ALDO ROSSI IN TURKEY: TRANSLATIONS AND APPROPRIATIONS
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ABSTRACT

ALDO ROSSI IN TURKEY: TRANSLATIONS AND APPROPRIATIONS

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Recently, a critical architectural history literature on Postmodernism has been emerging. This literature is formed in line with historiographical perspectives such as transnational, cross-cultural, and intertwined histories. Despite these scholarly attempts, there is a gap in the existing historiographical knowledge on how Turkey interacted with Postmodernism, which is the catalyst for this thesis’ investigation into possible discursive and architectural interactions between Turkey and other geographies. Accordingly, this thesis probes how the Italian architect Aldo Rossi’s architectural and theoretical production, as a transnational phenomenon, has been translated and appropriated into their works by local architects, architectural theorists, and historians in Turkey from the 1970s onwards from a transnational perspective. While the study highlights the general discussions on Postmodernism, Neo-Rationalism, classicism, mannerism and the city in Turkey, it focuses on a close reading of particular aspects and formulations of Rossi’s work as appeared in the works and discussions of local actors: issues such as reclaiming the city against rapid urbanization, use of architectural history as an analysis and design tool, the concepts of type, typology and archetype, the autonomy of architecture, melancholy, and collective memory alongside formal, spatial and symbolic characteristics of Rossi’s architectural production.

Keywords: Translation, Appropriation, Postmodernism, Aldo Rossi, Turkey.
ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’DE ALDO ROSSI: ÇEVİRİLER VE BENİMSEMELER

AYDIN, Alpay
Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Belgin Turan ÖZKAYA

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Son zamanlarda Postmodernizm üzerine eleştirel mimarlık tarihi literatürü ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu literatür, ulusaşırı, kültürler arası ve iç içe geçmiş tarihler gibi tarih yazımı biçimleri doğrultusunda şekillenmektedir. Bu bilimsel gelişimlerle rağmen, Türkiye ile diğer coğrafyalar arasındaki olası söylemsel ve mimari etkileşimlere yönelik bu tezin araştırmasının gereçesi olan Türkiye'nin Postmodernizm ile nasıl etkileşime girdiğine dair mevcut tarih yazımı literatüründe bir eksiklik mevcuttur. Bu doğrultuda, bu tez, İtalyan mimar Aldo Rossi'nin mimari ve kuramsal üretiminin ulusaşı bir olgu olarak, 1970'lerden itibaren Türkiye'deki yerel mimarlar, mimarlık kurumları ve mimarlık tarihçisi tarafından nasıl çevrilerek ve benimsenerek eserlerine aktarıldığını araştırıyor. Çalışma, Türkiye'de Postmodernizm, Neo-Rasyonalizm, klasizm, maniyerizm ve şehir hakkındaki genel tartışmaları öne çıkarıyor. Rossi'nin mimari üretiminin biçimsel, mekansal ve sembolik özelliklerinin yanı sıra, hızlı kentleşmeyle karşı şehri yeniden sahiplenme, mimarlık tarihinin bir analiz ve tasarım aracı olarak kullanılması, tip, tipoloji ve arketip kavramları, mimarlığın özerkliği, melankoli kavramı ve kolektif bellek gibi yerel aktörlerin üretimlerinde ve tartışmalarda ortaya çıkan Rossi'nin çalışmalarının belirli yönlerine ve formülasyonlarına odaklanıyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çeviri, Benimseme, Postmodernizm, Aldo Rossi, Türkiye.
To my mother Nebahat Yılmaz and my grandfather Zekeriya Aydın.
First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Belgin Turan Özkaya for her efforts and patience in initiating, developing and completing this study. I am indebted to her for allowing me to explore various aspects of architecture and to understand the raison d'être of the discipline of architectural history.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ITU: Istanbul Technical University
IU: Istanbul University
METU: Middle East Technical University
MSFAU: Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University
YTU: Yıldız Technical University
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Thesis Scope and Content

Postmodernism as a cultural and epoch-defining phenomenon and its architecture have often been discussed and historicized through the discourses and practices of a select minority, a few white male architects and theoreticians from the Global North. Recently, however, some emerging scholarly attempts and new actors started to retheorize and historicize it. These works do not form a coherent whole; they have different objectives.

Some have revisionist characteristics and focus on the historically sanctioned stylistic aspects of Postmodern architecture, reaffirming the position of famous practitioners along the established canon, as argued by Stylianos Giamarelos.¹ Those who aim to make a theoretical contribution encourage the canon while aiming to develop further its implications, which need to be reassessed. Besides their affirmative and revisionist features, another problem of such revisionist studies is that they do not problematize the historical context of the subjects and do not engage in solid historical research.²

Differing from such revisionist attempts, a group of current critical architectural history studies are redefining Postmodern architecture and revealing its minor and silenced manifestations in different geographies. They examine what “Postmodern” architecture encompasses and excludes over time. They also analyze how it relates to post-war criticisms of Modern architecture and identify the common characteristics shared among different movements and


counter-movements. Furthermore, these studies explore how Postmodern architecture has been translated and appropriated in regions beyond its traditional centers of Western Europe and North America.

In one of them, *Resisting Postmodern Architecture: Critical Regionalism Before Globalization*, Giamarelos redefines Critical Regionalism as a movement that has been overlooked in the broader context of debates surrounding Postmodern architecture and globalization in Western Europe, North America, Greece, and Eastern Mediterranean countries. He aims to demonstrate that the latter two geographies were not just passive recipients but actively involved in architectural practice and theory. To do so, he examines the cultural media complex's foreground, selecting and disseminating characteristics. Moreover, because he argues that the “Postmodern Classicism” of the First Venice Biennale of Architecture exhibition represents the only face of critiques of the Modern movement, he also tells the separate stories of the counter-movements. He says that Biennale’s main reception, “Postmodern Architecture,” fails to capture the diverse architectural developments of the second half of the twentieth century.3

The multi-authored book *Second-World Postmodernisms: Architecture and Society under Late Socialism*, edited by Vladimir Kulić, through its three parts, focuses on Postmodernism debates within the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, Estonia, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, and the People's Republic of China in the 80s. It tackles discussions around concepts such as the environment from the 60s and 70s in these socialist states, some later revisited in Postmodernism debates in the West. It also portrays how architectural Postmodernism was appropriated by these states that could accommodate diverse and even politically opposing aesthetic approaches. Also, it emphasizes architectural Postmodernism’s distinctive features in the “Second World” compared to the “First World,” highlighting their interdependence and interrelation. That points to the geographies that raise critical definitional problems of Postmodernism that contradict the definitions of Postmodernism, such as the “cultural logic of late capitalism” (by Fredric Jameson), the architecture of neoliberal “Reaganism” (by Mary MacLeod) or the “Second World” hierarchically positioned as secondary and passive in discussions of Postmodern architecture.4

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3 When my advisor, Belgin Turan Özkaya, introduced me to this book, she also gave me an insightful hint about the direction of my thesis. Initially, we planned to focus on Rossi's appropriations in Turkey. However, Giamarellos' work shed light on how Rossi and the Neo-Rationalists inspired architects in Greece and how they resisted them. This highlighted an additional path for my research.

In 2018, an international conference titled “Aldo Rossi, Perspectives from The World” was held at Politecnico di Milano. (Fig. 1) Most scholars attending the conference examine Rossi’s theoretical and architectural production's historical or contemporary receptions and legacies on various topics such as architectural education, design methodology and urban design in different geographies. Some examine him comparatively with other formative figures in the second half of the 20th century. Italian academics Serena Acciai and Eliana Martinelli also attend this event with their contributions, “The Method of Typological Analysis: Eldem's and Rossi's Work in a Comparative Perspective” and “Redesigning Istanbul: Aldo Rossi and the Project for Üsküdar Square,” respectively. While the conference contributed to the critical reconsideration of Postmodernism in architecture on a macro-scale by addressing the dissemination of one architect's productions worldwide, these two articles looking at Turkey from Italy provide enlightening data for this thesis. To sum up, this conference, like Giamarellos' work and the multi-authored book edited by Kulić, investigates, questions and puts forward some different non-mainstream origins for Postmodernism in architecture.

On the other hand, Kulić cogently argues that the grandiose historicist architecture in Stalin's era in the socialist states mentioned above, rooted in Socialist Realism that reacted to the aesthetic revolution of the Soviet avant-garde of the 1920s, in a manner, was the first “post/modernism.” He illustrates that Postmodernism, which once flourished in the West, was received in Socialist states with this historical legacy of Socialist Realism. For him, that caused specific topics from Stalin's era to come to the agenda again in the 1970s and 1980s. Vice
versa, he also states that Stalin-era architecture was also influential to key figures in the West, including Aldo Rossi. Indeed, known from his discourse and secondary studies, Rossi was interested in Stalin-era architecture and, as a member of the Italian Communist party, was familiar with Communism and developed ties with colleagues from the German Democratic Republic.

Rossi’s words provide a fruitful source for studies investigating his relationships with different geographies. Similar to the content of Kulić’s discussion, the following quote touches upon the crossover relationship between Rossi and Turkey: “Having finished this project, I returned to Istanbul by car in the month of November. These two trips to Istanbul are like a continuation of the same project, and I often confuse the places. It is a matter of an interrupted journey. The principal place, I believe, consists of the Green Mosque of Bursa (Yeşil Cami), where I again felt a great passion for architecture, an interest which I rarely feel so strongly. In the mosque, I re-experienced a sensation which I had not felt since childhood: that of being invisible, of being on the other side of the spectacle in a certain sense. Because of this inability to live it fully, I have always thought that art, except in the theater, is never a satisfying experience. I believe that some of these motifs from the Turkish world recur in several of my subsequent drawings for the cemetery project. Yet their reappearance is also due to the fact that the principal problem had been dissolved, so to speak, along with the project itself. The sense of deposition corresponded with the form of the bone, which I have remarked on in the other writings.”

The first of the two journeys Rossi mentions here is the one whose final destination was Istanbul in April 1971 but was cut short due to a car accident that led to his hospitalization. He worked on the project of the renowned Modena Cemetery, which he mentioned, in the hospital in Croatia, Slowanski Brod, with personal conclusions about death and life. After completing

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5 Ibid, 8.

6 “When I was around twenty years old, I was invited to the Soviet Union. This was a particularly happy time for me, and as result of it my youth became associated with an experience which was then unique. I loved everything about Russia: socialist realism as well as the old cities, the people and the landscape. My interest in socialist realism helped me rid myself of the entire petit-bourgeois culture of modern architecture[...]” Aldo Rossi, A Scientific Autobiography, trans. Lawrence Venuti (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: The MIT Press, 1981), 40.


the project in the summer of the same year, Rossi arrived in Istanbul in November. Later, he produced new drawings for the cemetery with motifs from Turkey. Hence, Modena Cemetery constitutes a repertoire that crosses many places, important sources in his personal life to reuse in his works in the subsequent years, especially in Eastern Europe and Turkey.9

Similarly, in an interview in the local architecture magazine in 1997, Rossi compared his journey to Istanbul to the journeys of German travelers to Italy in the 1700s, giving him not only architectural things but also great feelings and “clear ideas.” He re-explains the feeling of being invisible in the Green Mosque, leading to the idea of silence in architecture.10 Further, Rossi places personal significance on the similarities between Venice and Istanbul. He highlights the cultural relations between the two cities in the past. He notes that he sensed a connection between them during his visits. There were moments and places where he felt like he was in the other city.11 Samely, he says that “as Henry James wrote about Venice, everything has already been said about Istanbul and there’s nothing more to add. It’s pointless to talk of its beauty, of the meeting of Europe and Asia, of the architecture in its three principal phases - Roman, Byzantine and Turkish. Few other cities are as important as Istanbul for the training and perhaps even for the work of an architect. Every stone has a story to tell, and the conformation of the city is the history of the architecture itself.”12

9 Aldo Rossi, A Scientific Autobiography, trans. Lawrence Venuti (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: The MIT Press, 1981), 11-12. See Kuruçay’s interview with Gürol (Baroncelli) Sağreroğlu, an architect who was once Rossi’s assistant, states that Rossi was inspired by Le Corbusier’s famous Le Voyage D’orient and travelled to Turkey. On his trip to Turkey in 1914, Le Corbusier went to Bursa and made sketches of the Green Mosque. I comment that Rossi may have learned about the Green Mosque through this as well. Hayrun Nisa Kuruçay, “Aldo Rossi’nin Mimarlık Yaklaşımının Kendi Metinleri Üzerinden İncelenmesi: Diyalektik ve Analoji” (MSFAU Faculty of Architecture, MSc Thesis, 2022), 74.


11 Rossi says that “from the other side, just speaking with you that you are Turkish and you write for a Turkish magazine, we are at the front of one of the marvelous cases where is the relation between Venice and Istanbul, because of an exchange even if they had been two powerful rivals, therefore friends and fiends, but there is such a cultural exchange that in some points of Venice, I think I’m in Istanbul and in some points of Istanbul, I see the sides of Venice.” Ibid, 49.

this as a potential responsibility that Rossi expects from those who hail from such a stunning city to incorporate their cultural and stylistic influences into their designs. In the same year as the interview mentioned above was conducted, in 1997, Rossi had been scheduled to speak at conferences in Istanbul and Ankara. It would have allowed him to share his memories, observations, statements, or criticisms about Turkey more comprehensively. However, he could not do so due to his unfortunate passing a very short time later.

All of these justify the potential of this scholarly study area within the cross-relations between Aldo Rossi and Turkey, but that is not the first time discerning that. Belgin Turan Özkaya, an architectural historian, had already announced the necessity of writing the history of postwar movements of Modern architecture, and specifically of Rossi in Turkey, in the preface of L’architettura della città’s first and only Turkish translation, Şehrin Mimarisi, published in 2006. She states that translating the book into Turkish 40 years after its publication is a late contribution to Postmodernism debates that started in Turkey in the 80s. Still, she says that it corresponds to the right time in another respect because the dynamic discussion environment of the 80s, in which this translation would have been included, was an environment in which any kind of criticism had an effect in the form of “operative criticism” expressed by Manfredo Tafuri, that is, preferring a particular architectural position over another and legitimizing it. Hence, she states that it is time to write the history of the movements of the postwar period and to look at Rossi from a certain historical distance.

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15 Belgin Turan Özkaya, “Önsöz,” in Şehrin Mimarisi, trans. Nurdan Gürbilek (İstanbul: Kanat Kitap, 2006), 8–9. See Bilgin’s announcement of Rossi’s demise for an anecdote about the translation process of L’architettura della città. Accordingly, back in 1997, the plan was to translate it into Turkish and give it the title “Şehir Mimarisi.” Nurdan Gürbilek undertook the translation task as it was in 2006. YTU Faculty of Architecture Association carried out the editing of the book. Yapı Endüstri Merkezi undertook the publication process. Aldo Rossi, Aldo Rossi: Teknisyen, Yazar, Sanatçı, interview by Bernard Huet, trans. İhsan Bilgin, Virgül: Aylık Kitap ve Eleştiri Dergisi, October 1997, 22.

16 Indeed, after the millennium, Özkaya not only called for studies on the relationship between Rossi and Turkey but also carried out works directly on him—which this thesis utilizes through how she comprehends and approaches to Rossi. Some of her works are as follows: Belgin Turan Özkaya, “Reaestheticizing the Discipline: Aldo Rossi and the Triumph of ‘Autonomous Architecture,’” Harvard Design Magazine, no. 17 (Fall 2002): 71–78.; “Visuality and Architectural History,” in Rethinking Architectural Historiography, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London
In 2022, *Autobiografia Scientifica* was translated into Turkish as well, *Bilimsel Özyaşamöyküsü*. Aykut Köksal, an architectural historian who is editor-in-chief of the publishing house where the book was published, states that since the Turkish version of the *L’architettura della città* was translated from the English version of the book *The Architecture of the City*, published in 1982, which he thinks is a translation with mistakes, it should be translated again from the Italian original or the French edition. Köksal would have implied that they later preferred the *Autobiografia Scientifica* to be translated because the translation of the *L’architettura della città* had already been completed. Also, it may be a forward-looking initiative about the new Turkish translation of this book. Moreover, it is not a coincidence that all these recent interests in Rossi in Turkey have emerged simultaneously with the emerging literature in which Postmodernism in architecture is reconsidered. (Fig. 2, 3)

Still, despite all these scholarly attempts and calls, there needs to be more in the existing historiographical knowledge on how Turkey interacted with Postmodernism. This encourages us to investigate whether there were discursive and architectural interactions between Turkey and other geographies.

Therefore, this study does not aim to contribute to revisionist studies by portraying the local architectural milieus that appropriate Postmodern architecture and Aldo Rossi as peripheral spectators compared to the main canon. Instead, it aims to approach the critical side of the spectrum with new historical materials and focal points. To do so, it suggests looking at the possible chronological roots of Postmodernism in architecture in Turkey through the discourse and works of Sedad Hakki Eldem. Also, it analyzes those such as Atilla Yücel, who looked at Postmodernism and Rossi with contemporaneous critical perspectives.

Alongside the recent academic orientation looking at “other” sources and archives, this study also problematizes the positionality of architects, architectural theorists and architectural historians and their object of study as identities constructed by the social, cultural, economic and political contexts, influential in one’s understanding of the world.

So, this research mainly aims to study how Aldo Rossi’s architectural and theoretical production has been translated and appropriated in Turkey from the 1970s onwards and to

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contribute to the corpus that looks at Postmodernism from an original perspective and to the “Aldo Rossi” studies within an expanded field.\footnote{Rossi once said that “I have always been interested in the transformation through art of the meaning of a word or phrase into some other meaning, the translation the Greeks called metaphor and which Quintillian singled out as the most beautiful of all ‘tropes.’ […] and the translation was (is) not a mental construct but the living history of human beings, and we find it once again both in cultured constructions and in those which seem uncultured.” This further provides a significant justification for centering the concept of translation alongside appropriation in the context of Rossi in this study. Aldo Rossi and Gianni Braghieri, *Aldo Rossi: Obras y proyectos/Works and Projects* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1991), 9.}

\footnote{Umberto Eco says that a concentratedly written monographic thesis does not mean losing sight of the panorama; that is, while focusing on a name or subject in a monographic study, we also need to know about the background panorama that shapes them. However, this is a reminder that panorama, cultural context, i.e., as a background, is a different thing than drawing a panoramic frame. Illustrating this, it is one thing to draw a portrait of a nobleman using a country landscape with a river running through it as a background, and it is another to draw fields, valleys and rivers. As a result, narrowing down the working area suggests that we can take more confident steps towards a better working process. Similarly, alongside my interest in Rossi, for a specific time, I decided to face the patience required to focus on how an architect was appropriated in architectural milieus in Turkey, as it would also help me understand how Turkey of the period reacted to Postmodernism. Umberto Eco, *How to Write a Thesis*, trans. Caterina Mongiat Farina and Geoff Farina (1977; repr., Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 2015), 9–13.}

1.2. Aldo Rossi as a Theoretician and Architect

Aldo Rossi designed globally known projects, some of which were realized and many of which are remembered through his numerous paintings and drawings in his career as a theorist and architect that spanned the second half of the 20th century. His widely disseminated theories of...
the city and architecture effectively contributed to the discussions on Modernism and Postmodernism and helped transform the discipline of architecture.

In 1966, *L'Architettura della città* was published as a culmination of Rossi’s early writings, Casabella-Continuità years. The book is known for formulating *multiplicity* in an urban built environment where functions or contents can change alongside *regularity*, by which the building forms and types can maintain themselves to the extent that they can accommodate such changes. This issue of the re-functioning of historical buildings, the multiplicity of the functions and the issue of the singularity of the form occupy a crucial place in Rossi’s urban theory.

Form and function. In the book, Rossi claims that almost all the palaces, buildings, or agglomerations in Europe have different functions compared to their origins; that is, they have been capable of adapting to new functions over time, and these new functions are independent of the form. In our daily use of these buildings, form is the element that impresses us; we experience it. That is, he says that we continue to recognize buildings that have long lost their function through their forms.

**Collective Memory and Primary Elements.** In many pages of the book, he argues that the city is a man-made complex with a collective memory of its past. He suggests that we access this memory through its primary elements, which include not only individual houses but also residential districts and monuments whose formal features constitute their quality “as an urban artifact, as a generator of the form of the city.”

He implies that the presence of primary elements in the city helps us understand their specific formation and evaluate the cities. As a result of this presence, Rossi states that “they possess a value ‘in themselves,’ but also a value dependent on their place in the city.” That is, it can be said that these primary elements are crucial to the city's structure. They bring the past into the present, provide permanence, and accommodate *multiplicity* while synchronizing with the urbanization process. The buildings and their layouts constitute the city as a work of art gradually, and vice versa; the city makes each building and site an urban artifact that needs to be examined and studied architecturally by an autonomous urban science (*scienza urbana*).

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21 Ibid, 60.

22 Ibid, 87.
Individual Dwelling and Housing. Rossi treats the individual dwelling as an urban artifact that primarily constitutes the composition of the city. According to him, the fact that in history, there were no cities that did not include residential areas. He states that even in settlements where the residential function was initially formed under the guidance of other urban artifacts, such as castles and military camps, the importance given to individual dwellings increased during the change in the city's structure. On the other hand, he also argues that the quick transformations did not influence dwelling. Accordingly, the residential building types and their typological aspects with the urban form changes slowly. “The house, which materially represents a people’s way of life, the precise manifestation of a culture, is modified very slowly.”

Place Decision for Housing. Rossi states that beside their specialized dynamics from a typological viewpoint, residential zones are altered mainly because of economic patterns, and mechanisms of speculation that promote change. Besides the economic one, there are other factors that affect the location of the individual dwelling such as geographical, morphological, and historical. He also claims that even in cases where speculation was not present, there was typically a manifestation of preferences that can pose a difficulty in selecting a place of residence. He says, for example, that understanding the importance of public services and collective facilities is crucial for the success of residential complexes. However, it is not easy to prove that this relationship is the determining factor for producing urban form to be followed. “Thus, there exists a specific aspect of the housing issue that is intimately bound up with the problem of the city, its way of life, its physical form and image—that is, with its structure. This specific element has nothing to do with any kind of technical services, for the latter do not constitute urban artifacts.”

Criticisms. It is necessary to note some nuances frequently left aside in discussions about the L’Architettura della città or disseminated inaccurately, especially in Anglo-American circles, as will be illustrated in this thesis. For example, Rossi intended to propose an analytical approach to building in the city rather than simply advocating for a particular style. Likewise, despite his desire to produce a “scientific” book, his perspective remained focused on reflections on human activity, values, the collective, and the individual. Historians often overlooked this focus, but Rossi elaborated on it in his later, more precise writings on

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23 Ibid, 70.
24 Ibid, 71.
25 Ibid, 72.
architectural poetics, as Diane Ghirardo asserts.\textsuperscript{26} Related to this lack of understanding, Rossi, as one of the members, later experienced similar problems with the \textit{Tendenza}, active between 1972 and 1985. About this group, which contained mixed ideas, he states that it is impossible to create the form and the general theme of a group, he is convinced of the necessity of striving for a methodology and an approach instead of a set of answers and of leaving the architects alone to trace their individual worlds.\textsuperscript{27}

Besides his theoretician side, Rossi is well-known globally for his architectural designs. He completed his first internationally famous works in the 1970s. One is the Cemetery of San Cataldo in Modena, Italy, built between 1971 and 1984. He drew architecture down to its archetype with this design, creating a sanctuary of simplicity. The heavy cube of the sanctuary stood on square pillars with raw square gaps carved out in symmetrical layers. Rossi's other recognized work from this era was the Monte Amiata Housing in the Gallaratese Quarter in Milan, completed between 1969 and 1973. This enormous concrete structure utilized simple primary forms and repetitive elements in the facade, similar to the cemetery design. He accumulated international attention at the Venice Biennale in 1979 with his design for the Teatro del Mondo, a floating theatre. The wood-clad structure featured an octagonal tower and was a tribute to the Venetian tradition of floating theatres. Besides, there are renowned designs in Italy and many parts of the world, as illustrated by the proposal to the Üsküdar Square in Istanbul in 1987, which is mentioned in this study.

\textbf{1.3. Research Process and Sources}

This research investigates how all these issues and formulations, such as the relationship between changing functions and architectural form, the relationship between the type and typology of the house and the city, monuments and their constitutive characteristics, the relationship between human activities, emotions and his architecture, appear in the discussions and architectural productions of local architects, architectural theorists, critics, and historians based in Turkey. It also looks at how Rossi's theoretical and architectural work might have informed architectural education in Turkey and in what ways architectural students might have projected Rossian ways in their work. It also explores through which media these local actors reached Rossi's production, expressed themselves and reacted to each other. Therefore, I collected original historical data through the discourse analysis of written documents such as articles, book chapters and magazines. I complemented this core material with visual materials


\textsuperscript{27} Ibid, 12-13.
of projects and buildings that are the subject of these discourses and oral history interviews with local actors who witnessed or studied the debates of the period.

Accordingly, I started by examining some influential magazines published between 1966 and 2000 where architectural discussions in Turkey took place. I scanned all the issues for specific words such as Rossi, Tendenza, Neo-Rationalism, Italian Architecture, Postmodernism, type, typology, archetype, and monuments. I researched on which cities or universities the publications were from as much as possible. However, there was already a quantitative difference in publication activities. Accordingly, I reviewed all the issues of *Mimarlık, İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yaprak Dergisi*, *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, *Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Bölümü Mimarlık Dergisi*, *Çevre: Mimarlık ve Görsel Sanatlar Dergisi*, *Arredamento Dekorasyon (Mimarlık)*, *Ege Mimarlık* published between 1966-2000, and some others partly such as *Yapı: Aylık Kültür, Sanat ve Mimarlık Dergisi*, *Tasarım Dergisi* and *Milliyet Sanat Dergisi*.28 29 (Fig. 4-9)

I interviewed Cânâ Bilsel on the figures that became important in urban design along with the 70's and the question of environment (*çevre*) in Turkey.30 I interviewed Tansel Korkmaz on the effects of Postmodern consumer culture on the cultural atmosphere in local architectural milieus following the 80s. I also acquired her anecdotes about İhsan Bilgin's intellectual connection with Rossi. I interviewed Neris Parlak Temizel on typology and morphology issues through the fundamental sources in both historical and contemporary literature. I interviewed Cem Yücel about Atilla Yücel and the local architects of the period. I interviewed Zafer Akay,

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30 See Krivý’s discussion of how the question of the living environment developed between the 1960s and 1980s in Czechoslovak state socialism emerged against Modernist functionalism through the lens of aesthetics, cybernetics, phenomenology, psychology and semiotics and how this content paralleled “Postmodernist” discussions in the West. Likewise, I emphasize that the question of the environment encouraged by aesthetics, environmental psychology and phenomenology was on the agenda in Turkey in the 70s. Maroš Krivý, “Humanizing the Living Environment and the Late Socialist Theory of Architecture,” in *Second World Postmodernisms: Architecture and Society under Late Socialism*, ed. Vladimir Kulić (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019), 33–46.
a Rossi enthusiast, during his undergraduate education at the Middle East Technical University (METU) Faculty of Architecture between 1980 and 1984 on the resistance and reactions of the faculty against Postmodernism in architecture and Rossi. I interviewed Kadri Atabaş on Rossi architecture and its possible influences on local architects.

By using the exact keywords to expand the bibliography and to look at the specific sources I learned already during the interviews, I scanned the master's and doctoral theses produced at Istanbul Technical University (ITU), Yıldız Technical University (YTU), Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University (MSFAU) and METU until 2000, as systematically as possible.

1.4. Literature Survey

Many master's theses and dissertations from various universities in Turkey, mainly from the architecture departments, have referred to Rossi's city theory as a source of inspiration. Some have examined the concepts included in his theory, such as type, typology, urban artifact, and collective memory, and have used him as a point of comparison. Some have discussed his architectural production compared to other architects. Furthermore, some have analyzed the connections between his architectural design and theoretical framework. Overall, Rossi was mainly used as a secondary source. Few studies have been conducted to explore, evaluate, and comprehend directly his production.

Tülin Diler examines various manifestations of mass housing settlements in “Modern” and “Post-Modern” Architecture. She notes that his historical perspective differs from the historicist approach of other “Post-Modern” architects and illustrates it with Südliche Friedrichstadt in Berlin. F. Emel Ardaman emphasizes the significance of the architectural memory of the city and the primary role of monuments in constituting the city. Devrim Ersoy highlights that the city, in which Rossi explores the relationships between typology and morphology, is a significant form and a man-made work of art. Özlem Aydoğdu analyzes the duality created by the visual, sense-perceived, and non-visual, conceptual aspects of the “type” since the 18th century. She illustrates reflections of the concepts of type and typology in the discursive and architectural works of the Neo-Rationalists and Rossi. Özgür Bingöl highlights that while Carlo Aymonino, Giorgio Grassi, and Massimo Scolari embraced the idea of “scientificity” in their architectural studies of the city, Aldo Rossi had a more ambivalent attitude towards it. Bingöl also points out the aspects that Rossi adopted from Saverio Muratori and Ernesto Rogers and how he differed from his fellow architects. He says that Rossi was
interested in the contemporaneous “crisis of meaning” not directly but implicitly and notes that he blurred the distinction between type and archetype.\textsuperscript{31}

Pınar Atay discusses the work of Rossi and Richard Meier, examining their use of archetypes in collective memory. She argues that this reflects the concept of existence (\textit{dasein}) in architecture described by Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer, German philosophers. She explores Rossi’s support of autonomy in architecture through its tools, such as typology, with the philosophical concept of “thing in itself (\textit{kendinde şey}).” Özlem Deniz looks at the “monumentality” Louis Kahn and Rossi developed in different contexts comparatively through their archaic, monumental architecture. She argues that both architects explore the metaphysical dimension of architecture, which is “timeless, universal, and permanent,” as illustrated by the Modena Cemetery. Berna Özcan suggests that Behruz Çinici’s use of past and future references in his architectural language is less rigid, abstract, and monumental than Rossi’s approach. Esin Kömez discusses the concept of “urban architecture,” which is open to different meanings and interpretations, in comparison with Rossi’s “urban artifact” and Bruno Zevi’s “urbatecture” concepts. Melis Deniz Özbek compares the idea of “type” in Rossi and Grassi with the concept of “cell” in Ludwig Hilberseimer by referring to Pier Vittorio Aureli’s works. He investigates the traces of Hilberseimer’s concepts and terms, such as generic urban structure, open plan and generic form, in the works of Rossi and Grassi. Gökhan Kıyıcı comparatively examines the expressive ability of Rossi’s drawings, that is, their potential to produce and express architecture, as well as to create spatial realities, along with the works of Peter Eisenman and Bernard Tschumi.\textsuperscript{32}


Aslı Tokcan illustrates the transformation of urban spaces, particularly squares, after Modern Architecture with the case of Kızılay Square in Ankara by utilizing Rossi’s city theory. Özkan Karababa utilizes Rossi’s understanding of the city’s collective memory through monuments and urban artifacts recognized through their unchanging forms despite their changing functions. He analyzes historical artifacts such as Ankara Castle, the Temple of Augustus and Hacıbayram Mosque in Ulus, the historical center of Ankara. He compiles a list of renovation works proposed or executed in the area’s urban fabric since the early Republican period. Elâ Gönen explores the origins of inspiration behind various architectural projects in Istanbul after the 1980s, based on Rossi and several architects. Kerem Ganiç does a similar reading of the Atatürk Cultural Center in the Beyoğlu district of Istanbul through Rossian collective memory. Özlem Büyüktaş analyzes the change in shopping spaces at Hamamyolu Bazaar in Eskişehir. She explores how these changes in shopping spaces and habits relate to the collective memory elements such as demolished buildings. She also aims to investigate the images that these elements conjure up for the users of the bazaar. İlhan Aydın Meltem discusses the idea of ruins with the Rossian urban artifact, memory, and “the house of the dead.” He uses this as one of the conceptual frameworks to explore the ruins of the Hippodrome of Constantinople in Istanbul, its decline and the kind of interventions it underwent.33

F. Gülşen Gülmez draws a comparison between façade compositions, using examples from houses in Peru, Mali, and Cappadocia, and Rossi’s façade compositions, as seen in the Modena Cemetery. Hayrun Nisa Kuruçay proposes that Rossi’s architectural works should neither be classified as “postmodern” nor “neo-rationalist” but instead viewed in conjunction with the concept of “rationality,” which has been redefined throughout history. Furthermore, she suggests that in order to grasp his architectural production, two concepts should be taken into account: “dialectics,” which represents the unity of the subjective and universal, and “analogy,” which represents the intersection of individual and collective memory, as explained

in *L’architettura della città* and *A Scientific Autobiography*. F. Gülşen Gülmez draws a comparison between façade compositions, using examples from houses in Peru, Mali, and Cappadocia, and Rossi's façade compositions, as seen in the Modena Cemetery.\(^{34}\)

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CHAPTER 2

BEFORE POSTMODERNISM

2.1. Cultural Atmospheres in Local Architectural Milieus

“They know what is going on in the world, but they do not have a grasp of Istanbul, which is considered the cradle of architecture in Turkey. METU people were not in touch with the Ottomans or the Byzantine world. They look at their architecture from afar and do not recognize their machinations. They do not celebrate the traditional; their tradition was established along the lines of Modernism/Rationalism. That may be why Postmodernism touched METU architects from afar.”

While searching and perusing bibliographies for this thesis, my observation was that people in architectural milieus of İstanbul had more interest in Aldo Rossi. One of them, Atilla Yücel, İstanbul based architect and theoretician trained in ITU Faculty of Architecture and made architectural studies in Italy between 1972 and 1973. He met with Rossi in this decade, an early date for local architectural milieus in Turkey. After the 80s, when Rossi became more popular in Turkey, deep interest in him continued generally among people and their circles in İstanbul, as illustrated by Yücel, who best absorbed Rossi in Turkey and reflected on his


36 I am aware of the possible criticisms that define this observation as superficial as if it proposes a radical distinction such as Istanbul and others. Alternatively, it can be criticised because it seems to express unquestionable identities created by apparent distinctions in architectural milieus through dichotomies such as Istanbul and Ankara. Such criticism content is not an issue within the scope of the thesis or directly focused on. It is an observation or, at best, a hypothesis. So, even if these findings, including Atilla Yücel, Ihsan Bilgin and other names in the thesis, may have been coincidences, it makes sense to ask whether the specific cultural atmospheres make architects, architecture critics, theorists, historians and students more willing to query Rossi. See the following local discussions and criticisms of such identity distinctions within architectural circles. Haluk Pamir et al., “Söyleşi: Son on yılın Türkiye mimarlığı/Ankara’dan Bakış,” Arredamento Mimarlık, February 1998, 51-59.; Uğur Tanyeli et al.,
work intellectually and architecturally, according to one comment. Alternatively, it can be illustrated with İhsan Bilgin, a local academician and architect whose favorite writer-architect is Rossi, together with William Morris (one of the pioneers of the Arts and Crafts movement).

Atilla Yücel writes an essay in 2006 about his article dated 1983, in which he discusses the concept of history in Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Turgut Cansever and Behruz Çinici through their designs and texts. There, he says that there is still a productive field of research on the close relationship of historicist, Orientalist, nationalist and Modernist approaches, which have been developed, transformed and changed since the beginning of the 19th century, with the architecture and architectural thought of Turkey in the 20th century. He mentions that this field comprises questions not only about the form but also about the memory type, urban context, function, technology, profession, and the organization of the building market. He suggests that it is essential to consider how much these architects had assimilated all these factors concerning their educational background and the cultural environments they were in. I emphasize that these comments not only prompt us to scrutinize the lasting effects of the 19th century on Turkish architecture in the 20th century but also lay the foundation for the observation of Istanbul as a historic city and its direct impact on architects and architecture.

On the one hand, as early as March 1973, the Young Italian Architecture Exhibition (Genç İtalyan Mimarisi Sergisi), which presents names such as Carlo Aymonino, Vittorio Gregotti, and Paolo Portoghesi, was held at the ITU Faculty of Architecture in Istanbul. On the other hand, Zafer Akay, a Rossian enthusiast and student at the METU Faculty of Architecture in Istanbul. On the other hand, Zafer Akay, a Rossian enthusiast and student at the METU Faculty of Architecture
between 1980 and 1984 challenged Modernist conservatism at the school with Rossian visual representations and architectural concept.\textsuperscript{41} Indeed, Sibel Bozdoğan, an architectural historian who received her bachelor’s and master’s degrees from METU in 1976 and 1979, says that some historical periods, such as the architecture of the 18th Century Enlightenment, were not even introduced during their undergraduate period.\textsuperscript{42} She says that the courses on the Ottoman Empire were limited within the architectural history courses. According to the historiographic model in the department, she says that an architecture student was receiving training mainly about Modern architecture, was learning it as rational and universal and was internalizing what was left out of it as more “esoteric.”\textsuperscript{43} On the other hand, in these years, it seems that METU was following and contributing to the issues of meaning and symbolism in architecture primarily through such names as Amos Rapoport, Christopher Alexander and Christian Norberg-Schulz, not through Italian rationalists. Also, it is worth noting that the name Rossi, “Rossian discourse,” and the “Italian Rationalists” were first uttered in METU in April 1980 in the faculty journal because of an interview with Geoffrey Broadbent by a group including Atilla Yücel.\textsuperscript{44}

The exhibition, \textit{Young Italian Architecture}, was indeed a significant occasion. As understood from the Turkish introduction written by Pino Parente in the event booklet, it aimed to introduce to the foreign public the projects of new Italian architects in a broad spectrum, with an original expression that can be called revolutionary.\textsuperscript{45} (Fig. 10) Parente introduces that the typical features of these designs are that they are all against the anonymous geometries and schematism of Modernist rationalism and the architecture dictated by the industrial system, the harmony themes of neo-realist poetics and many of the approaches to undesired interventions in historical environments. They consider formal values and give efforts directly

\textsuperscript{41} The story of Zafer Akay in his undergraduate years at METU is mainly mentioned in \textit{3.2.1.1. Mimarlık and METU Faculty of Architecture}.  


\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, 385-386.  


\textsuperscript{45} Pino Parente, \textit{Genç İtalyan Mimarisi} (ITU Faculty of Architecture, 1973), 1, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/210341. I could not find any information about Pino Parente.
towards creating and developing the form of intense symbolic meaning and high expressive power. Referring to Paolo Portoghesi, this new trend, which turns into the re-evaluation and recovery of historical experience, has established itself on fertile ground, especially in a country with a rich history like Italy. Parente says that this tendency aims at a method that does not abandon modern technology but sees historical appeal as an essential part of a creative activity based on synthesizing the positive values of “modern” architecture and the heritage of the European tradition in a continuity knotted with the past.46

**Figure 10. Booklet of the Genç İtalyan Mimarisi Sergisi. (edited by the author.)**

In order to announce the exhibition, this introduction written by Parente was also published in *Mimarlık* magazine, the official organ of the Chamber of Architects, which was the central representative of the profession in Turkey.47 On the one hand, in the late 1960s and 1970s, besides the politicization of the Chamber of Architects, some new main topics, such as the problems of rapid urbanization and slum areas, emerged in the architectural communities in Turkey. Debates among them generally took place on issues such as the conservation of historical areas, city planning, mass housing, and attempts to regulate private architectural

46 Ibid, 2-3.

schools. Uğur Tanyeli asserts that in the 60s, architects (and engineers) began to engage in social issues, that is, to assume the role of building modern society like a social scientist. Tanyeli states that they became politicized, and at least they made an “intense effort” for that until the 1980s.48

On the other hand, Parente mentions that post-war Italian architects produced projects and literary sources amidst Italy's social and political difficulties and their general formation, which was generally theoretical. However, he says that what was left to the next generation from these productions is not projects but that they form the basis for today's young generation in Italy, which is directly oriented towards architectural form. Parente says that this situation shows that active participation in the country's political management is a (impossible) dream for the young generation whose projects were in the exhibition.49

In Turkey, where architects have become politicized, the Italian exhibition emphasizing the form was held via the ITU Faculty of Architecture. Moreover, although the exhibition, which includes names such as Aymonino, Gregotti, and Portoghesi, does not include or introduce the Neo-Rationalists or Rossi with its designs, it demonstrates ITU’s social and cultural interest in Italy. It shows the existence of a tolerant cultural atmosphere towards the reception of content containing criticism of rationalism and anonymity.50 Cultural environments can significantly influence the interests and perspectives of people, such as architects and architectural historians, who have contributed in any way to the discipline of architecture. It is


49 Pino Parente, Genç İtalyan Mimarisi (ITU Faculty of Architecture, 1973), 2.

50 For example, Nezih Eldem, one of the faculty members, studied associate professorship work, Modern Architecture and Italy, in Milan in 1954. The other, Atilla Yücel, was appointed by the faculty and went to Italy between 1972 and 1973 to study architectural theory and housing policies in Rome. As seen from the bibliography of the 1973 article (Mimarlıkta Metodoloji/Sistemli Yaklaşımlar ve Mimarlık Eğitimi) that Yücel wrote while there, he followed the literature through Italian and French originals as mentioned in 3.1. Atilla Yücel and the Concepts of Type and Typology.

51 This also shows that Italian architectural milieus aim to announce and disseminate new developments, and could be inspiring for a study that aims to take a geographically opposite view, looking at Turkey from Italy.

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important to acknowledge that the differences between different cultural environments are crucial in shaping their formative years and, eventually, their professional inclinations.\textsuperscript{52}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure11.png}
\caption{Two Aldo Rossi drawings on the wall of İhsan Bilgin's room at Istanbul Bilgi University Department of Architecture.}
\end{figure}

2.2. The Case of Sedad Hakki Eldem\textsuperscript{53}

“[…] Maybe we were not quite outside it, but we were never quite inside it. Theoretically, we were not involved in it, so theoretically, these movements came to us with a bit of a delay. These studies that started in the late 1950s, developed in the 1960s, and came to the fore in the

\textsuperscript{52} This subchapter highlights the presence of cultural environments, which is one of the reasons for the differences in how people who translated and appropriated Rossi approach him, especially in the third and fourth chapters.

\textsuperscript{53} This title is inspired by the ninth chapter of Manfredo Tafuri’s book, \textit{Storia dell'architettura italiana, 1944-1985}, called \textit{Il «caso» Aldo Rossi} and by the one in the English edition of the book, \textit{The "Case" of Aldo Rossi}. Here, Tafuri asserts that Rossi presents himself as the most watched and concerned "case" in Italy and internationally. However, for Tafuri, Rossi is just one of the crucial figures, one of Ernesto Rogers' students, and the word case between the quotation marks is to criticise. Of course, just as this title, \textit{The Case of Sedad Hakki Eldem}, does not make a critical implication about Eldem presenting himself in this way, conversely, I thought it would be a good reference for his remarkable recognition in the architectural scene in Turkey until his death. Manfredo Tafuri, \textit{Storia dell'architettura italiana, 1944-1985} (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore s.p.a., 1986); \textit{History of Italian Architecture, 1944-1985}, trans. Jessica Levine (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: The MIT Press, 1989).
1970s began to give their first examples in the mid-1970s. We saw its reflections and transmission with a delay of 10-15 years. What Venturi said, or what Rossi said, came to be widely grasped by us as an assimilated, internalized understanding, with a considerable wait. They (architectural circles in Turkey) were neither too interested in the neo-positivist method problems in these academic environments nor in the Russian and Venturian criticisms that were developing in the world at that time. Another previously acknowledged agenda continued: locality, universality, and environment discourse. Yes, a Turkish architect did not know anything about the urban morphology of a European city. However, remember that there is an archive that started with Sedat Hakkı Bey’s National Architecture Seminars (Milli Mimari Semineri), and a quite good survey corpus in Turkey. Maybe the Turks did this job before Rossi et al. However, in those days, there was no effort to turn this into knowledge, systematic knowledge. Nevertheless, Eldem’s Turkish House Plan Types (Türk Evi Plan Tipleri) are significant.

Atilla Yücel answers a question about Turkey’s disinterest or ignorance of many of the architectural practices and discourses in North America and Europe in the 1960s and 1970s in a symposium series that aims to discuss the problems and issues related to expression, language and meaning in architectural practice and thought. There are two points worth noting here. The first is the fact that his remarks show the position of the Turkish architectural community towards these developments in that period shedding some light on my search for Rossi’s traces in post-80s Turkey. The other is that he touches on Venturi and, even more so, Rossi as reference points to indicate the developments in the West. In this way, Yücel repeats the mainstream discourse that dates Postmodern architecture to 1966. However, at the same time, he also contributes, through the case of Sedad Hakkı Eldem, to critical Postmodern

54 Atilla Yücel, Mimarlıkta Dil ve Anlam (İstanbul: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası İstanbul Büyükkent Şubesi, 2005), 49.

55 Ibid, 50.


58 Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Ernst Egli founded the research studio National Architecture Seminar at Istanbul Academy in 1933 to examine and document anonymous “old Turkish houses” in various cities in Turkey, and they maintained this for many years.
studies that question the possible antecedents, roots and sources originating from other geographies for mainstream European Postmodern history, primarily written through cases like that of Rossi.

Indeed, Eldem appreciated his type and typology-based studies from his early years when discussions on Postmodernism in architecture began in Turkey. Like his contemporaries at that time, he was compared with the Italian typomorphologists at that time. These both validate Yücel's comments above. The following sub-chapters compare Eldem's discourse and architecture with those of Rossi to provide a more comprehensive understanding of this topic. This comparative discussion is based on familiar concepts and themes such as typology, melancholy, the building as an urban artifact or space for living, and collectivity.

2.2.1. Typology, Morphology and a Path from the Enlightenment to Follow

Yücel believes that it is worth questioning Eldem's systematic study of the “Turkish house” typology, which he did almost thirty years ago when there was no such work as Saverio Muratori, Rossi and Carlo Aymonino's Venetian studies, structuralist theses or any similar work because he systematically presented a basic concept such as type and typology that is important in terms of historicity and he used both in his architectural analysis and production.

Yücel doubts that Eldem did not carry out his early productions with a kind of non-internalized (intuitive/behavioral) “positivist” attitude; that is, he did not carry out his works independently of the type and typology-based corpus produced in Europe. Thus, there is a possibility that Eldem's architectural and textual production were inspired by the works of the Enlightenment period, the texts of Pierre Le Muet and Francesco Milizia, the architectural encyclopedias of Quatremère de Quincy, the typological design theory of Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand, and Hermann Muthesius at the beginning of the 20th century. Yücel does not directly claim that

59 “ [...] Unfortunately, (the studies held in National Architecture Seminars) was untimely and too early. Only now, after half a century has passed, has it begun to be understood how accurate and efficient the path followed at that time.” Sedad Hakkı Eldem, “Yorumlar,” in Mimaride Türk Milli Üslubu Semineri (İstanbul: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 1984), 159.

60 I note that Eldem's definition of a “Turkish house” is an abstract, constructed discourse. However, a detailed discussion on this topic is beyond the scope of this study.

61 See Tanyeli’s work saying that Eldem's library donated to Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University has more than 1200 entries, according to a list in his personal archive. Uğur Tanyeli, Mimarlık Düşünmek İçin Verimli Aranzalar (Ankara: FOL Kitap, 2023), 152. See Dündar’s work illustrating that this library contains two books by Hermann Muthesius. However, although I did not research when Eldem owned these books and how much this library has been researched in line with Yücel's hypothesis, I find it helpful to note here. Bilgen Dündar, “The Notion of Type as ‘Conventionalization’ in Sedad Hakkı Eldem’s Architecture,” MEGARON 16, no. 3 (2021): 422, https://doi.org/10.14744/MEGARON.2021.78055.
Eldem has examined these original texts and names, which are also among Rossi’s references (except Pierre Le Muet, all these were discussed by Rossi in *L’architettura della città*). However, Yücel says that, during his youth years spent in Europe, Eldem may somehow have learned about and internalized these sources, which influenced the formation of Modern architecture in Europe.

It is worth considering whether the literature produced in Europe can include Eldem. This is significant because it inquires if, in the pre-war period, Eldem utilized long-established knowledge production tools, types, and typologies dating back to the Enlightenment to shape architectural and city environments in Turkey, considered a “periphery” geography according to the mainstream European Postmodern architectural historiography. This was before the

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63 For example, as noted in Dündar’s study examining Eldem and Muthesius through their treatment of the concept of type, Eldem’s sketches of the buildings and his notes suggest that at some point, he was aware of the debates in turn-of-the-century Germany. (Dündar, The Notion of Type as ‘Conventionalization’ in Sedad Hakki Eldem’s Architecture, 422)

64 Atilla Yücel, “80’lerin ‘Tematik Panorama’ Metninin Analizi: Eleştirinin Eleştirisi,” in *2000’lerde Türkiye’de Mimari: Söylem ve Uygulamalar*, ed. Tansel Korkmaz (Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2007), 178. It can be speculated that Yücel made an inconsistent comment in two different places about Eldem’s lack of systematic knowledge production or that he changed his mind later. There is no such inconsistency or change here, just a difference in nuance or an inadequately explained comparison. The comparison between transforming the concepts of type and typology into systematic knowledge through writing, by appropriating the references and thus preparing the environment for the appropriation of those who come later, and not being included in a tradition of knowledge production, and that is an epistemological issue, the systematic use of these concepts in architectural analysis and practice as Eldem did. I suggest whether Eldem produced such systematic knowledge in the early period of his career; it is not that his entire career, which has a diverse architectural production, should be questioned through this lens. On the other hand, there are more conventional reviews arguing that Eldem’s research did not intend to contribute to the corpus of typology and morphology derived primarily from the Enlightenment tradition. See Köksal’s text arguing that the concern to keep up with the rising nationalist program, as the Republic got into an introverted position, as in other countries, with the 1929 world economic crisis, led Eldem to initiate the National Architectural Seminars and conduct his research there. Köksal justifies this in the chronological order in which the events occurred. In other words, he says that the first date Eldem made a nationalist discourse, when he published his work titled “Bir Villa Projesi” in *Mimar* journal in 1933, corresponds to before the National Architectural Seminar research. Accordingly, the seminars begin by adapting the cultural program defined by the state’s politics into the context of architecture. Aykut Köksal, “Modernleşme, Modernizm, Ulusalcılık, Eldem Mimariği Vs.,” *Mimarizm: Mimarlık ve Tasarım Yayın Platformu*, January 2, 2017, https://www.mimarizm.com/kose-yazilari/modernlesme-modernizm-ulusalcilik-eldem-mimariği-vs_127773.
“center” Europe, which was reconfigured in the postwar period when the concepts of type and
typology began to come to the fore again, making it an important consideration.

Yücel, who has inquired about both Eldem and Rossi, argues that Rossi was able to produce
systematic knowledge based on the continuity between his theoretical position and
architectural practice for his entire career.\textsuperscript{65} It can be argued that Eldem’s more fixed and
consistent textual productions that invented the “Turkish house” as a type could not meet the
diversity of his architectural production in his whole career. The necessity of correlation
between written and architectural production is only one way of evaluating it. As Hans Hollein
puts it, “a biased architectural history, concentrating on self-determined avenues rather than
the search, analysis and report on situations, manifestations, and results as they evolve and
develop has bypassed the endeavors of Eldem (and others) until recent times.”\textsuperscript{66}

Hollein seems to suggest that Eldem, as an architect, indicated a “\textit{path to follow}” when we
look at his work, type and typology-oriented architectural production from a more general
perspective. “This path is not just a personal architectural statement, but also an approach
which can be adopted by others.”\textsuperscript{67} So much so that, in the book, a Sedad Eldem monograph
compiled by Sibel Bozdoğan, Suha Özkan and Engin Yenal, Eldem is associated with the Neo-
Rationalist Tendenza and the Italian Rationalism of the 1930s. The following quote from Rossi
is included. “The beginning of a theory is, I believe, the insistence on certain themes on the
part of the architects and artists, in particular, the ability to hit the centre of a theme to follow,
to operate a choice inside architecture and to always try to solve that problem. This insistence
is also the clearest sign of an evident and valid autobiographical coherence of an artist. As
Seneca affirmed, it is the fool that always starts back at the beginning and who refuses to
follow, in a continuous fashion, the path of his own experience.”\textsuperscript{68}

It is noteworthy that Eldem is associated with the Neo-Rationalists and situated in the tradition
connecting the architectural theorists of the Enlightenment to the postwar typomorphologists.

\textsuperscript{65} Atilla Yücel, “\textit{Kuramçı ve Sanatçı Aldo Rossi: Rasyonalizm ve Manyerizm Arasında},” \textit{Arredamento}

\textsuperscript{66} Hans Hollein, “\textit{Foreword},” in \textit{Sedad Eldem: Architect in Turkey} (Singapore: Concept Media, 1987),
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\textsuperscript{67} Ibid, 12.

\textsuperscript{68} Aldo Rossi, “\textit{Architecture for Museums},” in \textit{Aldo Rossi: Selected Writings and Projects}, ed. John
2.2.2. Melancholy

There are different aspects of melancholy in Eldem's architecture. Eldem's interest in “old Turkish houses” in his search for culturally specific Modernism coincides with the timid but relentless criticism of the Eurocentric early Kemalist architectural program that began to emerge in the 30s. As cubic architecture began to spread, especially in Istanbul, and old mansions and waterfront yalıs were abandoned and removed from daily use due to new cultural values, there emerged an intellectual nostalgia for the old state of the city. While Eldem's works on “old Turkish houses” contribute to the formation of the melancholic appreciation of those houses,69 his architectural productions, which he often refers to as “modern Turkish house style,” also reveal this melancholy.70

On the other hand, besides the nostalgic underpinnings of his designs, Eldem produced projects and drawings that had affinities with the paintings of Giorgio De Chirico, renowned for his metaphysical paintings dated to the first half of the 20th century. The book mentioned above, Sedad Eldem: Architect in Turkey, associating Eldem with Neo-Rationalist Tendenza, discusses three projects that Eldem produced with his students or colleagues: Competition project for Atatürk’s Mausoleum/“Anıt Kabir,” and Çanakkale War Memorial in 1942 and competition project for the Town Hall in Adana in 1944. It looks at these projects through the concept of the monument. Accordingly, the first one, the Mausoleum with a flat dome, a pure form, is reminiscent of Etienne Louis Boulee's visionary architecture. Second, a massive stone mastaba, a pure and solid object, was raised on a high platform and lit through an oculus in the dome. Both projects have spiritual concerns, as they are the product of reasoning about the idea of death. Their formal inspiration comes from Central Asia and Islamic tomb architecture, and they intend to benefit from their archaic power.71


71 Sibel Bozdoğan, Suha Özkan, and Engin Yenal, Sedad Eldem: Architect in Turkey (Singapore: Concept Media, 1987), 75. I suggest that when the other proposals for these two competitions are examined, similar archetypal form preferences regarding the inherent monumentality of the competition contents are apparent. The reason is to mention Eldem particularly the possibility that he is already in such a search, independent of these competitions' content. See the following articles for other proposals in these competition. Zeki Sayar, “Anıt-Kabir Müsabakası Münasebetile,” Arkitekt, January-February 1943, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/112/1253.pdf. “Çanakkale Zafer ve Meçhul Asker Anıtı Müsabakası,” Arkitekt, March-April 1944, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/119/1361.pdf.
Bozdoğan, Özkan and Yenal assert that the last project, Town Hall in Adana, has a special spot in Eldem's career as it interprets the “Ottoman-Turkish High Style” in terms of mass, solid-void relationship rather than stylistic features. (Fig. 12) In the interview in Sedad Eldem: Architect in Turkey, Eldem says that the contrast created by small and large windows standing side by side and narrow and wide projections in some examples, such as the Mehterhane Kasrı/Ibrahim Pasha Palace in Istanbul, creates a dramatic visual perception and that this is a hard-to-find feature even in Italian civil architecture, “the homeland of classical civic architecture.” With these architectural features existing in the Town Hall in Adana, “the equestrian statue in the perspective and the overall bizarre effect reminiscent of de Chirico paintings, the project anticipates some of the *leitmotifs* of today's neo-rationalists. The latter's cold classicism of de Chirico “stage sets,” their appropriation of history as basic types, forms, and constructional a-priorities rather than stylistic features, their emphasis on monument and collective memory, and even the inspiration they derive from the Enlightenment, all seem to echo the unrealised vision of Eldem in the 1940s even though not expressed in these terms.”

Similarly, as Germano Celant states, the extensive bibliography confirms that metaphysical painting (including Giorgio De Chirico) influenced and inspired Rossi. Although these sources initially inspired his architectural designs, paintings, and drawings, they soon became the hallmark of his style, earning him a loyal following. However, this unique approach also drew criticism, with some alleging that it promoted an unrealistic and melancholy ideal that was disconnected from real life. Essentially, it was seen as a life that only existed within the confines of a painting.

The closest moment Eldem comes to making a statement or taking a position on Rossian architecture may be the following statement about De Chirico in his interview: “When I first discovered De Chirico, I realized that it was not architecture but a stage-set. So, I experimented with it, maintaining that it was necessary to turn this stage-set into architecture.” Eldem stated this in 1986, nearly forty years after the Municipal Palace proposal. By “stage-set,” he seems to imply that De Chirico's urban spaces are theater stages, and the built environment that defines them physically are architecture-like decorations that have yet to be considered whether they can be lived in. In the design of Municipal Palace, he aimed to create a similar

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72 Ibid, 74.

73 Ibid, 75.


effect by contrasting the architectural elements found in the Mehterhane Kasrı/İbrahim Paşa Sarayı and the Yeni Cami Hünkâr Kasrı in Istanbul and the Ekmekçioglu Kervansarayı in Edirne.

Figure 12. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Samim Okcay and Demirtaş Kamçıl, Town Hall in Adana, 1944.

Figure 13. Aldo Rossi, Drawing of Design for Cannaregio West Area in Venice, 1980.
Nonetheless, Eldem believed there was great potential for discovering new and innovative architecture for the next generation of architects. It is evident that he was not pessimistic about incorporating De Chirico-esque images into architecture and had a strong affinity for the architecture of Tendenza and Rossi. Although Rossi usually does not opt for a prominent and direct contrast between windows of different sizes, unlike, for example, Giorgio Grassi, there are examples of his work where he has used this technique, such as the design for Cannaregio West Area in Venice in 1980 - an unconstructed monumental hotel along the Grand Canal. (Fig. 13) Other works include the Town Hall in Borgoricco in 1983, the Residential unit for Vialba Area in Milan in 1985-1991, the Mixed-use complex in Turin in 1990, and Hotel Ocean in Chikura in 1990.

2.2.3. Building as an Urban Element and Space for Living

We recognize the exterior of Rossi's architectural designs considerably through his paintings and drawings, and we know the interiors of these designs not through the drawings of the interiors but through post-construction photographs. Besides, urban landscape drawings are more disseminated; domestic drawings are not the interior imaginations of his designs but rather autobiographical memories in which we see analogical urban landscapes from the inside. We usually appropriate his architectural works as urban elements by means of exterior views, and he mostly thought about this for creating poetic effects from the outside.

Massimo Carmassi, an Italian architect, however, evaluates Eldem's and Rossi's approach to the interior and exterior from a different perspective in an interview with the local magazine, *Arredamento Dekorasyon*. He states that the importance of identifying cultural assets (kültürel varlıklar) is often mentioned in Italy, but institutions do not give enough attention to conducting surveys to identify them. He says that this revealed superficial urban data, which led to the superficiality of urban design. Regarding that, he expresses his admiration for

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77 Examining this chapter's ("Rationalist Discourse") other illustrative comments on Eldem, Tendenza, and Italian Rationalism of the 1930s is optional. It is sufficient to mention the triangle of Eldem, De Chirico and Rossi since it does not directly include Rossi in the discussion other than the idea of a "path to follow."


Eldem as an exceptional figure with his fruitful, sensitive, sophisticated corpus of surveys, which were not carried out with the encouragement or order of any institution but were conducted by his individual efforts. Then, he comments that cities consisting of the buildings of which Eldem created their constructive typologies do not exist in Italy, except for the city of Pisa, for which he produced the survey with his attempts.\textsuperscript{80}

Indeed, typological findings of the National Architecture Seminar, published in \textit{Türk Evi Plan Tipleri} in 1954, consist of 267 floor plans without a photograph or elevation that show how surveyed houses really look like.\textsuperscript{81} Carmassi traces the architectural culture in Italy in parallel with this situation. He states that Italian architects, perhaps except Carlo Scarpa, do not research the interior, do not bother to understand it, and see architecture as a mere exterior shell. However, in the end, people live inside. Due to this architectural approach shared by Italian architects, including Rossi, who, according to Carmassi, had only designed one (qualified) interior space - the reconstruction of the Teatro Carlo Felice in Genoa in 1983, people in the common spaces that constitute the collective memory (or collective existence) of the cities are deprived of clean and bright spaces when they enter inside of the buildings.\textsuperscript{82}

Here, Carmassi’s criticism, including Rossi, can be expanded as follows. We can confirm Rossi’s consideration towards planimetric issues from the critical articles about plan typologies he wrote in \textit{Casabella-continuità} before the publication of \textit{L’architettura della città} or from typological investigations in the Italian regions conducted with his contribution as studio instructor - as one of them will be discussed in the following subchapter, \textit{Issue of Collectivity}. However, there is a tangible result in Rossi's architectural production, such as not depicting interiors of designs in his drawings or, as Carmassi also mentioned, not problematizing the interior.

\textbf{2.2.4. Residents and the Issue of Collectivity}

Serena Acciai, an Italian architect and architectural historian who conducted comparative studies on Eldem and Rossi, in one of her studies, makes a comparison between the methodological approaches in Eldem's analysis of the urban landscape in Bosphorus and in

\textsuperscript{80} Ibid, 72.


\textsuperscript{82} By saying that Rossi designed only one interior, the reconstruction of the Teatro Carlo Felice in Genoa, Carmassi implies that his other interior designs were unsuccessful. Massimo Carmassi, \textit{Tarihseli Tasarlayan Adam: Massimo Carmassi}, interview by Danila Campo and Zeynep Mesutoğlu, \textit{Arredamento Dekorasyon}, April 1995, 74.
the analytical work of Rossi, E. Consolascio, and M. Bosshard, *La Costruzione del Territorio: Uno Studio sul Canton Ticino* in 1979. One of the issues of this study is that while Rossi's team was interested in anthropological and cultural issues in their analysis, Eldem focused more on the architectural values and features of the buildings in the context of Ottoman-Turkish culture, although he investigated areas of the Bosphorus that have specificities regarding the ethnic groups that once lived there.

According to Rossi, areas (parts) of the city can be distinguished significantly within the urban whole by their locations, topographic limits, physical presence, and imprints on the ground. Moreover, these areas and parts “can be defined as a concept that takes in a series of spatial and social factors which act as determining influences on the inhabitants of a sufficiently circumscribed cultural and geographical area.” So, Acciai argues that Eldem's concept, which Rossi calls “the constitutive imprint,” does not focus on or consider the cultural and ethnic characteristics of these settlements. In Eldem's analysis, she illustrates that the floor plans of the modest fishing mansions along the coast in the Albanian village of Arnavutköy on the Bosphorus (unlike the elongated floor plans of the Ottoman aristocracy) were shaped according to their daily use and ethnic characteristics. However, she emphasizes that Eldem did not consider this changeability in house typology, even if it was perhaps in line with the *Zeitgeist* of his time.

On the one hand, Acciai brings the context of the period with the concept of *Zeitgeist*, justifying that Eldem's initiative which does not include cultural values, implying that his initiative is still notable. She mentions that until Eldem's initiatives, architectural education in Turkey operated according to old academic rules and encouraged oriental neo-Ottoman forms.

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84 Ibid, 129.


Accordingly, she says, due to the interest in monuments and public buildings, “Turkish houses,” the houses in which ordinary people lived, were not on the agenda.\(^{87}\)

On the other hand, Bozdoğan and Akcan discuss Eldem's term “Turkish house,” which covers a broad spectrum from the grand residences of wealthy Ottoman families to the modest houses in Anatolian villages under this Zeitgeist, unifying the ideal of the nationality of “Turkish.” This assimilating concept not only aroused national consciousness and led to the preservation of these houses but also erased (or contributed to the erosion process of) the cosmopolitan urban texture of the previous period, formed by all ethnic and religious groups, including Armenians, Greeks, Kurds, Jews and Alevis.\(^{88}\) Likewise, we can assert that Eldem's definition of the “Turkish house,” which gathers diverse categories under a single roof, not only creates a standardization for the diversity of these ethnic and religious origins, which is an essential part of diversity but also for class differences, including Turks.


CHAPTER 3

THEORY

3.1. Atilla Yücel and the Concepts of Type and Typology

Atilla Yücel includes the works of Aldo Rossi in the bibliographies of his academic writings in 1979. His previous texts show that he has a critical distance interdisciplinary studies such as the systems theory in architecture, structuralist approaches, and semiological studies on architecture, which were on the agenda in the early 70s and also show that he was aware of the works of names such as Carlo Aymonino, Giorgio Grassi, Vittorio Gregoretti, Manfredo Tafuri and the research of the Politecnico di Milano Faculty of Architecture, through their Italian originals. Rossi became an essential name for Yücel in his intellectual production in the 1970s and his architectural production in the 1980s. However, it is not clear why he did not mention Rossi until then, 1979. Yücel might have been unaware of Rossi during his time in Italy in 1972 and 1973, as Rossi was transferred to ETH in Zurich after being banned from teaching at the Politecnico di Milano for political reasons in 1971. However, the close relationship between the names cited by Yücel and Rossi and the fact that Rossi had already gained fame in 1972, at least in Italy, with his theoretical and architectural production makes one wonder about Yücel’s silence about him. I will argue that this may be a conscious exclusion because Rossi’s treatment of the concepts of type and typology requires a complex reading and its resistance to being easily integrated into the discourse of an architectural practice.

While Yücel was in Italy in 1973, he writes an article, Mimarlıkta Metodoloji/Sistemli Yaklaşımlar ve Mimarlık Eğitimi (Methodology and Systematic Approaches in Architecture and Architectural Education), published in Mimarlık. Among the theories and approaches of the period, he critically assesses the systems theory related to the design or project process in architectural practice, the structuralist views and semiology that deal with meaning in the built environment, architectural object and space. He considers these works as required against the

89 I emphasize that Rossi acquired a reputation with Monte Amiata Housing in the Gallaratese quarter of Milan, which he designed together with Carlo Aymonino in the late 1960s, or with achievement in the extension of the San Cataldo Cemetery in Modena competition in 1971.
nihilist attitude of post-war Europe, that is, what he describes as either inert and passive indifference or hopeless madness in the face of an event that is not approved but cannot be resisted. He cautiously stands by the discipline of architecture and the efforts that contribute to it against the nihilist devaluation of all kinds of projects and the concept of design, as illustrated in these words about systems theory: “the more necessary and meaningful it is to ground design problems philosophically/scientifically, the more virtuous it is to be humble and act more realistically in cases where this cannot be achieved, and to settle for ‘terre à terre’ problems if necessary. Moreover, interpreting the problem of design and, more generally, architecture in the light of general systems theory is not very productive beyond pointing out some formal similarities and structural relations. This is a limit set by this theory itself, as well as by architecture.”

Or, he finds it helpful that structuralist views aimed at understanding and evaluating the meaning of the architectural product contribute to architectural criticism, he says that their reflections on architectural design may cause failures. He argues that Robert Venturi, influenced by Umberto Eco's ideas on the meaning of the city and architecture, suggested a capitalist romantic escape with what he learned from Las Vegas.

For a further objection to these theoretical efforts, he observes that architectural history offers “operational (operasyonel)” criticism possibilities to architectural practice with the awareness of “seeking refuge in the charming romanticism of history, the Middle Ages and agricultural societies, or escaping in the opposite direction and seeking solutions to actual problems in imaginary tomorrow's utopias, which will not be guiding correctly the change in the built environment for social and humanist purposes in line with the demands of the people.” It is impossible to discuss whether this historical romanticism, not expanded with any examples, included the Russian discourse for Yücel. However, it is evident that with the emphasis on the rationality of architectural tools and in design, the defense of the discipline of architecture

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92 Ibid.

against the nihilist view, the cautious stance towards contributions from “outside” the disciplines via the concept of “meaning,” and the emphasis on looking at the discipline from “inside,” and an assessment about the boundaries of architectural history, it is legitimate to say that the contents of Yücel's and Rossi's discussions intersect at times in the early 1970s. His criticism of Venturi, on the other hand, shows an early and definitive answer to the discussions on Postmodernism in architecture in the following decades of Turkey. Besides, I argue that the criticism of positivism, as defined by Aykut Köksal, regarding the relationship of the discipline of architecture with the outside constitutes a basis for Yücel to investigate the problem of meaning from within architecture itself. In other words, this critical attitude first leads him to research and discuss the concepts of type and typology, the “autonomous” content of architecture, and then to one of the sources in his intellectual production, Rossi.

His second text, *Mimarlıkta Tipoloji Kavramları* (Concepts of Typology in Architecture), was published in 1976 in a bulletin in the ITU Faculty of Architecture. Yücel criticizes the concept of typology, except in a few cases, which had been used for practical and empirical purposes in the history of architecture and has not been considered as a conceptual category that can be useful for the systematization of architectural knowledge and architectural practice. So, he explores the possible potentials of the concept in this regard.95

With this text, as Köksal emphasized, Yücel became interested in Italian morphologists such as Carlo Aymonino (and Giorgio Grassi).96 Yücel borrowed the concept of typology from the analytical definitions of these two names. That is, according to Aymonino, it is “an effort to investigate the possible combination possibilities of (architectural) elements for a classification of architectural formation, (that is types).” For Grassi, it is “a systematic that investigates the invariable element of morphology.” Hence, these definitions express a contemporary sense beyond those from the Renaissance to the 19th century since they do not explain typology as a model to be repeated. For the 19th century, he distinguishes Quatremère


96 Köksal, İşin Ardındaki Düşünce, 87.
de Quincy's and Eugène Viollet-le-Duc's type definitions. While the former has a more contemporary understanding, the latter is more idealistic.\(^97\) \(^98\)

Another aspect of this text, for Yücel, typological categories are "a methodological tool for the analytical interpretation of architectural phenomena."\(^99\) That is, beyond his initial criticism of using typology merely for empirical purposes in architectural practice, he states that typological analysis is an analytical tool for understanding the architectural product and the spatial formation of the traditional city.\(^100\) On the other hand, Yücel says that the typologies which established (or appropriated) in any society in history are the basis for new typological developments; that is, serial continuity is conceptualized. "This adds the dimension of history to the concept of functional typology."\(^101\) In other words, it juxtaposes his emphasis on analytical thinking against idealistic attitudes with the concept of history.

The process by which Yücel arrived at the concepts of type and typology is illustrated by discussing these first two articles chronologically. This also provides an impression of the reasons for the content of his later texts. Now, we can continue more thematically with the year 1979. Besides the previous text dated 1976, consisting of analysis of cases from present or historical studies on European cities, Yücel began using typological analysis in his research

\(^{97}\) Atilla Yücel, “Mimarlıkta Tipoloji Kavramları,” İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yapı Araştırma Kurumu Dergisi, no. 2 (March 1976): 17. See also Yücel's doctoral thesis that refers to Aymonino's work. One of the topics of Yücel's study is that "to design residential communities, there should first be an approach that can conceptually define the housing community and stem from sociological data." Atilla Yücel, “Kentsel Konut Topluluklarının Tasarlanmasında Sosyal Sistem İçeriğinin Değerlendirilmesi: Bir Kuramal yaklaşım Denemesi” (ITU Faculty of Architecture, Published Doctoral Thesis, 1977), III.

\(^{98}\) I note that while Aldo Rossi referred to Quatremère de Quincy for the definition of the concept of type in *L'architettura della città*, he referred to Eugène Viollet-le-Duc for discussions of modification of house in time very slowly, city as a man-made object, concept of locus and architecture as a science etc. Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 1982), 40, 70, 97, 103, 109.

\(^{99}\) Yücel, Mimarlıkta Tipoloji Kavramları, 24.


\(^{101}\) "Bu, işlevsel tipoloji kavramına tarih boyutunu katmaktadır." Yücel, Mimarlıkta Tipoloji Kavramları, 19-20. Yücel describes the "functional typologies" outlined by Marina Waisman's work as the foundation for the existence of other typologies. He explains that throughout history, every society has had primary functional requirements that precede architectural considerations. The architect who first recognizes these needs and uses their intellectual and technical skills to address them initiates the process of functional typology. As the function becomes more evident, it takes shape. This message is then interpreted and modified by society. If the society accepts the message, it becomes institutionalized. These typologies then form the basis of new requirements and give rise to the initial objective relationships. This process reveals that the initial data is not as "free from architecture" as initially believed but represents a historical typological continuity. Ibid.
practice in Turkey, relating it with other local studies. He also included Rossi in his analytical studies.

### 3.1.1. Rossi’s Formulations as Typo-morphological Analysis Tools

In making urban morphological analyses beyond the typological analysis at the building scale, Yücel refers to Rossi, *L’architettura della città* and his other writings.\(^{102}\) Firstly, for him, in the spectrum of morphological scale, the plot is the first morphological unit used as a criterion closest to the single building. He thinks that the urban distribution and development of the plot is morphologically crucial as it constitutes the smallest unit of “urban architecture *(kent mimarisi)*” consisting of constructed plots.\(^{103}\) He does not regard the plot as a singular and empty land. Instead, he considers its shape, size and relations with its surroundings, as well as its relations with the building on it and its surroundings (connections with the street, the garden, connection-separation, location of the stairs). He sees this as the first step to reach urban form and Rossian “urban architecture *(kent mimarisi)*” based on typology.

His discussion of morphological analysis includes the analysis of plots and other main morphological units, such as blocks and streets. First, it requires distinguishing these units within the urban fabric and provides connections between plots, city blocks, and roads. Referring to *L’architettura della città*, Yücel maintains that “it will be able to explain spatial continuity with greater accuracy to the extent that it is integrated with the typological features of the houses developed on these plots.”\(^{104}\) (Fig. 15)

Yücel states that analyzing the current morphological situation should be completed with a historical analysis, including the chronological history of the roads and building blocks

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\(^{103}\) See Yücel’s use of “kent mimarisi” and referring to *L’architettura della città*. Atilla Yücel, *Mimarlıkta Biçim ve Mekânın Dilsel Yorumu* (İstanbul: ITU Faculty of Architecture, 1981), 66.

\(^{104}\) “Bu doğal olarak parseller üzerinde gelişen konutların tipolojik özellikleriyle bütünleştığı oranda bir mekansal sürekliliği daha büyük bir doğrulukla açıklayabileceği.” Atilla Yücel, *Mimarlıkta Biçim ve Mekânın Dilsel Yorumu* (İstanbul: ITU Faculty of Architecture, 1981), 67-68. I could not find these images in the copy of the 1978 edition of *L’architettura della città*, which Yücel mentioned (Fig. 15), which did not include the entire book I acquire. However, these images are available in the Spanish translation titled *La arquitectura de la ciudad*, dated 1982. Aldo Rossi, *La arquitectura de la ciudad*, trans. Josep Maria Ferrer-Ferrer (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gill, 1982), 49, 53.
through documents.\textsuperscript{105} Thus, he states that sudden changes in form that occur at moments of significant social and economic change can be seen in the formal orders of urban space both in the West and in Islamic countries with references including \textit{L’architettura della città}. That is to say, he states that these formal orders do not have a continuous morphological development from beginning to end. He suggests that an analytical understanding of these morphological discontinuities can only be achieved by considering the integrity of the urban space. Yücel states that this scale, where the perception of integrity is lost, is generally studied in the literature through topological models referencing Kevin Lynch’s theories in which the areas formed by building blocks and monumental buildings are treated as separate formal elements. For an argument support, he turns to Rossi. He says that “[…] monuments with greater historical continuity and others with greater internal dynamism and variable elements have different shares in creating urban architecture (\textit{kent mimarisi}). The first group of these is this architecture's “primary” elements; the others are the “secondary” elements, and formal analysis must consider the relationships and contrasts of these two elements.”\textsuperscript{106}

3.1.1.1. A Local Case

Yücel also projects the typological and morphological analysis discussion into his practice. An article, one of the results of long-term research conducted with Afife Batur and Nur Fersan, shows that row houses, defined as “type” in Istanbul, have different planimetric features compared to the older urban house types in the city. This text examines through a typological analysis of the location of doors and stairs, room distribution, and the number of floors. (Fig. 14)

Moreover, many row houses are claimed to be related to the typological groups formed by the development of the small housing \textit{archetypé} associated with tradesmen-craftsmen workshops in the West.\textsuperscript{107} Is this housing \textit{archetypé} the first historical origin of that housing typology? Yücel once said, “as a person who has dealt a lot with typology as a theory, I cannot clearly tell whether this knowledge has been transferred to the architecture produced. But even if it is

\textsuperscript{105} Yücel states that formal analysis of the current situation is even more critical in countries such as Turkey, where document archiving is lacking. Ibid, 68-71.


not about types, I think it is inevitable for me to talk about archetypes [...]”

Hence, although the concept of archetype has such an ambiguous use in this study, what is essential is that the local housing type is associated with this concept. In this article and the lecture notes given by the same group at ITU Faculty of Architecture, another part of the long-term research process, the phrase “urban architecture (kent mimarisi),” is used. All this shows that Yücel chose Rossi to be a reference to understand the traditional city of Istanbul with its architecture and used him as one of his tools.

Relating to Serena Acciai’s comparison of the methodology of Eldem’s and Rossi’s team’s urban analyses, this study was conducted in the same year as Rossi’s study, La Costruzione del Territorio: Uno Studio sul Canton Ticino. It is necessary to look at the expression emphasizing that row houses in the city have undergone metamorphoses within themselves depending on the settlement and living characteristics in certain parts of the city. It was emphasized that the changes in the typological formations of the rowhouses were adapted to the religious-ethnic origins of the original residents and their occupations. In this research, sociologist Mübeccel Kıray provided consultancy on social research and sociological interpretations, labor lawyer Münir Ekonomi provided consultancy on legal issues, and economist Tuncer Gürsoy provided consultancy on economic and financial issues. Moreover, Yücel states that traditional houses, which have been extensively documented in


110 In Turkish, “şehir” means city and “kent (kentsel)” means urban. The accurate translation of L’architettura della città is “Şehrin Mimarisi” as illustrated in the book’s Turkish version. (Fig. 2.) Moreover, as seen in Yücel’s text dated 1981, Mimarlıkta Bicim ve Mekânın Dilsel Yorumu, “kent mimarisi” is used with reference to L’architettura della città. However, as seen in other local sources, this has also been translated as “kentin mimarisi, ” which I do not find accurate, but it is a phenomenon.

111 It is discussed in 2.2.4. Residents and the Issue of Collectivity.


113 Ibid, 185.
Turkey, especially through Eldem’s works, should be deciphered with a systematic evaluation, that is, typological analysis methods that address the current situation and historical change.\textsuperscript{114}

Thus, it is evident that Yücel was interested in Rossi’s theoretical works rather than his architectural contributions until the arrival of Postmodernism discussions to Turkey in 1980s. He was interested in Rossi’s typological and morphological analysis methods to the extent that he regarded him as a critical figure in comprehending the intricacies of the traditional city.

\textbf{3.1.2. Resistance to “Postmodern Architecture”}

In his article, \textit{Mekân Okuma Aracı Olarak Tipolojik Çözümleme (Typological Analysis as a Tool for Understanding Space)} in 1979, Yücel returns to the separation between the 19th-century theorists and their historical predecessors. This time, he distinguishes the architectural theorists before the 20th century from contemporary theorists of Italy and France, including Rossi, who were proposing an analytical typology (çözümleyici tipoloji). This distinction is because the former group could not go beyond presenting an “inventory of forms” that was inadequate to grasp the internal structure of the spatial environment. He questions why the typological approach, which had been forgotten for a long time in the first half of the 20th century, developed then by gaining historical and structuralist dimensions.\textsuperscript{115} Could it be that the broad spectrum of reactions (reasons) that he illustrates that emerged in the 60s and 70s against the “shallow functionalism (sığ işlevselcilik)” of Modern Architecture goes beyond the purpose of questioning the reasons for the development of the typological approach? In other words, could this way of listing the reactions, together with the phenomenon that Yücel defines as the “Crisis of Contemporary Architecture,” represent a position (similar to what Stylianos Giamarelos defines as \textit{resistance}\textsuperscript{116}) that is aware of the limitations of a definition such as “Postmodern architecture.”\textsuperscript{117}

Giamarelos emphasizes the impact of media propagation on the First Venice Biennale of Architecture in 1980. He states that the biennial found a place in architecture surveys in less

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Atilla Yücel, \textit{Mimarlıkta Biçim ve Mekânın Dilsel Yorumu} (İstanbul: ITU Faculty of Architecture, 1981), 64.
\item Later than Yücel, another such different definition of Postmodernism in architecture appears in a series titled \textit{Beyond Modern Architecture (Modern Mimariğin Ötesi)}, published in \textit{Mimarlık} in 1984 as will be discussed in 3.2.1. Rossi Becomes Popular.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
than two years. Citing Hanno-Walter Kruft, “[t]he term “Post-Modern” has since become a catchword... and is applied indiscriminately to Neo-Rationalists such as Aldo Rossi as well as to others like the “New York Five’.” By the mid-1980s, this definition had already become a term that randomly linked Western Europe and North America.\footnote{Stylianos Giamarelos, Resisting Postmodern Architecture: Critical regionalism before globalisation (London: UCL Press, 2022), 51.} The diverse developments that emerged against the functionalist characteristics of modern architecture that “shared a little common ground” were ignored and united under a single route, “Postmodern Classicism” of the Biennale.\footnote{Ibid, 8.}

Atilla Yücel heavily criticizes Charles Jencks in 1981, a year after the Biennale. Yücel's criticism is based on typological and morphological analysis, which includes Rossian nuances. He discusses the “semiotic” movement, an “idealist” architectural theory that Jencks, one of the main protagonists of “Post Modernism” in architectural theory, predicted would become widespread in the 1990s.\footnote{See Jencks’ book. Charles Jencks, Architecture 2000: Predictions and Methods (London: Studio Vista, 1971).} According to Yücel, the method of semiotics is based on language. Its primary purpose is to exclude ideology and avoid ISMs.\footnote{Atilla Yücel, Mimarlıkta Biçim ve Mekânın Dilsel Yorumu (İstanbul: ITU Faculty of Architecture, 1981), 152.} He says that Jencks aims to build a new architectural rhetoric with a new utilitarian search. However, he states, this goal is a matter of literary arts rather than linguistics. He concludes that the rhetoric of linguistics was abandoned after Vitruvius's years, and “just as semiotic architecture is just an epithet today, writing a structuralist novel with a 'powerful rhetoric' would be a ridiculous concept.”\footnote{“ Bugün göstergebilimsel mimari sadece bir yakıştırma olduğu gibi ‘retoriği kuvvetli’ yapısalcı roman yazmak da gulünç bir kavram olurdu.” Ibid, 153.}

Hence, I can assert that Yücel's resistance against “Post Modernism” is local and has Rossian nuances. The former is due to research on the rowhouses of İstanbul, in which he used a toolbox including Rossian typo-morphological tools and methods and to his emphasis on reassessing Eldem's surveys with this inventory. The latter is because while aware of all these diverse ranges of critical developments against the “shallow functionalism” of Modern Architecture, such as “environmentalism (ecologism), an interest in historical values that give ‘protectionist’ or ‘neo-eclectic’ results, participatory (democratic), decentralist or ‘advocacy’ type planning approach with political content, the inclusion of semiological and language
problems in the field of architecture," he discusses participatory architecture with a position on the side of the autonomy of architecture and expands his discussion with Rossi.

Figure 14. Typological analysis of row houses in Istanbul, 1979. (edited by the author.)


Figure 15. A page showing the subdivision of a block in 1612 and elevations of the houses corresponding to the Heren Gracht and Keizers Gracht Canals drawn by Caspar Philips from the second half of the 18th century, Amsterdam, borrowed from L’architettura della città.
3.2. Postmodernism in Architecture in Turkey

In the period following the 1980 coup, Turkey was taking steps towards a transition to a neoliberal economy and cultural conservatism. From statistical and protectionist economic policies, the country is introduced to concepts such as the free market and global capitalism to integrate with global markets. It begins to focus on the export-oriented mode of production. As in countries outside Western Europe and North America, the process of integration of this economic model is experienced along with cultural fragmentations. In other words, modernizing geographies do this not through a universal model as envisioned by the early Modernism period but in a practice that includes various cultural differences. Hence, the country, for Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, became a significant model where the “austerity, paternalism, and universalistic claims” of early Republican Modernism were challenged by Postmodern experiments and various popular cultural expressions in every domain of culture, from art to architecture, literature, and music.

An increasing construction boom with the entry of transnational finance capital, major banks and large construction companies into the construction market initiated their reflections on the urban landscape throughout the country. Its manifestations in architecture occurred with the emergence of building types such as shopping malls, supermarkets, international hotels, retail and fast-food chains, office and residential towers and new gated suburbia. A more dynamic architectural culture and milieu have emerged through publications, media, exhibitions, awards, and conferences. Unlike the previous period's preoccupation with social and political issues, Postmodernism, formal experimentation, and the discipline's autonomy have begun to occupy their agenda.

This environment, which includes all the cultural and economic changes taking place locally and globally, has provided the opportunity for many architects to break away from the “sterile and faceless” characteristics of Modernism and to carry out new experiments “ranging from high-tech expressionism to deconstructionism, or new appeals to tradition and history for postmodern image-making and/or identity construction.” “Architecture and entertainment, by their very nature, became the primary promoters of rampant self-orientalization in this lucrative industry” as illustrated in resort hotels opened for foreign tourists who want to

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126 Ibid, 204.
127 Ibid, 205-206.
experience a different culture, the Turkish one\textsuperscript{128} or many shopping centers that aim to include local, regional and cultural identities through historical fragments and promise “themed environments.”\textsuperscript{129}

How were Rossi’s discourses and architectural production received by local architectural milieus in Turkey in such a context? In which ways was Rossi appropriated in the 1980s? How did these milieus position him? Through which disciplinary lenses did they discuss him? I will discuss these in the following section.

3.2.1. Rossi Becomes More Popular

While Sibel Bozdoğan was pursuing her doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania, she wrote two texts to be published in Mimarlık in 1981 and 1982. Both implicitly go against the hierarchizing characteristic of Modernist historiography, which some architectural milieus, such as the METU Faculty of Architecture, had in Turkey. Both texts argued that each physical component of the built environment should be considered with more pluralist frames in architectural historiography without hierarchizing one building over another.

In the former, she argues that the ways within which history is understood influence the interpretation of architectural history and architectural production. She briefly discusses some historical examples. The positivist/empirical understanding of history desires to create a history of clear facts and whose reflection on architectural history is to select buildings such as cathedrals and palaces, write their histories, and ignore the more “worthless” architectural objects or just buildings. Alternatively, by abandoning this “idealist” framework, the “materialist” approach proposes to view the architectural product from a perspective dependent on its context; it does not consider the architectural product independently of the material conditions around it.\textsuperscript{130} With reference to Tafuri, she states that the design and construction processes involve the combination of various factors such as widespread production and social relations, material conditions, and the natural environment. The building does not directly reflect these individual factors but is a product of their complex interactions.\textsuperscript{131} In other words, Bozdoğan sees it as necessary to understand a building in a “holistic (bütünsel)” manner, together with its “entire built environment.” Also, it requires

\textsuperscript{128} Ibid, 232-233.

\textsuperscript{129} Ibid, 215.


\textsuperscript{131} Ibid, 9-10.
looking at the objective conditions (nesnel koşullar) in which the building is constructed, not only material interpretation of the physical environment’s existing condition.

In the latter, in 1982, Bozdoğan criticized the views on architectural history that consider architecture as reflecting its age or the Zeitgeist. Accordingly, this situation establishes an immediate connection between the architectural object and the cultural, technological, socio-economic, and religious structures in which it is located, explains the complexity by direct influence with a single causality principle, simplifies the complex network of relationships, and creates a crude determinism. Another consequence is that dividing history into categories based on styles pushes the alternative environments, buildings, and architects that have existed over time to the periphery of “approved” historiography and marginalizes them.

Later, Atilla Yücel supports Bozdoğan’s suggestion of considering the building together with its entire built environment with the Russian concept of “urban architecture (kent mimarisi)” at a different scale. He argues that the architecture of the 19th century, from which most of the buildings remaining from the past in Istanbul date, should be included in every investigation of the urban environment of the 20th century, not only with its monuments or “important” architectural objects but also with its “urban architecture (kent mimarisi).” It is not possible to choose between these structures and urban textures, including the rowhouses in Istanbul discussed above, because they are all outcomes of the same cultural whole, formal preferences, and aesthetic sensitivity.

Also, Yücel points out that Bozdoğan, along with Haldun Ertekin’s critical overviews of Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development, which were published in four


133 Ibid, 13.

134 See also Yücel’s article disagreeing with Rob Krier’s proposal to rebuild the 19th-century structures and textures as they were. Atilla Yücel, “Mimarlıkta Ideolojiler, Yenilikçi Tasarım ve Tarih,” Mimarlık, February 1982, 16-17, http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/444/6434.pdf.
installments between 1980 and 1981 in *Mimarlık*, has brought the topics he discussed in his article in 1973 back into the spotlight in Turkey. (Fig. 18)

Moreover, it can be discussed that the covers of the two issues in which Tafuri summaries were published evoke Rossian representational nuances. In the first one, there are buildings with orthogonal facades, a color reminiscent of Rossian orange and repeating square window openings. In the second, there is a composition that resembles a Rossi montage alla Nolli, the map of an urban environment juxtaposed with a human figure similar to human figures composed of shadows in Rossi’s drawings. (Fig. 16, 17)

![Figure 16. Mimarlık, 1981/1.](image1)
![Figure 17. Mimarlık, 1981/2.](image2)

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3.2.1.1. Mimarlık and METU Faculty of Architecture

One of my interviewees, Zafer Akay, a student at METU Faculty of Architecture between 1980 and 1984, says that he and Murat Aydın learned during a phone conversation that everyone was talking about someone called Aldo Rossi in the fall of 1981. Ali Özler, the person they talked to, was also an architecture student at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette in the USA. Reminding James Stirling’s words, “One cannot help thinking that serious discussion about architecture has moved from here (Britain) to Italy and New York,” Akay and his friends then scanned the Art Index of the last ten years in the school library. They compiled English-written pieces about Rossi from many architecture magazines. Akay, a second-year student, cultivated what he acquired from this short exposure to Rossi in his subsequent term projects in the school and the architectural competition projects he entered with his friends.

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138 Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024.

Akay, together with his friends Turgut Çıkış, Murat Aydın, and Ufuk Ertem, entered the State Cemetery Competition opened by the Ministry of National Defense in the summer of 1982. In their proposal, Akay says they borrowed the Russian idea that architecture is a memory bearer and denying the link with the past is impossible. With the awareness that making architecture a tool of criticism was not exactly Russian but their own interpretation, they aimed to formulate the critique of the Republic's ideology by revealing its less prominent features, such as its relation to pre-republican times. As can be seen in the axonometric drawing they submitted, they designed 16 tower-like structures carrying various flags on their tops. (Fig. 20) On the one hand, this group of METU students' aim was to remind the pre-Republican period by emphasizing the existence of 16 Turkish states in history, whose discourse gained strength with the 1980 coup. On the other hand, being aware of the historical fragility of this discourse, they intend to make a cautious criticism against the country's contemporaneous oppressive political and military order. Akay states that they purposely made the buildings carrying the flags of these Turkish states stunted, not designing them to look exactly like towers. They use Maltese brick to create a Levantine image in the rotunda and the blocks with double-hipped roofs attached to it. He states that they considered Maltese brick as a stage reached by the building craftsmanship of the non-Muslim minority, which the Republic lost in the 1920s. There are poplar trees in the landscape that resemble Ottoman miniatures.

If it is considered that this drawing was proposed to where host the graves of important figures of the republic, to one of the symbolic centers of the republican ideology which was fostered by coup d'etat's discourses in 1980, it is evident that these pre-republican local references converged with the “Rossian language” constitute a criticism. Akay states that in this project, with his friends and in the next studio project discussed below, he perceived Rossi as a reference against Modernist restriction. Accordingly, he says that one of the conclusions they drew from Tafuri's *Architecture and Utopia* is that there could not be a socialist architecture. However, there could only be a socialist critique of architecture. They saw Rossi, he adds, as a tool through which they could make this criticism.

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140 Akay states that when he started to reflect Rossian appropriation dates back to this competition in the summer of 1982, following the second year in school. He says that with Turgut Çıkış, they were in an empathetic position against Rossi during the working on the project. Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024.

141 Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024.


143 Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024.
In 1985, Akay produced a new drawing, which he describes as having a Byzantine aesthetic, for the cemetery.\(^{144}\) (Fig. 19) In the drawing, there are horizontal patterns, and Rossi's standard four-pane square windows covered by railings with motifs on the two facades in the foreground. There are balcony buttresses on the rear mass, with only square windows without profiles. Maltese brick’s color is much more emphasized on its facade. Besides that, the monumental red mass or the cone that resembles an abandoned industrial chimney, the pale color choices, and the poplar trees in the background (these are local elements but placed as compositional ones) are pure Rossi's allusions. Akay says that the cemetery building (ostotekli mezarlık), whose pediment accommodates the Turkish star and crescent, is a new design and was not included in the first project. He says that it was a collage, and this architectural composition does not express any “real” spatiality.\(^{145}\) I emphasize that producing a new drawing of the previous project and juxtaposing the buildings in different locations in the same picture plane have an affinity with Rossi's analogical drawings.

In his third year at the faculty in January 1983, with his studio project in Batıkent in Ankara, Akay faces a harsh reaction from the architectural jury. In the project, Akay develops social housing, including common spaces, monument towers, detached houses, and apartment blocks. He proposes multi-storey residential building for “ordinary” people on one side of the site and duplex megarons for artists on the other. (Fig. 21, 22) Like megarons, other ancient building types, such as peristyles and stoa, are functionalized with contemporary architectural programs. There is a dining hall, a social hall, offices, ateliers for artistic production (“megarons for modest artists”), peristyle houses for artists, Kindergarten (“the Stoa”), Sakarya Memorial Tower, Monument of “Millet” (or water tower), Monument of “Vatan” surrounded by 16 Turkish states towers borrowed from the cemetery mentioned above. Besides that, the “plaza of the elites” and “plaza of the awesome dream of the great race” are defined by these buildings.\(^{146}\) On the bottom of the sheet showing the ground floor plan is a quotation from Rossi: “….. Memory is the conscience of the city.” It should be added that the project, whose apartment blocks had evident formal similarities with the Monte Amiata Housing in Gallaratese, also touched on Rossi's emphasis on monuments. (Fig. 26) There is also a reference to the theory of urban artifacts whose original functions were replaced by new functions, which was one of the main arguments of L'architettura della città, as illustrated in


\(^{145}\) Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024.

\(^{146}\) These definitions are taken directly from Akay's architectural sheet showing the ground floor. See (Fig. 22).
the so-called megarons, peristyles, and stoas. It can be said that even if these ancient architectural types were not exactly reused in modern times, Akay experimentally makes sense of them.

Enis Kortan, one of the jury members and a long-time instructor of design at METU, reacted to the project with the concepts of chaos and cosmos. While he reserved “cosmos” to Modern architecture which, he argued, aimed at a universal architecture, he criticized Akay's project as representing Postmodern chaos. Kortan wrote “idealism (idealizm)” and “multitude in unity (birlik içinde çokluk)” in capital letters, which can be seen as erased on the sheet, including elevation drawings. These definitions represent the opposition between Modernism and Postmodernism. Also, Kortan drew an architectural mass with pilotis reminiscent of Villa Savoye on the ground floor plan sheet.\(^{147}\) The Modernist characteristic of the faculty's curriculum from the 1970s, in Sibel Bozdoğan’s words, that “modern” architecture was a norm to be adopted by students (without criticizing),\(^{148}\) was still strong. The changing architectural repertoire elsewhere, as illustrated in Mimarlık in those years, has not yet spread to METU faculty.

In the following term, in May 1983, for the studio project, Akay develops a hotel project in Tunalı Hilmi district in Ankara. Akay says he combined the building types from the “East,” illustrated by the caravanserai (kervansaray), and the “West,” illustrated by the rotunda. As seen in the drawing produced for the preliminary jury, these two types are destroyed. Two angels attributed to being from these two worlds control their pieces.\(^{149}\) (Fig. 23) The similarity of the drawing showing the catastrophic moment of destruction with the Architettura Assassinata that Rossi drew many times is evident. (Fig. 27) Also, there is a collage under that. Akay produces an analogical drawing in which he juxtaposes historical drawings and plans of Ankara with borrowed elements from his productions.

Besides that, on both sides of the drawing, quotations by Rossi, Leon Krier, Peter Eisenman, and others are accompanied by names such as local poets Ece Ayhan and Hulki Aktunç.\(^{150}\)

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147 Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024.


149 Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024.

150 For example, Akay quotes a part of Ece Ayhan’s poem expressing the fragility and futility of the distinction between “East” and “West” that two angels represent. “Evet, açılı Doğu açılı! Doğu açılsın,
These are, Akay says, to facilitate and strengthen the reception of what he wanted to express. He conveys that Haluk Pamir, another instructor of design in the faculty, once associated Akay's productions with Sedad Hakkı Eldem adding that Akay's architecture, however, was not Turkish. From that moment on Akay started to utilize some texts in Turkish to intensify the local reception of his architectural drawings. That is, he used the textual elements to explain what his ideas were based on.\footnote{Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024. The modernist opposition of the faculty does not discourage Akay and his friends' wish to explore new directions in architecture through Rossi. In the summer of 1983, Akay goes to Rossi's former office on via Maddalena in Milano to express that he wants to complete his office internship there with a file of his studio projects and sketches. His wish does not come true. Following this summer, in the fall term of the graduation year, Akay draws graffiti with the Russian expression on the sheet in the preliminary jury. Then, jury members see this as disrespect towards them. Thereupon, Enis Kortan tête-à-tête says that Akay will not be able to graduate if he continues like this. See (Fig. 24, 25) for the notes and sketches he produced in his notebook during the summer trip to Italy.}
Figure 20. Zafer Akay, Turgut Çıkış, Murat Aydın and Ufuk Ertem, State Cemetery Competition proposal, 1982.
Figure 21. Zafer Akay, Batıkent Düetçä Housing in Ankara, studio project, January 1983.

Figure 22. Zafer Akay, Batıkent Düetçä Housing in Ankara, studio project, January 1983.
Figure 23. Zafer Akay, Hotel in Tunali Hilmi district in Ankara, studio project, 1983. (edited by author.)
Figure 24. Zafer Akay, the notebook page produced on the trip to Italy, 1983.
Figure 25. Zafer Akay, the notebook page produced on the trip to Italy, 1983.
Figure 26. Aldo Rossi, Monte Amiata Housing in Gallaretese. (edited by the author.)

Figure 27. Aldo Rossi, *Architettura assassina*, 1974.
While Akay and his friends sought ways to discover Rossi, Sibel Bozdoğan worked as a one-year assistant at the Architectural Association between 1983 and 1984 after completing her doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania. During that time, she participated in a symposium in which she described the participants as having a common dissatisfaction with the intellectual complexity and pluralism of post-1970 architecture and a common belief that attitudes reacting against Modern architecture (one of them is *Tendenza*) undermine the overall integrity of architectural culture. She published her assessments about the symposium again in *Mimarlık*. After experiencing various cultural atmospheres in North America and England, she joined METU in 1984 and taught there until 1986. She collaborated with her colleagues on the monograph about Eldem. She also continued to contribute to Mimarlık with two significant articles, but this time under a new theme title: *Beyond the Modern Architecture (Modern Mimarlığın Ötesi)*. She describes these years as follows: “[…] when we prepared that issue (presenting the new themed series), I had just returned to Turkey in 1984. Since I returned with the experience of Philadelphia and London, […] all those new movements were fresh: neo-rationalists, postmodernism, etc. These were all up-to-date things. I made that issue with great pleasure and gave those lectures then. […]”

Bozdoğan holds the established view that the year in which *The Architecture of the City and Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* was published marked a symbolic turning point. She also considers these books as the starting points of the *Modern Mimarlığın Ötesi* series.

The initial appeal of the San Cataldo project to an international community of architects and students was not primarily derived from the project itself but rather from the evocative

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153 This monograph is discussed in 2.2.2. *Melancholy.*


drawings that formed the basis of the competition entry, as Diane Ghirardo states.\textsuperscript{156} Illustrating that, on the cover of the issue, which presented the \textit{Modern Mimariğin Ötesi}, there is one of the drawings of the Modena Cemetery that Rossi drew many times. Besides that, there is a collage on the break cover, \textit{the Analogous City}.\textsuperscript{157} (Fig. 28, 29)

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.45\textwidth]{figure28}
\includegraphics[width=0.45\textwidth]{figure29}
\caption{Figure 28. Cover of \textit{Mimarlık}, 1984/6. Figure 29. Break cover of \textit{Mimarlık} presenting the \textit{Modern Mimariğin Ötesi}, 1984/6. (edited by the author.)}
\end{figure}

The editorial introduces the series as follows: “With the present issue, (\textit{Mimarlık}) aims to initiate a systematic debate on this phenomenon, beginning with presenting the critical standpoint of Neo-Rationalism, which seems to be the most radical and elevated framework of criticism elaborated within the Post Modernist discourse.”\textsuperscript{158} Sibel Bozdoğan writes the introduction text. Firstly, she states that “Modern architecture” was a constructed discourse, that there were different definitions in line with some purposes and programs in the 1920s, and that CIAM presented these differences as a single, homogeneous concept that did not possess contradictions. The representative for this was Siegfried Giedion, who was the “official historian” of the organization. She states that the first turning point, after Team 10’s “reformist”

\begin{flushright}

\textsuperscript{157} Aldo Rossi produced this image with Eraldo Consolascio, Bruno Reichlin, and Fabio Reinhart for the Venice Biennale of Architecture in 1976.

\end{flushright}
efforts to save and justify its Modernist predecessors, was in 1966. She emphasizes the diversity among the contemporaneous attempts. She comments that the “Post Modernist” attitude, which started with Venturi’s “soft manifesto,” also contained many “Post Modernisms.” She regarded the most crucial contribution of Rossi, who constructed the intellectual foundations of “Neo-Rationalist Tendenza,” together with Grassi and Aymonino, as bringing the study of the relationship between architecture and the city and the discussions of building typology and urban morphology to the agenda of architecture. In the end, she stated that those who emerged as a reaction to Modern architecture’s anti-historical and anti-cultural characteristics turned into attitudes stuck in formalism with the idea of the autonomy of architecture, and they were also criticized. So, she said that these all provided credit for rethinking Modernism. That is, they led them to rethink the problems and issues of Modernism in the contemporaneous day.

3.2.1.1. MEDIA

In 1984, when Bozdoğan came to METU, which Zafer Akay describes as the formal beginning of the criticism of Modernism and an empathetic view of Rossi in the faculty, a student magazine called MEDIA began to be published. As Zafer Akay conveys, this magazine was put forward when Haluk Pamir expressed that students needed a medium to say more clearly

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162 In the fall of 1983, the beginning of their graduation year, Akay says that Suha Özkan would be the studio instructor in the faculty at that time. He says some students were glad to learn that because he would understand them and what they wanted to do. However, Özkan was invited to join the team responsible for the Aga Khan Award for Architecture then and had to go abroad. Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024.
what they wanted to do in their studio projects. Hence, the magazine provided a space for students, including Rossi enthusiasts, to express their different ideas.\textsuperscript{163} Also, one of the aims was to convey architectural practice, discussions, and publications outside Turkey.

The first issue has a more pluralistic content compared to the subsequent one. In this one, Ayşen Savaş reviewed Charles Jencks' book, \textit{The Language of Post-Modern Architecture}, as the only content on Postmodernism in architecture.\textsuperscript{164} In the second issue, under the theme called “Typology Studies,” Turgut Çıkış wrote about the historical definitions and uses of the concepts of type and typology, also referring to Atilla Yücel's texts dated 1976 and 1979 and Philippe Panerai's text published in the Çevre journal. Zafer Akay compiled an article on Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand's typology works and translated the Operative Criticism, a chapter of Manfredo Tafuri's book \textit{Theories and History of Architecture}. Sinan Hınçal, a student in International Relations, translated the \textit{Typologishe Probleme} from the German version of \textit{L'architettura della città}.\textsuperscript{165} (Fig. 32) Akay says that one of their essential reference sources in the typology issues was the Istanbul-based Çevre magazine, whose editorial board included Atilla Yücel.\textsuperscript{166} He says that even though they could not closely follow Yücel's architectural works at the time, they were familiar with his typo-morphology based approaches and viewed themselves as his followers in that sense.\textsuperscript{167}

On the cover of the first issue is Leon Krier's drawing that he produced for \textit{Roma Interrotta} in 1977. The second issue's cover is a collage created by Oya Yağmur Aksoy, a student in the city planning department. It features a blend of Rossi's Teatro del Mondo, which was created for the Venice Biennale 1980, bizarre figures, and Turkish and English sentence quotes containing

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{163} Akay says that the first name of the magazine was suggested as "A for Architecture." Moreover, he says that Celal Abdi Güzer, a student assistant, was assigned to "supervise" the students, but Güzer did not impose any limits on them. Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024.
\item\textsuperscript{165} \textit{MEDIA}, April-September 1984, 32-43. Akay says that the German translation of the book was in the library of the German Cultural Center in Ankara. Sinan Hınçal, a friend of this group of architecture students, was a student in the Department of International Relations at Ankara University. They contacted him to translate this chapter since he knew German and was interested in architecture. Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024.
\item\textsuperscript{166} Zafer Akay, “Posture Talk_01: From Media to Post'ure with Zafer Akay(Soundclip),” Podcast (Posture Talk, March 2015), 08.53-09.01., \url{https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NrlbgdGKIVU}. Akay also says that Çevre: \textit{Mimarlık ve Görsel Sanatlar Dergisi}, which he followed during high school, significantly impacted his choice of architecture department at the university. Ibid, 08.06-08.53.
\end{itemize}
expressions about history. (Fig. 30, 31) Akay states that Aksoy had a critical attitude towards Rossi and especially Leon Krier.\textsuperscript{168}

Akay states that while he and his friends were preparing \textit{MEDIA}, they also contributed to the publication process of \textit{Mimarlık}. He says that the journal influenced them in terms of publication and editing issues. They borrowed formal approaches from there.\textsuperscript{169} On the other hand, Akay and Turgut Çıkış created the cover for an issue of \textit{Mimarlık} reserved for architectural criticism in 1985. (Fig. 33)

Considering the references and sources included in all the essays, they were carefully written academic essays for a student magazine. They have voluntarily maintained student endeavors, some of which reacted to the Modernist formation. All these were perhaps a late reaction to the emerging discussions, especially in Europe and North America. That is, the theoretical contents they discussed, as İhsan Bilgin states, referring to Aldo Rossi, were overlooked and disregarded in a general sense in the 1970s in Turkey and had “perhaps” already been concluded, especially in locations above.\textsuperscript{170}

3.2.1.1.2. Academic Production

Later, the faculty’s academic production began to inquire Rossi more, as illustrated in Tansel Korkmaz and Cânâ Bilsel’s master’s theses. In her thesis, Korkmaz emphasized the necessity of redefining the discipline of architecture in order to rebuild the “urban public realm” not as a step between architecture and city planning but through urban architecture as an approach; she stated that \textit{The Architecture of the City} together with \textit{Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture} and \textit{Collage City} written by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter directed the current discussions on urbanism. Besides her reading, she reviewed the book regarding Peter Eisenman’s well-known introduction and Alan Colquhoun’s reading of Rossi.\textsuperscript{171} Referring to the latter, she criticised that the book, which can be a reference source for understanding the city from an architectural perspective along with its formal structure, regarded the city and

\textsuperscript{168} Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024.


buildings as a composition of discontinuous and instantaneous images and that there was no attempt to develop the urban space between buildings.\textsuperscript{172}

Bilsel, on the other hand, formulated a framework for a design proposal in a local historical district in Turkey by comparing the writings of Christopher Alexander, Christian Norberg-Schulz, and Aldo Rossi. While borrowing the concepts of the existence of “central quality,” the “quality” and the concept of “pattern language” from the former, she stated that the city-making process in Alexander, which neglected specialization in general and the profession of architecture, can only be valid in pre-industrial production systems.\textsuperscript{173} In the latter, she referred to the concept of “genius loci,” which is related to the concept of “place,” which creates a meaningful “totality” for human beings, and emphasizes that since this concept is open to changes and new interpretations, the detailed empirical analysis in the location is required.\textsuperscript{174} Furthermore, she referred to Rossi for the typological study to understand the urban formation and artifacts, one of the parts of this analysis study, and to reduce the existing forms to types. However, she stated that more than these Rossian tools are needed for a design in old fabric.\textsuperscript{175} She implies that all these names should complement each other.

As mentioned earlier, the academic environment at METU Faculty of Architecture questioned the problems of meaning in architecture in the 1970s through names such as Amos Rapoport, Christopher Alexander, and Christian Norberg-Schulz.\textsuperscript{176} Hence, I assert that Rossi was also reconciled by such names from the previous decade, as seen in the bibliographies of these two master theses above.

If we take into account how Akay and his friends first discovered Rossi through the University of Louisiana's agenda and then went on to scan through English architectural magazines, how Sibel Bozdoğan, during her Ph.D., immersed herself in the cultural atmospheres of North America and England, how the articles in MEDIA (except Hınçal's German translation) used English references, and how Korkmaz's and Bilsel's master theses and texts in Modern Mimarlığın Ötesi all referred to The Architecture of the City, it becomes apparent that Rossi’s discourses were adopted through the English-speaking countries among architectural circles.

\textsuperscript{172} Ibid, 139.


\textsuperscript{174} Ibid, 21-25.

\textsuperscript{175} Ibid, 14-16.

\textsuperscript{176} It is mentioned in 2.1. Cultural Atmospheres in Local Architectural Milieus.
around *Mimarlık* and during these early periods of METU. This differs from Atilla Yücel's case, who had previously read Rossi's work through the original Italian texts.

![Figure 30. Cover of MEDIA, 1984/1.](image)
Figure 31. Cover of MEDIA, 1984/2.
Figure 32. A page of Turkish translation of “Typologische Probleme” from the German version of L’architettura della città, MEDIA, 1984/2.

Figure 33. Zafer Akay and Turgut Çıkış, Cover of Mimarlık, 1985/1.
3.2.2. Different Definitions

3.2.2.1. Postmodernist or Classicist

For Enis Kortan, “Post Modern” architecture does not have a philosophy or theory; it has nothing to say. It does not have certain principles. Because of this deficiency, it refers to the Modern Movement to define itself and execute its opposite. All it does is to react. Hence, Kortan does not refrain from speaking harshly against “Post Modern” architecture. For him, all these reactionary responses mean returning human beings, who have come a long way on the path of civilization, to the cave where they first came from.177

Kortan once regarded Rossi as a “Postmodernist,” too.178 Later, he took a different attitude towards Rossi and the group of Grassi, Scolari, Krier Brothers and Mathias Unger, defined as architects-urban designers who practice “Rational Architecture,” and for him, they aimed to use urban typologies, spaces, and morphologies suggested by Laugier for the cities of the 18th century in order to make the contemporary cities that have become “corrupted in culture” and “technocratic,” humane and livable again. According to him, Rossi stated that the city that emerges from the successful composition of elements such as streets, arcades, squares, courtyards, neighborhoods, avenues and boulevards, centers, peripheries, and nodes would be a “livable city.”179 This change from Rossi, who represented Postmodern chaos, to Rossi, who made cities that have become “architectural nightmares” more habitable, so to speak, is a subsequent restoration of the honor of Rossi and the Neo-Rationalists by Kortan, a Modernist who internalized the Corbusian view through his entire life.

Sibel Bozdoğan made another critique of Postmodernism in architecture, including Rossi. In an article in which she touches upon the futility of a taxonomic effort to categorize the concept of “post-modernism” as it has numerous fractions, she defines her definition as their opposition to the “Modernist avant-garde”. She describes the commonly acknowledged distinction. Accordingly, on the one hand, there is the side where the term “Post-Modernist” is used more, spoken by people like Charles Jencks, Robert Venturi, and Vincent Scully. On the other side, a fundamentalist attitude sees history as a rational building tradition and an unchanging typologies. Those, Demetri Porphyrios, Italian “Neo-Rationalists,” Leon Krier,


178 It is mentioned in 3.2.1.1. Mimarlık and METU Faculty of Architecture.

etc., aim to “provide architecture the respect it has lost.” This side is more serious-looking, critical, elitist, European, and often carries a nostalgia for the pre-industrial era.\textsuperscript{180}

Reminding that this distinction was the product of a conscious polemic based on the \textit{Architectural Design} magazine and provided advertising to both sides, she defines the American group as “Free Style Classicism,” which is the title of the article written by Venturi, and the European group as “Classicism Is Not a Style” which is the title of the article written by Porphyrios. She states that the common point of the latter is their “anti-eclectic, anti-revivalist” attitudes and their efforts to “investigate the limits of architecture as a rational and tectonic discourse” in the face of “designed Kitsch” that underestimate the history and classicism.\textsuperscript{181} Referring to Porphyrios’s article, she states that Porphyrios and his friends’ “Neo-Rationalism,” mostly of Mediterranean origin, aim to give dignity and justification to classicism as architecture’s sole and unchanging predecessor.\textsuperscript{182}

On the other hand, Bozdoğan says that the border between these two groups was not always so clear, which can be understood from Aldo Rossi's presence in the two issues of the magazine containing these articles or from his participation in the 1980 Venice Biennale, which was called as fair of Post Modernism, and included Charles Jencks and Paolo Portoghesi. She adds that Rossi later emphasized that the Biennial was not a Post Modernist show but an exhibition on the theme of “Presence of the Past.” For her, Rossi differentiated Portoghesi's “post-modernism” from Jencks and Scully's "Post-modernism” and made the discussion an Italian/American issue.

Although the distinction between these fractions may not always be clear for her, she posits that the latter satisfies their ideological and political conscience, engages in futile efforts, and adopts a regressive stance towards late capitalism, which reduces architectural culture to a mere commodity. According to her, both seek shelter amidst the contemporary chaos influencing architecture and may occasionally strive to promote a commercially viable architectural narrative through construction, illustration, or writing. In the end, she asserts that history cannot solve contemporary architecture problems, either as a repository of iconographic forms or as a repertoire of typologies and praises the efforts that seek solutions


\textsuperscript{181} Ibid, 20.

\textsuperscript{182} I comment that in the text, it is difficult to understand if Bozdoğan (Dostoğlu) merely conveys and describes the distinction made according to this polemic in \textit{Architectural Design} or whether she adopts it. Ibid, 21.
to the contemporary crisis of architecture beyond classicism. Ultimately, she concludes that relying solely on historical iconography or typologies cannot solve modern architectural challenges. Instead, she praises those who seek innovative solutions beyond traditional approaches. She highlights the importance of re-evaluating the Habermasian modernity as an incomplete project (yarım kalmış “modernlik projesi”) in a contemporaneous world where history and culture are often commodified, emphasizing the need to examine its social and technological principles rather than just its architectural outcomes.\textsuperscript{183}

In addition to the critiques from Bozdoğan and Kortan regarding Postmodernism in Architecture (though the latter's initially severe stance towards Rossi did soften, particularly concerning the interpretation of urban space), local perspectives also viewed it more empathetically. For example, Mine Kazmaoğlu, an architectural writer who is trained as an architect in Istanbul, and Uğur Tanyeli suggested that “Post-Modernism” was not so much a style or movement but rather a particular way of thinking.” They stated that no typical “language” or design similarity is adopted by “Post-Modernist” architects in the world or Turkey. Accordingly, these architects do not have such a purpose anyway. Their common point is that they reduce architecture to the problem of “finding form.” The methods of doing this are different. Some have no limit, and they produce the form as they wish. Some draw from history or interpret it. Kazmaoğlu and Tanyeli assert that despite their differences, none describe themselves as “progressive” compared to “Modern” architects that aimed to change the world, address social issues, and eliminate bad taste. These architects' primary objective was to focus on architecture rather than extraneous factors.\textsuperscript{184}

3.2.2.2. Heir of Modernism or the Classical

I highlighted the significance of this empathetic perspective towards Postmodernism in architecture, suggested by Kazmaoğlu and Tanyeli. This approach acknowledges and presents facts without any preconceived notions of judgment. Rather than perceiving arbitrariness directly as a negative aspect, it recognizes it as a fact. It emphasizes that Postmodernism is an understanding and worldview. Is it possible to argue that Rossi and Neo-Rationalists are not Postmodern when considering their stance and mindset on certain matters, as illustrated in the discussion presented by Özkaya below?

\textsuperscript{183} Ibid, 22-23.

Belgin Turan Özkaya questions in what ways the “Neo-Rationalist” project, which aims to establish a “rational” system of knowledge production about cities and architecture, can be seen as “scientific.” By excluding Agostino Renna’s formulations and Rossi’s post-1970 formulations when he returns to a more individualistic attitude, she explains that the concept of “science” proposed by them differs from the concept of science in the popular sense, which has a corrective mechanism that can assert absolute, “objective” truth. Hence, she states that if not to feel obliged to be rooted in external reality, this project needs to prove itself about the issue of “legitimation.” Referring to the *Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Özkaya touches upon the difference between “modern” and “postmodern” conceptions of science for Lyotard. Accordingly, while “modern sciences” find their legitimation mechanisms in grand narratives, which they define as metadiscourses, the “postmodern” conception of science stays away from any metanarrative, such as unifying, coherent systems, and performs through limited, local logics. Opposed to the latter, she states, the “Neo-Rationalist” discourse seeks universal, eternal rules and absolute truth, but this cannot be achieved through a limited and local logic. Additionally, they emphasized the “authenticity” and “unique” way of making architecture. Therefore, this approach cannot be classified as “postmodern,” as defined by Lyotard. If they were not Postmodern in this sense, were there other routes in which they (or Rossi) were closer to Modern?

Özkaya discerns the mindset of Rossi, which diverges from the “Postmodern” and is related to the “Modern” with the *Ornamento e Delitto (Ornament and Crime)*, a film that Rossi and his young collaborators produced for the 1973 Milan Triennial. This film was curated with the film *Die Neue Wohnung (The New Dwelling)* by Hans Richter, which promotes Modern life and architecture during the 1930s. She asserts that both films are interested in the “typical” and aim to depict the universal on-screen. While the first film emphasizes the everyday normality of architecture, city life, and people’s experiences, the second strives to achieve

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185 (Ayşe) Belgin Turan Özkaya, “Production of a Discourse: Italian ‘Neo-Rationalism’ as Case Study” (Cornell University Faculty of the Graduate School, Dissertation, 1995), 84-85.


188 Ibid, 196.
universality by portraying typicality. Though their content and messages differ, I argue that their mentality is similar.

Besides that, she also touches upon the position of “Neo-Rationalist” architecture. She states that although they reacted against some aspects of “Modernism,” they did not utterly reject it. On the contrary, they learned from some “Modernist” trends formed in the architectures of Adolf Loos, Le Corbusier, Jacobus Oud, and “German Rationalists.” Hence, she suggests, they see themselves as heirs of them. For the “Neo-Rationalists” who rescued the form, these names were people who comprehended the importance of form and “aesthetic intentionality.” Hence, she states that their opposition to psychological, political, and Pop-art interpretations of post-war architectural trends was much more vigorous than early German “Modernism.”

İhsan Bilgin also assesses Rossi’s discourse and architecture through the lens of “Modernist” influences or rejections in Rossi, offering an alternative interpretation without labelling it as Postmodern. In an article co-authored by local architect Mehmet Karaören, they quote Rossi’s statement, “the problems of Modernism are also our problems because they all stand before us unresolved.” For them, it highlights that Rossi did not postpone the problems and questions of Modernism and put them into serious contemplation. They stated that Modernism has long struggled to overcome the eclecticism (seçmecilik) that has been influential since the 18th century. This eclecticism has led to the destruction and degeneration of objects and the elimination of their causes. They assert that Rossi recognized the need to confront this eclectic break to achieve authenticity. Accordingly, without doing so, the future would be plagued by stylisticism, empty analogies, and gratuitousness. For them, by acknowledging the tear (yank) that still existed, Rossi avoided the naive hope offered by his contemporaries and sought a proper understanding of the situation. He aimed to understand the questions and problems of the beginning of the century, reconstruct it, and draw an alternative path to it. Indeed, I emphasize that the Walter Benjamin quote placed at the beginning and ending sequences of

189 (Ayşe) Belgin Turan Özşap, “Production of a Discourse: Italian ‘Neo-Rationalism’ as Case Study” (Cornell University Faculty of the Graduate School, Dissertation, 1995), 31.

190 Mehmet Karaören acquired a restoration training program at ICCROM in Rome from 1980 to 1982. As Deniz Güner comments, this experience contributed to the duo’s field of interest, particularly in their exposure to Italian architectural milieus and the works of the Neo-Rationalists. Deniz Güner, “yazar, akademisyen, tasarımcı ve yöneticili kimlikleriyle prof. dr. ihsan bilgin,” Betonart: Beton, Mimarlık ve Tasarım, (74) 2022, 60.


192 This discussion is furthered in 3.2.3.2. İhsan Bilgin and Defter. Ibid, 61-63.
the *Ornamento e Delitto*, the film, as emphasized by Özkaya, also supports the argument that Rossi's intention to understand the underpinnings of Modernism and its conditions.¹⁹³

Bilgin and Karaören suggest that despite Rossi’s desire to confront Modernism and not engage in polemics with it, he still sometimes took a cautious or critical position and drew boundaries between himself and it. According to them, he later negotiated his potentially polemical attitude, as illustrated in the chapter “Critique of Naive Functionalism” in *The Architecture of the City*, by considering certain Modernists differently.¹⁹⁴ (Fig. 34) For example, in the text Rossi prepared for the *Architettura Razionale* exhibition, which he conducted at the 1973 Milan Triennial, they assert that Rossi showed his non-polemic attitude by including quotes from Modernists such as Adolf Loos, Hans Schmidt, Moisei Ginzburg, Jacobus Oud, and Adolf Behne, along with Ernesto Nathan Rogers. Also, by including Behne's comparative argument for “rationalism” and “functionalism” at the beginning of the text, Rossi implied the need to clarify the difference between these concepts, which were generally confused within Modernism.¹⁹⁵

They argue that Rossi’s further goal, considering “Modernism,” was to distinguish between the type within it and the *prototype* (establishing the object on the representational plane to be reproduced before its realization in the production area, a preliminary model of many copies) hidden behind functionalism. Functionalism, they say, provided society with a comforting suggestion amidst the destruction, degeneration, and aimlessness of objects' existence. However, it did not offer a solution to change this. Instead, it concealed that the only thing a new “norm” produced with the *prototype* could do was facilitate industrial production's operation. Functionalism exemplified the “norm” that modern industrial design practices could eliminate the difference between a matchbox and a building by following the prototype's concept. They emphasize that functionalism and rationalism were often interchangeable in meaning in central and northern Europe in the 1920s. The *type* was stuck between

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¹⁹³ The conveyed quote is as follows: “I, however, am distorted by similarity to all that surrounds me here. Thus like a mollusk in its shell I had my abode in the nineteenth century, which now lies hollow before me like an empty shell. I hold it to my ear.” Belgin Turan Özkaya, “Visuality and Architectural History,” in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 186, 197.


¹⁹⁵ Ibid, 63-65.
traditionalism and being a prototype, the architecture of the city (şehir mimarisi), and the Fordist production technique, and was directed towards the industry's priorities. Hence, they state that Rossi sought to rescue the type and demonstrate the “Neo-Rationalism (Yeni-Akalçılık)” he advocated and its truth through archetypes.\textsuperscript{196}

Moreover, Bilgin and Karaören discuss that one of the other examples of Rossi's non-polemical confrontation with Modernism is the early Monte Amiata Housing in Gallaratese. (Fig. 35) According to them, the building's uninterrupted 182-meter extension without any protrusions or recesses is a scale that even Mies van der Rohe or Le Corbusier would not dare to design. Interestingly, this design can only be found in Hilberseimer's representational paintings. Accordingly, the building's anonymity is emphasized by its simplicity, scarcity, and continuity created by the window gaps and columns underneath them. However, the continuity is broken in the middle by a dilatation joint that is too wide, disrupting the repetition and the obviousness. Nonetheless, they say, the initial image of a centerless, featureless, and modern form remains. In contrast to Le Corbusier's pilotis that create transparency and continuity, the columns in this building cast shadows on each other and invite darkness and the uncanny. The windows are square rather than Modernist horizontal bands created to multiply light and sun.

\textsuperscript{196} Ibid, 65-67.

\textbf{Figure 34.} The page showing Adolf Loos' Looshaus in Vienna and Aldo Rossi's Casa Aurora office block in Turin, Defter, 1984 (18).

\textbf{Figure 35.} The page showing Monte Amiata Housing in Gallaratese, Defter, 1984 (18).
Thus, they assert that the building begins to become a “classic.” This state of being classic coexists with the Modern images created initially, interrupted but not forgotten.197

Rossi’s architecture as classical, however, is discussed by Doğan Kuban and Günkut Akın, architectural historians, who explore the concepts of “simplicity (yalınlık)” and “classic (klasik)” in both “Eastern” and “Western” architecture. Kuban notes that the roots of “classic” in European culture can be traced back to Greek and Roman antiquity, with literature, art, history, form, column and heading arrangements, and proportions all playing a role. Some rules and theories dictated these elements. He comments that while architectural activity begins with conceptual thought and an abstract design system, architectural objects evolve and transform by referencing each other. In that sense, he says, the concept of "classic" is related to classicism, and classicism is Europe itself, with all the various classicisms throughout its history. On the other hand, Kuban asserts that Rossi has the “classic” that can be seen in many periods in history, not the “classicism (klasisizm).” This is due to Rossi’s intellectual “simplicity” and the conscious abstraction that he employs.

In contrast, Kuban argues that the Ottoman Empire did not produce work that aligned with the traditional definition of “classic.” However, he notes that particular examples of Iznik or Bursa buildings and tomb structures in Anatolia exhibit a pragmatic and non-intellectual “simplicity” that was absent in Europe, except in a few instances and distinctive to Rossian “simplicity.”

Conversely, Akın inquires for an object-oriented questioning freed from theoretical underpinnings and he suggests that a type of “classic” or “simplicity” exists within “us,” which are manifested through a scarcity of form and content.198 The significance of Akın’s questioning, which ignores theory, is heightened by his 1984 dissertation of the issue of meaning in the indigenous house types found in Turkey’s Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions. These houses were not only archaeological discoveries but also still in use at the time. It is worth noting that Akın’s study, written during a time when local and global architectural communities were discussing related topics, delves into concepts that are directly connected to Rossian discourse and architecture, including the archetype, type, typology, memory, and meaning without a concern to relate with Rossi.199

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197 Ibid, 49-51.


Moreover, in contrast to the discussion questioning Rossi’s position towards Modern Architecture, Atilla Yücel offers a partly anachronistic view towards Modern Architecture with Rossian concepts.\footnote{I do not use “anachronistic” in a negative sense. I used it to mean questioning Le Corbusier’s historical projects with more contemporaneous concepts.} In an article examining the Mediterranean’s possible contributions to Le Corbusier’s emotional sensitivity, intellectual receptiveness, and artistic responsiveness, Yücel analyzes his architectural and written production through archetype, type, and memory. He argues that old and new productions of typologies, from the definitions of French theorists such as Quatremère de Quincy to the suggestions of Early Modernists such as Alexander Klein, to the productions of Neo Rationalists such as Aldo Rossi and Giorgio Grassi, and from there to more contemporary critical discussions of the likes of Rafael Moneo and Anthony Vidler, can be traced in Le Corbusier’s various projects.\footnote{Atilla Yücel, “Archetypes and Typologies: A Glimpse to the Multi-Layered Production of Le Corbusier,” in \textit{A Swiss in the Mediterranean the Cyprus Talks on Le Corbusier}, ed. Ayşe Öztürk and Atilla Yücel (İstanbul: Cyprus International University, Mas Matbaacılık, 2015), 6.} He contends that Le Corbusier’s architecture is abundant in archetypes and typology resources with a deep history; he reproduces them and even produces new and innovative types.\footnote{Ibid, 7.} For him, this process and result do not involve a direct transfer of forms and patterns or a naive formal analogy. Instead, forms and patterns are subjected to conceptual evaluation and have a poetic use.\footnote{Ibid, 8.} Consequently, he states that all these cannot be included in a simplified stereotypical categorization considering Le Corbusier’s works.\footnote{Ibid, 10.} Based on that, it can be said that Atilla Yücel’s exploration of the leading names of Modern Architecture in his later periods is also informed by the theoretical framework including Italian typo-morphologists from his early period discussed above.\footnote{It is discussed in \textit{3.1. Atilla Yücel and the Concepts of Type and Typology}.}

Moreover, Yücel once did not consider Rossi to be a Postmodern.\footnote{It is mentioned in \textit{3.1.2. Resistance to “Postmodern” Architecture}.} I assert that this is, in a sense, a further review of his statement. That is, it is legitimate to say that Yücel implies that an architect like Rossi, who incorporates the concepts that can underlie Le Corbusier’s architecture as his theoretical foundation, cannot be classified as Postmodern. However, it is essential to acknowledge that Yücel does not view Rossi’s architecture as having a singular
style. He also acknowledges the presence of mannerism in Rossi’s later works as discussed in the following pages.\textsuperscript{207}

### 3.2.3. Different Approaches of Local Milieus

Gülru Necipoğlu, an architectural historian, mentions that the common idea about Sinan’s “modernist sensibility and universal values of his style” has a restrictive effect on understanding his architecture. According to the disciplinary tradition constructed by Ottomanist architectural historians, who generally have an architectural formation, Necipoğlu states that his architecture with various domed spaces has more than the meanings that the specific contexts in which they are located can produce. For her, therefore, these architectural historians favor a global comparison of these buildings with ones distant from their location and think a culturally specific and contextual reading will reduce their magnificence. Accordingly, his mosques are generally classified according to the planimetric form of the structures on which they rise and the spatial typology of their domes, and this approach tends to overlook other formal components that may differentiate these buildings, such as smaller domes, porticoes, galleries, fenestration, and facades. She states that it also fails to consider variations in scale, elevation, siting, patronage level, functional programme, decoration, epigraphy, and iconography, all contributing to unique design solutions with contextual significance.\textsuperscript{208}

Referring that Aldo Rossi has compared the architectural type to the deep structure in language in terms of enabling legibility and preserving collective memory, Necipoğlu emphasizes that typology is currently viewed positively as a tool for cultural memories and a factor that contributes to the significance of architecture through various layers of meaning. She states that while types may seem to prioritize uniformity, the typological design process involves refining the elements of a type to achieve a distinct character for each individual work. For her, Sinan's mosques exemplify this, serving as both a series of typologies and unique productions with particular contextual meanings that have largely been lost over time as can be traced through various historical Ottoman sources such as costume albums, a pictorial genre, miniature-painted portraits of the sultans and texts.\textsuperscript{209}

\textsuperscript{207} It is discussed in 4.2.1. \textit{Neo-Rationalism and Mannerism}.

\textsuperscript{208} Gülru Necipoğlu, \textit{The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire} (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 15–16.

\textsuperscript{209} Ibid, 123.
3.2.3.1. Borders of Architecture and Architectural History

Drawing upon Necipoğlu's mediating way of referring to Rossi, that is, the convergence of mere architectural typology and contextual meanings, I trace how an architect and theorist like Rossi, who acknowledges the significance of sociological and economic analysis, e.g. in understanding the city but is celebrated for highlighting the prominence of architectural investigation with the tools of type and typology which are inherent to the “autonomous” realm of architecture, is regarded by architectural historians and other intellectuals with a presupposed non-architectural lenses in Turkey in the following part.

On the one hand, Belgin Turan Özkaya approaches Rossi and the Neo-Rationalists through the questions of why and how with the original sources. She traces the reasons for the discursive or architectural phenomena and draws attention to the inconsistencies between these two types of phenomena or within themselves. For example, she claims that the “Neo-Rationalist” discourse, which asserts autonomy from the historical and external conditions which are outside the internal purely aesthetic stimuli of architecture, actually carries traces of these and asks the following question: “Why did such an architectural discourse with a borrowed rhetoric appear in the sixties, at that particular historical conjuncture?” Or, she argues that “Neo-Rationalists,” who aim to build “rational” architecture and “urban science” by producing architecture and architectural knowledge consistently and systematically, do not provide a reason for this, that is, why architecture should be a science. Alternatively, as illustrated in Rossi’s discussion of the argument that physical space and the “architecture” of the city include “collective memory” as part of itself. She conveys Rossi’s quote from Jacob Burckhardt: “[I]n what way does history speak through art? It does so primarily through architectural monuments, which are the willed expression of power, whether in the name of the State or of religion. A people can be satisfied with a Stonehenge only until they feel the need to express themselves in form. […] Thus the character of whole nations, cultures, and epochs speaks through the totality of architecture, which is the outward shell of their being.” Özkaya asserts that such a conception of physical space raises an old hermeneutical question about how “history” can be read from physical space or the form of architecture. Or, she asks the following question about Rossi, who is known for his productions on different media as well

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210 (Ayşe) Belgin Turan Özkaya, “Production of a Discourse: Italian ‘Neo-Rationalism’ as Case Study” (Cornell University Faculty of the Graduate School, Dissertation, 1995), 208. See Özkaya’s referring to Louis Althusser’s concept of “social formation.” With this concept, she discusses the relationship of aesthetic discourse to other social practices such as politics, economy and ideology. Ibid, 1-16.

211 Ibid, 49-50.

212 Ibid, 102.
as his built architectural works: “How do the suggestive, visionary “spaces” of the painting and the photographic and his not well-known involvement with filmic “space” illuminate the architecture of Rossi?”

Aykut Köksal, in the article, Rossi Tarihçilere Yol Gösteriyor (Rossi Guides Historians), argues that Rossi and other Italian morphologists such as Muratori and Aymonino offer an essential key to historians, architectural historians and conservationists working on the city and its historical topography. He states that Rossi points to the internal logic of the urban form, its formation and development processes. To do so, Rossi employs the notion of “urban artifact (kentsel yapı)” that brings to light the inherent relationships of all the elements of the city and the monument, which carries a semantic (anlamsal) load with its constituent characteristics in the totality. Köksal posits that Rossi’s approach critiques the methodologies of urban historians who “fail to see the city.” For him, the historian's analysis of the city depends on written information such as the available travel book (seyahatname) or visual documents such as miniatures. He states that this approach, which excludes the city's memory that can be revealed through morphological analysis, carries the danger of being limited to its fictional reality plane, far from the city’s real history. Accordingly, for example, Alexander Van Millingen suggested the existence of the Septimius Severis Wall based on Byzantine written sources at the end of the 19th century. At the same time, Wolfgang Müller-Wiener re-studied the same sources to prove that this wall did not actually exist. However, Köksal asserted, this is quite easy to prove with an urban reading. Or, he mentions that there were people who had never been to Istanbul, even once among the French priests like (Rodolphe) Guillard, who worked on the Byzantine topography of Istanbul in the early 20th century. Köksal concludes that when conservationists look at the historical city as a “total structure (bütünsel bir yapı)” instead of a “collection of old buildings,” they will realize that what needs to be preserved is the “memory of the city” beyond the visible and that any monument must be preserved concerning the whole.

On the one hand, although these examples of Istanbul's historical urban topography are illustrative, it is legitimate to ask the following questions about this article, which sometimes include didactic expressions: What are the other real histories of the city? Where does the legibility stand in the issue of “revealing” the city's memory with the morphological investigation? Besides Necipoğlu's discussion on the evaluation of type and typology together


with contextual criteria mainly acquired through documents, in his text, I comment that Köksal, as an architectural historian, approaches Rossi operatively in a restrictive way.

Uğur Tanyeli's approach to Rossi could be described as analytical, as evidenced in his 1991 essay, as will be seen later. However, on this page, it is worth noting that with Rossi, Tanyeli goes beyond the empathetic stance towards Postmodernism in architecture. Instead, he makes a critical statement by highlighting Rossi's unique qualities compared to others. That is to say, for Tanyeli, "Rossi's architecture, based on typologies, stands out as the attitude that most seriously addresses the problem of meaning among all “Post-Modernist” tendencies.” While other “Post-Modernist” architects tend to embrace an effortless eclecticism, Rossi could demonstrate that form's richness is an illusion. Tanyeli states that he recognized that meaning is not something hidden in the form but that what creates meaning is inherent in every historical or current association caused by the form. Furthermore, Tanyeli comments that few architectural images of his minimalist attitude could be more “meaningful” than the multitude of references in, for example, Charles Moore's Piazza d'Italia. Rossi is one of the rare contemporary architects who discovered that spending many “words” to say a critical “word” is unnecessary. He states that because Rossi knew that meaningful architecture is a message (bildirim) that activates the brain rather than distracting the senses, he has an architecture much less sensational (sansasyonel) than Robert Venturi's but much more complex and perhaps impossible to sustain in this era.

Tanyeli and Köksal were on the editorial board of the architectural magazine Arredamento Dekorasyon, where their abovementioned texts were published at that time. The cover title of the section committed to Rossi was “End-Of-Century Poet (Yüzyıl Sonu Ozanı).” This was a reference to the title of the text, “The End of the Century Finds a Poet,” written by Vincent Scully as an introduction to a Rossi monograph. (Fig. 36) Likewise, in the same issue, Tanyeli writes travel writing about his architectural tour, aptly titled “Homage A Rossi (Rossi'ye Saygı).” (Fig. 37) He traces the architectural memory of Chicago, one of the American cities he says seems to have been specially designed to disturb (or affirm) Aldo Rossi's belief in urban memory (kentsel bellek). It is literally a greeting to Rossi, and I

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215 It is mentioned in 3.2.2.1. Postmodernist or Classicist.


217 Vincent Scully, “Introduction: The End of the Century Finds a Poet,” in Aldo Rossi Buildings and Projects, ed. Peter Arnell and Ted Bickford (New York: Rizzoli New York, 1985), 12–13. The photo of Rossi under the chapter title, “End-Of-Century Poet,” was also borrowed from this book. (Fig. 36)
comment that Tanyeli seems to have complemented Köksal’s advice that architectural historians should benefit from the physicality of the built environment.218

3.2.3.2. İhsan Bilgin and Defter

“Unfortunately, the discussions held in Mimarlık between 1981 and 1984 by Haldun Ertekin, Mehmet Adam, Sibel-Haldun Dostoğlu, İhsan Bilgin and their colleagues, despite their rich theoretical level, were not adequately recognized within architectural circles and failed to leave a lasting impression. While the coup d’etat in 1980 may have contributed, other factors are likely at play.” A local architect comments on how the new dynamic process in Mimarlık, which started in the early 80s and captured the Postmodernism in architecture discussions that later led to the launch of the Modern Mimarlığın Ötesi, resulted in this way.219 Bilgin


219 This period is discussed in 3.2.1. Rossi Becomes More Popular. “Ne yazık ki 1981-1984 yılları arasında, Haldun Ertekin, Mehmet Adam, Sibel-Haldun Dostoğlu, İhsan Bilgin ve arkadaşlarınca
contributed to this period with original and translated texts and by participating in interviews;\textsuperscript{220} a few years later, in a different intellectual environment, he began to contribute to another magazine, which started publishing in 1987, with literature, history, politics, philosophy, architecture and city themed content: \textit{Defter}.

Years later, İskender Savaşır, a psychotherapist writer, expresses the founding mission of the journal, which includes people from different disciplines, as a research of the continuity of the Renaissance with subjective words. He illustrates it by Bilgin’s article \textit{Görünmeyen Şehirler} (\textit{Invisible Cities}), in which he analyzes the stages in which the city ceased to be a tool of cultural attachment for its inhabitants after the 17th century, in the first issue and translation of \textit{Ütopia Karşısında Venedik (Venice versus Utopia)} by Lewis Mumford.\textsuperscript{221} Besides that, it is evident that the content of the journal regards the discussions of Postmodernism and Modernism, which are interconnected with the prevailing cultural, social, economic, political, historical, and urban circumstances locally and abroad.\textsuperscript{222}

Similar to how a generation of young architects, including Bilgin, contributed to the liberation and expansion of architectural discourse in Turkey from the social issues of the previous decades since the early 80s, such a relationship is established between him and those who contribute to the \textit{Defter}. While Bilgin finds himself in intense literature discussions,\textsuperscript{223} Orhan Koçak, writer and critic, says that he acquired his first “culture” on the issue of city and

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\textsuperscript{223}Tansel Korkmaz et al., “konuşma, yap!,” \textit{Betonart: Beton, Mimarlık ve Tasarım}, (74) 2022, 13, 17.
architectural integrity from Bilgin's master's and doctoral theses. He suggests that to comprehend Bilgin, it is essential to think about the relationship between architecture and writing. However, since he means a person who listens to his “inner voice” while writing and has a style (üslup), all that remains for Bilgin from Ruskins, Loos, Le Corbusier and Jencks are Morris and Aldo Rossi, who are his favorites. After Rossi’s death, Bilgin published a text in memoriam for him in the book and criticism magazine, of which Koçak is the editor-in-chief. Years later, Savaşır taught undergraduate and graduate courses at Bilgi University Faculty of Architecture, where Bilgin contributed significantly to founding.

In short, in such an intellectual milieu, Bilgin wrote articles on architecture and the city with translated texts and co-authored one of the most comprehensive texts written in Turkey about Rossi, *Aldo Rossi’de Akl ve Hafıza*.

The issue's cover featured *Morning Sun*, a painting by Edward Hopper renowned for his realist urban paintings in the 20th century. (Fig. 38) Besides Bilgin and Karaören's Rossi text, other texts have similar Postmodernism-related themes, including one by Orhan Koçak. In his piece, Koçak writes an article in which he argues that Postmodernism is not a fleeting trend and that if the promises of Modernism have not been realized, it has not disappeared completely. Instead, by referring to Habermas, he states that Modernism endures as an “incomplete project,” persistently challenging humanity to explore fresh avenues of realization. He comments that any unresolved issues that Modernism suppressed may resurface through the fissures of the movement when it wanes or dissolves. So, he says, Postmodernism, in many ways, can be seen as the resurgence of things disregarded or excluded.


by Modern (society) without being addressed.228 Here, there is an apparent resemblance with İlhan Bilgin and Mehmet Karaören's reading of Rossi in terms of Rossi regarding that the problems of Modernism are still current and choosing to confront them without polemics as mentioned earlier.229 Instead of making a strict distinction between Modernism and Postmodernism, they focus on the continuity dimension of the internal ruptures that took place in architecture in the Modern period, extending to the Postmodern period.230

Continuing the discussion, Koçak posits that the erosion of “modernism” led to the displacement of temporal concepts with spatial ones and thought (düşünce) and life became spatial.231 İskender Savaşır touches on spatiality from another perspective, stating that while architecture was in a position within “modernism” that could not separate itself from the modernization project and big industrial moves, it declared its autonomy with Postmodernist culture.232 On the other hand, Koçak says that the passage of time is an essential theme in “modernist” art. However, in Postmodern, it disappears through mental and material transformation. It is the presence of elements that do not transform into each other, do not flow into each other, but stand side by side.233 Regarding Le Corbusier's “constructions (konstrüksiyon),” he states that the effort to produce and create everything from nothing, from the abstract possibilities of the mind, the faculty of design and the opportunities offered by new materials, is a condescending attitude towards the past. Nonetheless, for him, Le Corbusier's intentional negation of history “announces” the passage of time even more strongly. The contrast between the reinforced concrete and glass construction and the natural and historical texture turns time and the past into a part of the view, a “sense of horizon” that is never wholly lost. He says this can be seen better in Chirico's paintings. He states that the contrast between the vertical factory chimneys and the horizontality of the land and old buildings in his paintings expresses an unquenchable longing for the lost nature and the womb


229 It is mentioned in in 3.2.2.2. Heir of Modernism or the Classical.


231 Koçak, Modernizm ve Postmodernizm, 14.


233 Koçak, Modernizm ve Postmodernizm, 14.
and that history is not gone but is not coming back either. Postmodern architecture, for him, on the other hand, attempts to preserve history by plundering past styles to keep history alive, even though it has sometimes given successful (architectural) examples. However, what they manage to do cannot even be a history museum; they only offer a “Disneyland of history.”

Bilgin also addresses this topic, noting that American “postmodernism” has transformed the debris of the “modernist project” - which focused on expanding construction and furthering organized capital - into a festival of entertainment. He states that it is up to Europeans like Aldo Rossi, Giorgio Grassi, Oswald Mathias Ungers, with his works, and Manfredo Tafuri, with his early writings, to pick up the pieces of the wreckage. An effort to take responsibility and show the limits, to sort out, and to establish oneself by incorporating the impossibilities of “modernism.” According to Bilgin, perhaps for this reason, these are the real “modernists” in architecture, with a stance that has internalized stumbling.

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**Figure 38.** Cover of Defter showing *Morning Sun* by Edward Hopper, 1992 (18).

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234 Ibid, 16.

235 Bilgin et al., Çelişki ve Fark: Modernizm ve Postmodernizm Üzerine Söyleşi, 89.
4.1. Autonomy of Medium

Beatriz Colomina says that while thinking about the spaces of “modern” architecture, it is necessary to question the concept of representation and think of architecture as a representation system or a convergence of representation systems. However, she reminds us that this approach does not trivialize the architectural object, a building. She states that if the building is already a representation mechanism, approaching it through drawings, photographs, writings, films, and advertisements will bring us closer to the building but in a different way than the traditional view that only looks at it. In other words, architecture is not only an object to be looked at, but it can also be experienced and inhabited by a viewer, whether a user, visitor, neighbor, critic or reader of architectural publications through the spaces of different representation systems.

Such an approach not only rejects the oppositions between different mediums of representation, such as visual and discursive, and the bodily experience of space in an authentic term but also provides fruitful transitional intersections to be questioned between these different forms of representation, specifically for an architect like Aldo Rossi, who has a wide range of media production including drawings, paintings and writings as well as his buildings in the second half of the century, when media production, dissemination and consumption were much more rapid than at the beginning.

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4.1.1. Drawing and Painting

The year after 1981, when Colomina began to question and write about the intricate relationships between the representation systems and the architectural object as mentioned above, Korhan Gümüş ve Behiç Ak wrote an article in which they argued that the history of design has become independent from the history of a design object such as a building, that design is no longer just an activity related to the object, but design can be “designed” as well, and that discourses on the object have replaced the discourses of objects.

They suggest a neutral stance between “reflective (yansıtmacı)” approaches, which view spatial structures as reflections of social structures, and attribute the formation of form to “external” factors such as function, technology, and health rules, and “creative (yaratmacı)” approaches, which consider spatial structures as independent of social structures. Compared to these, architecture is a “relatively autonomous field of knowledge,” and design is both a reflection and a creation. Therefore, they suggest that it is necessary to consider contemporary design concepts and their architectural reflections within their tools, practices and “knowledge production style.”

They say that in contrast to the practices of the 17th century, where individuals established face-to-face relationships with spaces they could recognize, modern society engages with spaces as general objects through fragmented views and various lenses. Individual’s thoughts in the contemporaneous world operate not on objects but on planes that represent objects; their mental activity becomes independent from its object and dependent on a representative object, such as the painting, a medium. In fact, by referring to Françoise Choay, they state that painting had already begun to represent space, just as space began to be written and described before being realized after the 15th century in the West. However, with the

239 Colomina, Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media, ix.
241 The first group includes Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Adolf Loos, Mies Van Der Rohe, Jean Prouve, Piano-Rogers, C.F. Murphy Ass etc. The second group includes Le Corbusier, Antoni Gaudí, Oscar Niemeyer, Kisho Kurokawa, Rob/Lion Krier, Venturi/Rauch, etc. Ibid, 29.
242 Ibid, 30.
243 Ibid, 28.
development of reproduction techniques, it gained new possibilities and became a medium for society rather than for specific people. Simultaneously, it ceased to merely represent and acquired the representation/transformation function.244

On the other hand, they state that “design in its current sense (that is, architecture, industrial design, urbanism) was discovered not by people who deal with the object of design (builders, carpenters, craftsmen) but by professionals such as painters who can look at the objects of design from the outside. In other words, people from other professions who were not directly involved in construction discovered it. From that point on, design became something “designed” rather than something “lived” [...] (Mediums such as) painting, on the one hand, formed a part of the space; on the other hand, it could represent the space. Stone also had such a possibility, but it could also represent other elements of space directly on the object of production just like decorations.”245

Based on all this, they assert that mental activity and design cannot be an autonomous practice and cannot acquire autonomy without having tool-planes (araç düzlem) (or medium) that are “useful for thinking,” such as pictures and architectural sheets as illustrated by Aldo Rossi’s drawing, a cityscape. Or “architecture as a kind of painting: ‘paper architecture’ represents the space and has meaning as a painting.”246 (Fig. 39)

Indeed, for Rossi, architecture was not only confined to the physical buildings he designed but also extended to the drawings he produced and reproduced over the years.247 Drawing, painting, collage, and sketching are integral to disentangling visual information and developing effective methods for perceiving and producing architecture. These activities may

244 Ibid, 29.


occur prior to or following the physical construction of a structure.248 His drawings (with the others) focus on the dramatic representation of architectural design, emphasizing the freedom from being solely driven by technique and function.249 Hence, as Germano Celant states, the absence of architecture in studies and unbuilt projects, particularly for public competitions, is compensated by the drawings and paintings that almost replace it, evoking its essence250 as will be illustrated in a local case.

249 Ibid, 11.
250 Ibid, 16.
Belgin Turan Özkaya likewise argues that there is a visual logic among Rossi’s transdisciplinary productions, from flat surfaces of paintings and photographs to the “spaces” of architecture and film, and his openness to any medium is essential for understanding his architecture. Among these mediums, in which architecture is only one part, by utilizing visible fragments from diverse contexts, he uncovers their hidden potential and manipulates the established vocabulary to produce a “new” totality, interdisciplinary approach.

On the one hand, Özkaya considers Rossi’s view of painting as a source of inspiration. By referring to *I Quaderni Azzurri*, she conveys that for Rossi, De Chirico’s, and Mario Sironi’s cityscape paintings are as instructive as the city itself (with city plans and urban objects). Both painters realized that new significations could be created from pre-existing urban and architectural forms and types. Özkaya asks what these painters, the castles, piazzas, and arcades of the former, and the city edges, warehouses and gasometers of the latter, can teach architects. Based on Rossi’s remarks, she discusses that these paintings should be seen concerning the typology and morphology studies he carried out with his colleagues in the 1960s and 1970s as a source of various city parts, urban artefacts, and typologies.

On the other hand, with the concept of “analogical city,” which Rossi developed based on the Venetian painter Antonio Canaletto’s well-known *Capriccio with Palladian buildings*, depicting an imaginary, fictitious Vicenza landscape, Özkaya argues that Rossi utilizes “analogical thinking” as a design technique and a means of comprehending the city’s unique constituents and varied typologies. Related to this, she comments that for Rossi, “architectural composition” is a means to develop unity in his architectural productions, as he repeatedly draws and modifies the borrowed elements and types from his previous works and existing urban structures. She points out that for him, the concept of “architectural composition” is not limited to architecture but is also valid for pictorial practice.

From a different perspective, Uğur Tanyeli’s comparison of Rossi with a child painter (çocuk-ressam) can be examined in terms of reproducing his compositions’ elements in the paintings


252 Ibid, 194.


and drawings and understanding their raison d'être. Tanyeli explains that by utilizing the concept of archetype, Rossi aims to reduce architecture to just before its point of existence. If this reduction process is taken further, only abstract geometric forms will remain, and the architectural product will vanish. Thus, Tanyeli draws an analogy between Rossi's work and the abstraction processes of child painters. Despite reducing realities to their last degree of recognition, child painters still manage to shape them into forms that can be perceived as objects or beings. According to Tanyeli, the house is an isosceles triangle resting on a rectangle, the human being is four symmetrical bars attached to a vertical line. The window is a square divided into four horizontal and vertical lines. Like child painters, Tanyeli says, Rossi does not attempt to revolutionize the images he learns but reproduces them. In other words, while the child painter makes abstraction without purpose, he tries to achieve the same effect through reasoning.

As mentioned, his drawings and paintings almost replaced the buildings in particular public competitions. Indeed, it is legitimate to say that Rossi's architectural objects, in addition to the general situation spread through architectural, technical drawings or photographs of executed buildings, can be spread through non-precision drawings and paintings. Their realm of existence was corresponded empathetically and appropriated in the architectural milieus in Turkey, as evidenced by their prominent display in Modern Mimarinin Ötesi. (Fig. 28, 29) Another example of this can be found in the different issue of Mimarlık magazine in 1991, in which a text compiled the proposals of architects asked to suggest new urban planning and exemplary architectural solutions for the city center of Berlin via Potsdamer Platz and Leipziger Platz in 1990. While all participating architects were illustrated with technical drawings, 3D renderings or models, only Rossi's analogical drawing, which is far from precise, was presented. Moreover, the original drawing had a precise urban plan. However, it was excluded intentionally in the editing process. (Fig. 40, 41)


257 Ibid, 111.

Figure 40. The page showing the part of Potsdamer Platz and Leipziger Platz drawing by Aldo Rossi.

Figure 41. Aldo Rossi, Proposal for Potsdamer Platz and Leipziger Platz in Berlin, 1990.
4.1.2. Uncanny Images or Life

Rossi's works across various media, as well as his built structures, have received architectural reception within both local and international architectural circles, as previously noted. I emphasized whether this recognition was a privilege that Rossi had. Now, we can assess whether this acclaim was beneficial or disadvantageous by examining the manner and media in which local architect Selim Veliöğlu has spoken of Rossi.

Veliöğlu explores the “Rossian melancholy” theme in Rossi’s architectural productions, examining it through the lens of contemporary ontology’s core existential categories. Specifically, he refers to the work of Nicolai Hartmann, a German philosopher who developed a pluralistic, humanistic realism. Hartmann also posits that human beings comprised inorganic, organic, psychic, and spiritual layers of existence.259

First of all, Velioğlu discusses that disciplines such as Environmental Psychology, and Sociology and Ontology, a branch of philosophy, which developed after the Modern period, have influenced architecture in several ways.260 These include establishing historical continuity, highlighting pluralism and cultural richness, preserving human scale, and promoting a dynamic city concept incorporating well-defined outdoor spaces. Velioğlu states that while some architects have embraced these ideas all out to produce healthy (sağlıklı) yet conventional designs, others have adopted a more hierarchical approach, leading to experimental, unique, but potentially unhealthy (sağlıksız) buildings.


260 Veliöğlu draws attention to contemporary ontology, which is different from the forms of "constructive thinking" from Aristotle to Heidegger, which evaluates human existence by giving hierarchical priority to only one of the heterogeneous categories of existence and, therefore, states that it is far from defining human beings with all their dimensions and relationships. Referring to the Hartmann, Veliöğlu states that the basic aim and need of human existence is to integrate and socialize with the macrocosm that surrounds it. The urban physical environment and the experiences in this environment are a fundamental component of this macrocosm. Referring to contributions of Christopher Alexander, Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch, Jan Gehl to Çevresel Psikoloji, he states that to establish a healthy human-human and human-environment relationship can be achieved primarily by taking into account the perception characteristics of human beings such as seeing/hearing/moving, and by knowing and interpreting their psychological/behavioral tendencies. He proposes the “Üçlü Örtüşük Formülasyon,” which includes the organization of movement, space, and use. This is his argument for establishing a healthy relationship between humans and the environment. In summary, it involves an understanding of transportation that includes the continuity of pedestrian movement, the continuity of urban outdoor spaces based on the figure-ground relations of the environment, giving the user a "sense of space (mekân hissi)" by paying attention to size, proportion, and scale, and keeping the environment in use 24 hours a day. Selim Veliöğlu, “İnsan Varlığı Kavramı Işığında Aldo Rossi Mimarisi,” Mimarlık & Dekorasyon, February 1993, 56-64.
For Velioğlu, Rossi is one of them. He suggests that Rossi’s mentality is not dynamic and holistic but isolating and constructive. His perspective on architecture focuses on the city’s physicality and building as a critical component of urban physicality. He aims to define the physical integrity of the city by utilizing a minimalist approach, using a limited number of building types and outdoor spaces to develop a pure language. While Velioğlu recognizes the originality of Rossi’s approach, just like Wittgenstein’s Tractatus’, he argues that it falls short in explaining the complexities of urban life and people, that is life. Rossi’s architecture may be systematized originally, but it disregards the realities of people and their lives. Furthermore, Rossi’s architecture has a rigid structure that proposes singular solutions for every environment and subject, leading to monotonous and melancholic spaces that lack the vibrancy of life.  

In a similar vein as Velioğlu, Barbaros Sağdıç draws comparisons between Rossi’s architecture and surrealist paintings, which seem to exist in isolation from their surroundings. Sağdıç notes that Rossi deliberately employs past historical and cultural influences in a contradictory manner, creating a conscious game through the geometry of the images, which are “beyond

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261 Ibid, 64-66. Uğur Tanyeli comments that Rossi’s architectural production has a surrealist (gerçeküstüci) quality. While it can be likened to Chirico’s artwork with its intense sense of emptiness, structure surfaces close to each other, and spaces shaped to remain almost impossible, that is, similarity in form, he states that the fundamental similarity is in the attitude, and like all surrealists, in “playing” with the individuals’ images repertoire, which can sometimes cause great unease.

Tanyeli suggests that historicists fail to stimulate such emotion by incorporating familiar images from the viewer’s consciousness into their designs. This leads to a sense of empathy between the viewer and the work. In contrast, modernist architecture and abstract art are not distussing but unfamiliar as they strive to establish a new world of imagery. For him, these works do not convey a known image to the (ordinary) observer, who may need to be made aware of the object’s historical and intellectual context and, therefore, cannot be empathetically connected to the work. Nevertheless, he states that Rossi’s architecture creates an “ambivalent” experience for individuals. Despite recognizing the familiar images, they are presented in a disorienting manner. This unique approach may cause one to question the reliability of one’s own perception. Consequently, Rossi’s architectural works, much like other surrealist arts, appear to rearrange and redefine all previously established images and connections, prompting the viewers to construct a new reality in their minds. [...] Tanyeli says that it is sometimes impossible to discover even the literal meanings of some structures, let alone their iconographic and iconological meanings. Even when an observer recognizes the images in a particular work, they may still struggle to make the most fundamental judgments about it, as illustrated in the “Teatro del Mondo (Dünya Tiyatrosu).”

According to Tanyeli, Rossi’s surrealist attitude is best presented by the concept of “analogical city (città analoga),” with “Teatro del Mondo” that embodies analogical architecture. However, he states that it is not easy to categorize this structure, designed as a miniature Elizabethan theatre, as a building. It requires some assistance to interpret its purpose. That is, while its form is familiar, unanswered questions arise, such as why it is a small theatre, contrasts with its tower-like mass, floats, and is named “Teatro del Mondo.” He concludes that Rossi’s elementary repertoire of images initiates a complex and rich set of semantic associations, making him stand out for his approach to meaning problems among Post-Modernist tendencies. Uğur Tanyeli, “Rossi ve Analojik Düşüncesi,” Arredamento Dekorasyon, July-August 1991, 114-115.
time.” However, Sağdıç argues that Rossi’s focus on iconographic meaning has come at the expense of design, upsetting the balance between his buildings’ primary and secondary elements. She states that while Rossi’s theoretical prowess is evident, this has not translated into a successful architectural personality, ultimately leading to a disconnect from his surrealism-model-like designs’ livable and human aspects.

If we turn to Velioğlu, he illustrates this point by contrasting Rossi’s projects with those of other architects. For example, he scrutinizes the Üsküdar Square proposal of 1987 and compares it to the proposal of local architects Baran İdil, Hasan Özba, and Tamer Başbuğ. In contrast to their proposal, he evaluates Rossi’s project as rigid and inadequate, deliberately ignoring the subject’s nature and the environment’s characteristics. On the other hand, Rossi stated that “the proposal has tried to interpret the development and transformation of this urban area without establishing rigid rules or abstract functions, but following what is required by the reality of life in Üsküdar and trying to interpret it in such a way as to give rise to a new form of beauty. A number of points of reference are established – certain buildings, the interpretation of ancient buildings – and around them the city may continue to develop, through its own life, that beauty which is conferred not by architecture but by life and time alone.” Rossi further expanded on his initial statement, sharing that his deep passion for Istanbul drove his participation in the competition. He stated that he crafted numerous solutions, intending to highlight Istanbul’s place in the Mediterranean and even suggesting that Üsküdar could be an Italian city. However, he recognizes that Istanbul is much more than just a Mediterranean city, with its rich history and diverse coverage. As such, he takes great care to examine the city as a whole, paying attention to details like the rooftops and mosques and emphasizing the importance of the waterfront. “One of the things that has struck me in Turkey was arriving in İstanbul, to the world of the boats, of the water and also here again with the reference of Venice. There is always this presence of water which is very important.”

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263 Ibid. 75.


For a better understanding between these two poles, Sağiroğlu’s and Rossi’s remarks, it is worth looking at how Eliana Martinelli, an Italian architect and academic, discusses the proposal. For her, Aldo Rossi’s compositional approach differs from that of the conventional Turkish settlement which typically consists of certain repetitive elements within an open urban layout. Despite this, she states that Rossi employs archetypal forms in Üsküdar to go beyond the municipality’s aim to reconfigure the square in a solely Western idiom. Instead, his project aims to evoke universal values and a recognizable representation of a multicultural city. Through all these, it is legitimate to say that Rossi had no intention of putting his desire to be experimental or original before the city’s past, urban character, natural landscape or, most importantly, life, at least in his discourse.

Continuing his remarks, Velioğlu argues that Di Chirico’s paintings may offer richness to himself and other viewers. However, the spaces Di Chirico depicted are not desirable for human habitation except for architects seeking a professional experiment. He suggests that Rossi was aware of this but chose to forge a unique path aligned with his abstract intellectual character. In essence, Rossi’s decision to create a language that did not prioritize human happiness resulted from his experimental mindset, understanding that it can be challenging to balance originality and well-being. Velioğlu views this innovative attitude as both theoretically guiding and noble. He urges architects in Turkey and worldwide, whom Rossi has influenced, to follow his example of willful and innovative rebellion rather than construct structures that fail to comprehend the human experience fully. Ultimately, he suggests that Rossi is like a source of fire that radiates heat and light like great names; while we should not stay too far away, we must also avoid getting too close and burning ourselves. So, an

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267 (Translated by the author.) See Martinelli’s article for detailed information about the project’s consideration towards the architectural, urban and natural landscape history of the city. Eliana Martinelli, “Aldo Rossi e il progetto per la piazza di Üsküdar a Istanbul,” EdA Esempi Di Architettura 1 (May 2019): 9.

268 Belgin Turan Özkaya explores the poignant nature of familiarity in Rossi’s images. She connects this emotion to Rossi’s “persona,” noting his tendency to transform mundane objects into eerie and otherworldly ones. She illustrates this sentiment by Rossi’s contemplation of his deceased former students when he visited an empty school during summer vacation. This urge to make mundane, ordinary, typical things strange, eerie, and otherworldly can also be seen “[...] in his symbolic and literal conversion of the dwelling for the living to the “shelter” for the dead in the cemetery of San Cataldo, hence his rendering of the house “un-homely.” [...]” Belgin Turan Özkaya, “The Art of Reconciliation: Autobiography and Objectivity in the Work of Aldo Rossi,” in Biographies and Space: Placing the Subject in Art and Architecture, ed. Dana Arnold and Joanna Sofaer (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 164–65.

269 “Örnek alacaksak Rossi’nin yaklaşımındaki iradeyi ve yenilikçi bașkalınlığı örneği alalım. İnsanın tüm varlığıyla kavramaktan uzak yapılarını değil. Ne de olsa Rossi de bütün büyük insanlar gibi sısi ve şiş saça ben bir ateş kaynağı fazla uzak durursak tabii ki uğursuz ama çok yaklaştırırsak da yanarız.” Selim
experimentalist can be added to the definitions of Postmodern, Classicist, Heir of Modernism or the Classical that Rossi found in Turkey as discussed above. It is worth noting that Sağiroğlu's perspective is grounded in an ontological view based on direct bodily experience, highlighting the contrast between being impacted by a painting and physically experiencing the space, as exemplified by De Chirico. At the same time, Sağiroğlu evaluates Rossi primarily through his drawings, such as the Üsküdar Project. In other words, being aware that even the perception of a building through its photography differs from bodily experience, I highlight the visuals accompanying his text, which mainly consist of drawings, not built projects.

On the other hand, let us return to Velioğlu's caution to Turkish architects about the melancholic, metaphysical, and joyless nature of Rossian architectural production. Atilla Yücel formed connections with Aldo Rossi and the Neo-Rationalists, consistent with his typomorphology writings and research.\(^{270}\) Also, it is noted that Yücel applied this early theoretical framework in an anachronistic interpretation of Le Corbusier.\(^{271}\) I discuss that these two types of connections are also evident in Yücel's architectural production.

According to Aykut Köksal, traces of Aldo Rossi's influence can be observed in Yücel's architectural productions until the late 1980s. Köksal highlights that Rossian influences, evident in his architectural works during this period, should be differentiated from the local context in which many architects experienced Rossian influence after Modernism, owing to the intellectual foundations he had acquired beforehand. In other words, he stresses that because there is an internalized intellectual accumulation rooted in Yücel's early periods, his architectural production should be distinguished from those created through imported examples, which have impacted Postmodernism in architecture in Turkey since the mid-1980s.\(^{272}\)

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\(^{270}\) It is discussed in 3.1. *Atilla Yücel and the Concepts of Type and Typology.*

\(^{271}\) It is mentioned in 3.2.2.2. *Heir of Modernism or the Classical.*

Figure 42. Aldo Rossi, Proposal for Üsküdar Square, 1987.

Figure 43. Aldo Rossi, Proposal for Üsküdar Square, 1987.
Figure 44. Baran İdil, Hasan Özbay and Tamer Başbuğ, Üsküdar Square proposal, Third Prize project, 1987.

Figure 45. Project site in Üsküdar, 1986.
Similarly, according to Aydan Balamir, a local academic, Yücel's some projects demonstrate “emblematic form” exercises (“emblematik biçim” denemeleri) with strong ties with Rossian buildings and rational arrangements (kurgu) during this period. Balamir notes that Yücel fused typology with contextual design and locality themes in the OR-AN Residential Complex in 1989, while the Bozbağ House incorporated subtle local motifs and integrated with its surroundings in the same year. I emphasize that the themes mentioned by Balamir and the Rossian representation language in his drawings defined by Sağiroğlu are fused in the drawing produced for the OR-AN Residential Complex. (Fig. 46) Unlike Rossi's analogical drawings that mix different types and typologies borrowed from various projects and times on the same paper plane, this drawing has various architectural elements, including Russian four-pane square windows, existing together in the exact location, that is, on the facade of a residential unit. Besides that, the wall with square gaps dividing the front garden is reminiscent of Modena's walls with translucent square windows. (Fig. 48) The naked female figure standing in the middle like a sculpture, reminiscent of Rossi's shadowy human figures but distinctive to them, looks strange even if she is there to imply the adequate height of the gaps in the wall separating the neighboring residences to provide isolation from undesirable eyes. The plants passing through the square gaps on the wall try to mediate the cold perception, express the theme of locality, or express memories acquired with time. It can be said that, however, the fundamental similarity is not the borrowing of Russian architectural elements but rather the image itself, which resembles his analogical drawings. The second project's existing garden indicates the theme of soft locality that Balamir mentioned, with the vegetal landscape defined by the walls similar to the previous one with smaller and denser gaps, painted in a color resembling Russian orange. (Fig. 47)

That is to say, in these two residential projects, there are formal similarities with Rossi's architectural productions as well as allusions to Russian images and the language of representation. Such an affinity could also be defined between him and Neo-Rationalist figures such as Giorgio Grassi and Massimo Scolari. It can be said that the contrast between the masses and the gaps in the facades of the Sudan Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Khartoum dated 1989 and the Architectural and Urban Design proposal in Dikmen Valley dated 1992 establishes a Grassian language. (Fig. 53-54) Besides that, it can be asked that there is an attempt to create

273 Through their formal similarities with Rossi's architecture, these projects are expanded more in 4.3.1. Local Projects.


275 In the architectural report of the Ministry building, it is stated that the compositional relations of the masses, wall, and window relations aim to integrate with the characteristics of the region,
a dramatic atmosphere in the drawing of the former and the latter's model. It is operated through representational language in drawing and light control in the photograph of the model. Also, Yücel states that this Ankara hillside settlement, a multi-functional residential complex, evokes an image of a kind of pre-industrial small city, including houses and central buildings gathered with a “castle/tower” element.\textsuperscript{276} It is legitimate to say that the nostalgic atmosphere of such a pre-industrial city can be seen in the model.

Also, Balamir notes that Yücel's “Multifunctional Urban Structure” in Talimhane, in collaboration with Ayşe Orbay in 1991, has a strong influence with its references to Kahn's grammar of mass-space.\textsuperscript{277} Upon analyzing the two proposal drawings from the architectural explanatory report, I argue that Yücel engraved an aesthetic representation language sharing common characteristics with Russian and Neo-Rationalist images and tendencies on the Kahn-like architecture that was both influenced by Modern Architecture and guided it. The exterior drawing features the empty urban landscape, defined by the bulky orange Kahn-like masses and the big square gaps, which are actually closed with windows in the project next to the large cylindrical masses exploding from the facade, which are focused on my reading. Just like this drawing, which can be matched with Massimo Scolari's Modern City, dated 1995, the interior drawing evokes a décor atmosphere with only architectural elements, creating a perceptual similarity with the interior part of the Idea and Knowledge Exhibition that Rossi designed with Daniele Vitale and Luca Meda in 1981 for the 16th Milan Triennial. (Fig. 49-52) What I highlight is that the significance of these architectural productions -drawings, model, projects and discourse- lies not in their chronological order, implying who borrowed what from whom, but in their representation language, which conveys a sense of solitude, melancholy, and detachment, as illustrated above by Sağiroğlu and Sağdıç. Hence, they share a conceptual framework that builds upon previous years' intellectual foundations.


\textsuperscript{277} Balamir, Atilla Yücel: 1965-2005 Arası İşler, 85
Figure 46. Atilla Yücel, OR-AN Residential Complex, 1989.

Figure 47. Atilla Yücel, Bozbaugh House, 1989.
Figure 48. Aldo Rossi, Modena Cemetery walls.
Figure 49. Atilla Yücel, “Multifunctional Urban Structure” in Talimhane, 1991.

Figure 50. Massimo Scolari, Modern City, 1995.
Figure 51. Atilla Yücel, “Multifunctional Urban Structure” in Talimhane, 1991.

Figure 52. Aldo Rossi, Daniele Vitale and Luca Meda, Idea and Knowledge Exhibition, 1981.
Figure 53. Atilla Yücel, Sudan Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Khartoum, 1989.

Figure 54. Atilla Yücel, Architectural and Urban Design proposal in Dikmen Valley in Ankara, 1992.
4.2. Formality

Belgin Turan Özkaya defines the “Neo-Rationalist” project as an attempt that aims to redefine the discipline of architecture as technē, which is “a craft with its own rules, that requires skill, may lead to innovation, yet is not a medium of “subjective expression” or “creation” from scratch, from a tabula rasa.” 278 She explains that, in ancient Greece, any organized activity, including architecture, was acknowledged as technē, meaning any art, skill, or craft with rules passed down from generation to generation. Therefore, she argues that if architecture is regarded as technē, as the “Neo-Rationalist” project aims to do, it can hardly encompass the “subjective expression” of the producer. 279

She argues that executing a project based on an ancient model in the second half of the 20th century was not feasible. This was not only because specific architectural techniques were not justifiable in the context of the technology of that period but also because architecture could not solely shape its practice according to its internal dynamics. She points out that the activity of the architectural discipline in society is associated with the societal function assigned to it. In other words, developing architecture based on the concept of technē, which determines its formal preferences with its own internal rules, is problematic in a contemporary bourgeois society. 280

She argues that architecture's “function” or meaning for society was primarily aesthetic and artistic for the contemporaneous term. She suggests that a Greek temple would have had the same significance for all Greek citizens, owing to the representations it portrayed. However, modern observers tend to attribute their meanings to architectural objects. 281 As a result, Özkaya contends that the social reception of architecture in the modern society, much like bourgeois art, is considered an “aesthetic” creation that depends on the subjective interpretation of individuals. 282

278 (Ayşe) Belgin Turan Özkaya, “Production of a Discourse: Italian ‘Neo-Rationalism’ as Case Study” (Cornell University Faculty of the Graduate School, Dissertation, 1995), 37-38.


280 Ibid, 42. Özkaya argues that the attempts of "Neo-Rationalists" to eliminate the individual's responsibility in the production process have apparent similarities with Martin Heidegger's concept of technē. She also looks at the social status of architects in Ancient Greece. Ibid, 38-44.

281 Ibid, 45. Özkaya's discussion has similarities with the discussion by Korhan Gümüş and Behiç Ak. Gümüş and Ak argue that, unlike people in the 17th century, modern society views objects through a fragmented lens, with various perspectives, as discussed in 4.1.1. Drawing and Painting.

282 Ibid, 46.
However, Özkaya argues that while Aldo Rossi initially adhered to Neo-Rationalism principles, he embraced subjectivity and free choice in his architecture after the 1970s. This led him to make his designs more autobiographical by incorporating his personal memories into them. Opposed to that, Atilla Yücel posits that the relationship between ideology and form is complex and multifaceted. He argues that some architectural thinkers view form as a self-contained existence separate from ideology. Yücel mentions Rossi as an example of this. He says that despite Rossi’s strong personal ideological beliefs, he believed that form has no inherent meaning or ideology apart from what we assign.

As seen in these two points of view, Özkaya notes an ambiguous boundary between “doctrinaire autonomy,” which defends architecture's technical and formal aspects, and “disciplinary autonomy” based on technê.

4.2.1. Neo-Rationalism and Mannerism

How was Rossi’s architecture positioned in terms of formality in Turkey? Were there any opinions that state turning points in Rossi’s career, such as Özkaya’s emphasis on before and after the 1970s?

Uğur Tanyeli characterizes Rossi’s architecture as centered around “the reproduction of images,” except for a few early unpublished projects. Tanyeli points to Rossi’s proposal for the new Paganini theater and the rearrangement of Piazza Pilotta in Parma in 1964 as the first indications of this approach. Rossi suggested an arcade and an elliptical theater structure for the square. According to Tanyeli, the arcade produced the image of an indispensable element for Italian cities, while the theater tried to transfer the memories of the rotunda, which has existed since Antiquity, to the present. Similarly, he explains the rearrangement of the Piazza del Municipio and monument to the Partisans in Segrate in 1965, the proposal for the piazza in San Nazzaro de'Burgundi in 1967 and the proposal for the town hall in Scandicci in 1968.


these projects as a more expansive repertoire of reproduced images. He states that a town hall in Scandicci has a local and universal system of images. (Fig. 55) He describes it as having a distinct architectural order that combines archaic and industrial-age images with Islamic planimetric elements. While assessing the Monte Amiata Housing in Gallaratese, Tanyeli considers Modena Cemetery a turning point for Rossi. He argues that Rossi produced a series of variations or a structural discourse on the images of monumentality in this complex and that all these elements were utilised in his following years.

Considering that Tanyeli wrote these sentences in 1991, he says that Rossi started to realize more extensive projects with Modena, but his attitude remained the same. However, he states that speaking cautiously on this issue is necessary. On the one hand, Tanyeli states that after Modena, Rossi continued to do projects that did not contradict his arguments until that day.

286 Tanyeli describes the project as follows: “The municipal block was most likely shaped based on the four- iwan courtyard scheme. A library is added symmetrically, and then a cylindrical and domed assembly hall is added on the same axis. The connection to the ‘tholos (tolos)’ containing the assembly hall is provided by lattice truss bridges that remind us of the engineering structures of the early industrial age. Thus, an architectural order combines the archaic ‘tholos’ with early industrial-age images and even includes Islamic planimetric images.” Uğur Tanyeli, “Rossi ve Analojik Düşüncesi,” Arredamento Dekorasyon, July-August 1991, 112.

287 Ibid, 113.
On the other hand, he states that the Funerary Chapel in Giussano in 1980 and the reconstruction of the Teatro Carlo Felice in Genoa in 1983 offer unqualified examples of Neo-Classicism, especially in the interior. He says that Rossi seems to be influenced by the sense of success and fame that can easily lead the “Post-Modernists” astray.\textsuperscript{288}

From a similar point of view, Atilla Yücel also considers Rossi's architecture with his theorist identity. He looks at the turning points in Rossi's career through this relationship. He categorizes Rossi among the architects who pursued a theoretical and academic career before turning to design later in their professional lives. He says that Rossi’s architecture rests on deep research and scholarly experience.\textsuperscript{289} This led to an almost exaggerated and inflexible rationalism in his designs, marked by abstract and pure surfaces, geometric and topological relationships between window and arcade spaces, and a sharp contrast between light and shadow. Yücel highlights the difference between Rossi's rational order and that of Modernism, which is rooted in the relationship with the historical city.

Yücel defines that Rossi, the theorist, gradually transitioned into Rossi, the artist, and created works such as Monte Amiata Housing and Modena Cemetery that firmly adhered to these principles. However, the colors, typologies, and architectural language used in these works conceal a deep Italian essence, a local spirit interwoven with the universal geometry of rationalist abstraction, as seen in Modena Cemetery and Teatro del Mondo.\textsuperscript{290} Similarly, Barbaros Sağdıç says that besides the consistency between Rossi's theoretical productions and architectural production in his early periods, Rossi exhibited regionalist behaviour in some of his projects.\textsuperscript{291}

Yücel says that Rossi's role shifted from a theoretician to a designer over time, and this transformation became more evident in his work. Accordingly, Rossi began to include more intricate details, explicit expressions of architectural elements, ornaments, and direct quotations. While sometimes exaggerated, he thinks that these architectural choices demonstrate that Rossi moved away from his rational foundations and adopted the Mannerist

\textsuperscript{288} Ibid, 114.


\textsuperscript{290} Ibid, 118.

\textsuperscript{291} Barbaros Sağdıç, “Aldo Rossi: Araştırmacı ve Kuramçı, İdeolog Kişiliği İle, Tasarlayan ve Üreten, Mimari Kişiliği Arasında Bir Mimar,” \textit{Mimarlık & Dekorasyon}, February 1993, 75. Sağdıç’s discussion of Rossi’s early practice period does not say anything different from Yücel’s and Tanyeli’s essays. See his discussion corresponding chronologically after these essays. Ibid, 70-77.
fantasy commonly seen in the late works of experienced artists and architects such as Michelangelo, Sinan, and Frank Lloyd Wright.\textsuperscript{292}

Similarly, Sağdüş argues that in projects such as Hotel Il Palazzo, Palazzo Congressi, and National Museum of Scotland, Rossi broke free from the constraints of design rules and adopted a mannerist approach, focusing on details and minor elements.\textsuperscript{293} According to him, this mannerist attitude allowed Rossi to unleash the emotions and contradictions he had suppressed throughout his life, revealing his human side.\textsuperscript{294} Although Sağdüş believes that this behaviour shows man's superiority over rules, he notes that Rossi still fails to acknowledge the nature in which all beings exist.\textsuperscript{295}

From a different point of view, İhsan Bilgin and Mehmet Karaören argue that Rossi always rebuilds the city with his projects. They explain that to comprehend Rossi's approach, one needs to consider the concept of typology. According to them, Rossi may have underestimated the complex relationship between creation and analysis based on the ideas of typology and morphology.\textsuperscript{296}

According to them, Rossi's city arrangement is not a combination of randomly chosen elements or a product of a particular rule from the many options offered by typological analysis. They argue that this arrangement does not allow for derivation, diversification, or proliferation. Instead, it tends to shrink inwardly. That is, typology moves towards its original state before the repertoire it holds together starts to proliferate, that is, its archetypes before it is shaped by culture. In other words, architecture oscillates between culture and pure form.\textsuperscript{297}

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\textsuperscript{293} Sağdüş, Aldo Rossi: Araştıracı ve Kuramcı, Ideolog Kişiliği İle, Tasarlayan ve Üreten, Mimari Kişiliği Arasında Bir Mimar, 77.

\textsuperscript{294} Ibid, 79.

\textsuperscript{295} Ibid, 80.

\textsuperscript{296} İhsan Bilgin and Mehmet Karaören, “Aldo Rossi’de Akıl ve Hafıza,” \textit{Defter}, January-June 1992, 53-55, https://www.metiskitap.com/catalog/periodical/issue/article/4759. Indeed, Aslı Ataöv, a student of Rossi at the Venice School of Architecture, affirms this point by sharing that one of the key takeaways from Rossi's project course was that every building, regardless of its size, has an urban structure within itself, be it a large structure or a palazzo. Aslı Ataöv, “Hoca Aldo Rossi,” \textit{Yapı: Aylık Kültür, Sanat ve Mimarlık Dergisi}, October 1997, 102-103.

\textsuperscript{297} Bilgin and Karaören, Aldo Rossi’de Akıl ve Hafıza, 57.
\end{multicols}
They illustrate it with the proposal for a student dormitory in Chieti 1976 that Rossi defines as a “little city.” According to them, Rossi takes a “building a city” approach in the architectural project with archetypes to the extreme. The first architectural unity is formed by combining walls, roofs, doors, and windows. This first “house” is so pure of all metaphors and connotations that it cannot say anything, yet it is also the beginning of everything. Houses take on a U-form, lined up side by side and back to back, transforming a natural void into the “first square.” Unlike other houses, the large “House” in the middle demonstrates its size and load-bearing structure. The structure carrying the roof is displayed without any mannerisms or traces of history that it will bear in the future, as in all monuments and gathering places. The city’s depiction is completed with a tower facing it. However, this city does not exist, should be, or is possible; it is a doubtful “analogical city” that floats in temporal excess, whose time, place, or even existence is unknown.

Referring to Yücel’s evaluation of mannerisms as a common reaction of architects who are full of success and reputation in their later periods, Bilgin and Karaören point out two types of mannerisms. Firstly, mannerism, a tendency to imitate classical or authentic architecture, can cause any architect to succumb to the untimely settling of the classic. They see this imitation as a regular and affirmative effort, exemplified by San Carla alla Barona Church in Milan. On the other hand, the second type of mannerism trivializes the architectural production. They state that in Rossi’s architecture, a limited number of archetypal elements had been


299 Bilgin and Karaören, *Aldo Rossi’dede Akıl ve Hafıza*, 57-59. Bilgin and Karaören further discuss Rossi’s relationship with essential architectural elements such as windows, doors, and roofs. They relate these elements to Edward Hopper’s paintings (Chair Car and Four Lane Road, where the table and drinks are “things which are only themselves”). Accordingly, Rossi emphasizes the wall, door, window, and staircase against “design,” industrial design, and abstract form. Accordingly, these architectural elements stand in their most durable, bulkiest, and immobile forms, contrasting the understanding that makes the matchbox and skyscraper the subject of the same abstract design principles mentioned in 3.2.2.2. *Heir of Modernism or the Classical*. Hence, they say that Rossi accepted the shape of a roof as it was without questioning it. Accordingly, Rossi does not waste elements for design or space effects. These windows, doors, walls and roofs are like objects that have understood that they cannot be any other way. Furthermore, form and operability (biçim ve işlerlik) are inseparable and are obligatory on each other. I emphasize that they prefer to say form-operability (biçim ve işlerlik) instead of saying form-function (biçim ve işlev/fonksiyon). For further assessment of these concepts, Ibid, 59-61. Rossi says “when I saw the complete work of Edward Hopper in New York, I realized all this about my architecture: paintings like *Chair Car or Four Lane Road* took me back to the stasis of those timeless miracles, to tables set for eternity, drinks never consumed, things which are only themselves.” Aldo Rossi, *A Scientific Autobiography*, trans. Lawrence Venuti (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: The MIT Press, 1981), 5.

reconstructed in different scales, directions, contexts and places, always with the same expression. This reassembly could be sustained consistently for a long time without being prototyped. Referring to Rossi’s Japanese projects in the late 80s and early 90s, they argue that this continuity in Rossi’s projects dissolves.\(^{301}\)

They discuss the second type of mannerism that emerged in the new commercial context of the late 80s and early 90s. They highlight the negative changes in production areas, state subsidies for social housing, and the increase in house rents in “global cities” like Tokyo, Paris, London, and Berlin. They point out the rapid growth of construction enterprises, transforming these cities into office and hotel spaces. They reflect on the impact of capital, which the new generation of architects in the 1960s and 1970s, including themselves, could only partially comprehend due to the lack of experience and historical context. Referring to Doğan Kuban’s statement on the fundamental difference between architecture and other artistic fields, which are less directly tied to the capital than architecture,\(^ {302}\) they recall how they found this statement too obvious and easy to understand as freshmen without grasping its significance. The global construction movement’s priorities, motive to commodify, and promise to make the built environment more mobile have engulfed the entire world of architecture. They selectively incorporate what is useful and turn them into prototypes while marginalizing and forgetting the rest. Ultimately, they imply that it is unsurprising that even Rossian stubborn voice was muted in hotel and business milieus.\(^ {303}\)

According to all these discussions, it can be said that while Rossi’s early architecture is examined in terms of its consistency with his discourses, there is a common opinion among architectural circles in Turkey that he displayed mannerisms in his later periods.

\(^{301}\) Ibid, 69-70.


\(^{303}\) Ibid, 73. Bilgin argues that Rossi, Grassi, Aymonino, and Venturi, who were once admired for their unique attitudes until the 1980s, lost their appeal in the eyes of the capital over time. Despite exhibiting distinctive attitudes, these names failed to sustain the initial interest as they could not break free from the habits and discourses of the previous era. According to Bilgin, capital compels architects to conform to certain styles, and simply creating a difference is not enough. This difference must be continuously renewed to remain relevant. İhsan Bilgin, Mimarin Soluğu: Peter Zumthor Mimariği Üzerine Denemeler (2017; repr., İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2016), 40–41. See Bilgin’s following analyses of housing production at different times in Turkey and some European countries through the large construction companies and capital. İhsan Bilgin, “Konut Sorunlarının Çeşitlenmesi,” Defter, December-January 1988, 37-49, https://www.metiskitap.com/catalog/periodical/issue/article/4636.; İhsan Bilgin, “Konut Üretiminin Karşılaştırmalı Analizi” (ITU Faculty of Architecture, PhD Thesis, 1990), 82-87.
4.3. City

In this section, I trace how Rossi’s discourse on the city resonates in Turkey. These examples mentioned below, together with Atilla Yücel's typomorphological writings and studies in the late 1970s and early 1980s, aim to form a background for Local Projects, which will be discussed in the following subsection.304

Barbaros Sağdıç states that Rossi made a significant contribution to Modern architectural criticism with L’architettura della città. However, he argues that Rossi takes the “city” as an autonomous category in L'architettura della città and denies the city’s basic historical formation process and functional differences. He suggests that Rossi only focuses on the rules and principles of the structural establishment of relationships in European cities during a specific period in the 19th century.305

Eliana Martinelli’s comment that Rossi captured the meaning of Istanbul in Üsküdar is mentioned above.306 Besides that, she points out Turgut Cansever's construction principles of a city. She states that these principles are superior to the limited and defined form of harmony. She attributes this to Rossi, then quotes Rossi as saying that there is no fundamental difference between buildings in any city, historical or modern and that all that needs to be done is to add a completed construction to the completed nucleoid of the city. But, the Ottoman city was structurally incomplete as it was built on a different concept called Unity (Tawhid) and was always open to new additions, as pointed out by Martinelli.307

Related to the specificities of the Islamic city, illustrated by Martinelli’s emphasis on Unity (Tawhid) in the Islamic city, Erdem Aksoy, a local architect and a long-time academic at Karadeniz Technical University, wrote a think piece in the Planlama Dergisi, which is the official publication of the Chamber of City Planners of Turkey, in 1988. (Fig. 56) In his text,

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304 See 3.1. Atilla Yücel and the Concepts of Type and Typology.

305 Barbaros Sağdıç, “Aldo Rossi: Araştırcı ve Kuramçı, Ideolog Kişiliği İle, Tasarlayan ve Üreten, Mimari Kişiliği Arasında Bir Mimar,” Mimarlık & Dekorasyon, February 1993, 70. See Tanyeli’s comment saying Rossi’s proposal for the town hall in Scandicci in 1968, composed of the archaic architectural unit, early industrial age images, and Islamic planimetric images, was mentioned in 4.2.1. Neo-Rationalism and Mannerism.

306 It is discussed in 4.1.2. Uncanny Images or Life.

307 Eliana Martinelli, “Aldo Rossi e il progetto per la piazza di Üsküdar a Istanbul,” EdA Esempi Di Architettura 1 (May 2019): 9. See the following article for further reading on Martinelli’s understanding of the concept of the Turkish city through Turgut Cansever and Istanbul. Eliana Martinelli, “Turgut Cansever, an Interpretation of the Turkish City,” in Turkey Studies ‘16: International Conference on Turkey, Turkish Studies and Turkology (İstanbul: Dakam Yayınları, 2016), 41-48.
Aksoy suggests that Aldo Rossi’s work could significantly contribute to the synthesis of “East” and “West” in education, particularly after the developments in architecture and urban planning in Turkey since 1980. He highlights the research conducted on Islamic architecture and cities, which have “unique” features not influenced by Western architecture and cities, with the initiatives of the Aga Khan Foundation. He states that these studies suggest Unity is the primary design principle in Islamic art and city.

He illustrates this with the “Architectural Education in the Islamic World” seminar series the Foundation in Granada organized in 1986. He states that it seems interesting that Christian Norberg-Schulz, famous for “Meaning in Western Architecture,” is making a statement about Islamic Architecture in this seminar. Like many of his Western colleagues, he states that Schulz never mentioned that “Eastern” arts could impact “Western” arts and proposed the principle of unity to study Islamic architecture. This subject was outside the competence of his intellectual background. In response to Schulz’s claim that “Christian” and “Islamic” arts will gain unique characteristics by emphasizing local characteristics, he argues that the tendency to see Western and Eastern arts as distant and closed areas from each other is a conscious manifesto. He says that some studies show that the cultures of the “Christian West” and the “Islamic East” do not have cultural spheres that are very different from each other. He states
that adapting Islamic circles' urban planning and architectural education to this trend is not a modern attitude and should not be taken seriously.

Aksoy argues that Rossi's approach to studying the city's history through monuments offers a new analysis for “Westerners,” as seen in countries such as Spain, where Islamic and Christian monuments exist together. He argues that it is possible to benefit from his analyses in Turkey, which include these different religious periods. Aksoy complements this article with the Turkish translation of Rossi's introduction to the French edition of L'architettura della città, where he points out the studies on colonial cities where Europeans meet different cultures.  

There are also efforts made to comprehend the city through Rossi's urban theory. İlhan Bilgin's excursions, mainly with his students, could be mentioned here. These “city tours” take place in a particular city and are unique in that they span for days and follow specific routes. Tansel Korkmaz describes Bilgin's understanding of the city as going beyond what urbanists typically read. According to her, Bilgin looks at the story behind how the city was built, just as Rossi did when he referred to the “architecture of the city.” She says that he observes the city as a construction site, observing how it was built. This perspective is something that only an architect could have. Samely, referring to Rossi, Gürhan Tümer argues that the relationship between form and function can be remarkably free, unlike what the functionalist paradigm suggests. He traces buildings that have lost their original function and shows they can still serve the relatively same purpose or may be used differently. Tümer illustrates this with buildings such as Pope Sixtus V’s project for the transformation of the Coliseum in Rome into a wool factory, with workers' apartments in 1590, borrowed from The Architecture of the City or the building in Edirne, which was designed by Architect Kemalettin Bey as a station, but whose function at that time was used as the social center of a university. 


309 Uğur Tanyeli’s trip to Chicago, which he associates with the Rossian concept of memory, is mentioned in 3.2.3.1. Borders of Architecture and Architectural History.


Figure 57. The first page of the essay, with the Turkish title “one building a thousand functions,” shows a plan of the coliseum borrowed from *The Architecture of the City*.

Figure 58. The page showing “Pope Sixtus V’s project for the transformation of the Coliseum in Rome into a wool factory, with workers’ apartments in 1590,” *The Architecture of the City*, 1984.
4.3.1. Local Projects

In this subsection, I discuss the built and unbuilt projects claimed to have formal similarities with Rossi's architectural productions and the discourses that have emerged around them. I contribute to these comments with supporting materials such as photographs, architectural description reports and competition projects that have yet to be published or, at best, have yet to be discussed.

First, I continue with the works of Atilla Yücel. Yücel's unrealized restoration and renovation of Bali Bey Inn (Bali Bey Hanı) and Türkün Bazaar (Türkün Çarşısı) can be discussed together. The former, a late 16th-century Inn located in the historical district of Bursa, was almost completely demolished. Yücel restores the U-planned part of the building to its original state and designs a new facade facing the street. The building serves cultural, commercial, and social purposes. (Fig. 59-61) If you go downhill from the curvilinear street facing the new facade of this building, you will reach Türkün Bazaar, which Yücel designs in 1985. This building is a linear formation and consists of shopping and social units. (Fig. 62) For the Bali Bey Inn, Yücel states that he aimed to reconcile the old and new forms of the region and integrate restoration and renovation approaches. Before we delve into the context of old and new forms, let us examine the discussions about these buildings.

Aydan Balamir identifies the Bali Bey Inn as a significant restoration project incorporating creative design, unlike the monotonous conservation-renovation practice that often conforms to academic norms. In her view, the project's approach to completing the old structure with the new exhibits a Rossian attitude. Similarly, Balamir describes Türkün Bazaar and other

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312 The statements made by Aykut Köksal and Aydan Balamir regarding Rossi's influence on Yücel's architectural production in the 1980s are discussed in 4.1.2. Uncanny Images or Life. Yücel's affinities with Rossi and the Neo-Rationalist movement are illustrated through projects such as the OR-AN Residential Complex and Bozbağ House in 1989, Sudan Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1989, "Multifunctional Urban Structure" in Talimhane in 1991, and the Architectural and Urban Design proposal in Dikmen Valley in 1992. These projects not only showcase formal similarities but also similarities in image repertoire and the language of representation, evoking a sense of melancholy.


buildings in Yücel as “emblematic form” exercises that share strong ties with particularly the Russian group in the “Postmodernist” movement.315

Besides Balamir's emphasis on this Russian attitude and form, on the other hand, Uğur Tanyeli and Mine Kazmaoğlu discuss these two structures in the context of Postmodernism in architecture. They suggest that the newly proposed facade of Bali Bey Inn embodies the “discourse” of Ottoman Architecture, marked by its massive surfaces. Additionally, without further explanation, they observe traces of the architecture of Giuseppe Terragni, an Italian architect from the early 20th century. Hence, Tanyeli and Kazmaoğlu contend that the “Post-Modernists” they refer to, such as Yücel, do not offer a one-dimensional interpretation of history. They argue that just as the distant past holds value for the “Post-Modernists,” so does the Modern architecture of the recent past, which is historical and, therefore, worth borrowing.316

They say that Yücel's proposal for Türkün Bazaar boasts an unusual richness of form. Along with the Gezgin Commercial Building (Gezgin İş Hanı) in Ankara, which will be discussed below, the “Post-Modern” “arbitrariness” seems to serve urban-visual functions. They argue that the diverse forms brought into an increasingly impersonal environment are difficult to explain by the architect's whim alone. They emphasize that the term “arbitrary (keyfî)” here does not define the solution brought by Yücel but is used to explain the “lineage (soy)” of the forms used. They emphasize that, unlike the Modernists, the “Post-Modernists” do not interpret the problem of form's lineage (soy) from a deterministic perspective. As seen in this project (and Bali Bey Inn), “Post-Modernist” forms were “created” not solely due to their origin but for the contrast and visual richness they bring to the environment.317

Referring to Tanyeli and Kazmaoğlu’s discussion, Zafer Akay mentions that Yücel's works were evaluated within the “postmodernist” discourse at that time. However, he emphasizes that no written document proves that Yücel described his research this way. Just like Aykut

315 “[...] projeleri de, Postmodernist akımın özellikle Rossi’ci kanadıyla güçlü bağları bulunan, rasyonel kurguya sahip, “amblematik biçim” aştırmalarını sergiliyor.” Other buildings illustrated by Balamir are Birzeit University Campus (Birzeit Üniversitesi Kampüsü) in 1986, Yeni Kaplica Tourism Center (Yeni Kaplica Turizm Merkezi) in 1987 and Diyar Beach Hotel, Pelitköy-İçmeler (Diyar Sahil Oteli, Pelitköy-İçmeler) in 1988. (Fig. 69-71) Ibid, 85.


317 Ibid, 46.
Köksal, he argues that the intellectual background of his projects was beyond his time's polemics in Turkey.

Also, Akay focuses on the solid-void relationship and glass surfaces on the facades of these projects. For Bali Bey Inn, Akay says that the combination of large glass surfaces and rectangular windows opened on massive surfaces (sağır cepheler), which the modernist doctrine opposed in the 1970s, is a remarkable architectural choice for Turkey and then. Similarly, for Türkün Bazaar, he emphasizes the “rationalist” window arrangements that were opened on the massive surfaces, along with the accompanying “moderate modernist (ılımlı modernist)” glass surfaces. He says that these facade approaches are parallel to the architectural productions of the period in Europe and are distinct approaches. As can be seen, Yücel's choice of square windows and the accompanying formal elements have been the subject of debate. I take the discussion further on these windows, which were related to the Russian group in the “Postmodernist” movement in a sense by Balamir.

Besides implying that these two projects should not be interpreted within the “postmodernist” discourse, Akay discusses them following Yücel's Kale Street works with a study group in Bursa in 1983. This street and Bali Bey Inn, restoration and renovation projects, were under the same conservation plan. The street, located very close to the Inn, is lined with over a hundred-year-old houses on both sides. Yücel emphasizes the significance of the typological features of these houses as a group, as well as the stylistic features and picturesque details of some of them individually. He notes that the renovation project recognized the environmental features of the neighbourhood, such as style, building technique, housing typology features, and the local architecture's colour use. Yücel concludes that the street renovation project marks the beginning of the region's development.


319 Ibid, 37.


321 Ibid, 265.

322 Ibid, 267.
Although Yücel did not provide any commentary about Türkün Bazaar in the source from which he uttered these words, it is legitimate to say that he views these projects as being in continuity. In fact, a later document juxtaposes drawings created at different times for Bali Bey Inn and Türkün Bazaar. (Fig. 63) Besides the Russian attitude put forward by Balamir in completing the old with a new one, I assert that both projects have Russian nuances, also characterized by vertical rectangular entrances and square windows above them. This is especially the case in the drawing that frames this part in the Inn, where the window gaps are represented as gaps rather than with a window inserted. (Fig. 60)

I also argue that Yücel incorporates these new square windows (or window gaps) and rectangular entrances into new forms that he aimed to integrate with the old ones as mentioned above. So much so that we cannot see the presence of these new forms in the existing neighbouring buildings seen in this juxtaposed drawing, nor in the existing traditional timber houses with vertically placed rectangular windows on Kale Street. Hence, Tanyeli and Kazmaoğlu's interpretation of the visual contrast brought to the environment with various forms seems meaningful. I suggest taking their argument further that these forms cannot be explained solely by the architect's whim alone.

I ask whether it can be inferred from Yücel's two photographs that he documented the current state of the Inn during his field trip and whether he decided on the Russian square windows before or during the project's production. (Fig. 64, 65) As seen in other photographs in the office archive, the window and door openings behind the existing arched row actually have vertically placed rectangular shapes, as usual in the region. However, they are visually equalized and perceived as square-shaped at the point where these two photos were taken. It could be questioned if this is a coincidence. Nevertheless, Yücel stands at the same focal point in these photos, with a time difference of more than a moment between them, as evident from the complete change of people entering the frame. This shows that it is not a coincidence. Yücel intentionally manipulates these existing forms in photography and pre-simulates these square windows.

Also, in both photographs, the arched row and the manipulated square windows appear on the same facade. However, there is a seating area with umbrellas and tables. Upon comparing both photos to the drawing framing the new entrance of the Inn, it becomes apparent that they have a visual resemblance. (Fig. 60, 64, 65) This suggests that Yücel may have not only transformed the actual rectangular windows into squares but also designed the parts of architectural composition at the entrance facades of Bali Bey Inn and Türkün Bazaar as inspiration and justification from these photographs. This brings to mind photograph historian Paolo Costantini’s observation that Rossi’s Polaroids reveal his “secret images.” According to
Costantini, one of these images is the architectural elements and typological units that Rossi had mentally collected. The most intense example of Yücel's “passion” for square windows, which is exposed here, along with the contrast he proposes with the arcade and wall spaces, can be seen in the Yıldız Kavşaği Trade Center proposal, a new business, commercial and social-cultural center in Ankara, dated 1989. (Fig. 66)

Another example where Yücel creates visual contrast within the immediate context of the building is the Gezgin Commercial Building, an office building that includes commercial and social functions, located in the Kızılay district of Ankara in 1985. (Fig. 67) Yücel says that in addition to current architectural trends regarding the design of the front and rear facades, it is possible to touch upon the influences arising from the Istanbul urban space where the design team resides. He thinks that the hanging projection (aslıcumbaba) on the upper floor and the curvilinear projections from the 1930s, which blend “secession,” “modernist,” and “neo-baroque,” have a specific identity and architectonics next to the similar Ankara apartments that do not have any stylistic concerns. He also mentions that the front facade maintains this aesthetic/symbolic identity while the rear facade has a more subdued expression. (Fig. 68)

Among the evaluations of this project, Yücel's approach is characterized by a “Post-Modern arbitrariness” by Tanyeli and Kazmaoğlu, as mentioned above. Ufuk Yeğenoğlu Sezgen, however, disagrees with their claims that Yücel was experimenting with “free form.” She believes their attitude is misleading and inadequate since it only focuses on the final product. According to Sezgen, the only “Post-Modernist” aspect of the Gezgin Commercial Building is its criticism of the taboo that function determines form. However, she also notes that justifying the hanging projection on the facade by citing 19th-century Istanbul architecture is approaching typical “Post-modern arbitrariness.”

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324 Atilla Yücel, “Resmi Yazışma: Ankara-Mithatpaşa Caddesinde Büro Binası” (Cem Yücel, MArS Architects Archive), n.d., 2.

Figure 59. Atilla Yücel, Bali Bey Inn proposal, 1984.

Figure 60. Atilla Yücel, Bali Bey Inn, 1984.
Figure 61. Atilla Yücel, Bali Bey Inn, 1984.

Figure 62. Atilla Yücel, Türkün Bazaar, 1985.
Figure 63. Atilla Yücel, juxtaposition of Bali Bey Inn and Türkün Bazaar, n.d.
Figure 64. Atilla Yücel, Bali Bey Inn, present condition in 1984.

Figure 65. Atilla Yücel, Bali Bey Inn, present condition in 1984.
Figure 66. Atilla Yücel, Yıldız Kavşaği Trade Center, 1989.
On the other hand, Aydan Balamir highlights the difference in the mass design of the project, which showcases the architectural figure effect, compared to the conventional practices and mediocre patterns of the Modernist language during those years. Balamir notes that “Postmodernism” has not yet been reflected in Turkish architectural products, unlike in architectural literature in (the early) 1980s. However, she points out that Yücel established a relationship with “Postmodernism” in his architectural practice due to his early exposure to it through his typology studies.\(^{326}\)

Distinctive to these comments, Zafer Akay states that Yücel’s use of circular geometry and the arched window top on the front facade shows a “historicist formalism,” in Yücel’s own words. However, Akay says that Yücel is in a position closer to Neo-Rationalism, open to semiotic and linguistic interpretations of architecture, compared to more open advocates of the “postmodernist” discourse such as Haydar Karabey, Doruk Pamir and Tuncay Çavdar.\(^{327}\)

I contribute to Akay’s comment by highlighting the regularly arranged Russian standard four-pane square windows on the rear facade.

Ultimately, Sezgen argues that the commercial building’s facade elements and references are out of sync with the architect’s intentions and seem peculiar to passers-by and users.\(^{328}\) This aligns with Belgin Turan Özkaya’s view that the Neo-Rationalists project, based on the ancient model of technê, is challenged in modern society since every observer interprets the architectural object differently.\(^{329}\)

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\(^{329}\) It is mentioned in 4.2. Formality. Atilla Yücel also discusses the issue of interpreting architecture as a language because all cultural forms and activities can form semiotic categories that convey meaning. [...] He says that particularly semiotic views, which see architecture as a language for speaking, writing and reading, perhaps find their only tangible example in typology to include in their arguments. [...] However, he states that typology also has its problematics and limitations. Accordingly, there is the issue of the duality of the act of reading. “Between the ‘vision’ formed in the mind of the architect or the anonymous producer and the ‘architecture’ realized, between the spatial environment in which it is lived and the ‘images’ that each different user has about that, between the characteristics of the spaces and ‘representative models’ that describe it, between the information and meaning that unrealized architectural designs contain for their designers and the images created in the minds of people who ‘read’ this design from the models, there will be differences.” Atilla Yücel, “Mekân Okuma Aracı Olarak Tipolojik Çözümleme,” in Çevre, Yapı ve Tasarım, ed. Mustafa Pultar (Ankara: Çevre ve Mimarlık Bilimleri Derneği, 1979), 386, 396, 393.
Zafer Akay makes two significant statements about his interest in Rossi after his graduation from the school. First, Akay and Turgut Çıkış went to the Progetto V enezia exhibition, curated by Rossi, at the Venice Biennale in 1985. Participants proposed projects for the exhibition in ten different regions in Venice and its surroundings. Akay expresses his personal impressions about the exhibition and says that they realized that Giorgio Grassi, the name that left his mark on the exhibition, was a more influential figure in Italy than Rossi. Secondly, he concludes that Rossi was too exceptional a case to follow. Within two years of his graduation, he realized the futility of pursuing him and “returned to Modernism.” He points to 1986 as the year when his interest in Rossi ended.\(^{330}\) It can be asked if Rossian traces, that is, forms, images and representation language, can be traced among his individual and group productions after this date.

Akay and Çıkış have collaborated to create a project for the exhibition that focuses on the Prato della Valle region in Padova. Initially a fairground neglected for many years, the square then houses a large monastery. Their proposal involves revitalizing the square's old form and surroundings, including a canal, by creating a pedestrian-oriented layout and introducing mass proposals to enhance the existing residential fabric. So, they suggest this square as a traditional neighborhood. (Fig. 73-75) Akay says that referring to the other name of the square, which describes it as a place belonging to a “madmen,” they proposed “a house for madmen (deliler evi),” or in its modern definition, a psychiatric clinic, with an isolated location in the water and a museum of “enlightenment (aydınlanma).”

On the other hand, Akay describes this project as the most intense example of his tendency towards traditional “Turkish” and “Ottoman” architecture. He states that in this project, they presented themselves as Ottoman architects who had worked on the Parthenon and as Ottoman architects who had received classical orders from angels. Accordingly, they also proposed a “Turks Square” and a shrine (türbe) to represent Ottoman architecture based on a Turkish legend.\(^{331}\) The beginning of the canal features a Nymphaeum (nimfeum) that reflects Greek architecture with its caryatids. Also, he says that to express their approach to originality, they placed a replica of the Tower of the Winds in Athens on the site.\(^{332}\)

\(^{330}\) Zafer Akay, interview by the author, January 6, 2024.

\(^{331}\) Akay mentions the legend that Forty Turkish raiders came into Italy and disappeared near Padova. Zafer Akay, “1. Oturum,” in Yıldız Buluşması: Mimarlık Uygulamaları Tartışması, ed. Murat Soygeniş (Tasarım Yayın Grubu, 1999), 15.

\(^{332}\) Ibid.
I draw attention to a drawing that puts the site plan and scene depiction side by side. The exhibition (or competition) titles are inscribed in the scene in an epitaph. It is evident that this drawing resembles one of Rossi’s drawings in the *Roma Interrotta* catalogue from 1978. (Fig. 72) On the other hand, it is legitimate to say that Akay has maintained the analogical discourses he used during his student years. This is demonstrated by the statements he made above and in the international competition project in Montreal in 1990 below. That is, the explanations for the project above show that Akay employs not only “rational” discourses, which are generally used to justify architectural proposals, but also analogical discourses that are less “rational.” I suggest that this individual approach was developed with the influence of Rossi.

Akay and Zeynep Mennan, an architect and academic trained in METU Faculty of Architecture, design an additional building serving cultural purposes for the French Embassy in Ankara in 1986, one year later. Akay mentions that they attempted to (confront) Modernity. He says that they took an approach that combined stone masonry walls with reinforced concrete regarding (Modern Architecture). Hence, he states that they did not perceive any contradiction with this approach, which is similarly employed in “Turkish” architecture, where different materials were used at different levels in the facade. Another architectural choice that supports their confrontation is Rossian standard four-pane square windows. (Fig. 76)

In 1990, Akay participates in an international competition for the design of Jacques Cartier Square, located in Old Montreal, Canada. In the design, he refers to Descartes’ idea that the beauty of a city lies in the fact that all eaves are at the same level. However, he says he was critical of this notion, arguing that in a city built according to this idea, the buildings would only be able to see each other, leaving little to see. As a result, his proposal includes distant views of places like the sea from rooftops that incorporate greenhouses and other features. It can be said that the tower-like building's roof and the flag have a Rossian image, while the brown-textured facade's composition of wall closure and tiny windows conveyed a Grassian language. (Fig. 77)

Semra Uygur and Özcan Uygur, Ankara based architects trained in METU Faculty of Architecture, design an additional building to an existing hospital on a ridge in Ankara’s historical center in 1989. (Fig. 78, 79) Their goal was to create a design that was not too similar nor too different from the surrounding structures. Also, they state that “our aim was to capture an image that was simple from the outside, silent (and) gave only hints of the main

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334 Ibid.
excitements. [...]” 335 Although limited discourse is available about this project, I suggest that especially the architectural model, characterized by the rational masses and typological elements, resembles Rossi’s architecture.

Besides that, Elâ Gönen, an architectural historian, discusses the Halı Hotel (*Halı Otelı*), located in the Eminönü district of Istanbul, and designed by Ali Esad Göksel in 1988. (Fig. 80) She comments that the building’s ground floor is constructed per the “Renaissance concept,” while the first and second floors follow the alternate order masonry system. She states that Göksel attempted a monumental entrance using a clock-like concrete slab above the entrance. She says that the square windowsills are as free of detail as possible. Hence, she asserts that these are signs of a Russian attitude on this front facade and that those elements mixed with modern construction techniques illustrate “Post-Modern eclecticism.” 336 Also, Gönen highlights the similarity between the jeweler building in Cağaloğlu, Istanbul, designed by Tuncay Çavdar’s architectural office, and Rossi’s Il Palazzo Hotel in Fukuoka. (Fig. 81) She defines the ornamental floor slabs and orange-painted marble-looking columns throughout the upper floors as a “neo-Renaissance Post-Modern.” 337

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337 Ibid, 186.
Figure 67. Atilla Yücel, Gezgin Commercial Building, 1985.

Figure 68. Atilla Yücel, Gezgin Commercial Building, Rear Facade, 1985.
Figure 69. Atilla Yücel, Birzeit University Campus, 1986.

Figure 70. Atilla Yücel, Yeni Kaplica Tourism Center, 1987.

Figure 71. Atilla Yücel, Diyar Beach Hotel, Pelitköy-İçmeler, 1988.
Figure 72. Aldo Rossi, *Roma Interrotta*, 1978.

Figure 73. Zafer Akay and Turgut Çıkş, *Prato della Valle*, Padova, Venice Biennale, 1985. (Masses filled in dark black are proposed.) (Abandoned proposal.)
Figure 74. Zafer Akay and Turgut Çıkış, Prato della Valle, Padova, Venice Biennale, 1985.

Figure 75. Zafer Akay and Turgut Çıkış, Prato della Valle, Padova, Venice Biennale, 1985.
Figure 76. Zafer Akay and Zeynep Mennan, French Embassy Additional Building for Cultural Services, Ankara, 1986.

Figure 77. Zafer Akay, International Competition Project for Jacques Cartier Square, Old Montreal, 1990.
Figure 78. Semra Uygur and Özcan Uygur, Turkish High Specialty Hospital Additional Building, a model, 1991.

Figure 79. Semra Uygur and Özcan Uygur, Turkish High Specialty Hospital Additional Building, n.d.
Figure 80. Ali Esad Göksel, Halı Hotel, front facade, 1988.

Figure 81. Tuncay Çavdar (Atölye T), Gülaylar Jeweller, front facade, 1996.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to contribute to recent studies in architectural history that challenge the dominant historiographical narratives of “Postmodernism.” It aligns with the scholarly pursuits investigating the translations and appropriations of Aldo Rossi’s architectural theory and design in different geographies.

In the first chapter, the thesis draws on the insightful sources and event such as Resisting Postmodern Architecture: Critical Regionalism Before Globalization by Stylianos Giamarellos in X, the multi-authored book Second-World Postmodernisms: Architecture and Society under Late Socialism, edited by Vladimir Kulić in X, and international conference, “Aldo Rossi, Perspectives from The World,” in 2018. All these references include discussions about Rossi's roots, projections, influences, and legacies in different geographies. Besides such scholarly efforts focusing on different geographies, this thesis addresses the gap in the literature concerning Rossi's relations with Turkey. It can be justified even by the late publication dates of the translations of L’architettura della città and A Scientific Autobiography, which were unavailable in Turkish until 2006 and 2022. As a result, the study contributes to the related literature.

In the second chapter, inspired by these, the thesis contributes to the studies that question the possible antecedents, roots and sources originating from other geographies for mainstream European and North American Postmodern history, primarily emphasizing Rossi and Robert Venturi through the case of Sedad Hakki Eldem. It investigates the discussions and inquiries regarding whether Eldem was acquainted with the typology-based works of the Enlightenment Period in Europe during his early youth. This is significant because Eldem employed the concepts of type and typology for several decades in architecture and city environments in Turkey before mainstream “Postmodern” architecture emerged in 1966, which began criticizing the architecture and city of Modern Architectures through these concepts. The study raises questions as to whether Eldem’s initiatives, such as the systematic study of the “Turkish house” typology in architectural circles, were solely influenced by the political context of the early Republic or whether he aimed to push the boundaries of architecture. Eldem's own
recognition of the significance of typology-oriented studies dated to his early years, coupled with the availability of relevant discussion for his comparative analysis with Italian typomorphologists during the 1980s, when Postmodernism in architecture discussions began in Turkey, further justifies these inquiries. To gain greater clarity on this topic, the study draws comparisons between Eldem's discourse and architecture with those of Rossi and the Neo-Rationalists, based on familiar concepts and themes such as typology, melancholy, building as an urban artifact or space for living, and collectivity.

This chapter also explores the cultural contexts of different architectural circles and their unique characteristics, revealing why they intersected with Rossi and the Neo-Rationalists during different periods. Interestingly, ITU Faculty of Architecture organized an architectural exhibition that showcased renowned Italian architects such as Carlo Aymonino, Vittorio Gregotti, and Paolo Portoghesi, demonstrating their knowledge of the latest architectural trends in Italy during the 1970s. This is noteworthy because it occurred when the architectural circles in Turkey were becoming politicized. Despite this, the faculty welcomed architects prioritizing form over politics and disregarding the architects' politicization. The writings and local research of Atilla Yücel, an ITU-based architect and architectural theorist, on typomorphology in the 1970s can be considered an early date for Turkey. Conversely, even in the early 1980s, there was apparent academic opposition to Rossi and his critique of Modern Architecture at METU, which had internalized the Modernist formation from the 1960s.

5.1. Translations and Appropriations

The third and fourth chapters focus on how Rossi's theoretical and architectural productions are introduced and translated within the architectural circles (architects, architectural theorists, architectural historians, and architecture students) in Turkey. These chapters trace which of his works are received or resisted, that is, appropriated. Also, both investigate which Rossian themes, concepts and images are transferred through which mediums.

In terms of translation, architects, architectural theorists, historians, and architecture students introduced and discussed Rossi's work in architectural magazines such as Mimarlık, Arredamento Dekorasyon, Mimarlık Dekorasyon and Tasarım since the mid-1980s. His productions were critically examined in academic mediums such as master's theses, dissertations and academic journals. While Rossi's discursive production is discussed through its Italian originals in cases such as Atilla Yücel and Belgin Turan Özkaya, its German translations in examples such as İhsan Bilgin, its French editions in cases such as Erdem Aksoy and it is generally questioned through English translations. This highlights the differences in the translation of Rossian discourse and how it is conveyed. Moreover, Rossi's drawings,
sketches, and paintings have been taken as seriously as his executed architectural productions. These visual works justify the distinction between the representation of architecture on paper and the bodily experience and are considered objects of architecture themselves. These imprecise visual documents are regarded as identical to other architects' precise technical drawings in Turkey.

The third chapter investigates the cross relationship between Mimarlık, which significantly introduced Rossi to Turkey and the METU Faculty of Architecture. Specifically, the chapter examines the inception of the Postmodernism debate with Mimarlık and its reception with METU. In the early 1980s, Mimarlık had already started following the Postmodernism discussions in architecture. Sibel Bozdoğan and Atilla Yücel wrote about the relationship between history, architectural history, architecture, and the built environment while other authors provided original texts and translations. The launch of the Beyond the Modern Architecture (Modern Mimarlığın Ötesi) series in 1984 further consolidated this.

The chapter focuses on how the METU Faculty of Architecture's architectural education adapted to the changing agenda in the early 1980s. This is demonstrated by their encounter with Rossi and the criticism of Modern Architecture. Interestingly, the driving force behind this encounter was not the academic staff but Zafer Akay, a Rossian enthusiast student in the faculty. Akay's enthusiasm was shared by his friends, who had critical or sympathetic views towards Rossi's work. The faculty's initial criticism of Rossi's images became more receptive when Sibel Bozdoğan joined the faculty and MEDIA magazine was published. The students were the driving force behind the magazine, which produced articles on Postmodernism in architecture, Rossi, and type and typology. Eventually, the academic staff also began to study Rossi's work more closely.

The third and fourth chapters delve into the introductions, criticisms, receptions, and further evaluations of Rossi's works from various perspectives, including their compatibility with Turkish architecture and cities as discussed in other popular local architecture magazines. These chapters explore the different definitions and approaches architects and architectural historians use to define Rossi and how his architectural productions and discourses are categorized. The text questions what lenses architectural historians use to approach Rossi and where the disciplinary boundaries between architecture and architectural history lie.

Enis Kortan views Rossi as representing Postmodern chaos in contrast to the universal cosmos of Modern Architecture, but later becoming one of the architects who creates livable cities. Selim Velioğlu believes that Rossi's originality comes at the expense of creating unhealthy living spaces. Barbaros Sağdıç sees Rossi adhering strictly to his successful theories, resulting
in architecture similar to surrealist models. İhsan Bilgin sees Rossi as an heir of Modern Architecture, struggling with problems from the beginning of the century into the 1960s and aiming to rebuild the city through his architectural projects. Zafer Akay (and Turgut Çıkış) see Rossi as a reference for confronting Modern Architecture. Atilla Yücel views Rossi as a reference geomorphologist in understanding the traditional city. For him, Rossi advocates pure form independent of ideology and opposes the superficiality of “Postmodern” architecture. Despite the controversy surrounding the transition date, all of these perspectives recognize Rossi's early architectural designs as strictly consistent with his discursive production, while his later works exhibit a more mannerist attitude with the unrestricted use of formal elements.

Sibel Bozdoğan regards Rossi as a classicist who gives credit to rethinking Modernity and Modern Architecture. Uğur Tanyeli praises him as the poet of the turn of the century. Accordingly, in his early works, Rossi drew inspiration from various architectural elements and types throughout history. However, during his later career, he began to repeat himself and failed to innovate in his projects, leading to unremarkable architecture. Also, for Tanyeli, Rossi evokes a sense of melancholy in his viewers by playing with familiar images in the audience’s mind. Aykut Kôksal identifies Rossi as a person who reminds historians, architectural historians, and preservationists of the city. Doğan Kuban sees Rossi as a contemporary representative of classic architecture, a feature seen throughout history. For Belgin Turan Özkaya, Rossi is a former supporter of urban science with a unique mentality that cannot be classified as purely Postmodern but rather one that seeks typicality, a Modernist notion. Özkaya analyzes the social, cultural, economic, and political backgrounds that shape the discourses and architectural works of the Neo-Rationalists, especially Rossi.

The third chapter discusses an exceptional example, the Defter Journal, which features contributions from various professionals such as writers, literary critics, sociologists, philosophers, artists, art critics and poets, including İhsan Bilgin. One of the recurring themes in the journal is the study of architecture and the city in Postmodernism and Modernism. The lingering effects of the issues in the 1900s that extended into the post-war period are a crucial topic in İhsan Bilgin's interpretation of Rossi. This issue is also explored by some of the other contributors in the journal, revealing that interdisciplinary exchanges and intellectual contributions impact Bilgin's understanding of Rossi.

In terms of appropriation, the fourth chapter provides an overview of the Rossian projects in Turkey. Although some of these projects reference the architect's statement, they mainly rely on secondary comments. The section also suggests projects that share formal similarities with Rossi or Neo-Rationalist designs. Specifically, two names stand out in this regard.
Atilla Yücel meets Rossi and the Neo-Rationalists in the 1970s. This is considered an early date for the architectural circles in Turkey. Yücel conducted theoretical architectural studies centered around type, typology, and morphology. He suggests that the survey archives inherited from Sedad Hakkı Eldem and others be examined from this perspective. Yücel utilizes his typological writings to study Istanbul's 19th-century row houses in 1979. He opposes “Postmodern” architecture with both local and Rossian nuances. In the 1980s, Yücel reflected this theoretical background, which had common ties with Rossi and the Neo-Rationalists, in his architectural production. According to secondary local comments, some of Yücel's architectural productions had Rossian traces. However, these influences are considered separately from the architects Rossi influenced with the discussions on Postmodernism in architecture in the 1980s.

The study draws attention to Yücel's relations with Rossi and Neo-Rationalists in terms of architectural production. The general assessment describes a transfer from the latter to the former, focusing mainly on the formal similarities. Besides that, the last chapter illustrates affinities between image repertoire and the language of representation between Yücel and the Neo-Rationalists, as illustrated through the concept of melancholy. That is, the study does not propose a linear transfer between the two. Instead, it aims to provide a theoretical background for their production and inspire a deeper understanding of their work.

Zafer Akay distances himself from Rossi compared to his undergraduate years in collaborative projects with various names in the few years following his graduation in 1984. He keeps instrumentalizing Rossi to propose alternatives to Modernist norms that have become taboo in architectural practice. While the third chapter illustrates Akay's relationship with Rossi's concept of analogical architecture during his student years, based on this, the last chapter shows that instead of “rational” discourses such as explanations of the architectural program, which architects, at least in Turkey generally use to justify their architectural proposals, he also resorts to analogical discourses that are relatively less “rational.” The text suggests that this was a special attitude Akay developed with Rossi.
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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tez, “Postmodernizm”in hakim tarih yazımına meydan okuyan mimarlık tarihi alanındaki güncel alternatif çalışmalara katkıda bulunuyor. Bu çalışma Aldo Rossi’nin mimarlık kuramının ve mimari tasarımlarının çeşitli coğrafyaldaki çevirilerini ve benimsenmelerini araştıran akademik çalışmalarla Türkiye üzerinden eklenliyorum.


İlke Sedad Hakki Eldem ile Aldo Rossi arasında tip ve tipoloji kavramlarının araştırılması ve bu kavramların mekan kullanıcılarnın etnik kökeni, meslekleri gibi gündelik olguları
tarafından biçimlenmesine yönelik tavırları arasında karşılaştırmalı analizde bulunuyor. İlkicişi ise Rossi'nin Üsküdar Meydanı için düzenlenen 1987 tarihi kentsel tasarım yarışmasına karşılgıdı projesine odaklanıyor. Projenin belediye tarafından istenen kriterlerin aksine bulunduğu “bağlama” uygulanlığa yönelik tartışıyor. Rossi'nin İstanbul'un mimarı ve kentsel çehresine yönelik değerlendirme mermilerini içeriyor.


Üçüncü ve dördüncü bölümler Rossi’nin kuramsal ve mimari üretimlerinin Türkiye’deki mimarlık çevrelerinde (mimarlar, mimarlık teorisyenleri, mimarlık tarihçileri ve mimarlık öğrencileri) nasıl tanıtıldığı ve çevrildiği (translation) odaklanıyor. Onun hangi yapıtlarının alımlandığını veya dirence maruz kaldığını, yani benimsenme (appropriation) süreçlerini gösteriyor. Ayrıca Rossi’ye özgü temaların, kavramların ve görsellerin hangi mecralar aracılığıyla aktarıldığını araştırıyor.


Öte yandan, Rossi’nin çizimleri, eszkizleri ve resimleri, mimarlık pratigiindeki üretimleri kadar değerli görüldü. Bu görsel dokümanlar, mimarlık nesnesinin kağıt üzerindeki temsili ile bedensel deneyimi arasındaki ayrımca vurgu yapmıştır. Mimarlık nesneleri olarak kabul görmüştür. Teknik anlamda hassasiyet içermeyen (imprecise) bu görsel çizimler, diğer mimarların hassasiyet barındıran (precise) teknik çizimleriyle eş değer bir statüde görülmüştür.

Mimarın Ötesi serisinin başlangıcı bu gelişmeleri pekiştirdi ve katmanlaştırdı. Rossi’nin popülerliğinin yaygınlaşmasına önemli bir katkıda bulundu.


Mimarlıkta postmodernizm, Rossi, tip ve tipoloji, mimarlık disiplininin özerkliği, kentsel bellek gibi konulardan üzerine yazılar üreten dergi yayın hayatını öğrenciler sayesinde sürdürüyor. Birk aça bir sene içinde akademik kadrolar da Rossi’nin çalışmalarını daha yakından incelemeye başlıyor.

Üçüncü ve dördüncü bölümler, diğer popüler yerel mimarlık dergilerinde Rossi’nin eserlerinin Türkiye’deki mimarlıklar ve şehirlerle uyumlu olduğu gibi açılarından tanımlarını, eleştirilerini ve değerlendirme yöntemlerini ele alıyor. Mimarların ve mimarlık tarihçelerinin Rossi’yi tanımalarak ve anlamalar için kullandıkları farklı tanımları ve onun mimarlık çalışmaları ile söylemlerinin nasıl kategorize edildiğiini araştırıyor. Mimarlık tarihçelerinin Rossi’yi anlamaların hangi mercekleri kullanıklarını, ona nasıl yaklaşıklarını ve mimarlık ile mimarlık tarihi arasındaki disipliner sınırların neresinde bulunduklarını sorguluyor.

Enis Kortan, Rossi’nin Modern Mimarlık’ın evrensel düzen iddiası ile ilişkili kozmosunun aksine Postmodern kaosu temsil ettiği söylüyor. Ancak daha sonra onun yaşanabilir şehirler yaratan mimarlardan biri olduğunu düşünüyorum. Selim Vehşi, Rossi’nin sağlıklı yaşam alanları yaratma pahasına özgün bir bir tasarımçı olmayı seçtiği inanyorum. Barbaros Sağdıç, başarılı bulduğu kuramaları sık sık siyaya bağlı kalan Rossi’nin mimarlığın süpermimari modelere benzediğini düşünüyor. İhsan Bilgin, Rossi’yi yüzyılın başındaki bazı kuramları ve onun mimarlık tarihi arasındaki sınırların neresinde bulunduğunu belirtiyor. Atilla Yücel, Rossi’yi geleneksel şehir anlamak için başvurulacak bir tipomorfolog olarak görüyor. Ona göre Rossi, ideolojiden bağımsız salt formu savunuyor. Rossi “Postmodern” mimarlığın yüzeyseldeki karışımlı yaklaşımları tutarlı bir ilişki içinde olduğunda ve daha
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