz Reif and Moritz Feichtinger, Historisches Forschungszentrum der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Politik-und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 81 (Bonn: Dietz, 2009), pp. 127–46 (pp. 128–37).

growth and its urban agents, focusing on issues related to socio-cultural and economic circumstances.[520]

In April 1931, Ernst Reuter was elected mayor of Magdeburg[521] – a strong hold of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in the Weimar Republic in the beginning of the 1930s. During the two years in this position until the Nazi government took over the city in 1933, Ernst Reuter implemented several social projects grounded on a new city planning of Magdeburg and its districts. He directed the organization of new financial resources, infrastructure, welfare works, and the social housing projects for people in poverty.[522]

In March 1933 he was suspended from his duty in Magdeburg by the Nazi government, and he was sent to concentration camps twice between 1933 and 1934. In September 1934, he returned to Berlin, and then returned to his family near Hannover. In January 1935, Reuter family settled in Bad Pyrmont, England for a short time.[523] After a few months stay in England, Reuter was informed about the job opportunities in Turkey by his social democrat friend Fritz Baade, who had already been employed as agricultural expert in Turkey. With Baade's introduction, Ernst Reuter was invited to Ankara by the

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[520] In the article, published in the magazine *Verkehrstechnik*–Transportation Technology, Reuter introduced the aim of his observations: "The target of six-weeks study trip to almost all possible American cities was less about analysing the technical details of urban transport equipment. … [But] We want to see whether the American experts (both transportation experts and urban planners), for their part, also find it correct to operating enterprise resources uniformly, which methods they apply or recommend for the urban development of their cities, and how to incorporate the transport development into the urban planning." Ernst Reuter, 'Die Verkehrsprobleme der nordamerikanischen Gross-Städte, Artikel in: Verkehrstechnik, 46 (42) JG. 39. Heft Vom 27. September 1929', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1922 bis 1946*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), II, 252–65 (p. 253).

[521] 'Wahl zum Oberbürgermeister am 29. April 1931, in: Magdeburger Amtsblatt. 8. JG., Nr. 18 vom 2. Mai 1931, s.356 Ff.', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1922 bis 1946*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), II, 335–40.

[522] Matthias Tullner, 'Kommunalpoitik unter wachsendem Radikalisierungsdruck, Ernst Reuters magdeburger Jahre 1931-1933', in *Ernst Reuter: Kommunalpolitiker und Gesellschaftsreformer 1921-1953*, ed. by Heinz Reif and Moritz Feichtinger, Historisches Forschungszentrum der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Politik-und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 81 (Bonn: Dietz, 2009), pp. 173–84 (pp. 175–78). Ernst Reuter introduced the conception of new social housing projects of which the construction started in 1932. Ernst Reuter, 'Rede in der Stadtverordnetenversammlung am 13. Juli 1932, in: Magdeburger Amtsblatt, 9. JG., Nr. 29 vom 16. Juli 1932, s.306 f.', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1922 bis 1946*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), II, 386–90.

[523] Hans J. Reichhardt, 'Häftling im Konzentrationslager 1933-1934', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1922 bis 1946*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), II, 421–30.

Turkish government. In June 1935, he was already assigned as the tariff expert in the Ministry of Economy of Turkey.[524]

After three years in the Ministry of Economy, in 1938 Ernst Reuter started a professional career in Turkish academia in the School of Political Science – *Mülkiye* – in Ankara. He held both positions until 1939 when he was also offered a consulting role in the Ministry of Transportation for one year.[525] Until 1946, Ernst Reuter continued his lectures in the School of Political Science, producing several articles on urbanism , planning theory and methodology in accordance with the particular cases in Turkey. During his stay in Turkey, Reuter published four books on municipal administration and urbanism: Local Government Studies, Introduction to Urbanism – *Komün Bilgisi, Şehirciliğe Giriş,* published in 1940, Significance and Problems of Municipal Economy – *Belediye İktisadiyatının Ehemmiyeti ve Problemler*, published in 1941, Public Transportation, Practice of Local Government – *Yakın Münakele, Tatbiki Mahalli Idare*, presented in 1942, and Municipal Finance – *Belediye Maliyesi*, published in 1945. He paved the way for the first Urbanism Faculty in Turkey, founded in 1953 in Ankara University.[526]

In November 1946 Ernst Reuter returned back to Europe – first to Paris, then to Hannover and Berlin. Reuniting with the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Reuter directly went to Berlin, and in December he was assigned in the position, he had in the 1920s as the head of Transportation and Public Services in Municipality of Berlin.[527] In June 1947 Ernst Reuter was elected as the Mayor of Berlin. However, this election was vetoed by the Soviet government. Thus, Ernst Reuter officially started his duty after Berlin was

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[524] Reuter, *Aus Reden und Schriften*, pp. 62–63; Hanz Reichhardt J., *Ernst Reuter* (Hannoverq: niedersächsischen Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1965), pp. 112–13, Hannoverq; Reiner Möckelmann, *Wartesaal Ankara: Ernst Reuter, Exil und Rückkehr nach Berlin* (Berlin: BWV, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2013), pp. 23–30, Berlin.

[525] Fehmi Yavuz, *Ernst Reuter in der Türkei* (Berlin: Presse- und Informationsamt des Landes Berlin, 1970), pp. 34–63, Berlin.

[526] Yavuz, *Ernst Reuter in der Türkei*, pp. 50–57; Heinz Reif and Barış Ülker, *Herausforderung und Inspiration: Ernst Reuter als Stadtreformer in der Türkei = Challenges and Inspirations: Ernst Reuter as an Urban Reformer in Turkey*, Zeitgeschichte im Fokus, Bd. 3 (Berlin: Be.bra Wissenschaft Verlag, 2015), pp. 95–222, Berlin.

[527] Ernst Reuter, 'An Elizabeth Howard, Hannover, 29. November, 1946', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1946 bis 1949*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), III, 72–73; 'Vereidigung zum Stadtrat in der Stadtverordnetenversammlung am 19. December 1946, in: Stenographischer Bericht ..., I. Wahlperiode, 7. Sitzung, s.3', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1946 bis 1949*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), III, 84–85.

divided into East and West in December 1948.[528] As the first mayor of the post-war Berlin, Ernst Reuter announced that "Berlin is not a village, in fact Berlin is a *Weltstadt* with a liberal-minded sprit and a liberal-minded sense."[529] Namely, his endeavour was to re-connect the city to the world as well as to reconstruct it during the first years of post-war.

Nevertheless, the USA in the post-war period provided significant financial aid for the recovery of Europe. Likewise, alliances with America paved the way for an economic and socio-cultural boost in West Berlin. Ernst Reuter's political position fostered relations with the USA, and he formed a political bridge between West Berlin, which was physically an island after the end of the war, and the west. In March 1949, Reuter was invited to the United States Conference of Mayors in Washington. Between February and March 1951 he was invited to the American Democratic Action's meeting in Philadelphia. In 1953 Konrad Adanauer, the first chancellor of West Germany, officially named the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), and Ernst Reuter applied to the Ford Foundation to fund the establishment of the Free University in West Berlin.[530] Until he died in September 1953, Ernst Reuter was not only the mayor of West Berlin, but he also participated in the political reconstruction process of Germany in the post-war climate.

### 5.1.2. An Overview of Ernst Reuter's Positions in Turkey

On the 4th of June, 1935, Ernst Reuter signed his contract as tariff expert in the Ministry of Economy in Turkey. In September, he wrote:

> Here the people endeavour to control their own future under all circumstances. No doubt, there is a lot of idealism, a lot of dedication and also a lot of talent in the work that is being done. At first, I became somewhat desperate against the empty walls,

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[528] 'Stellungsname nach der Wahl zum Oberbürgermeister im Rias am 24.Juni 1947', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden 1946 bis 1949*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), III, 233–37; 'Ansprache im Rias nach der Wahl zum Oberbürgermeister am 7.Dezember 1948', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1946 bis 1949*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), III, 557–59.

[529] Ernst Reuter, 'Unsere berliner Aufgaben, Referat und Schlusswort auf der 5. Tagung des Landesparteitages der berliner SPD am 2.Januar 1949, in: Stenographischer Bericht ..., s.3 Ff., 110 Ff.', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1946 bis 1949*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), III, 581–613 (p. 613).

[530] Klaus Harpprecht, *Ernst Reuter: Ein Leben für die Freiheit* (München: Kindler Verlag, 1957), pp. 74–109, München; Hannes Schwenger, *Ernst Reuter: Ein Zivilist im kalten Krieg* (München : Zürich: Piper, 1987), pp. 97–101, München : Zürich; *Ernst Reuter 1889-1953: Oberbürgermeister und Regierender Bürgermeister von Berlin 1948-1953; Eine Ausstellung des Landesarchivs Belin in Zussammenarbeit mit Der Senatskanzlei Anlässlich des 50. Todestages von Ernst Reuter, 23. September bis 30. Oktober 2003*, pp. 15–19.

> against language difficulties, against everything… But, today I know that I will cope with the things one way or the other. I will master in Turkish and incorporate my works done. In a few months, I will be able to make fulfilling suggestions on many things. Sometimes I have the feeling of happiness about being able to retest and reassess everything, I have learned and worked, under completely new conditions.[531] (Emphasis added.)

Indeed, until 1946 Ernst Reuter consulted on several tasks of the Ministry of Economy and contributed to Turkish academia by introducing planning concepts within the framework of administrative structures, and by generating academic literature about Turkey's cases. From 1935 to 1939, as the expert in Ministry of Economy, he prepared reports and reviews about: the harbors and their potential, the arrangements of lines of marine transportation, connections between railways and harbors, the organization of city transportation related to subways, trams, railways, and road transports, conveyance of coal, steel and iron inside the country, and the foundation of Iron-Steel Factory in Karabük. [532]

In 1938, Ernst Reuter was invited to the School of Political Science *(Mülkiye)* to contribute to its program with lectures on local politics two hours in a week. Starting from October 1938, he prepared 60 courses in one academic year, and he proposed a program for the establishment of an institute for local government studies and urbanism.[533] On the 15th of November, 1938, Ernst Reuter officially became the urbanism professor in the School of Political Science, and, in the following academic year, he began to teach an additional class on the economy of local administrations.[534] However, decisions about the founding the new institute were postponed until 1940. On the 9th of February the state settled the agreement for the program Ernst Reuter proposed[535], though the institute did not begin teaching until 1953.

Fehmi Yavuz highlights that Ernst Reuter's Turkey years were characterized by his teaching in the School of Political Science in Ankara. Yavuz believes that Ernst Reuter

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[531] Ernst Reuter, 'An Elizabeth Howard, Ankara, 6. September 1935', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1922 bis 1946*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), II, 472–74 (p. 473). Author's translation.
[532] Yavuz, *Ernst Reuter in Der Türkei*, pp. 36–38.
[533] 'An Elizabeth Howard, Ankara, 24. September 1938', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1922 Bis 1946*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), II, 496–97 (p. 497).
[534] Fehmi Yavuz, 'Prof. Ernst Reuter', *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 23.3 (1968), 1 (p. 155) <https://doi.org/10.1501/SBFder_0000001013>.
[535] Yavuz, 'Prof. Ernst Reuter', p. 156.

fulfilled a significant gap in Turkish academy by introducing the urbanism, country planning, organization of the administrative structures, and task definitions of local governments that had not been studied and analyszed in depth from a professional perspective before.[536]

In addition to this, it is also important to point out Ernst Reuter's acquaintance with architect Bruno Taut, economists Fritz Neumark and Gerhard Kessler, and also his companionship with his former colleague architect and city planner Martin Wagner in Turkey. Bruno Taut was also teaching in the Architecture Faculty in Fine Arts Academy of Istanbul, as well as working as a state architect in the Ministry of Education. Fritz Neumark and Gerhard Kessler were teaching in Istanbul University. In fact, both published works on local government studies in Turkey. Martin Wagner, who was responsible for city development with a particular focus on Istanbul, was also invited to the School of Political Science in Ankara, where he presented three introductory lectures on urbanism. [537] That is to say, they all were intersecting in Turkish academia during early republican period. Coming from the same tradition, one can conclude that these intellectuals influenced each other, especially given that during their stay in Turkey they encountered similar challenges in the professional sphere.

In detail, Ernst Reuter produced a study on the financial organization of local administrations in Turkey. He presented methods for local financial organizations in a particular structure separated from the wide-scope implementations and associations of cities. But he also suggested maintaining financial connections to the centralized institutions. The fundamental principle from Ernst Reuter's perspective was to administrate the local municipalities, especially the small towns, under the general scope of the municipality law, and then under a new system of the organization grounded on local circumstances of the towns. Repeatedly he advocated for a centralized relationship with local administrations, but he recommended that they be operated within specific regulations and instructions, organized in accordance with the particular conditions of the each local government. Therefore, Ernst Reuter's lectures did not include urban design

[536] Yavuz, *Ernst Reuter in der Türkei*, pp. 48–50.
[537] Ernst Reuter wrote to Elizabeth Howard on 28th January 1937 about Bruno Taut's visit to him in Ankara, and he also mentioned their relations with his friend and former colleque Martin Wagner in Istanbul. Ernst Reuter, 'An Elizabeth Howard, Ankara, 28. Januar 1937', in *Ernst Reuter: Schriften, Reden, Artikel, Briefe, Reden von 1922 Bis 1946*, IV vols (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1973), II, 478–80 (p. 480).

theme but concentrated on economy and social development in the cities and towns. He shifted the urbanist discipline from a spatial form to sociology, geography, history, economy and judicial studies.

### 5.1.3. Interpretations of Village Planning: Passages

Heinz Reif shed light on an important perspective on Ernst Reuter's urban studies in Turkey. He points to the modernist tradition from which Ernst Reuter constructed his knowledge about self-government, service administration, economic and social politics of municipalities, city planning, management of modern urbanization process via architecture and infrastructure methods. Being acquainted with the European grounded theories, Ernst Reuter found the Turkey's problems dissimilar to those he experienced in his professional life in Germany[538]. Nevertheless, he introduced particular formulas for urban development for early republican Turkey. Heinz Reif addresses Ernst Reuter's blend of the Western urban methodologies with Turkish resources of urbanist interventions, practically introducing the cultural (in his words, "ethnological") aspects.[539]

David E. Barclay also highlights the conceptions of rural planning in Reuter's perspective. He emphasizes that Ernst Reuter's ideas about transport systems, economic and socio-cultural development factors in the planning grounded on the fact that Turkey was an agriculture country that consisted of mostly rural settlements and a majority rural population.[540] Likewise, Ruşen Keleş describes concepts for rural development in Ernst Reuter's ideas. According to Keleş, Reuter's objectives were not only resolutions for the form of urban planning, but also they were serving the social structure of rural communities. In other words, Reuter's approach could not be described as a ruralization of the cities but a "marriage" between the cities and the villages to balance rural and urban elements in both forms, similar to how Ebenezer Howard had introduced the Garden Cities scheme in the beginning of the 20th Century. Referring to Howard, Ernst Reuter

[538] Here, one can also consider his study trip to North America in 1929 as another experience in his professional life.
[539] Heinz Reif, 'Ernst Reuter: Bilgi Transferi ve Kültürlerarası Pragmatizm Arasında Türkiye'de Kenstel Reformlar', trans. by Barış Ülker, *Mülkiye Dergisi*, XXXVI.275 (2012), 37–50 (p. 39).
[540] David E. Barclay, 'Sürgündeki Ernst Reuter: 1935-1946', *Mülkiye Dergisi*, XXXVI.275 (2012), 85–90 (p. 86).

advocated the concept of urban planning, which strongly emphasized an orderly growth of rural settlements and social structure in the village community.[541]

From a general point of view, Ernst Reuter's formula was grounded on improving the living conditions in every unit of the country. Therefore its implementation, either in practice or in legislation, should consider improving livelihood in cities as well as in the rural towns and villages. This priority led to practical solutions, which were the basis for a particular approach in Turkey's planning. It was a matter of fact that this formula also concentrated on village planning.

The book *Komün Bilgisi, Şehirciliğe Giriş* – Local Government Studies, Introduction to Urbanism, published in 1940, is a collection of his lectures and addressed some critical points in planning cities, small towns and villages. Chiefly, the book consists of information and instructions for local governments, focusing on general concept, duties, administration law, finance, constructional works, public utilities, social assistance and sanitary affairs, cultural works, and administrational unity. Ernst Reuter presented five schemes demonstrating the framework of local government in Turkey under themes of organization, structure, duty, state intervention, and law that could be compared to Germany, France and England.

In the preface of his book, Ernst Reuter explained that former studies and practices in urban planning generalized the basic principles that were to be implemented in Turkey. For the first time, Ernst Reuter announced a study, which referred to the case of Turkey and brought together the fundamental principles of planning for local governments and cities. Reuter presented the book in the context of "local government studies" instead of urbanism (or *urbanisme*), which predominantly referred to the city development.[542]

Ernst Reuter presented his ideas about village planning within the general urbanist point of view:

> Albeit the industry arose in a land of which 80 per cent of the population were villagers, transform the country, it should be accepted that this land still preserves agricultural character at all events, yet, the most of people live in villages. Therefore

[541] Ruşen Keleş, 'Der Beitrag Ernst Reuter zur Urbanizierung der Türkei', in *Ernst Reuter: Kommunalpolitiker und Geselschaftsreformer 1921-1953*, ed. by Heinz Reif and Moritz Feichtinger, Historisches Forschungszentrum der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Politik-und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 81 (Bonn: Dietz, 2009), pp. 185–202 (p. 189).
[542] Ernst Reuter, *Komün Bilgisi*, trans. by Niyazi Çitakoğlu and Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, Siyasal Bligiler Okulu Yayınlarından, 12 (Ankara: Yeni Cezaevi Matbaası, 1940), pp. 1, 5.

> the points to consider are to provide comfortable houses and modern village schools to the villagers, and to ornament the villages with trees, gardens and fountains. These innovations guarantee the attraction of the village. The best norm, which demonstrates the development of a country, is not only the reconstruction of some particular districts, but also rehabilitation of the smallest village. Only this way (we understand that) the improvement gains ground among the people. [543] (Emphasis added.)

He believed that these rehabilitations on a smaller scale were much more manageable, and they also assisted the municipal operations in rural towns which were basically larger villages in spatial and socio-economical terms. Therefore, reconstruction of the villages emerged as a critical duty among in organization of local government. No doubt, Ernst Reuter was introducing the urbanist theory, which had traditionally concentrated on problems of cities, as a tool to ground the practices. But he recommended to develop urbanist theory in accordance with the particular circumstances of Turkey and its rural towns in order to retain and develop agricultural livelihood in the country.[544]

Within the text, Ernst Reuter detailed some peculiar issues affecting rural towns and villages in the infrastructure system. He maintained that the city and rural towns and villages are distinguished by their differing needs for canalization and water drainage systems. Whereas in the cities these were absolute obligations, Reuter presented that in villages and small rural towns the water systems were not economically efficient to construct. Instead of a canalization, compost toilet system *(kübelsystem)* and the organization of a waste disposal area generated efficient conditions in settlements like agricultural towns and villages where there are not more than 100 people in 1 hectare.[545]

In addition to the hygiene concern, another point, which Ernst Reuter deliberately discussed as a special subject matter in villages and small rural towns, were cultural efforts. He promoted that the local governments and state should provide cinemas and theatres in the small towns and villages, as much as they accomplished in the cities. Cinemas and theaters were significant for cultural enrichment in daily life. Therefore they should be organized as governmental enterprises that the people could afford and easily

[543] Reuter, *Komün Bilgisi*, pp. 7–8. Author's translation.
[544] Reuter, *Komün Bilgisi*, p. 8.
[545] Reuter, *Komün Bilgisi*, pp. 239–42.

participate in. He suggested travelling theatres and cinemas as well as local radio stations, arranged by the local municipalities.[546]

In another publication, Ernst Reuter presented the financial organization of the municipalities. This was a concern at the time, especially for Turkey, where most of the municipalities remained in a rural state, except for a few larger cities. In Significance and Problems of Municipal Economy – *Belediye Iktisadiyatinin Ehemmiyeti ve Problemleri*, published in 1941, he introduced the idea of "municipal socialism" that first arose in England at the end of 19th Century. The principal was to boost economic life in the town with non-profit municipal corporations and cooperatives. These enterprises were organized as monopolies on behalf of the municipality and, hence, the people. Ernst Reuter developed a detailed scheme of municipal enterprises and government supported facilities that could be implemented in the rural towns and villages, too.[547]

Specifically, Ernst Reuter wrote two articles about planning small rural towns, and one article about planning villages: In the article "Our Towns" – *Kasabalarımız* – published in the journal *Arkitekt* in 1943, Ernst Reuter addressed small rural towns in Turkey that resembled extended villages without any urban characteristics. These were agriculture-based towns and villages, and were referred to as "the hearths of the county" since Turkey was still predominantly an agrarian country. Therefore, these small towns should be critically on the legislative, economic and cultural agendas of state, and be developed in accordance with their particular necessities.[548]

The small towns emerged as the nucleus of the social and cultural sphere in the countryside. Not only the locals, but also villagers were attached to this nucleus: For the villagers, towns were the market place where they spent a significant part of their economic lives. Also, the market function formed the town as a settlement, including the handcraftsmanship and craftsmanship, with the demand from nearby villages. Furthermore, schools made the town a meeting place for villagers and city people. Assembling the children from the villages around, the town schools offered a higher education than primary classes in the villages. This feature of towns constituted an

[546] Reuter, *Komün Bilgisi*, pp. 311–12.
[547] Ernst Reuter, *Belediye İktisadiyatının Ehemmiyeti ve Problemleri*, 1941, pp. 383–404.
[548] Ernst Reuter, 'Kasabalarımız', trans. by Adnan Kolatan, *Arkitekt*, 137–138.5–6 (1943), 121–26 (p. 121).

improvement in lifestyle for the villagers. Therefore, towns became the first rural habitat to transmit the political, cultural, social and economic ideas to the village community.[549]

However, the budgets of small rural towns were remarkable restricted. And economic possibilities did not allow for the development of these places with urbanizing tools such as street-lighing, the construction of large boulevards, or the founding of a fire service, features that were implemented in the cities. Thus, Ernst Reuter promoted self-help organizations to complete fundamental urban tasks and called the local governors, mayors and other government officials such as military officers, teachers and doctors for managing collective work in the town. For instance, the market place, the core of the town, could be arranged according to this principle. Locating the bazaar area in a better place, making it more orderly, enlarging it, if necessary, and ornamenting it with trees and fountains could be economically and easily managed by collective work together with local and governmental enterprises.[550]

In addition, Ernst Reuter proposed better arrangements for the built-environment and infrastructure in small towns: He introduced a communal garden in which the settlers participated in collective planting. The schools, sport courts, other public areas, including the graveyards, should be better arranged with rivers, lakes and forests. An affordable housing typology grounded on local techniques and materials should be introduced to the locals. Although the construction of a running water system was still economically impossible in towns, at least the fountains and the water canal should fulfil the hygiene conditions.[551]

### 5.1.4. Interpretations of Village Planning: Articles

Moreover, Ernst Reuter discussed the planning operation of rural towns in another article "The Problem of Small Municipalities" – *Küçük Belediyeler Meselesi* in 1945. The administrative and financial needs of small towns were completely different from cities and larger towns, to which municipality law applied. Thus, first of all, new regulations and instructions for the small towns and villages should be annexed to municipality law.

[549] Reuter, 'Kasabalarımız', p. 121.
[550] Reuter, 'Kasabalarımız', pp. 122–23.
[551] Reuter, 'Kasabalarımız', pp. 124–25.

The new legislation should allow particular implementations in each region. Secondly the rural towns should be analyzed in a geographic, economic and socio-cultural framework in order to determine the growth strategies. Additionally, the rural towns were a market place and administration center for surrounding villages. Thus, the transportation network should serve to connect the town to its region. And finally, town planning and reconstruction should be generated considering the urgent needs and basic implementations such as determining the main roads and location of the public buildings, and introducing a housing typology to fit the local conditions of the town. According to Ernst Reuter, after extending the scope of Bank of Municipalities to the rural towns, this kind of organization could be operated by the local district governments and People's Houses together.[552]

The villages, on the other hand, were the most underdeveloped local administrations in the country. They were deprived of subsidies, which were better organized in towns and cities in the municipal and governmental frames. Additionally, they did not have the proper tax revenue.[553] However, under these circumstance, Ernst Reuter sought to answer the question of "What kind of Urbanization tasks can be operated in our villages?" He introduced the basic urbanization principles to be practiced in villages. Indeed, this kind of operation emerged as urgent need of the villages in the countryside. And Reuter described the fundamental urban norms, which should be considered in forming villages: planning, modern sanitation standards, technical development, operative construction, and the community acting on its own behalf.[554]

In the countryside it was still necessary to create a modern life, to develop the economic capabilities and cultural potentials. First of all, improvement of the villages in accordance with the urban principles was not primarily a matter of money. In order to implement the modern urbanization tasks in the villages, the people should be informed and convinced of the objectives of progress in the rural country. Thus, there was a significant need for educators, who understood the challenges and were acquainted with the methodology of

[552] Ernst Reuter, 'Küçük Belediyeler Meselesi', trans. by Adnan Kolatan, *Arkitekt*, 159–160.3–4 (1945), 75–78, 90.
[553] Ernst Reuter, 'Mahalli İdarelerin Mali Kaynakları ve Devletle Münasebetleri (Cihanda ve Türkiye'de)', *Konjonktür*, 2.4–6 (1941), 61–77 (pp. 66–67).
[554] Ernst Reuter, 'Köylerimizde Ne Gibi Şehircilik İşleri Yapılabilir', *Belediyeler Dergisi*, 66.6 (1941), 9–13 (p. 9).

forming the village and village community. They needed also to be capable of starting the operation and transmitting information to the villagers. If the modern transformations were achieved by the village community itself, then the aims would be accomplished.[555]

Ernst Reuter presented the Village Institutes as the organization in which these educators could pave the way for the alteration of the village according to urbanist principles. He addressed the educators in the institutes as villagers, who were familiar with rural life, with an understanding of local duties and desired improvements. The activities of the institute would also assist to remove the non-functioning parts of the administration and re-motivate life in the village.[556]

First, he illustrated in detail the general program of urban principles to be applied to villages: The scheme was grounded on a particular concept, considering the characteristics, necessities and capabilities of the site. Therefore, there was not a general scheme for the villages that would be adaptable in every case. The aesthetics in form and engagement with nature generated the significant design inspiration in the planning. The public space organization in the village should include parks and gardens, in which the people would be close to nature in their daily lives.[557]

Secondly, Reuter pointed to the economic scarcity in the application of urbanist methodology in the villages. In accordance with these circumstances, he suggested that tasks be implemented through a program designed by the villagers. The educators – village teachers – could determine the schedule of the tasks that the community could complete via collective work. He argued that villagers could manage the general sanitation of streets themselves.[558]

On the other hand, hygiene was still the biggest problem in the villages. In most of the villages, there were neither drain systems for domestic waste, nor regulated dumpsites. Thus, the construction of toilets in houses emerged as a crucial theme for the sanitation of the settlement. Related to this, Reuter addressed hygiene as the most crucial matter in developing the village within the urbanist frame. Rural conditions did not allow the

[555] Reuter, 'Köylerimizde Ne Gibi Şehircilik İşleri Yapılabilir', p. 9.
[556] Reuter, 'Köylerimizde Ne Gibi Şehircilik İşleri Yapılabilir', pp. 9–10.
[557] Reuter, 'Köylerimizde Ne Gibi Şehircilik İşleri Yapılabilir', p. 10.
[558] Reuter, 'Köylerimizde Ne Gibi Şehircilik İşleri Yapılabilir', p. 11.

construction of a canalization system in the villages. But each house could be equipped with compost toilets which could be emptied in a larger dumping area near the village.[559]

Moreover, managing the water generated another issue for sanitation. Like the canalization system, which had not been installed even in cities in Anatolia in the 1940s, running water systems did not exist in rural areas. Potable water was provided from wells and fountains in and around the villages. Thus, the sanitation of wells and fountains was crucial in order to improve hygiene conditions. Furthermore, Reuter emphasized that wells and fountains were significant public spaces for the daily routine of the villagers, and they were representative areas for visitors as well. Therefore, he encouraged maintaining these areas paved, well-ordered, and clean.[560]

In addition to all these, Reuter described several projects such as building sports courts, organizing the graveyard as a green area, and constructing weirs to control the water that could sustain the village according to urbanist principles. He believed that the Village Institutes could manage this operation and they could transmit the "modern urbanist understanding" to the village.[561]

### 5.1.5. A Short Conclusion to Ernst Reuter's Contribution to Village Planning

Ernst Reuter's ideas and guidance in Turkish village planning were grounded in three fundamentals:

First of all, he considered the Turkish village as a *kernel* of the country in economic terms concerning predominantly agrarian productions, and in socio-cultural terms regarding the rural population that constituted the majority. Thus, the economic and socio-cultural potentials of the *kernel* should be reconsidered and developed with constructive programs.

Secondly, in order to improve the economy in the villages, Ernst Reuter advocated restoring financial resources for the benefit of the villages. He proposed the extension of the operations of Bank of Municipalities directly to the villages. After analyzing the needs of the villages, a financial aid program should be applied by the Bank of Municipalities

[559] Reuter, 'Köylerimizde Ne Gibi Şehircilik İşleri Yapılabilir', p. 12.
[560] Reuter, 'Köylerimizde Ne Gibi Şehircilik İşleri Yapılabilir', p. 12.
[561] Reuter, 'Köylerimizde Ne Gibi Şehircilik İşleri Yapılabilir', p. 13.

without bureaucratic obstacles.[562] The basic reconstruction tasks were manageable through collective work in the villages, however well-organized financial support was immediately required.

Lastly, the village community, even though it was considered as the cultural core of Anatolia, were still struggling with backwardness and socio-cultural impossibilities. In order to boost socio-cultural life in the villages, Ernst Reuter presumed that the village teachers and the educator in the village institutes were great agents to bring liveliness to the social sphere and to increase the cultural potentials in the village community.

In sum, Ernst Reuter brought "Village Planning" into discussion within the modern themes such as spatial and political urbanism, organization of local governments and socio-economic development of the rural society. From this point of view, Ernst Reuter's contribution urged on the consciousnes for formulatio of the village in the country planning.

### 5.2. Ernst Egli and the Turkish Village

Ernst Egli and his roles as architect, city planner, historian and doctrinaire in architecture and city planning, with a particular focus on his 16-year practice in Turkey, has been introduced in several studies and publications: Oya Atalay Franck describes the perspective of modernist architecture in Ernst Egli's works and his contributions to forming Turkish modernist architecture during the period between 1927 and 1940.[563] Moreover, Leyla Alpagut presents a wide historiography of his architectural inputs (projects, lectures and books) into early republican sphere and aftermaths.[564]Güven Göktan Uçer edited Ernst Egli's memoirs and translated them into Turkish, concentrating on his duties in Turkey comprising the years of 1927-1940 and 1953-1955.[565] Last, but

[562] Ernst Reuter's call for a better financial and administrative regulations for the villages resulted in several state implementations in following years. The Bank of Municipalities altered into the Bank of Cities within the law, dated on 13th June 1945, numbered 4759 comprising of the financial supports for provincial special administrations, rural towns and the villages. TBMM, *İller Bankası Kanunu*, 1945 <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/6039.pdf>.
[563] Atalay Franck and Egli.
[564] Leyla Alpagut, *Cumhuriyetin Mimarı Ernst Arnold Egli: Türkiye Yılları, Anılar ve Ankara Için Yapılar* (İstanbul: Boyut, 2012).
[565] Ernst Egli, *Genç Türkiye inşa edilirken (1927-1940, 1953-1955): Atatürk'ün mimarının anıları*, trans. by Güven Göktan Üçer, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2761, 1. basım (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013).

not least, Ali Cengizkan, Selda Bancı, and N. Müge Cengizkan edited a detailed retrospective of Ernst Egli's works in Turkey with a spotlight on local impressions, reforms in architecture education, and works including a building catalogue.[566,567] Alternatively, in this study the aim is to point out and portray Ernst Egli's particular contributions to the planning of the Turkish village, analyzing this theme in two timelines. The first includes his impressions, interpretations and practices from 1927 to 1940, and the second based on his research, reports and lectures from 1953 to 1956 in Turkey.

### 5.2.1. Biography

Ernst Arnold Egli was born in 1893 in Vienna to his Swiss father and Austrian mother. He studied at the Vienna Technical University – *Wiener Technicschen Hochschule* and graduated as an architect in 1918. During his architecture studies in Vienna, Ernst Egli was influenced by the architects of the early modernist *zeitgeist*, especially by Adolf Loos. His acquaintance with Clemens Holzmeister, who assisted Karl König's classes in Vienna Technical University, started here. Between 1918 and 1919 he worked in the office of Viennese architects Siegfried Thesis and Hans Jaksch. After a year, however, Ernst Egli decided to found his private office, and from 1919 to 1927 he produced several private and public projects. In 1925 he won the second prize in the international competition of Top-Tschider park in Belgrade, and in 1926 he contributed to a project in the competition for the Esseg plan that won the second prize. In that same year he participated in Clemens Holzmeister's church project in Nurnberg that won the first prize. At the same time, Ernst Egli continued his academic studies in the same university and received his doctoral degree with the dissertation "Criticism of the Protestant Architecture – *Kritik der protestantischen Baukust*" in 1925. And, from 1924 to 1927 he assisted

[566] *Ernst A. Egli: Türkiye'ye Katkılar : Yerel Yorumlar, Eğitimde Program, Pratiğin Muhasebesi*, ed. by Ali Cengizkan, Selda Bancı, and N. Müge Cengizkan (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2017).
[567] In addition to studies with explicit focus on Ernst Egli, there are also several publications in which Egli's contributions to architecture and planning are introduced. See also, Nicolai, *Moderne Und Exil*, pp. 37–70; Burcu Dogramaci, *Kulturtransfer Und Nationale Identität: Deutschsprachige Architekten, Stadtplaner Und Bildhauer in Der Türkei Nach 1927* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2008), pp. 139–51; Akcan, 'Eldem, Arseven, Egli ve "Türk Evi" Tezinin Algılanan Nesnelliği'; Alpagut and Wagner; Akcan, *Architecture in Translation*.

Clemens Holzmeister's master classes in Architecture School of Academy of Fine Arts Vienna.[568]

In 1927, Ernst Egli was invited to be the state architect in the Turkish Ministry of National Education. His association with Clemens Holzmeister, who was first proposed the same position, paved the way for Egli's position in Turkey.[569] During 1930s, he designed several education buildings such as primary schools, high schools, and embassy buildings. Also, between 1929 and 1930 Ernst Egli conducted a study trip to Europe with the General Director of Higher Education Rüştü Uzel in order to build a technical university in Ankara. The route included Vienna, Prague, Berlin, Dresden, Hannover, Darmstadt, Karlsruhe, Munich, Paris and Zurich. During this excursion Ernst Egli was assisted by scientists and architects in consulting on the project. In fact, he even worked with architects from Erich Mendelsohn's office in Berlin. This trip was critical in the formation of his architectonic style reflected in the projects in the following years.[570]

From 1927 to 1936, in addition to his duty being the state architect in the Ministry of National Education in Ankara, he was assigned to be the head of the Architecture School in the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. He prepared a reformed program for architecture education, grounded on two-year preparation classes in building techniques and two-year design courses. In accordance with the new schedule of the Architecture School, Ernst Egli employed new lecturers and assistants who had been acquainted with European modernist theory and practice. Between 1930 and 1936, Egli remained in his capacity as the dean of the academy, and his reformist perspective within architecture education also influenced the other departments in the fine arts. Until 1940 when he moved to Switzerland, he consulted as the institute's architect of Turkish Aeronautical Association. At the same time he also prepared urban plans for cities and small rural towns in Anatolia.[571]

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[568] *Ernst Egli 1893-1974, Architekt, Stadtplaner, Städtebauhistoriker, Kunstgelehrter, Querschnitt durch sein Leben, Werk und Denken*, Schriftenreihe der ETH-Bibliothek, 34 (Zürich: ETH-Bibliothek, 1994), p. 7; Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen' (Hs 787 1, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Universitätsarchiv, 1969), pp. 26–38.
[569] See Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil*, p. 68.
[570] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', pp. 50–51.
[571] *Ernst Egli 1893-1974, Architekt, Stadtplaner, Städtebauhistoriker, Kunstgelehrter, Querschnitt durch Sein Leben, Werk und Denken*, p. 7; Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', pp. 49–50.

In 1940 Ernst Egli returned back to Europe, but went to Zurich due to the involvement of Austria in the war. As Oya Atalay Franck describes, his "exile" in Switzerland started with him as a city planner expert,[572] and in 1942 Egli began teaching city planning at the ETH in Zurich. Until he achieved his professorship in Switzerland in 1947, he prepared lectures such as "Turkish architecture in the past and present", "Istanbul, the development of a city between Europe and Asia", "Master Sinan, the architect of the golden age under Suleiman the Great", "National and regional principles of city planning", and "Theory of city planning".[573] In the same year, he left Zurich to Beirut, having been offered the role of city planner expert in the Interior Ministry of Lebanon through 1951.[574]

After only an additional 13-month stay in Zurich, on the 17th of November 1953, he again left for Turkey as the expert within the United Nation's development project for Turkey. From 1953 to 1955 Ernst Egli worked in the field, comprising several excursions in rural Anatolia, as well as lectures on the theory and practice of town planning, and region and country planning in the Public Administration Institute for Turkey and Middle East, and in Faculty of Political Science in Ankara University. In 1954 he prepared an interim report on housing problem in Turkey. In addition to this, the excursions allowed him to analyze the conditions of rural Anatolia, particularly the conditions of villages. He also detailed his study on the administrative problems of villages.[575]

When he returned to Zurich in 1956, Ernst Egli worked as a university professor and city planner. Ernst Egli participated in the urban project of a new city in Furttal, Zurich together with architects Werner Aebli, Eduard Brühlmann, Rico Christ, and Prof. Dr. Ernst Winkler. The planning and design of the New City – *Die neue Stadt* was grounded in the necessities and requirements of the settlers, and the urban strategies were determined after a study with the dwellers.[576] Besides, Ernst Egli continued his lectures on history and the theory of city and town planning in different contexts in ETH until

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[572] Atalay Franck and Egli, p. 9.
[573] *Ernst Egli (1893-1974) Professor für Städtebau ETH*, Handschriften und Autographen der ETH-Bibliothek, 15 (Zürich: ETH-Bibliothek, 1983), p. 5.
[574] *Ernst Egli 1893-1974, Architekt, Stadtplaner, Städtebauhistoriker, Kunstgelehrter, Querschnitt durch sein Leben, Werk und Denken*, pp. 7–8.
[575] *Ernst Egli 1893-1974, Architekt, Stadtplaner, Städtebauhistoriker, Kunstgelehrter, Querschnitt durch sein Leben, Werk und Denken*, p. 8; *Ernst Egli (1893-1974) Professor für Städtebau ETH*, p. 16; Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', p. 248.
[576] J. Schilling, '"Die Neue Stadt": Eine Studie für das Furttal Zürich', *Schweiz Bauzeitung* (Zürich, 20 April 1961), pp. 263–65.

1963. He published five books about planning history and theory, and an architectonic analysis of Sinan the architect's works: "The New City in Countryside and the Climate – *Die neue Stadt in Landschaft und Klima*" published in 1951; "Sinan: The Master Architect of Ottoman Golden Age – *Sinan: Der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*" in 1954; 3 volumes of "History of City and Town Planning – *Geschichte des Städtebaues*" between 1959 and 1967. In 1969 he completed another book based on his memories. He died on October 20th, 1974, in Meilen.

### 5.2.2. First Excursions in Anatolia: Impressions and Practices for the Rural Turkey

In the Ministry of National Education, one of Ernst Egli's first assignments was an inspection trip to Anatolia to get acquainted with the conditions of the schools in the country. He started his journey from Istanbul and arrived in İzmir in 1928. Here, İzmir's Director of National Education introduced him to school buildings in the best conditon. When Egli came returned to the city couple of years later, this time, the governor Kazım Dirik showed him that the most of the schools in the city were under construction in accordance with his plans.[577]

The excursion continued from İzmir to Konya with the school inspectors of the Ministry of National Education. Egli and the group went from Konya to Adana via the Taurus Mountains where they also examined small rural towns and villages. After finishing the survey in the region they returned back to Ankara through Kayseri. When Ernst Egli arrived in Ankara, he immediately started to design school typologies for Anatolian rural towns and villages:

> During this journey I was able to convince of the deplorable condition of the schools [in the countryside], a sad heritage of bygone times, and I understood the significance of the task of developing a school system and its buildings. [However] I did not have a constant impression on the cities [I had been]. In Ankara, under this influence I designed typologies for primary schools in the most economical structure produced with local building materials and the easiest constructions, and local labour.
>
> I demonstrated these plans in Ankara, taking the risk that comparisons would be drawn with the elaborate primary schools in Western countries. [However], my satisfaction was that after these typologies a lot of new primary school buildings were [accordingly] built all over the country.[578] (Emphasis added.)

[577] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', p. 46.
[578] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', pp. 46–47. Author's translation.

The challenge Ernst Egli had was to transmit an architectural modernism into the countryside. When he first arrived in Ankara, he was expected to contribute to "modernist architecture"[579] starting with the design of "modern school buildings".[580] However, neither the circumstances in the cities, nor those in the rural Anatolia allowed for the implementation of up-to-date building techniques in urgent public projects like construction of school buildings, especially those operating in the countryside. Thus Ernst Egli produced practical plans, which could be effortlessly and economically applied by the local governments and the people together.

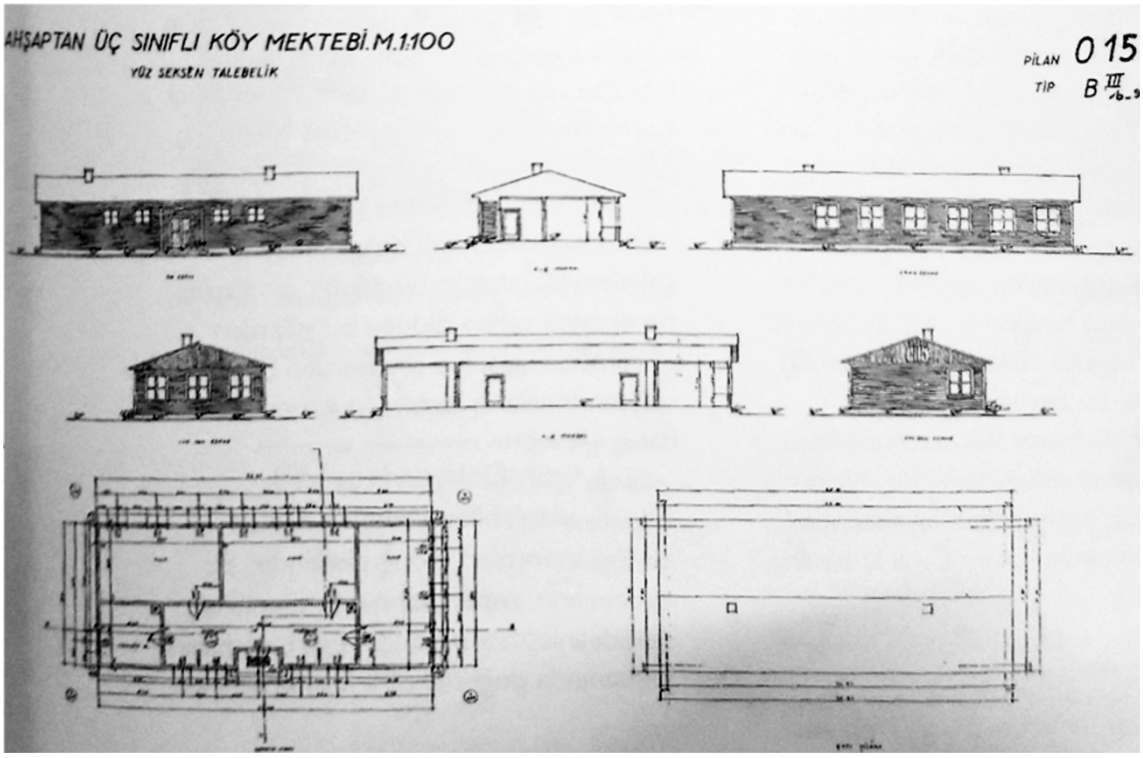


**Figure 5.1.** Prototype of three-classroom village school for 180 students; timber building; 1933.[581] (Maarif Vekaleti İlk Tedrisat Dairesi, 1933)

[579] During the early republican period, the term of "Modernist Architecture" was ambiguously perceived by the Turkish elites, and most of the time the term was replaced with up-to-date architectural practices in the Western countries instead of an aesthetical conception. In this respect, foreign architects were considered as agents of Western Architecture, hence so called "Modernist Architecture" by the Turkish politicians and the intelligentsia.
[580] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', p. 44.
[581] Maarif Vekaleti İlk Tedrisat Dairesi, *İlk Mektep Planları Albümü* (Ankara, 1933).

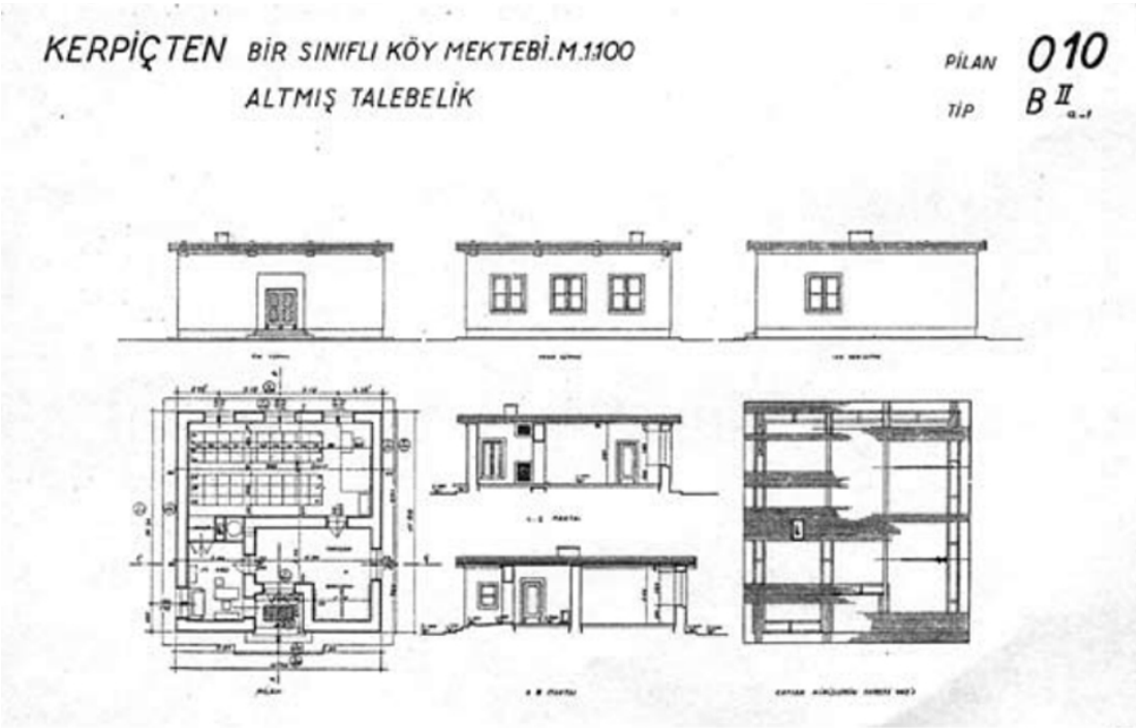


**Figure 5.2.** Prototype of one-classroom village school for 60 students; adobe building, constructed with mud-brick; 1933.[582] (Maarif Vekaleti İlk Tedrisat Dairesi, 1933)

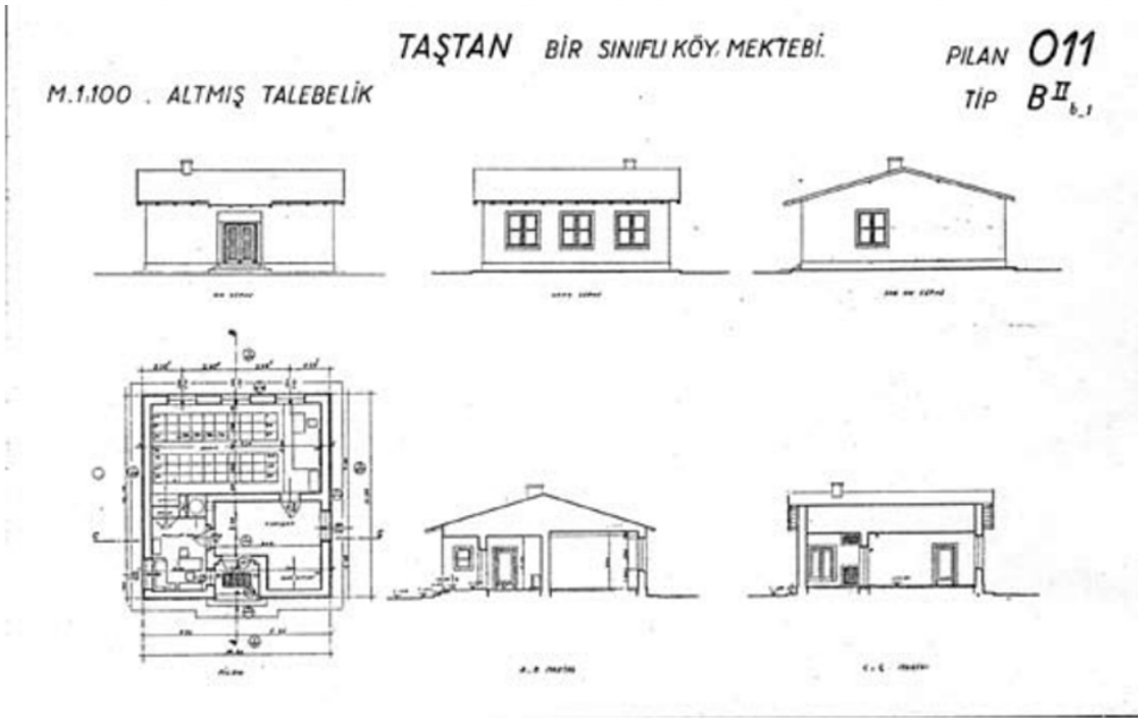


**Figure 5.3** Prototype of one-classroom village school for 60 students; masonry building, constructed with stone; 1933.[583] (Maarif Vekaleti İlk Tedrisat Dairesi, 1933)

[582] Maarif Vekaleti İlk Tedrisat Dairesi.
[583] Maarif Vekaleti İlk Tedrisat Dairesi.

In 1933, the Ministry of National Education published an instruction booklet for school construction in the villages. In the document, prototypes for village schools were introduced in modifying size, construction techniques, and materials. Three building aspects were considered in timber, adobe and stone masonry methods in accordance with the climate and local building materials. This principle varied in different sizes from one-classroom to three-classroom schools. The document, prepared for implementation in Anatolia and sent to the local directorates of Ministry of National Education, did not indicate any project owner, but the construction office of the ministry was operated under Ernst Egli until 1936. Thus, it is still ambiguous if these schemes directly refer to Ernst Egli's prototypes designed after his excursion in 1928. Nevertheless, the conception, grounded on local material and building techniques, can be related to his typological principles in village school projects.[584, 585] **(Figure 5.1, Figure 5.2, Figure 5.3)**

Ernst Egli's excursion to Anatolia has additional significance in his work concerning rural Turkey. During his first journey to Anatolia, Egli was impressed by the variety of the geographical landscape from Istanbul to İzmir, from İzmir to Konya, from Konya to Adana and from Adana to Ankara:

> The change between fertile or bare lands, the green or red mountains, vast and narrow horizons, the blue of the seas, [everything] was so different in the west or south of the Anatolian land. [Contrary to this variety], it seemed to me the peculiar landscape [with] vines, olives and Fig trees, separated from crop fields with their heights. All of Anatolia (but I knew only a small part of it at that time) [seemed like defined

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[584] Maarif Vekaleti İlk Tedrisat Dairesi, *İlk Mektep Planları Albümü* (Ankara, 1933). See also Nurşen Kul, 'Ernst A. Egli ve "Yeni İlkokul Modelleri"', *Mimarlık*, 388.2 (March-April) (2016) <http://erf.sbb.spk-berlin.de/han/sfx/www.mo.org.tr/mimarlikdergisi/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=402&RecID=3877>.

[585] İnci Aslanoğlu, Ali Cengizkan and Leyla Alpagut, introduce the schemes of boarding school for 100 students and its annex as the lodging for teacher in Etimesgut Village, which was constructed in 1928 in Ankara, as Ernst Egli's another contribution to village school buildings in the early years of the republic. İnci Aslanoğlu, 'Ernst A. Egli, Mimar, Eğitimci, Kent Plancısı', *Mimarlık*, 210.11–12 (1984), 15–19 (pp. 17–18); Cengizkan, Bancı, and Cengizkan, pp. 139–41; Leyla Alpagut, pp. 149–51. Ali Cengizkan also introduces other architectural implementations in Etimesgut Village like site plan, dwellings, the public bath, hostelry, and bazaar as Egli's other contributions between 1928 and 1930. Within the scope of the research project on Atatürk Forest Farm in Ankara, supported by Middle East Technical University, Ali Cengizkan presented Etimesgut Village as the extension of an exemplar farm project for which Ernst Egli designed several buildings during the 1930s. Cengizkan, Bancı, and Cengizkan, pp. 136–38; 'Etimesgut Bölgesi', *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Atatürk Orman Çiftliği Araştırmaları*, 2014 <http://aocarastirmalari.arch.metu.edu.tr/yitirilen-etimesgut/#e2>. However, in the archives – Turkey's State Archives and Ernst Egli Estate in ETH Zürich University Library Archives – the study has been remained, the documents on Etimesgut village are limited with the project costs and organization, without any information referring to the project ownership.
In the 6. Chapter, Etimesgut Village will be discussed in the frame of early implementations of village construction in early republican Turkey.

> particularly] by its border of sky and ground. Here, people were living in characteristic dwellings gathering in small tiny settlements, which were often barely visible, [as if they had been] camouflaged by the placement [of the houses] and [even by] the building materials since ancient times.[586] (Emphasis added.)

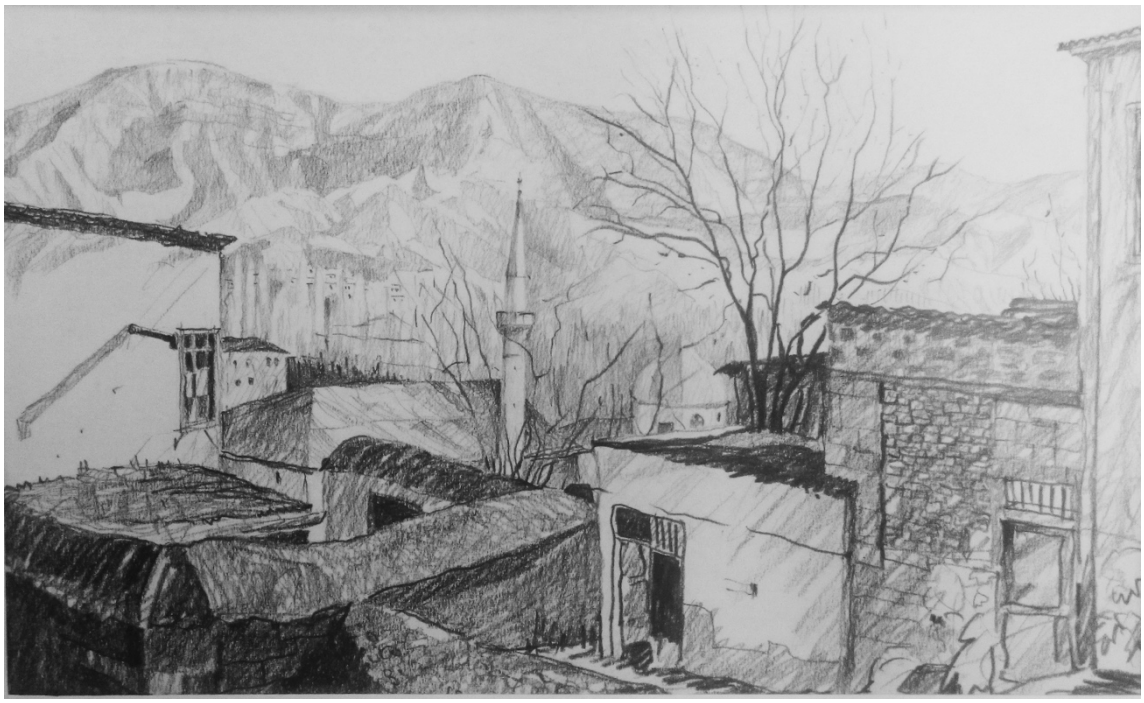

**Figure 5.4.** Drawing of a village in Anatolia, 1930s, Ernst Egli. (ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Universitätsarchiv)[587]

In addition to observing the Anatolian landscape through a traveller's eyes, Ernst Egli was also examining rural Anatolia from an architectural perspective. **(Figure 5.4)** He addressed the organic relationship between the land, settlement and dwellings in Anatolian villages. He likened the central Anatolian villages located on the hillsides to "a cubic *fata morgana*" (an optical illusion on the landscape). Egli pointed out the village houses: they were constructed with mud-brick or stone, and some were timber houses with mud-brick filled walls and ornamentations. Another detail in Egli's observations was the traditional decoration on everyday objects in the village houses. He was introduced to houses where the owners weaved rugs, and was fascinated by production of the traditional art in ordinary lives of people. In early 1930s, Ernst Egli had another investigation trip to

[586] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', p. 47. Author's translation.
[587] Ernst Egli, 'Türkisches Dorf mit Eloschee, Bleistift. 23,3:33,2 Cm' (Hs 787 a:1 ETH-Bibibliothek, Universitätsarchiv, 1930s).

İzmir and Aydın, being invited by İzmir's governor Kazım Dirik and Aydın's mayor Ethem Menderes. This time, he extended his route to the archaeological sites in the region, visiting first Pergamon, then Ephesus in İzmir, and Tralles in Aydın. He was strongly influenced not only by the ancient heritage, but also by the historical continuity of the space in this region. During his tours, Ernst Egli concentrated on geographical, demographical, cultural landscape, and analyzed the traditional and monumental Turkish architecture. He also became acquainted with the traditional and vernacular building techniques and materials in Anatolia.[588]

### 5.2.3. Landscape and "Cosmic Architecture"

No doubt, the landscape, people and built-environment of Turkey conveyed a great authenticity to foreign scholars, and to Ernst Egli during the early republican years. As Oya Atalay Franck addresses, Anatolia excursions made Ernst Egli develop a particular perspective towards modernist architecture in which he emphasized a synthesis of modern and traditional architectural practice.[589] In his article Architectural Environment – *Mimari Muhit* in 1930[590], Ernst Egli referred to the spatial definition of the environment, and he related it to the architectonic elements. He started his article by pointing out a basic approach to the architectural environment: "With the word 'environment' I refer to everything near or afar from a building. This environment forms a unity together with the building. Light, air, sun, wind, topography, water, vegetation, climate, (notable characteristics of the night and secret melodies of the evening)… I state one word for all: 'environment'."[591] He emphasized the prosperous contact of the architectonic object to its physical locality, hence its spatial context. In other words, Egli placed architecture in an immersive outer sphere. He likened this sphere to "the mother's sacred, precious bosom", and the environment would determine "the genus, thought and movement of a person, not his race and/or his nationality"[592].

[588] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', pp. 47–48, 54–55, 61.
[589] Atalay Franck and Egli, pp. 50–53.
[590] Ernst Egli, 'Mimari Muhit', *Türk Yurdu*, 224.40 (1930), 32–36.
[591] Ernst Egli, 'Mimari Muhit', pp. 32–33.
[592] Ernst Egli, 'Mimari Muhit', p. 33.

In the article Ernst Egli also presented concepts about culture and civilization that were fashionable themes among the Turkish intelligentsia. According to Egli, civilization could arise in two different forms of culture: the first being countryside and rural culture, the other, city and urban culture. Consequently this formula brought about two types of people. The first group consists of the rural-national, and the other of the urban-international, who especially and gradually failed to affiliate with their (traditional) "environment". He also depicted the alienation of city people from national culture. Therefore, he believed that an evolutionary version of modern architecture should melt the universal principles in the same pot with the local forms, customs and ideas together, in order to generate a harmonic built-environment.[593]

Later, Ernst Egli adapted his ideas on the contextualization of modern architecture in town planning in his book called "*Die Neue Stadt in Landschaft und Klima*, Climate and Town Districts: Consequences and Demands", published in 1951. He repeatedly presented the idea of the consideration of the environmental and cultural aspects that should impact the architectonic components of the place.

> This book is written partly on villages and towns, those old and traditional forms that shelter human community life; and partly on the town district which seems to be inevitable and uncontrolled expressions of the human settlement in our time. Its subject is thus the change from old to new, the development of the traditional forms not yet found. As every other form, villages and towns as well as the modern town district are determined by their position in time and space.
>
> …
>
> Our main interest in this matter, though, is concentrated on the conditions of the space, of landscape and of climate determining the new town. These are the constant factors we sought to follow through historical development and change. We are thus looking for new basic principles of town-building, seeking to place the new town among the unchanging conditions of its geographic surroundings, above all in those parts of the earth which are still uninhabited to-day and which will grow to undreamed-of importance for the town-planning of the future.[594]

In connection with this, Ernst Egli's impressions of the landscape – the ideology and architectonic morphology of landscape – had its impact on the structure of the new education program in the Fine Arts Faculty Istanbul.[595] In 1935, Egli presented a series of

[593] Ernst Egli, 'Mimari Muhit', p. 35.
[594] Ernst Egli, *Die neue Stadt in Landschaft und Klima, Climate and Town Districts: Consequences and Demands*, trans. by Ch. Neuenschwander (Zürich: Verlag für Architektur, 1951), pp. 9–10.
[595] Burcu Doğramacı thoroughly introduces the influence of German-speaking actors on architectural education during the early republican period indicating in parts – the education in Fine Arts Academy

lectures called "*Grundsätze und Betrachtungen zu einer kosmischen Architektur, Eine Einführung in die Baukunst* – Principles and Considerations for a Cosmic Architecture, An Introduction to the Art of Construction"[596]. The "cosmic architecture" in Egli's philosophy is strongly linked to the relationship between man and nature, built-environment and landscape. The fundamental principle was to construct a new architectonic language, comprehended by everyone in the world, following the orders of the landscape. Referring to a "romantic description of *Urraum*" – the origin of space, Ernst Egli addressed the landscape as a united place of people and their perceptions.[597] Here the architectonic space in cosmic sense occurred as "a natural product of the earth, created by the concurrence of man and nature". He was deliberately adding that "the art of construction (*Baukunst*) is an art which was created in the space; the architecture is a cosmic art to place an order of works of art on naturally changing surface of the earth – landscape. (Emphasis added)". [598]

Nevertheless, within the lecture text, Ernst Egli did not refer to any former theories or scholars in the framework of his argument, except from scholars like Leon Battista Alberti, Emmanuel Viollet le Duc, and Gottfried Semper who established the theory of architectural history, or Le Corbusier and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe who contributed centrally to modernist architecture. Although the basis of "cosmic architecture" in Egli's texts (referring to his lectures) can be found in his academic work in lectures in *Urania* during his early career in Vienna[599], it can also be interpreted that the physical and cultural landscape of Anatolia, the conditions of built-environment in the mural of early republican Turkey inspired the architect to construct his architectural theory which addressed a universal synthesis of the traditional and modern.

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Istanbul and Ernst Egli, Bruno Taut, Wilhelm Schütte, Robert Vorhölzer; and the education in Istanbul Technichal University and Paul Bonatz. For the further reading on Ernst Egli's period in Fine Arts Academy Istanbul see Dogramaci, *Kulturtransfer Und Nationale Identität*, pp. 140–51.

[596] The word of *Baukunst* is translated in English as 'Architecture'. But here, Egli tones the word as a field of art. Thus in the translation of lecture title 'Art of Construction' is used instead of 'Architecture'.

[597] Atalay Franck and Egli, p. 71.

[598] Ernst Egli, 'Grundsätze und Betrachtungen zu einer kosmischen Architektur, Eine Einführung in die Baukunst' (Hs 785 37, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Universitätsarchiv, 1935), p. 3.

[599] Atalay Franck and Egli, p. 72.

### 5.2.4. From Cosmic Architecture to *Das türkische Wohnhaus*

Ernst Egli presented the theory of "cosmic architecture" in his lectures in architecture classes at the Fine Arts Academy Istanbul. First of all, he assigned students the task to analyze people's behaviours, movements and attitudes in different conditions during their daily lives in the frame of space. He called this observation as "study on the sequence of states". Then, he explained the principles of forming a building by sorting the ideas in contrast concepts like harmony and antagonism, in augmentation and expression, in proportion and scale, in relations between the will of forming and material selection (stone and gothic style, plaster and baroque style, metal, glass and modernist style). In this way form and space generate two different dimensions of one united work. According to Egli, this forumula liberated the architect to design buildings in various forms, styles and functions.[600]

After he introduced the universal principles of architecture, Ernst Egli emphasized the important of details by demonstrating the particularity of landscape. He directed his students to examine the local circumstances of space in order to generate an architecture that culturally represented and pertained the Turkish land.[601] Egli was against absolute and a-contextual modernism in architectural style, and motived Turkish students to perceive and grasp the architectural heritage as well as to produce the new architectural culture.

Egli focused on the traditional Turkish house, including the architectural idea and overall concept, space organization, decorative and constructive details. He drew attention to the quality of the Turkish house as an area of research, to conserve it as a cultural component, especially in the "nation-building" climate of Turkey. He conducted this study with his assistants in the Fine Arts Academy Istanbul, architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem, who contributed by photographing and sketching the traditional Turkish houses in and around Istanbul, and architect Arif Hikmet Holtay, who cooperated in classes for architectural design, and in classes for architectural history and theory, and urbanism.

Ernst Egli published the outcome of his research on traditional civil architecture in Turkey as an article first in 1936 in La Turquie Kemaliste, in which the editors included a

[600] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', pp. 72–73.
[601] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', p. 73.

collection of Anatolian village houses. In the article, Egli presented the Turkish House as "a unique and expressive conception" referring to the roots of design idea (starting from the early Ottoman period), and he underlined its organic interactions with Mediterranean and Middle Eastern building cultures. He focused on not the dwelling style that appeared in the mid-17th century in Istanbul with the influences of "European Villas", but rather to a longer heritage and detailed his research in traditional houses that belonged to Ottoman civil servants, artisans and *la petite bourgeoisie*.[602]

Differing from other prototypes in Mediterranean, Middle Eastern or European regions like "Pompeian, Iraqi, or of Lower Saxony", Egli declared that the Turkish house was still unique in space organization and its evaluation in historical context. The definition of the building site with the walls, location of the garden, and the main body inside the walls and pavilions as the extensions of the interior space over the walls, all demonstrated the living culture of Turkish people, more than the architectonic arrangement of the Turkish house. He highlighted the harmony and compatibility of nature, pointing out the wall, the garden and the pavilion as the major constituents of this form.[603] Additionally, the interior organization was also unique: "In the Turkish house, there is no difference between bedroom and living room, hence there is no bed and a place for bed in European senses. In this regard, the living rooms are more co-ordinated than sub-ordinated with each others in Turkish house."[604]

Ernst Egli tracked the roots of the fundamental components of the Turkish house, such as the walls, garden, and pavilion, and he demonstrated the repetition of these ideas not only in local houses, but also in palaces. He examined these partitions in different forms and arrangements. He believed that these components connected the overall design idea to the landscape: garden and pavilion were organized in accordance with benefiting from the view and the climate. Moreover, the pavilion was the core of the interior space, a particular sitting area located inside and in contact with the garden and view. Egli called this sitting area as "the soul of the Turkish house" regarding it as the oldest element in the idea of interior design. Even though European influences could be seen in later examples, it still maintained a significant position in the interior space organization.

[602] Ernst Egli, 'Das türkisches Wohnhaus', *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 14.Aout (1936), 11–19 (p. 11).
[603] Ernst Egli, 'Das türkisches Wohnhaus', p. 12.
[604] Ernst Egli, 'Das türkisches Wohnhaus', p. 12. Author's translation.

According to Egli, it was clear that the sitting area and the pavilion, which directly formed the interior space as well as external space, were "manifold forms in richly completed compositions of (Ottoman) architecture".[605]

Egli's research on the traditional dwelling also included other Anatolian cities, Bursa, Ankara, Kayseri, Kastamonu, and Konya, in which the examples of Turkish houses were remained with adaptations and alterations due to the local and regional circumstances in the districts of these cities. The pavilion, garden and walls remained as essential elements in these houses, but their arrangements varied: "The garden around the pavilion often generated a small courtyard with trees, the sitting area inside smoothly moved towards the garden, or even over the wall into the street."[606]

Later, on November 20th, 1940 Ernst Egli presented his research on the Turkish House in a lecture at ETH Zurich. He introduced the organic relationship between the land, house and man, highlighting that the house derived from the land, and the man generated the tools to form the connection between them. In other words, he stated, "Man's will of forming is materialized in the house which is designed in accordance with nature of the land."[607] More specifically, Ernst Egli asserted that the rural house is the fundamental form developed from the consequences of land conditions, and he highlighted the universal principles that had been considered and elaborated on in the rural house for ages in several cultures. Ancient Greek, Italian, and German rural houses and their relationship to the landscape were discussed in detail, displaying their adaptations to natural circumstances and cultural alterations. Ernst Egli approached the idea of "universal principles" in conception of the rural house, determining the borders of the house including the garden, locating the spatial components and physically connecting them within the borders of the dwelling. This pattern repeated in various examples in various forms.[608] **(Figure 5.5, Figure 5.6, Figure 5.7)**

[605] Ernst Egli, 'Das türkisches Wohnhaus', p. 14.
[606] Ernst Egli, 'Das türkisches Wohnhaus', pp. 15, 17.
[607] Ernst Egli, 'Türk Evi', trans. by Cemal Köprülü, *Ülkü*, 99.XVII (Mayıs) (1941), 195–209 (p. 195).
[608] Ernst Egli, 'Türk Evi', pp. 197–98.

**Figure 5.5.** Dwelling types in Anatolian Villages, Ankara, 1938.[609] (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1938)

**Figure 5.6.** Dwelling types in Anatolian Villages, Küllük, Silifke, Kayseri, Elmalı, 1938.[610] (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1938)

[609] Ernst Egli, 'Maisons Typiques Des Villages D'Anatolie', *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 28.Decembre (1938).
[610] Ernst Egli, 'Maisons Typiques Des Villages D'Anatolie'.

**Figure 5.7.** Dwelling types in Anatolian Villages, Ayancık, Anamur, Çanakkale, Milas, 1938.[611] (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1938)

Egli increasingly focused on rurality in his lectures explaining the Turkish house in 1940. The reason can be his field trips to Anatolian cities and rural towns as city planning expert, as well as his early excursions in the late 1920s and early 1930s as architect. He visited northeastern Anatolian cities after a large earthquake hit Erzincan and the surrounding area in 1939 several times. He also visited Edirne, Balıkesir, İzmir and Denizli, including the proximate rural towns for his urban planning project.[612] These professional trips helped Egli grasp the local and traditional ideas in the rural Anatolia, resulting in his presentation of the Turkish house as a cultural extension of Anatolian landscape.

In sum, since the beginning of his study theorizing the Turkish house, Ernst Egli collected ideas about Turkish civil architecture, ranging from large residential complexes in the cities, to rural houses in small towns and villages. Egli's focus was on their form, space, decoration and construction. Ernst Egli created an architectural communication method that was introduced with a focus on landscape (especially the Anatolian landscape), and

[611] Ernst Egli, 'Maisons Typiques Des Villages D'Anatolie'.
[612] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', pp. 97–100.

this heralded the establishment of a national architecture in the early republican atmosphere. Through the concept of traditional dwelling, Ernst Egli discovered a path to construct the theory of Turkish architecture, not only emphasizing the historiography of building culture, but also how to link regional and cultural aspects with the modernity.

### 5.2.5. Ernst Egli, Sedad Hakkı Eldem and *Milli Mimari* Seminars

During his years in the Fine Arts Academy Istanbul, Ernst Egli's architectural theory proposed in "Cosmic Architecture" and his research on Turkish architecture and the Turkish house both appeared in the seminar series *Milli Mimari* – National Architecture. Within the reform program in the academy, Ernst Egli planned to include an elective course on architectural theory based on "national architecture" for the graduate level. Egli's interest in traditional Turkish architecture structured these lectures in 1932, prepared together with assistant and contributing researcher Sedad Hakkı Eldem.

The lecture series was prepared and presented by Sedad Hakkı Eldem starting in 1933 in architecture faculty of Fine Arts Academy Istanbul. Eldem declared the aim of the class as: "a) to give to the students an introductory knowledge about the regional, local and 'Turkish' architecture, and to teach the survey techniques for historical monuments; b) to develop the educational components to improve research on Turkish architecture; c) to publish the completed studies about Turkish architecture. (Emphasis added)"[613]

With these goals in mind, Eldem led the students to examine traditional civil architecture and building aspects that could be adapted to modern dwellings. Though stated in the targets of the course, Eldem did not consistently present any particular methodological survey tools: some projects were presented with detailed drawings and photographs, some not, and the scale of the projects varied. Namely, his lectures concentrated on basic knowledge about the form, space organization and stylistic approach of the traditional house, instead of developing a collection with a systematical examination of these buildings. Nevertheless, Eldem did not limit his research to Istanbul, he also included the

[613] Uğur Tanyeli refers to the writings in Eldem's personal archive. Uğur Tanyeli, 'Milli Mimari Semineri: Bir Kavga ve Bir Efsane', in *Sedad Hakkı Eldem II, Retrospektif*, ed. by Bülent Tanju and Uğur Tanyeli (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2009), pp. 56–65 (p. 58).

excursions to Anatolia to allow students to analyze traditional houses in their specific environment.[614]

Although the title of the lecture series referred to a larger theme as "*Milli Mimari*, National Architecture", the subject area was limited to civil architecture. Therefore, Eldem's lectures emerged as an application of Egli's studies on traditional dwellings by transmitting the theory to the architectural education. In addition to this, Eldem's writings on national architecture embodied Egli's approach, presenting the synthesis of modern and traditional characteristics in the Turkish architecture. In his article dated 1939, Eldem emphasized the need for progressive architecture, unique to new Turkey and its people. The principles, or "characteristics of the national and local architectural style" were: congruity with the people, their livelihood, demands and customs, construction, labor and available building techniques, as well as with the region, the climate and topography, and hence building materials.[615]

From this point of view, Eldem's ideology, which brought the discussion to national architecture and evolved it into a style practiced in the 1940s and 1950s, was also based on Ernst Egli's ideas grounded in local and regional inputs of building culture. This is thus Egli's contribution, that he created an awareness among his Turkish colleagues about the traditional architecture including the rural landscape as another component of Turkish cultural heritage.

### 5.2.6. Planning the Small Rural Towns in Anatolia

Ernst Egli's conceptualization of Turkish architecture strongly emphasized the Anatolian landscape, hence the Anatolian rurality. The observation of the Turkish house was an architectonic medium of communication with Anatolian culture and Anatolian landscape. Egli pointed to the Turkish house as the basic space on a smaller scale of an urban sphere, underlining the genius of the Turkish house: "Every urban development is first a characteristic combination of a very particular house with very particular streets, squares and public buildings." He argued that for orderly organization to occur, all "national and regional peculiarities" should be considered in architectural design and planning. And

[614] Tanyeli, pp. 60–61.
[615] Sedad Hakkı Eldem, 'Milli Mimari Meselesi', *Arkitekt*, 105–106.9–10 (1939), 220–23 (pp. 221–23).

here, the unpacking of traditional dwelling forms was to play a key role in developing the "modern Turkish house" and "modern Turkish city" via the transmission of traditional and local information to modernity. In Egli's theory, this would create a harmonic architectural morphology that would help achieve an "Anatolian urbanism" in the country.[616]

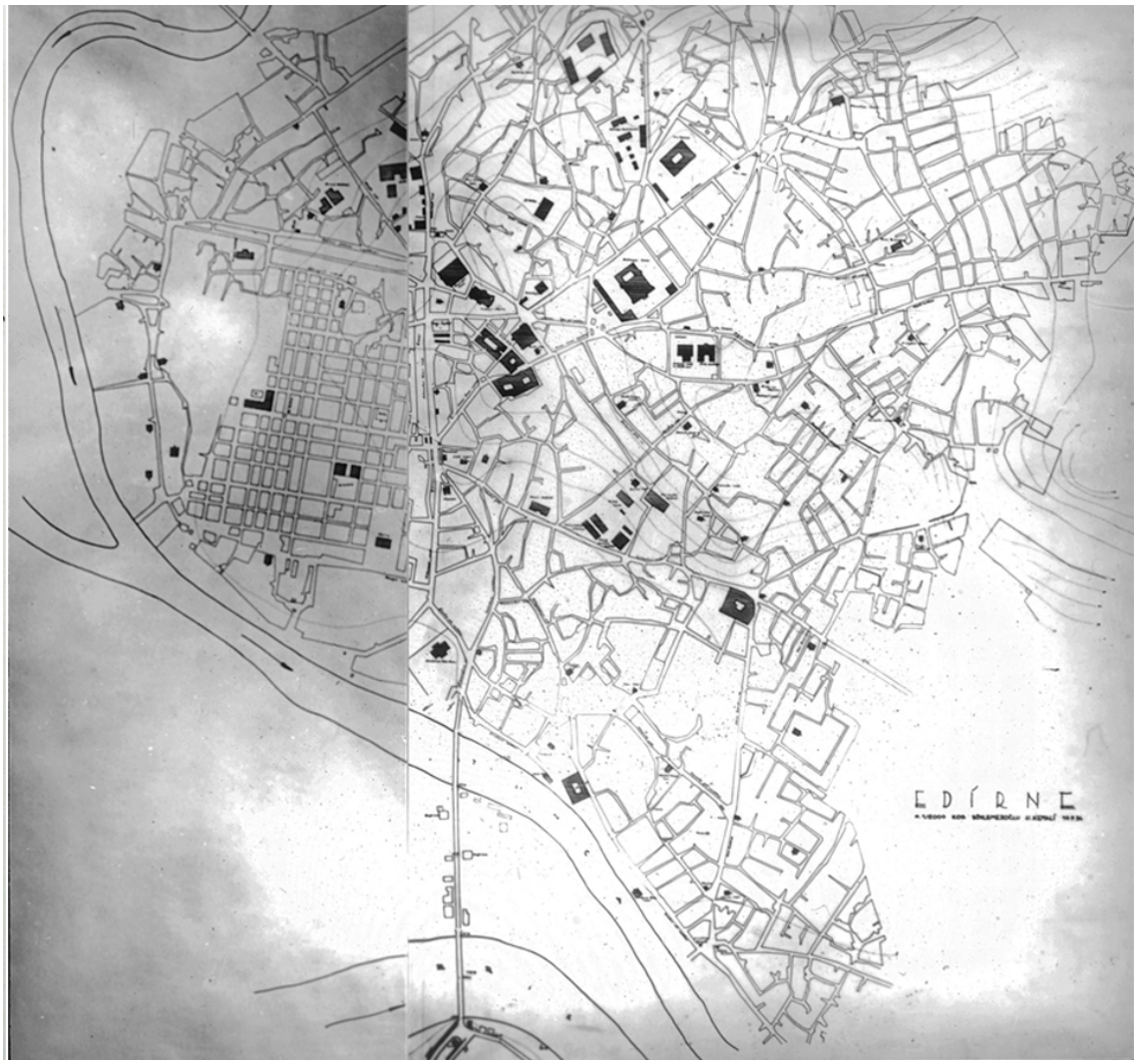


**Figure 5.8.** Urban Plan of Edirne, Ernst Egli and Kemali Söylemezoğlu, 1937-1940. (ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv). [617]

Ernst Egli focused on the project of Anatolian urbanism in the period between 1935 and 1940. In 1936 Ernst Egli resigned from his duty in Fine Arts Academy Istanbul and

[616] Ernst Egli, 'Das türkisches Wohnhaus', p. 18.
[617] Ernst Egli, 'Bebauungsplan Edirne I+II' (194 397-398, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv, 1938).

focused on architectural projects[618] and was tasked by the Ministry of Public Works with urban planning projects for Edirne in the eastern Trace **(Figure 5.8),** Balıkesir in western Anatolia **(Figure 5.9)**, and small rural towns Tavas and Tavas Kale, Kızılcabölük **(Figure 5.10)**, Çal **(Figure 5.11)**, Çivril, and Yeşilyayla in Denizli in the southwestern Anatolia until he left Turkey in 1940.[619] He also participated in the competition for urban planning in Samsun in 1941.[620]

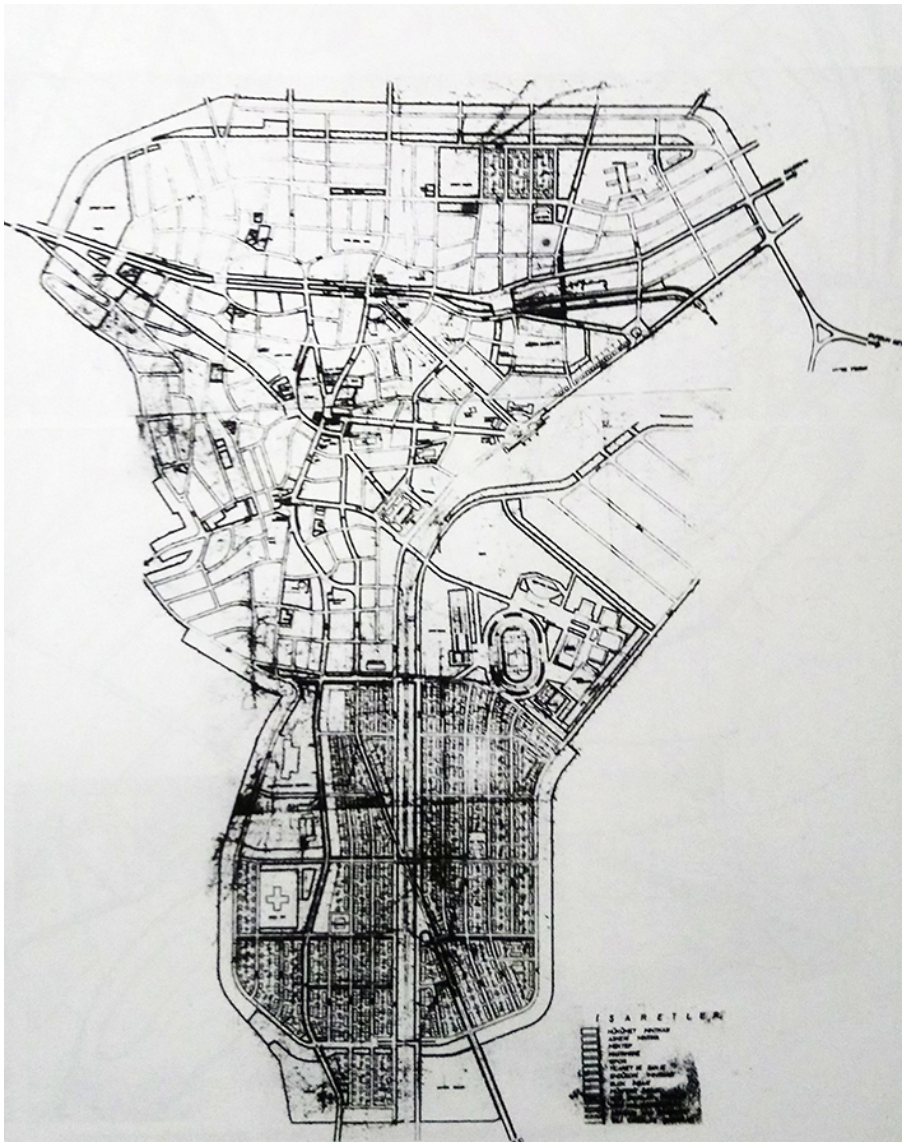

**Figure 5.9.** Urban Plan of Balıkesir, Ernst Egli, 1938-1939. (ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv).[621]

[618] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', p. 76.
[619] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', p. 91.
[620] Ernst Egli, 'Stadtaufnahme Samsun' (194 395-396, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv, 1941).
[621] Ernst Egli, 'Bebauungsplan Balikesir' (194 392, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv, 1938).

Plans for Denizli's rural towns are clear examples of Egli's vision for "Anatolian urbanism". On the 22nd of March 1939, Ernst Egli conducted a field trip to examine the area around Denizli for planning six small towns. Through the end of the year he prepared the proposals, comprising the main axis, town centre, public and residential areas. Although Egli detailed the planning process for both six settlements in his memoirs, only two plans for Kızılcabölük and Çal have been documented in archives.

In Denizli, the motivations and insprations for Egli in planning the rural town were again the landscape and ancient built-environment in which people practiced their livelihood, and customs dominated by nature. Although his task was to complete a methodical town plan, he observed the necessities and demands of local people and sought to improve the existing settlements in accordance with the contribution of the settlers. But, his ideas were also framed by law: the law of Municipal Buildings and Roads enacted on June 10th 1933, numbered 2290,[622] determined the size, type, and location of the building sites, as well as the width of roads according to European approaches, particularly French and German principles. Egli's plans were also consistent with municipal regulations and legislative instructions.[623]

His first visit was to Tavas on the southern site of the city centre. Egli found Tavas as a typical Islamic town, later introduced in his book *Geschichte des Städtebaues.*[624] He pointed out the organic arrangement of the streets and drives, with houses behind high walls facing the streets in order to maintain privacy and to cool the gardens and courtyards inside the walls. All the buildings in the town looked as colorful as "mosaics", varying and adapting to the Anatolian landscape without any geometrical order. Egli's first goals were to preserve the long-established life and its architectonic pattern in the town and furnish it with modern facilities. From his first observations, he realized that the traditional texture of the settlement would be destroyed by a plan in accordance with municipal law and its instructions. Nonetheless, he prepared the plan, following the law and maintaining the original patterns as much as the law allowed. Egli was not as satisfied

[622] TBMM, *Belediye Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu*, 1933, pp. 2755–60 <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/2433.pdf>.
[623] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', pp. 91–92.
[624] Within the second band of *Geschichte des Städtebaues* Egli introduced the city development and the characteristics in the medieval period in the European, Islamic, East Asian, African and American contexts. Ernst Egli, *Geschichte des Städtebaues, das Mittelalter*, 3 vols (Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1962), II.

with the operation in Tavas as he was with the projects for Kale, Yeşil Yayla, Çivril, Kızılcabölük and Çal.[625]

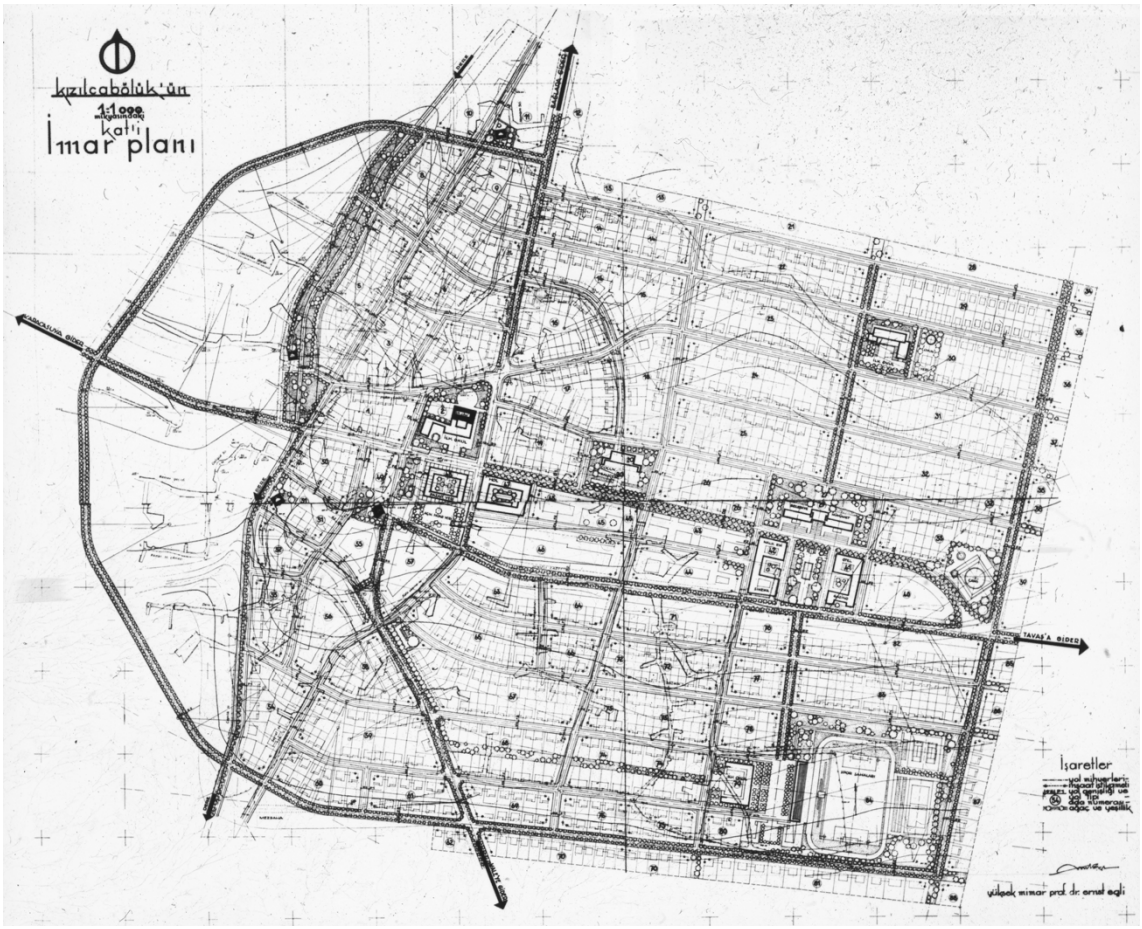


**Figure 5.10.** Town Plan of Kızılcabölük, Denizli, Ernst Egli, 1939. (ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv). [626]

The plans for Kızılcabölük (in the south of Denizli) and Çal (in the northeast of Denizli) were based on the idea to connect the town centre to the outer surrounding settlements. In both projects the main axis was predominantly drawn within a scheme encircling the settlement. In Kızılcabölük the major focus of the planning was along the roads on the West-East and North-South axis. The West-East axis was crossed by North-South axis twice on the edges, generating two centres in these intersection areas. Along the West-East road, the eastern core was arranged with new buildings, including the People's

[625] In his memoirs Ernst Egli states the planning process as an unsatisfactory experience. His first draft was directly implemented by the town municipality without any official confirmation from the ministry. Therefore, he had to alter the official plans in accordance with the practice that also disappointed him a lot. Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', pp. 93–94.
[626] Ernst Egli, 'Bebauungsplan Kisilcabölük' (194 393, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv, 1939).

House, cinema, hotel, municipality and governorate offices, directly connected via the extension of a green area towards the old mosque on the eastern edge. A primary school, bazaar area and market place were placed on the other side on the western edge. A sports court and another school were located on the south east of the town. The residential areas were organized in orderly building plots parallel to the main axis. Single houses and row houses were treated as dwelling typologies, arranged in gardens. On the western part of the town, Ernst Egli proposed to maintain the older urban pattern and to connect this area to the main axis and the town centre on the eastern part.

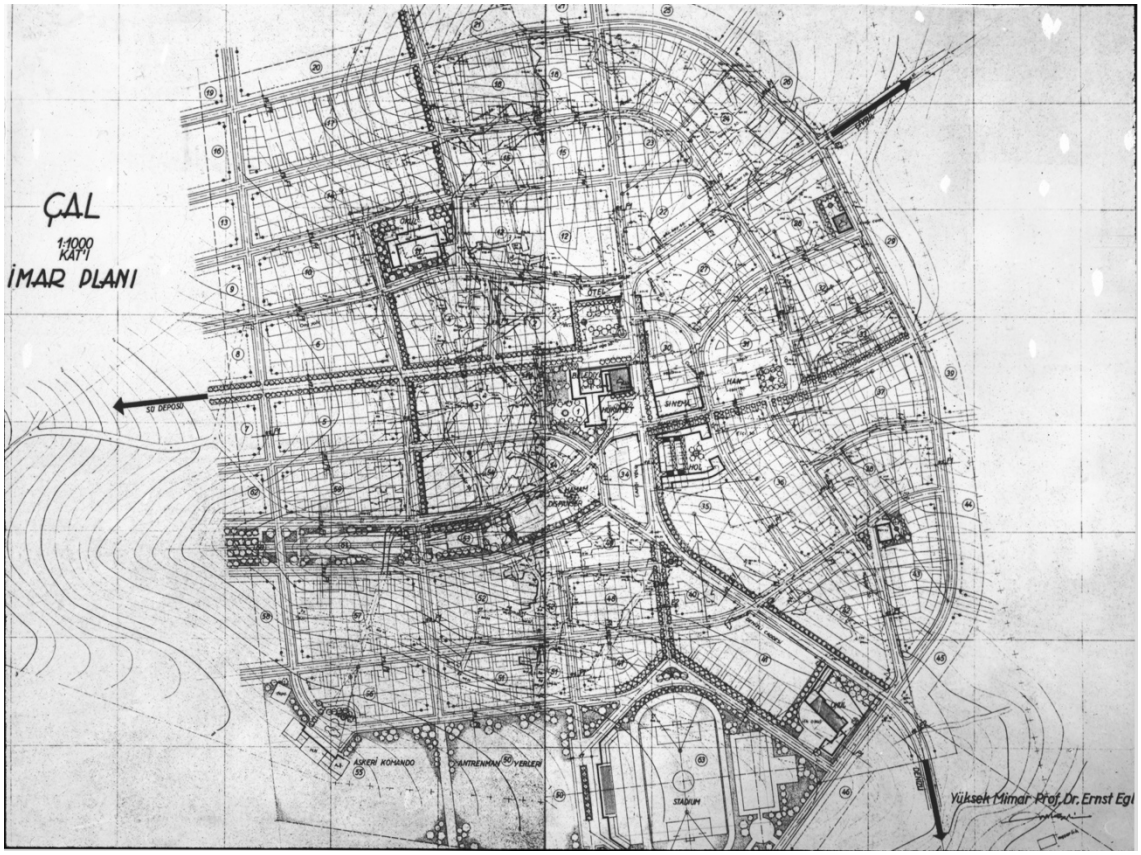


**Figure 5.11.** Town Plan of Çal, Denizli, Ernst Egli, 1939. (ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv).[627]

A similar concept was followed in the planning scheme of Çal. The core of the plan was organized along the North-South axis, crossing secondary roads on West-East direction, and generating the public core. The town center was placed in one of these intersection points and was accessible to the other settlements in the district. Unlike Kızılcabölük, in

[627] Ernst Egli, 'Bebauungsplan Tschal' (194 394, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv, 1939).

Çal the public facilities were organized in one area that emerged as the heart of the town with the People's House, municipality, governorate, cinema, hotel, bazaar, marketplace, hospital, hammam, and school. On the south west of the scheme a military complex and a stadium were located. The residential area was placed around the town center towards the periphery, following a similar idea in housing typology.

The rural town planning and practices demonstrated a model for modernity and organizational pattern in contrast to traditional life in the countryside. Although the plans did not completely follow from Ernst Egli's romanticized impressions from his first visits, they became significant archetypes for rural town planning conducted by the Ministry of Public Works in the following years. Moreover, the urbanization projects of Anatolian towns and cities that Ernst Egli contributed to during the last years of the his first time in Turkey between 1927 and 1940, heralded his career as a city planner and urban theorist much more than his status as an architect. Egli acknowledged that on one hand he felt devoted to these projects, on the other urban planning practices in Turkey were preparation for his professional life that resumed first in Switzerland, and continued in Lebanon, Turkey and Switzerland again.[628]

### 5.2.7. Rethinking the Turkish Village: Ernst Egli and the UN Project in Turkey, 1953-1955

Starting in 1953, Turkey and the United Nations operated an organization project for public works in Middle Eastern countries in accordance with a development plan for the region. In the School of Political Science the Ankara Public Administration Institute for Turkey and the Middle East was established for the project. From 1953 to 1955 Ernst Egli was assigned by United Nations to this project as the urbanization expert in Turkey. Until 1955 Egli presented a lecture series for urbanization with an emphasis on village planning, underwent and recorded three excursions in Anatolia in 1954 and 1955, and reported on the interim housing problem in Turkey in 1954.

[628] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', p. 95.

Ernst Egli's lectures *Şehir ve Köy Planlaması* – City and Village Planning, started in 1953[629], consisted of theoretical introductions to urban planning themes, however for the first time the emphasis of the subject matter was village planning. During the lectures on village planning, Egli presented ideas on organization of the village in accordance with economic, social and cultural structures of the rural community. The basic principles of village development were to improve accessibility via transportation and to equip the agrarian area with modern techniques and machinery. Egli defined the objectives of management of these principles in five steps: One, the village area develops spatially. Two, the settlement area of the village largens. Three, the land is cultivated collectively and efficiently. Four, the village community produces and trades more goods and thus incomes increases. Five, the social needs of the village increase. With this growth scheme in mind, Egli addressed the possibilities for planning the Turkish village and developing design methods for village houses.[630]

Village planning for Egli involved two different tasks: First, the establishment of new villages as rural settlement areas grew due to internal policies and migration. Second, the reformation and development of existing villages. Building sites of the new villages were decided considering sanitation, geographical convenience, accessibility, compatibility with available resources (the building materials), and land productivity. The new villages would also assist population policies that aimed to settle immigrants strategically. For the second task, the reformation of the existing villages should be achieved using the analysis of each area and according to the particular necessities and demands of the villagers. This analysis included the dwelling types, the social core of the villages, the center of agriculture cooperatives in the villages, and overall form of the villages.[631]

Moreover, Turkish villages were constructed by the settlers themselves. In other words, the villagers had the know-how and conventional wisdom to build their houses. Egli pointed to this fact as a significant utility in public works in the villages. However the

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[629] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', pp. 252–53. Ernst Egli presented the lecture notes also in the conference "*Köyün Memleket Planlamasındaki Rolü* – The place of the Village in the Country Planning" held on 7th June-12th June 1954 in Ankara. See Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', p. 263.

[630] Ernst Egli, 'Türkiyeve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü, 1953-1954 Ders Yılı Şehircilik ve Köy Planlaması Ders Notları' (TU 337, Library of Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1953), pp. 33–34.

[631] Ernst Egli, 'Türkiyeve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü, 1953-1954 Ders Yılı Şehircilik ve Köy Planlaması Ders Notları', pp. 36–38, 41.

villages still needed to be organized and directed in the construction process. The customary methods could be improved using cheaper and more durable techniques, and modern hygiene standards could be also implemented in the building tradition in the villages.[632]

Following his lectures in the School of Political Science, Ernst Egli consulted on the commission for housing research in Ankara University in the Urban Planning Institute with a focus on documentation and improvement of the urban house. In the Agriculture Faculty his focus was on materials and construction systems in rural housing. In addition to these, Ernst Egli's research also concentrated on the introduction of regional planning as well as possibilities for the development of tourism in particular areas. [633]

The survey team, Ernst Egli and other professionals and state officials, went on three excursions to Anatolian cities, small rural towns and villages from 1954 to 1955. The first trip in February 1954 included the southwest Anatolian cities Burdur, Antalya, Muğla, Aydın, and from İzmir the group travelled back to Ankara. Egli visited the governorates, settlement directors, and tourism directors in the cities and observed local life and the historical and geographical landscape.[634] The route of the second trip, started one year later in February 1955, was to southern Anatolia. Egli sent the governorates a questionnaire requesting information about housing problems, regional planning principles, possibilities for tourism, and conditions of the villages. Together with his assistant Kenan Taşpınar, Ernst Egli visited Adana, Tarsus, Mersin, Iskenderun, Antakya, Gaziantep, and Kahramanmaraş. In this instance as well, the excursion predominantly included archaeological and historical sites, rural towns and villages.[635]

The last trip in June and July 1955 was to the northern and northeastern Anatolia, starting from Samsun and continuing along the Black Sea coast from Giresun, Trabzon and Artvin in the eastward, then to Kars, Erzurum, Gümüşhane, Erzincan, Sivas, Tokat and Amasya. Maintaining the same objectives of previous excursions, this time Ernst Egli also prepared

[632] Ernst Egli, 'Türkiyeve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü, 1953-1954 Ders Yılı Şehircilik ve Köy Planlaması Ders Notları', pp. 43–44.
[633] Ernst Egli, 'The Preliminary Study on the Problem of Housing in Turkey' (Hs 785 159, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Universitätsarchiv, 1954), p. 10; Erst Egli, 'Drei Reisen in Antatolien. Vortrag in der Gesellschaft Turco-Suisse, Zürich 7.Okt.1963' (Hs 785 67, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Universitätsarchiv, 1963), p. 3.
[634] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', pp. 254–62; Erst Egli, pp. 5–6.
[635] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', pp. 287–314.

cartograms to mark his results after visiting each city in order to develop an overall picture of Turkey. He categorized the material according historical monuments and their physical states, settlement and housing conditions, transportation, agriculture and tourism possibilities.[636]

In between the Anatolia excursions, Ernst Egli prepared two documents for the United Nations regarding the housing situation in Turkey. The first was the preliminary study that documented the state of housing stock and standards in Turkey, focusing not only on the cities but also the small rural towns and villages. The first challenge of this research was determining the number of dwellings in towns and villages. Estimations showed one million dwellings in 485 towns populated by over 5 million (including dwellers in urban and rural towns), and 2.5-3 million dwellings in 34252 villages populated by over 15 million. According to the survey in the villages, the owners completed the design and the construction of the dwelling with local accessible and cheap materials like stone, mud brick or wood. It was also noted that "Generally the houses in the villages are characterized by lack of modern and hygienic conditions, heating and light means are very primitive."[637] On the other hand, in the towns, which were directly administrated by the municipalities, the condition of the houses were controlled and organized. The urban infrastructure was also much more advanced than the infrastructures in the villages.[638]

The survey demonstrated that the most influential factor impacting housing standards was financial means. Because of "the absence of a strong and direct state policy" people had to organize living conditions and housing standards according to their incomes. Additionally, the influx of people from rural towns and villages to the largest towns and cities led to uncontrolled dwelling areas without sanitary conditions and town planning regulations. Although there had been legislative attempts such as municipality, village and settlement laws, state and municipal interventions for public housing had not been

[636] Ernst Egli, 'Im Dienste zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst, Erinnerungen', pp. 337–52; Erst Egli, pp. 7–10.
[637] Ernst Egli, 'The Preliminary Study on the Problem of Housing in Turkey', p. 3.
[638] Ernst Egli, 'The Preliminary Study on the Problem of Housing in Turkey', pp. 1–3.

planned and operated comprehensively in Turkey.[639] This also caused uncontrolled standards and problems in housing.[640]

Furthermore, this research also briefly laid out the current conditions of the production of building materials used in housing construction, the capacity of building industry, material resources and labor, building regulations and financial methods.[641]

On February 26th, 1954 Ernst Egli prepared another document based on his research. The interim report was presented in two parts, one for rural dwellings and the other for urban dwellings. The problem of rural dwellings was introduced relating to the demographic program maintained since early 1930s. Egli described implementations of new rural settlements without considering planning principles or the necessary conditions in the existing villages:

> The increase in the Turkish population is due to the favorable development of this country since Kemal Atatürk's reforms, and further to the population policy of government; for a minor part also due to the settlement of Turkish immigrants from other countries (especially from Bulgaria). The settlement problem, although only its initial stage, does therefore exist. As far as I know, the immigrants were placed after each case had been discussed on its own merits, and not according to existing projects developed and coordinated through national and regional planning. There is hardly any question of the settlement problem meaning the replacement of existing villages, which are unfavorably situated under poor economic conditions, by better and newly planned villages, although (according to the author), this will present one of the greater tasks in the future.[642]

In his report, Ernst Egli presents a housing pattern in the villages that exclusively consisted of single houses constructed in local materials like clay, brick, wood and stone. The number of the rooms varied from one to more. The dwelling forms alternated due to the changing landscape, climate and the physical conditions of topography. The variety of forms and concepts in the rural dwelling did not allow for the schematization of a model village house. Egli declared: "Building material, climate and topography, plus the conditions of life and the acquired differenced in the population groups according to their

[639] The report also exemplified the specific housing attempts of the state such as housing for immigrants (referring to the planned rural settlements), and housing for factory workers; 10000 dwellings completed in 1955. Ernst Egli, 'The Preliminary Study on the Problem of Housing in Turkey', p. 5.
[640] Ernst Egli, 'The Preliminary Study on the Problem of Housing in Turkey', pp. 4–5.
[641] Ernst Egli, 'The Preliminary Study on the Problem of Housing in Turkey', pp. 8–13.
[642] Ernst Egli, 'Interim Report on the Housing Problem' (Hs 785 156, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Universitätsarchiv, 1954), p. 2.

origin, contribute also towards the diversification of the picture."[643] Moreover, for Ernst Egli poverty in the villages also represented another challenge. Although the villages were traditionally adaptable to their physical circumstances, they lacked modern sanitary equipment.[644]

In order to develop housing concepts for rural dwellings, Ernst Egli analyzed peasants' houses, which were "generally built by the peasants themselves, with the assistance of their family, [relatives] and neighbors."[645] He pointed out that the design process of the houses were grounded in the necessities of the owner, furnishing the main body with additional annexes without considering any geometrical order. Egli supposed that this traditional approach to architecture was also followed in larger complexes as well as in old towns and villages. Therefore, he proposed considering this fact in village planning, in contrast to earlier projects: "The principle of one main building as a starting point is not new to the Turk. Every village project should, in the future, take into consideration that what now exists – in whatever form it may be – can be and will be only starting point of what is to come. Houses standing in a row are less suitable for this purpose than single houses or courtyards with the possibilities for expansion."[646]

Egli defined the village house using five characteristics that would be maintained in future village planning: One, the variation of present rural dwellings and village types. Two, local building materials and techniques. Three, self sufficiency of the villagers. Four, "nuclear" building, such as the village house, with the possibilities of extensions. And five, choosing more efficient settlement sites for new villages related to country planning. He highlighted that, first of all, planning of the new villages should be based on a deep analysis and observation of local cultural and traditional frameworks. This analysis and observation should also include the techniques and building materials currently used. He also suggested organizing a group of mentors and state officials visiting the villages to instruct the villagers how to construct their own houses and to provide materials for improving the conditions of the houses.[647]

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[643] Ernst Egli, 'Interim Report on the Housing Problem', p. 2.
[644] Ernst Egli, 'Interim Report on the Housing Problem', p. 3.
[645] Ernst Egli, 'Interim Report on the Housing Problem', p. 3.
[646] Ernst Egli, 'Interim Report on the Housing Problem', p. 3.
[647] Ernst Egli, 'Interim Report on the Housing Problem', pp. 3–4.

Egli stressed the urgent situation in the villages and rural dwellings:

> … in spite of the fact that well informed [educated] Turkish experts have stressed the necessity to bring lodging and working conditions in the Turkish village to higher level, and in spite of individual efforts and model villages (which are often anything but that), Turkey still faces the enormous task of improving the standard of living in the country. It must be said that since Atatürk's time, there has not been a government that has been fully conscious of this task. The needs of the Turkish Republic, however, are exceedingly numerous and an enormous amount of preparatory work has already been done which aims at improving, first of all, the economic status of the peasant in order to enable him to think with some chance of success of improvement of his village. It seems that now the time has come to start the necessary organisation and scientific preliminaries, in order to carry through a plan without failure and set-backs.[648]

Ernst Egli's report on rural dwelling from 1954 emerged as a significant document about not only the Turkish village and its general aspects, but also the planned rural settlements and population program which gained momentum after the mid 1930s. Although Egli appreciated the overall modernization program of republican cadre, he was critical of the new settlements, as they did not have the spatial peculiarities to recreate the sustainability of Anatolian village life. Egli observed that the village community in Turkey varied in socio-cultural and economic terms echoed in the building tradition. In another report on Village Administration, Ernst Egli categorized the village community by socio-cultural and economic criteria. Egli deliberately argued that the conditions of the physical place (the climate, topography and geographical aspects) played a crucial role in establishing socio-cultural and economic customs in the village. Consequently the socio-culture and economy as well as the landscape were fundamental determinants for forming the built-environment.[649] Therefore, instead of "houses standing in a row", referring to the ideal villages built in the 1930s, variety should be also considered in architectural forms derived from the village livelihood in Anatolia.

During his second period in Turkey, Ernst Egli contributed to country planning with a focus on rural areas and villages through lectures, excursions and research. He clearly toned the urgency of country planning grounded in physical circumstances in the varying regions of Anatolia. Furthermore, village planning became for Egli the most crucial factor in country planning since in the mid-1950s. The majority was still settling in rural towns

[648] Ernst Egli, 'Interim Report on the Housing Problem', p. 4.
[649] Ernst Egli, 'Köylerin Idaresinde Bazi Ana Meseleler' (Hs 785 160, ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Universitätsarchiv, 1954), pp. 2–4.

and villages, continuing the predominance of rural culture in daily lives. Instead of transforming the rural into the urban, Ernst Egli concentrated on the dimensions of culture in the villages and village community, as well as in the other forms of rural settlements. He introduced village planning in architectural, economic and administrative frameworks by bringing forth detailed observations about rural people and their urgencies and demands. Therefore, Egli deliberately criticized the "ideal village" concept in which the state did not consider the physical, cultural and sociological contexts of the place during its implementation.[650] He disagreed with forming prototypes for Turkish villages and village houses, since they varied due to the changing geographical conditions, climate, customs, economic and cultural livelihoods. In sum, Ernst Egli idealized Turkey's land within its traditional and cultural context, and sought a formula to modernize the remaining Anatolian landscape.

### 5.3. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky and the School Projects for Turkish Villages

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, in addition to Ernst Reuter and Ernst Egli, was another significant figure who contributed in forming the village in early republican Turkey. During her short residency in Turkey between 1938 and 1940, Margarette Schütte-Lihotzky designed different building programs but the one of the most compelling was for architectural school buildings in the Anatolian villages. Her design approach established the architectural principles and building program in the village institutes that emerged during the 1940s.

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky's contribution to architecture and her personal history have been introduced personally and by researchers in several instances.[651] Here, the focus is

[650] Ernst Egli, 'Türkiyeve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü, 1953-1954 Ders Yılı Şehircilik ve Köy Planlaması Ders Notları', p. 35.

[651] The studies about Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky differ in emphasis between her biography and her architectural personality and works. Her exile memoirs were edited by Chup Friemert and published in 1985. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, *Erinnerungen aus dem Widerstand 1938-1945*, ed. by Chup Friemert, 1. Auflage (Berlin: Verlages Volk und Welt, 1985). Karin Zogmayer collected her memoirs before the exile years. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde*, ed. by Karin Zogmayer (Salzburg: Residenz-Verl, 2004). Renate Allmayer-Beck, Susanne Baumgartner-Haindl, Marion Lindler-Gross and Christine Zwingl presented her works from a wide perspective including her residencies in different countries. Renate Allmayer-Beck and others, *Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Soziale Architektur Zeitzeugin eines Jarhhunderts*, ed. by Peter Noever, MAK (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1996). And Edith Friedl introduced a comparison of architectural perspectives between Adolf Loos and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky in 2005.Edith Friedl, *Nie Erlag Ich seiner Persönlichkeit: Margarete Lihotzky und Adolf Loos, Ein sozial-*

on school projects for Anatolian villages, with the aim to demonstrate her influence on the planning of the Turkish village and village community during the late 1930s and beginning of the 1940s.

### 5.3.1. Biography

Margarete Lihotzky was born in 1897 as a daughter of a state officer and a housewife in Vienna. From 1915 to 1919 she studied architecture in the Vienna School of Arts and Crafts – *K. K. Kunstgewerbeschule* (later University of Applied Arts Vienna – *Universität für angewändte Kunst Wien).* She participated in the design classes of Oskar Strnad, arts and craft classes of Josef Hoffmann and the building construction classes of Heinrich Tessenow. When she was still an architecture student in 1917, Margarete Lihotzky won the Max Mauther prize with her proposal for the kitchen-diner in suburban houses in Vienna. In summer 1918 she began her first architectural practice in the office of her professor Oskar Strnad. They worked together on a theater project for Max Reinhardt in Berlin. In the fall of 1919 Lihotzky graduated from the Architecture School in the University of Applied Arts Vienna with a design project of cultural complex. For this she won Lobmeyr Prize, awarded for the first time to a woman architect. During her education she became acquainted with acclaimed actors of avant-garde art and architecture from the beginning of 20th Century such as Oskar Kokoschka, Kolo Moser, Anton Hanak, Rudolf Larisch and Adolf Loos, in addition to her teachers Strnad, Hoffmann and Tessenow.[652]

After graduation Margarete Lihotzky began to work independently designing interiors, especially kitchens. In December 1919 she participated in a program for undernourished Viennese children after the First World War in Rotterdam, Holland. Half of the day she gave drawing lessons to the children, the other half of the day she worked in an

*und kulturgeschichtlicher Vergleich*, Feministische Theorie, 47 (Wien: Milena, 2005). See also the exhibition catalogue, *Ich bin keine Küche: Gegenwartsgeschichten aus dem Nachlass von Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky; [Ausstellung]*, ed. by Patrick Werkner and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (Wien: Univ. für Angewandte Kunst, 2008). The *Frankfurter Küche* has been introduced several times within the historiography of modern architecture. See the catalogue, *Die Frankfurter Küche: eine museale Gebrauchsanweisung*, ed. by Renate Flagmeier and Fabian Ludovico, Schaukasten, 1, 2. Aufl (Berlin: Werkbundarchiv - Museum der Dinge, 2013). And her contribution in Turkey's architectural culture has been introduced by scholars like Bernd Nikolai and Burcu Doğramacı, see Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil*, pp. 235–41; Dogramaci, *Kulturtransfer und Nationale Identität*, pp. 107–12.

[652] Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde*, pp. 13–32; Allmayer-Beck and others, pp. 17–19, 269–70. For a further reading on her relations with Adolf Loos see also Friedl.

architecture office in Rotterdam. Until she returned back into Vienna in summer 1920, Lihotzky assisted in housing projects for suburban areas of Rotterdam.[653]

In 1920 Lihotzky was invited by garden architect Alois Berger to join a competition for a garden planning and housing project in Schafberg, Vienna. Lihotzky was tasked with designing the general organization of the building site and dwellings. She concentrated on the rational, economical techniques with the use of easily producible and accessible materials in details of the project, bringing them the fourth place prize.[654]

The Settlers' Movement during the years of World War I in Vienna had addressed the settlement problem and new solutions for housing in the city. During the first years of her return in Vienna, Lihotzky educated within this milieu and worked in the projects of dwellings, workers' houses, and interior organization in small houses. In 1921 she was tasked with a project for a non-profit housing cooperative for Austrians handicapped in the war, the settlement *Friedenstadt* in Lainzer Tiergarten in Vienna. The project was directed by several architects including Adolf Loos. After her task in the Lanzier Tiergarten, Ernst Egli offered Lihotzky the chance to participate in another housing project in Eden. She was responsible for site organization and the school project in the settlement.[655]

In March 1922, Margerete Lihotzky was assigned to the architecture office of the Austrian Society for Settlement and Garden Allotment – *Österreichischen Verbandes für Siedlungs- und Kleingartenwesen.* The organization worked as a project center for settlement societies in Austria. It was responsible for planning settlement constructions and house typologies, and involving the settler in consultations in the formation process. Margarete Lihotzky's duty was the organization of the site plan, design of dwelling typologies, and the rationalization of domestic economy. She particularly contributed to the projects with kitchen plans and furniture designs. In 1924, Lihotzky participated in a design group, including the architects Peter Behrens, Adolf Loos, and Josef Hoffmann, for a large public housing complex in Winarskyhof, Vienna supported by the Austrian

[653] Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde*, pp. 36–38.
[654] Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde*, pp. 36–38; Allmayer-Beck and others, pp. 19, 270.
[655] Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde*, pp. 51–57, 71–72; Allmayer-Beck and others, pp. 21–22, 270.

Society for Settlement and Garden Allotment. She planned 60 dwellings as a part of this project, which consisted of 700 social houses.[656]

After the end of Settlers' Movement in Vienna by the end of 1925, Lihotzky was recommended to the Department of Construction in Frankfurt am Main by Ernst May, of the city council for architecture, whom Margerete Lihotzky met in Vienna. Under the directorship of Eugen Kaufmann, Lihotzky was again responsible for dwelling projects and interior organization, rationalization of households and their implementation in design. In addition to her official duty, she also participated in housing projects lead by Eugen Kaufmann and Ernst May in Frankfurt, where she put her ideas about kitchen in the practice.[657]

In 1927, Lihotzky presented her well-known design, The Frankfurt Kitchen – *Die Frankfurter Küche*" in the exhibition "The New Dwelling and its Interior – *Die neue Wohnung und ihr Innenausbau*" in Frankfurt. The model was selected from five other prototypes that Lihotzky presented in the Union of Housewives of Frankfurt.[658] In the mean time, she also married her colleague Wilhelm Schütte with whom she developed new projects for kitchens for schools, laundries, and kindergartens in the new settlements in Frankfurt. In 1929, she participated in the CIAM Congress, themed *Existenzminimum* and directed by Ernst May. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky and Wilhelm Schütte proposed a project for the exhibition.[659]

Starting in 1930, Margarete Schütte Lihotzky's architectural profession shifted from dwellings and households organizations to children's facilities, though she also participated in designing two-family houses in the settlement of Austrian *Werkbund* for the architect Josef Frank's project until 1932. She joined Moscow's urban planning

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[656] Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde*, pp. 88–104; Allmayer-Beck and others, pp. 23, 25–28, 271.

[657] Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde*, pp. 113–17; Allmayer-Beck and others, pp. 75–76, 271–72. For a further reading on Ernst May and his works in Frankfurt see also Helen Barr, Ulrike May, and Rahel Welsen, *Das neue Frankfurt: Spaziergänge durch die Siedlungen Ernst Mays und die Architektur seiner Zeit; [Wohnviertel und herausragende Einzelgebäude; 1925 - 1930]* (Frankfurt, M: B3 Verlag, 2007).

[658] Flagmeier and Ludovico; Gerd Kühn, *Wohnkultur und kommunale Wohnungspolitik in Frankfurt Am Main 1880 Bis 1930: Auf dem Wege zu einer Pluralen Gesellschaft der Individuen*, Veröffentlichungen Des Instituts für Sozialgeschichte e.V. Braunschweig-Bonn (Bonn: Dietz, 1998), pp. 142–67.

[659] *CIAM: Internationale Kongresse für neues Bauen, Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne: Dokumente 1928-1939*, ed. by Martin Steinmann, Schriftenreihe - Institut für Geschichte und Theorie der Architektur an der Eidgenössischen Technischen Hochschule Zürich, Bd. 11 (Basel [etc.]: Birkhäuser, 1979), pp. 66–69; Kühn, pp. 185–94.

program for which Ernst May directed the architectural organization. The design group, wihch included city planners, engineers, architects from Frankfurt, maintained projects for new suburban settlements equipped with rationalized housing concepts. Within the whole program, from 1930 to 1933, it was Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky who dealt with children's institutions, such as prototypes for kindergartens, day-care centers, buildings for children clubs, etc., particularly within the urban planning of the industrial city Magnitogorsk. In 1934, the Schüttes travelled to China and Japan where they visited the architect Bruno Taut. When they returned back to the Soviet Union, during the next two years Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky worked in the Architecture Academy in Moscow, designing furniture for children and planning two schools in Makeyevka with Wilhelm Schütte. Between 1936 and 1937, she developed prototypes for kindergarten and day-care units and designed furniture for different institutions.[660]

In 1937, the Schüttes left the Soviet Union for Paris with architect Hans Schmidt. Their experiences in the Soviet Union and their socialist vision did not allow them to return to Germany or Austria where National Socialism dominated the political climate. Additionally, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky and Wilhelm Schütte participated in establishment of Austrian Communist Party in Paris in 1937. This association resulted in their exile first in London in 1938, and then, with the help of Bruno Taut, in Turkey. She was assigned to the Ministry of National Education of Turkey and planned prototypes for village schools. Until her return to Vienna in the end of 1940, she planned two private houses, an extension building for Ernst Egli's Girls' Institute in Ankara, and a temporary monument for the 15th anniversary of the republic in Istanbul. For Schütte-Lihotzky "Istanbul was a relatively secure connection, transit-point on the way to Soviet-Union for comrades."[661, 662]

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky left the "secure place" in order to join the Nazi-opposition in Vienna, but was imprisoned by *Gestapo* until the end of the World War II. After she

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[660] Schütte-Lihotzky, *Warum ich Architektin wurde*, pp. 207–16; Allmayer-Beck and others, pp. 126–45. For a further reading on Ernst May's tasks in the Soviet Union between 1930 and 1933 see also *Standardstädte: Ernst May in der Sowjetunion 1930 - 1933; Texte und Dokumente; mit Abbildungen*, ed. by Thomas Flierl, Anne E. Flierdl, and Ernst May, Edition Suhrkamp, 2643, Orig.-Ausg., 1. Aufl (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2012).

[661] Schütte-Lihotzky, *Erinnerungen aus dem Widerstand 1938-1945*, p. 51.

[662] Schütte-Lihotzky, *Erinnerungen aus dem Widerstand 1938-1945*, pp. 47–50; Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil*, pp. 235–41; Dogramaci, *Kulturtransfer und Nationale Identität*, pp. 107–12.

was released in 1945, she continued to work as an architect. In 1946, she left Vienna for another project for children facilities in the Municipal Planning and Building Office in Sofia, Bulgaria. She planned several kindergartens, day-care centers, and she developed design instructions for kindergartens and day-cares.

In the post war years, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky was involved in the reformation process in Austria, maintaining the socialist tone of her political vision. She became the president of the Union of Democratic Women of Austria – *Organisation des Bundes Demokratischer Frauen Österreichs,* and remained in this position until 1969. She oversaw projects for children facilities as an expert and planned public buildings and participated in competitions during the 1950s and 1960s. Schütte-Lihotzky was also associated with the post-war organizations CIAM and UIA. She went on study trips: in 1956 to China, and in 1961 and 1963, to Cuba. In China, she was assigned by the United Nations to analyze Chinese city development. She published her research in the book "Million's Cities of China – *Millionenstädte Chinas"* in 1958[663]. In Cuba she consulted for the Ministry of Education on buildings and facilities for children. In 1966, she conducted a research project in the Architecture Academy of the German Democratic Republic – *DDR Bauakademie,* comparing kindergarten typologies in GDR and international contexts. She developed a derivable geometrical construction system for kindergartens. During 1970s and1980s, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky was invited to several conferences and lectures in Europe. She actively continued her participation in the architecture milieu until she died in Vienna in 2000 when she was 103 years old.[664]

### 5.3.2. Building for Anatolian Children: Prototypes for Village Schools

From August 1938 to June 1939, Margerete Schütte-Lihotzky worked in the architecture and construction office of the Ministry of National Education of Turkey, where Ernst Egli maintained the same position from 1927 to 1936. As an expert in school buildings, Lihotzky was tasked with primary school projects in the Anatolian villages. In her duty in the ministry, she participated in village planning with a spatial proposal for school,

[663] Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, *Millionenstädte Chinas: Bilder und Reisetagebuch einer Architektin (1958)*, ed. by Karin Zogmayer, 1. Aufl (Wien: Springer, 2007).
[664] Allmayer-Beck and others, pp. 193–234, 274–76.

which was to create not only the education center in the village, but also would represent a significant monument of the state.

She pointed out in her writings on village schools that the focus on public education in Turkey necessitated new schools in different forms and scales. In order to fulfill this necessity, the state had implemented several policies, especially in the countryside. However, in the villages the construction of a school, which was often the only public building, was conducted by the villagers themselves. Schütte-Lihotzky declared, "Rightly, the village [community] is proud of their school, which represents a significant step forward, despite some mistakes and wrong implementations that can still be observed in the project and construction."[665]

In the end of 1930s, the poverty of Anatolian rural was still a dominating factor and the conditions in the villages remained underdeveloped compared to cities and larger towns. Therefore Schütte-Lihotzky highlighted that village schools must be planned in accordance with the simplest concept in order to be operated without qualified labor. She maintained the traditional work-organization that the villagers engaged in, meaning traditional techniques in the construction, though with some prefabricated methods and materials.[666]

Schütte-Lihotzky proposed village school typologies that varied depending on the landscape, climate, traditional and local building materials, and also depending on the size and population of the village or small rural town. Moreover, she took into account the idea of agricultural education in the village schools, which was another debate of the 1930s and improved by the Village Institutes in the 1940s. According to Schütte-Lihotzky the type of agrarian activities in the village would have also influence on the design of the schools.[667]

Following that, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky introduced typologies in seven different sizes: three plans with one classroom, three plans with two classrooms, and one plan for three classrooms that also varied in capacity. The overall concept was grounded in variety of size and capacity, the expandability of buildings, efficiency of light and climate in the

[665] Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Schulen auf dem Lande' (Universität für Angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv [Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky], 1939).
[666] Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Schulen auf dem Lande'.
[667] Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Schulen auf aem Lande'.

interior design, affordability and simple construction with local materials and techniques. She thoroughly categorized the climate circumstances in the different zones of Anatolia, especially in northern and southern regions. Thus, the orientations of the classroom should be alternating in accordance with the physical conditions where they are built. Additionally, the construction methods were distinguished by four materials: timber (especially in the northern regions), clay masonry, stone masonry and brick masonry.[668] **(Figure 5.12, Figure 5.13, Figure 5.14, Figure 5.15)**

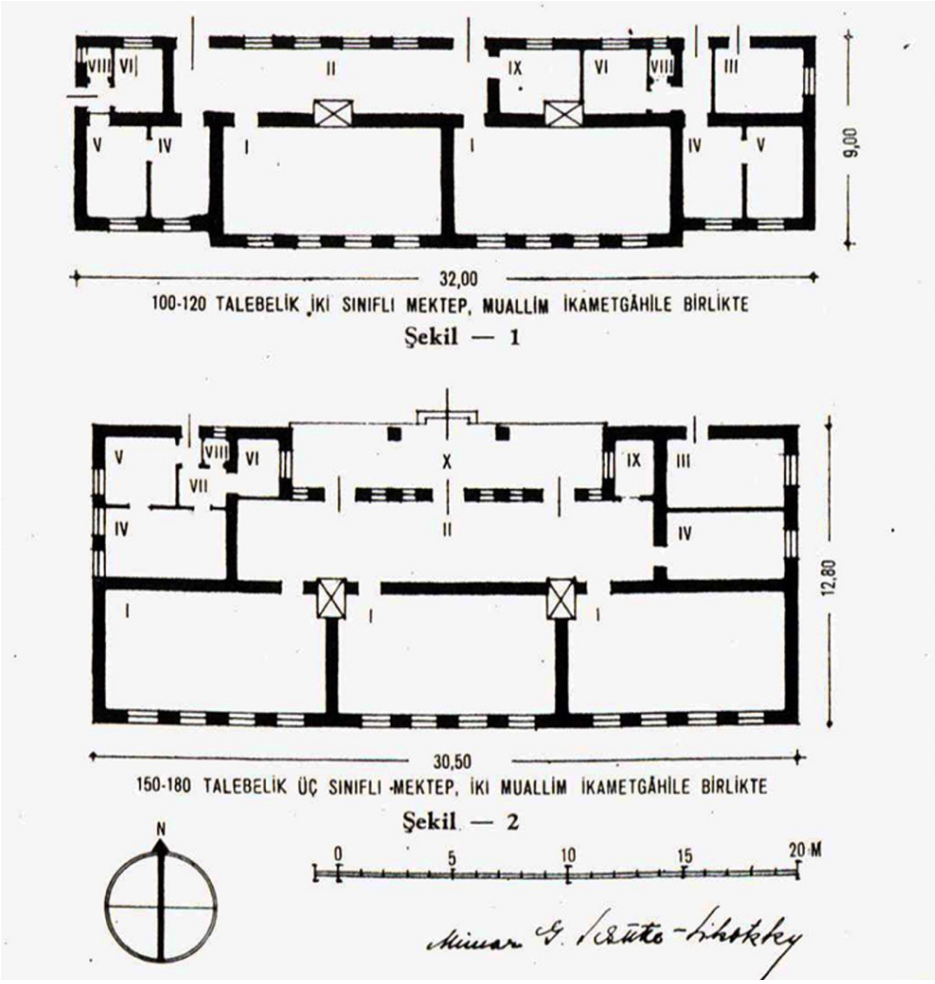


**Figure 5.12.** A prototype for 100-120 students (top), and another prototype for 150-180 students (bottom), Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 1938. (Universität für Angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv) [669]

[668] Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Dorfschulen für Anatolien' (Universität für Angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv [Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky], 1939), pp. 1–4; Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Schulen auf dem Lande' (Universität für Angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv [Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky], 1939).

[669] Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Yeni Köy Okulları ve Bina Tipleri Üzerine Bir Deneme, Istanbul' (Universität für Angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv [Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky], 1938).

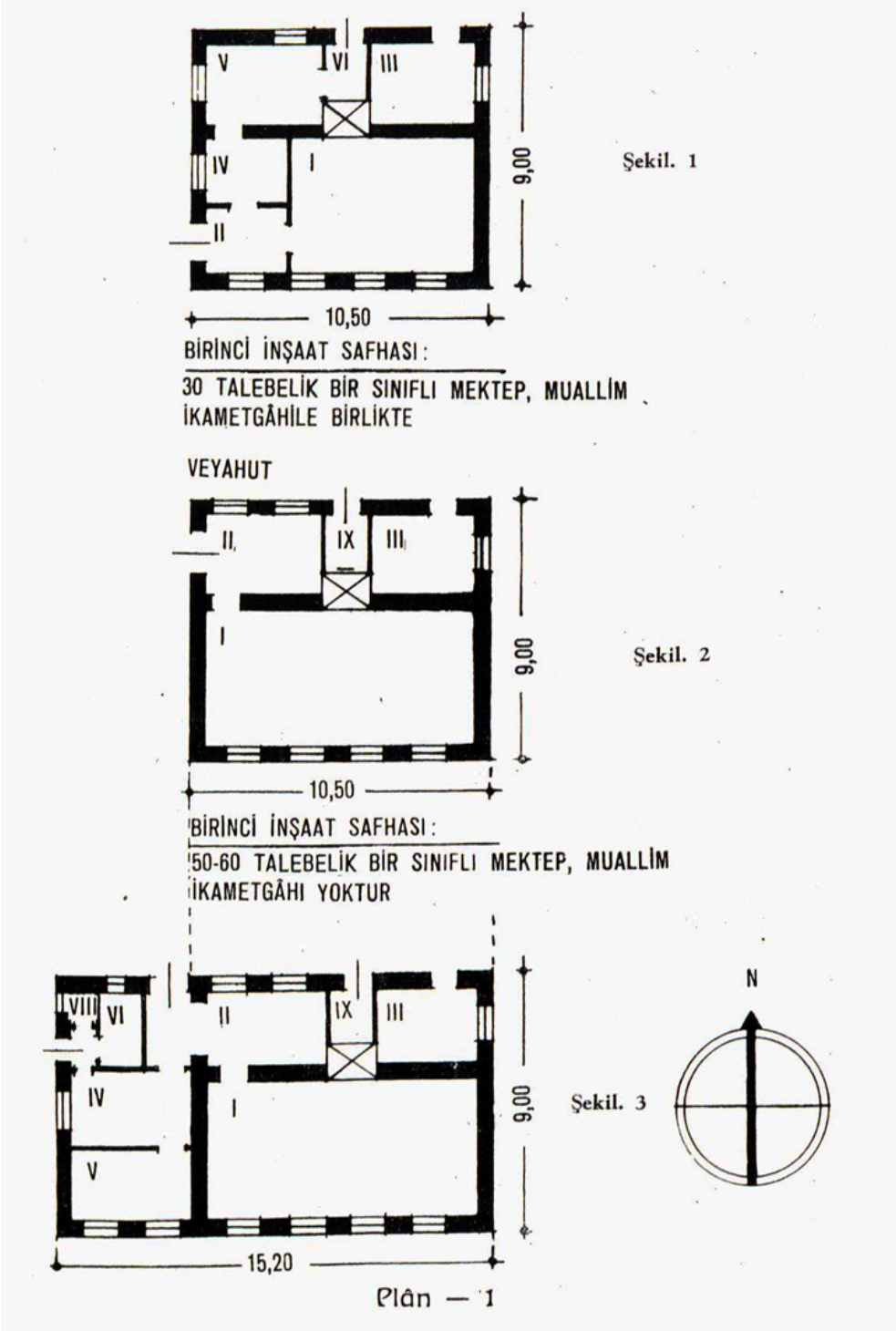


**Figure 5.13.** Three prototypes for 30, 50 and 60 students, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 1938. (Universität für Angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv). [670]

[670] Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Yeni Köy Okulları ve Bina Tipleri Üzerine Bir Deneme, Istanbul'.

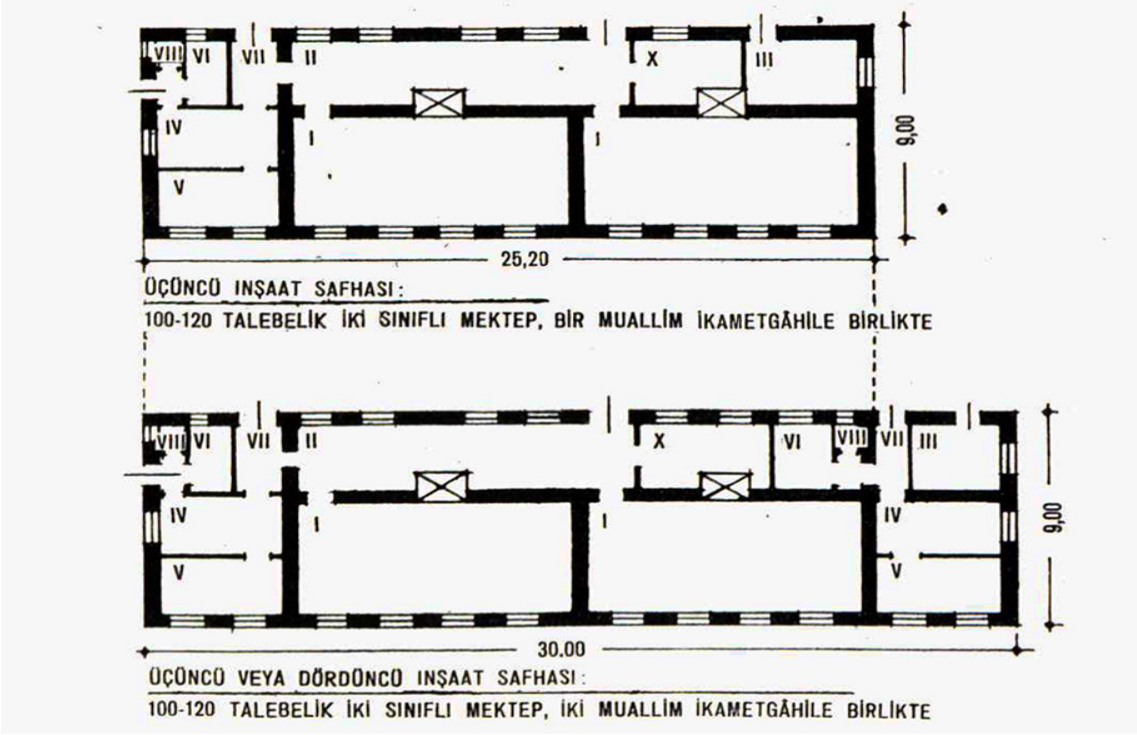


**Figure 5.14.** Two prototypes for 100-120 students, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 1938. (Universität für Angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv) .[671]

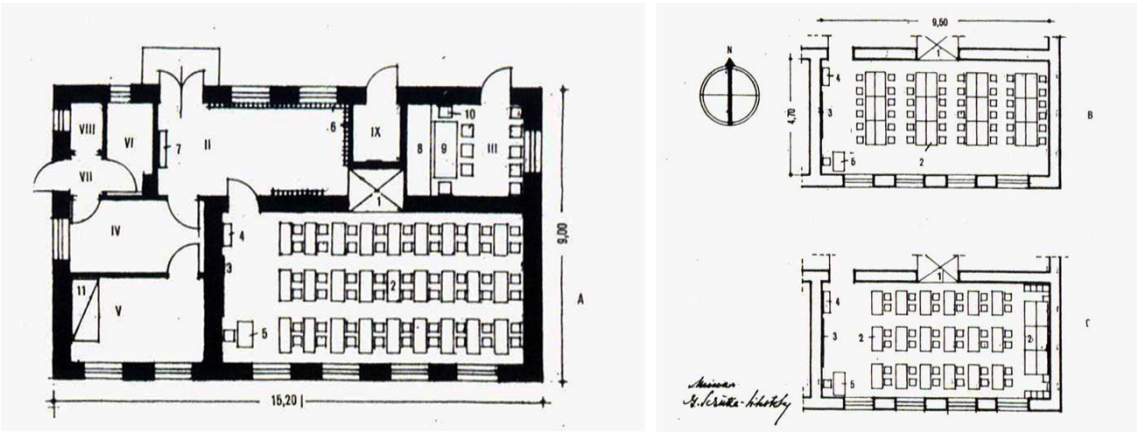


**Figure 5.15.** Furnishing and the interior for the village schools, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 1938. (Universität für Angewandte Kunst Wien, Kunstsammlung und Archiv ).[672]

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky suggested an area of at least 3 hectars for the building, the exterior organization, and for agricultural activities. The main building should have a direct connection to the playground, toilet cabinets, atelier, corral for small animals, and small garden for flowers and herbs. The wider area should be arranged to have an orchard

[671] Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Yeni Köy Okulları ve Bina Tipleri Üzerine Bir Deneme, Istanbul'.
[672] Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Yeni Köy Okulları ve Bina Tipleri Üzerine Bir Deneme, Istanbul'.

and vegetable garden. The area including the school garden and main building should be fenced, and the entrances for children and cars-carriages should be determined in the design.[673]

The aesthetic aspects of the village schools played a significant role in Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky's project. She advocated that the architecture of the school should be adapted to the landscape, not only in terms of physical conditions but also in terms of being in tune with the atmosphere of the village. Because, she pointed out, the school was "the real cultural center in a small village". In styling the school building, not only the form of the roof of the building or the façade played the crucial role. The color also provided for the harmony of the building with the landscape. Therefore, the color of the building should reflect the background mural and meet the built-environment. In addition to a comforting color on the facade, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky also proposed furnishing the window frames, doors, and other woodworks in the building.[674]

In sum, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky's plans emerged as the most comprehensive and detailed documents that had been introduced and practiced after Ernst Egli's village schools studies from the end of the 1920s. It has not been cited where Schütte-Lihotzky's prototypes for the village schools were implemented. However, her design principles were echoed in the conceptualization and progression of the village schools in the following years. First of all, she contributed to the planning of the Turkish village during the early republican period by presenting the village school as the cultural core of the village. Like Ernst Egli, Schütte-Lihotzky also deliberately referred to the Anatolian landscape, locality, and customs in their architectonic meaning, but she added a new idea of village school in which the children were equipped with agricultural instructions as well as a primary education program. For the first time she introduced this idea in a particular architectural language. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky's approach was echoed in the formation of the Village Institutes and their extensions in the villages in the following years. [675]

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[673] Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Dorfschulen für Anatolien', pp. 5–6.
[674] Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Dorfschulen für Anatolien', p. 5.
[675] The first outcome of Schütte-Lihotzky's approach generated in the projects of new village schools which would serve in accordance with Village Institutes' program in the villages. In February 1941, the Ministry of National Education organized a competition for school typologies in different climate conditions. Architects Asim Mutlu and Ahsen Yapaner's project grounded on local building materials and technics, won the first prise. See 'Köy Okulları Proje Müsabakası', *Arkitekt*, 121–122.01–02 (1941), 12–23.

# CHAPTER 6

# PLANNING THE TURKISH VILLAGE: ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE

This chapter focuses on the architectural practices of village construction starting from the first years of the republic. It concentrates on the tradition and progress in the methodology, the legislation of these interventions, and policies in the architectural practice of the "Turkish village".

The chapter starts with early examples of rural settlement constructions due to the population exchange and reconstruction after the First World War in the rural built environment. Then it centers on the concept of "republican villages", pointing to the state programs that would also result in architectural regulations. The implementation of new rural settlements in two cities – İzmir on the west coast of Anatolia and Elazığ on the south east of Anatolia – are discussed from a broader perspective including the cultural, political and demographic changes, as well as architectonic transformations in their urban and rural areas.

## 6.1. Construction of the Villages during the First Years of the Republic

In the first years of the republican era, settlement policy and building typologies had been inherited from Ottoman operations due to migration inside the country and also due to the arrival of the refugees from defeated lands into the Anatolian territory. The new state was also confronted with influences of the forced migration of 413,922 people and the required planning this precipitated starting from the end of the Balkan Wars between 1913 and 1920 [676].

[676] Onur Yıldırım, *Diplomacy and Displacement: Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922 - 1934*, Middle East Studies - History, Politics, and Law (New York: London: Routledge, 2006), p. 90.

In order to house this group, in 1913 the Ottoman parliament passed several laws: within the law dated the 18th of March 1913 ("*Muhacirinin Suret-i İskanı Hakkında Tahrirat-ı Umumiyye ve Talimatnamesi* – General Instructions for Settling the Immigrants") was first legislated by the Ottoman state. On the 27th of April 1913 within the law ("*Vilayet İdare-i Sıhhiye Nizamnamesi* – Regulations for Sanitary Matters of the Provinces") the housing of Balkan immigrants came under the administrative purview of the provinces. On the 13th of May 1913, a new law ("*İskan-ı Muhacirin Nizamnamesi* – Regulations for Settling the Immigrants") was enacted to reorganize settlement policies. On the 29th of December 1913, this was followed by another regulation (*Elli Haneden Aşağı Karye Teşkil Olunmamasına Dair Tahrirat-ı Ummumiye* – Correspondence for Refusal of Village Status of Settlements with Less Than 50 Dwellings), which reorganized the villages along with the new settlements built for the incomers. And the last legal instructions for settling immigrants were announced by the Ottoman state within the law "*Ta'mim ve Talimatname* – Circular Letter and Instruction" – dated the 22nd of June 1916.[677] The Ottoman authority passed legislation to construct small houses and cottages for urgent cases, re-distributing the abandoned properties of the deported population[678] as building supplies for the Muslim incomers, and planning the "exemplar villages" – *Numune Köyler* [679]– in several regions.[680]

Turkey's new parliament was separatedly elected from the Ottoman authorities in 1920 and started Turkey's Independence War after the First World War occupations and the Turco-Greek War. The new parliament continued the Ottoman housing program for 388,146 Muslims immigrating from former Ottoman territories. On the other hand, 1,221,849 Greeks had to leave the country and vacate their houses and agricultural fields.[681] As a result of this, the abandoned properties of the deported Greek Orthodox

[677] Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, pp. 55–56.; A. Gündüz Ökçün, 'İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Yeni Köylerin Kurulmasına ve Köylerde Çevre Sağlığına İlişkin Tüzel Düzenlemeler', in: *Prof. Fehmi Yavuz'a Armağan*, 528 (Ankara: AÜ Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1983), pp. 171–200 (p. 171).

[678] Referring to Armenian Deportation.

[679] The Ottoman authority and, later, the republican regime called the new villages, constructed in accordance with the regulations in planning, "exemplar villages" – Numune Köyler with the idea that the new planned villages would be model-settlements for the further implementations.

[680] Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskân Politikası, 1913-1918*, Araştırma-Inceleme Dizisi, 112, 1. baskı (Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: İletişim, 2001), p. 52.

[681] Yıldırım, p. 91.Turkey and Greece entered into agreement of Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Population on the 30th of January 1923. The agreement contained the population exchange also proclaimed in Treaty of Lausanne on the 24th of July 1923. See the 2. Article in the Part VI

population served as settlement resources for the housing operations conducted during the 1920s.

On the 26th of April 1922, the 1913 law was reformulated in accordance with the new circumstances of the on-going war, and within the new regulation it was announced that immigrants, who had lived in Anatolian territories for fewer than 6 years, would be housed by the government. The Ministry of Public Health and Welfare and Ministry of Inner Affairs and Economy would determine the location of settlements. In every region, settlement commissions would be established, and each commission would have a civilian authority, a doctor, an engineer, an agriculturist, an accountant, and a secretary. In addition to this, members acquainted with the agricultural and socio-cultural capacities of the regions would participate in the commissions; schools would be built; dwellers would be assisted and encouraged in agrarian activities with credits and subsidiary payments.[682] On the 23rd of October 1923, the Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing – *Mübadele ve İskan Bakanlığı* was founded just before the proclamation of republic on the 29th of October 1923. These first regulations paved the way for the legal organization of the settlements built in the following years.

### 6.1.1. The 1924 Village Law and the 1926 Settlement Law

In the first years of the republic, the Village Law numbered 442, enacted on the 18th of March 1924, played a crucial role in forming the rural settlements for the incomers and existing population. The law established the village as a legislative body of the republican administration, and the social, cultural and economic nucleus of the country. The law contained ten chapters to define the village in terms of administration: finance (self-sufficient practices and state's sources), agricultural and constructive works, organization of elections, and assignments of local authority such as the council, village guard and imam. The Village Law was basically enacted to construct rural Turkey, and it became a

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of the treaty. *Lausanne Peace Treaty VI. Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations Signed at Lausanne, January 30, 1923.*, 24 July 1923 <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/lausanne-peace-treaty-vi_-convention-concerning-the-exchange-of-greek-and-turkish-populations-signed-at-lausanne_.en.mfa>.

[682] *30 Nisan 329 Tarihli Iskan-ı Muhacirin Talimatnemesini Değiştiren Nizamnamenin Yürürlüğe Konması*, 1913, TCBCA 030.18.01/04.55.2.; *İskan Tarihçesi* (İstanbul: Hamit Matbaası, 1932), pp. 20–21.; Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, pp. 20, 99.

practical guide for how to shape the new rural settlements and reshape the villages demolished from the war until the first years of 1930s.[683]

The public works and land use plan were detailed within articles in the second chapter, including the architectonic formation of the village. The articles principally determined the border of the village territory, reconstruction methods, infrastructure, housing, hygiene, administrative and institutional units. Architectural organization was introduced within the solutions for sanitation, and the construction of the water infrastructure and sewage system was considered as the major part of planning. The building program essentially included a square, two main streets crossing each other, a house for the village council, a guesthouse, a school, shops and ateliers for smithy, grocery, repairmen, a garbage treatment house outside of the village, a cemetery, fountains, and a coppice area. On the other hand, the washhouse, public bath, bazaar and shopping area, mill house and irrigation canals around farms were to be built in accordance with the requirements of the villagers and circumstances of the settlement area.[684]

Although the village architecture was elaborated on in the Law, the building program was implemented in a very limited scope. During the first years of the republic, the villages were built in order to solve the housing problem for immigrants and veterans rather than building ideal settlements in the countryside. Although the first implementations of the Village Law consisted of organized dwelling areas with the basic infrastructure (housing plots, a school, a mosque, a fountain and the roads) the law paved the way for the reconstruction of the country beginning with the rural areas. The Village Law was one of the most significant legal changes the republican regime put on the agenda, even considering later regulations for organization and operation of infrastructure and dwelling in the rural built-environment, such as the Housing Law in 1926, the Municipal Corporations Law and Public Health Law in 1930, and the Municipal Buildings and Roads Law in 1933.[685]

After enacting the Village Law in March of 1924, the Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing allocated the operation across 10 regions where the cities and towns were

[683] *Köy Kanunu*.
[684] *Köy Kanunu*, p. 239 (2. Fasıl 13. Madde).
[685] See Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu', p. 101.

adequate in infrastructure, areas for village construction, and the properties left by deported population.[686] First, the government followed the settling policy, in which estates of the leaving populace were utilized, and houses were renovated for the incomers. Within the regulation, enacted on the 6th of July 1924, the ministry declared that the government would distribute the lands after the arrival of the farmer immigrants.[687] In relatively developed provinces like Samsun, Bursa, İzmir, İzmit, Manisa and Adana new villages were constructed consisting of up to 50 dwellings, school and mosque. In 1933, there were 69 new rural settlements, built by the state in accordance with the principals of Village Law.[688]

Another crucial legislative attempt at solving the dwelling problem in the country was the Settlement Law, numbered 885, enacted on the 31st of May 1926. The principles were housing the exchanged population and seeking low-cost formulas for dwelling and reconstruction works. In other words, the law applied to the organization of existing building reserves as well as new settlements considering the economic circumstances, and also the adaptation of numerous groups into the socio-cultural and economic planning of the country. Within the 1926 Settlement Law, regulations about the new settlements addressed similar concerns as the 1924 Village Law: the building program included a school, mosque, bath, bazaar, police station, cemetery and pasture for its public facilities, along with infrastructure and a dwelling area .[689] Together with the 1924 Village Law, the

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[686] Kemal Ari states that the first region included the cities of Sinop, Samsun, Ordu, Giresun, Trabzon, Gümüşhane, Amasya, Tokat, Çorum; the second region included the cities of Edirne, Tekfurdağı (Tekirdağ), Gelibolu, Kırkkilise (Kırklareli), Çanakkale; the third region included the city of Balıkesir; the fourth region included the cites of İzmir, Manisa, Aydın, Menteşe, Afyon; the fifth region included the city of Bursa; the sixth region included the cities of İstanbul, Çatalca, Zonguldak; the seventh region included the cities of İzmit, Bolu, Bileceik, Eskişehir, Kütahya; the eighth region included the cities of Antalya, Isparta, Burdur; the nineth region included the cities of Konya, Niğde, Kayseri, Aksaray, Kırşehir; and the tenth region included the cities of Adana, Mersin, Silifke, Kozan, Ayıntab (Gaziantep), Maraş.Kemal Arı, *Büyük Mübadele: Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç, 1923-1925*, Türkiye Araştırmaları, 17 (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), pp. 52–53.

[687] TBMM, *Terkedilmiş Gayrimenkulün Iskan Edilme Hakkını Haiz Göçmenler ve Aşiretlere Tevzii Hakkında Yönetmelik*, 1924, TCBCA 030.18.01.01/010.33.20(1+4).; *İskan Tarihçesi*, pp. 22–32.; Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, pp. 139–44.

[688] Nedim İpek, 'Göçmen Köylerine Dair', *Tarih ve Toplum*, 150.Haziran (1996), 15–21 (p. 19).; Kozanoğlu, 'Köy Evleri Proje ve Yapıları İçin Toplu Rapor', p. 203.: Arı, p. 66.; Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, pp. 28–29. Ali Cengizkan states that in 1924, 14 villages (7 in Samsun, 2 each in İzmir and Bursa, 1 each in İzmit, Adana and Antalya) were built, however Zeynep Eres advocated that there were 32 villages under construction, some of the settlements were not recorded with the place-name. See Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu', pp. 115–16.

[689] *İskan Tarihçesi*, pp. 76–80.

1926 Settlement Law paved the way for the planning of rural settlements, and hence the villages, during the first 10 years of the republic.

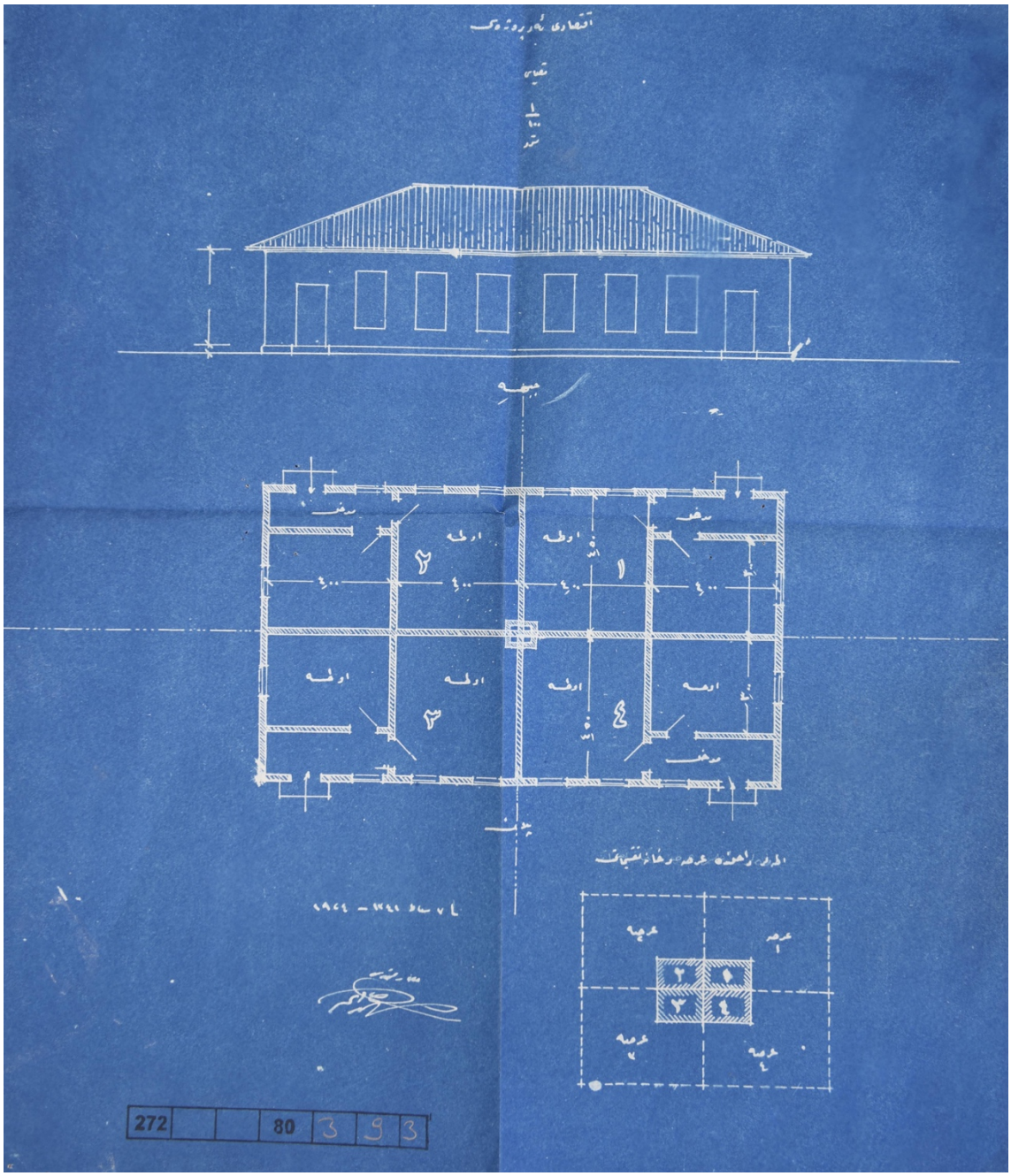


**Figure 6.1.** Low-Cost House – *Iktisadi Hane*, 1925. (TCBCA)[690]

Accompanying with the legislative organization, meeting a standard for the housing, which was the first implementation in the settlement construction, became one of the most immediate matter to be determined. Thus, the state prepared a dwelling typology that

[690] *Low-Cost Housing Typology - TCBCA 272.80/3.9.3 (5)*, 1925, TCBCA 272.80/3.9.3 (5).

would be practically implemented in the needed circumstances with low expenses. In 1925, "*Iktisadi Hane* – The Low-Cost Dwelling" was introduced with the elaboration of proposals for the immigrants following the Balkan Wars and during the First World War. **(Figure 6.1)** According to the document dated the 10th of February 1925, low-cost houses were constructed in several cities in Anatolia in the new rural settlements, differing slightly due to local conditions. But there were building principles abided by in every province: The wall to separate the houses from each other should be made of mudbrick, other walls should be constructed in accordance with the timber structure, the chimney should be made of stone, and the roof should be covered with roof tiles. Each unit included four houses, each of which had two rooms without a toilet, kitchen and bathroom, arrayed under one roof.[691]

In sum, conditions after the wars, particularly from the beginning of the 20th Century, designated the program of construction of the new settlements in the first years of the republic. The regulations and instructions, determined during the last years of the Ottoman Empire, also developed a blueprint for the early republican cadre. The previous implementations were adapted to the circumstances of the country; they prepared the legislative layout to further administrate rural Turkey. The 1924 Village Law, the 1926 Settlement Law and the "Low-Cost Dwelling" in 1925 guided the first years' operations constructing the new rural settlements all over the country.

### 6.1.2. New Rural Settlements during 1920s

#### *6.1.2.1. Villages in Manisa and Çobanisa Village*

One of the first implementations of the Village Law and the low-cost housing typology was constructed in Manisa at the end of 1924. Çobanisa Village was planned by the architect Mesut Özok of the İzmir Population Exchange and Housing Authority, and constructed by the engineer Galip Bey.[692]

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[691] *Low-Cost Housing Typology - TCBCA 272.80/3.9.3 (5)*, TCBCA 272.80/3.9.3 (5); Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, p. 182.

[692] *Document on Kıyas and Çobanisa*, 1924, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/12.59.12.; Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, pp. 39–40, 43, 46, 86., Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu', pp. 130–32.

The plan for a 44.616m$^2$ area was divided into six streets along north-south axis, five streets along west-east axis and 22 building parcels. Public buildings were located in the middle of the east-west axis, including twelve shops, a mosque, a guesthouse, a gendarmerie station, a school, four fountains, a barn, a bakery, a bazaar area. The northern part was set aside for agrarian activities with 12.000m$^2$ land for each family in the village. The cemetery and coppice were placed in the southern part. The washhouse and the mill were located on the edges of the east-west directions. **(Figure 6.2)**

**Figure 6.2.** Site Plan of Cobanisa Village, by architect Mesut Özok, (Redrawn after Cengizkan, 2004). [693]

The site between the northern and southern part of the village was planned as a dwelling area, with 58 houses according to the plan.[694] The houses, attached to each other along the east-west axis, were located in a parcel of 200-300m$^2$. The units were facing the street with a small garden, and backyards were attached to each other along the north-south axis with larger orchards. Housing units consisted of two dwellings under the singular roof. The interior was divided into an entrance hall, two rooms, a kitchen and a toilet

[693] *Document on Çobanisa*, 1924, TCBCA 272.80/3.8.15.; Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, p. 43.
[694] However, the village was built with 52 houses.

partition.[695]. They were designed as one-story masonry buildings with timber on room floors and concrete slabs on the toilet partition and kitchen floors. However, the houses were built as two story buildings. Each house was situated according to the slope and separated into two layers along the vertical axis: the upper part was the living area and entrance facing the street, the lower layer was used as a small corral and the backyard-entrance, divided into two rooms.

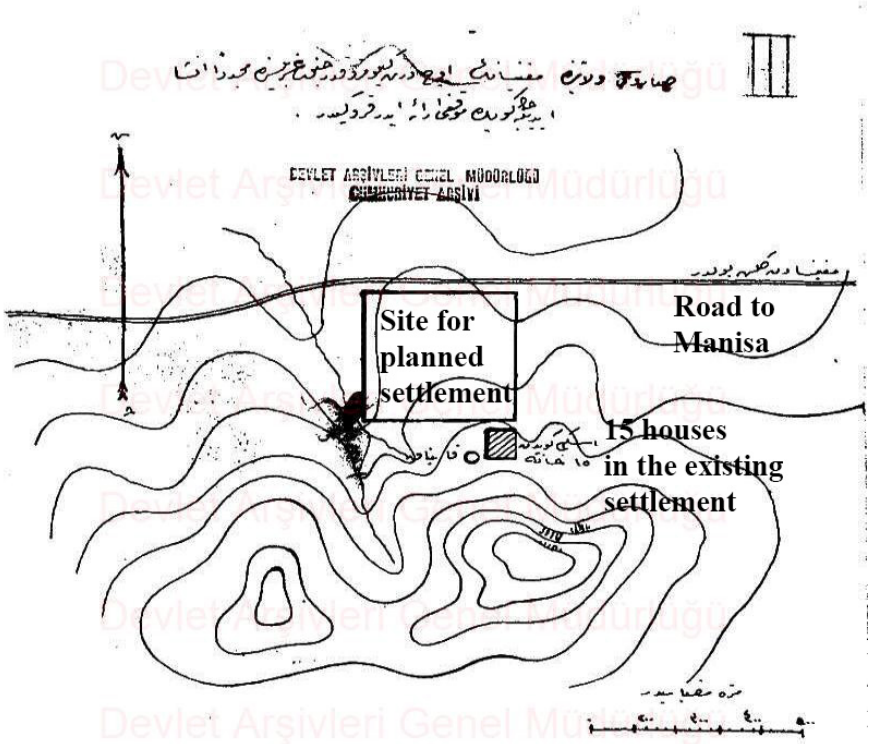


**Figure 6.3.** Site plan of Bozköy in Manisa. Prepared by the local Committee in İzmir to the Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing. (Redrawn after the original document of TCBCA, 1924) [696]

The survey report dated the 28th of April 1924, introduced that the Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing planned to construct new villages in several districts in Manisa, such as Soma and Bozköy. The report also focused on the settlement in Bozköy, which was demolished after the deportation of the Greek Orthodox population, but still had 15

[695] The niche on the wall separated the kitchen and bigger room was designed as a small part for bathing and a garderobe. Kitchen was located on the wall that the buildings were attached and here there was a hole left for chimney. This wall was thicker than other separation walls. According to the project, each unit had 50cm. basement wall. Wooden roof was 300cm. height. Double sided exterior walls were 240cm. and each window was 125cm X 170cm.

[696] *Survey Report on Building Villages in İzmir and Manisa*, TCBCA 272.80/3.6.8.

houses and a school in the center. Although the town was destroyed, local people were settled in the abandoned properties in the surrounding villages. But this solution could not fulfill the housing needs of the incoming immigrants. In addition to this, the site was accessible for the railway, and the building materials would be easily provided by the quarry in the region. Therefore, the committee of Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing decided to build a settlement in Bozköy, Manisa.[697] **(Figure 6.3)**

### *6.1.2.2. Villages in İzmir*

The state sent an act to the governors in the provinces in March 1924, including İzmir, introducing the village building principles in the city. The Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing corresponded with the local authority in İzmir that two rural settlements consisting of 150-200 dwellings, would be built in İzmir and Manisa by the end of 1924. In order to determine the building site, the ministry called the commission to İzmir to propose convenient areas where the transportation network (mostly railways), agriculture possibilities and resources for building material (mostly quarries) fulfilled the construction plan, and to prepare the base maps of these areas. Moreoever, the ministry instructed the local commission in İzmir to prepare a survey report of demolished rural settlements in order to improve the living conditions of the local population in these areas.[698]

The document dated the 3rd of December 1924, shows that these two settlements were Cobanisa village in Manisa and Kıyas (or Kayas) village in İzmir. Like Cobanisa Village, Kıyas Village was also planned by architect Mesut Özok[699], but built by engineer Dervis Bey. It consisted of 50 houses that were constructed since early 1925 using similar methods and materials to Cobanisa Village in Manisa.[700]

The survey report dated the 28th of April 1924, introduced the detailed planning and the schemes of other settlements, which would be built in Kuşçular (in Urla district) and Kısıkköy in İzmir. Around Kuşçular village, immigrants had already started to settle into

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[697] *Survey Report on Building Villages in İzmir and Manisa*, 1924, TCBCA 272.80/3.6.8.
[698] Ali Cengizkan introduces transcription of the whole letter. Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, p. 172.
[699] Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, p. 86.
[700] *Document on Kıyas and Çobanisa*, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/12.59.12.

abandoned properties, however the number of buildings did not meet the housing needs of the incoming people. The area was well cultivated, convenient for agrarian activities and with water access. Also, it was close to the quarries that would be used in construction for building materials. According to the report, houses were planned as stone-masonry buildings with lime plastered walls and tiled roofs. Likewise, Kısıkköy – a former Greek village demolished during the war – was presented as another suitable place for a new settlement. The area was well connected to the railway between the city harbor and agricultural lands, close to water sources, and the site was convenient for agrarian activities. Therefore, the committee proposed building another settlement in Kısıkköy consisting of stone-masonry houses for the immigrants.[701] **(Figure 6.4)**

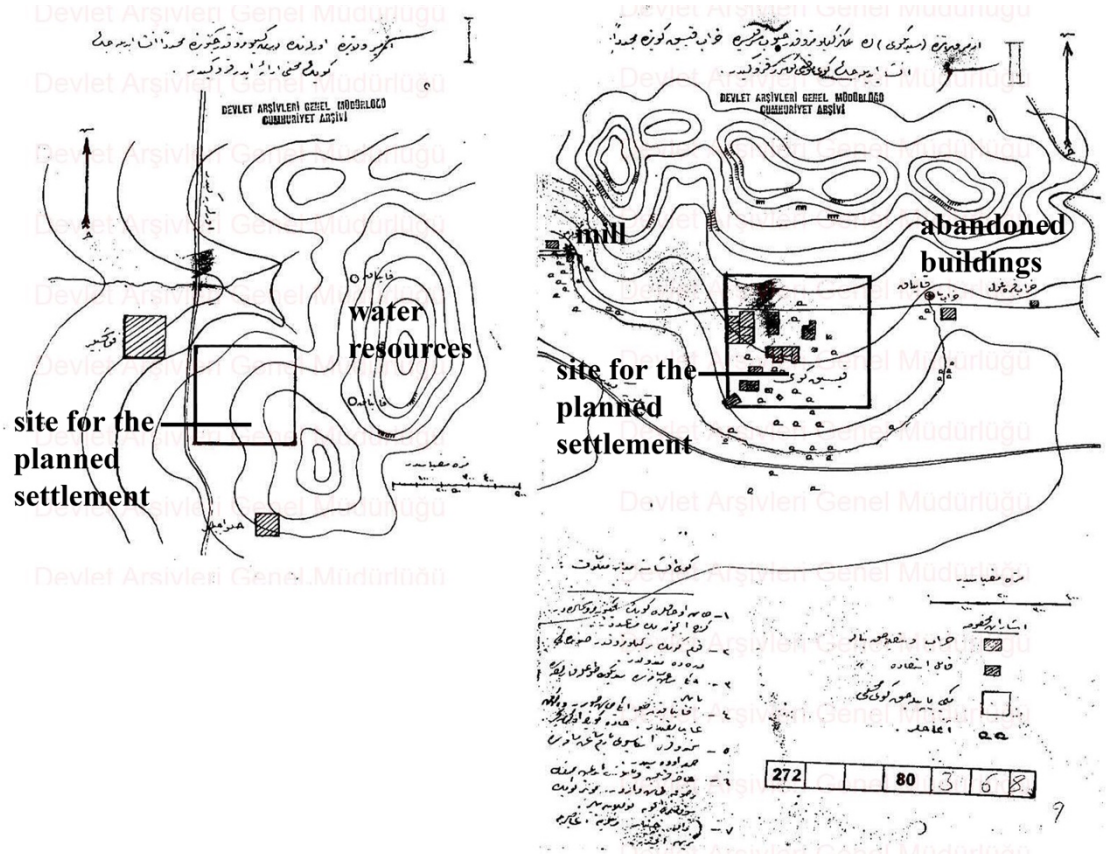


**Figure 6.4.** (On the left) site plan of Kuşçular village, (on the right) site plan of Kısıkköy village with the construction instructions for two villages. Prepared by the local Committee in İzmir to the Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing. (Redrawn after the original document of TCBCA, 1924) [702]

[701] *Survey Report on Building Villages in İzmir and Manisa*, TCBCA 272.80/3.6.8.
[702] *Survey Report on Building Villages in İzmir and Manisa*, TCBCA 272.80/3.6.8., The transcription of the map was given in Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, p. 39.

Besides, within the document dated on the 10th of February 1925, it was announced that the implementation of low-cost housing in the convenient districts of cities like Samsun, Amasya, Çorum would efficiently house a large number of incomers. The construction would also continue in İzmir where the majority of the population was deported.[703]

### *6.1.2.3. Villages in Samsun*

Samsun, which was depopulated after the War of Independence and the Turco-Greek War, was planned to house the incomers in the abandoned properties in the city and the former villages. However, the condition of the building reserve and the villages didnot provide suitable conditions for locals or to settle the immigrants. Therefore, in 1924 under the control of Ministry of Population Exchange Housing and Housing, construction of new settlements began with 50 houses in five locations, called Canik, Aksarağaç, Ökse, Çınarağıl, and Çırağman,[704, 705] and continued until 1926[706].

İsmailzade Osman Bey was employed to construct the masonry houses in five villages, using mudbrick as the building material. However, in the end of 1924 due to the climate circumstances, the construction method was changes to timber by the ministry.[707] İsmailzade Osman Bey continued building the houses with a timber construction and stone foundation, mudbrick infill walls, and lime plaster.[708]

In addition to the settlements in Canik, Aksarağaç, Ökse, Çınarağıl, and Çırağman, of low-cost house in the other villages were built for immigrants and local people who lived in severe circumstances in the city and in the rural areas around Samsun. Also, between 1924 and 1926 cottages were constructed in convenient areas around the city to address the urgent housing needs.[709]

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[703] *Low-Cost Housing Typology - TCBCA 272.80/3.9.3 (5)*, TCBCA 272.80/3.9.3 (5).
[704] *Document on Canik, Aksarağaç, Ökse, Çınarağıl, Çırağman*, 18.01.1925, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/12.70.1-1. and *Document on Canik, Aksarağaç, Ökse, Çınarağıl, Çırağman*, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/12.70.1--2.
[705] *Document on Canik, Aksarağaç, Ökse, Çınarağıl, Çırağman*, 1924, TCBCA 272.11/18.87.7.
[706] *Document on Canik, Aksarağaç, Ökse, Çınarağıl, Çırağman*, 1926, TCBCA 030.18.01/017.94.2. See also Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, p. 228.
[707] *Document on Canik, Aksarağaç, Ökse, Çınarağıl, Çırağman*, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/12.58.12.
[708] *Document on Canik, Aksarağaç, Ökse, Çınarağıl, Çırağman*, 1925, TCBCA 272.80/4.10.9.
[709] The implementations of "low-cost houses" in Samsun started in 1925, in accordance with the sources of *Document on Canik, Aksarağaç, Ökse, Çınarağıl, Çırağman*, 1925, TCBCA 272.11/21.103.15. and *Document on Canik, Aksarağaç, Ökse, Çınarağıl, Çırağman*, 1925, 272.80/4.10.15. Ali Cengizkan also pointed out that there were more housing constructions than five settlements which were documented in

*6.1.2.4. Villages in Bursa*

According to the document dated the 9th of March 1924, the government first attempted the planning of villages in rural districts of Bursa. Due to the war conditions, the center and the rural region of the province were demolished. Furthermore, the abandoned properties would not be able to accomodate the needs of the incoming people and locals. The governor of Bursa declared that in the Kalder, Tepecik and Tahtalı districts in the center, Armudlu and Kurşunlu in Gemlik district, Emirali, Burgaz and Veledler in Mudanya district, Baş, Karacaoba, İkizce(oba), Kemerbend and the town center in Karacabey district, the agricultural land was suitable, but the housing areas had been badly destroyed. Therefore, he proposed these areas to be planned by a group of experts – an architect, an engineer, a building contractor and a technician – in the Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing including the.[710]

In addition to this, in the beginning of 1925, it was also planned to build low-cost houses in convenient areas, parallel to the construction of new villages.[711] After three months, immigrants were settled in an abandoned Greek village, Filader, in the houses that had been built by the dwellers themselves. But the governor asked the ministry for permission to clear up the demolished houses and to construct an "exemplar village" here.[712, 713] **(Figure 6.5)**

Moreover, the construction of the new settlements based on the principles of the 1924 Village Law started in the same year in Karacaoba and İkizceoba. Here, the governor of Bursa pointed out convenient locations for the new villages to the commission of Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing. According to the document dated the 3rd of December 1924, the settlements were built and consisted of 50 timber houses in each

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the archives. He referred to the surveys of Nedim Ipek about the population exchange in Samsun. Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, pp. 42–43. Nedim İpek, *Mübadele ve Samsun*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları. XVI. Dizi, Sayı 85 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2000), p. 85. For the reading of further documents on construction works and correspondences about the new settlements in Samsun see Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu', pp. 121–26.

[710] *Document on Village Planning in Bursa*, 1924, TCBCA 272.80/3.5.2. and Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, p. 171.

[711] *Document on Building Low-Cost Houses in Bursa*, 1925, TCBCA 272.80/3.8.13.

[712] *Document on Filader*, 26.06.1924, TCBCA 272.11/18.87.5.

[713] According to Zeynep Eres, the village had been built until the end of 1920s and also demonstrated in a cultural geography book for high school scholars. Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu', p. 127.

village. The completion date of the work was set for the 13th of November 1924. However, due to the weather conditions, and delay on arrival of building elements such as windows and doors provided by the ministry, the construction work was postponed to April 1925.[714] The houses and organization of dwellings and other buildings were planned by the architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu[715], who worked under the Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing and later under the Housing Department in the Ministry of Inner Affairs. There he focused on the planning of villages and village houses, and reconstruction of abandoned buildings during the first years of the republic.[716]

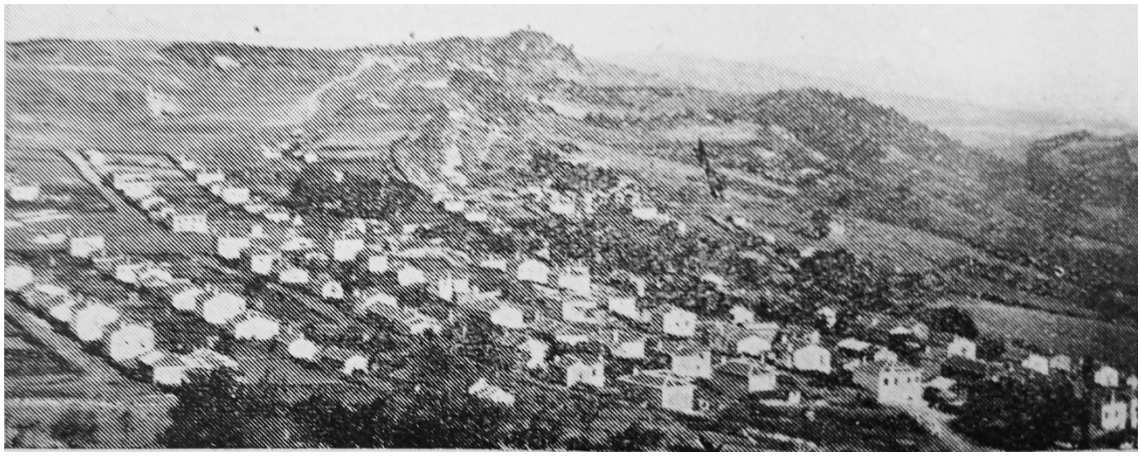

**Figure 6.5.** A village for the incomers, built in rural Bursa, 1920s.[717] (Faik Sabri, 1929)

### *6.1.2.5. Villages in Antalya, Adana and Mersin*

During the mid-1920s housing for the incomers in Antalya, Adana and Mersin – three cities located in the southern Anatolia – was implemented by the government following the same principles of regular village planning and practiced in the other parts of the

[714] *Document on Karacaoba and Ikizceoba*, 03.12.1924, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/12.59.9.

[715] According to the document dated the 30th of March 1924 Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu analyzed the work of the ministry and criticized the organization its housing of immigrants. He criticized the settlements and the bad condition of abandoned houses and construction material in new houses. *Document on Arif Hikmet Koyunoglu*, 1924, TCBCA 30.18.1.1272.11/17.80.11.; Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, pp. 229–31. He had a significant impact in forming the early republican conception of rural settlement and rural house in the 1930s. See the fourth Chapter; 4.*3: Turkish Architects and City Planners Analysing the Discourse: Concepts for the Village and Villa House*

[716] Nurcan İnci Firat, *Ankara'da Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarisinden İki Örnek: Etnografya Müzesi ve Eski Türk Ocağı Merkez Binası ; (Devlet Resim ve Heykel Müzesi)*, T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları Yayımlar Dairesi Başkanlığı Sanat eserleri dizisi, 2188 203, 1. Baskı (Ankara, 1998), p. 145.; Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, pp. 84–86.

[717] Faik Sabri, *Türkiye Coğrafyası*, Lise Kitapları III. Sınıf (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1929), p. 214. Although in the book the name of the village was not mentioned, Zeynep Eres introduces the same image as Filader village. See Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu', p. 385.

country. Documents show that Çirkinoba Village was built in Antalya, and several farms and cultivated areas were transformed into settlements in Adana and Mersin during the second half of 1920s.

According to correspondence dated the 12th of February 1925, Çirkinoba Village was under construction. However, difficult weather conditions and diseases like influenza and malaria in the district badly affected the work in the construction areas. Therefore, the completion of settlement was postponed until April 1925.[718] The building methods and materials were not mentioned in the document, but timber constructed cottages with mudbrick fill were likely used as these were the materials and methods used in the other settlements in Adana and Mersin.

The construction of dwellings for the exchanged population in Adana and Mersin started in April 1924.[719] Mehmet Emin Bey, the director of Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing in Adana, proposed the Madama farm and surrounding cultivated area to begin the construction, and prepared a scheme for the settlement.[720] In September, the council of ministers agreed to accelarate the operations in Adana and to construct timber cottages in the rural areas for housing the incomers.[721]

One month later, it was decided to build cottages in Kozan, Adana, and an agreement was concluded between the constructor Hilmi Bey and the director of Population Exchange and Housing commission in Kozan, Halid Bey. The agreement contained the details of eight cottages that were constructed using timber supports, roof and walls, filled with mud and sedge, and included four rooms.[722] Furthermore, Bedros farm in Yumurtalik,

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[718] *Document on Çirkinoba*, 1925, TCBCA 30.18.1.1./12.75.13., and Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, p. 42.

[719] *Document on Building Houses for Immigrants in Adana*, 1924, TCBCA 272.80/3.6.1. See also Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu', pp. 116–19.

[720] *Document on Madama*, 1924, TCBCA 272.80/3.6.14. Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, p. 174.

[721] *Document on Building Cottages in Adana*, 1924, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/10.42.16.

[722] *Document on Building Cottages in Kozan, Adana*, 1924, TCBCA 272.80/3.7.24.; Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, pp. 175–77. According to the details on planning it was mentioned in the agreement that the each cottage had 4 rooms. This shows that the cottages were built due to the 'low-cost house' type but using the local materials and construction methods. The construction details were listed like that: Each cottage had 4 rooms and each room had a door and window. On the corners, around doors and windows 45 cm.-wide timber-pillars should be constructed. Circumference of central pillars should be at least 60 cm. between vertical pillars, in every 40-50 cm., horizontal timbers should be located and bays between the grids should be filled with knotgrass. Each side of the wall should be plaster with mud. Interior walls should have double grid. Roof should be covered with sedge and mud.

Adana was organized for a settlement with 50 dwellings. In November 1924, the director of Population Exchange and Housing commission in Yumurtalik, Hüsnü Bey, and the constructor Riza Bey agreed on constructing the cottages with the same technique.[723] Within the same correspondece it was also agreed to start building a settlement for 34 cottages in Yuvanaki farm in Mersin. Another document from the 13th of July 1925 introduced the base map of the settlement, including 40 dwellings and their conditions.[724]

#### *6.1.2.6. Villages in İzmit*

Housing the incomers in Izmit province (including Bilecik) was implemented in two procedures by the government starting from 1924. For the first, the Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing announced that the immigrants would construct the settlements according to their own ability, and additionally, the government would build two settlements in the area. These villages would consist of 150-200 dwellings, 50 of which would be built until the end of 1924. The commissions in the region would decide on the area and prepare the documents (such as base maps). Then a committee of an architect (or civil engineer), engineer and agriculturist would visit the site in order to develop settlement schemes. For the second procedure, villages that had been demolished in the war would be assessed for the reconstruction of houses and new infrastructure in these areas. The governors would also take into account the sanitation and economic circumstances in the survey.[725]

The document dated the 29th of April 1924, shows that the Ministry of Population Exchange and Housing provided site plans and typological plans for houses in the settlements that the immigrants constructed. Engineer Ismail Bey worked on the plan and decided on the last changes during the implementations. In the same document, the correspondences regarding Mihalic village were also attached, where the construction was completed by the immigrants. Due to the urgency of settling the people, building of

[723] *Documents on Yuvanaki and Yumurtalık*, 1924, TCBCA 272.80/3.8.2.; Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, pp. 178–81.
[724] *Document on Yuvanaki*, 1925, TCBCA 272.80/4.10.11.; Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, p. 216.
[725] Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, pp. 172–73; Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu', p. 120.

the village was accelerated. Therefore, architect Edhem Bey was sent to the site to reorganize the construction work.[726]

### *6.1.2.7. Villages in Ankara and Etimesgut (Ahi Mes'ud) Village*

Construction of the new villages in Ankara was put on the agenda of the state while Ankara was emerging as the capital city of Turkey. The document dated on the 9th of May 1928, presented that the parliament decided to construct new settlements for immigrants along the railway lines in between Eskişehir and Ankara equipping the area with public facilities and modern infrastructure. The settlements would be built after an agricultural study on the site in order to provide the agrarian framework for the settlers. It was planned to build Etimesgut (or Ahi-Mes'ud) Village along the Yahşihan-Eskişehir line, and Malıköy and Samutlu villages along the Beypazarı-Ayaş-Polatlı line in the west of Ankara.[727]

According to the document from the 30th of April 1930, Malıköy was constructed with 29 dwellings that were designed in accordance with the principles of low-cost housing for the incomers from Bulgaria.[728] Other records from the 3rd of September 1930 and the 8th of October 1930 introduced the Samutlu village that was built for the immigrants who had not been settled until that year. It was highlighted that the village was organized not only for dwellings, but also for the infrastructure of agricultural activities on behalf of the settlers.[729]

Regulations of the 1924 Village Law and 1926 Settlement Law were implemented in Etimesgut (Ahi Mes'ud). On the 16th and 28th of May 1928, it was agreed to adapt one of the farms in the Ataturk Forest Farms – *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği* for model villages,[730] and one month later the first phase of the construction of Etimesgut Village started.[731] According to the documents from the 10th and 21st of October 1928, the building program

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[726] Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, pp. 172–73; Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu', p. 120. and Cengizkan, *Mübadele konut ve yerleşimleri*, p. 184.
[727] *Document on New Villages along the Eskisekir-Ankara Railway Line*, 1928, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/28.29.12.
[728] *Document on Malıköy*, 1930, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/02.10.27.11.
[729] *Document on Samutlu*, 1930, 30.18.1.1/02.13.5.; *Document on Samutlu*, 1930, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/02.14.64.
[730] *Document on Etimesgut (Ahi Mes'ud)*, 16.05.1928, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/29.32.1.; *Document on Etimesgut (Ahi Mes'ud)*, 28.05.1928, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/29.35.9.
[731] *Document on Etimesgut (Ahi Mes'ud)*, 10.06.1928, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/29.36.18.

included the dwelling area, train station, village hospital, government house, guesthouse, coffee house, bazaar area, boarding school and coppice. The land around the settlement was provided for agricultural activities for the dwellers. The northern part of the settlement, separated from the village by the railway line, was planned as a housing area for the agriculture technicians who would assist the villagers in agrarian work. Within two months, 50 houses had already been built. Stone and mudbrick were the construction materials. Each house consisted of two rooms, a penthouse for farming equipments and a corral for animals.[732] **(Figure 6.6, Figure 6.7)**

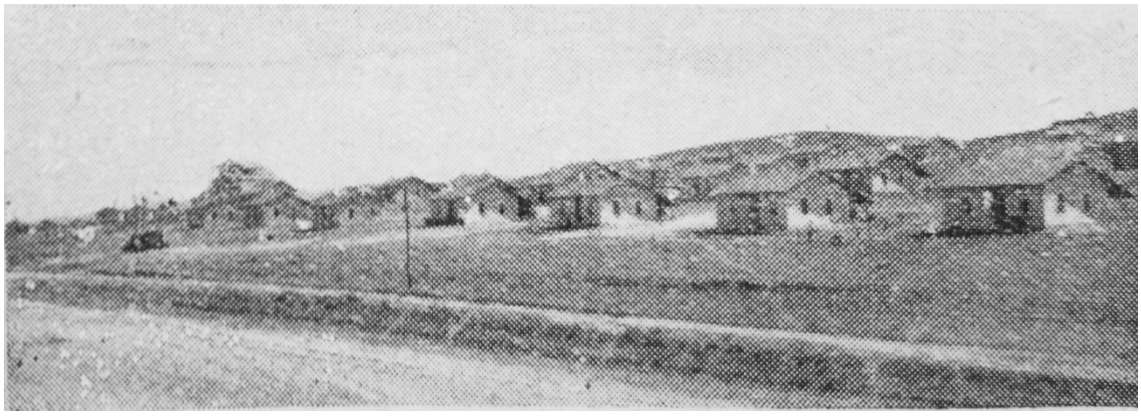

**Figure 6.6.** Village houses in Etimesgut, 1929.[733] (Faik Sabri, 1929)

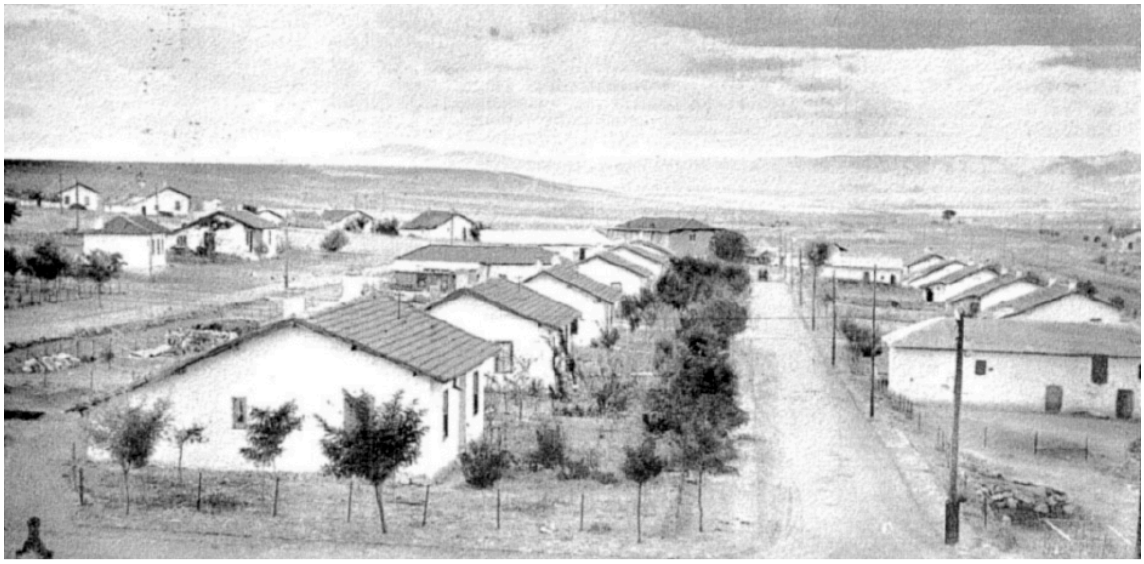

**Figure 6.7.** Village houses and other public buildings in Etimesgut, 1930s.[734] *Yabancı Gözüyle Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi*. 1938)

[732] *Document on Etimesgut (Ahi Mes'ud)*, 10.10.1928, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/30.61.4.; *Document on Etimesgut (Ahi Mes'ud)*, 21.10.1928, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/30.63.9. All agricultural materials such as tools, stores, and also animals were given to the dwellers by the government. *Document on Etimesgut (Ahi Mes'ud)*, 21.10.1928, TCBCA 30.18.1.1/30.62.14.

[733] Faik Sabri, *Türkiye Coğrafyası*, Lise Kitapları III. Sınıf (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1929) Faik Sabri, p. 215.

[734] *Yabancı Gözüyle Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi* (Ankara: Dahiliye Vekaleti, Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü, 1938).

The rural settlements, planned during the first years of the republic, were mostly constructed due to the housing emergency. Therefore, they were characterized by an agglomeration of dwellings with a simple necessary infrastructure. Nevertheless, Etimesgut Village was designed in accordance with the modern urbanization building program. Developed simultaneously with the urbanization of Ankara, Etimesgut Village is key to understanding the patterns and/or distinctness of building actions in the city and countryside during the first years of the republican period.[735]

### 6.1.3. To Conclude on the Village Construction during the First Years of the Republic

During the first years of the republican regime, village construction was central in the larger theme of housing the existing population and the exchanged people coming from the former Ottoman terrains into the country. All the correspondences, contracts and ministry council decisions during the 1920s, present a consent about immediately settling the incoming people. They also demonstrate the lack of economic and organizational frameworks for the projects, early republican state ran.

In other words, until the early 1930s the village planning had been undertaken by the republican regime to solve the concrete problems of the country, such as reconstructing the building stock and infrastructure in the cities and towns, housing the population, consisted of locals and immigrants, and establishing an economic welfare in the country. Therefore, the first programs had the pragmatic tone in the regime's efforts, instead of forming an idealized land in rural Turkey.

## 6.2. Building the Republican Villages

A general overview of 1930s' Turkey leads us to some crucial points: The first is that the Great Depression in the western world had a robust impact on Turkey's economy, and Turkey needed to consolidate its axis of foreign policy due to the upcoming war in Europe. The second were the particular programs of the Turkish state in its interior policy:

[735] For the comment, see Cengizkan, 'Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kırsal Yerleşim Sorunları: Ahi Mes'ud Numune Köyü', pp. 113–16.

Consolidation of the RPP, hence the Kemalist regime, after 1930 had great impact on the planning the country in socio-cultural, economic and political aspects. The incomers who arrived after Treaty of Lozan and Treaty of Amity with Bulgaria and Romania[736] demanded immediate housing. The existing population, of which the majority were living in rural areas, abandoned properties and demolished villages, were also in need of better living conditions. In addition to this, with the one-party regime, the village as a community – for rural people and the rural administration – emerged as the nucleus of the RPP's maneuver in nation building, Turkification, and consolidation of state power. These fundamental facts determined the principles of architectural planning of the villages during the 1930s.

The most significant influence of the political environment appeared in eastern Anatolia. Starting from the first years of the republic, the eastern population forcefully resisted the Kemalist regime due to the ethnic and political discrimination and poverty in the region. In response, when the regime gained the tools to consolidate its power in the 1930s, it also developed a radical authority in the country more than before on its way to "building the nation".[737] Relatedly, the organization of rural Turkey, hence the village construction,

[736] On the 18th of October 1925 the Treaty of Amity between Turkey and Bulgaria was concluded. From 1930 to 1939, more than 80.000 Turco-Bulgarians immigrated into the country. On the 17th of October 1933 the Treaty of Amity between Turkey and Romania was concluded. This treaty also paved the way for the immigration of Turco-Romanian populace into the country until early 1950s. See Yüksel Kaştan, 'Atatürk Dönemi Türkiye-Bulgaristan İlişkileri', *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, XXIV.72 (2008) <http://www.atam.gov.tr/dergi/sayi-72/ataturk-donemi-turkiye-bulgaristan-iliskileri>.; TBMM, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile Romanya Arasında Dostluk, İyi Komşuluk ve İşbirliği Antlaşmasının Onaylanmasının Uygun Bulunduğuna Dair Kanun Tasarısı ve Dışişleri Komisyonu Raporu (1/323)* (Ankara: TBMM, 13 January 1992), p. 8 <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d19/c032/tbmm19032080ss0157.pdf>.

[737] The first revolt against the new republican government happened on the 13th of February 1925 in Diyarbakir, led by Sheikh Mehmet Said for the reason that the new regime ignored the Kurdish populace and their demands after the legitimation of the Turkey in the Lozan Treaty. Üngör, pp. 124–25. The resistance was forcefully repressed by the state and the cabinet released a large-scale program to smooth the eastern provinces, hence the Kurdish population, including deportation of the rioters and Kurdish intelligentsia from the region. *Şark Islahat Planı* –Reformation Plan of the East was concluded on the 25th of September 1925 by the cabinet. Before the implementation of the reformation plan, the country separated into general inspectorships that one region inclosed the Kurdish provinces in the East. The general inspector would work with the experts of the ministries and the military in order to operate the reformation plan in the east. The regulation included 28 articles in which the Turkification of the region would be discussed and scheduled in various areas including settling the Turkish people in abandoned properties of Armenians in the Kurdish provinces; assigning the Turkish people in the governmental, administrational and judicial position in the Kurdish provinces; and inflicting punishment on people who would speak Kurdish. Mehmet Bayrak, '"Şark Islahat Planı" ve TC'nin Kürt Politikası', in *Resmi Tarih Tartışmaları 6: Resmi Tarihte Kürt'ler*, Özgür Üniversite Kıtaplığı, 76 (Ankara: Makı, 2009), pp. 389–94. This regulation demonstrated that the state sought to resolve the opposition problems via ethnic conflicts targeting the Kurdish people. This caused another revolt between 1927 and 1930 in the Ararat province. Uğur Ümit Üngör introduced that "… the Kurdish-nationalist organization 'Independence' (Xoybun) entrenched itself in the Ararat

reached its second phase, becoming a great instrument of demographic engineering in the country on behalf of the Kemalist government.

Deportation of Kurdish population from the eastern provinces led to the increase of abandoned property stock, adding abandoned housing from the deportation of Armenians in 1915.[738] The eastern provinces, such as Diyarbakir, Elazığ, Tunceli and Malatya, became emerging areas for the settlement of Turkish-speaking people, especially from Balkan countries. Accordingly, the demographic formation of the country became the fundamental operation in interior politics and also dominated building policy in rural Turkey during the 1930s.

Yet, east Anatolia was not the only region where the new population strategy changed the built environment. West Anatolia, east Thrace and some small cities in central Anatolia witnessed the nation-building project through the transfer of people. Establishing new villages, reorganizing existing settlements, and arranging properties for newcomers in towns and cities had been conducted after the population exchange agreements of Lozan Treaty that brought the Muslim people from Greek hinterlands into the country. Strategies had also been concluded by the 1924 Village Law and 1926 Settlement Law since then. However, in the 1930s the state needed new settlement legislation that would emphasize tone of Turkification as a demographic policy. The Peace Treaty between Bulgaria and Turkey in 1925, and the Peace Treaty between Romania and Turkey in 1933[739] - also

region and forcefully resisted the Kemalist government with demands of autonomy. Again, the Kemalists responded with violence and a local conflagration grew into a guerrilla war quite similar to the Sheikh Said conflict (in 1925)." Üngör, p. 148. After the suppression of the Ararat revolt, the state consolidated political power again announcing the single party government of RPP. That was followed by legislation and regulations for the reorganization of the Kurdish populace on behalf of the Turkish state. Between 1937 and 1938 the state faced another collective resistance from the Kurds in Dersim Revolt – a more localized opposition in Tunceli Province. This time Kemalist regime used army forces to suppress the rebellion and demolished the area. Faik Bulut, *Dersim Raporları: İnceleme*, Evrensel Basım Yayın Kürt Tarihi ve Kültürü Dizisi, 281–14, 3. Basım (İstanbul: Evrensel, 2005). For a comparable further reading on revolts during the early republican period see also Robert Olson, 'The Kurdish Rebellions of Sheikh Said (1925), Mt. Ararat (1930), and Dersim (1937-8): Their Impact on the Development of the Turkish Air Force and on Kurdish and Turkish Nationalism', *Die Welt Des Islams*, 40.1 (2000), 67–94.

[738] Among several documents and publications about Armenian diasposa released throughout the years here are some references: *The Armenian Genocide: The Essential Reference Guide*, ed. by Alan Whitehorn (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, an imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2015), pp. 1–11, 17–19.; Taner Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*, Human Rights and Crimes against Humanity (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2012).; *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Ronald Grigor Suny, Fatma Müge Göçek, and Norman M. Naimark (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).; Atkinson.

[739] See footnote 63.

paved the way for the new population strategies. This time, the immigrants would play a crucial role in forming a loyal "Turkish" society melting into the existing population. Furthermore, the incomers were mostly villagers and peasants in their home countries. Thus, they would serve the state's socio-cultural and economic targets for the rural country.

Following that, parliament discussions explicitly demonstrated the economic, demographic and ethnic planning aims of settlement policies: In 1934, Interior Minister Şükrü Kaya announced:

> There are approximately two million pure Turks abroad in our near surroundings. It is almost mandatory for them to come to the homeland little by little ... It is then our obligation to settle them according to the social and economic principles that the science of settlements necessities ... A nation's biggest duty is to annex everybody living within its borders to its own community, to assimilate them. The opposite has been seen with us and has dismembered the homeland.[740]

In another report, Diyarbakir's second General Inspector Ahmet Hilmi Ergeneli detailed the Kurdish deportation and the organization of settling incomers. He strongly advised that the living conditions of the new settlements in which the immigrants – "our racial brothers" in his words – would be settled, should be much more developed than their places of origin to comfort them in the country. Thus, he suggested building convenient infrastructure, designating the economic and social facilities such as "financial rewards and advanced educational opportunities, high-quality housing, children's playgrounds and sport facilities." And these groups should be housed near the railways so that the "strategic areas would be populated by a 'reliable population'".[741]

Furthermore, from the 5 to the 22nd of December 1936, the Interior Minister Şükrü Kaya congregated the General Inspectors – Abidin Özmen, Kazım Dirik, Tahsin Uzer, and Abdullah Alpdoğan in Ankara to reevaluate, first, the state's control mechanisms in the eastern Anatolian cities, the deportation of Kurds, settlement affairs, and second, the modernization program in rural Anatolia. Discussions during the conference appeared as crucial documents showing a picture of Turkey in the political, socio-cultural, economic

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[740] 'TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, IV. Dönem, 3. Devre (TBMM Journal of Official Report, Period IV, Session 3)', 23 (1934), pp. 141, 249. Quoted from: Üngör, p. 149.

[741] Ahmet Hilmi Ergeneli, 'Ergeneli to İnönü', 10 November 1934, BCA, 69.457.24. in: Hüseyin Koca, *Yakın Tarihten Günümüze Hükümetlerin Doğu-Güneydoğu Anadolu Politikaları*, Bilimsel Araştırma Dizisi, 04 (Konya: Mikro, 1998), pp. 416–20. Quated from: Üngör, p. 154.

and demographic frameworks from a wider view. Yet, the consolidation of the regime, and the Turkification of the non-Turkish population in particular, emerged in the center of the debate: The committee agreed that "there is a Kurdishness Cause in the East" that urgently required a response. In order to ease the obstacles in the eastern provinces, they concluded that the officials, who would work in the East, would be chosen among Turkish people with the encouragement from government through a higher salary, housing and promotable status. The new rural settlements would be built on the sides of the railways to house Turkish people. Considering the demographic demand of the state, these settlements could serve for the increasing Turkish-speaking immigrants. Local commissions and the general inspectors of each region would organize the construction of the new settlements. The government would supply the economic and socio-cultural infrastructure through the People's House using it as asignificant tool to plant the Turkishness into "non-Turkish places".[742]

On the other hand, during the conference other groups such as Pomaks, Cherkes and Jews were also discussed in terms of assimilation: Pomaks and Cherkes, who mostly inhabited the Thrace region, were found "adaptable" into Turkish culture because they spoke a dialect close to the Turkish language. With the culture programs they would practically be adapted to "Turkishness". However, the committee found the Jewish population in the Thrace region a crucial threat due to the fact that they dominated the local economy in the rural areas, small cities and towns.[743] The debate on the Jewish people in the Thrace region dated back to the early years of 1930s. When the Thrace region was included in the General Inspectorships, the authority firstly imposed Turkish dominance by deporting Jews and Bulgarians from the provinces such as Kırklareli, Edirne, Çanakkale and Tekirdağ in the district. But the reports mostly concentrated on the Jews declaring them "unreliable" and condemning their controlling of the trade activities in the cities and towns. In addition to this, nationalist and antisemitic writers[744] paved the way for the increase of tension among the local Turks against the Jews. In July 1934, the result was

[742] Varlık and Koçak, pp. 16–17.
[743] Varlık and Koçak, p. 22.
[744] Rıfat N. Bali announces here Nihal Atsız (1905-1975) and Cevat Rıfat Atilhan (1892-1967).

another deportation: Jewish people were expelled from the region and forced to turkify and/or sent to larger cities such as Istanbul and İzmir.[745]

Similar to the tactics in the East, the settlement policy in the western provinces would also center on the legitimation of state and the domination of "Turkishness". Balkan immigrants would again play a significant role smoothing not only the ethnic characteristics of inhabitants, but they would serve the economic program in the rural by laboring in agriculture and craftsmanship. The 1934 Settlement Law legislated "building the republican villages" on behalf of population planning and the construction of the rural country from top to bottom.

### 6.2.1. The 1934 Settlement Law

On the 6th of June 1934, the Kemalist regime implemented a new law that emerged as a critical instrument in the campaign of the RPP to blend the people in one "nation" and to control them in several spheres such as the economy, culture and social life. As Uğur Ümit Üngör explicitly expresses:

> The 1934 Settlement Law read as a typical document of an interwar nation state fortifying its ethnic boundaries through restricting citizenship, expressing a nationalist ideology, and introducing nation formation on an alien population by force. It captures the essence of demographic engineering: The Kemalists sought to increase the relative size and power of the dominant ethnic group, the Turks, at the expense of ethnic minorities. The latter were expected to decrease determinately, and ultimately evaporate into insignificance or disappear sometime in the future.[746]

A detailed look at the law and its annexes discloses that state's housing agenda, concentrated on rural planning within urbanist concepts, became a nation-building tool, and maintained the tone of modernization at the same time. The text of the law, consisting of nine chapters, gradually reveal this objective, describing the settlement regions, registration and housing of immigrants together with the local people in the settlement regions, the obligations and exemptions of the settlers, and distribution of the agricultural land to the settlers.

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[745] Rıfat Bali, *'Azınlıkları Türkleştirme Meselesi': Ne Idi? Ne Değildi?*, Tarih Dizisi, 93, 1. Baskı (İstanbul: Libra, 2014), pp. 144–45.; Rıfat Bali, *1934 Trakya Olayları*, Libra Tarih Dizisi, 54–43, 11. Baskı (İstanbul: Libra, 2014).
[746] Üngör, p. 153.

The first and second articles introduced the aim of the law: The first article described that revision of the settlement and distribution of population in Turkey was assigned by the Ministry of Interior in accordance with the program scheduled by the cabinet, considering the bounds of Turkish culture. The second article detailed the settlement areas that zoned Turkey into three types of territories: Territories numbered 1 were places where the concentration of Turkish population was to be located. Territories numbered 2 were designated for transporting and housing the population that was intended to "be Turkifed". Territories numbered 3 were areas to be set aside and forbidden from dwelling and settlement due to sanitation, economic, cultural, political and military circumstances. The Ministry of Interior suggested the cabinet could amend the zones and territories due to the changing needs in time.[747]

Acceptance of immigrants and refugees became the significant part of the law. The third article of the first chapter presented the definitions of "immigrants" and "refugees" by law. In order to settle in Turkey, only people with Turkish origin (and/or who were "culturally Turkish"[748]), immigrating into the country alone and *en masse*, as well as Turkic nomads would be accepted per the instructions of the Ministry of Interior. Only they were considered "immigrants". The Ministry of Interior would determine which people had Turkish origin and/or were culturally Turkish. "Refugees" were determined by the law as the groups who sought temporary asylum in the country due to an emergency situation.[749]

The settlement organization was determined in the seventh article and stated that immigrants and refugees with Turkish origin would be allowed to settle where they choose. However, the immigrants and refugees who requested housing assistance from the state had to settle in a location determined by the state. Likewise, non-Turkish groups had to settle and remain where the Ministry of Interior and the cabinet decided, even

[747] 'İskan Kanunu', p. 4003.
[748] The text of the 1934 Settlement Law communicates with us with the term – culturally Turkish – referring to people who were traditionally akin to Turkish language, and easily adopted to the livelihood and customs in Turkey. Here, I interpret the term as very ambigous description for Turkishness due to the nature of the concept. As briefly explaind in the second chapter, from the beginning of the discourse, definition of Turkishness remained its conflicting facets in various aspects. Its grounds changed between religion, race, geography and language under the states' nationalistic legitimations. But it was always questionable to frame "Turkishness", as well as it's controversial to make a description for any nation's characteristics.
[749] 'İskan Kanunu', p. 4003.

though they would not receive housing assistance.[750] In other words, the first chapter centered upon a general ordinance and definitions of the groups who would be organized, instead of a spatial formula to house the population.

The second chapter had the title "Mobilization in the Interior, Circumspections of Culture and Administration". Here, the law detailed the spatial organization according to territorial categorization: The Ministry of Interior would transport the villages without arable lands and source of living as well as people who lived in territories numbered 3 to more suitable areas in terms of the livelihood and sanitation. Additionally, the ministry would decide to relocate the villages where the settlements were dispersed, and it would organize removing the temporary settlements.[751]

Within the third chapter, the settlement policy was detailed: tribes –*aşirets* – who were not culturally Turkish (referring to the Kurdish groups), would be dispersedly settled in the territories numbered 2; Turkish nomads – who were culturally Turkish, would be transported to favorable areas in terms of the livelihood and sanitation within the territories 1 and 3. The Ministry of Interior would decide to deport non-Turkish nomads. The groups who did not speak Turkish could not establish a community such as village, neighborhood unit, labor and craftsmanship organization. Similarly, the law announced that the tribes – *aşirets* – and nomads who were not culturally Turkish, were certainly not allowed to settle in the territories numbered 1. Here, the non-Turkish locals were separately deported to Turkish villages, towns and city centers and settled with immigrants and refugees of Turkish origin. The territories numbered 2 would be completely designated by the authority under the Turkification aims. The Ministry of Interior and the cabinet would decide and re-organize the settlements here[752], having the power to control these groups on behalf of the authorities.

In addition to the national resolution and formalization, the settlement policy also focused on work such as the arrangements of houses or housing plots for the families, distribution of shops, ateliers and shared lands for the craftsmen and small traders, and distribution of arable lands, livestock, barn and agricultural equipments for the farmers. The land, provided for the settlers, would be distributed from expropriated areas and the terrains

[750] 'İskan Kanunu', pp. 4003–4.
[751] 'İskan Kanunu', p. 4004.
[752] 'İskan Kanunu', pp. 4004–5.

reserved for public use and forestry in and around the villages, towns and cities. The government organized settlement works, providing the building materials, labor[753] and the funding. In the newly built villages which were reconstructed, public areas such as school, mosque, village house, police station, bazaar, threshing field, cemetery, meadow, water resource and marshes would be reserved. The school, fountain, waterways and channels, and the watering facilities would be primarily constructed and/or repaired by the government.[754]

Although the settlement act (including housing the locals and incomers and maintaining the land and workplace) was introduced as if the state conducted the entire operation, people received the housing and land support through a debiting plan prepared by the government. Particularly in the territories numbered 2 – places where the state intended to Turkify – people were obligated to pay the prices of the estates within 20 years according to the payment schedule that would start after 8 years of the occupancy.[755]

#### *6.2.1.1. The Regulations of 1934 Settlement Law*

During the following years after the 1934 Settlement Law was enacted, the operation was re-arranged with the new regulations that consisted of instructions in different scopes of the law. The state sought to fundamentally consolidate the obscure articles that might have caused problems in practice. The first regulations, approved from the 7th to the 11th of August 1934 by the Minister of Interior, comprised instructions for the implementation of the law in the framework of Turkification of the population, as well as it determined the details of the land distribution in accordance with the national categorizations of this population.

Within the fourth article of the regulation numbered 15035/6599 it was announced that the government wrote a declaration of citizenship – *Tabiiyet Beyannamesi* for the people subjected to the 1934 Settlement Law. Turkish incomers had to sign this declaration and register as "immigrants". Some groups such as Pomaks, Bosnians, Tatars, and Karapapaks who had been already settled in several terrains in East Thrace and Anatolia,

[753] The government would use the public vehicles, experts and officers in order to operate the settlement act. If necessary, the settlers would work in the building sites.
[754] 'İskan Kanunu', p. 4005.
[755] 'İskan Kanunu', pp. 4007–8.

and Turkish-speaking Muslim groups such as Lezgis, Chechens, Cherkes, Abkhazians also had to sign the declaration of citizenship in order to receive settlement support from the government. Kurds, Arabs, Albanians, non-Turkish Muslims, and non-Turkish Christians and Jews did not sign the declaration of citizenship since they were considered foreigners by the state.[756] The article highlighted that the state sought to resolve the ambiguousness of descriptions of the ethnic groups and their position within 1934 Settlement Law, and to sort out the population demographically for the purpose of nationalization in particular areas.

Additionally, the regulation introduced general instructions for land and estate distribution. The state mainly referred to the derelicts that remained following the Armenian, Greek and Kurdish deportations. The immigrants who received support from government would be firstly housed in these abandoned properties and workplaces such as shops and ateliers, and arable lands. If necessary, the government would provide dwellings, land and/or workplaces to the settlers from the expropriated areas in and around the villages, towns and cities.[757]

Another regulation dated the 11th of August detailed general terms for the settlement operations for the incomers: It was declared, "the settlement operation begins with the acceptance and registration of the immigrant in the border. It ends after the meriting properties and lands are resigned with the documents of each title and given to the settlers; the production equipments and food are supplied."[758] Furthermore, the settlement operation of the non-Turkish groups (meaning Kurds) was re-emphasized and elaborated: According to regulation, these groups could not be settled in the villages and neighbourhood units where they shared the same language and ethnicity with the locals[759], and these groups could not entirely form a new village or neighbourhood unit. They could only be settled in Turkish villages and neighborhoods where they were maximum of five percent of the whole populace. They would not be abutting each other; there in between would live at least ten Turkish families. These groups would be obligated to speak

[756] T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenat Vekaleti, İskan Umum Müdürlüğü, *İskan Mevzuatı* (Ankara: Köyöğretmeni Basımevi, 1936), p. 240.
[757] T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenat Vekaleti, İskan Umum Müdürlüğü, p. 241.
[758] T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenat Vekaleti, İskan Umum Müdürlüğü, p. 247.
[759] This article demonstrated that the Ministry of Interior hesitated to name and legitimate the locals, who collaborated with the state within the frame of new settlement program, as Kurds.

Turkish, and they should be even encouraged to engage with Turkish people in order to Turkify their nations.[760]

### *6.2.1.2. The Settlement Land Regulation*

The regulations for land organization within the 1934 Settlement Law was basically developed from the 1924 Village Law and 1926 Settlement Law, and this time it was detailed in accordance with the new necessities for the incomers, the locals and deported people. In so doing, The Settlement Land Regulation – *İskan Toprak Talimatnamesi*, which concerned the land distribution and architectural organization of the new and existing settlements, was drafted from the 9 to the 11th of August 1934.[761]

In the second chapter of the regulation, the new village planning and the extension of the existing villages were laid out according to the first regulation with which the Ministry of Interior set the national organization of the population. In the 15th article of second chapter, the method of implementing the new villages and extensions was determined. The ministry would sort out the land in the villages or in appropriate rural areas to settle the newcomers with consideration of the interaction between the settlers and locals. However, the village could still be separated into the quarters for the incomers and residents.[762]

In the 20th article it was decided that in each territory a local governor and/or a committee would be established for the operation. They would agree on suitable areas for new rural settlements in cities, towns and villages by indicating the possible housing schemes, and mapping them in scales of 1/20.000, 1/5.000 and 1/1.000. Thereafter, construction work would begin and land would be prepared for distribution.[763]

Within the following articles of the regulation, the organization of rural settlement construction was defined. The place of the new settlement would be decided by the local governor himself, or by the committee, formed by the governor and consisting of a state's doctor, engineer, cadaster technician and settlement officer. They would draw the scheme

[760] T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenat Vekaleti, İskan Umum Müdürlüğü, pp. 248–49.
[761] T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenat Vekaleti, İskan Umum Müdürlüğü, pp. 259–76.
[762] T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenat Vekaleti, İskan Umum Müdürlüğü, p. 264.
[763] T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenat Vekaleti, İskan Umum Müdürlüğü, p. 266.

of the settlements, including the borders, streets, and houses in accordance with the 1924 Village Law. The experts of local government would draw up the settlement plan showing the streets and houses. The local government would also approve the settlement scheme to start the construction.[764]

The law also highlighted that the new settlements would be established in the areas in accessible to transportation (close to the railways, highways and harbors, or areas where the extension of the transportation network was planned), suitable for agriculture (in the watery and arable areas) and sanitation (in the areas where the land was reclaimed).[765] In the new rural settlements it required to reserve at least five decares for each person for the forest.[766]

The construction of the new settlements and the reconstruction of the existing villages started with reserving public areas and facilities. For this, the supply of potable water for the inhabitants and the animals emerged the primary task. According to the regulation, the new settlements would be built with 100 houses. Each house would be divided in 500 $m^2$ – 1000$m^2$ parcels, in proportion to the acreage. Each family would have at least 3000$m^2$ arable land around the villages and towns where they were dwelling. In the villages and towns, the farmers and craftsmen would receive a barn and livery stable for at least three animals if they receive the housing support from the state.[767]

The Settlement Land Regulation dated the 9 to 11$^{th}$ of August 1934 gave instructions for land organization. In this regulation, the state detailed not only the land distribution, which had been decided and elaborated on by the 1934 Settlement Law, but also the architectural program and construction schedules. In this regulation it was declared that the architectural planning of the new settlements and reconstruction of the existing villages would be coordinated and managed by the local governorates, in contrast to operations following the 1924 Village Law and 1926 Settlement Law. With this method, the settlement could be individually directed by local authorities in particular areas where the government wished to smooth and control the population.

[764] T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenat Vekaleti, İskan Umum Müdürlüğü, p. 267.
[765] T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenat Vekaleti, İskan Umum Müdürlüğü, p. 267.
[766] T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenat Vekaleti, İskan Umum Müdürlüğü, p. 268.
[767] T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenat Vekaleti, İskan Umum Müdürlüğü, pp. 269–71.

The Land Regulation of the 1934 Settlement Law made the intentions clearer that the program emerged as much broader project than simply housing people compared to the legislation and the agenda in the first years of the republic. The most apparent fact was that this time the land organization, and architectonic, economic and socio-cultural determination of the housing act also served nationalization, in contrast to early statutes like the 1924 Village Law and 1926 Settlement Law. That is to say, it was crystal clear that within the 1934 Settlement Law the regime organized comprehensive population engineering, reflecting the political climate of mid-1930s in Turkey.[768]

### 6.2.2. Villages of the 1934 Settlement Law

The 1934 Law paved the way for a settlement policy through which locals, Turkish immigrants and Kurds could be blended together within the nationalization program. The application of the law and its regulations took place in particular in the rural areas surrounding larger cities, in small Anatolian towns, in villages from which communities were deported, and in the new rural settlements. Particularly these villages, which were built as the outcomes of the 1934 Settlement Law, became an important tool for the RPP in forming the nation, modernizing and internally colonizing the people through architecture.

After the execution of the 1934 Settlement Law, it was declared that 50.000 Turco-Romanian immigrants would be welcome and given the Turkish citizenship by the state. The Housing Department of the Interior Ministry would guide this operation. At the same time the Police Departments would be responsible for incomers' security in the arrival cities and they would also guard and control immigrants during their transportation to the settlements. The reports announced that, immigrants would arrive in Istanbul as the first receiving location. Here they would ve registered by the officers registered and prepared for the travel[769] to towns and villages where they were settled. General Inspectorates in provinces of Thrace conducted the housing program not only in the region but also in

[768] See also Yadirgi, p. 180.
[769] '50.000 Muhacir Gelecek (50.000 Immigrants Will Come)', *Cumhuriyet* (Istanbul, 7 October 1934), pp. 1, 4.

eastern Anatolian provinces. But, at the end of 1934 new neighborhoods in the towns and complete settlements in the villages for the immigrants were still under construction.[770]

The immigration continued in the following years and exacerbated the problems of housing organization in rural areas. In May 1935, it was reported that General Inspectors and local governors were forming a commission for the operation. The Thrace region emerged as a target district for the government. There were considerable efforts made to settle the first groups of incomers, such as arranging building sites for rural houses and the land for the agriculture,[771] and 90.000 Liras had already been spent for the preparations.[772]

Besides, in order to administrate the village rehabilitation, the Village Office in the local governorate of İzmir – *İzmir Köy Bürosu* was founded by the governor Kazim Dirik in 1931. When Kazim Dirik became the General Inspector of Thrace in 1935, he established the organization for the whole region, announcing it as the Village Office of Thrace – *Trakya Köy Bürosu*. This was a forerunner to the state's regulation in 1936 founding "the Province Village Offices" in cities where the 1934 Settlement Law was implemented.[773] Now the village offices became the local authority accommodating the incomers and population from eastern Anatolia following deportation. Nevertheless, constructing houses for immigrants emerged as the crucial problem for the government to complete the operation immediately.

On the 1st of May1935 the government and the People's House called for an architectural competition for village houses in the new rural settlements, particularly in the Thrace region, and promoted Turkish architects to cooperate. The jury consisted of the director of the People's House, a professor and architect from the Fine Arts Academy, and an architect from the Architect's Chamber. The participants proposed two different housing typologies focusing on local building techniques and materials. (the villagers and settlers

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[770] 'Trakya'ya Yerleştirilen Muhacirler (Immigrants Who Are Settled in Thrace)', *Cumhuriyet* (Istanbul, 16 November 1934), p. 2.
[771] '50.000 Göçmenin Anayurda Nakli, Bu İşlerle Uğraşacak Bir Komisyon Kuruldu (Transporting 50.000 Immigrants into the Homeland, A Commission Has Been Established for the Operation)', *Cumhuriyet* (Istanbul, 13 May 1935), p. 2.
[772] 'Göçmenler Için Malzeme Alındı (Construction Materials Have Been Bought for the Immigrants)', *Cumhuriyet* (Istanbul, 20 May 1935), p. 2.
[773] TBMM, *Regulation for 'the Province Village Offices'*, 1936. In: Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu', p. 148.

could build houses themselves), as well as considering the low budget, sanitation, functionality, the livelihoods of the dwellers, the climate (the first group would be settled in Thrace region and in the villages around Istanbul, thus the climate and environment of these districts should be considered in the design), and national tones (the houses should architecturally reflect the "Turkish" style).[774]

The Village House Competition was a significant effort, demonstrated state's efforts to develop the housing operation into a standardized project that would be organized by the local authorities, and easily carried out by settlers and locals together. Turkish architects also agreed with the concept that the implementation of rural settlements (including constructing brand-new villages and building new quarters around existing villages) should be considered in an architecturally systematic organization. However, they criticized the process in the first years, claiming that the state's early housing solutions were concluded without any research on the village and the village community. The costs of construction were too high for any villager to be able to build a house by his own means. Architect Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu pointed out another dimension of this issue: "The son of the villager would expect that the state would build a house for him as well as it built a house for his father. If not, … he would become an enemy to the regime." [775] And he continued:

> 1. Firstly, the existing village houses and the wishes of the villagers who have been already living in the rural settlements should be studied. Accordingly, new planning for villages and the new typology for village houses should be concluded (It could be accomplished by zoning the country and designing 5-6 typologies). 2. A "modern" sanctuary, which would replace the "mosque", should be built in order to bring the villager under the same roof, to transmit the regime's ideals and the reforms]. 3. The new village and village house should be planned in accordance with local techniques and materials [that the villager could easily construct and repair]. 4. They should be as cheap as the villagers could build through their own means. 5. In the party [RPP], a new branch should be established in order to cope with this assignment. The branch should teach and explain to the villagers [how to build the settlement and the houses].[776] (Emphasis added)

The winner was the architect Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu. He introduced two typologies for village houses: type one included two rooms, a small interior storage, a porch in the front, and semi-open barn at the back. The plan was symmetrical, having the entrance in

[774] 'Köy Evleri Proje Müsabakası', *Arkitekt*, 51.3 (1935), 93.
[775] Kozanoğlu, 'Köy Evleri Proje ve Yapıları İçin Toplu Rapor', p. 204.
[776] Kozanoğlu, 'Köy Evleri Proje ve Yapıları İçin Toplu Rapor', p. 204. Author's translation.

the center. Type two was located on a lager site and included two rooms, a large hall with the opening to the entrance, a kitchen and a storage room, a porch in the front, and a closed barn which was also accessible from the interior. Kozanoğlu also considered the environmental differences, presenting ideas for flat and sloping land. The common concept for both plans was to use local building materials and techniques. In so doing, he suggested timber construction combined with adobe walls. In both interiors he sought to create a "traditional", and/hence "national" life in the houses.[777] **(Figure 6.8)**

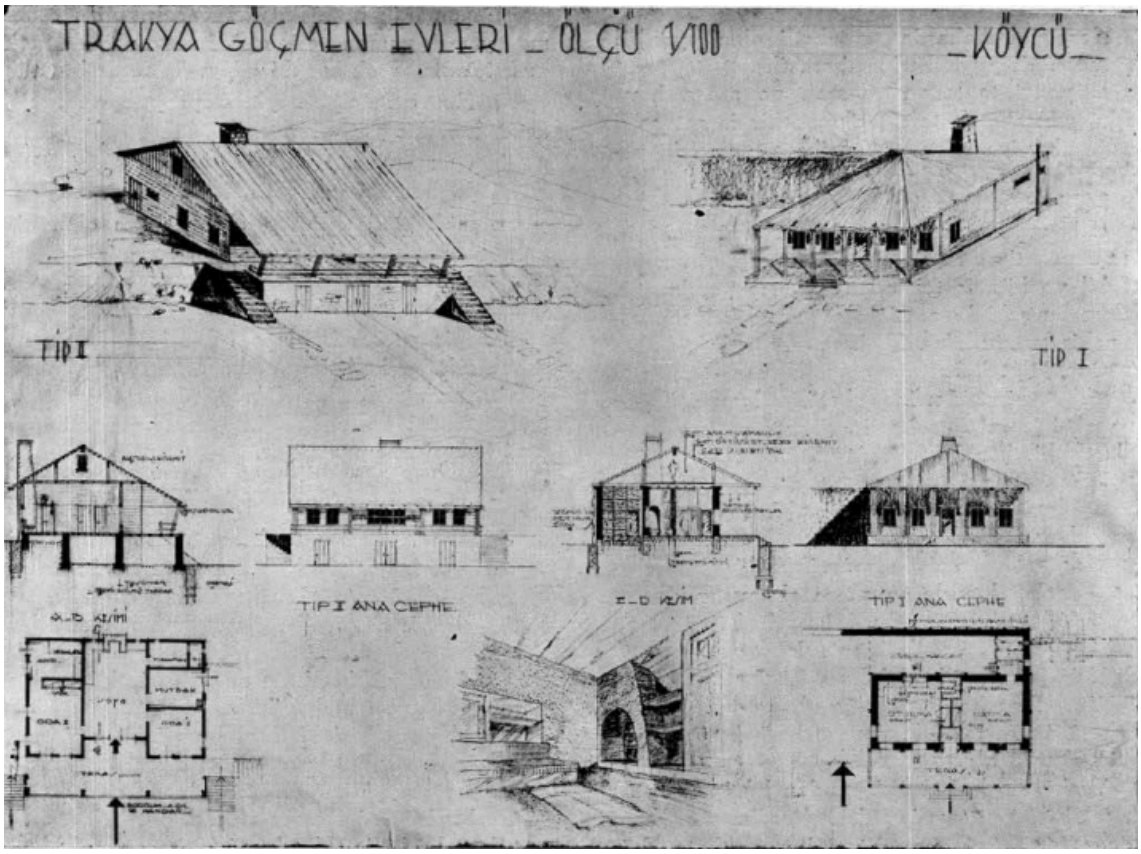


**Figure 6.8.** Winner project of Village House Competion for Thrace region, by architect Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu.[778] (*Arkitekt*, 1935)

State architect Behçet Ünsal also participated in the competition with two typologies. The house was planned for small families, consisted of two rooms and a corral, which was not directly connected to the rooms but attached to the house. It located on approximately 66m$^2$ floor space. The house planned for larger families was designed according to traditional aspects: The rooms were arranged around an atrium, as well as the "traditional

[777] Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, 'Halkevi Trakya Göçmen Evleri Proje Müsabakasında Kazanan Eserin Raporu', *Arkitekt*, 55–56.07–08 (1935), 205–6.
[778] Kozanoğlu, 'Halkevi Trakya Göçmen Evleri Proje Müsabakasında Kazanan Eserin Raporu', p. 205.

Anatolian village house". It consisted of two rooms, a kitchen and cellar, two corrals and a barn. The house was located on approximately 286m$^2$ floor space.[779] **(Figure 6.9, Figure 6.10)**

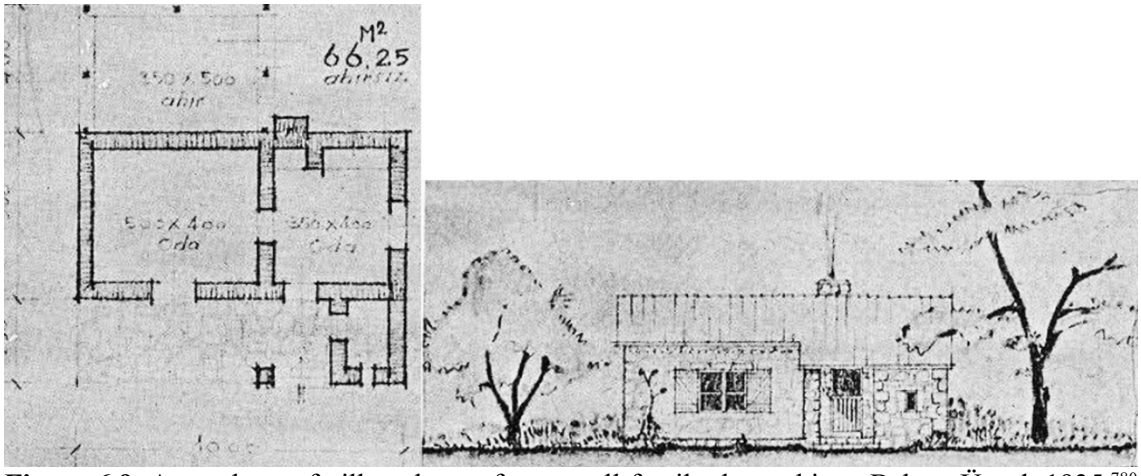


**Figure 6.9.** A typology of village house for a small family, by architect Behçet Ünsal, 1935.[780] (*Arkitekt*, 1940)

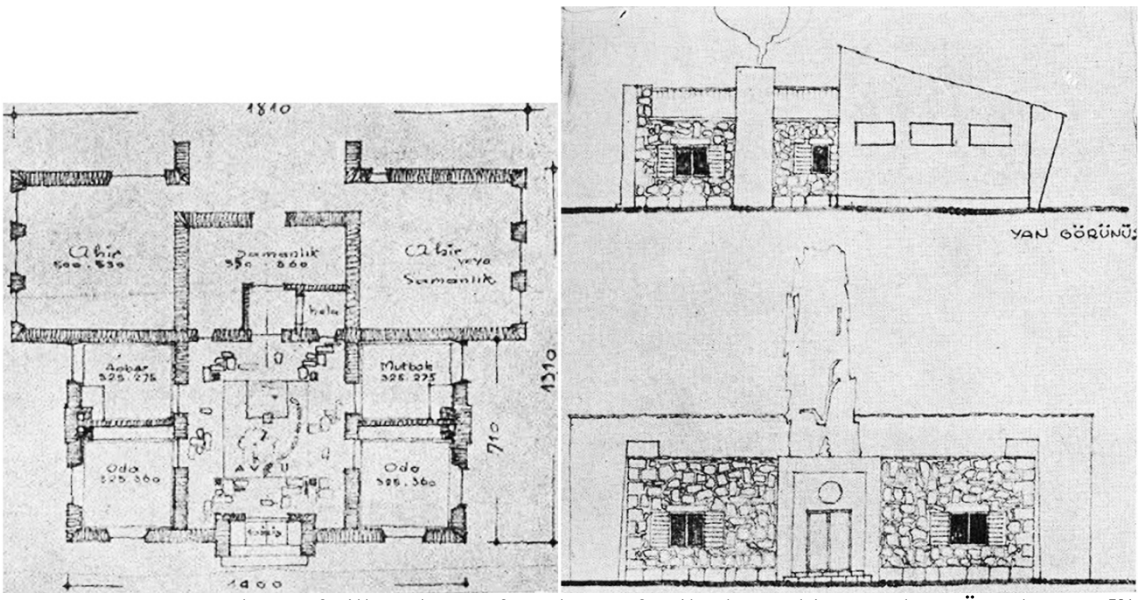


**Figure 6.10.** A typology of village house for a larger family, by architect Behçet Ünsal, 1935.[781] (*Arkitekt*, 1940)

However, the building expenses of the introduced projects were too high for the government's budget. Therefore, the Housing Department of Interior Ministry implemented another housing plan, which the settlers could participate in the construction. It was based on two-room organization, including a small area in the

[779] Behçet Ünsal, 'Bir Köy Evi Tipi', *Arkitekt*, 109–110.1–2 (1940), 17.
[780] Ünsal, 'Bir Köy Evi Tipi'.
[781] Ünsal, 'Bir Köy Evi Tipi'.

entrance that the settler could use as a cellar, and a corral attached to the house towards the garden. This house cost only 800 Liras.[782] **(Figure 6.11)**

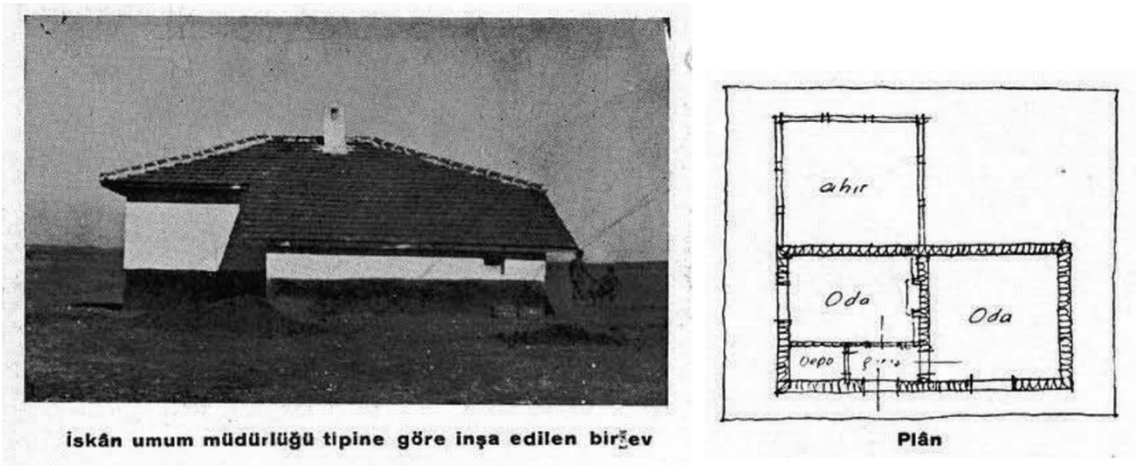


**Figure 6.11.** The village house, implemented by the Housing Department of Interior Ministry.[783] (*Arkitekt*, 1940)

The implementation of village houses was reported in the newspapers. The Housing Department of Interior Ministry introduced a prototype for rural houses for the incoming Turco-Romanians, and planned to complete the project by the end of the year in several rural areas, especially in Thrace. The operation would continue in other regions by bringing not only more Turkish-speaking immigrants from Romania, but also from other Balkan countries into the country.[784] At the end of the year, within the regulation dated the 19th of December 1935, (numbered 3711), the cabinet provided instructions for organizing housing and caring for the immigrants, and sent to the local governorates a procurement list including construction materials (stone, bricks, lime and an assessment of their resources), agriculture equipment and animals, food and animal feed, medicines and medical equipments, and shelters. Another enactment dated the 22nd of June 1936, (numbered 2/4847) shows that the cabinet budgeted 1,750,000 Liras for accommodating the Balkan immigrants into the country.[785]

In November 1936, in parliament Mustafa Kemal Ataturk called attention to the urgent need to house the Balkan incomers: “Settling our new-coming citizens who are currently

[782] Ünsal, ‘Bir Köy Evi Tipi’.
[783] Behçet Ünsal, ‘Sincan Köyü Planı’, *Arkitekt*, 109–110.1–2 (1940), 15–16 (p. 16).
[784] ‘50.000 Göçmen Için Trakya’da Hep Bir Tip Evler Yaptırılıyor (For 50.000 Immigrants Prototype Houses Are Being Constructed in Thrace)’, *Cumhuriyet* (Istanbul, 29 May 1935), p. 2.
[785] T.C. Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenat Vekaleti, İskan Umum Müdürlüğü, pp. 159–60.

arriving in the homeland, is one of our principal devoirs. We are furnishing [the operation] in order to house the immigrants suitably, and to induce them [in agriculture and other fields of manufacture] readily. The results, we have already achieved, are assuring. We will eagerly continue this national matter within the bounds of possibilities."[786] (Emphasis added.) In 1937 the Journal of Municipalities – *Belediyer Dergisi* the state announced the intent to complete 18,114 village houses in the rural areas of several cities in Anatolia and Thrace within the 4 years.[787] In addition to the list of the Journal of Municipalities, village houses in the new settlements were constructed in Sincan Village in Ankara; Harbato and Özmen villages in Diyarbakir.[788]

After the 1934 Settlement Law, the largest number of incomers and deported population were settled in Tekirdag province in Thrace. According to the report of the Journal of Municipalities, from 1934 to 1937 the government constructed 6,727 village houses for the new dwellers. The new settlement in Muratli emerged as a crucial example of the project to determine rural life in the countryside consistent with the framework of new economic, demographic and cultural ambitions of the Turkish state.

In the beginning of the 20th Century Muratli, was a small rural settlement also accessable by rail. Therefore, until the first years of the republic, the population of the town increased, and it became a convenient area to settle the first wave of incomers. Between 1925 and 1933, 56 dwellings were constructed for 107 immigrants from Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia. After the 1934 Settlement Law, the area was planned as the largest "new rural settlement" in the Thrace region, building 700 village houses for the dwellers. Between 1935 and 1939, 656 rural houses were constructed and 23,670 decares land were provided for the settlers. The site was planned in a grid scheme, but during the implementation of the project some aspects were changed. The houses, constructed of timber and adobe bricks, were placed on 1000 $m^2$ plots. Although they followed the same typology as the other implementations of the Housing Department of Interior Ministry, they had a symmetrical arrangement.[789] **(Figure 6.12, Figure 6.13)**

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[786] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *1 İkinci Teşrin 1936'da Atatürk'ün Kamutay'daki Nutku*, T.C. Trakya Umumi Müfettişliği Köy Bürosu, 40 (İstanbul: Halk Basımevi, 1937), p. 8. Author's translation.
[787] 'Göçmen Evleri ve Köyleri', *Belediyeler Dergisi*, 29.12 (1937), 53–55.
[788] Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu', p. 155.
[789] Eres, 'Türkiye'de Planlı Kırsal Yerleşmelerin Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlı Kırsal Mimarisinin Korunması Sorunu', pp. 240–44.; Eres, 'Muratlı: Bir Cumhuriyet Köyü'.

**Figure 6.12.** Muratlı Village, Tekirdag, Thrace region, 1935.[790] (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1938)

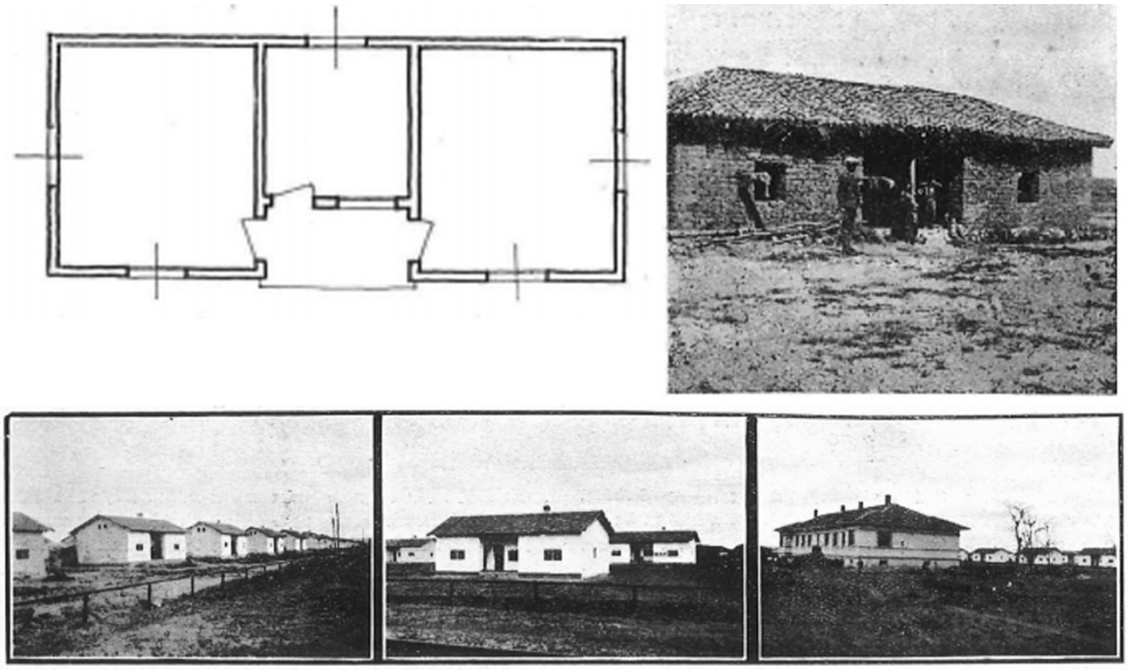

**Figure 6.13.** Muratlı Village, Tekirdag. Village House typology with two rooms and the entrance, the construction of timber-adobe houses and an overall view of the new settlement in 1936.[791] (*Arkitekt*, 1936)

[790] 'L'Immigration En Turquie', *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 23.Janvier (1938), 15–18 (p. 15).
[791] Sayar, 'İç Kolonizasyon: Kolonisation Intérieure', pp. 46–48.

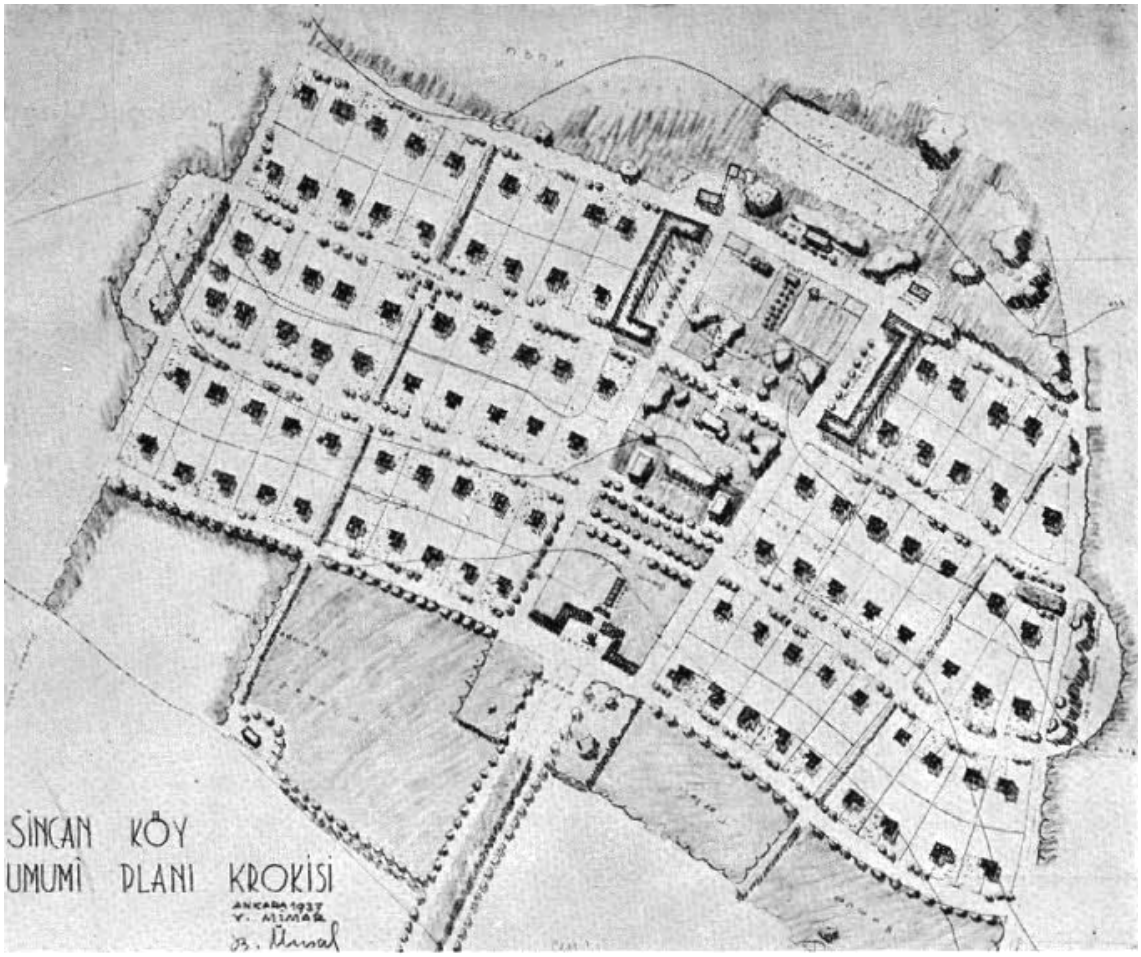


**Figure 6.14.** Sincan Village, Ankara, by architect Behçet Ünsal in 1937.[792] (*Arkitekt*, 1940)

Following that, Sincan Village in Ankara was planned by the state architect Behçet Ünsal for Turco-Romanian immigrants coming into the country in 1937. This emerged as another examplar plan for new rural settlements following the 1934 Settlement Law. Sincan was situated on the western Ankara and neighboring the Etimesgut Village. Etimesgut Village had been constructed starting from the late 1920s as one of the first exemplar village projects of the republican state. Accoding to Behçet Ünsal's plan, the new settlement was located on the hillside behind the railway station. A 25-meter wide road from the railway station was the main access to the village. Agricultural fields and gardens were on the outskirts of the settlement. The main road led to the public core of the village, which included the guest house, nursery and its annexes, washhouse, and school. The end of this area was designated for the power plant, village library, coffee

[792] Ünsal, 'Sincan Köyü Planı', p. 15.

house, bazaar and mosque, and the central organization of public facilities was extended by a public park. The top of the hill was arranged to provide water resources for the dwellers and agricultural activities in the village. **(Figure 6.14)**

The new settlements in Diyarbakir were built to contribute to the demographic transformation of the region. According to the General Inspector of Diyarbakir Abidin Özmen[793], the province and its surroundings would be developed in accordance with the decisions of a commission consisting of "experts such as artisans, administrators, settlement bureaucrats, judges, doctors, engineers, architects and scientist bureaucrats" aiming to build "three to five Turkish villages of 100 houses every year at a cost of 600 lira." Özmen also declared that "this way our progressive nation can assimilate the backward nation and establish economic dominance in a Turkish center."[794]

In sum, the implementations of the 1934 Settlement Law fundamentally had two significant aims for the rural sphere in Turkey: The first one was that settling the incomers would drive the demographic program forward, the objective of which was to conform the whole population to a predominant Turkishness. Thus, either the incomers would be settled in completely restrainable places along the railways and highways, hence in the accessable areas for the state, or they would be settled together with the locals and deported population in order to smooth potential conflicts in the countryside. Likewise, the Journal *La Turquie Kemaliste* annoucned that until 1938, almost 80.000 Turco-Bulgarians and Turco-Romanians, and 10.000 Turco-Yugoslavians were accomodated by the state, not only in separated settlements but also together with locals. Besides, "350 families from eastern Anatolia" were settled together with Balkan immigrants in the village houses and new rural settlements built in Thrace provinces.[795] The report reveals the demographic ambitions of the settlement operation: Balkan immigrants were instrumentalized in "Turkifying" and easing the strength of the "culturally non-Turkish" population in Turkey.

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[793] The Inspectorate included also some other provinces in eastern Anatolia such as Elazığ, Urfa, Bitlis, Van, Hakkari, Mardin and Agri.
[794] Koca, pp. 495–97; in: Üngör, p. 162.
[795] 'L'Immigration En Turquie', p. 16. Ümit Uğur Üngör introduces the statistic report of Turkey Prime Ministry: "According to official sources, the total number of Kurds deported to the west in the 1930s was 25,381 people in 5074 households." Üngör, p. 162.

The second aspiration of the 1934 Settlement Law concerned the economic program of 1930s Turkey. Especially Balkan immigrants, again, were favored by the economic program grounded in agriculture and agriculture-based industry: The report from the daily newspaper *Cumhuriyet,* dated the 29th of May 1935, briefly presented this ideal: 10.000 Turco-Bulgarian immigrants were expected in the county until the end of 1935. The tobacco farmers among these incomers would be settled in places where they could labor in the field and participate in agrarian production.[796] Moreover, around the new settlements and dwellings, the state expropriated agricultural land for farmer and artisan inhabitants. It provided tools and equipments as well as animals and breeds from the state's farms. La Turquie Kemaliste announced the goal to found 85 more agricultural credit cooperatives until the end of 1939.[797] Once again, the new rural settlements, and the new quarters built as the extentions of the existing villages provided an emerging space that developed into an architectonic language, spoken in the countryside.

### 6.2.3. Republican Villages in İzmir

#### *6.2.3.1. Urbanization of İzmir and the Impact on Village Construction during the Early Republican Period*

An overview of the reconstruction of İzmir during the early republican period shows the intentions of the rural settlement projects in the city. The rehabilitation of İzmir in accordance with republican aims was another focus of the state's agenda starting from the end of Turco-Greek War in 1922. The first step began after the great fire of İzmir in 1922 that completely destroyed 20 to 25 thousand dwellings in the city center. Therefore, from 1924 to 1935, the republican state focused on the restoration of the destroyed area to rebuild the necessary dwellings and the infrastructure.[798]

During the Lausanne Treaty Meetings in 1923, the republican delegates met with architect and planner Henri Prost. In accordance with his consultancy, the municipality of İzmir put urbanist Rene Danger in charge of reconstruction with a priority on ruined areas in the center. Between 1924 and 1925, Danger and Prost first introduced a plan for the

[796] '50.000 Göçmen Için Trakya'da Hep Bir Tip Evler Yaptırılıyor (For 50.000 Immigrants Prototype Houses Are Being Constructed in Thrace)'.
[797] 'L'Immigration En Turquie', p. 17.
[798] Cınar Atay, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları* (İzmir: Yaşar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı, 1998), pp. 180–92; Hülya Gedikler Gölgesiz, *1950'li Yıllarda İzmir* (İzmir: Şenocak Yayınları, 2012), p. 69.

economic and residential re-organization of the city. The municipality implemented the plan by expropriating former properties for dwellings, as well as by offering new zones for sale to traders, financial associations and handicraftsmen.

Together with the Municipalities Law dated the 3rd of April 1930, numbered 1580, and the urbanist initiatives of the new mayor Behçet Uz, the Danger-Prost plan was revised in 1932 and consulted by Herman Jansen, Ankara's urban planner. In addition to the reconstruction of residential areas, the organization of the Harbor and industrial districts, as well as the main axis of city center, the revision paved the way for formation of the Culture Park which emerged as the landmark of the republican state in the city. Between 1934 and 1936 the Culture Park, located on an area of roughly 42 hectares and accessible from the harbor, historical bazaar, and ancient Agora, was designed for international fairs representing state's planning of İzmir as well as the planning of the capital city Ankara.[799] **(Figure 6.15)**

**Figure 6.15.** A view towards the Culture Park,1936.[800] (*Arkitekt*, 1936)

[799] Cana Bilsel, 'Ideology and Planning During the Early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for İzmir and Scenarios of Modernization', *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, 16.1–2 (1996), 13–30 (pp. 14–21); Cana Bilsel, 'İzmir'de Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlaması (1923-1965): 20. Yüzyıl Kentsel Mirası', *Ege Mimarlık*, 71.4 (2009), 12–17 (pp. 12–15); Gedikler Gölgesiz, pp. 69–70.
[800] Tomsu Muammer, '1936 İzmir Fuarı', *Arkitekt*, 70–71.10–11 (1936), 283–84 (p. 283).

The reconstruction of İzmir during the 1930s was also reported on by European scholars such as Lilo Linke, Robert Anhegger and Andreas Tietze. They travelled in the country to observe the Kemalist transformation not only among the intelligentsia and in the city culture, but also among the people and in the rural landscape. Erik-Jan Zürcher introduces the diaries of travellers that present an important perspective on the circumstances of the country, especially in İzmir:

> Along the railway line from Eskisehir to Afyonkarahisar and İzmir, she [Linke] sees lots of deserted and ruinous villages and both the dairies and Linke describe how, thirteen to fifteen years after the great fire, the old Greek and Armenian quarters of İzmir are still in ruins. The debris is still being cleared. Some building activity was going on, but it was still very patchy. By the time the Anhegger/Tietze party arrived, part of the old Greek quarter had been turned into a huge "Culture Park" *(Kültür Parkı)* where the international fair was being held (although the international dimension at this time was very modest indeed).[801]

The Danger-Prost plan did not account for a large-scale urbanization. Therefore, the reconstruction had never been implemented completely and systematically. By the end of the 1930s, mayor Behçet Uz attempted to establish an urbanization office within the municipality. This was after he called on Le Corbusier to draw up a master plan for the city center, the surroundings along the gulf, and a development proposal for the hinterland. According to the agenda, Le Corbusier would prepare the concept and plans, and the urbanization office in the municipality of İzmir would elaborate on and implement the project with his consultancy. Although the parties agreed to the schedule, the project was suspended until 1948 when Le Corbusier visited the city for the first time since he did not present any plans to the urbanization office of municipality of İzmir until then. In early 1949, the architect submitted a master plan including 22 drafts and diagrams. He proposed a larger port where import and export activities from all over the country would take place and to which the industrial areas would be well connected. Le Corbusier also introduced the "Green Industrial Settlement" extending the existing industrial area, railway line and the harbor, towards the north of the gulf. According to the project report, the principal "Green Industrial Settlement" concept was based on an organization that embraced the industrial production bases and workers' habitat in a wide green zone. Here

[801] Erik Jan Zürcher, 'Two Young Ottomanists Discover Kemalist Turkey, The Travel Dairies of Robert Anhegger and Andreas Tietze', *Journal of Turkish Studies*, Essays in Honour of Barbara Flamming II, 26.I (2002), 359–69 (p. 363).

the workers would benefit from a clean and healthy environment without leaving the domain.[802]

All in all, the reconstruction of the city was never completely concluded by the early republican cadre until mid-1950s.[803] The center was partially built and developed in accordance with the most urgent necessities such as the regeneration of the harbor area, the bazaar and small production ateliers, and construction of dwellings for locals and newcomers. In other words, the urbanization of İzmir during the early republican period concentrated on the coastal strip, with an emphasis on city center and its transportation connections to the outback. The Culture Park, planned by the office of civil works in municipality of İzmir, gradually became the most significant component of the reconstruction operation in the city. The project not followed the European Public Park model, but also transformed the area into a green plaza, fairground, and provided an affordable solution for the ruined district instead of rebuilding the demolished houses. It also emerged as a memorial space for the new republic in the city center instead of representing inhabitants of the former state.

Neither plan – Rene Danger and Henri Prost's plan or Le Corbusier's master plan – addressed agricultural geography and its potential. They lacked a defined strategy for the rural edges of İzmir, despite the fact that the city had a tradition of industrial production based on agrarian goods. This approach reflects the bifurcation of the state's urbanization and countryside rehabilitation agendas. Namely, the reconstruction of the city was not paired with the planning of new settlements in rural İzmir in the demographic, socio-cultural and economic programs of republican state.

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[802] Bilsel, 'Ideology and Planning During the Early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for İzmir and Scenarios of Modernization', pp. 21–26; Cana Bilsel, 'Le Corbusier'nin İzmir Nazım Planı ve "Yeşil Endüstri Sitesi" Önerisi', *Ege Mimarlık*, 31.3 (1999), 13–17; Özlem Genel Altınkaya, 'İzmir Nazım Planı: Le Corbuiser'nin Mimarlığı'nda Mekânsal Bir Strateji Olarak Lineerlik', *Ege Mimarlık*, 96.2 (2017), 40–43.

[803] In 1951 the municipality of İzmir organized an international competition for urban planning of the city, establishing a jury including the mayor, civil servants, Turkish architect and German Architect Paul Bonatz and British Architect Sir Patrick Aber`bie as well. Architect Kemal Ahmet Aru won the competition. However, the implementation was postponed until 1955. Gedikler Gölgesiz, pp. 71–72.

*6.2.3.2. Motives for Building the Republican Villages in the Rural İzmir*

Despite the urbanization politics applying only to a small territory of the city, İzmir had was crucially important for agriculture and trade in the early republican economic program. İzmir was home to an expanding harbor, and at the same time, the infrastructure of its hinterland was convenient for not only advancing agrarian activities, but also for shifting the production and transportation of the goods[804]. Furthermore, the rural population was still the majority in broader İzmir.[805] Along with the state's project on the economic capacity of the city and its region[806], during the mid-1930s Turkish scholars studied İzmir and its domain through an academic lens. This work assisted the republican cadre in first forming an economic plan, and later a demographic plan for western Anatolia.[807]

In addition to this, the administrative structure of the city was also developed in the rural regions. The government plans were uncomplicatedly installed in smaller towns and villages. Thus, the People's House and its Village Affairs' Branch actively participated in the rehabilitation of rural İzmir from the foundation of the institution in 1932. The local governor Kazim Dirik, who held this post until 1935, established the organization of a committee including a veterinarian, an agriculturalist, a teacher and a doctor, which started to work in the nearest villages.[808] The Village Affairs' Branch worked together with the Village Office in the city governorate established by Kazim Dirik in 1931.

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[804] The city and its hinterland started to develop with the Levantine groups in Ottoman State from the 19th century. British traders in particular concentrated the agricultural and industrial activities in the region and they built the first railway line between the harbor and Aydın – a city in İzmir's hinterland with a remarkable agricultural potential. The line provided for the transportation of industrial raw material and agricultural goods. The second line was constructed between the harbor and Turgutlu – a small town in the hinterland towards the east of the city. Philip Mansel, 'Cities of the Levant - The Past for the Future?', *Asian Affairs*, 45.2 (2014), 220–42 <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2014.907006>; Abdullah Martal, *Belgelerle Osmanlı Döneminde İzmir* (İzmir: Ankara: Yazıt Yayıncılık, 2007), pp. 38–61.

[805] According to the population census in 1935, 310,063 of 596,078 were living in the rural towns and villages. *1935 20 İlkteşrin Genel Nüfus Sayımı; Türkiye Nüfusu, Vilayet, Kaza, Şehir ve Köyler İtibarile Muvakkat Rakamlar - Populatıon de La Turquie 20 Octobre-1935 Recensement General de La Populatıon Par Provınces, Districts, Villes et Villages, Chiffes Provisoires*, Başvekalet Devlet İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü, 74 (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1935), p. I.

[806] See the Fourth Chapter "4.2.Economic Planning of Turkish Village".

[807] Danyal Bediz, 'İzmir (Smyrna); Und Sein Wirtschaftsgeographisches Einzugsgebiet' (unpublished Dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1935); A. Naim (Hakim) Öktem, 'Die Stellung (İzmir) Smyrna Im Weltverkehr Und Welthandel' (unpublished Dissertation, Friedrich Wilhelms Universität zu Berlin, 1935).

[808] Yaşar Akyol, *İzmir Halkevi (1932-1951)*, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 60 (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2008), p. 66.

In the same year, the governor and the committee held a conference series in Bornova Agriculture School instructing 40 village teachers. This group visited the villages in the region in order to survey the condition of the countryside. During excursions in the following years, the doctors and veterinarians worked on public health in the villages, agriculturalists assisted and instructed the villagers, and officials observed the urgencies of the rural community. The branch encouraged the villagers to trade their agricultural products in the urban markets. Also, in 1935, governor Kazim Dirik started a series of lectures for the village headmen about "Village Affairs in the Turkish Revolution", focusing on administrative and legislative subjects in the village community. Nevertheless, from 1934 the branch engaged in state propaganda in the countryside by requesting the participation of villagers in national celebrations in İzmir and the towncenters of the city. Also, the visiting groups concentrated on the republican reforms and programs in the village community.[809]

That is to say, the agenda of Village Affairs' Branch of İzmir People's House was to assist the rehabilitation of the rural city in the beginning of 1930s. The focus of the organization shifted from fulfilling the urgent needs of villages to including them in the state's programs. In rural İzmir and its hinterland, the People's House sought to modernize the villages with the instructions in sanitation and public health, to develop the economy with the guidance in agricultural methods, as well as with organization aimed to consolidate the state's administrative structure with the 1924 Village Law and 1934 Settlement Law, and finally to transmit social reforms into the village community with education.

Together with the surveys, studies and practices of People's House and the Village Affairs' Branch, the state also intensified the *Village* as a crucial topic along with the regions and provinces. On the 31st of July 1936, the Interior Ministry announced the Five Years Plans for the Villages in every province of the country in order to implement the 1934 Settlement Law and the 1924 Village Law, and to boost social and economic rural life. The local governors would establish a committee that would prepare the plan and report in the parliament.[810]

[809] Akyol, pp. 120–23.
[810] 'Köyler Için Beşer Yıllık Plan', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 31 July 1936), p. 5.

Early in 1937, the preparation for the Five Years Plan of the Villages in İzmir continued to focus on village schools and education. With the permission of the Culture Ministry a new education institute for the village teachers that focused on instruction for the villagers in agriculture and socio-cultural topics began to accept the scholars in İzmir.[811] In accordance with the development plan, the governorate provided farm animals and working animals for peasants to improve agricultural conditions in the rural areas. Moreover, the Agriculture Ministry proposed building a modern dairy farm in rural İzmir within the five-year plan. The governorate began to expropriate land in favorable areas, especially in Torbalı town.[812]

On the 25th of March 1937 the parliament promulgated the Five Years Cultural Development Plan for the Villages in İzmir Province. In order to fulfill the cultural agenda of the Kemalist regime in the villages of İzmir, a committee gathered under the cultural directorship of A. Rıza Özkut in the Village Affairs' Branch of People Houses and introduced a program in ten articles regarding the socio-cultural situation of rural İzmir. This program was also designed to also improve the economic circumstances of the city. Thus, the development plan included assessments of İzmir's villages compared to other villages in the country, demographic estimations to plan socio-cultural programs in İzmir's villages, evaluation of the culture and demography of İzmir's villages, organization of schools in the underpopulated villages in İzmir and keeping village instructors for İzmir's villages, cultural politics in İzmir's villages, programs for the assimilation of non-Turkish groups and consolidation of Turkish culture among the immigrants in İzmir's villages, periodical inspections of village schools in İzmir, development of new manoeuvres to connect the village teachers to villages in İzmir, and

[811] According to the news dated on 21st March 1937, the Institute for the Village Teachers started the education in the following academic semester. This institute was one of the first implementation of the Village Institutes project, practically started in 1938 and legitimated in 1940 by law. See *"Turkish Village between Socio-Cultural and Economic Planning – The Village Institutes"* in the previous chapter.

[812] 'Mektepsiz Köy Kalmayacak, Beş Yıllık Program Tamamlanmak Üzere', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 16 January 1937), p. 2; 'Beş Yıllık Köy Kalkınma Programımızda Köy Mekteplerinin Tamamlanması İşi Başta Gelmektedir', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 17 January 1937), pp. 1, 7; 'Köy Öğretmeni Enstitüsü Önümüzdeki Ders Yılında Açılacaktır.', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 21 March 1937), p. 2; 'Köy Kalkınma Planına Göre Hazırlanan Program, Elli Aygır, Yetmiş Eşek Aygırı ve Dörtyüzelli Boğa Satın Alınacaktır', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 21 February 1937), p. 4; 'Modern İnekhane, Yerin İstimlakına Derhal Başlanıyor', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 13 March 1937), p. 2.

finally development of new methods for village teachers to assist the government in the village affairs.[813]

The report announced that in 1937, in İzmir only 263 villages out of 629 had schools that provided only the primary and secondary education. Therefore, it was suggested to construct more education buildings in the villages, to organize school associations between smaller villages, to supply more teaching and training equipment for the children, and to regulate the village community via a systematized education program with a better assistance of village teachers in rural İzmir.[814]

One of the crucial tenets of the program was to integrate the rural population into the nationalization project. The report pointed out that a cultural program for İzmir's villages should emphasize the assimilation and consolidation of the Turkish culture. Particularly non-Turkish people and immigrants would be the target group to start. The culture director A. Rıza Özkut advocated "to remove and cause to forget the national classifications of Albanian, Bosnian, Pomak, Cretan, Romanian and Bulgarian", and it was necessary to begin Turkification tactics especially for the children. Therefore, he campaigned primarily for schools and libraries in the new settlements to acquaint rural people with "Turkish culture".[815]

On the other hand, the demographic character of the city changed during the Turco-Greek War in 1922. After the Lausanne Treaty and the proclamation of the republic in 1923, it was declared that İzmir should be legitimated as a Turkish city although it had never been referred to as Turkish in at least the last two hundred years.[816] However, there were still Turkish villages on the outskirts of the city. And the abandoned Greek villages – including the properties and lands – were the resource for accommodation of incoming Turkish people in and around the city. Therefore, the housing programs played a crucial role in the demographic formation of İzmir starting in the first years of the republic and continued in this function with the 1934 Settlement Law. Accordingly, in the beginning

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[813] *Umumi Meclisce 937 Yılı Toplantısında Kabul Edilen İzmir İli Köylerinin Kültür Bakımından Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Programı* (İzmir: Cumhuriyet Basımevi, 1937), VII, pp. 1–2.
[814] *Umumi Meclisce 937 Yılı Toplantısında Kabul Edilen İzmir İli Köylerinin Kültür Bakımından Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Programı*, VII, pp. 6–10, 12–15.
[815] *Umumi Meclisce 937 Yılı Toplantısında Kabul Edilen İzmir İli Köylerinin Kültür Bakımından Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Programı*, VII, p. 11.
[816] See Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880* (Minneapolis ; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Bilsel, 'Ideology and Planning During the Early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for İzmir and Scenarios of Modernization'.

of 1936, the local newspaper of İzmir – *Anadolu* announced the housing programs for Balkan immigrants in the Thrace region. This article was consistent with the government line that the settling of newcomers was a national duty and a crucial part of social and economic program in the country. More than 10.000 new houses that would be constructed in the following year and would "enliven the villages", and "enrich the prosperity of the country".[817]

According to the official document from 1938, the Balkan immigrants started to be housed in the city from the end of the Balkan Wars in 1912 to the beginning of the First World War in 1914. The municipality of İzmir under the Ottoman state sought to settle the incomers with the limited circumstances of the war climate, without having a well-organized settling policy. Therefore, the first Balkan immigrants were housed with the assistance of locals in the city and in the rural expansion of the city. On the 8th of September 1932, the republican state enacted a new law numbered 2664 regarding the former and new Balkan immigrants in order to record the incoming population and provide them with abandoned properties in the cities and its rural areas. In İzmir particularly, the republican state implemented regulations to house the locals, Balkan incomers immigrating in the city since 1912, and the populace coming into the country from Greece after the population exchange agreement in the Lausanne Treaty.[818]

After the enactment of the law numbered 2664 in 1932, 5049 households involving 22207 family members were registered as Balkan immigrants in İzmir. Also, the local government of İzmir provided 4629 houses, two stores, six coffee-shops, one bakery, 66 small shops, 92 gazebos and stables, 38919 decares agriculture fields, 16353 decares vineyards, 736 decares orchards, 3248 decares fig orchards, and 79923 olive trees. 14387 households involving 61763 family members were registered as the Turco-Greek populace coming via population exchange. Likewise the local government of İzmir supported them with 13150 houses, 79 stores, 23 gristmills, 60 coffee-shops, 16 hostelries and hotels, four hammams, 59 bakeries, 1240 shops, 11 rendering plants, 209 gazebos and stables, nine factories, three tileries, nine tanneries, six soaperies 43 warehouses, three music halls, one club, three cinemas, four pharmacies, 18330 decares agriculture fields, 34275 decares vineyards, 4920 decares vegetable gardens, 326314 olive trees,

[817] 'Her Göçmenin Evi Olacak', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 2 February 1936), p. 5.
[818] *İzmir Cumhuriyetin 15. Yılında* (İzmir Cumhuriyet Basımevi, 1938), pp. 133–34.

42818 decares fig orchards, 1328 orchards. In addition to this, the government provided 833 houses to 932 people whose dwellings were destroyed in the great fire of İzmir in 1922.[819]

Within the scope of the 1934 Settlement Law, in 1936 and 1937, 7383 Turco-Romanians from Constanza and Turco-Bulgarians from Varna immigrated to İzmir, as well as to the other cities in the region such as Manisa and Aydın. Starting from early 1937, the governorate of İzmir received the people in the city and accommodated them in available properties in the city, rural towns, and villages. The governor Fazli Gülec and the Housing Director of İzmir Tahsin Akgun led the general operation with the assistance of governmental organizations such as The Red Crescent of Turkey, which provided food and the first health control of immigrants in Urla, in İzmir's rural harbor. The state provided the settlers 1358452 kilos of common wheat and 706365 kilos of wheat seed for the first year.[820]

The officials registered the immigrants and prepared them for transportation to the places where they were temporarily settled. Until summer 1937, in rural İzmir 815 families were housed in several towns in existing properties: 20 households in Seydikoy, 20 households in Degirmendere, 65 households in Foca, 25 households in Menemen, 180 households in Seferhisar, 60 households in Kemalpasa, 110 households in Urla, 85 households in Bergama, 200 households in Torbalı, and 50 households in Dikili.[821]

Particularly after the arrival of the first groups, building new rural settlements and new dwellings as the extensions of villages were needed due to the conditions of the places where the immigrants were settled. Within the governorate of İzmir, a commission was established consisting of directors of public health (Cevdet Saracoglu), public works (Galip Bey) and agriculture (Nadir Uysal) in order to determine appropriate areas for new village construction and land provision for the incomers. First of all, the commission visited Torbalı and confirmed that there existed sufficient land for the construction of new villages and for agricultural activities. Later, the commission visited and surveyed several towns – in the south Kusadasi and Selcuk, in the north Menemen, Foca, Bergama and

[819] *İzmir Cumhuriyetin 15. Yılında*, p. 136.
[820] *İzmir Cumhuriyetin 15. Yılında*, p. 136; 'Göçmenler Geliyor, Bu Yıl Vilayetimize 5296 Göçmen Gelecek', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 30 June 1937), p. 2.
[821] 'Vilayetimizde 5260 Göçmen İskan Edilecek', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 6 February 1937), p. 5.

Dikili, in the east Kemalpasa and in the west Urla and Cesme – to survey new settlement possibilities and abandoned village houses.[822]

In the beginning of March 1937, the local governorate began to expropriate the land in Torbalı and its rural surroundings. Almost one thousand decares were provided for the settlements and 25 thousand decares of Beleric farm in the region were provided for agricultural land. In other towns the governorate decided to construct dwellings as the extensions of the settlements, but in Kayas in Torbalı where the land reclamation had continued since 1936, it was agreed to build three new settlements.[823]

On the 13th of July 1937 the governorate of İzmir called the local building contractors for the tender offer of the village house construction announcing it in the local newspaper. According to the statement the construction work would include:

> A. In Maltepe Village in Menemen 91 single village houses; the estimated cost is 17328,22 Liras.
>
> B. In Bergama 20 single village houses; the estimated cost is 3808,40 Liras.
>
> C. In Dikili 31 single houses, in Candarli 158 single village houses and 31 semi-detached village houses; the estimated cost is 46939,14 Liras.
>
> D. In Foca 17 single village houses and 10 semi-detached village houses; the estimated cost is 6557,64 Liras.
>
> E. In Kizilca and Parsa villages in Kemalpasa 21 single village houses; the estimated cost is 3998,82 Liras.
>
> F. In Torbalı, in Kayas 32 single village houses, in Ahmetli village 156 single village houses and 32 semi-detached village houses, in Havuzbaşı village 54 single village houses, in Taşkesik village 145 single village houses and 16 semi-detached village houses; the estimated cost is 89631,42 Liras.
>
> G. In Kalambaki Farm in Kusadasi 29 single village houses, the estimated cost is 5522,18 Liras.[824]

The tender offer was also announced in the towns and villages where the dwellings and settlements would be built. The Housing Department of İzmir Governorate requested stone masonry techniques and timber roofs in the houses. The building materials such as stone and timber would be provided to the building contractors in the construction fields.

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[822] 'Göçmen Köyleri, Komisyon Kazalara Tetkikata Gidiyor', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 19 January 1937), p. 2; 'Göçmen Köyleri, İnşaata Haziran İçinde Başlanacak', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 28 May 1937), p. 2.

[823] 'Göçmenlere Verilecek Arazi İstimlak Ediliyor', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 3 May 1937), p. 2; 'Göçmen Evleri, Yakında İnşa Edilmeye Başlanacak', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 3 June 1937), p. 1; 'İskan İşleri, Kayas Çiftliğinde Yeni Köyler Kurulacak', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 26 May 1937), p. 2; 'Yeni Göçmenler İçin Yer Hazırlandı', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 14 July 1937), p. 2.

[824] 'İzmir İskan Müdürlüğünden', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 17 July 1937), p. 6. Author's translation.

Also, the government would bring the necessary amount of timber from the national forest in Denizli province.[825]

Since the local building contractors did not respond to the first announcement, the tender was postponed until the end of August and the estimated costs were increased by 100 Liras. However, still no one applied for the construction work and the Interior Ministry sent a committee from the Housing Department to oversee the operation. After a survey of the committee, the Ministry of Public Health and Welfare prepared the draft plans to send to the governorate of İzmir to start the operation.[826]

In 1938 in İzmir, the state completed 521 rural dwellings out of planned 931 houses including the new rural settlements. 74020 decares land (44943 decares in 1936 and 29077 decares in 1937), 1346 ploughs and 1312 working animals were provided to the settlers coming into the province.[827]

#### *6.2.3.3. Torbalı District and Three Republican Villages*[828]

Since the early immigrant housing announcement after the 1934 Settlement Law, Torbalı district in İzmir was the focus on the agenda of the governorate housing commission.[829] The commission addressed the region because implementation of infrastructure for agricultural settlements had already started with the British companies under the Ottoman rule since the late 19th Century. The area had already been cultivated and the tradition of agrarian production had continued with the people here since the early 19th Century: The first railway line in the region was constructed between 1856 and 1860 with the goal to bridge the agricultural land from Aydın to İzmir and to the harbor. In 1860 only the İzmir-Torbalı line had been completed. This made Torbalı an important stop between Aydın and İzmir for the transport of agrarian goods and people, namely to connect the rural local bazaar to the city. Until the end of the 19th Century, the railway network in the region

[825] 'İzmir İskan Müdürlüğünden'; 'Göçmen Evleri', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 5 September 1937), p. 4.
[826] 'Göçmen Evleri Emaneten İnşa Ettirilecek', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 29 July 1937), p. 2; 'Göçmen Evleri, Bir Hafta Sonra İnşaata Başlanacak', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 17 August 1937), p. 2.
[827] *İzmir Cumhuriyetin 15. Yılında*, pp. 136–37.
[828] See in Appendix: "Map of Torbalı, İzmir"
[829] 'Göçmen Köyleri, Komisyon Kazalara Tetkikata Gidiyor'.

continued to be constructed connecting the cultivated area between the lowlands of Menderes Rivers.[830]

In addition to that, in 1881 Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842-1918) bought almost 30.000 decares of farmland including 20 villages and agriculture areas in Torbalı reaching to Tire – another town on the southeast of Torbalı. After this step, the sultan practically owned the land around the railway line passing through Torbalı district, and during the 1890s the Ottoman state built new agriculture farms and villages serving the Sultan Abdul Hamid II. When the sultan was dethroned in 1908, the imperial farms in Torbalı district contained an administration office, a guild, a granary and 2 warehouses (for cotton), 2 slaughter houses, 2 gristmills, 7 orchards, 89 shops, 23 gazebos in vineyard, 3 bakeries, 2 hostelries, a hippodrome, an aviary, and a garden.[831]

At the end of the 19th Century, Turkish Muslims, non-Turkish Muslims, and Turkic nomads represented the majority of the population in rural Torbalı, and the Orthodox Greeks were the minority.[832] The dominance of Muslims and Turkic nomads also continued during early republican years. This fact likely made the district even more attractive during the housing operations for immigrants who came into the country within the scope of the 1934 Settlement Law. After the earthquake hit the district in 1928 and caused damage in the settlements, the state paid much more attention to reconstruction works in rural Torbalı in the following years. [833] This resulted in the decision to construct three new rural settlements – Yeniköy, Havuzbaşı and Taşkesik Villages – in the area.

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[830] A. Nedim Atilla, *İzmir Demiryolları*, Kent Kitaplığı Dizisi, 36, 1. Basım (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2002), pp. 63–65, 89–91, 145.; Atay, pp. 83–86.

[831] 'Aydın Vilayeti Salnamesi', 1894, p. 214; 'Aydın Vilayeti Salnamesi', 1896, p. 184; 'Aydın Vilayeti Salnamesi', 1908, p. 263; Yasin Kayış, *Aydın Vilâyeti Salnâmelerinde Torbalı ve Sultan II. Abdülhamid'in Hayır Eserleri*, Kültür Yayınları, I (İzmir: Torbalı Belediyesi, 2012), p. 36. For a further reading on the extention of İzmir-Aydın railway line in İzmir's city center, and British and French entrepreneurs in construction works, see Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port, 1840-1880* (Minneapolis ; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), pp. 115–49.

[832] 'Aydın Vilayeti Salnamesi', 1889, p. 187; Kayış, p. 63. And, according to official document on population census in 1935, in 1927 the population of the town was 1771, which increased to 1935 in 8 years. *1935 20 İlkteşrin Genel Nüfus Sayımı; Türkiye Nüfusu, Vilayet, Kaza, Şehir ve Köyler İtibarile Muvakkat Rakamlar - Populatıon de La Turquie 20 Octobre-1935 Recensement General de La Populatıon Par Provınces, Districts, Villes et Villages, Chiffes Provisoires*, p. 18.

[833] İbrahim Hakkı and Hamit Nafız, *30-31 Mart 1928 Tarihindeki Tepeköy-Torbalı Zelzelesi*, Darülfünun Jeoloji Enstitüsü Neşriyatından, 1 (İstanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1929).

*6.2.3.4. Yeniköy, Havuzbaşı and Taşkesik Villages*[834]

According to the yearly report from 1891 in the Ottoman annual, Yeniköy village in Torbalı district had already been established with 26 dwellings and populated by 116 people. Between 1892 and 1894 a mosque, a fountain with an ornamental pool, and a primary school were built in the public space in the village center.[835] Traditionally the mosque referred to the imperial power as well as the Islamic community in rural Anatolia. It also represented an important social space uniting the people in the village. This time in Yeniköy, like other settlements that were built in the region by the Ottoman authority at the end of 19th Century, the school and the fountain with its annexes also emerged as spaces referring to the imperial state, religious community and social life in the village. The building program included new components that differed from customary Anatolian villages.[836]

In 1937, constructed started on the republican settlement from the eastern edge of the former Ottoman village. Firstly, it emerged as a larger settlement in inhabitants and dwellings. But for the republican settlement the objective was to implement a much more comprehensive building program to be finished in the following years by the government and settlers together.[837]

The new settlement consisted of 10-meter wide four main streets on the north-south axis that crossed 10-meter-wide five main streets on the west-east axis. The intersections created the building blocks spreading over nearly 10 decares. Each building block included 10 dwellings that are located on 1000 $m^2$ site. Two blocks between the second and third streets on the north-south axis and the first and third streets on the west-east axis were left for the public area including the shops, coffee house, village office, gendarmerie, and school that was built in the 1940s with the financial help of villagers.[838]

[834] See in Appendix: "Yeniköy Village, İzmir", "Havuzbaşı and Taşkesik Villages, İzmir".
[835] 'Aydın Vilayeti Salnamesi', 1891, p. 461; 'Aydın Vilayet Salnamesi', 1893, p. 409; 'Aydın Vilayeti Salnamesi', pp. 501–2; Kayış, pp. 65, 113 - 115, 142 - 144, 153 - 154.
[836] See Appendix 6 "Yeniköy Village, İzmir, Plan with 1:25000 Scale".
[837] Interview with the settler.
[838] Interview with the settler.

**Figure 6.16.** Cadastral Plan of 1937 Settlement in Yeniköy.[839] (Redrawn after original document of General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre of Torbalı, 1969)

[839] The earliest cadastral plan of republican settlement in Yeniköy Village has been found in the archives of General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre of Torbalı dated in 1969.

According to the cadastral plan in 1969, **(Figure 6.16)** the settlement consisted of ten complete blocks, and two incomplete blocks extended with new dwellings towards the north-south direction. The area built in 1937 included 111 dwellings, which mostly remained as single houses in a large garden, except for some of the parcels that were divided in two for private uses.

In summer 1937, the Housing Director of İzmir Tahsin Akgun transferred his role to Ziya Fuad, the former Housing Director of Elazığ, and Ziya Fuad led the building operation in Yeniköy.[840] According to an official document, in 1938 the arrangement of building plots and construction of the houses were completed. The houses were 50.5m$^2$ (9.1m x 5.5m) one-story single buildings in 1000 m$^2$ garden, and they consisted of two rooms, a niche for storage in the entrance and a porch on the back front. The construction material was mainly stone, and the timber roof was extended towards the porch on the back of the house13$^{th}$. In the garden there was a bathing cubicle that was also used as a toilet. **(Figure 6.17, Figure 6.18)**

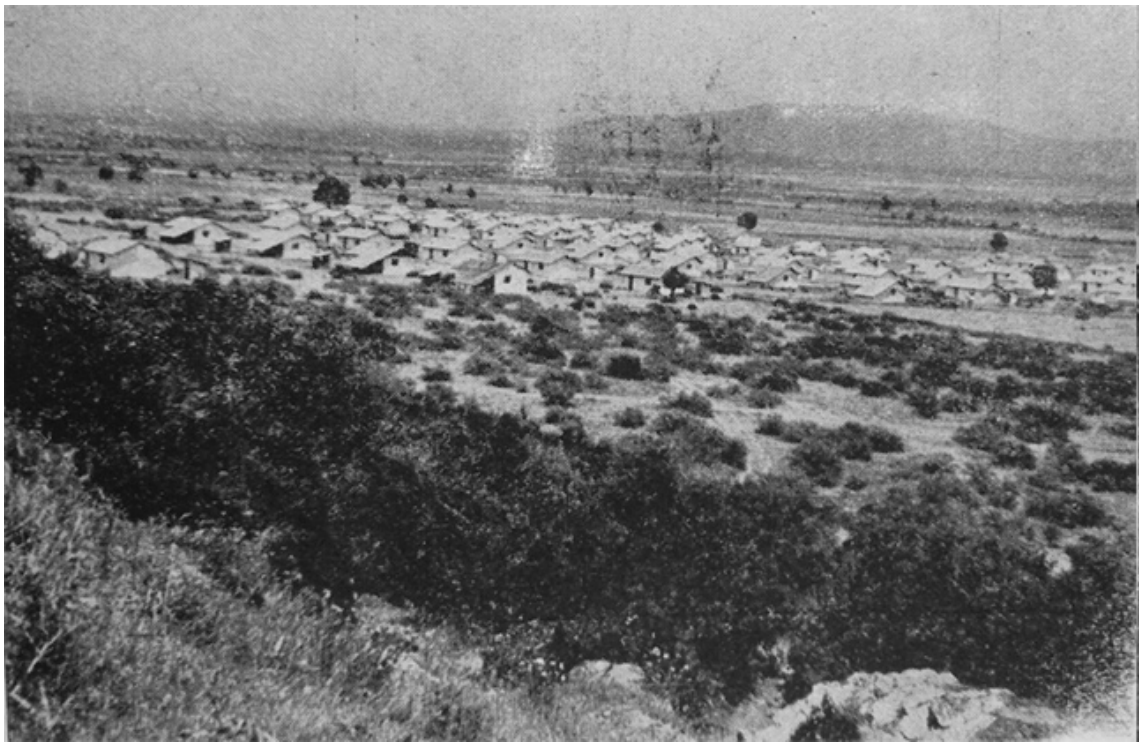

**Figure 6.17.** Yeniköy Village in 1938. View from Southwest.[841] (*Cumhuriyetin 15inci Yılında İzmir*, 1938)

[840] 'İzmir İskan Müdürlüğü', *Anadolu* (İzmir, 20 August 1937), p. 2.
[841] *İzmir Cumhuriyetin 15. Yılında* (İzmir Cumhuriyet Basımevi, 1938), p. 133.

**Figure 6.18.** Yeniköy Village in 1938, after construction.[842] (*Cumhuriyetin 15inci Yılında İzmir*, 1938)

**Firgure 6.19.** Havuzbaşı Village in 1938, after construction.[843] (*Cumhuriyetin 15inci Yılında İzmir*, 1938)

[842] *İzmir Cumhuriyetin 15. Yılında*, p. 136.
[843] *İzmir Cumhuriyetin 15. Yılında*, p. 137.

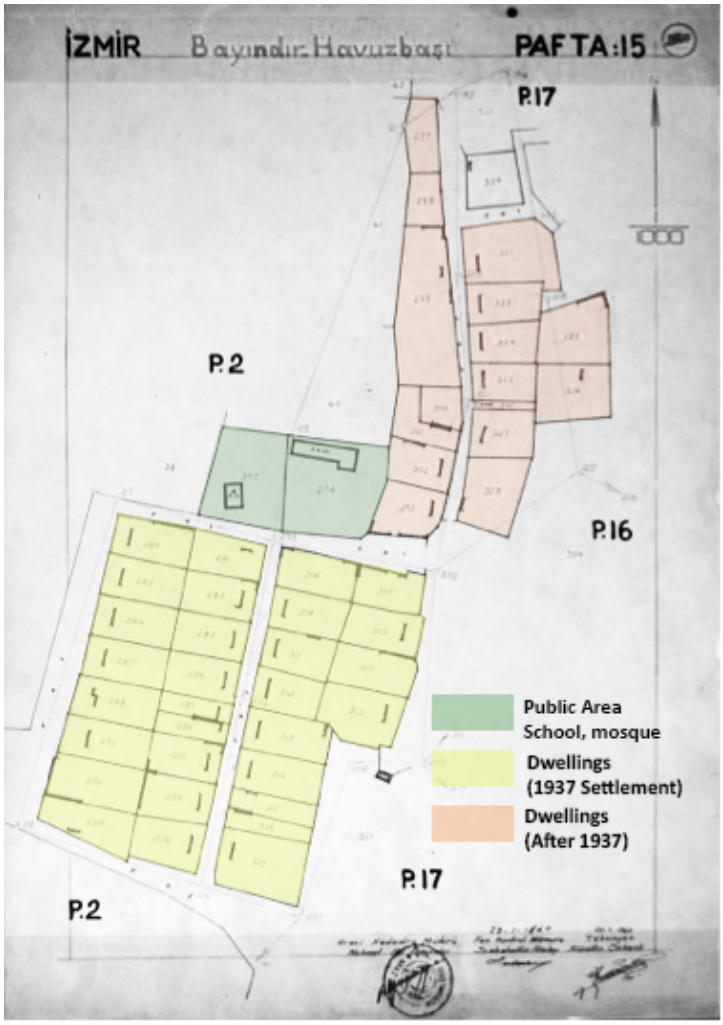


**Figure 6.20.** Cadastral Plan of 1937 Settlement in Havuzbaşı. [844] (Redrawn after the original document of General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre of Bayindir, 1960)

The housing programs in the areas of the Havuzbaşı and Taşkesik Villages were different from the Yeniköy operation. In 1937, it was announced that in Havuzbaşı 54 single houses were to be constructed, and 145 single houses and 16 semi-detached houses were planned for Taşkesik. [845] However, by 1938, in Taşkesik only 24 houses and in Havuzbaşı only 28 houses were completed. In both settlements, the dwellings were located along the side of a 10-meter-wide main street. Each house was situated on 600 $m^2$ building plot. The housing typology that was implemented in Havuzbaşı and Taşkesik villages was identical

[844] The earliest cadastral plan of Havuzbaşı Village has been found in the archives of General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre of Bayindir dated in 1960.
[845] 'İzmir İskan Müdürlüğünden'.

to Yeniköy village, though placed on smaller plots.[846] **(Figure 6.19, Figure 6.20, Figure 6.21)**

**Figure 6.21.** Taşkesik Village in 1938, after construction.[847]

### 6.2.4. Republican Villages in Elazığ

*6.2.4.1. Between Urban and Rural: Elazığ during the Early Republican Period*

Zeynep Kezer introduces Elazığ as a "spatial border" in the middle of eastern Turkey, referring to the 308urkification and modernization policies of the state in the region starting from early years of the republic:

> Elazığ provides a particularly illustrative case in point. During the 1930s and 1940s, the province's mountains and valleys, streets and squares, homes and school classrooms, as well as the myriad activities these places engendered, revealed how components of physical environment served as social sorters. Spatial practices ranging from innocuous daily encounters between schoolchildren to solemn collective ceremonies or military raids, which accentuated the uneven power relations between the state, its agents, and the local population, generated and reified differences among people, depending on their ethno-religious tribal affiliations and relationship with the central authorities.

[846] See in Appendix: "House Typology in Yeniköy, Havuzbaşı and Taşkesik Villages, İzmir".
[847] *İzmir Cumhuriyetin 15. Yılında*, p. 137.

> … Their [republican cadre's] interventions profoundly altered this region's built environment and its broader geography, affecting how local populations and agents of the state engaged with and moved through it, ultimately changing how this landscape was imaged by all.[848]

Construction began on the "imaged landscape" of Elazığ by the late 19th Century when the Ottoman state proclaimed the first constitutional monarchy in 1876. Together with the new legislative form of the state, the administrative framework had to be reorganized in a hierarchical system of provinces – *Vilayet*, departments – *Sancak,* and districts – *Kaza.* In 1879, Mamuret-ül Aziz (later Elaziz and then Elazığ) became one of the 29 provinces in the Ottoman Empire comprising the Elazığ, Dersim (Tunceli) and Malatya departments.[849]

The ethnic composition of Elazığ had been heterogeneous; especially the religious, social and economic structures were abundant and manifold, based on various traditional aspects among the locals who were predominantly Kurds and Armenians. From 1915 to 1916, Armenians and other Christians had been forced into exile and deported under the Ottoman rule.[850] Starting from 1916, Kurds had been forced to leave their homes and deported out of the eastern region in the country, especially after the revolts in 1925 in Diyarbakir, in 1930 in Ararat, and in 1937 in Dersim (Tunceli).[851] Elazığ, on the other hand, remained loyal to the Turkish state and developed into "a secure" island of republican regime in the eastern Anatolia. The consolidation ambitions of the republican regime shaped Elazığ and its rural terrain during the 1930s.

The position of Elazığ in the state's interior policy started to become clearer with the Dersim Reports, which were prepared by the Interior Minister Şükrü Kaya after his survey in the region together with General Inspector of Elazığ and other military officials. On the 18th of November 1931 the Kaya reported the conflicts between Kurdish tribes and locals, and briefly addressed the Kurds as perils for the state. Therefore, an urgent

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[848] Zeynep Kezer, 'Spatializing Difference: The Making of an Internal Border in Early Republican Elazığ, Turkey', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 73.4 (2014), 507–27 (p. 509).
[849] Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 63–64; Metin Heper, 'Center and Periphery in the Ottoman Empire: With Special Reference to the Nineteenth Century', *International Political Science Review*, 1.1 (1980), 81–104.
[850] See Majeed R. Jafar, *Under-Underdevelopment: A Regional Case Study of the Kurdish Area in Turkey*, Studies of the Social Policy Association in Finland ; No 24 (Helsinki: Social Policy Association in Finland, 1976); Suny, Göçek, and Naimark.
[851] See the footnone 70.

repossession was needed in the area. He pointed out that the Aghas – tribe leaders –should be distracted from the city, and the rural people should be deported and resettled in the rural Elazığ.[852]

Nevertheless, the maneuvers first resulted in an administration law for Dersim (Tunceli) enacted in the end of 1935[853]. Then, in 1937 the state performed a military operation against the rebellions and deported civilians to not only Elazığ but also to other cities in the region such as Malatya, Sivas, Erzincan, Erzurum, Gümüşhane and Bingöl.[854]

From this point of view, the General Inspectorates Conference in 1936in Ankara, was, again, a significant attempt to form the region on the macro scale, and Elazığ, on the micro scale. In the meeting with the general inspector of the 4th Region (which comprised Elazığ, Dersim, Erzincan, Bingöl, and later Muş) Abdullah Alpdogan presented the works which had been completed on behalf of "public order", meaning the consolidation of state power in the region: One of the main attempts was to connect Dersim to the surrounding provinces. Therefore, the transportation connecting from Elazığ, which had been already built in the west and south terrains, was important to ease the mobility problem in the tough topography of Dersim. He announced that the construction of a bridge in Pertek would be a critical solution to the transportation problem, hence the state's military access to the region.[855]

Railway construction had played a key role in the modernization program during the early republican period across the country.[856] The plans for the eastern provinces however, had central place on the state's agenda. The intent was not only to develop the region via public works, especially with the "innovated" component of transportation, but also to control the area by equipping the region with agents of modernization. Therefore, the general inspectors and officials of interior ministry agreed the priority should be railway construction in the region. But the military capabilities should be also increased by creating 7 kilometer-wide buffer zones on each side of railroads to protect the infrastructure from any kind of treason.[857]

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[852] Bulut, pp. 265–70.
[853] TBMM, *Tunceli Vilayetinin İdaresi Hakkında Kanun*, 1935, pp. 112–16. (numbered 2884).
[854] Bulut, pp. 369–80.
[855] Varlık and Koçak, pp. 136–37.
[856] See *"From the City to the Country: Planning Anatolian Cities and Towns"* in the 3rd Chapter.
[857] Kezer, 'Spatializing Difference', pp. 516–17.

This resulted in large-scale infrastructure projects in East Anatolia focusing on Elazığ. In other words, from the early 1930s the railway, highway and bridge projects started to be implemented in and around Elazığ with the city as a nucleus: in 1931 the train reached Malatya. In 1934 the line between Malatya and Elazığ was completed, followed in 1935 by the line between Elazığ and Diyarbakir. In 1932 Kömürhan – İsmet Paşa Bridge, in 1935 the Keban Bridge on Malatya-Elazığ highway, and in 1939, the Pertek Bridge on the Elazığ-Dersim (Tunceli) highway were constructed.[858] **(Figure 6.22, Figure 6.23)**

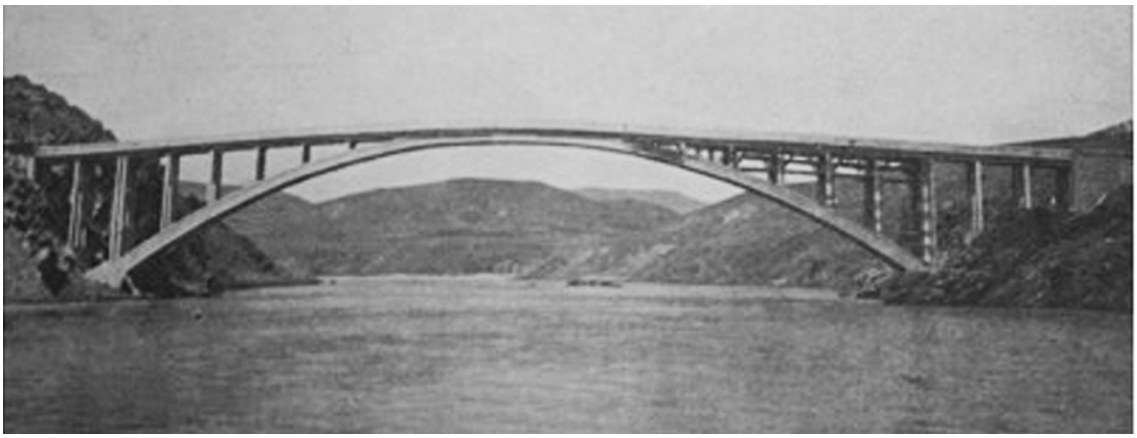

**Figure 6.22.** Pertek Bridge between Elazığ and Dersim.[859] (*Nafia Sergisi Kataloğu*, 1944)

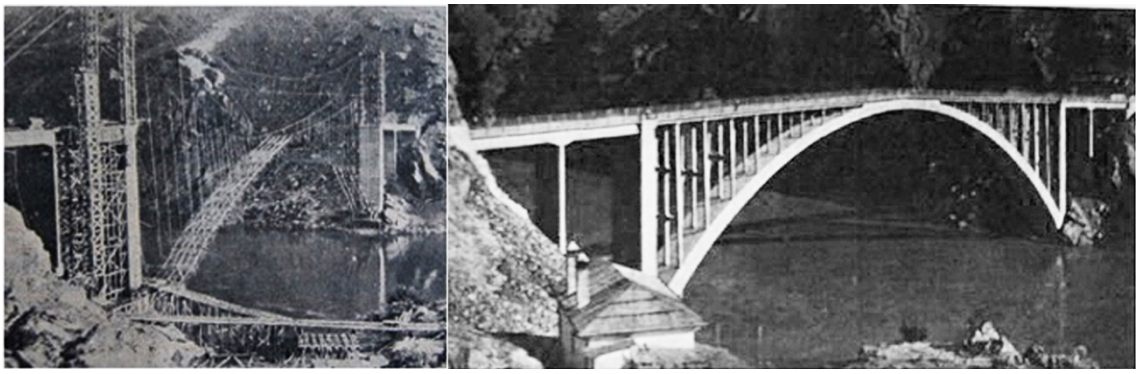

**Figure 6.23.** Kömürhan – İsmet Paşa Bridge between Malatya and Elazığ, construction and completion.[860] (*Demiryollar Mecmuası*, 1931)

[858] Özge Sezer, Railways and Bridges as Expression of Rural in Early Republican Period, 1930-1945 (Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kırsalın İfadesi Bağlamında Demiryolları ve Köprüler (unpublished Master Thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2010), pp. 178–84; Varlık and Koçak, pp. 146–48; *Elazığ-Genç Demiryolu Hattının İşletmeye Açılışı* (Ankara: TCDD, 1945).
[859] *Nafia Sergisi Kataloğu*, T.C. Nafia Vekaleti Neşriyatı, 5 (Ankara: T.C. Nafia Bakanlığı, 1944), XIII.
[860] 'İsmetpaşa (Kömürhan) Köprüsü', *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, 1931, 673.

In order to keep the centralized position of the city in the east, the government developed a plan for Elazığ-Van railroads in the direction of the Iran border. The project was started first in 1935 together with the Diyarbakir-Kurtalan line. The law numbered 3813 arranged the financing of the construction of the Diyarbakir-Irak and Elazığ-Iran lines. However, the construction of Elazığ-Iran railways was postponed until 1941 and not finished until 1947. According to the plan, the railway headed East, passed through the Elazığ and Muş lowlands and reached the Tuğ village next to Lake Van. The conditions of the highways in the area were difficult, therefore the railroads became the primary solution for transportation.[861]

In addition to the operation connecting Elazığ with its periphery, institutional agents of the state transformed the cityscape during the 1930s. From 1933 to 1937 local governor Tevfik Sırrı Gür and the general inspector Abdullah Alpdoğan led the public projects: First, in 1934 the train station was built, and from the train station to the center a 20 meters wide boulevard – Station Boulevard – was developed and ornamented with the Statue of Ataturk. The Municipality and Theater, Elazığ People's House, Ataturk Primary School and Elazığ Girls' Institute were other rising "modern" buildings around the city center. A public park – Culture Park (sharing the name with İzmir's Fairground) and a stadium were built. In the city center, streets were reorganized including landscaping on the pedestrian walkways.[862] **(Figure 6.24, Figure 6.25, Figure 6.26)**

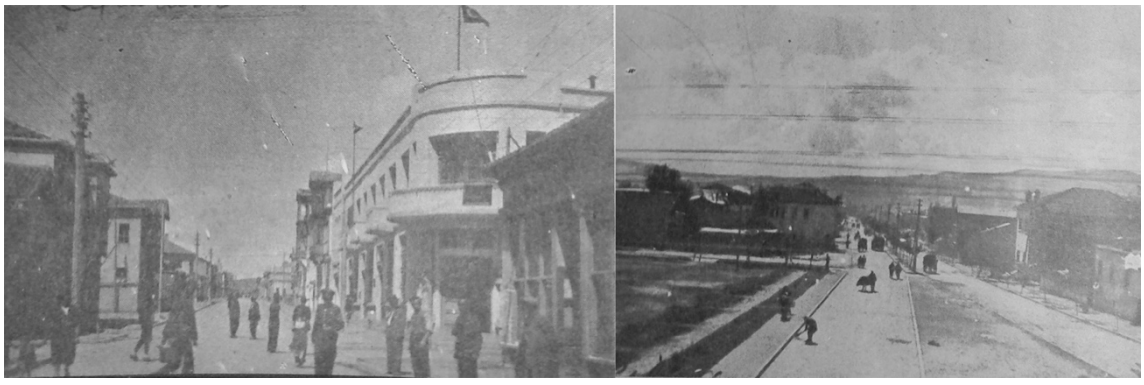

**Figure 6.24.** (On the left) Ataturk Boulevard and the new municipality building, (on the right) Station Boulevard, 1939.[863] (Nazlı, 1939)

[861] *Elazığ-Genç Demiryolu Hattının İşletmeye Açılışı*.
[862] 'Elaziz Vilayetinin Bayındırlık İşleri', *Altan*, ubat 1937, 6–8 (p. 6); 'Valimizin Mühim Bir Eseri Daha', *Turan Gazetesi* (Elaziz, 25 June 1934), p. 1.
[863] Hurşit Nazlı, *Elazığ İlinin Coğrafi, Zirai, Ticari, Tarih, Nüfus ve Jeolojik Durumu* (Ankara: Zerbamat Basımevi, 1939), pp. 41, 62.

**Figure 6.25.** (On the left) Elazığ Train Station, 1934,[864] (*Elazığ-Genç Demiryolu Hattının İşletmeye Açılışı*, 1944) (on the right) Elazığ Girls' Institute, 1935.[865] (Nazlı, 1939)

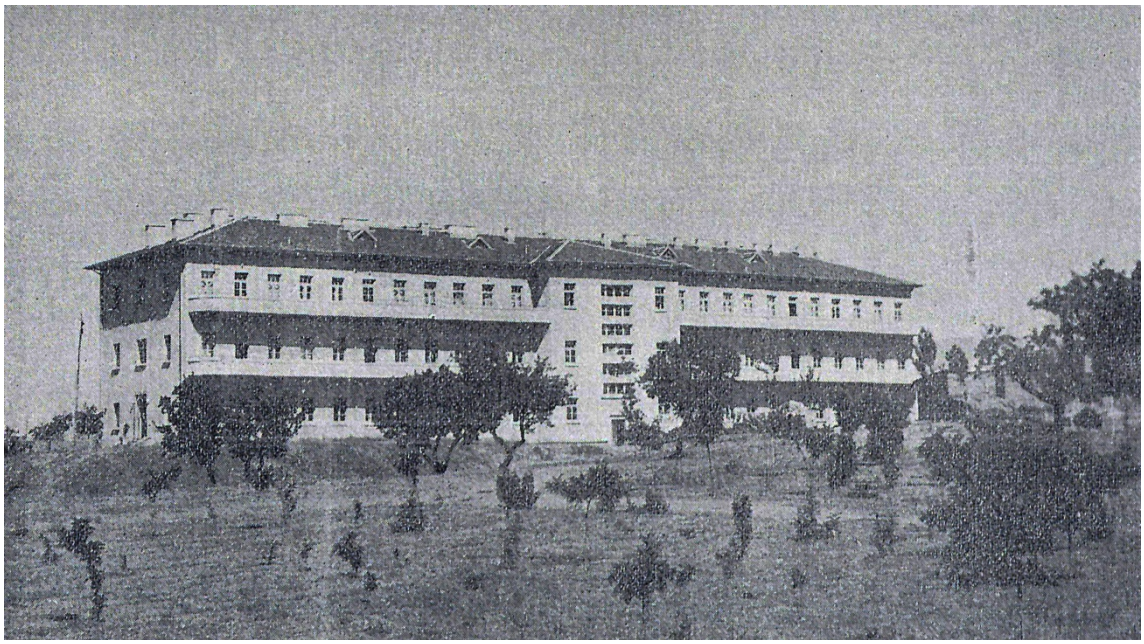

**Figure 6.26.** Elazığ State Hospital, 1936.[866] (*Elazığ-Genç Demiryolu Hattının İşletmeye Açılışı*, 1944)

In 1936, general inspector Abdullah Alpdogan also announced that seven schools were under construction in the towns, and a state hospital with larger capacity was built on the intersection of the south-north and east-west roadways.[867]

Moreover, in eastern Anatolia the state invested in the development program based on agrarian and mining enterprises. In Elazığ from the early 1930s, cotton agriculture (and in some areas silk farming), supported by the government, dominated the rural economy.

[864] *Elazığ-Genç Demiryolu Hattının İşletmeye Açılışı*.
[865] Nazlı, p. 64.
[866] *Elazığ-Genç Demiryolu Hattının İşletmeye Açılışı*.
[867] Varlık and Koçak, pp. 149, 153.

To process agrarian goods, several foundries were supplied in the region, and the manufactured goods were transported to the other local markets in the neighboring provinces. In 1933, the cotton harvested in the lowlands of Elazığ was processed in Gaziantep's weaving ateliers.[868] According to state's schedule, in 1937, 40.000 kilograms of cottonseeds would be planted in the cultivated areas of rural Elazığ.[869] Likewise, in 1936, the state's financial institution Etibank established the Chrome Mining-process Plant in Keban district[870] where the construction of a hydroelectric dam was planned in the same year but postponed until 1966.[871]

In other words, the target was to boost economic activities in the region by supporting agricultural production, manufacturing the produced goods within the local markets and trade organizations, and generating new industrial fields to engage the labor of the population not working in agriculture. Relatedly, the local governor of Elazığ, Tevfik Sırrı Gür, established the "Commerce Club" that was associated with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry and founded agriculture cooperatives in rural towns. The club was not only a meeting place for local traders, small manufacturers and peasants, but also became an educational center offering courses on the manufacturing and agricultural production process and a market for the people.[872]

### *6.2.4.2. The Turkification Agenda and the Republican Villages in Elazığ*

According to the survey of the general inspectorate in 1936, the total population in the area of Elazığ including Erzincan, Bingöl and Dersim (Tunceli) was 350.826, 198.508 of which were Kurds and 107.965 were Turks.[873] Despite the numbers, authorities insisted

[868] *Büyük Türk Cumhuriyetimizin On Yılında Elaziz'de Iktisadi Umran ve Refah Adımları* (Elaziz: Sinan Matbaası, 1933), p. 30.
[869] Varlık and Koçak, p. 157.
[870] Koca, pp. 493–94.
[871] Keban Dam Project was completed in 1974. It was not a part of SouthEast Anatolia Development Project (GAP) – the largest energy development project of Turkish state in the eastern Anatolia but became an inseparable part of it. After the construction the Keban Dam Lake it dramatically altered the geography of the city and its districts. John Kolars, 'Problems of International River Management: The Case of the Euphrates', in *International Waters of the Middle East: From Euphrates-Tigris to Nile*, ed. by Asit K Biswas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 44–94 (p. 59); John F. Kolars and William A. Mitchell, *The Euphrates River and the Southeast Anatolia Development Project*, Water, the Middle East Imperative (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), pp. 18–30.
[872] *Büyük Türk Cumhuriyetimizin On Yılında Elaziz'de Iktisadi Umran ve Refah Adımları*, p. 10.
[873] Varlık and Koçak, p. 30.

on establishing the Turkishness of the region including the rural territories where the people were much more attached to the tradition and religion. Early republican officials referred to the Kurdish tribes as "the natural born rebellions and bandits who aimed to transform a Turkish region into Kurdish one".[874] This view informed the cultural operations, which were led in the city, and the extension of these operations strongly affected the rural areas and altered the spatial form of the countryside.

In this respect, Elazığ People's House played critical role and deliberately worked on the establishment of Turkishness in the region. Under the directorship of the local governor Tevfik Sirri Gur, a committee in People's House set the organization's agenda based on the demonstration of the Turkish nation with lectures and conferences on Turkish history, culture and language. Indeed, this committee worked to Turkify the names of almost 3000 villages in the Elazığ terrain.[875]

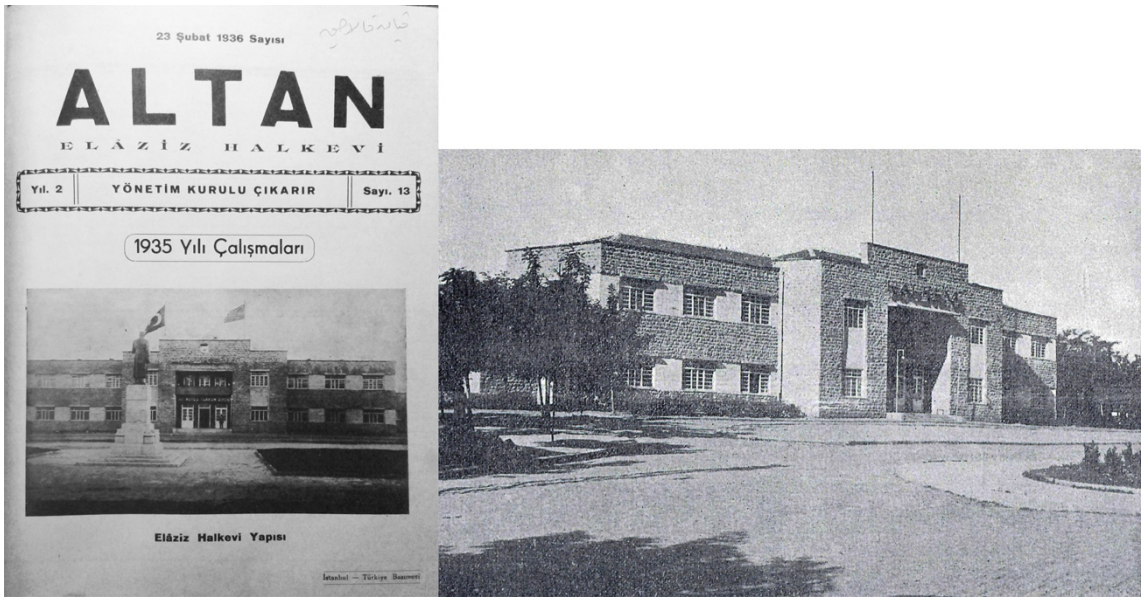


**Figure 6.27.** (On the left) the People's House Building on the cover of People's House Magazine in Elazığ – Altan, 1936,[876] (*Altan*, 1936) (on the right) another view towards the People's House Building.[877] The flat roof, geometrical organization of the volumes, and texturing on the façade are examples of early modernism. (*Elazığ-Genç Demiryolu Hattının İşletmeye Açılışı*, 1944)

[874] Varlık and Koçak, pp. 130–32.
[875] Between 1963-1964 the Ministry of Village Affairs prepared an inventory report for the villages in Elazığ province. In this report it was given a wide publicity to the altered placenames of the villages (from Armenian and Kurdish placenames to Turkish placenames). *Köy Envanter Raporlarına Göre Elazığ*, Köy İşleri Bakanlığı Yayınları, 44 (Konya: Yıldız Basımevi, 1966), pp. 126–52.
[876] '1935 Yılı Çalışmaları - Magazine Cover', *Altan*, Subat 1936.
[877] *Elazığ-Genç Demiryolu Hattının İşletmeye Açılışı*.

In addition to this, the symbolism of the People's House had an important role in Elazığ, as well as in other eastern provinces. Starting from the early years, the institution became influential in disseminating state propaganda, and was intended to be a place bridging the people with the regime. The organization concentrated on the transmission of republican reforms, at the same time, on the building of the Turkish nation in the eastern provinces. The People's House offered a completely new program for the cultural life in the city and in the rural areas different from the typical instruments of the state. This also required an architecturally new space. In Elazığ, the People's House was meant to transform the cultural panorama along with the physical panorama by adding a new architectural component of modernization and nationalization in the city. **(Figure 6.27, Figure 2.28)**

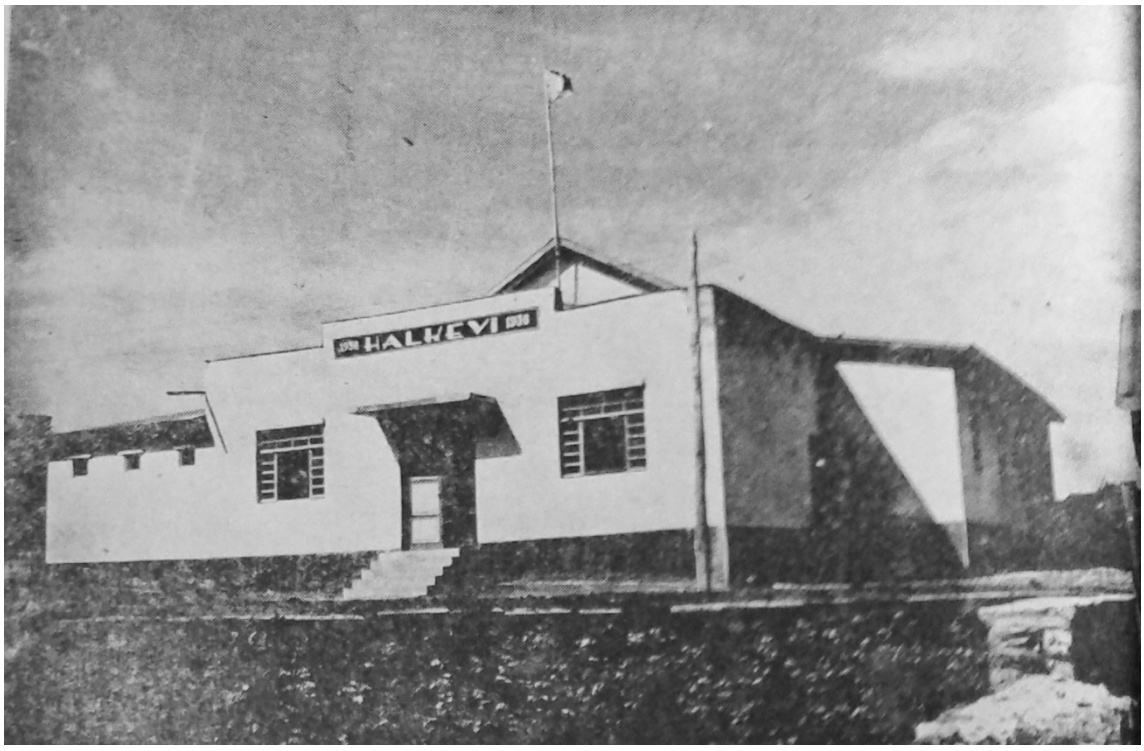


**Figure 6.28**. Harpoot People's House building in the old town of Elazığ.[878] The building emerged as the representative extension of the Turkish state in the old town that was predominantly populated by Armenians at the beginning of 20th Century. (*Altan*, 1937)

Moreover, the implementation of the 1934 Settlement Law became another key nationalization instrument, especially in the rural areas of the region. Within the scope of the law, the deportation of Kurds and the settling of Balkan immigrants paved the way

[878] 'Elaziz İmar Faaliyetlerinin Canlı Örneklerinden Iki Fotograf, Harput Halkevi Binası', *Altan*, Ocak 1937, 8.

for the transformation of the rural landscape in Elazığ. Until 1936, 3,875 people from Romania, 1,963 from Yugoslavia, 176 from Bulgaria, 59 from Greece, and 355 from Russia came into Elazığ, totaling 6,428 new people. Out of 1,653, 1,234 families had been housed, the remaining 419 families still waited to be settled by the state. Until 1935, 29,033 decares of agricultural land was provided to the incomers followed in 1936 by a further 28,019 decares. In addition to this, the state supplied equipment for the agrarian activities such as plows, farm animals, and seeds.[879] For the state it was crucial to provide equipment for the settlers in the region since Balkan immigrants fulfilled the profile of the "loyal" and "hardworking" citizens that the state idealized.

The immigrant population was meant to plant a "Turkish" population in the eastern provinces, especially in Elazığ and Diyarbakir. Therefore, state officials agreed on a crucial consensus to establish "strong and collective Turkish settlements" along the railways and highways, and every year a set amounts of Balkan immigrants would be housed in these villages. A local commission affiliated with the general inspectorates would organize the construction.[880] Relatedly, the housing operation in Elazığ was led by local governor Tevfik Sırrı Gür and the general inspector Abdullah Alpdoğan.

According to a report dated June 1935, Etminik village in the center, Kapuaçmaz, Nirhi and Hoşmat villages in Palu, which were abandoned after the Armenian deportation, were reconstructed for Turco-Romanian incomers starting from 1934. When they arrived in the city the officials registered them as "Turkish citizens" and transported them to the settlements. The immigrants also worked in the construction of the village houses.[881] According to another report from July 1935, 41 immigrants arrived in city. Nine of these (from three families) were housed in Hölvenk (or Hulvenk), which was also an abandoned village following the Armenian deportation, and 32 immigrants waited to be settled. But in the northern part of the city, while the construction of village houses for immigrants was still to be completed, some of the villages were reconstructed for the incomers.[882] In August, 1935 it was announced that the director of Land Registry Office of Elazığ, Celal Tuna, was to lead the land provision operation for the incomers and for the locals who

[879] Varlık and Koçak, pp. 148–49; Nazlı, p. 51.
[880] Varlık and Koçak, pp. 72–73.
[881] 'Şarımızda Olup Bitenler: İskanda', *Altan*, Haziran 1935, 10–11.
[882] 'Şarımızda Olup Bitenler: İskan İşleri', *Altan*, Temmuz 1935, 10.

were covered by the 1934 Settlement Law and housed by the government in the province.[883]

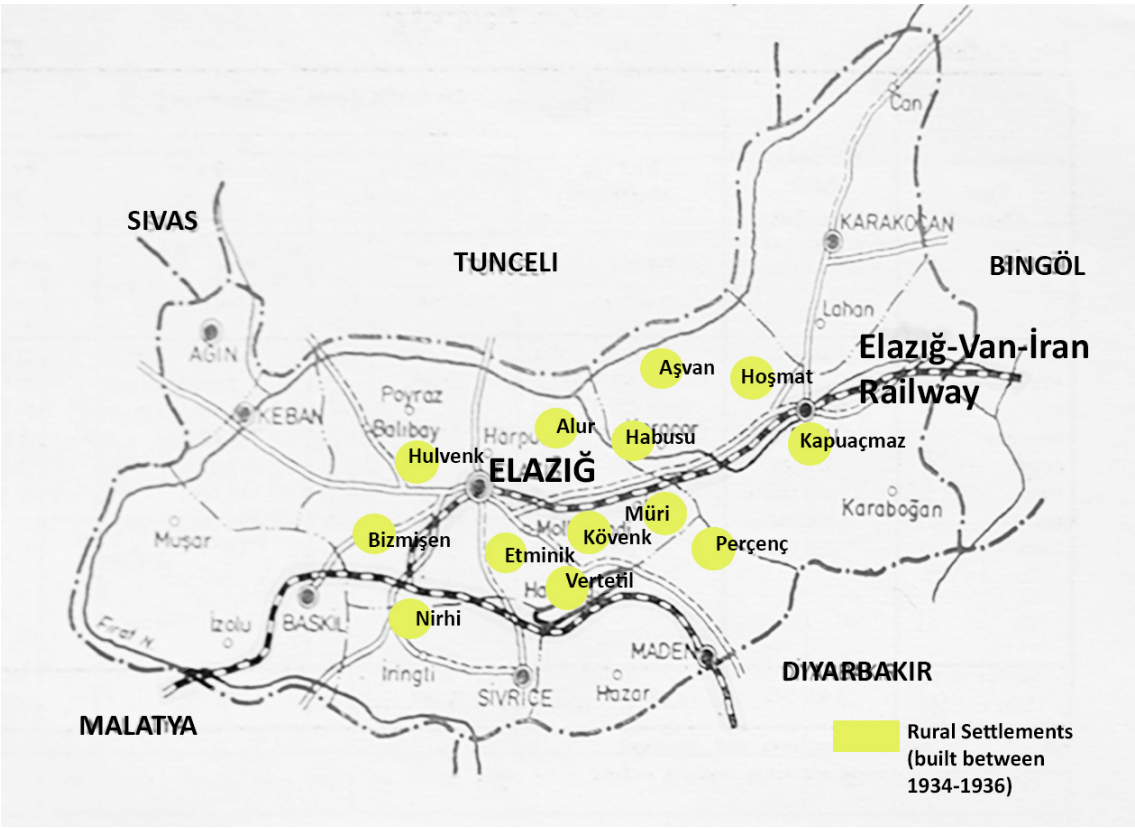


**Figure 6.29.** Villages in which new rural settlements built from 1934 to 1936 along the railroad lines in Elazığ.[884] (Redrawn after Köy Isleri Bakanligi, 1966)

The intention to build "Turkish" rural settlements around the railways to strengthen the political authority in the region was apparent with these housing operations. Since 1935, almost ten new settlements that had been abandoned after the Armenian and Kurdish deportations were constructed for the Balkan immigrants along the railroads in the province[885]: **(Figure 6.29, Figure 6.30, Figure 6.31)**

[883] 'Şarımızda Olup Bitenler: Tapuda', *Altan*, Aralık 1935, 9, 12 (p. 9).
[884] *Köy Envanter Raporlarına Göre Elazığ*, p. 13.
[885] See in Appendix : "Rural Settlements in Elazığ", "Kövenk, Vertetil, Etminik and Perçenç ın Elazığ".

**Figure 6.30.** Bizmişen (or Pazmaşen) Village, built along Elazığ-Malatya highway and railway 1934.[886] (*Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz*, 1935)

**Figure 6.31.** Habusu (or Habusi) Village, built along Elazığ-Van railway, 1935.[887] (*Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz*, 1935)

"Hölvenk (or Hulvenk) with 80 houses, Bizmişen (or Pazmaşen) with 80 houses, Etminik with 89 houses, Vertetil with 18 houses, Habusu (or Habusi) with 26 houses, Kövenk (or Hövenk) with 21 houses, Alur with 21 houses, Şerusi with 11 houses, Müri with 18

[886] *Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz, İl ve İlçelerde Bayındırlık İşleri* (Ankara: Resimli Ay Basımevi, 1935).
[887] *Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz, İl ve İlçelerde Bayındırlık İşleri*.

houses, Kuyuk with 20 houses" [888] were built as rural settlements for the incomers. According to another official document from 1935 in Perçenç another settlement with 26 houses were built for the immigrants.[889] In Etminik a village school with two classrooms, in Bizmişen a village school with one classroom, in Habusu a village school with one classroom, and in Vertetil a village school with two classrooms were constructed together with the village houses.[890] This demonstrated that educating the settlers was as crucial as housing them in the planned settlements.

### *6.2.4.3. Settlements in Kövenk (Güntaşı), Vertetil (Yazıkonak), Etminik (Altınçevre), Perçenç (Akçakiraz)*

The rural settlements, which were constructed in Elazığ after the 1934 Settlement Law were mostly incomplete housing areas in abandoned villages that were first reconstructed for the Balkan incomers and deported population in 1934. However, the 1924 Village Law, which essentially determined the spatial organization and administration of the rural settlements, was not applied in all of the villages in Elazığ.[891] The rural settlements were constructed without a large-scale plan. On the other hand, the housing typologies varied and differed from the examples of other housing programs in the western part of the country.

In Kövenk (Güntaşı), 26 houses were constructed. The houses were 28m$^2$ (7mx4m) one-story semi-detached buildings in a 300m$^2$ garden, and they consisted of two rooms and an interior barn with a small porch at the entrance. The construction material was adobe and the houses were covered by flat mud roofs. Although the building material and techniques were local and traditional, the rectangular form of the houses and white-washed walls evoked a modernized landscape.[892]

The houses in Vertetil (Yazıkonak), Etminik (Altınçevre) and Perçenç (Akçakiraz) differed from other rural dwelling programs in the country. In Vertetil, the state built 18

[888] 'Elaziz Vilayetinin Bayındırlık İşleri', p. 6.
[889] *Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz, İl ve İlçelerde Bayındırlık İşleri*.
[890] 'Elaziz Vilayetinin Bayındırlık İşleri', p. 6.
[891] According to the General Inspectorares Conference reports, in 1936 the cities Elazığ, Bingol and Tunceli, which were under the control of 4. General Inspectorate, there were 1050 villages. In 314 villages the 1924 Village Law was still not applied. Varlık and Koçak, p. 357.
[892] See in Apendix: "House Typology in Kövenk Village, Elazığ".

two-story masonry single houses[893], which had 48m$^2$ (8.7mx5.5m) floor space in a 500m$^2$ garden. Between each housing plot there was a 10-meter space where a garden wall was built. The houses were located facing each other and framing a 10-meter wide street. Although the quantity of houses was less than other settlements, in Vertetil the organization of houses clearly represented a modernist perspective in the rural environment. **(Figure 6.32, Figure 6.33)**

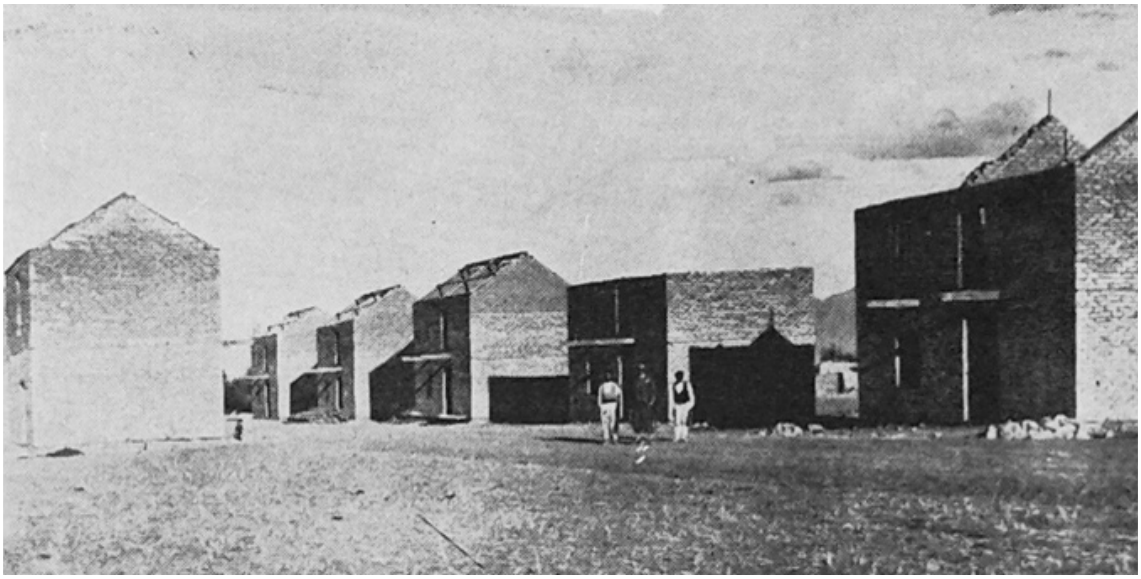

**Figure 6.30.** Settlement in Vertetil (Yazikonak), 1935, under construction.[894] (*Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz*, 1935)

**Figure 6.32.** Settlement in Vertetil (Yazikonak), construction completed.[895] (Uluğ, 1939)

[893] 'Elaziz Vilayetinin Bayındırlık İşleri', p. 6.
[894] *Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz, İl ve İlçelerde Bayındırlık İşleri*.
[895] Naşit Hakkı Uluğ, *Tunceli Medeniyete Açılıyor* (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1939), p. 168.

The houses consisted of two separate rooms and two halls. On the ground floor, there was one room and a large entrance hall where the timber stairs were located. On the first floor, there was another hall and one room. It was also intended to add a balcony facing the street that could be reached from the hall in the first floor. However, the balcony was not put in place and later this area was filled in. The construction material was brick and timber, which was also on the floor and roof. In the garden there was a cubicle for bathing and a toilet.[896]

Settlement in Etminik was one of the largest operations of which construction started from the early 1930s in Elazığ.[897] 89 two-story masonry single houses were built in Etminik, which followed the same typology as the dwellings in Vertetil. Likewise, the houses were located on a 40,5m$^2$ (9mx4.5m) floor space with one room and an entrance hall on the ground floor and one room and a living area on the first floor connected by the timber stairs. Brick and timber were used in the construction.[898] **(Figure 6.33, Figure 6.34)**

**Figure 6.33.** Settlement in Etminik (Altınçevre), 1935.[899] (*Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz*, 1935)

[896] See in Appendix: "House Typology in Vertetil, Elazığ".
[897] 'Şarımızda Olup Bitenler: İskanda', p. 10; 'Elaziz Vilayetinin Bayındırlık İşleri', p. 6.
[898] See in Apendix: "House Typology in Etminik, Elazığ".
[899] *Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz, İl ve İlçelerde Bayındırlık İşleri*.

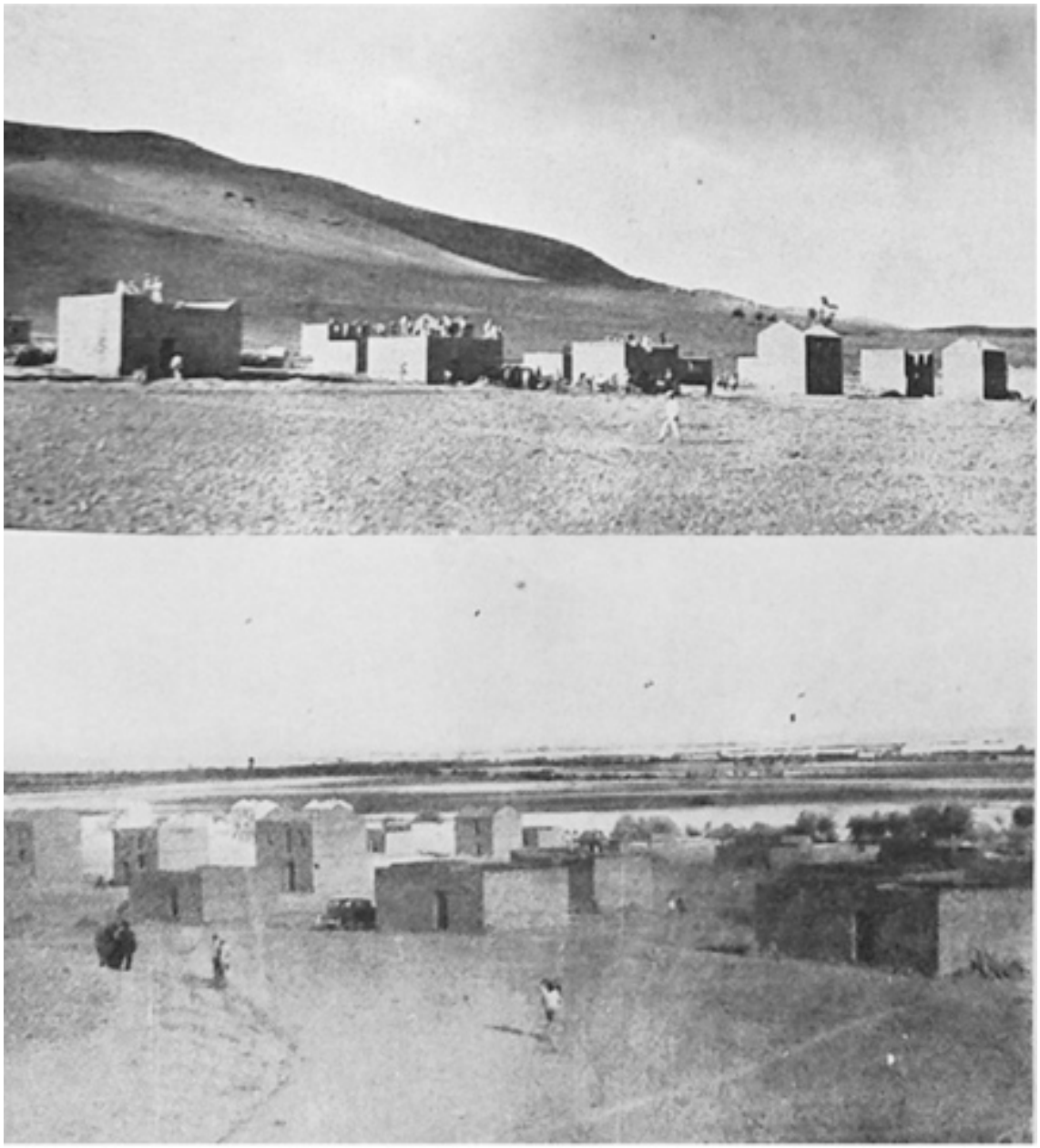

**Figure 6.34.** Settlement in Etminik (Altınçevre), 1935.[900] (*Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz*, 1935)

On the other hand, in Perçenç (Akçakiraz) housing was slightly differing from the dwellings in Etminik and Vertetil.[901] The houses were constructed as two-story semi-detached masonry buildings. Each house had 35m$^2$ (7,8mx4,5m) floor space. The interior organization was the same as the dwellings in Vertetil and Etminik villages; the entrance hall and one room were on the ground floor, and on the first floor was a living space as

[900] *Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz, İl ve İlçelerde Bayındırlık İşleri*.
[901] See in Appendix: "House Typology in Perçenç, Elazığ".

hall and a room. The timber stairs were the circulation element between the floors. The construction material was brick and timber. According to the photographs taken at the construction site during the implementation, the housing plots were clearly designated. However, information about the measurements was not included in the official documents.[902] **(Figure 6.35)**

**Figure 6.35.** Settlement in Perçenç (Akçakiraz), built in 1935.[903] (*Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz*, 1935)

### 6. 3. An Interpretation of the Republican Villages

The state authorities' intentions starting from the early years of the republican regime regarding the village community and the rural population were varied. The projects aimed to develop the country by fostering rural life in socio-cultural, economic, and national aspects. Nevertheless, the spatial programs, which were physical extensions of these motives, *de facto* formed the rural landscape of Anatolia. In other words, these operations developed an architectural culture in the countryside with a powerful impact on the Turkish village for which there had been no precedent.

Before 1930, these projects were enforced under the critical post-war conditions: The incomers from former Ottoman terrains in the Balkans urgently needed to be housed, and

[902] In Perçenç, today's Akçakiraz, from the republican settlement only one house has remained to enable a historic architectonic analysis. However, the plot, comprising the house and the garden, has mostly been altered by the settlers. Therefore, information about the measurements of housing site is missing.
[903] *Cumhurluk Devrinde Elaziz, İl ve İlçelerde Bayındırlık İşleri*.

the reconstruction of the built environment for the locals arose as another obligation for the state. On the other hand, the population of the villages and small towns were the majority of the country. The new settlers were also small farmers and peasants who were associated with the rural community in their origin-lands. Namely, during the first years of the republic the village evolved into the nucleus of country.

Although the insufficiency of infrastructure in the cities and in the rural areas was a tremendous obstacle for the new programs, legislation regarding the village community became the prior concern. Therefore, the 1924 Village Law was enacted by the government even earlier than other critical laws such as the first Settlement Law in 1926 and the Municipalities Law in 1930. Within this law, the village as the communal and spatial midpoint of Turkey was also identified as an administrative unit of the new secular state. It was one of the first modernizing attempts that resulted in planning, and hence reconstructing, of the existing villages and the formation of new settlements. The 1924 Village Law introduced the fundamental idea for the needed building program of new Turkey's villages. The government produced settlement plans and housing typologies and constructed "exemplar villages" based on the 1924 Village Law. This paved the way for a significant phase in the transformation of the appearance of rural Turkey as well as the questioning of village architectural planning during the early republican period.

In 1930, the single party government of RPP reinforced the political power of the Kemalist regime. In addition to administrative and regulatory operations, the republican state had an important impact in economic and socio-cultural fields. These two facts changed the development of rural settlements especially beginning in the early 1930s: Starting from mid 1920s the Kurdish conflict prompted the state use force against any social and political resistance in the country. In the 1930s, the strength of state's authority and self-confidence developed into the formula with which the theme of nationalization (read as Turkification) was materialized and systematically introduced. Involving all agents of the government, the regime bridged the modernization program to the demographic program, also including Turkish-speaking folks from East European alliances.

The second settlement law enacted in 1934 briefly and clearly addressed the instructions for the legal and spatial organization of the demographic engineering that the regime

decisively engaged in during the 1930s and 1940s. The implementation of the 1934 Settlement Law shaped the population in the countryside as well as the rural built environment by producing the new form of Turkish villages. The law primarily directed to house settlers in the determined framework of the state in accordance with national characteristics, simply defined the Turkish folks and non-Turkish folks. Secondly, the settlement law assisted the application of the 1924 Village Law on a broader scale in rural areas. And finally, the 1934 law conducted the operation for building new rural settlements and housing the people in these new habitations.[904]

During the implementation of the 1934 Settlement Law, Balkan immigrants played a critical role regarding the achievements in population planning. Since the 19th Century Turkey effectively confronted with the movements of folks as refugees and exchanged populaces. After the Balkan Wars, the First World War and the Turco-Greek War, until early 1920s the migration of masses occurred within the circumstances of war. However, during the 1930s, the state undoubtedly encouraged Turkish-speaking people from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania coming into the country, particularly within the scope of 1934 Settlement Law.

As it was emphasized in the 1934 Settlement Law, the Turkish language was the most important instrument for identifying the Turkish nation and melting all ethnicities in the same pot. Therefore, the state considered Balkan immigrants, who had spoken Turkish in their origin countries, as the key in the demographic program to unite rural folks under Turkishness. Beside the national codes, Turco-Yugoslavians, Turco-Romanians and Turco-Bulgarians were principally accustomed to rural tradition as peasants and farmers in their homelands. In fact, they were better oriented in the agricultural production and small manufacturing fields than the locals.

For these reasons, the Kemalist regime acknowledged Balkan immigrants as “loyal” and “hardworking” people who assisted in modernizing and nationalizing the country. This viewpoint, that the state regarded them as model citizens for a developing Turkey, prompted large-scale efforts in the planning of new rural settlements and dwellings, providing agrarian land and equipment, preparing them for the agricultural production,

[904] According to the documents introduced above, until the early 1940s, new settlements and rural dwellings were under construction in several provinces of Turkey.

as well as consolidating Turkishness in the countryside via a majority of Turkish-speaking settlers.

**Figure 6.36.** The photograph, on the left, was seen in the journal La Turquie Kemaliste with the title "Young immigrants preparing to milk their cows".[905] ( La Turquie Kemaliste, 1938) The photograph, on the right, was published in the book '*Tunceli Medeniyete Açılıyor* – Tunceli Is Developing Towards the Civilization' with the title of "An immigrant from Rumelia Turks, settled in Elazığ's lowlands".[906] (Uluğ, 1939)

Moreover, the 1934 Settlement Law legitimated and regulated the deportation of the Kurds in the eastern provinces to western Anatolia. Erik Jan Zürcher introduces the diaries of German travelers Lilo Linke, Robert Anhegger and Andreas Tietze who witnessed the deportation of people from Dersim to Afyonkarahisar and Aydın in 1937 after the revolt. They had been told where to be deported by the state officials in the train station. The party came across another group when they arrived in Aydın. The travelers depicted the scene: "They are simply removed from there and distributed over the country. They are then dumped anywhere, without a roof over their head or employment. They do not know a single word of Turkish"[907] In accordance with the law they would be settled together with Turkish-speaking folks and finally Turkified. Supporting the narratives, in 1938 La Turquie Kemaliste – a state promoted journal announced that in

[905] 'L'Immigration En Turquie', p. 16.
[906] Uluğ, p. 168.
[907] Zürcher, 'Two Young Ottomanists Discover Kemalist Turkey, The Travel Dairies of Robert Anhegger and Andreas Tietze', pp. 368–69.

the new rural settlements people from the eastern provinces were settled together with Balkan immigrants.[908] **(Figure 6. 36)**

The settlement policies, which evolved into not only the case for building the new village communities but also for relocating people according to a demographic scheme, gives the topic a geographical focus. Thus, the introduction of new rural settlements in İzmir and Elazığ become critical to understanding the discussion, especially with the political climate in which the Interior Minister Şükrü Kaya argued to "separate the country into west and east" in order to accomplish the national, socio-cultural and economic program of the state.[909]

In general, the methods the state adopted in the housing operations were compatible to each other in the whole country: The settlements were organized by the local governors and the settlers labored to the construction site. They were equipped with agricultural instruments, land, farming animals, and seed to plant provided by the government. However major differences occurred in the various settlements that reflected differences in on-site plans, housing typologies, and organization of the construction.

From this point of view, the programs in İzmir were influential for circumstances of the larger region. The city had been already urbanized since the late Ottoman period. The trade tradition and infrastructure had been ruling the city life for a long time, and the agricultural facilities in the rural areas were much more developed than in the eastern part of Anatolia. Thus, starting from the early years of the republic İzmir promised a strong potential for the development plan of the country. The deportation of the Greek and Armenian populations and the Great Fire of İzmir in 1922 demolished city life, and the Turco-Greek war also overwhelmed the rural towns and villages at the beginning of 1920s. Therefore, there was a need for city development as well as the rehabilitation of the rural areas.[910]

During the first years, population exchange largely influenced the settlement operations and the state mostly used abandoned villages and houses to accommodate the incoming

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[908] 'L'Immigration En Turquie'.
[909] 'TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, IV. Dönem, 3. Devre (TBMM Journal of Official Report, Period IV, Session 3)', p. 139. Quoted from Üngör, p. 149.
[910] Orhan Özcan, 'İngiliz Basınında İzmir Yangını ve Mülteci Sorunu (Eylül 1922)', *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 15.31 (2015), 177–200.

people. However, the practices of 1934 Settlement Law included the rural districts inthe demographic plan as well through the housing of Turkish-speaking immigrants in the region. The most significant characteristic of the programs in İzmir was the use of infrastructure in rural areas that had been completed by foreign alliances since the late 19th Century. This allowed developing a settlement planning in which modernist features like wide regular streets, determined building plots, water infrastructure, and extended building program were achieved in the new villages.

Nevertheless, Elazığ – a city in the eastern Anatolia, which witnessed the deportation of the Armenians and Kurds during the First World War – started develop in a "republican" manner from the 1920s. Especially in the 1930s, the state definitively implemented its spatial agents and formed a rigid administration in the province. The city was overseen by the general inspector and governor during the 1930s. In Elazığ the state put a great effort into economic and social improvement projects and continued to develop transportation, particularly to facilitate the mobility of the military in this region. Therefore, railroads, highways and bridges were prominent on the government's agenda. That fact made the city emerge as the symbolic, administrative, bureaucratic, and military basis of the state in the east.[911]

The city and the countryside did not have determined spatial borders in Elazığ. First, the center was furnished with the republican urban program features like a public square and park, large boulevards, running water infrastructure, Girls' Institute, People's House, new municipality and theater, hospital, and so on. Urbanization was attempted on the micro-scale but an urban planning project for the city and its hinterland was not completed during the 1930s and 1940s. Similar to the republican program that transformed the city center, rural Elazığ changed with the application of the 1934 Settlement Law that resulted in the deportation of Kurds from the region and the transportation of Balkan immigrant into the villages and new settlements. Thus, both the city architecture and rural development evolved into powerful tools for regime's propaganda in the region.

The images of new settlements in Elazığ dramatically illustrate the contrast panorama between the landscape, which was still untouched, tough and wild, and the "extremely"

[911] Zeynep Kezer emphasizes that Turkey's first military airport was built in Elazığ in 1940 making the province the nucleus of the state in the east. See Kezer, 'Spatializing Difference', p. 517.

modern village houses that were even much more improved and articulated than in the western provinces. In other words, the village houses and their arrangements as new rural settlements in Elazığ were not only architectonic components in the built environment, but were also they were greatest agents of the state in transforming the country, to consolidate and maintain political stability, and to concentrate on one "harmonic" nation by shaping it within the framework of Kemalist ideology.

In sum, the "republican villages", which were created during the 1930s and elaborated during the 1940s, evolved into micro-cosmos of the Kemalist regime negotiating with the rural Anatolia. They were specifically formed and planned, and were important to the economic, socio-cultural and national agenda of state. They became significant components of idealized land to demonstrate a particular rural built environment, the to emerge devoted citizens, and finally to serve for a "harmonic" nation adapted to the political authority. Analyzing these forms through a historiography of the Early Republican Period uncovers another layer of this complex narrative, and presents the clear motivations for an instrumentalized architecture in the countryside of Turkey.

# *CONCLUSION*

In 1955, Yaşar Kemal sharply described the rural landscape of Anatolia in his book "Memed, My Hawk".

> "The slopes of the Taurus Mountains rise from the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean, on the southern coast of Turkey, in a steady ascent from the white, foam-fringed rocks to the peaks. They then spread inland, as a tangent to the curve of the coast. Clouds in the white masses always float over the sea. The coastal plains between the mountains and the shore are clay, quite smooth, as if polished. Here the soil is rich, for miles inland the plain holds the tang of the sea, its air still salt and sharp. Beyond this smooth plowed land the scrub of the Cukurova begins. Thickly covered with a tangle of brushwood, reeds, blackberry brambles, wild vines, and rushes, its deep green expanse seems boundless, wilder and darker than a forest."[912]

When the story continues, the writer dramatically portrays the mural of Turkish village and villager that were still grappling with poverty and social underdevelopment after more than 30 years of republican rule. Yaşar Kemal's novel, based on an insider's observation of the village community, displays early republican deal which often preceded modernizing and nationalizing the country rather than focusing on the actual needs and problems of rural community. This endeavour resulted in a disconnection between the government and the governed society echoing continuously in the political sphere of Turkey. Unfolding the layers of this 'disconnection' comprehensively answers the research question – *"**how did the modernization and nationalization processes of Turkey reflect on forming the new rural settlements during the Early Republican Period?"*** – that this thesis clarifies relevant facts through the historiography of early republican village planning, highlights the argument in spatial context, and places the theme in the relations with such concepts repeated in different geographical, cultural, social and economic circumstances.

[912] Yaşar Kemal, p. 3.

Practices of modernization and nationalization, adapted to Turkey's case, consists of patterns, which had been developed in Europe and Russia since the 19th Century. Particular models such as territorial and national definition of the country[913], reformation and idealization of the homeland[914], and association of the state with the specific linguistic or ethnic groups[915] also emanated in similar forms in Turkey. In particular, prior motives of Turkey's nationalization and modernization were grounded in the attempts of the late Ottoman state and intelligentsia to re-establish the empire's legitimacy in the context of ascendant European nation states. [916] The desire for a collective cultural identity led the elites to emphasise the idea of Turkishness. The Ottoman dynasty identified themselves as Turks, and Anatolia, where the Ottoman state had originally emerged, was given new importance as the Turkish Homeland.[917] Early republican cadre, who were indeed the former Ottoman intelligentsia and military men, built the new state over these motivations but expanding the historic scale of Turkishness towards the archaic roots of Anatolian civilizations, and adding the endeavors to modernize the underprivileged homeland Anatolia.[918] Although the new republican state rejected all imperial representations, the ideals originated in the discussions started in the late Ottoman period.

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[913]Ina-Maria Greverus, *der territoriale Mensch, Ein literaturanthropologischer Versuch zum Heimatphänomen* (Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Athenäum Verlag, 1972); Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, Ethnonationalism in Comparative Perspective (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991); John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd ed (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); Anthony Giddens, 'The Nation as a Power Container', in *Nationalism*, ed. by Anthony D Smith and John Hutchinson (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 34–36; Ellie Kendouri, 'Nationalism and Self-Determination', in *Nationalism*, ed. by Anthony D Smith and John Hutchinson (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 49–55.

[914] Fritz Pappenheim, *The Alienation of Modern Man: An Interpretation Based on Marx and Tönnies/ Fritz Pappenheim.* (New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1968); Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Civil Society*, Jose Harris (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Thomas Spence, William Ogilvie, and Thomas Paine, *The Pioneers of Land Reform* (London, UK: G. Bell & Sons, 1920), Library of University of California, San Diego <http://www.archive.org/details/pioneersoflandre00londiala>; T. M. Parssinen, 'Thomas Spence and the Origin of English Land Nationalization', Journal of the History of Ideas, 34.1 (1973).

[915] Eley and Suny, 'Introduction: From the Moment of Social History to the Work of Cultural Representation'; Karl Deutsch, 'Nationalism and Social Communication', in *Nationalism*, ed. by Anthony D Smith and John Hutchinson (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 26–29; Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*.

[916] Read as a form of 'territorial and national definition of the country'.

[917] Read as the forms of 'association of the state with the specific linguistic or ethnic group's and 'reformation and idealization of the homeland'.

[918] Ziya Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, trans. by Niyazi Berkes (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); Yeşim Bayar, *Formation of the Turkish Nation-State, 1920-1938* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Moreover, motives of nationalization and modernization, reflected on the rural landscape, materialized and repeated in archetypes like idealizing the rural culture as the essence of a nation and/or a society, and colonizing the folks into a planned space in order to govern them in the frame of states' strategies.[919] The settlements, built in accordance with the ideals of rural community in socialist cases as in early implementations of Garden City Movement, and the settlements, built in accordance with the internal colonization programs as in Germany, Italy and other European countries from the beginning of the 20th Century[920], had their impact on the making of modern Turkish village. The form of Garden City was adapted to village projects by the Turkish architects and politicians in terms of architectural concept, however the socialist ideals of Garden City Movement were never taken into consideration. In addition to this, internal colonization models were promoted by Turkish architects in different debates[921], and were practically implemented by the state within the settlement operations. Regarding their place in economic and demographic programs of the RPP during the early republican years, rural settlements (pre-existing villages and/or planned villages) considerably emerged as practices of an internal colonization program, and immigrants and deported population played crucial role in forming the countryside related to this program.

On the other hand, romanticization of the countryside in cultural terms and modernization of the rural space in social and economic terms in the early 20th Century[922] emerged as

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[919] The thesis subject concentrates on the early discussions of modernization and nationalization of the land, and considers the attempts as the forms of land idealization. Here, some key resources determine the thesis' argument. George Sturt, *Change in the Village* (Dover, N.H: Caliban Books, 1984); M. Beer, 'Introduction', in *The Pioneers of Land Reform* (London, UK: G. Bell & Sons, 1920); Lewis Mumford, 'Garden City Idea and Modern Planning', in *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* (London, UK: Faber, 1965); Jeremy Burchardt, 'Editorial: Rurality, Modernity and National Identity between Wars', *Cambridge University Press*, Rural History, 21.2 (2010); Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, International Library of Sociology (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975).

[920] *Governing the Rural in Interwar Europe*, ed. by Liesbeth van de Grift and Amalia Ribi Forclaz (London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018); Ghirardo; Spiegel; Gessner; Henderson; Grill; Fehl.

[921] The most significant example to the form adaptation of Garden City is "Ideal Republican Village" of Kazim Dirik; Dirik, TCBCA, 30.1.0.0/111.705.8. Turkish architect Zeki Sayar opened up the debate for the adaptation of internal colonization models practiced in Germany.Sayar, 'İç Kolonizasyon: Başka Memleketlerde'; Sayar, 'İç Kolonizasyon: Kolonisation Intérieure'. In Chapter 4 *"Turkish Architects and City Planners Analyzing the Discourse: Concepts for the Village and the Village House"*.

[922] I refer to the conceptualization of the rural space in German-speaking countries starting from the 19th Century, and architectural echoes of the concept "Going back to the Country" which had influence on ruralist discussions during the early republican period of Turkey. Among others, see: Rudolf Henning, *Das Deutsche Haus in Seiner Historischen Entwickelung* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1882); Rudolf Meringer, *Das Deutsche Haus Und Sein Hausrat* (Leipzig: B. G. Teuber, 1906); Laurent Stalder, *Hermann Muthesius 1861 - 1927: das Landhaus als kulturgeschichtlicher Entwurf*, Studien und Texte zur Geschichte der

the significant patterns for Turkey's nationalization and modernization processes that led the dramatic transformation of the built environment. Here it is crucial to emphasize that relations with German-speaking intelligentsia built a bridge of know-how of this pattern passing to the Turkish elites and politicians. Especially Ernst Reuter, Ernst Egli and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky are significant actors in the frame of forming the rural settlements, and presenting ideas for making the modern Turkish village.

Ernst Reuter reintroduced the village community as an administrative unit of the larger municipal organizations in the country. He argued that an improved association of small towns and villages would generate a functional administration among the rural communities. He also proposed to modernize construction techniques and advocated a clear work division between governmental organizations and village communities in completing public buildings in the new settlements.[923] Likewise, Ernst Egli contributed to the rural planning with projects of small cities and Anatolian towns in the mid 1930s.[924] Later between 1953 and 1955, he introduced Village Planning as an academic discipline in rural and urban planning during his assignment for the UN project in Turkey.[925] Moreoever, in the 1930s Ernst Egli examined the Turkish civil architecture including the village house as the prior model of traditional dwelling. This study paved the way for perceiving the village architecture in the frame of Turkish architecture, as well as he often described the rural landscape as the foundation of Turkish culture. [926]

Education of the village community had an important place in the regime's agenda in socio-cultural, economic and national terms. Thus, the village schools became substantial buildings, as well as architectural representations of the state in the countryside. Village schools were often the primary public buildings constructed after the dwellings. Ernst Egli and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky contributed to the concepts for village school in the state's new building repertoire for a modernized rural Turkey. In the early 1930s, Ernst Egli produced the models for school buildings in Anatolian villages.[927] In the late 1930s,

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Architekturtheorie (Zürich: Gta Verlag, 2008); K. Michael Hays, 'Tessenow's Architecture as National Allegory: Critique of Capitalism or Protofascism?', *Assemblage*, 8.February (1989), 104–23.

[923] Reuter, *Komün Bilgisi*; Reuter, 'Mahalli İdarelerin Mali Kaynakları ve Devletle Münasebetleri (Cihanda ve Türkiye'de)'; Reuter, 'Kasabalarımız'; Reuter, 'Küçük Belediyeler Meselesi'.

[924] Ernst Egli, 'Bebauungsplan Edirne I+II'; Ernst Egli, 'Bebauungsplan Balikesir'; Ernst Egli, 'Bebauungsplan Tschal'; Ernst Egli, 'Bebauungsplan Kisilcabölük'; Ernst Egli, 'Stadtaufnahme Samsun'.

[925] Ernst Egli, 'Interim Report on the Housing Problem'.

[926] Ernst Egli, 'Maisons Typiques Des Villages D'Anatolie'; Ernst Egli, 'Das Türkisches Wohnhaus'.

[927] Kul; Maarif Vekaleti İlk Tedrisat Dairesi.

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky designed school prototypes which would be adoptable in architectural form and building program in the rural Anatolia. The concept of village schools was articulated due to the first drafts of "Village Institutions".[928]

The architectural culture and social and political motives in Germany, Austria and Switzerland where these experts developed their professions, becomes crucial and necessary to examine within the thesis context. They carried the insightful knowledge for the operations of village planning in the processes of conceptualization and practice. Additionally, they generated scientific discussions on rural communities which remained the majority of the country even after the end of Early Republican Period of Turkey.

In 1923, 10,3 million of 13,6 million people were still living in the villages and small towns of Anatolia and eastern Thrace in Turkey. Except for a few developed cities, all country consisted of rural communities in economic and social terms. People, who immigrated into Anatolia as a result of the wars and population exchanges starting from the early years of the 20th Century, and dramatically in the 1920s, were mostly occupied with peasantry in their origin countries. Therefore, the village emerged as the focus for the state's new agenda: The attempts at economic restoration of the rural life shaped the first years of the republic, and the formulas were sought to generate Turkish peasantry, which was non-comparable to European models in socio-economical terms.[929]

When the Kemalist regime consolidated its political power in 1930, the government expended the targets towards the socio-cultural reformation, secularization and nationalization of the village community. Referring to the majority of the country, rural population was, no doubt, under great influence of regime's program. [930] However, the intentions were ambiguous: On one hand, the early republican state and intelligentsia considered the village community and rural life in emergency to refurbish and dramatically change economic, social and national facets of the countryside; on the other hand they promoted all sorts of examination of rural country as the pure cultural maternity of modern Turkey. As a matter of fact, the architecture and planning became significant

[928] Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Dorfschulen Für Anatolien'; Schütte-Lihotzky, 'Yeni Köy Okulları ve Bina Tipleri Üzerine Bir Deneme, Istanbul'.
[929] From the first years of the Republic, the state set several development plans grounded in restoration of agriculture-based economy. Ayşe Afetinan; *Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi: Belgeler*; *Birinci Köy ve Ziraat Kalkınma Kongresi Yayını: Türk Ziraat Tarihine Bir Bakış*.
[930] Karaömerlioğlu; (Köymen), *Halkçılık ve Köycülük*; Nusret Kemal Köymen, 'Forward to the Progressive Village'.

tools of representative enterprises and another vein of modernist and nationalist interventions in the countryside. Analysis of rural architectural tradition and the village architecture dominated the discussions among architects and city planners.[931] Yet the constructions of villages were operated due to the fundamental and rapid solutions in the settlement planning, rather than considering the studies on local and regional forms in the building culture.

The new rural settlements, constructed during the Early Republican Period of Turkey, accumulated the inspirations and ideas for making the modern Turkish village, yet the practices were mostly led by the economical, sanitary and simple solutions in terms of architecture. In the first years of the republic, the government lead the operation in accordance with the emergency of reconstruction of existing villages, and building new settlements for the incoming population and locals. In addition to this, economic improvement, grounded on agricultural production, was the fundamental subject, the state concentrated on. The 1924 Village Law and 1926 Settlement Law were the legislative manifestations of regime's policy.

In terms of architecture, the accepted form of the new settlements included affordable housing typologies and regular arrangement of the site in order to ease the organization of the operation and to decrease the cost of construction. One of the most important details of the first years' implementations is that the central government had a direct control on these implementations, differing from later practices. Even though, the local governors were involved in the consultancy, the state guided the general work. This was the evidence that in the first years of the republic local administrations was not equipped enough to run the policies of settlement construction in the countryside.

After 1930 the government's perspective became more holistic by adding socio-cultural and demographic programs to the economic plan for the village communities. The 1934 Settlement Law emphasized the definition of Turkishness by introducing new tactics in settling the people in accordance with their ethnicity. The law aimed to house the Turkish-

[931] As highlighted, the architecture magazine *Arkitekt* led the architectural debates among Turkish architects in the 1930s. See also: Gulsum Baydar Nalbantoglu, 'Between Civilization and Culture: Appropriation of Traditional Dwelling Forms in Early Republican Turkey', *Journal of Architectural Education (1984-)*, 47.2 (1993), 66–74 <https://doi.org/10.2307/1425168>; Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, 'Silent Interruptions: Urban Encounters with Rural Turkey', in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, Publications on the Near East, 3 (Seattle : London: University of Washington Press, 1997), pp. 192–210.

speaking immigrants as the catalyzer group to control on the folks as Kurds, who were identified as non-Turkish in the sense of culture and language. Its instructions included the architectural details of the new settlements with the site plan, housing typologies and agricultural land division organized by the local governments, which had more improved in the administrative tasks.

During the second half of the 1930s and the early 1940s, the 1934 Settlement Law lead to a massive construction of the "republican villages" which reflected the state's modernist and nationalist enterprises in the rural landscape. The architectural agenda was carried out in enclosed settlements as villages, and new neighborhoods in the small rural towns. In all cases, the form of the settlement was clearly distinguished from the landscape and existing built environment. These construction projects illustrate the modernist and nationalist interventions by strongly demonstrating the state's presence in the countryside.

Local governments and municipal organizations operated the construction by calling for the contractors with the official announcements in the local newspapers. Villagers and new residents participated in measuring the land, building the houses, and all other aspects of making the modern Turkish village. The general organization of the site plan repeated in determining the public building program and housing area, organizing the space regularly in accordance with the size. Housing typology was altered in different areas due to the state interventions in particular regions, rather than local conditions of the places: In Izmir, the houses in the villages and neighborhoods resemble to the model, which Housing Department of Interior Ministry introduced and was similarly implemented in the other western provinces and Ankara. On the other hand, the houses built in rural Elazığ significantly differed from the official model and its modifications in the western provinces of Turkey. The two-story village houses with their white-washed walls, and geometric site organization coincide with neither regional nor local patterns in Elazığ. This was another mirror image of early republican idea reflected on the formation of rural landscape.

*An Evaluation*

**1. Physical Environment Today:**

The architectural conditions of the settlements, examined in the frame of this study, distinguish in accordance with the different dynamics of urban and rural developments in Izmir and Elazığ since the early republican period. At the beginning of the thesis research, other rural settlement implementations were trailed in different sites, in different cities. Many of them have been disappeared due to uncontrolled urbanization approaching the rural areas, continuous underdevelopment conditions of the settlements, and/or state's larger projects.

The cases presented here, have been chosen among others according to the conditions that allowed an architectural investigation. Especially Yeniköy Village retains the original form of the republican settlement in the site organization and houses. This settlement generated a sample of "modern Turkish Village" after the construction of other buildings like school, gendarmerie, public park, nursery, and shops. On the other hand, in Havuzbaşı and Taşkesik Villages the settlements have been re-formed due to the contemporary needs of the village community, and the houses have been modified by the residents themselves.

According to the official documents ten new settlements were built in Elazığ during the 1930s. However, today only four of these survive in the neighborhoods (Kövenk) Güntaşı, (Vertetil) Yazıkonak, (Etminik) Altınçevre, (Perçenç) Akçakiraz with the houses built in the former republican settlements. Most of the rural settlements demolished in accordance with uncontrolled growth after the population flow from neighboring provinces in the 1950s. And some of them submerged due to the Water Reservoir of Keban Dam started in 1966. Today, the best-preserved settlement is located in Yazıkonak district – former Vertetil Village – that the street-view still displays the characteristics of the original settlement.

**Figure C.1.** Street view from the center in Yeniköy, Izmir. (© Author)

**Figure C.2.** Street view from the housing area in Yeniköy, Izmir. (© Author)

**Figure C.3.** Street view from the housing area in Havuzbaşı, Izmir. (© Author)

**Figure C.4.** Village house in Taşkesik, Izmir. (© Author)

**Figure C.5.** Street View in Vertetil (Yazikonak), Elazığ. (© Author)

**Figure C.6.** Village House in Vertetil (Yazikonak), Elazığ. (© Author)

**Figure C.7.** Village House in Kövenk (Mollakendi), Elazığ. (© Author)

## 2. Memory of Early Republican Space:

Today, the political, socio-cultural and economic milieu, and interventions of the current state differ in İzmir and Elazığ. Residents of the planed rural settlements, built in the 1930s in İzmir and Elazığ, express a common feeling of nostalgia for the history of adaptation period to their new "homeland".

In İzmir, Yeniköy, Havuzbaşı and Taşkesik, the whole immigration process – from leaving the land of origin to landing and settling into Turkey – have been told to residents by their ancestors as significant personal memoirs. Most of them referred to the settlements as "Ataturk's Villages" even promoting the 'heroic-character' of the founder and the first president of Turkey. They approach with a great respect and nostalgia towards the early republican programs as they gave them "a house to sleep in, bread to eat, animal and land to survive" in this particularly brand new place. In other words, they carry the immigration story with them and add the bound with the new home as if their "national" origin place.

Likewise, in Elazığ today's residents acquaint themselves with the early republican implementations in their villages. However, many settlers who were housed in these settlements in 1930s, moved to the western provinces starting in the 1950s. The people remained there, narrate how their ancestors struggled to survive in the harsh land which was much less fertile then where they had originally come from. And they state, their ancestors, most of the time, taught them how to cultivate the land and animals with the new technics to the locals. Those, who left, reunited with their relatives in the western provinces where the soil and climate were more similar to their home country.

## 3. Towards an Understanding of Forming the New Rural Settlements in Early Republican Turkey:

The rural settlements, constructed in the early republican period of Turkey, had great impact on the rural landscape by changing physical environment and relocating people. From 1930s they became models of Kemalist interventions of which consequences and traces are still observable in the countryside. They were elaborated as particular forms to generate the modern Turkish village in accordance with the socio-cultural, economic and demographic programs in which the regime often sought a formula through regulations, legislative instructions, specific associations and actors, and building practices aiming to re-shape the rural Turkey.

Starting from the early republican period, methods to reform the countryside have been altered by different governments under different ideologies in Turkey's political milieu, whilst the rural population have remained underprivileged, yet the major part of the country. Until 1980s, the focus of state maintained on the rural population, despite the urbanization of Turkey gradually started in the 1950s in demographic scales. In other words, Turkey witnessed the instrumentalization of rural people for the government politics for a long time in its history. In this regard, planned rural settlements have stayed in the critical position in the manoeuvres which regimes have usually negotiated between the consolidation of the political power and the village community in rural Turkey.

All told, these specific settlement forms have emerged as representative locales to grasp the fundamental strategies on behalf of the states' legitimation traditions that still repeat interfering our lives in social, economic and cultural spheres. Their architectonic values,

communicate with the modernist aesthetic and practice, they seemingly become examples of idealized places to build the controlled physical environment which is a common intervention of today's authoritarian regimes. Consequently, the documentation of planned rural settlements uncovers not only a section in architectural historiography of early republican Turkey. But the results of this documentation contribute to an interdisciplinary observation field by offering to construct a bridge between the space, its history and its people; a bridge that blazes a trail to expose the conflicts between the true-life-experience and the idealized one.

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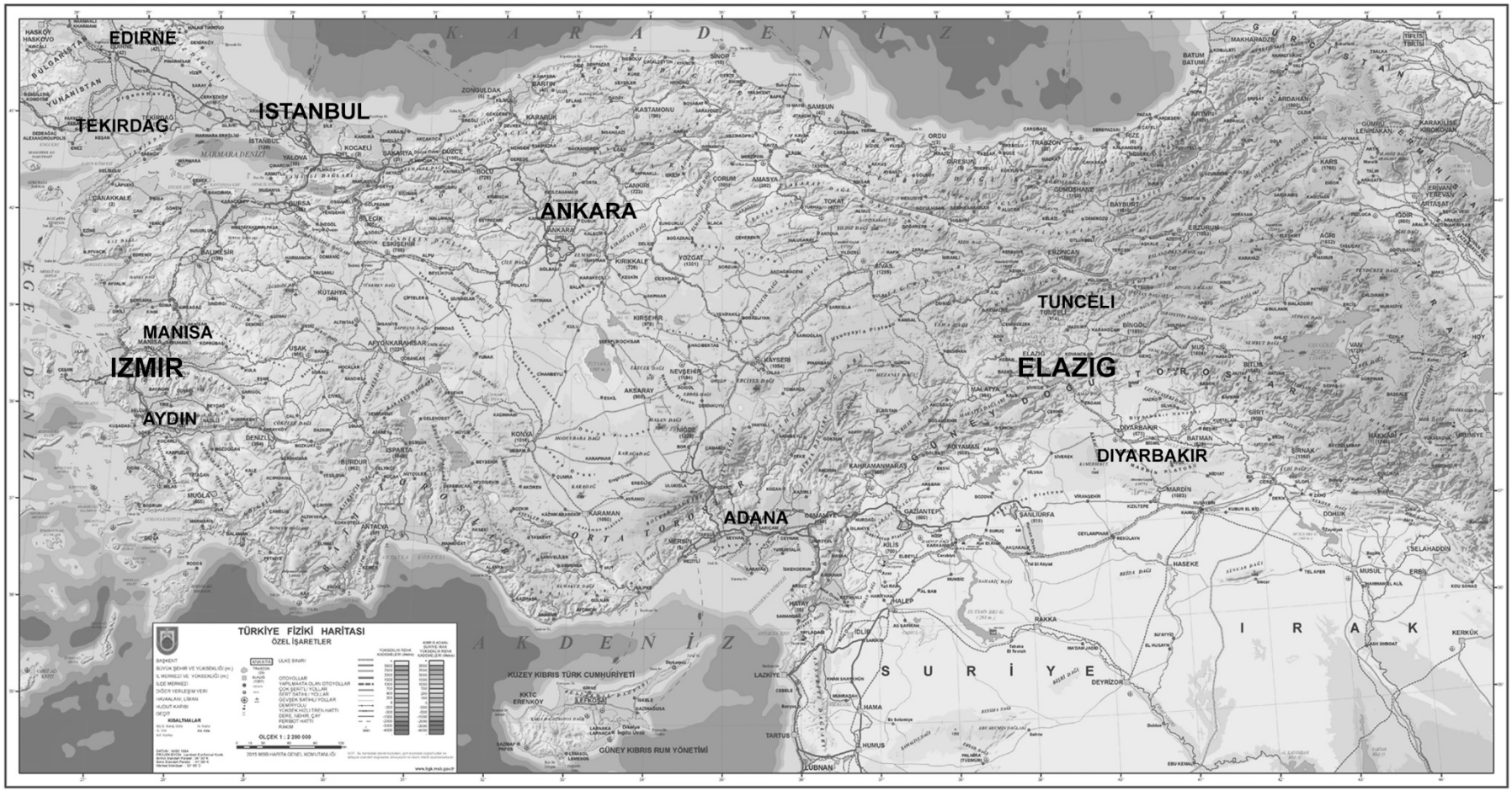
# APPENDIX

**TURKEY AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD**

Source: General Directorate of Mapping, Turkey, <www.hgk.msb.gov.tr>

**MAP OF TURKEY**



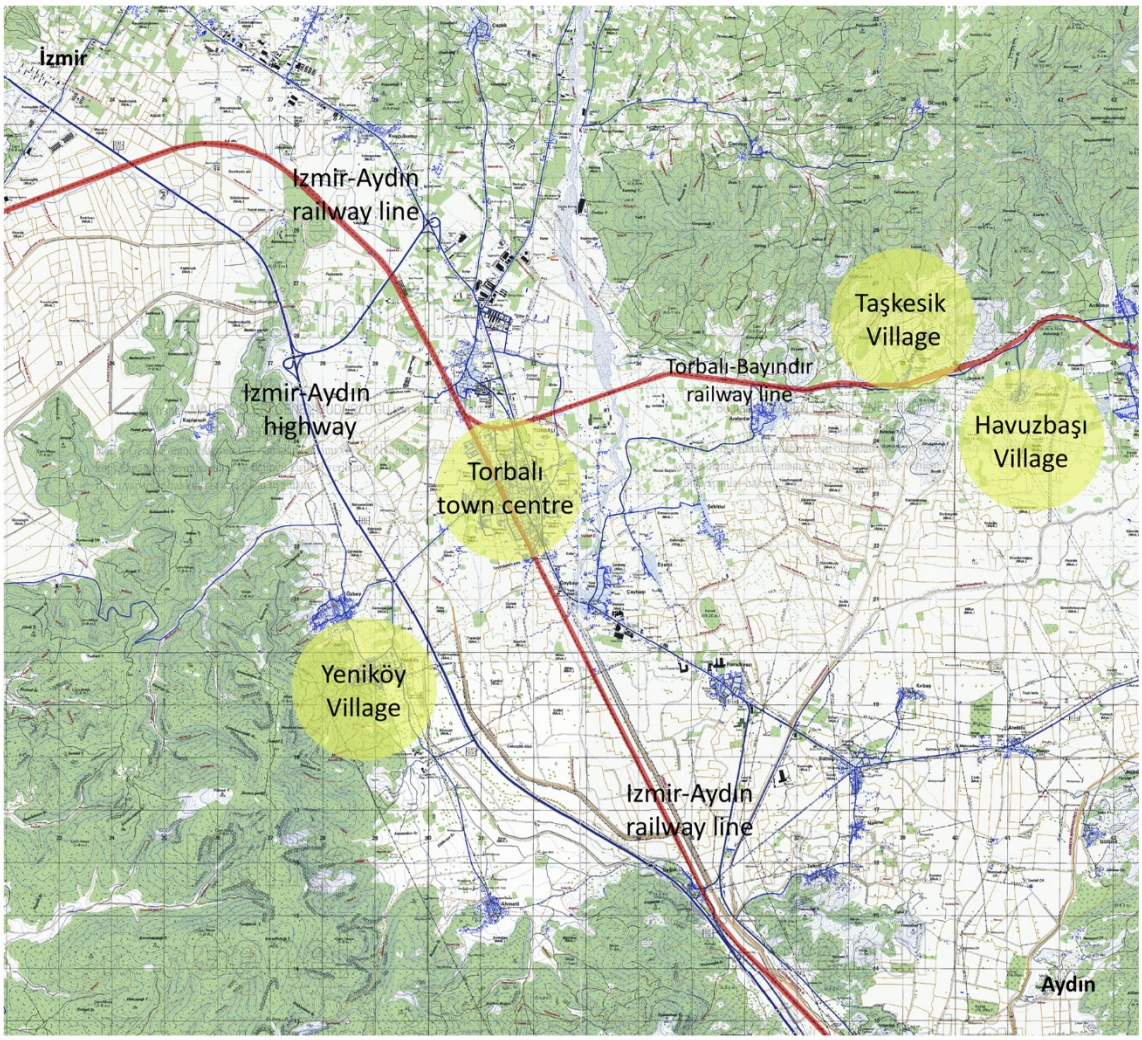

Source: General Directorate of Mapping, Turkey, <www.hgk.msb.gov.tr>

## MAP OF İZMİR AND NEIGHBORHOOD

## MAP OF ELAZIĞ AND NEIGHBORHOOD

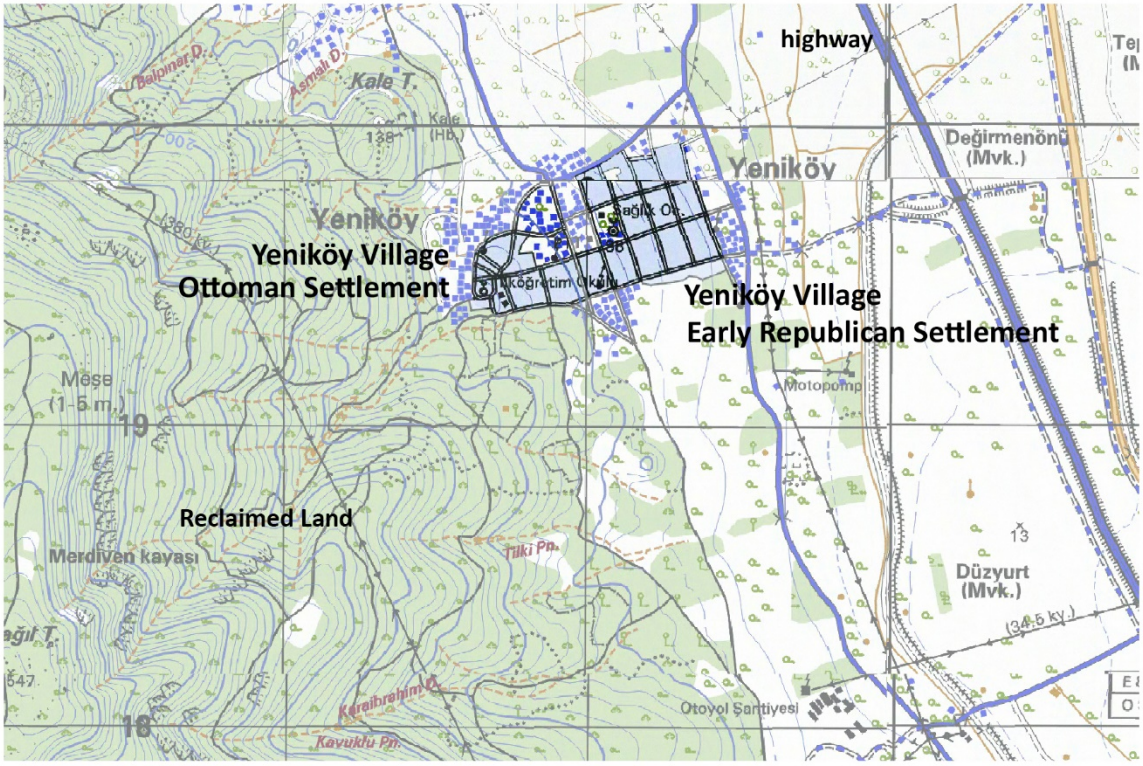
Source: General Directorate of Mapping, Turkey, <www.hgk.msb.gov.tr>

**MAP OF TORBALI, İZMİR**

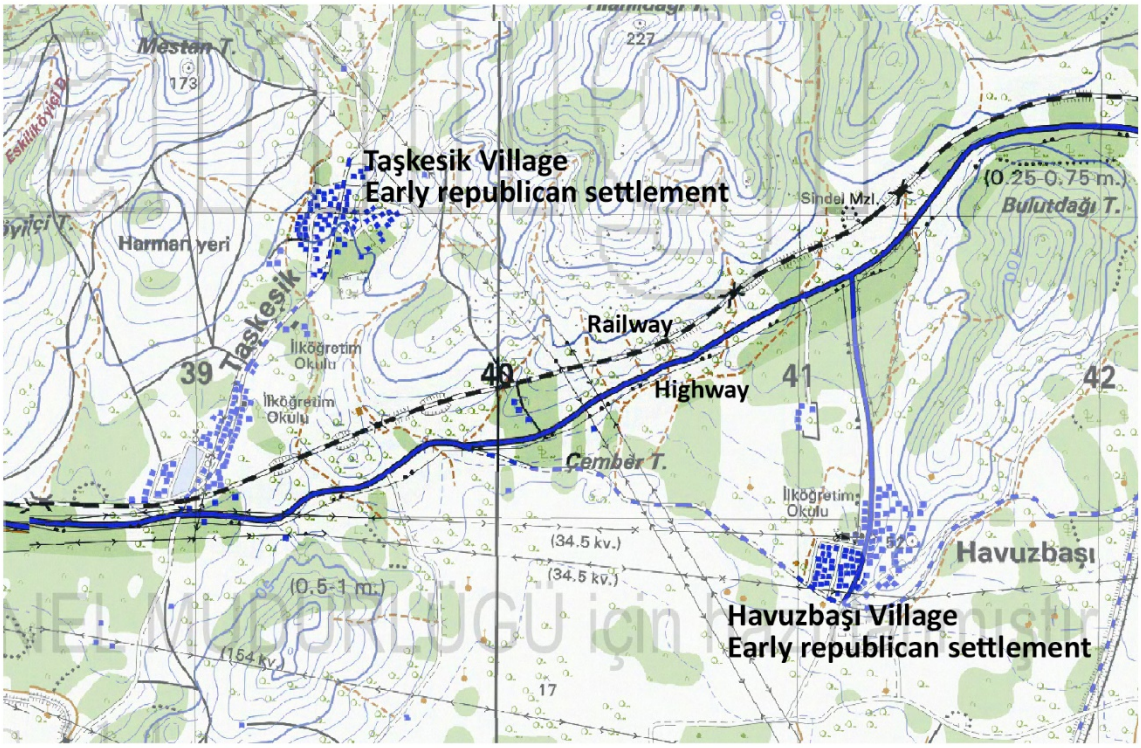



Source: Akdeniz Harita, İzmir (Private Office, Cartography and Land Survey)

## YENİKÖY VILLAGE, İZMİR

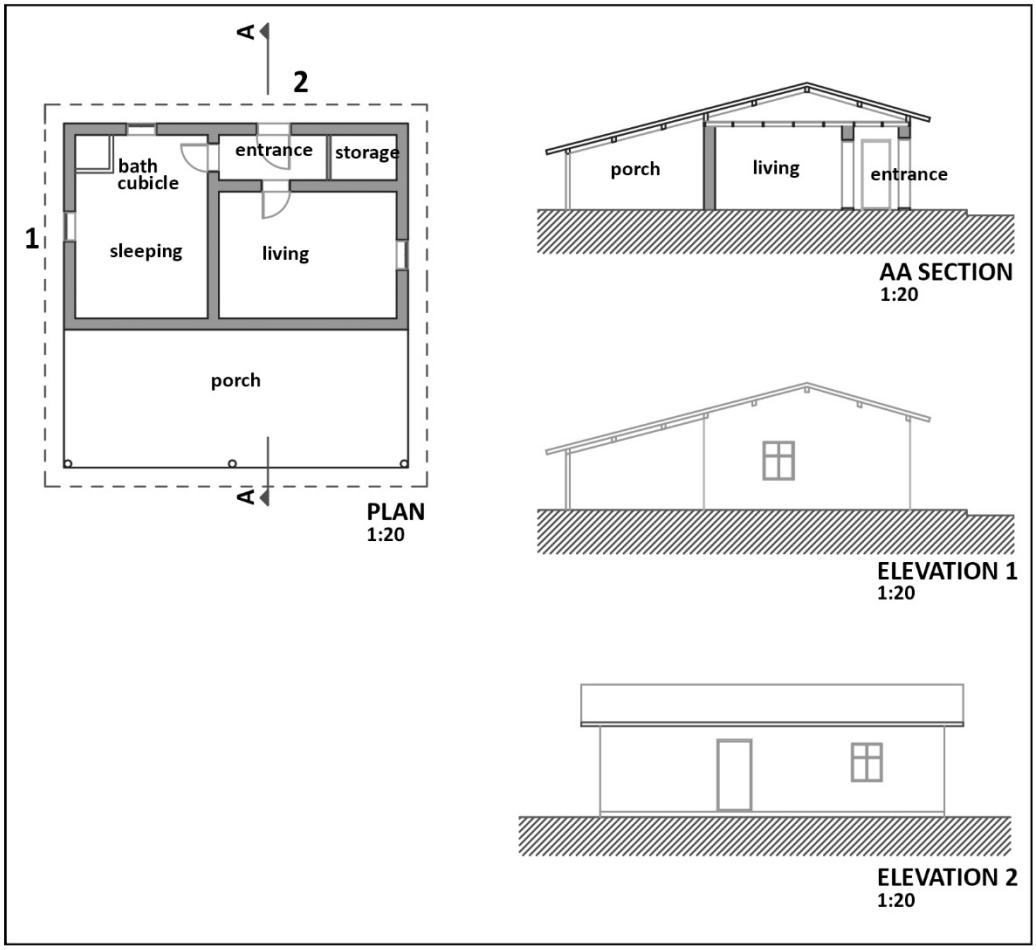



## TAŞKESİK AND HAVUZBAŞI VILLAGES, İZMİR



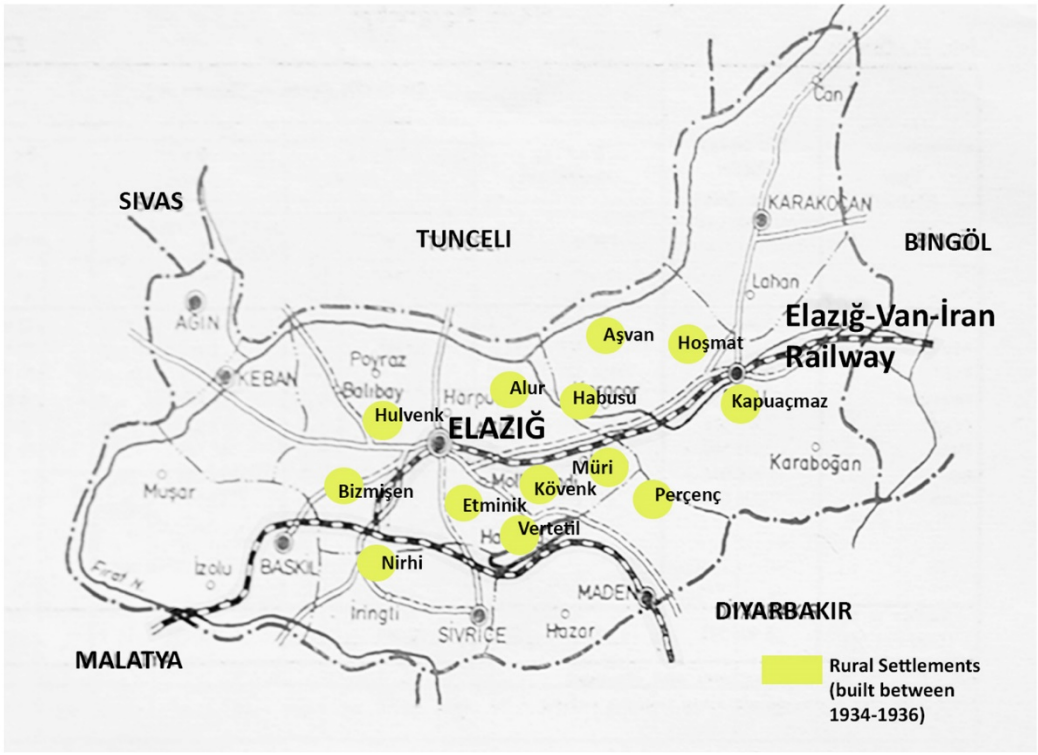

Source: Akdeniz Harita, İzmir (Private Office, Cartography and Land Survey)

**HOUSE TYPOLOGY IN YENİKÖY, HAVUZBAŞI AND TAŞKESİK VILLAGES, İZMİR**

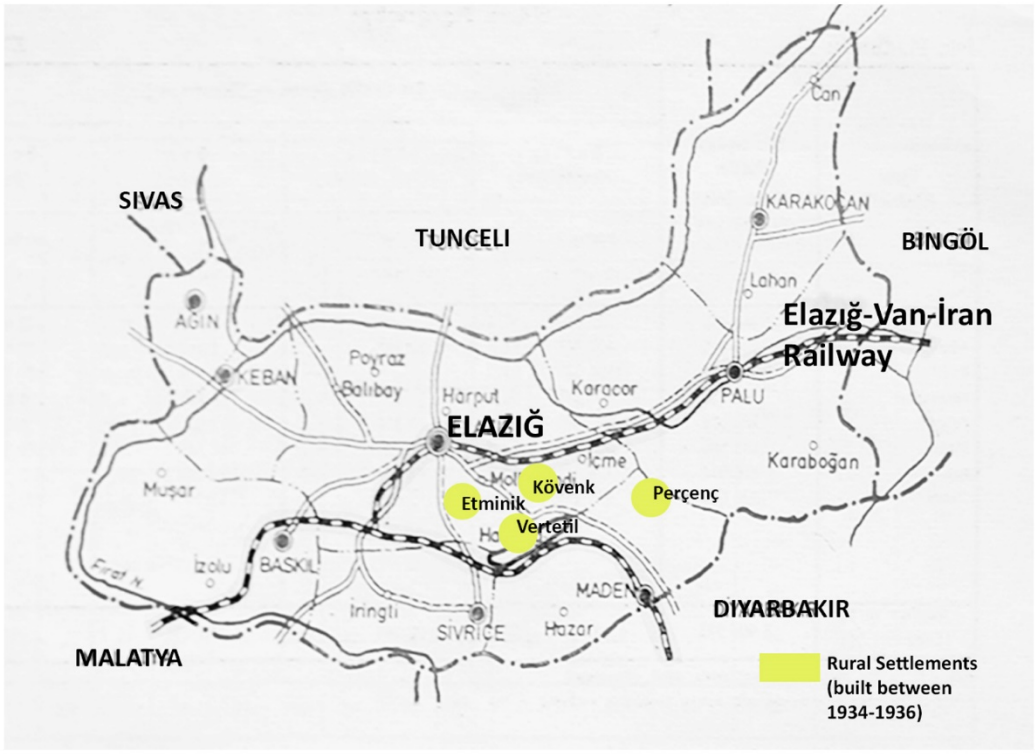



Drawings, according to field research and archival documents.

**RURAL SETTLEMENTS IN ELAZIĞ, 1934-1936**

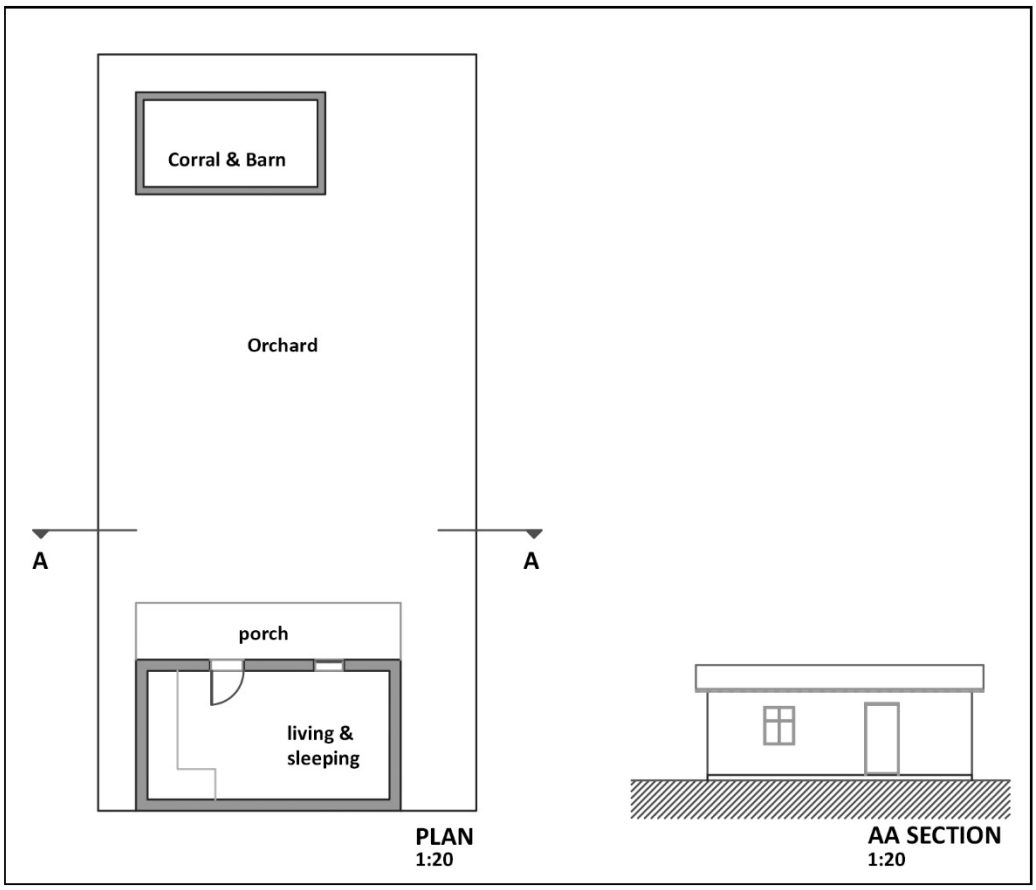



**KÖVENK, VERTETİL, ETMİNİK, AND PERÇENÇ VILLAGES, ELAZIĞ**



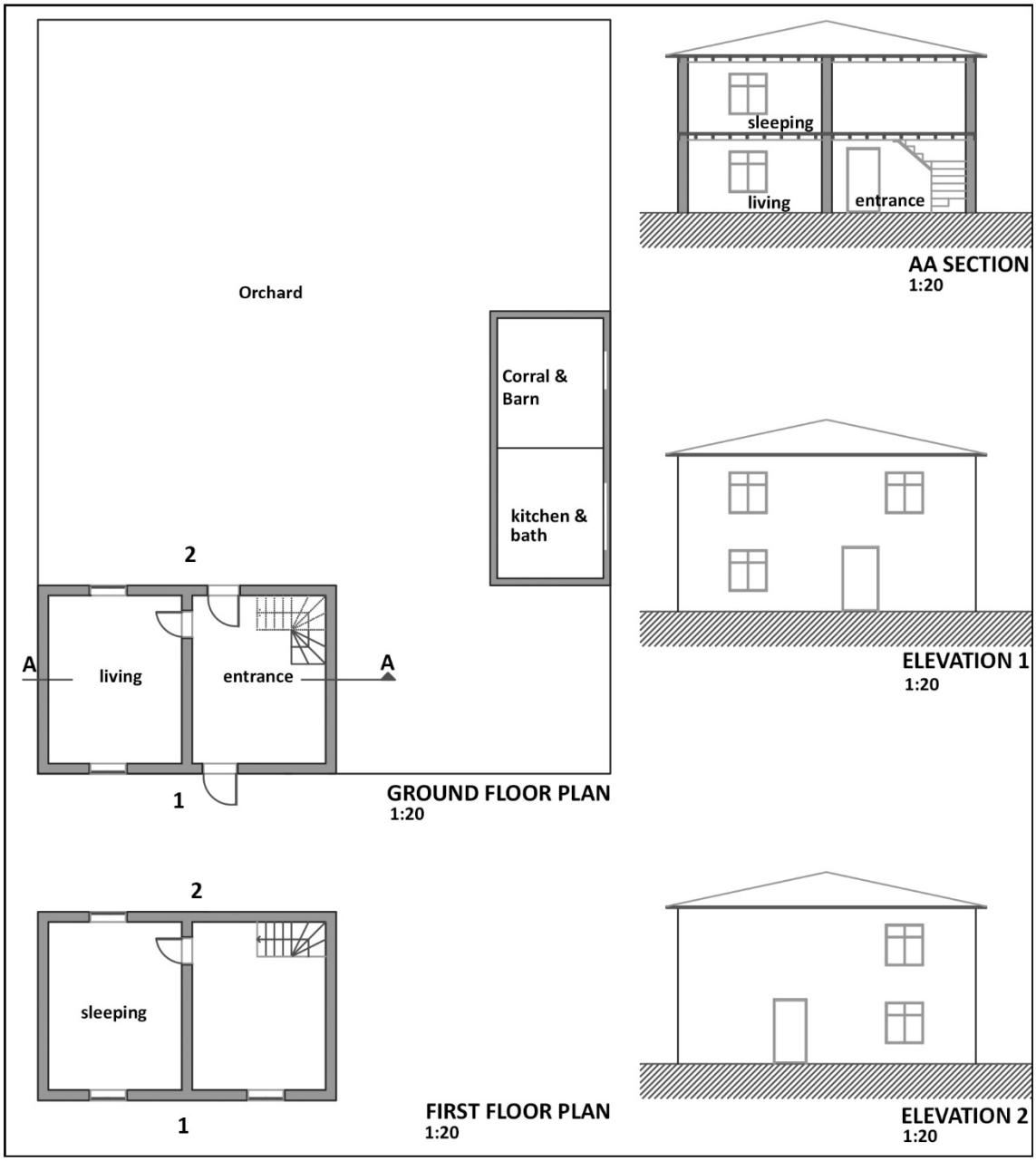

Source: Köy Envanter Raporlarına Göre Elazığ, Köy İşleri Bakanlığı Yayınları, 44 (Konya:Yıldız Basımevi, 1966), p. 13.

**HOUSE TYPOLOGY IN KÖVENK, ELAZIĞ**



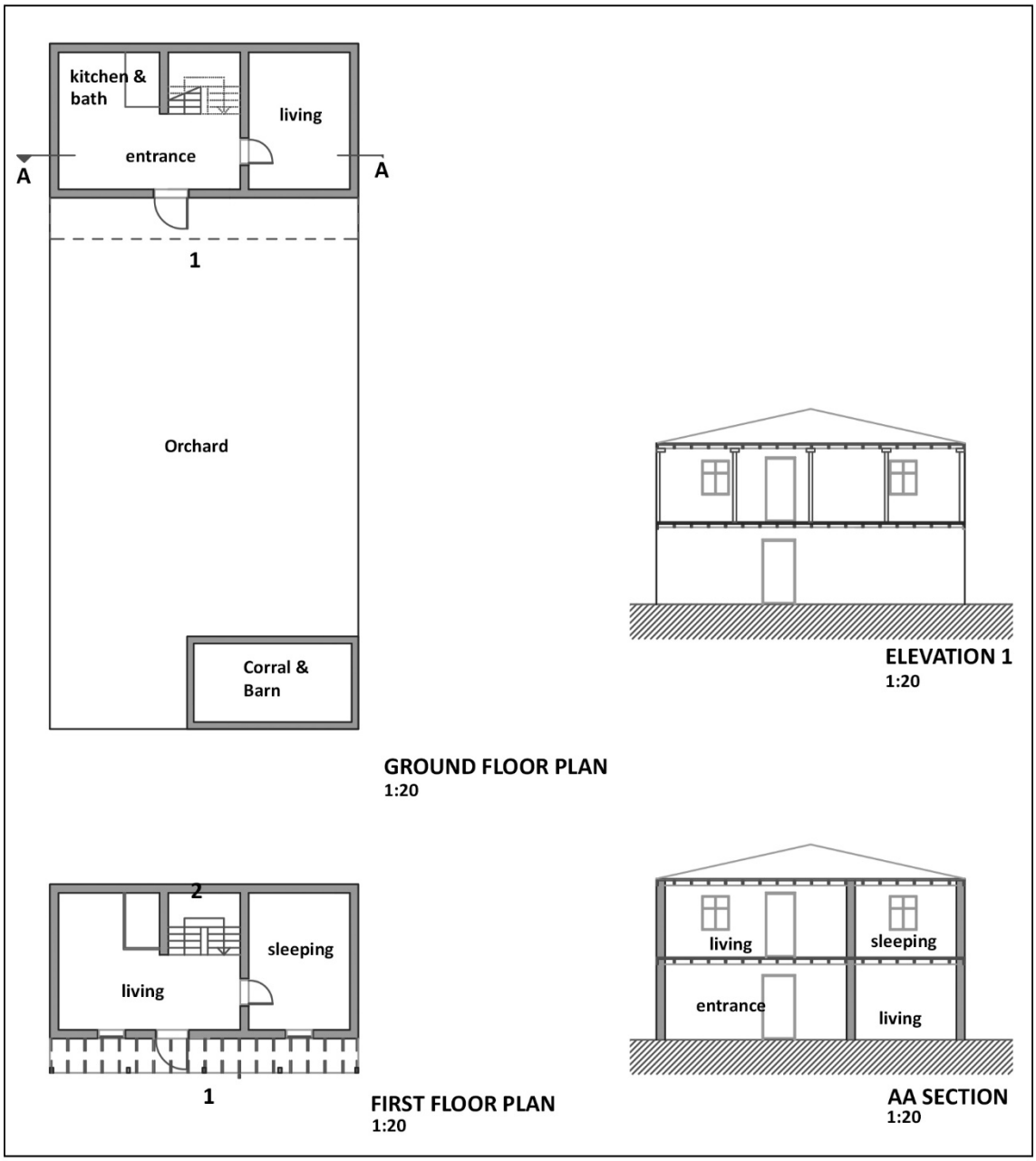

Drawings, according to field research and archival documents.

**HOUSE TYPOLOGY IN VERTETİL, ELAZIĞ**



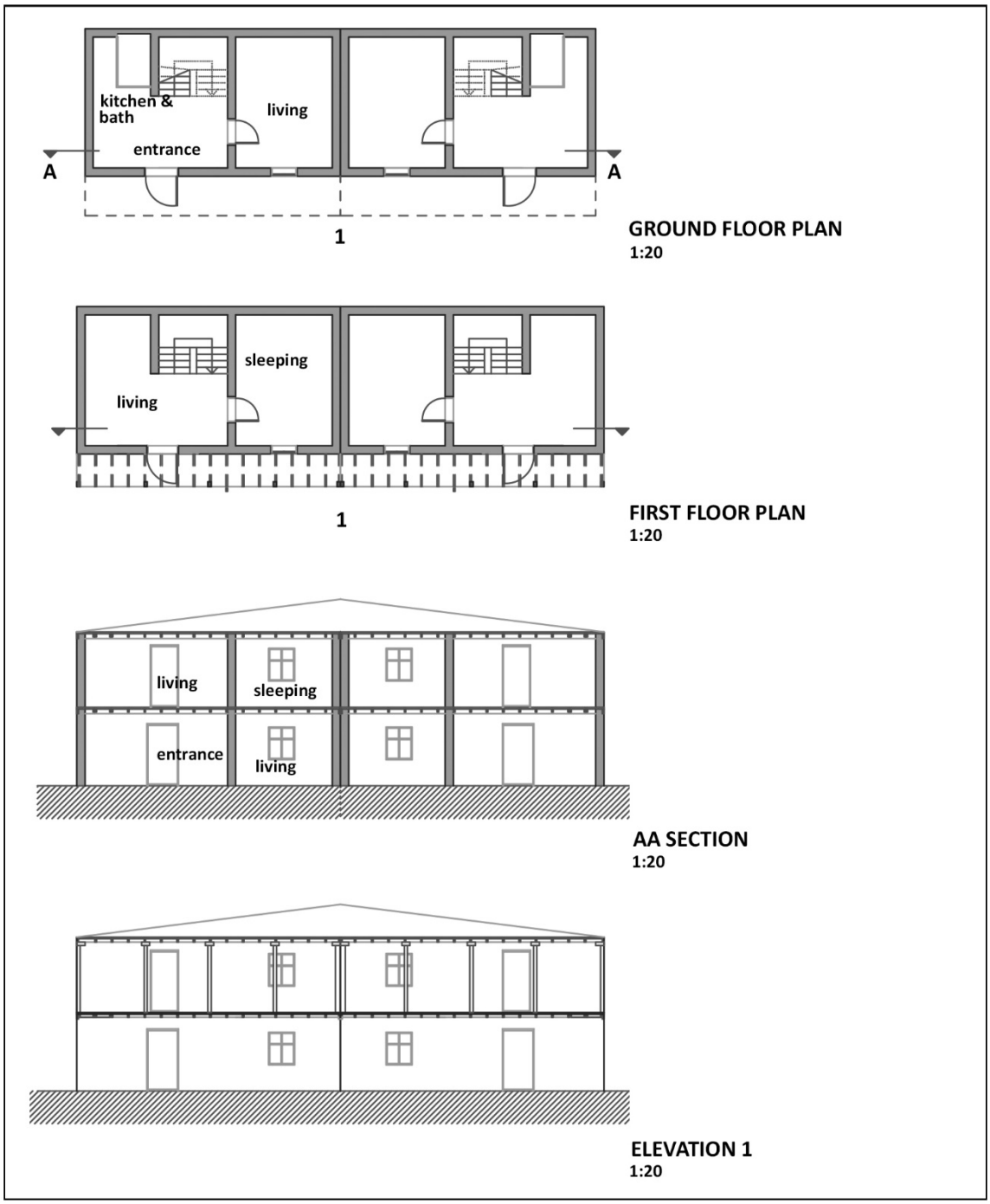

Drawings, according to field research and archival documents.

## HOUSE TYPOLOGY IN ETMİNİK, ELAZIĞ




Drawings, according to field research and archival documents.

**HOUSE TYPOLOGY IN PERÇENÇ, ELAZIĞ**




Drawings, according to field research and archival documents.

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