

**EMERGENCE OF ART GALLERIES IN ANKARA
A CASE STUDY OF THREE PIONERRING GALLERIES IN THE 1950s**

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis attempts to analyze the emergence of private art galleries in Turkey by focusing on specifically the three art galleries, namely Gallery Milar, Helikon Society's Gallery, and Society of Artlovers' Gallery that were opened in Ankara during 1950s. To this aim, both the artistic movements and governmental policies regarding the artistic field are mentioned from a historical point of view. Interviews, analysis of relevant literature, examining periodical magazines, and daily newspapers constitute the main sources of data collecting. In conclusion, in the light of our findings it is decided that the formation of art market and emergence of art galleries in Turkey have quite different characteristics from the western example as a result of its own social, cultural and economic dynamics in the historical frame.

Key Words: Art gallery, Art Market, Cultural Policies, Turkish Painting, Exhibition Space.

ÖZ

ANKARA'DA SANAT GALERİCİLİĞİNİN OLUŞUMU 1950LERİN ÖNCÜ ÜÇ GALERİSİ ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA

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Bu tez Türkiye’de özel sanat galericiliğinin oluşumunu 1950li yıllarda Ankara’da açılmış olan üç galeri; Milar Galerisi, Helikon Derneği Galerisi ve Sanatseverler Derneği Galerilerine odaklanarak, analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla, sanatsal alanla ilgili hem sanatsal hareketler hem de devlet politikaları tarihsel bir bakış açısı ile ele alınmıştır. Görüşmeler, ilgili literatürün analizi, dönem dergi ve gazetelerinin incelenmesi temel bilgi edinme kaynaklarını oluşturmuştur. Sonuç olarak, bulgularımızın ışığında; tarihsel çerçevede Türkiye’de sanat piyasasının oluşumu ve özel galerilerin ortaya çıkışının toplumsal, kültürel ve ekonomik dinamiklerin farklılığı sonucu Batılı örneklerinden oldukça farklı karakteristiklere sahip olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sanat galerisi, Sanat piyasası, Kültürel politikalar, Türk Resmi, Sergileme mekanı.

To my dear father, mother, and brother

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	v
DEDICATION.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. ART GALLERIES: SHOWCASES OF ARTWORKS.....	8
2.1 From curiosity cabinets to art galleries.....	8
2.1.1. Collecting and exhibiting.....	9
2.1.2. Cabinets of Curiosity.....	16
2.1.3. Museum.....	19
2.1.3.1. Museum versus Gallery.....	22
2.1.4. Experiencing the Gallery Space.....	27
2.2. Emergence of Art Market and the Role of Galleries: A Brief Historical Perspective.....	30
2.2.1. Beginning of Trade in Art: Early Art Market.....	31
2.2.2. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.....	35
2.3. Patronage in Fine Arts.....	39
2.4. Art Dealers.....	42

2.5. Value of the Work Of Art: A Commodity in the Gallery Space.....	45
3. ARTISTIC MOVEMENTS AND CULTURAL POLICIES IN TURKEY: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE (LAST DECADES OF OTTOMAN REIGN TO 1960)	49
3.1. Period before the Proclamation of the Turkish Republic.....	49
3.1.1. Foundation of Fine Arts Academy and Subsequent Artistic Movements.....	50
3.2. Artistic Sphere in the Early Periods of Turkish Republic.....	54
3.2.1. Artistic Movements and Groups.....	55
3.2.2. Governmental Policies and Artistic Field.....	59
3.2.2.1. Exhibitions of Paintings of the Revolution.....	60
3.2.2.2. People’s Houses and Their Activities.....	61
3.2.2.3. The Provincial Tours.....	62
3.2.2.4. State Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture.....	64
3.2.2.5. Opening of İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum.....	65
3.3. End of Cultural Policies, the Last Era: Post 1945.....	66
3.4. General Evaluation of the Considered Period.....	67
4. THREE PIONEERING GALLERIES IN ANKARA: HELIKON SOCIETY’S GALLERY, GALLERY <i>MİLAR</i> , SOCIETY OF ARTLOVERS’GALLERY	70
4.1. Pioneering Exhibition Spaces and Galleries	71
4.1.1. İstanbul and Its Early Private Art Galleries.....	76
4.1.2. Pioneering Galleries in Ankara.....	78
4.1.2.1. Helikon Society’s Gallery.....	80
4.1.2.2. Gallery <i>Milar</i>	85

4.1.2.3. Society of Artlovers' Gallery.....	92
5. CONCLUSION.....	100
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	106
APPENDIX: THE ORIGINALS OF TRANSLATIONS.....	116

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to question the emergence of private art galleries in Turkey, primarily focusing on the galleries in Ankara, between the period 1950 and 1960 in relation to the cultural and social conditions of the period and cultural policies of Republican governments of the time. More specifically, cultural policies of the state in Turkey and artistic formations and movements in the art sphere will be considered as the two variables that led to appearance of commercial art galleries of private enterprise. Art gallery will be analyzed as an agency in art market that constitutes a space for the confrontation of public and art. The secondary question to be interrogated is whether art galleries should be interpreted as public spaces open to all strata in society, giving them genuinely free access, or they should be evaluated as institutions and spaces specific to certain strata of a society having particular life styles, life practices, and tastes.

However, since it is evident that local, economic, and cultural circumstances and traditions strongly affected and shaped the formation of art market and its characteristics all over the world, it is an unnecessary and ultimately futile endeavor to attempt to create a unique and conventional formulation for that process. Thus, in this thesis the effort is not at all to provide a comprehensive and definitive view of art galleries all over the world. Rather, the particular objective is to provide an explanation of the emergence of private art galleries in Turkey particularly in 1950s Ankara and the preparative causes underlying this formation.

In this thesis, depending on relevant sources it is presupposed that, there occurred a rupture in the trajectory of Turkish contemporary art after 1945. As it has been known so far the period between 1945 and 1950 has been accepted as a transition

period that has several political, economic, and social connotations in the historical context of Turkey. During and after that period, in Turkey the state has changed its agenda emphasizing both the cultural development and economic growth as fundamentals of modern nation formation and development process, and turned its attention to only the latter one. Due to this change, withdrawal of state from the fields of artistic and cultural production had led to the emergence of private entrepreneurship, and more specifically private art galleries. This presupposition, enabling our significant research questions relies on several articles about varying circumstances of art in Turkey in this period. According to Yaman, for instance, during this period the government did not develop and apply comprehensive and guiding cultural policies in its program while the attention was mostly directed towards liberalization in the field of economy.¹ In those years, there was not even a state gallery in İstanbul for exhibitions, and most of the exhibitions performed in unsuitable salons and halls as going to be stated in detail. Yaman states that the most significant characteristics of the period regarding the field of art concerning above-mentioned issues were the ‘emergence of private art galleries’ and ‘rise of personal exhibitions’. Thus, the circumstances surrounding private art galleries in Turkey in the period need to be interpreted in this light.

Gallery management as a profession does not have a long history in Turkey if the examples, which did not last too long in the 1950s, are not counted. However, this period witnessed great changes and improvements in the field of contemporary Turkish art that are going to be mentioned further in this thesis. In the 1970s, the number of galleries rose quickly and consequently the art market has developed and nourished the field of artistic production and consumption. Among a variety of factors, alleged by many Turkish art historians, hindering the improvement of art galleries in Turkey are economic depressions due to unstable economic conditions, the lack of modern and national art museum as well as lack of institutionalization in the art market. One more reason can be added to these three. The emergence of galleries that belong to banks and their irresistible economic and symbolic authority has also become an obstacle against smaller and independent art galleries, especially

¹ Zeynep Yasa Yaman, “1950li Yılların Sanatsal Ortamı ve Temsil Sorunu” in **Toplum ve Bilim**, No: 79, Winter 1998, pp. 95-137.

in İstanbul art market. However, since this is a contemporary situation it is not going to be covered in this thesis.

In order to cope with the above-mentioned problematic concerning Turkey and to settle this local historical study in its relevant historical and cultural context in world scale, it is certainly necessary to cite certain cultural and artistic issues regarding art galleries in western world. With this aspiration in mind, in the first chapter several aspects of this phenomenon are going to be investigated and revealed in order to have a general understanding of art galleries as cultural, social, and economic institutions. At first, collecting as a worldwide cultural practice that led to the formation of exhibition spaces is going to be stated in all aspects. Subsequently, historical background and social roles of exhibition spaces from the early “cabinets of curiosity” to modern art gallery and museum, are going to be analyzed from a historical point of view in order to make a limited yet relatively clear understanding of these institutions. Secondly, art gallery is going to be considered as a major complement of art market together with other agents such as patrons, dealers, and collectors. Beginning of art trade and early movements, art trade in nineteenth and twentieth centuries in terms of market conditions are going to be covered. Additional to those, patronage in fine arts and role of art dealers are going to constitute our complementary subject matters.

After revealing the necessary aspects regarding art galleries in western world, in the third chapter of this thesis we turn our attention to Turkey and the formation of local art market and artistic sphere. Despite the fact that we encounter the opening of early art galleries only in the end of 1940s, the period beginning from the last decades of Ottoman reign until the end 1950s are going to be analyzed in order to unfold the conditions that led to the formation of local art market and emergence of private art galleries. Artistic tendencies and movements especially rooted from İstanbul together with the governmental regulations and policies of Ankara are going to be considered as the two fundamentals in the field of artistic production. The important polices of state in artistic field concerning plastic arts are; Exhibition of Paintings of The Revolution (*İnkılap Sergileri*), People’s Houses’ (*Halk Evleri*) activities, The Provincial Tours (*Yurt Gezileri*), The State Exhibitions of Painting and Sculpture

(*Devlet Resim ve Heykel Sergileri*), and opening of İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum (*İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi*). These are going to be stated briefly so as to comprehend the state's attitude towards art and public. With the aid of this historical study, opportunities and facilities provided by state to the artistic sphere are going to be stated. Thus, it is going to be possible to comprehend the relationship between the power and the artistic sphere during the period.

In the following and last chapter, history of art galleries in Turkey and cultural, political, and social conditions with reference to cultural policies of the period are going to be examined. The role of art galleries in society's cultural and artistic life specific to the period and their comparison with western galleries will be interrogated mainly in this part of the thesis. Cultural policies of the period strongly affected and perhaps gave rise to the openings of private art galleries. That process can be interpreted as one of the reflections and results of liberalization in the economic field and of raising private enterprise in the field of cultural production. These galleries slowly began to undertake the role of public art galleries owned by the state while also transforming the rules and functioning of the period's art market.

Three pioneering galleries, which opened during 1950s in Ankara, that are Gallery *Milar* (*Milar Galeri*), *Helikon Society's Gallery* (*Helikon Derneği Galerisi*), and *Society of Artlovers' Gallery* (*Sanatseverler Derneği Galerisi*) are selected for a detailed study in the fourth chapter. One might claim that, establishing a perspective on the history of art galleries in Turkey as well as their operations and role in cultural and artistic fields can surely not be realized by just focusing on the three galleries chosen. However, for that period as it is going to be stated, there were only a few numbers of private art galleries both in İstanbul and in Ankara and because of that those three can be accepted as the representative of others. In the analysis of relevant literature, it is also determined that those three galleries have had a long lasting affect on the modern Turkish painting since they have provided exhibition spaces in order to meet art and its public. Additionally, it is also observable in the periods' journals and magazines that a large number of fine arts exhibitions of that period have been held in these galleries in Ankara. Therefore, we can claim that those as the cultural

attraction centres of the capital city contributed much to the social and cultural life in Ankara as well as in Turkey.

As it is stated, the break point in the Turkish art history occurred through the end of 1940s. Thus, cultural, social, and economic variables determining the conditions of field of cultural production and atmosphere in 1950s have different characteristics from the early republican period in Turkey. From the beginning of republican period until mid-1940s, the populism principle guided the governmental practices and policies in the field of plastic arts as well as other fields. The state aimed at reaching artistic activities and services to all strata of society. However, in the last decades of Ottoman reign, although there happened artistic activities and exhibitions in İstanbul, only a definite group of people from upper classes of the society could participate those activities. Additionally, together with the opening of private art galleries and withdrawal of state from the artistic sphere the same thing happened and art and public have lost their connection despite the fact that theoretically gallery space were open to all.² This had two major causes. First is the nature of modern artistic practice that required the visitor having the knowledge and codes of artistic production. Second is the acceptance of some cultural and artistic practices, just like gallery visiting as the signs of luxury, prestige, of being higher class, while art galleries today can be evaluated as more embedded in economic field and isolated from society's lower socio-economic strata. Thus, there occurred a symbolic boundary between artistic activities and practices and the middle and lower classes of society. This process is going to be stated historically in the second chapter in detail in the world scale.

By depending on above-mentioned aspects that are going to be studied, it is aimed to provide a comprehensive scheme that could help to understand the formation of artistic sphere in Turkey. In the following chapters, some theoretical definitions and themes of Bourdieu will be cited such as cultural capital, educational capital, field of cultural production. Symbolic and cultural capitals are especially important for the subject matter of this thesis concerning field of cultural production. Symbolic capital

² Kaya Özsezgin. *Cumhuriyet'in 75 Yılında Türk Resmi* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1998): p. 25

refers to prestige, celebrity, reputability, consecration, or honour that “is founded on dialectic of knowledge (*connaissance*) and recognition (*reconnaissance*)”.³ On the other hand, cultural capital is defined as a form of knowledge, a code, or a cognitive attainment which social agent use for competence and appreciation in analysing cultural relations and artifacts.⁴ As Bourdieu strongly emphasizes the political and social functions of symbolic practices, and defines artistic field as a field of production and the artist as a cultural producer rather than creating a romantic notion of art and artist. He is concerned with the social meaning and value of artworks rather than their nature.⁵ Both the artwork and artist take position in the juncture of economic, social, and political conditions. In his sociology of art, there is not a creator myth that is attached on artist. According to him, today aesthetic value is a production of art dealers, art critics, publishers, and other distributors of artwork. By producing those values, in one sense they guarantee their economic and social power, since they are the owner of that knowledge. He suggests that “work of art exist as symbolic objects only if they are known and recognized, that is, socially instituted as works of art and received by spectators capable of knowing and recognizing them”.⁶ Thus, we can say that only the ones who have the knowledge and codes of works can give a meaning and value to the works. At that point, museum and the gallery as social agents help that process.⁷ By the aid of appropriate kinds of cultural capital, the visitor and collector can comprehend the hidden and invisible values and meanings that are attached on artworks in the gallery space-context. In the second chapter, the values and symbolic meanings attached on artworks is going to be explained.

³ Pierre Bourdieu, **The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature**, ed. and int. by Randal Johnson (Britain: Polity Press, 1999): p.7 [in editor’s introduction]

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Chris Wilkes, “Bourdieu’s Class” in *Introduction To The Work of Pierre Bourdieu: The Practice Of Theory*”, ed.by Richard Harker, Cheleen Mahar, and Chris Wilkes. (Basingstoke : Macmillan, 1990); p. 157

⁶ Bourdieu, op. cit.;37

⁷ Ibid.

However, Bennett claims that art galleries are the least publicly accessible of all other public collecting institutions. He states that this is mainly because of their display principles, which require visitors already equipped with the appropriate cultural skills. He suggests that, by depending on Bourdieu's works;

... [A]rt gallery has typically been appropriated by ruling elites as a key symbolic site for those performances of 'distinction' through which the cognoscenti differentiate themselves from 'the masses'.⁸

He also adds that practically museums and especially art galleries have been in fact under service of social elites rather than functioning as institutions for all strata of society. Therefore, they have effects in the differentiating elite from popular social classes.⁹ In the following chapters concerning both Turkey and western world, we are going to question if the above-mentioned theoretical determinations are valid for the role of art galleries in the relationship between art and society.

In order to cope with the above-mentioned problematic, interviews with gallery founders, their relatives, and artists were held. In addition to interviews, a documentary study was conducted and various sources of relevant literature, magazines (*Yeditepe*, *Ar*, *Forum*) and daily newspapers (*Ulus* and *Zafer*) of 1950s, several contemporary art, and history magazines were reviewed. Archives of *Bilkent* University Library, National Library of Turkey, Library of Chamber of Architects constitutes the main sources for the data collection. Relevant literature about art, art history, history of art galleries, field of cultural production and sociology of art are going to be studied in order to construct a theoretical background for this thesis' problematic. Additionally, several written historical sources about Ankara's social and cultural incidents in the determined period are reviewed with the intention of finding marks left by selected galleries and stating social, cultural, and political practices of these galleries in the history of the city.

⁸ Tony Bennett. **The Birth Of The Museum: History, Theory, Politics** (London: Routledge, 1994): pp. 10-11

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.28

CHAPTER II

ART GALLERIES: SHOWCASES OF ARTWORKS

2.1. From curiosity cabinets to art galleries

Ceremonial display of collected things is a tradition the roots of which reach back to ancient times. From the very beginning of civilizations all over the world, people have been collecting, accumulating, and displaying things with differing motivations in relation to cultural, historical, and social conditions of a particular space and time. All over the world, people have established countless types of collections of miscellaneous objects and displayed them in especially dedicated spaces through the ages. Collections make the whole culture of a particular country of a specific period visible to us and give clues about its way of life, socio-economic characteristics, and its aesthetic and artistic preferences. Throughout history, collections and culture have mutually shaped each other. In other words, “culture, creates collections; collections create culture”.¹⁰

In this process, gallery and its antecedents have emerged as ‘exhibitionary spaces’¹¹ and performed their function as cultural as well as social institutions in the society. In order to establish a whole comprehension of the evolution and positioning of ‘art gallery’ throughout the history, both as a space for the works of art and as a cultural institution and phenomenon rooted in the Western world, it is crucial to have a look at collecting and exhibiting practices held from ancient times till our age.

¹⁰ Dillon Ripley, **The Sacred Groove-Essays on Museums** (Simon and Schuster: New York, 1969): p. 23

¹¹ ‘Exhibitionary space’ is a term used by Tony Bennett to refer to types of institutions such as museums, galleries and other types of spaces of exhibition.

2.1.1. Collecting and exhibiting

The term “collection” mostly refers to a set of objects, usually collected to study, exhibit or for personal taste according to a resemblance principle. Most of the time, things accepted as valueless and useless can be overvalued when they have become the pieces of a collection. In order to assess a group of objects as a collection, be it works of art or other types of curios, they should have been composed and protected as a whole at least for a conceivable period without being sold or used by the collector. Krzysztof Pomian underlies this requirement and uses the term “*semiophore*” referring to collection objects as follows;

On one side, there were *things, objects, which were useful* in that they could be consumed, could provide a means of subsistence, render raw materials fit for consumption, or even act as protection from the vagaries of the climate. ...On the other side were ranged the *semiophores, objects which were of absolutely no use*, according to the above definition, but which, being endowed with *meaning*, represented the invisible.¹²

Despite the fact that *semiophores* are mostly precious objects and have an exchange value, they have no practical use value, since they are generally exchanged to be exhibited as part of a collection. It must be remembered that when an object enters a collection, it loses its use value and is interpreted as a piece of a whole; as a source of aesthetic pleasure, historical and scientific knowledge or curiosity and enjoyment. Besides, the whole collection is more than the sum of its parts. Furthermore, as postulated by Pomian;

... [t]he greater the meaning the less the usefulness, seems in this light to become invalid, as the more an object is charged with meaning the greater its value, and this value is now expressed as the quantity of things which could possibly be obtained in exchange. ...the more an object is attributed meaning the less the interest which is taken in its usefulness.¹³

¹² Krzysztof Pomian, **Collectors and Curiosities: Paris And Venice, 1500-800** (Cornwall, Great Britain: T.J. Press Ltd., Padstow, 1990): p.30. The author examined the opposition between the invisible and the visible as a universal phenomenon and asserts that *semiophores*, as agencies between them make the invisible (power, hierarchy, prestige, belief, sanctity, honor, etc) visible to the eyes of onlookers.

¹³ Ibid., p. 31

At the very beginning, the fundamental reasons for collecting were medical, religious, and economic needs, and then personal taste, skill, and aesthetic solicitude have been added to them.¹⁴ Then there came an epoch of collecting objects indicators of personal wealth and prestige. Without doubt, a disciplined and organized collecting is a product of almost unlimited patience, passion, and dedication. Although being selected to a collection can be totally a coincidence, finding a rare thing can also take several years of a patient collector. The value of a thing usually increases when it becomes part of a collection, since it has been privileged over its unitary value.

As already said, the passion of collecting and exhibiting objects is almost as old as world and it has been proved that the very first examples had been practiced at Neolithic times. For example in the most ancient city known, *Çatal Höyük* (6500-5700 BC), in Anatolia, there has been found tombs containing objects varying according to the gender and social status of the person buried. There are similar applications in many civilizations where tombs were filled with precious objects, weapons, clothes, jewellery and ornaments, musical instruments and works of art. Ancient man, almost invariably tried to camouflage the location of the tomb by building labyrinths and captious groves and set up inspection and monitoring systems to avoid intruders finding the sacred place and to protect it from robbers or profaners. It is easy to claim that there was not an economic motivation under this spectacular effort, since objects were installed for not to be used or gazed upon; but rather with the aim of honoring the buried person both in this and the next world.¹⁵

We have known that both Greeks and Romans collected works of art, created collections both from votive, plundered objects, and exhibited them in their own temples.¹⁶ However, a majority of people in ancient Greece and Rome had limited access to the exhibitions, which were held in temples and streets. A privileged

¹⁴ Ripley, op.cit.: p. 23

¹⁵ Pomian, p. 12

¹⁶ Joseph Rykwert. "Temples Of Today/ The Multiplication And Sanctification Of The Museum" in *TLS*, November 1998, pp. 3-4

minority of people owning private collections admitted only their close milieu to view and experience their collections. Furthermore, curios and works of art in churches were also inaccessible to lower strata of the society.¹⁷ Through ages in many cultures, the general tendency and application had been of this sort, and the admittance for great masses of society was either restricted or totally prohibited. As it is going to be dilated later, the situation did not substantially change for middle and lower classes until nineteenth century.

We have encountered new approaches of gaining knowledge of unknown cultures, history, and nature, first in the second half of fourteenth century of Eastern Europe. During European Middle Ages in Europe, the clergy and the ruling class accumulated collections composed of relics, sacred objects, gifts and works of art in churches and royal treasure houses, however without obeying any ordering systems.¹⁸ The clergy cleaned up churches of all the objects of iconoclasm in order to hinder any possible menace challenging the opposition between the sacred and the secular in the minds of believers. During this period, antiquities were usually thought of as rubbish, and only a few exceptional examples of relics and ancient cameo were held in treasury houses of princes and churches. However, this situation has changed via the effect of a new social group emerging by the fifteenth century, namely the so-called 'humanists' who were capable of knowledge in different fields like art, science and antiquity, and the collecting of antiquities proliferated first in Italy and then the rest of Europe.¹⁹ Subsequently, the impact and interest of humanists, along

¹⁷ Alma S. Wittlin. **Museums: In Search of a Usable Future** (MIT: USA, 1970); pp. 77-78. However, Wittlin also considered opposite examples even though they are few; “*spectari monumenta sua voluit*” was the reputation enjoyed by Asinius Pollio, who in contrast to other collectors of Ancient Rome, wished his treasures to be appreciated by many people and not to be reserved for his own benefit. Another public-spirited collector of the Augustan era was General Agrippa, who threw his collections open to all public and appealed to other collectors not to hide their treasures in the exile of their villas, on the ground that the best of art should belong to the community, to the state, to everybody who could and wanted to enjoy it. His words remained unheeded, and the collectors of Rome continued to regard the enjoyment of works of art and curios in their possession as their individual privilege.” (Ibid: 75)

¹⁸ Pomian, op. cit.: 37. Nevertheless, only in fifteenth century, collecting became systematized, and then collections were established according to some set of conditions in order to provide education, pleasure, and cultivation to certain privileged public.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 35. The writer also writes;

with the development of traveling and shipping, contributed to the extension of collections in terms of assortment of different types of *semiophores*; like exotic and natural curios, scientific instruments, specimens of flora and fauna, and various works of art. They did not only utilize the objects to gain and produce knowledge but also as symbols of their social rank by showing intellectual and artistic taste and talent.²⁰

It is both observable and not surprising that in time collecting became specialized into a practice peculiar to upper economic and social classes, since such an activity could only be executed by an epicurean and erudite man who has the opportunity of spending time for his own appreciation in daily life as well as capital to afford it. Correspondingly, collections bring prestige and concession to their owners as marks of wealth, power, intellectuality, and taste. According to Pomian, the meaning and importance ascribed to collection pieces which are the representatives of the invisible and manifestations of different centers of social importance, left no choice to do otherwise but dictated to the people on top of the social hierarchy to collect, protect and display *semiophores* in their sacred tombs, temples, churches, treasury houses, palaces, princely galleries or curiosity cabinets. This compulsion led to the formation and conservation of collections even when the individuals concerned had no particular personal interest in them.

As mentioned above, collections and culture of a given era and a given country strongly interacted with each other. Even in Europe, from country to country, collecting practices and properties of collections differ. For instance, in Spain, the only collections were found in sacristies; in Italy there were great collections since cardinals and princes collected masterpieces for almost five centuries for their own prestige as much as their delight. However, in Germany, not only historical

Only later, and because of the influence of the humanists, were collections of this kind formed in the royal courts, in the Medici and d'Este courts, the papal and cardinal courts in Italy, the court of Matthias I Corvinus in Hungary, those of the kings of France and England and elsewhere. In the second half of the sixteenth century the fashion for collecting antiquities spread to every European country.”

²⁰ Ibid., p.38

collections were formed by the princes, but also modern painting collections were established.²¹

Today, people all over the world collect incredible types and number of objects to generate their collections. Walter Grasskamp notices an exhibition that was held in Decorative Arts Museum in Paris. The exhibition constituted of collections of different objects such as bottle lids, steam motors, coffee ovens (*kahvedan*), gas masks, teetotums, moneyboxes, extraordinary electricity switches, wine and cheese etiquettes, toy robots, and colored lithographs. In the museum space, these collections become the objects of gaze and attention. Depending on the diversity of objects in the collections, the writer claims that the ordinary collector is in fact not as ordinary as it is thought to be. Then he also adds that it is inconsequent to assert that these extraordinary, rare but valueless objects are collected in order to be sold for profit since you can sell objects only to that someone who so aspires and these are so excessively peculiar collections to their collectors and themselves that it is hard to find a desirous buyer.²² However, today, composing a collection has also become a free time activity and already a market of goods manufactured to be collection pieces has been established. People who have not enough patience and curiosity but free time and capital may prefer to compose collections of these objects, whereas one may ask such type of a practice in what degree can be assessed as a collecting activity. In other words, such a collecting does not involve coincidences; whereas in fact collecting should be an arrangement of coincidences. The collector in consequence of some coincidences pre-empts objects and thus, a continuous excitement and discovery are at hand, such that ‘collecting is a kind of luck game that provides life long protection from boredom.’²³

Relating boredom and collecting have been an accepted attitude generally. For instance, after comparing advantages and disadvantages of some free time activities

²¹ John Fowles, **The Collector** (Vintage: London, 1998, c1963): p. 67

²² Walter Grasskamp, “The Cabinets” in *Sanatçı Müzeleri*, ed. by Ali Artun (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005) : pp. 81–82 (Citations are translated by the writer of thesis).

²³ *Ibid.*, p.84

such as reading, doing sports and watching TV as vehicles for eliminating boredom, Philippe Julian also concludes that collecting is much more effective than those and every collection is inspired by the “fear of boredom, desire for immortality, aesthetic sensibility, vanity and speculation”²⁴, further stating that;

... [t]he passion which excites emulation and allows people to singularize themselves while remaining within the framework of morality and social organization is collecting. It encourages the ambition and flights of fancy refused us by a society in which all spirit of enterprise is limited to the office and all ideas are provided by the television. Above all, it helps to pass the time that people do not know what to do with, once their work is over. And, at the Office, the clerk dreams of a Holy Grail of postage-stamps or tin soldiers, and the banker of a library brimming with incunabula or a gallery covered with Royal Academicians. Very few people will confess, however, that boredom is the *raison d'être* of their collection, and indeed a hundred different motives disguise their struggle against the void;²⁵

There are several other motivating reasons for man collecting in modern times; such as unpleasing circumstances of business life and lack of individual productivity. From this point of view, collecting works as a means for creating and nourishing the personality. The owning sense is much stronger, and satisfaction in art collecting, for its uniqueness and aesthetic value, places on the work of art almost a metaphysical value, turning it into a quasi-sacred object. Without doubt, the worth of such objects should be higher than other *semiophores* and a man should have the required circumstances, such as being on higher levels of social, intellectual, and economic hierarchies in order to deserve those. Now, the most considerable of all collections are those of paintings, which are the proper focus of this thesis, due to the capital they demand because they are only ones likely to leave their mark on history.²⁶ However, today main art collectors are the huge economic corporation owners or shareholders having the capital and means of production. Thus, they comprehend art,

²⁴ Fowles, op.cit.: p. 74

²⁵ Philippe Jullian, **The Collectors**, trans. from French by Michael Callum (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1967): p. 16

²⁶ Fowles, op.cit.: p. 40

as an investment field, which they can gain economic and cultural capital.²⁷ For these reasons, collecting artworks seems to be one-step further from other types of collecting, considering the prestige, symbolic and economic capital it sustains.

As already stated, the concept of great art collections of medieval times originated in and from the Church and spread, through its influence as a creator of taste, into the princely families, first in Italy and then in neighbouring countries, and we encounter the very first examples of art collecting approximately in the fifteenth century.²⁸ On the other hand, the thing artist creates is something that is a long-lasting representation of nature and other temporary things, thus worthy to collect, protect and display as a symbol of royalty, power, grace and taste. As a result, royal family members, mostly princes, became both the collectors and patrons of artists and works of art²⁹.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the prices of works of art rose and money began to play a major role in the constitution and preservation of collections of works of art. Accordingly, people began to interest in relatively distinct and cheaper pieces including exotic curios, non-European artifacts, and works of art. This approach, according to Pomian, led to the emergence of new disciplines of archaeology, paleontology, the history of art and ethnography.³⁰ He relates the emergence of the private collector as a cultural type with a change in exhibitionary interiors where collections were installed and exhibited. Palaces, churches, or temples were not designed to be exhibitionary spaces.³¹ However, there were 'curiosity cabinets' with a long history and social and cultural functions that should be introduced and examined in terms of understanding the evolution of gallery as an exhibitionary space.

²⁷ Grasskamp, op.cit.: p. 84

²⁸ Ripley, op.cit.: p. 26

²⁹ Pomian, op. cit.: p. 37

³⁰ Ibid., p. 41

³¹ The gallery as a space for exhibiting objects became popular only in the course of seventeenth century.

2.1.2. Cabinets of Curiosity

In relevant literature, cabinets of curiosity are usually accepted as the precursor to the public museums, and the very early history of museum is started by the birth of those. Thus, one might argue the validity and reason of positioning cabinet as an antecedent or an elementary form of art gallery. However, the similarity between the two is easily observable. Both the cabinet and art gallery were constructed with one specific, common aim; displaying things.³² Hence, considering curiosity cabinets in detail may give us useful clues in the comprehension of art gallery.

Cabinets of curiosity; wooden cabinets with many drawers and shelves came into vogue in the fifteenth century and were used to display thematic artifacts and things.³³ The themes varied from religion to botany regarding the profession and interests of the collector; owner of the cabinet. In Western Europe, words like chamber, closet, or cabinet were used to depict a place where things were kept and exhibited.³⁴ Similarly, during Renaissance, the word ‘cabinet’ referred to some kind of container with shelves and drawers, which was used for containing and preserving collections of things. However, in the English context during the early seventeenth century, the term referred to “a closet beyond the principal bedchamber where the owner’s collection of curiosities, pictures and other small works of art could be displayed for

³² We have known that there were rooms for accumulating paintings and sculptures even in Greek, before cabinets of curiosity, namely *pinacotheca*; however, culturally and socially they were not as effective and dominant as curiosity cabinets.

In the second half of the seventeenth century this word, which had been coined in the Athens of Pericles, was in use over areas as far apart as Italy and Sweden as a rather pretentious synonym for ‘Kunstkammer’ or for a collection of any kind of works of art. Later its meaning was again narrowed down and around 1800 it denoted, as originally in Athens, simply a collection of pictures. (Holst, op. cit., p.139)

³³ There were countless types of objects that collectors collected and accumulated in such cabinets; for instance, magic objects, unicorns, horns, giants, bones, Egyptian mummies, zoological and botanical specimens, objects from excavations or from America and Eastern lands, pictures, sculptures, antiques, medals, weapons, scientific instruments, natural objects. Throughout the fifteenth century, with the improvements in traveling and shipping the rare, precious and luxuriant products of the East began to be imported in to Europe. This process strongly effected and increased the types of objects in cabinets of curiosity.

³⁴ Ripley, op.cit.: p. 27

the delectation of close friends and important guests”.³⁵ Sometimes, it was used to express an entire collection or an exhibition room, and sometimes as in sixteenth century Italy, people used different words to describe it, such as *studio*, *studiolo*, *guardaroba*, *museo*, and later, *galleria*.³⁶

It is rather easy to claim that the collector, namely the ‘ordering subject’, established cabinets in order to represent a picture of the whole world. According to Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, there were two major functions of cabinets;

The functions of these ‘cabinets of the world’ were twofold: firstly, to bring objects together within a setting and a discourse where the material things (made meaningful) could act to represent all the different parts of the existent; and secondly, having assembled a representative collection of meaningful objects, to display, or present, this assemblage in such a way that the ordering of the material both represented and demonstrated the knowing of the world.³⁷

At the end of the sixteenth century, collections and cabinets of curiosity were widespread all over Europe. They might have had different themes and objects, but in fact all of them had one single objective, that of producing a model of “universal nature made private”.³⁸ In time, collections began to change hands and during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a market for artworks, antiquities, and curios was developed.³⁹ In the seventeenth century, there was a great interest and esteem to the collections and cabinets, thus they proliferated all over Europe. Moreover, part of collections or even entire cabinets began to be circulated among wealthy and educated classes. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, curiosity cabinets turned into museums. However, up to this period, miniaturized and specified typed of

³⁵ Eileen Hooper-Greenhill. **Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge** (London: Routledge, 2003): p. 88. The writer quoted this definition from Hill, C.R. (1986) “The cabinet of Bonnier de la Mosson (1702-1744)”, **Annals of Science**, 43, pg. 150.

³⁶ *Ibid.*: 88-89 The writer explains the ‘word’ in detail. In addition, it is noted that there were various names given to rooms of cabinets according to their content. For example; *Kunstkammer* (mostly works of art, human artifice, also animals, horns and minerals), *Turkenkammer* (trophies from Turkish wars), *Schatzkammer* (treasury).

³⁷ *Ibid.*: p. 82

³⁸ *Ibid.*: p. 78

³⁹ Pomian, p. 39

cabinets (*Kunstschrank*), began to be change hands, delivered, and sold. This led to the emergence of a critical and talented actor, namely the expert or the ‘connoisseur’ mediating between artist and collector; testing the quality and originality of the collection and informing collector about his rarities and pieces.⁴⁰ On the other hand, it was only at the beginning of the eighteenth century that the problem of authenticity came onto the agenda because of increasing popularity of collecting. At last, institutionalization of exhibitions and collecting led to the emergence of first curators.

Specialized collections of the Enlightenment can be interpreted as the continuing followers of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries’ cabinets. The cabinets were centers of curiosity and excitement since they contained magical, religious, and scientific objects. In the course of time, science, art and history museums that classify knowledge according to scientific constrictions took the place of cabinets of curiosity where knowledge was amassed subjectively.⁴¹

As Bennett suggests, pre-modern museums, especially cabinets of curiosity were intended to create shock and wonder on public and offered a secretive and cultic knowledge that is not aimed at modern museums. They presented and displayed the unique, singular qualities to provoke visitors into amazement. Cabinets of curiosity were dependent on the idea of controlling the whole universe by confining its elements into a room.⁴² In the cabinets of curiosity, the whole universe became encapsulated and miniaturized in a single entity. Eileen Hooper-Greenhill interpreted this compact knowledge in the ‘cabinet of the world’ as;

...[r]evelation of the hierarchical unification of an occultised, magical, centripetal, fixed world both revealed and concealed through the interpretation of the signatures of the world, and at the same time the

⁴⁰ Hooper-Greenhill, op.cit.: p. 122

⁴¹ Grasskamp, op. cit.: p. 90

⁴² James Putnam, “Open The Box”, *Sanatçı Müzeleri*, ed. by Ali Artun, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005): p. 11

positioning of the subject (prince/scholar/consumer) at the centre of this pertly objectified world.⁴³

On the other side, Bennet's suggestion once again points out the fact that for long centuries the privilege of owning and gaining the knowledge of objects has been very limited and restricted to a privileged few.

While earlier collections (whether of scientific objects curiosities or works of art) had gone under a variety of names (museums, *studiolo*, *cabinet de curieux*, *Wunderkammer*, *Kunstammer*) and fulfilled a variety of functions (the storing and dissemination of knowledge, the display of princely and aristocratic power, the advancement of reputation and careers), they had mostly shared two principles: that of private ownership and that of restricted access.⁴⁴

As mentioned before, collections were symbols maintaining and making visible the power of princes, scholars, and merchants. Cabinets of curiosity were not open to all strata of the society; rather, most of the collections were open to only scholars, artists, princes, royal personages, and important foreign visitors. However, together with most of the private collections they were turned to be public museums.

2.1.3. Museum

In contemporary world, there are two types of collections; museum and private collection. There is fundamental difference between these two. Museums keep works out of economic circulation unlike as private collector does.⁴⁵

During seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the only collections open to all strata of society were of churches, however, there were already almost hundreds of private museums/ galleries by the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ The flourishing collections of diverse types were open to socially and economically advantegous classes. However, during this period, due to the increase in the education level of middle class,

⁴³ Hooper-Greenhill, p.192

⁴⁴ Tony Bennett. **The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics** (London: Routledge,1994)

⁴⁵ Pomian, op.cit.: p. 9

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 47

particularly scholars, scientists, artists, and writers began to force authority to open the private collections to public for research and study. The first consequence of this attempt was the opening of public libraries, followed later by museums them.

In royal and princely galleries, visitors have admired the artworks and other artifacts but they always remembered that objects belonged to the palaces and lords' mansions. Order of things and representing the dominion worked to validate power of the royal. They exposed the glorification of the prince and celebration of his power in the eyes of the public. The most important event that led museums open to the public emerged from French revolution. As a result, in the eighteenth century, royal collections and princely galleries were accessible to wider public domains. The major aspiration was allowing the museum to serve all segments of population and making it accessible both theoretically and practically. To succeed in this aim, development of statistical surveys clarifying the characteristics of visiting public played a crucial role. Representation of all possible cultures and groups within the collecting and exhibiting activities of museums and the equal access offered to all social groups in the society were two fundamental demands that have been generated with the formation of public museum. This transformation in functioning because of changing political atmosphere in Europe also changed the definition of the visiting public. While they were open to the public, they still addressed their visitors as subjects of the kings and made sovereigns' power constantly visible to public. On the other hand, when the idea of nation became significant in the organized collections by the mid-eighteenth century, the collections in the modern public museums began to be interpreted as signatures of wealth and power of the nation and the state instead of the king. Nation now became the shareholder of those collections since it was the shareholder of polity's collective historical and cultural heritage.

Carol Duncan explains the transformation of princely galleries into the public museums in detail. She used two specific examples, namely The Louvre in France and The National Gallery in London as prototypes of public art museums. Louvre Museum is particularly important since it became both a model for other national galleries and a training centre for museum professionals. Its influence on many public art museums in Europe and America is visible in their organizing principles of

Egyptian, Greek and Roman civilizations leading to a centrally placed Renaissance.⁴⁷ In 1783, French revolutionary government nationalized the king's art collection and opened it to public in order to dramatize the new republic. In other words, it became a symbol of the rise of a new regime, and its associated new order. From a point of view, this opening was a symbol of state's principle of offering equality to all members of the society. Simultaneously, modern museums also address all their visitors as 'enlightened and united bourgeois citizens' regardless of their social positions. On the other hand, visitors encountered the symbolic power of the state in the museum and became proud of their common national heritage.

Relation between the development of nationhood and museums can also be viewed through the following statement of Hudson and Nichols, (1985):

... [d]eveloping countries will make great sacrifices in order to have museums, which are needed both to reinforce and confirm a sense of national identity and to give status within the world community. To have no museums, in today's circumstances, is to admit that one is below the minimum level of civilization required for a modern state.⁴⁸

Public art museums having pedagogical and instructional aims constructed their collections according to history and cultures, periods and schools. To succeed, they formed sequences relating each work of art with both its antecedents and precedents according to a historical point of view. Nineteenth century museum classification replaces the emphasis from the singularity of object to a particularly ordered taxonomy characterized by the typicality of the objects. Today, save for some art museums and their famous art works, it can be safely asserted that typification is the guiding principle rather than rarity and singularity of the artworks. By the way, these works exiled from their own proper contexts/worlds, formed chains in order to reveal the progress and evolution in the historical field. In addition, such a display instructs visitors to follow art and artworks in the context of the museum successfully as the governmental agents wish to. When grouping works of arts according to

⁴⁷ Carol Duncan, "The Princely Gallery to The Public Art Museum" in *Representing the Nation: a reader: histories, heritage and museums*, ed. by David Boswell and Jessica Evans. (London; New York: Routledge & Open Uni., 1999): p. 314

⁴⁸ Martin Prosler, "Museum and Globalisation" in *Theorizing Museums*, ed. by Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (Cambridge: Blackwell Publisher, 1996): p. 26

national schools and historical periods, as a new type of displaying principle, history of nation and history of art also began to be used in forming an arguably democratic citizenry. Depersonalized representation of images of royalty in the museums helped reshaping the perception of the visitors. Henceforth, they could be aware of what they were becoming, i.e., they were no longer the subjects of the king but individual citizens of a nation. By displaying royal treasures in the museums and opening them to the public, creating a fresh conception of the state was aimed at. In this new narration, citizens superseded the place of king.

As can be understood, the crucial force shaping modern public museums was the opening of private collections to the public and management of museums by state for the education of nation's citizenry. Museums as ideologic and pedagogical institution; a machine of progress and as a new strategy of governing was used to produce a new concept of citizenry under the auspices of the state. During the nineteenth century, museums were organized and functioned in relation to developing close relationship between government and the culture according to the purpose of civilizing the population as a whole. In addition, they were thought to help lifting the level of public's popular taste and forming their consciousness of being one nation. They presented a new, rational, and specific area of representation for accumulation of time symbolically. In this place, all times, all forms, styles, and ideas are collected and organized according to scientific and rational principles of our modernity.

2.1.3.1. Museum versus Gallery

In the previous parts, detailed information is given about princely galleries and their development. As the collections of princes broadened in number, art works began to be displayed under glass in open cases, namely *loggias*. While *loggias* were used in Italy, French began to use long rooms for displaying statues as well. In the sixteenth century, the Italian '*loggia*' developed into '*galerie*' and even today in Italia *loggia* refers to a kind of room, whereas the word '*galeria*' borrowed from the French, has become a synonym for an art collection.⁴⁹ In this work, the words gallery and

⁴⁹ Niels Von Holst. **Creators, Collectors and Connoisseurs-The Anatomy of Artistic Taste from Antiquity to the Present Day**; trans. from German by Brian Battershaw (New York: G.P.Putnam's Sons, 1967): p. 95

museum should be understood as different types of exhibitionary spaces. It is necessary to mention this division since the difference sometimes gets blurry because of diverse uses in different countries. For instance, in Britain the word ‘gallery’ is used as a synonym for ‘museum’, as it is seen in the example of Tate Gallery, which actually is a big and institutionalized museum. However in the USA, as it is also used in this thesis the term ‘gallery’ refers to less institutionalized but more commercialized exhibitionary spaces in terms of economic activities of private ownership. There are two types of art galleries mentioned in this work. First, one is royal and princely galleries that lasted until eighteenth century, when the private collections were first opened to the public and most of them turned out to be public art museums. These galleries were of private ownership meaning they belonged to ruling classes, royal families, and social elites. These galleries and their collections were out of economic circuit and they had produced symbolic meanings and power rather than profit in the economic sense. Art trade was peculiar to commercial galleries, a second type of gallery that was also of private ownership but in a different manner. Usually a dealer, a connoisseur, or a rich financier was the owner of that type who invested on artworks in order to get financial profit. With few exceptions, history of art galleries mostly is about those of non-commercial nature which once belonged to ruling elites despite the fact that art market, artistic production and genres emerged and developed around the commercial art galleries in which contemporary artworks were of those ages were introduced and sold.

As already mentioned, museums have been a generous subject matter for disciplines like history, social sciences, art history and education. Several histories of museum have been written in the context of those disciplines. Nevertheless, save a few exceptions, such an endeavor on art galleries per se has been largely ignored. In fact, since the trade in art began art galleries have been popular meeting places of artists, consumers, and art dealers. There are several reasons of such general apathy. First, despite the importance they have in art market, art galleries have been mostly established by personal efforts; thus, they could not be easily institutionalized.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ However, especially from 1980s until our day, it is easily observable that the private firms, banks, and entrepreneurs have founded art galleries, collected great sum of paintings, sculptures and other types of artistic production and guided the art market with the aid of their huge economical supply. As

There have been plenty of galleries with diverse approaches to art thus it is not easy to group and categorize them. Furthermore, because of financial problems and their vulnerability to economic variables, most of them generally have short-termed lives. In every century and country, they have diverse characteristics. As a result, a complete and comprehensive study of art galleries has not yet been achieved. Nevertheless, it is a fact that art galleries have played a critical and active role in the market and besides shaped it.

As critical components of artistic field and art market, art galleries both transformed the artwork into a material good and artistic production into a market. From the very beginning of trade in art, art galleries have worked as an agency composing and sustaining the linkage between artist and society. Art gallery provides an area to the artists in order to exhibit their works and in this way to be included into the artistic production of their age. However, art museums could contain a great sum of well-known and important works of art; they are not usually interested in contemporary works and newfangled artists that come on the art scene. New tendencies and artists find a chance to introduce themselves in the art galleries rather than distant and discriminating museums. Sometimes this process may work in a different direction and these artists and their supporters can prefer to establish their own galleries if they could sustain the necessary financial facilities.

However, as mentioned before, from the beginning of their foundations until today, museums have been expected to satisfy the social and cultural collective expectations of different social strata. Moreover, the fundamental aim of modern museums has been to provide free and democratic access to all strata of the society in order to view material and symbolic goods and works accumulated for centuries as signs of historical and artistic cultural heritage. The museum frames and shapes the community's official understanding of history, art, and culture. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the museums began to be popular mostly in the educated surrounding. At the end, in the course of nineteenth century, museum audience grew and art under the walls of museum positioned in a higher and

a source that analyzed and evaluated the relationship between capital and artistic production in detail, please look at; Wu, Chin-tao. **Kültürün Özelleştirilmesi** (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005)

privileged position. The work on the museum walls became almost profane and get out of the art market and financial circuit. On the other hand, such a mission is neither stressed by art galleries nor expected by society from art galleries. The works in the gallery do not belong to public but anyone can go in and visit gallery, at least theoretically. Galleries do not endeavor to reach a wide range of public albeit they are open to public without restrictions. However, even though there is not an admission fee or a limitation in the entrance to galleries there are symbolic determinations and boundaries affecting the profile of art gallery's visiting public.

In addition, art museums and art galleries differ from each other at the economic level in terms of their actors of financial relations. While in art museums state, private sector and financial support of private entrepreneurs are in consideration, in art galleries personal actors such as gallery owners, artists, art dealers and collectors determine the flow of works and capital. On the other hand, museums meet a larger mass with art than galleries, yet their affects to the market and artistic movements has become observable in a longer term. Despite the differences, especially contemporary art museums and galleries affect and shape each other mutually. For instance, while galleries were being institutionalized, art museums restructured their activities, began to give chance to new genres and artists, and took part in the contemporary art scene. In time, artists who have worked with art galleries can be popular and increase their works' market value. Therefore, they can also find chance to sell their work to a museum as a part of a permanent collection.

According to Zukin, division of labour between the two types of exhibitionary spaces has lasted up to 1960s then the situation has changed. She writes that;

By definition, if not also by custom, the functions of art museums clearly differ from those of art galleries. Surely museums are agents of culture while galleries are agents of the marketplace. If the museums' functions are educational and curatorial — to show and to tell — then the galleries functions are to show and to sell. Until the early 1960s, museums and galleries coexisted peacefully on the basis of this

division of labor. Their respective tasks - and *raison d'être* ~ reflected both the breadth and the narrowness of the art public up to that time.⁵¹

Zukin's division of labour considering art museums and art galleries could be interpreted as being rigid and critical. However, this determination has become blurry in our age when contemporary art galleries and museums are in question. Besides, Zukin also then declares that this situation has been valid under these conditions below;

This embryonic marketing system worked as long as the art public remained fairly small and observed the conventional aesthetic distinction between Old Masters and living artists. Essentially, people considered old art valuable and new art ephemeral, decorative, or "photographic." Old Masters were bought by the old rich and conserved by museums for the public's edification. Living artists were supposed to juggle aesthetic and commercial standards without making too much of a scandal or taking themselves too seriously.⁵²

This division of old and contemporary art in the field of art market has been a popular subject. It is clearly observable that this disunion underlies the opposition between gallery and the museum. While accepting artworks, museums also declare the aesthetic value of them. On the other hand, galleries provide current earnings to the artists and assure them financially. However, the functions of art galleries could also be realized by modern art museums. They not only testify the aesthetic and intellectual value of an artwork but also sustain artists in terms of economic needs.⁵³

Nowadays, it is hard to decide common characteristics of art galleries and provide a broad model concerning them. As a result of the evolution they had, galleries in eighteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which paintings and art objects were displayed in a complete disorder serried upon walls, have left their place to the modern galleries which have architectural applications of space, light, and color specific to exhibitionary practice. In the course of time, galleries have added minor activities in their program such as art courses, seminars, publishing, and decorative

⁵¹ Sharon Zukin. "Art in the Arms of Power: Market Relations and Collective Patronage in the Capitalist State" in **Theory and Society**, Vol. 11, No. 4, July 1982, p. 425

⁵² Ibid., p. 427

⁵³ Ibid., p. 428

counseling in addition to trade of art. To cope with the economic tides and strengths and become popular and influential galleries expanded their scope of activities. The competitive power forces galleries to be dynamic and agile. Yet, without artistic knowledge, aesthetic sensibility, and cultural accumulation, in other words “cultural capital” those listed practices and improvements cannot ensure the prestige and permanence of an art gallery in the market. How so ever the economic parameters are important, when artwork is under consideration, lack of cultural capital in this trade lead the gallery to failure.

2.1.4. Experiencing the Gallery Space

During fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in the princely galleries, there was a principle of systematic ordering of displaying artworks aiming to form a single unity. Usually there was no space between frames on the walls of the gallery. Merely heavy and thick frames separated paintings from each other. In this manner, the whole collection was considered as one artwork, a unified work of art belonged to prince, and the room worked as a frame.⁵⁴ However, in the course of eighteenth century, this common tendency has changed towards a freer arrangement. Therefore, artworks have freed from each other and begun to be considered as pieces in themselves, in other words “the individual works gradually recovered their individuality”.⁵⁵ On the other hand, this physical relaxation in the ordering should not be considered as a desultory application. In this approach, works began to be hung upon walls one by one in an art historical order while also preserving their uniqueness as touchstones of westernized art history.⁵⁶ However, in this era, governors, princes, and royal families also began to order architects to build special buildings just for accommodating their art collections. Hence, artwork and gallery space moved into a new relationship specific to them.

⁵⁴ This approach was popular during Baroque period and galleries of that style were called Baroque galleries. (Holst, p. 200)

⁵⁵ Holst, op.cit.,: p. 181

⁵⁶ The practice of hanging pictures systematically in a row with one base-line had spread all over Europe from the National Gallery in London, which was also the first to depart from the practice (Ibid: p. 297)

In art museums and galleries, commercial or not, people are obliged to behave according to certain rules. Visitors have to obey those conventions that are common almost all over the world while experiencing the gallery space. In the gallery you cannot speak loud, drink, eat, and do other inconvenient acts. In most cases, the visitor has to follow a physical and mental path already structured. Sequenced and arranged objects, architectural applications, and lighting conditions are there in order to welcome visitors while positioning their bodies in front of works of art.⁵⁷ There are structured paths in the space, guiding people to see works of art according to a chronology or another preferred artistic order. One has to follow one room or wall to another that are narrated by the curator and, more generally, by history of art and artistic knowledge in an organized walking, in patience and with a feeling of awe. Such a constructed experience is not only peculiar to modern art galleries and museums. Those arrangements in the gallery resemble us the rituals and practices in religious spaces of medieval times. In this case, aesthetic cult has experienced by the visitors in the frame of museal rituals. In this scenario, works of art and gallery visitors take the place of religious icons and pilgrims. The visitor has been positioned in the ritual in the universe of timeless values and enacted.⁵⁸ To conclude,

⁵⁷ Brian O'Doherty. **Inside The White Cube: The Ideology of The Gallery Space** (Santa Monica: Lapis Press, 1986) O'Doherty explains some physical characteristics of the "white cube" as below;

A gallery is constructed along laws as rigorous as those for building a medieval church. The outside world must not come in, so windows are usually sealed off. Walls are painted white. The ceiling becomes the source of light. The wooden floor is polished so that you click along clinically, or carpeted so that you pad soundlessly, resting the feet while the eyes have at the wall. (p.15)

⁵⁸ For a detailed explanation see; Duncan, Carol. "The Art Museum as Ritual" in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Donald Preziosi (Oxford Uni.Press, 1995): pp. 478-485. Also, in the introduction of O'Doherty's work, Thomas McEvelley wrote that;

In classical modernist galleries, as in churches, one does not speak in a normal voice; one does not laugh, eat, drink, lie down, or sleep; one does not get ill, go mad, sing, dance or make love. Indeed since the white cube promotes the myth that we are there essentially as spiritual beings-the Eye is the Eye of the Soul – we are to be understood as tireless and above the vicissitudes of chance and change. This slender and reduced form of life is the type of behaviour traditionally required in religious sanctuaries, where what is important is the repression of individual interests in favour of the interests of the groups. The essentially religious nature of the white cube is most forcefully expressed by what it does to the humanness of anyone who enters it and cooperates with its premises. On the Athenian Acropolis in Plato's day one did not eat, drink, speak, and laugh, and so on. (p.10)

O'Doherty identifies gallery by adding courtroom and laboratory to the church in a formula as follows;

The work is isolated from everything that would detract from its own evaluation of itself. This gives the space a presence possessed by other spaces where conventions are preserved through the repetition of a closed system of values. Some of the sanctity of the church, the formality of the courtroom, the mystique of the experimental laboratory joins with chic design to produce a unique chamber of esthetics.⁵⁹

O'Doherty calls the art gallery “the white cube” in order to emphasize its unshadowed, white, clean, and artificial⁶⁰ vision framing the artworks.⁶¹ In his words “the history of modernism is intimately framed by that space; or rather the history of modern art can be correlated with changes in that space and in the way we see it.”⁶² Thus, depending on his suggestions we can claim that the gallery space has been transformed in accordance with the changes in artistic field while also affecting the way of people’s understanding and comprehension of modern art. Since modern artworks are produced just to be displayed and viewed in exhibitionary spaces, art gallery’s both physical conditions and cultural connotations become a part of this experience. Thus, artworks in the gallery space have been ascribed with several symbolic and cultural meanings and values. Since then they became a part of a space that is the construction of an intellectual and artistic mind which has been generated and transformed through centuries. In this scheme, we can say that gallery space works as a metaframe with all its connotations over artworks and govern them.

Consequently, gallery works both as a classificatory and disciplinary subject over artworks and visitors. It disciplines and controls visitors while also dictating them

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 14

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.15

⁶¹ In other words, he identifies the gallery as follows;

... [t]he white cube was a traditional device that attempt to bleach out the past and at the same time control the future by appealing to supposedly transcendental modes of presence and power. (O'Doherty, p. 11)

⁶² Ibid., p.14

artistic conventions or simply preferences of an individual curator or a patron. It classifies the work into preceding artistic genres; convert their artistic and exhibition value into economic value. Those determinations are not necessarily understood negatively but as some facts about the function and nature of gallery space. There are two critical points to mention. First, it should be remembered that, in the contemporary age, it is not possible to talk about a pure art independent of cultural, economic, and ideological determinations. In order to make a living from art, contemporary artists should get involved in a social and economic network. When their works take place in the market, namely in museums, galleries, biennales, art fairs and etc. the aesthetic value of the work and intention of the artists are inevitably entangled with the context of exhibitionary complex.⁶³ Secondly, every architectural building manages its habitants with its own restrictions, regulations, and rules. As a matter of fact, people do also demand those guiding and regulating applications. They prefer and need to be guided especially in public spaces. From this point of view, exhibitionary space, specifically art gallery is not an exception.

2.2. Emergence of Art Market and The Role of Galleries: A Brief Historical Perspective

In this part, the aim is to give a brief description of western art market from a historical point of view considering dealers, artists, patrons, and galleries as agents of market. Circumstances of the time strongly determined and affected the coordination between producers, institutions, and followers of art. Fundamental reasons that led to differences were wars, attitudes of religious and political authorities towards art and collecting, social, and political movements, economic developments and importance given to the value of cultural production. It should be kept in mind that, a totally independent artist and artistic production have never existed. In western world, artistic production has always been directed by social, economic, and political power. The subject of power has changed several times. It has been clergy, royalty, nation-state and, at the end, capital. Thus, it is not significant to compose an art history depending on artists and works excluding the social and economic variables. Art

⁶³ However, some non-commercial artistic movements and schools producing public art, installations, happenings and performances without economic considerations can be kept out of these conventional art market situations.

history should cover and take into consideration a range of different variables while analyzing the market conditions and artistic production. The discipline relates artworks with historically previous examples in a chronological order and creates a narration while underlying and magnifying the importance of selected ones and their creators. According to Preziosi;

As a humanistic discipline, art history also produces, sustains, and perpetuates humanistic values, which are themselves marketable in direct ways and indeed provide an aura quite as manifest in a monetary sense as the commodity itself. To possess a Caravaggio is perforce to possess a spirit, an age, a time, and a world.⁶⁴

In that scheme, art galleries, as the focus of this thesis has played a critical role in the functioning of art market. From the early examples up to the contemporary art galleries, they have constituted a link between the society and the art both in economic and cultural terms. They not only provide an exhibition space for the works, but also cover them with several symbolic meanings and values. From now on within the context of gallery and market, artwork is more than that it was used to be.

2.2.1. Beginning of Trade in Art: Early Art Market

It is not possible to give a specific point for the beginning of trade in art. Usually it is related to the rise of the commerce generally. Rising civilizations, interest of individuals without utilitarian motives in luxurious and unique objects, division of art and craft from each other and development of an independent artistic taste and interest were reasons leading to the emergence of art collections and their later growth, in other words, the birth of art market.⁶⁵

As mentioned before, collecting especially artworks has been a popular and prestigious activity for a very long time. However, since collecting requires economic and cultural capital, throughout history it has been an activity limited to

⁶⁴ Donald Preziosi. **Rethinking Art History / Meditations On A Coy Science** (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1989): p. 11

⁶⁵ Hill, op. cit.: p. 249

privileged classes. Artworks, utilitarian and sacred objects losing their equipmentality and use value, became objects of collector's desire, and then a part of art trade. As the contemporary artworks began to take attention of collectors, free market conditions and competitive stage emerged. The fundamental reason for the increasing popularity of contemporary works was the rising economic and social status of the artist in society.

Even in Paleolithic and Neolithic ages there was a demand for works of art, however obviously without today's meaning and function of the artwork. There is no need to explain that the artistic production in those ages does not meet the comprehension of modern man. For a very long time in Western history, artistic production was dependent on craftwork. That was a question of production rather than of creation. The man was not creating; instead he was producing the closest possible replicas of nature. The great division between art and craft has not taken place yet, and an independent sphere of art was out of question.

In the Middle Ages artistic production was dependent on the demands of authoritative Christian culture and clergy. Artists were under patronage of religious authorities, and had to satisfy private intentions in order to survive and make a living from art.⁶⁶ There was not a market for artworks. Furthermore, beside great patrons and noble collectors who also preferred religious themes and subjects, there was not a personal interest in artworks per se. Furthermore, the artist was just a talented man with love of God who remained invisible behind paintings and sculptures. Thus art was anonymous. The important thing in the work was the glorification of God and religious values.⁶⁷ At the end of the Middle Ages and with the beginning of Renaissance, a new phase in art trade truly began. Despite the fact that there was no change in the subject matter and themes of the work, style and personal talents gradually gained importance. As a result of renovations and settlement of man at the centre of thought, art, and social life, people were eager to meet with art and artworks in order to gain personal accumulation and experience. The fundamental change was the comprehension of artist by the society as a privileged man distinct

⁶⁶ Arnold Hauser. **The Social History of Art** (New York: Vintage Books, 1985): p. 447

⁶⁷ Holst, op. cit.: p. 27

from an ordinary employee of a patron. Increasing prestigious of the artist supported the consideration of artwork as a symbol of wealth, nobility, and distinction. During the early Renaissance, we encounter the very first examples of art collecting activities and collectors having economic concerns, however they were rare. This period can be called as a transition state in art market. Together with the dignification of artist, efforts of collecting became widespread among private collectors in addition to ruling classes. However, individual collector was an amateur. Together with the motives such as social prestige and economic expectations, he/ she also wanted to gratify his/her own taste and pleasure. As a result, people collected and invested on contemporary masters as well as antique artworks.⁶⁸

Hauser claimed that only after sixteenth century a new international art market had been developed over Europe. According to him, the reasons of these developments were; “the spread of mannerism and of the increase of monarchs, princes of the Church, ministers, and financiers, all of whom were passionate collectors.”⁶⁹

Reform and counter reform movements weakened the strength of religious authorities over artistic sphere. In Protestant countries, the patron of art was no longer the clergy. In addition to the royalty and aristocrats, bourgeoisie undertook the role of them, and invested capital on artworks. However, in Catholic countries, religious patronage was still influential. Artworks began to change hands and economic concerns shaped the collections. In this period, it can be claimed that supply and demand in the market correspondingly increased. Collectors and individual patrons affected and guided the quality, quantity, and use of artworks. Autonomization of artists from the authority of great patrons, forced them to find a prestigious place in the free art market by the aid of different strategies and efforts. By the seventeenth century, market obtained its “modern” spirit. Sales, number of dealer’s shops, auctions and exhibitions increased in everywhere all over Europe.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Hauser, op. cit.: p. 511

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 513

⁷⁰ In this period the centre of art trade was Holland, and specifically Antwerp and Amsterdam. Trade in art was a common activity among society. Quoted from Holst;

For this century, Wartofsky underlies the liberation of artists in relation with the new market situations. He writes;

Beginning in about the seventeenth century, the artwork begins to become a commodity produced not for a patron, or the church, but for a market. The work is no longer defined by commissions, but in a riskier and wider way, as a product for prospective sale to a new class of buyers, through the intermediaries who act either as agents for the artists or for the buyers of art. Thus, the gallery or the salon develops as a marketplace, the locus of a new social formation of the art world. Cut loose from patronage and operating in the new gallery world, the artist becomes a free agent, in a sense, free to produce whatever will sell, but free to produce whatever will not sell as well.⁷¹

After the French revolution, strengthening bourgeoisie became a significant power in the market. Artists had to produce addressing to increasing bourgeoisie in order to endure in art market. In this situation, certainly, galleries of dealers were the crucial centers of trade, and played a strategic role as agents in between artists and collectors. At that point, artwork turned to be a commodity that could be bought and sold by anyone by the aid of economic opportunities.⁷² On the other hand, opening of private collections and princely galleries to the public caused a growth of the public interest in art. Galleries and museums were formed through acquisitions or donations by private persons.⁷³ Those spaces gave opportunity to artists to prove themselves to wealthy aristocrats, individual collectors of different professions and the like, since they were no more working with secure commissions of patrons. Those men having economic capital and interested in art were ready to sell and buy artworks in every situation. They were active agents and constituted a stable demand in the market. Not only artists, but also dealers and their galleries were also supported by that demand.

Pictures are like bars of gold; you sell them at any time for double the price you gave them', wrote a collector in 1675 to Madame de Sevigne. In the fine houses of bankers and ministers you could see paintings by the great masters which the owners were always ready to sell immediately if a visitor made a sufficiently high offer. (Holst, op. cit.: p. 158)

⁷¹ Marx W. Wartofsky. "Art, Artworlds, and Ideology" in **Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism**, Vol. 38, No. 3, Spring 1980, p. 245

⁷² Hauser, op. cit.: p. 514

⁷³ Hill, op. cit.: p.391

2.2.2. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

According to art historians and scholars, nineteenth century is called as the age of “isms”, since the century witnessed several artistic movements and styles also impacted on contemporary art today. However, at the beginning nothing was easy for the avant-garde artists. Many of them, firstly Impressionists, had to pay efforts in order to be accepted to Salon and public exhibitions. However, there was a free art market economy, but a cruel one. There were also academies and art critics resisting new styles and forms. Lucky ones were those whose works were selected to the Salon exhibitions or appreciated by a patron. Others had to wait as long as an art dealer or commercial gallery supported them while also challenging the conventional aesthetic and traditional styles. Pioneering artists of this age not only created valuable works, but also they became the symbols of independent artistic creation against the suppressive patronage and market conditions. However, in this century, art following society, mostly bourgeoisie and middle-classes had an average artistic taste and appreciation. They did not easily accept and espouse the avant-garde production. In the Encyclopedia of World Art listed reasons that artists had to struggle with are;

The artist deprived of the support of his patron, now had to struggle against middle class taste, mass production and advertising, officially sponsored academic art, and the caprice of fashion. In this situation, the art dealer replaced the cultivated patron of earlier times.⁷⁴

As mentioned above, situation of Impressionists is a good illustration of such a rejection in the field. Despite the fact that they were not allowed to participate Salon exhibitions, with support of an enlightened art dealer market value of their works increased and they found chance to be recognized by the society.⁷⁵

Success of impressionist prepared the society and market for the twentieth century’s new tendencies and new pursuits in terms of form and content. However, after the First World War, there happened a big economic crisis all over Europe affecting capital and investments. In this period, despite the crisis, wealthy groups and industry

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.255

⁷⁵ In the part of this thesis titled ‘Art Dealer’ detailed information is given.

patrons in USA continued to invest on art. However, the prices were low. Unfortunately, the Second World War again agitated the economic and social circumstances. In the period of wars, many scholars, academicians and artists had to move away from Europe and they migrated to USA. As a result, especially in the field of modern art, USA continued rising in the market and replaced with Europe. Moreover, aristocrat families having collections inherited to them lost economic strength. Economic necessity forced them to sell artworks from longstanding family collections. Then, works from those collections were put on the market by their heirs.⁷⁶ This time, clients were the wealthy Americans and leading business leaders. Without doubt, this activity was in favor of the commercial art galleries and dealers. They grow in number, also worked as a mediator between the two continents. Thus, the art market gained an international characteristic.

After the Second World War, a fundamental change happened in the manner of collectors. They embraced the new and unconventional works as a result of the efforts of dealers. Importance and attention were given to contemporary artists at a level that has never been achieved before. Thus, works of old masters, nineteenth century paintings and expensive artists lost their importance, and were not alone in the market anymore.⁷⁷ Also USA tax laws encouraged collectors to leave their collections to public institutions, meaning the removal of great masterpieces out of circuit permanently in return for tax deductions.⁷⁸

In our age, having a public for an artist requires a professional approach and a social network in terms of dealers, critics, and other artists. For that reason, today art is a business. Artist does not need to know to whom their works sold; who follows them; how to keep in touch with galleries etc. Art dealer is another profession that is responsible for all those aspects. According to Zukin, artists 'no longer face

⁷⁶ Holst, op. cit.: p. 354

⁷⁷ Hill, op. cit.: pp.258-261

⁷⁸ Governmental applications in USA, like tax deductions and appropriations encourage the private collectors to invest on art and artworks. USA is a good example of the corporations between private entrepreneurs and state in the field of art and culture. As a result of continuing promotions, in the twentieth century, USA as a centre of modern art took the place of European art centers of previous periods.

individuals'. Twentieth century patron and artists have an indirect relationship when compared that of following century. She lists three critical reasons for this proposal;

First, the further development of the galleries' role in the art market enhanced the patron-dealer relation at the expense of the patron-artist connection. Second, the technical improvement and social acceptance of newer art forms such as photography enabled them to replace painting in some documentary situations (e.g., portraits) that had previously led patrons to employ artists. Unlike painting, photography minimizes the contact between patron and photographer to only one sitting, and the production procedure in the darkroom does not involve the patron at all. Third, the evolution since the nineteenth century of the "romantic" concept of the artistic process, in which the artist increasingly expresses his or her own vision and choice of subject rather than what a patron orders, also changed patron-artist relations. Significantly, these factors also made the artistic process more mysterious.⁷⁹

From this point of view, it can be claimed that with the professionalizing dealers and activation of art galleries, art and art public were separated from each other. From now on, they need those agents in order to be in touch. Artists need the dealers and the galleries to introduce them and to promote their careers. Art loving public needs them to follow contemporary artistic production. Dealer and gallery in a corporation function as both a link and a separator.

On the other hand, there is a gap between museum-visiting middle classes and art gallery-artists in terms of financial aspects. Contemporary artists could be known by a greater number of people, only if their works are accepted to a museum. Their public is usually consisted of bourgeoisie, and high-class art-lover society. Arguably, when compared with circumstances of eighteenth and nineteenth century, today art is "far from "shocking the bourgeoisie," art became the aesthetic vision of the bourgeoisie."⁸⁰

In brief, the fundamental characteristics of contemporary market are; the rise of commercial art galleries, diversity in the artistic styles and forms, emergence of

⁷⁹ Zukin, op. cit.: p. 433

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 436

business and industrial spheres as the great patron, acceptance of dealers and artists as career jobs, industrialization of culture and art in institutions such as museums, galleries, press, critics, schools, and etc. Commercial art gallery, together with collector and artist constitute the modern plastic art market of our age. The proliferation of commercial art galleries is highly related with the growth of art following public and the number of artists in number. Both the public and the artists need galleries in order to meet each other, satisfy their demand mutually. In every day, more galleries are needed since enormous number of artists of different nationalities, educations, and styles have been included in the international art market.⁸¹

From 1950s to recent days, diverse kinds of works and activities have been produced, performed, and presented as “art”. Certainly, the exchange value of those works in the market is quite different from the traditional forms. A collector cannot buy, sell, or collect a light installation or a happening. Thus, in avant-garde art artist might have the chance of standing outside the gallery space and conventional market rules. Despite the fact that avant-garde and conceptual works were unfamiliar to public, at least at the beginning artist was not alienated from its public. It must be remembered that by the word public, we refer to an educated and pertinent group of people. However, thanks to printed, mass, and finally digital media capturing and reproducing those artworks in several formats, today it is easy to include them in the economic circuit. One may not have the “performance”, yet can buy a photograph or a video record of it. Nevertheless, at least up to a level artists interrogated the gallery space, the artwork, and market relations. They questioned and appalled the hygienic and elitist atmosphere of the gallery by their works and performances. They created works outside the gallery space and called it ‘land art’.⁸² During post 1950s, art sphere witnessed distinct, political, and extraordinary performances and works as well as conventional ones. Political events, social movements, globalization, and

⁸¹ Hill, op. cit.: pp. 259-260

⁸² Norbert Lynton. **Modern Sanatın Öyküsü.** trans. by Cevap Çapan & Sadi Öziş (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2004): p. 325. Lynton states several examples illustrating such works; Richard Long’s ‘Walking a Line in Peru (1972)’, Walter de Maria’s ‘1 Mile Length Drawing (1968)’, Christo’s ‘Wrapped Coast, Little Bay, Australia (1968-69)’ and the like.

technological developments were determinant in the transformation of artistic production in terms of form and content. Unfortunately, international art market depends on capital more or less. Thus, in our age independency of even the most opposing art from the capital is a question mark.

2.3. Patronage in Fine Arts

Together with the consideration of artworks as conscious symbols of power, wealth, luxury, and prestige a widespread patronage system had been established in western world and had become popular among ruling classes. The identity of patron has changed according to cultural, historical, and social conditions throughout the history. Governments, rich and powerful individuals, clergy, kings, popes, and nowadays firms, banks, and corporations have played the role of patron. Thus, it can be easily claimed that in every period patrons have influenced, with a more pretentious term determined the field of artistic production and history of taste.⁸³

Even in ancient and classical Greece, it is known that a patronage system supported artists. The relationship between artist and patron strongly affected and developed by the emergence of “sense of human individuality in thought and political institutions”.⁸⁴ In the Middle Ages, artistic patronage was mostly peculiar to clergy and strongly inspired by religion. However, kings, nobles, and artisans also supported artists in condition of the use of religious and sacred stories and themes in their works.⁸⁵ Art works were considered as the symbols of beauty and truth of God. Artistic freedom, autonomy of art and individual creativity were out of question. Besides, it should be better to use word “artisan” instead of artist while referring those ages.⁸⁶ As mentioned, the major demand from artist had been to produce work that reflected the most representative imitation of the nature. The artwork was a construction rather

⁸³ Hill, op. cit.: p.118

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.119

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp.120-121

⁸⁶ For a heavily criticizing and outlier thesis, distinct from the conventional Western aesthetic about historical presence of art, Larry Shiner’s work is a good example. Shiner claims that art is not an international concept rather it is an invention of eighteenth century European society. Larry Shiner. **Sanatın İcadı/ Bir Kültür Tarihi.** (İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 2004)

than a creation. The situation began to change in Renaissance. Together with the Renaissance, certain artists gained artistic freedom and raised their social status due to the centralization of human individuality in thought, flourishing artistic movements and opening of art academies. However, religion was still dominant despite there were also famous patrons from rich families and royalty.⁸⁷ Even the popular and talented artists, save a few exceptions had been working under great patrons.⁸⁸ In the course of seventeenth century, the first time collecting became a popular activity outside the ruling classes. The connoisseurs and dilettanti began to collect works, and then there emerged a free market independent of great patrons from clergy and royalty. Artists found chance to establish their own studios in this period and aesthetic quality gained importance. Increasing number of collectors caused an over-production in the field. This surplus production gave rise to the opening of exhibitions and works met with individual collectors. Thus, earliest examples of commercial art galleries came on the art scene. However, reform and counter-reform movements radically changed the picture. In Catholic countries, the religious power strengthened and restricted some acquired latitudes in the field of artistic production. On the other hand, in Protestant countries there had been a significant decrease in the income of artists, since there was no demand to the

⁸⁷ The most enlightened and famous patron of those ages was the Medici Family in Florence. Cosimo I de' Medici and the two succeeding generations of his family positively affected and developed the concept of patronage. However, during the period of their rule "nature of painting" in Florence had changed according to their artistic tastes and preferences. (Hill, op. cit.: pp.122-123)

⁸⁸ Without doubt, Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo were the two leading and most talented names of that age. Probably because of their genius talent and innovative personality, they had found chance to create a name and style of their own. To illustrate;

One man dramatically altered the balance of relations between artist and employer as a result of the immense prestige he acquired. When Michelangelo was only 29, he quarreled with 53 year-old Pope Julius II , the greatest patron and one of the most powerful figures of the Italian renaissance , who, in demanding the artist 's return from Florence, whither he had fled, wrote:".. we are not angry with him, knowing the minds of men his kind ..."later, the young Federico II Gonzago wrote of Michelangelo, from whom he desperately wanted some work, to his agent in Florence, Giovanni Borromeo:".. and for this there is nothing that we would not do for him, if we knew what would please him. we desire and we commission you try to find him and acquaint him of our good opinion and kindly disposition toward him and ask him in our name, in the most effective and friendly way you deem suitable, if he be willing to do me this honor, to give me some work of his hand, either of painting or sculpture, which ever he prefers, for we do not favor one over the other, so long as it is from his own hand. And if by chance he were to ask you what subject we desire, you will tell him that we seek and desire nothing more than a work of his own creation... (Ibid., pp.124-125)

religious artworks ordered for sacred places.⁸⁹ Luckily, market created new dynamics and artists found a new source of revenue. To illustrate, in Netherlands, Protestant churches showed no attention in painting and as a result rising classes; newly wealthy businessmen invested on the art and superseded the place of clergy in art patronage.⁹⁰

Increasing bourgeoisie and growing middle-class, opening of cultural and educational institutions like museums, libraries and art academies, and secularization in thought during Enlightenment period created an energetic art market constituted of Salon exhibitions, galleries, auctions, and fairs that brought artists, dealers, connoisseurs, and collectors together. Secularization and liberalization in art changed the profile of art public substantially. ‘Art’ became a self-guided, almost spiritual, and independent field of cultural production with a notion “art for art’s sake”.⁹¹ Artist was no longer a worker, technician, or an artisan under a patron, but rather a celebrated creator of the fine arts. The ideal artist was *sui generis*, having a unique talent making him almost a spiritual being different from ordinary man. Consequently, from the nineteenth century and forward “patron” meant no more than a collector of contemporary art.⁹²

Today, instead of ‘patron’, the term ‘sponsor’ is used. Apart from individual collectors and clients; industrial and financial firms, banks, and wealthy families invest and donate huge amount of money on contemporary art. They do not only support artists by means of donations, but also they undertake active roles in the field of artistic production and culture industry by opening private art galleries, founding collections and organizing international art competitions. Without doubt, it is a risky business in terms of economic profit. Especially contemporary art sponsorship does not always guarantee a financial feedback. However, the fundamental demand of the

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.125

⁹⁰ Ibid., p.127. In the same source, there is also an anecdote that illustrates the hyper-activity of the market; “John Evelyn wrote in 1641 that “the peasants were so rich that they were looking for investments, and often spent 2000-3000 florins for pictures.”

⁹¹ Shiner, op.cit.: p. 185

⁹² Hill, op.cit.: p.132

great sponsor was not a profit at all. They want to take advantage of art sponsorship in a symbolic way. Big corporations and firms aim at constituting a brand name resembling refined, prestigious, and qualified symbols by establishing comprehensive and expensive sponsorship relations with cultural and artistic institutions. In long term, this symbolic investment turns into economic capital. On the other hand, art sponsors already benefit from governmental regulations and encouragements such as significant tax exemptions and reductions.⁹³ Overall, it is seen that in every period artist need to work in collaboration with a man or group having economic capital and power. We can suggest two reasons for the situation. First, one is simply the economic concerns and requirements of the artist. Second is the need of involving a social network in the artistic field and having social capital. However, it is not always easy for an artist to find a support, for a firm to make a successful sponsorship, and for a collector to buy a valuable piece of work. Thus, an actor in the market who is capable of artistic and economic issues is needed, namely the art dealer.

2.4. Art Dealers

Art dealers work as agents regulating and guiding the relations between artists and collectors. They introduce the artists to the collectors and guide their concerns and demands. One of their fundamental roles is to provide artists the opportunity of working without feeling economic concerns by establishing relations with collectors and originating a demand. As the demand to the works of an artist and hence their prices rise, the economic yield of the art dealer increases. Thus, both for artists' and his/her own benefit; a dealer should be capable of managing both the artistic and financial issues. For instance, Hauser defines the function of dealer as below;

The dealer, however, administers to the public not merely by organizing buyers into groups, defining directions of taste, creating fashions, channeling the consumer's receptivity, but also by taking over— in relationship to the artist—the role of the patron and the person giving the commission. He secures the artist's existence by regular advances and gifts, and he buys at his own risk when the

⁹³ Art sponsorship constituted a significant part of culture industry. As it was mentioned before, Wu's comprehensive, critical and valuable work exemplifies and analysis the political economy of art market and sponsorship relations between international corporations and governments of UK and USA.

purchaser from the public keeps him waiting.⁹⁴

Additionally, working with a prestigious dealer permanently also provides symbolic and economic return to an artist. On the other hand, save a few exceptions in art business, art galleries and museums prefer working with an art dealer in order to save time and effort.

Being a well-known, respective, and avant-garde dealer in the art market requires a long time endeavour, ability of risk management and being far-sighted more than any other dealer does. Such an equipped and enlightened dealer as a middleman in the market was rare. According to sources, this new type of art dealer who directed public opinion rather than following it emerged during 1800s due to the growth of a cultured and ambitious public. A well-known example is Paul Durand–Ruel who supported and introduced mainly impressionist painters such as Renoir, Monet. He was also the dealer of little-appreciated masters as Corot, Millet, Courbet, and Boudin.⁹⁵ He wrote as early as 1869 in his memoirs that;

A true dealer should also be an enlightened art lover, ready, when necessary, to sacrifice his apparent immediate interest in favor of his artistic convictions, and to fight against the speculators rather than share in their machinations.⁹⁶

However, unlike Durand-Ruel many dealers do not have the chance and opportunity to invest on and accumulate artworks of latest and hazardous artists because of economic ambiguities and risks.⁹⁷

Today, as in the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries working with an art dealer and art gallery is highly advantageous for an artist in order to establish a well-known and precious signature in the market. Thus, they could be freed from economic concerns,

⁹⁴ Hauser, op. cit.: p. 516

⁹⁵ Hill, op. cit.: p.255

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.132

⁹⁷ On the other hand, Durand –Ruel was accused of establishing a monopoly in the field since he dictated the prices and supported impressionists merely because he had invested so heavily in them. (Ibid., p.256)

individual conflicts, and compulsory relations with patrons. Regular fees and a yearly income provided by an art dealer can sustain a confident environment to an artist so that he/she can work without worrying about daily needs. On the other hand, some critics claim that such a regular income might turn artist into a salaried worker dependent to a dealer and a gallery. This collaboration can be helpful to raise the market value of an artist's works. It can also result in the control of dealer over artist, artworks, and production process. In each situation, artists may complain about working under unsafe, domineering, and inconvenient circumstances. Nevertheless, in contemporary art market there is a huge amount of capital flowing through artists, dealers, and collectors. Thus in order to be added in the market place, make a living by art and partake in the international network; artists must behave professionally at economic aspects as well as artistic ones.

There is also another facet of this scenario regarding the relation between dealers and customers. In most cases, investing on art has been a profitable and prestigious act in long term. However, someone who is eager to invest capital on art should be qualified, pertinent, and experienced in the field to achieve surplus value and accumulate a significant collection. Yet not every collector has to carry those qualifications, since an art dealer can guide and manage purchase and sale in his/her stead. Dealers can solve “many problems familiar to any collector; how to establish commercial value, how to recognize fakes, how to arrange works in a private house, what standards to observe in restoration, and the like.”⁹⁸ Zukin summarizes an art dealer's roles helpful to consumers as follows;

They relieved new art collectors from the anxiety of making uninformed choices by offering pre-selected pieces of established quality. The wealthy but unsure new collector could acquire a whole collection without investing the time and effort traditional patrons of the arts — or their families — had at their disposal. Less wealthy new art buyers could rely on the dealer's judgment and invest their limited funds in a few but valuable selections. Art dealers also helped old-style, patrician patrons who had to sell off some of their property for financial reasons.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.384

⁹⁹ Zukin, op. cit. : p. 427

Consequently, as presented, by the aid of his/her professional skills, cultural accumulation and personal associations an art dealer can be a critical meeting point common to other agents in the market and have the power of controlling and shaping the artistic production.

2.5. Value of the Work of Art: A Commodity in the Gallery Space

The work of art has always been a commodity throughout the history; however, its consideration as a source of symbolic or economic capital has changed upon time and culture. Due to its use value there is always an exchange value of the work of art. As mentioned, artists were dependent to their patrons in order to survive. Patrons always expected a symbolic or an economic feedback because of their support. In the early periods, this expectation was a symbolic one. For a long time ago, motives for art patronage were religious beliefs, social and political prestige.

However, in time as a result of political movements, social and cultural transformations in the western world the picture has changed.¹⁰⁰ In other terms, commodification of the work of art was an expectable process. Rosenblum also states that;

If it has substance and durability over time, the object sooner or later will enter a world of objects to be classified, evaluated, assessed and priced. There, it will acquire a life of its own, independent of whatever inspired its creation.¹⁰¹

Dignification of artist and liberalization of artistic production as an independent field have led to an increase in the symbolic value of artworks. Owning an original artwork began to provide social and cultural reputation to the owner as well as economic profit. In the course of time, artists began to produce artworks without utilitarian or symbolic purposes, specifically ‘works with a deliberate design on the potential collector.’¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ In the part about the emergence of art market and art trade, this process is explained in detail.

¹⁰¹ Barbara Rosenblum, “The Artist as Economic Actor In The Art Market” in *Art, Ideology and Politics* ed. by B. Rosenbaum (New York: Prager Publisher, 1985): p. 63

¹⁰² Holst, op. cit.: p. 5

Well-known law of supply and demand in economics is also valid for art market. Prices usually increase with the increase in demand. When an artist's works become rare and hardly available, or he/she stops producing with a reason, supply falls, demand rises, and as a result, prices usually tend to rise. In cooperation with the law of supply and demand, there are also several factors significant in the determination of the prices in art market. For instance in the sixteenth century, size of the work, number of assistants, cost of materials, technical complexity of the scenery were taken into consideration while determining the artists' fees. Only famous grand masters of the age could ask for higher fees in consideration of their talents and skills.¹⁰³

Today pricing in art and determining the economic value of a work of art is a more complex and problematical phenomenon. Since an artwork is a unique and non-comparable thing unlike other commodities, calculating its price does not depend on material worth. Rosenblum states that 'comparability, substitutability, and complementarity as the standard assumptions of the "production plus profits" formula' do not work in art market conditions.¹⁰⁴

Under conditions of professional art market, a qualitative evaluation should predominate over a quantitative one, at least theoretically. However, in practice, considering size of the work in pricing is a common tendency. For instance, when an artist's two paintings of the same period and style are compared, the larger one may have a higher price.¹⁰⁵ The age of the work is another cause.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, if an artist is known by public with a particular theme or subject matter, usually those works provide a higher value than others do.¹⁰⁷ Name recognition of an artist that can be

¹⁰³ Hill, op.cit.: pp.252–253

¹⁰⁴ Rosenblum, op.cit.: p.64

¹⁰⁵ Jeffrey H. Loria. **Collecting Original Art** (NY: Harper&Row, 1965): p. 140

¹⁰⁶ Work' age is a factor that functions with supply and demand law. There is not a linear relationship between the age and prices that is to mean it not always valid that the older work's price is usually higher than the contemporary ones. This depends on the market situations. If there is a demand to contemporary art, and the supply of contemporaries is decreasing than prices inevitably increases.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p.141

achieved by being a member of an artistic school and movement; or having an eccentric artistic and personal profile may also contribute to the commercial success. On the other hand, experiencing a copious period in a foreign country may also cause another advantageous for artists especially in their local markets.¹⁰⁸ To sum up, quoted from Plattner that;

The more shows and prizes won and the loftier their level of prestige; the higher the elite status and number of galleries handling the work; the higher the connoisseurship of other collectors owning the work; and the more articles, mono-graphs, and other media attention, the higher the prices. Within any artist's price level, the physical attributes of the work, such as whether it is on paper or canvas if a painting, its size, medium, the existence of multiples, and the use of expensive materials all affect the cost of a specific piece.¹⁰⁹

The last issue that can be added to those is the attention of cultural capitalists; gallery and museum curators, critics, scholars, dealers and collectors. Their awareness of an artist results with published works such as books, articles, critics, scholarly study, or acceptance to museum shows that helps artists to acquire a respectable signature and a position in social and cultural network.

To conclude this part with an economic perspective Goetzman's work should be mentioned. Goetzman determines that, by virtue of his financial investigation about the transaction prices for paintings over 271 years, there is a strong connection between money and art. He found evidences of a correlation between the demand for art and total financial wealth in long term, by depending on the observation of art index and index of London Stock Exchange shares in the same period.¹¹⁰ He also claims that, art market is highly correlated with stocks and it might not be only a chance that surprising prices at auctions for masterpieces occurred during an unprecedented decade for global stock investment. In other terms, a significant part

¹⁰⁸ Rosenblum, op.cit.: p.70

¹⁰⁹ Stuart Plattner. "A Most Ingenious Paradox: The Market for Contemporary Fine Art" in **American Anthropologist**, Vol. 100, No: 2, Jun. 1998, p. 488

¹¹⁰ William N. Goetzmann. "Accounting for Taste: Art and the Financial Markets over Three Centuries" in **The American Economic Review**, Vol. 83, No. 5, Dec. 1993, p.1370

of the activation in the art market can be explained by the simultaneous uncertainties in the stock market, which mean investor may prefer to invest on art instead of risky shares. This relationship is not specific to art market, since other commodity markets also tend to increase when a crisis or insecurity occur in the stock market. At least for our century, according to the research, art prices tend to pursue stock-market trends. Briefly and with simple terms, demand for paintings increase when investor wealth grows.¹¹¹

Of course, wealth is not the only motive for demand for art. The peculiar characteristics of artworks separating them from other goods and raising their value up to huge levels are the artistic taste and symbolic values they carry. It must be remembered that taste of public can be shaped by strategies applied by dealers, media, and collectors. As mentioned before, at the beginning of twentieth century value of impressionist paintings raised enormously and they became popular not only in Europe but also in USA, Australia, even in Japan. This can be interpreted as the ‘globalization of aesthetic values’. He concludes that expanding uniformity of taste might be an affect on the increase in painting prices.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Ibid., p.1375

¹¹² Ibid., p.1375

CHAPTER III

ARTISTIC MOVEMENTS AND CULTURAL POLICIES IN TURKEY: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE (LAST DECADES OF OTTOMAN REIGN TO 1960)

The period that we can take as the golden age of private art galleries in our country is 1970s and 1980s. In this thesis however, focus period begins with the early years of Republican era until 1960, since the main effort is providing a historical analysis of the emergence of art galleries in our country. With this aim, the independent artistic movements and tendencies and the governmental regulations, institutions and policies through the considered period are going to be stated in relation to each other in order to comprehend the dynamics behind the emergence of private art galleries in Turkey.

The historical period is going to be analyzed in three phases. First phase covers Ottoman reign's last decades until the proclamation of Turkish Republic, which witnessed the early affiliations with the modern forms and artistic developments in fine arts. The next phase considered in this part begins with the proclamation of Republican Turkey and spans the years up to mid-1940s. In this period, the major determinants over the field were the state, and cultural policies governed. The last phase, which is between mid-1940s and 1960, historically constitutes the strategic centre of this thesis since it was the scene of the political, economic, and cultural circumstances that led to the emergence of art galleries. In opposition to the second phase, we observe the liberalization of the artistic field of the state and accordingly the initial movements of private art market.

3.1. Period before the Proclamation of the Turkish Republic

The transition from traditional miniature to canvas painting in western sense began in the nineteenth century. Since traditional miniature was quite different from the latter in terms of its material and mentality, acceptance process of such novel form took a long time. It is accepted that the formation of Turkish painting in the modern sense is

rooted in the last decades of the Ottoman reign. Certainly, modernization activities and rising relations with European countries have influenced the westernization of painting in that period.

The very early institutional practices in this sense took place in Military School of Engineering (*Mühendishane-i Berri Hümayun*) that opened in 1793. Students took painting and drawing lessons focusing on perspective and light from foreign instructors, in fact with a purpose of developing their technical skills for military applications. Later, some students were sent abroad, mostly to France, for studying art. Besides, a number of them later preferred to professionalize in painting and formed the artistic milieu of their time as the first Turkish painters.¹¹³

3.1.1. Foundation of Fine Arts Academy and Subsequent Artistic Movements

In the nineteenth century, the locomotive movement in the artistic field was the opening of Fine Arts Academy (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) in 1883.¹¹⁴ Prior to Academy, it is known that the first painting academy opened in 1874 in İstanbul by a foreign artist Guillemet, yet it did not last long. Tansuğ states that Guillemet was the first entrant strived for the opening of an official educational art institution.¹¹⁵ However, Osman Hamdi Bey was the first director and founder of the Fine Arts Academy. He was strongly interested in fine arts and had a westernized vision that led to the employment of many foreign instructors in the academy instead of local painters from military schools whose understanding of art was not competent enough

¹¹³ Sezer Tansuğ. **Çağdaş Türk Sanatı** (İstanbul: Remzi Kit., 1999): p.64. Generally, they are called as “Soldier Painters Generation”. Those names with respect to their ages are; Hüsnü Yusuf Bey, Ferik Tevfik Paşa, Ferik İbrahim Paşa, Hüseyin Zekâi Paşa, Şeker Ahmet Paşa, Süleyman Seyyid Bey, Hoca Ali Rıza ve Halil Paşa.

Besides, other early artistic figures who were identified from their signatures, and cited in the same source are; Hüseyin Giritli, Hilmi Kasımpaşalı, Süleyman Sami, Ahmed Bedri, Salih Molla Aşki, Osman Nuri Paşa, Ahmed Şekür, Selahattin Bey, Şefik Bey, Necip Bey, Münip Bey, Ahmed Ziya Şam, İbrahim Bey, Mustafa Bey and Şevki Bey. It is thought that they were graduated from military schools and *Darişşafaka*. However, there is little information about them; it is known that some of them used İstanbul photographs as models for their paintings. Since their style found amateurish and unrefined, they are also known as “Turkish Primitives”. (ibid.,p. 85)

¹¹⁴ After the establishment of the Republic, its name “*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*” was turned into “*Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi*” in 1928.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p.104

for the new academy.¹¹⁶ At the beginning, there were a few Turkish students because of the prejudgments of families, though later on their number increased in the academy. It must be remembered that proclamation of the second constitutional era caused liberalization in social and cultural spheres in addition to official institutions. At last, together with the foreign and minority artists in İstanbul, new coming and talented Turkish artists graduated from academy's painting, architecture, sculpture, and engraving classes formed the early artistic field in the country.

Graduates of Fine Arts Academy namely Sami Yetik, Şevket Dağ, Hikmet Onat, İbrahim Çallı, Agah, Kazım, Ahmed İzet, Ahmet Ziya Akbulut, Mesrur İzzet established the first artist society "The Ottoman Painter's Society" in 1908.¹¹⁷ Later "Feyhaman Duran, Hüseyin Avni Lifij, Murtaza, Midhat Rebi, Tomas Efendi, Müfide Kadri, Rifat" joined to the union.¹¹⁸ The name of the society changed several times and finally in 1929 it was decided as "Fine Arts Union".¹¹⁹ A new era began with that movement. Members of the society not only contributed to the artistic production in terms of painting, but also published the first artistic magazine considering plastic arts namely "Ottoman Painter's Society Magazine-Promoter of ideas" (*Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Mecmuası- Nasir-i efkâr*) which was supported by Crown Prince Abdülmecid¹²⁰ and published only 18 issues between the years 1911 and 1914. Nevertheless, the magazine had an importance regarding its pioneering role in the emergence of an artistic and cultural platform.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Turan Erol. "Painting in Turkey in XIX. and Early XXth Century" in *A History of Turkish Painting* (İstanbul: Palasar SA, 1987): p. 138

¹¹⁷ Tansuğ also states another society, Club' de l'ABC (*Elifba (a, b, c) kulübü*), that was founded around 1880-1882 by minorities and foreigners. They also organized exhibitions in İstanbul. (Tansuğ, op.cit.: p. 92)

¹¹⁸ Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu. "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Sanat Etkinliği/ Güzel Sanatlar Birliği Ankara Sergisi" in *Sanat Dünyamız*, No. 89, Fall 2003, p. 231. Quoted from A.S. Güler, "II. Meşrutiyet Ortamında Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti ve Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi" (unpublished Phd thesis), (İst., Mimar Sinan Uni., 1994) : p.8

¹¹⁹ Respectively those names were; Turkish Painters Union (*Türk Ressamlar Cemiyeti*) in 1921, Turkish Fine Arts Union (*Türk Sanayi-i Nefise Birliği*) in 1926, and Fine Arts Union (*Güzel Sanatlar Birliği*) in 1929.

¹²⁰ Erol, op.cit.: p.149

¹²¹ Tansuğ, op.cit.: p.105

The society started opening exhibitions called “Galatasaray Exhibitions”, since they were organized in the Galatasaray Lyceum that continued from 1916 until 1952 regularly. The opening exhibition was carried by 49 artists with 189 works in *Galatasaray Yurdu*. Özsezgin states about the exhibitions that, there was an admission fee (*duhuliye ücreti*) in the entrance. In the exhibitions, the works of older and experienced masters were displayed in the big hall of the lyceum, while works of students and amateurs were displayed in other rooms.¹²² Galatasaray exhibitions have had a long-term effect on the formation and development of artistic field in Turkey; however, they were not the very first examples of exhibitions.

Together with the arrival of students who were sent abroad for art education in the first half of nineteenth century, some early examples of exhibitions had been initiated. Particularly, first painting exhibition known in modern sense opened by endeavors of Şeker Ahmet Paşa in 27 April 1873. In order to introduce and adopt the exhibition to the public, Paşa declared in the newspapers that the exhibition was held in keep of minister of education (*maarif nazırı*) and grand vizier (*sadrazam*).¹²³ Therefore, it can be claimed that authorities’ interest was a symbol that could motivate and sustain public interest. At the same time, Tansuğ states that due to the increase in the number of artists graduated from Fine Arts Academy, number of exhibitions with or without prizes was also proliferated.¹²⁴ He also mentions another transitory experience, the İstanbul Salon exhibitions opened only three times between the years 1901 and 1903, which ended in personal disagreements and conflicts. Without doubt, none of those was affective and persistent in history as much as Galatasaray Exhibitions.

Some active members of the “Ottoman Painters Society” who later became pioneering painters of the modern Turkish art were; İbrahim Çallı, Feyhaman Duran,

¹²² Kaya Özsezgin. **Cumhuriyet'in 75 Yılında Türk Resmi** (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası, 1998): p. 14, quoted from Nurullah Berk and Adnan Turani, **Başlangıcından Bugüne Çağdaş Türk Resim Sanatı Tarihi** (c.2, Tıglat, 1981)

¹²³ Tansuğ, op.cit.: p.92

¹²⁴ Ibid., p.110

Hikmet Onat, Avni Lifij, Nazmi Ziya Güran, Namık İsmail, Mehmed Ruhi Arel, Ali Sami Yetik, Ali Sami Boyar, and others. Some of those names were among the students studied art in Europe by means of private opportunities or scholarships. When the First World War began, the generation studying abroad came back in 1914, and they presented a new mentality shaped by contemporary European genres and movements to the artistic milieu of İstanbul. Later, those were called as “Generation of 1914” or “Çallı Generation”. For the reason that Çallı was known with his extraordinary personality and distinctive aptitude some critics used his name to refer this generation. According to Tansuğ, Çallı was different from his contemporaries, since he was neither a member of a high-class İstanbul family, nor a military rooted artist of middle class. Çallı was a bohemian artist as well as an Anatolian man reflecting local characteristics and humor that distinguish him from others.¹²⁵ The primary contribution of this society was introducing impressionism to the local artistic spheres. Works of 1914 generation differed in terms of composition and figure from their antecedents in Turkish painting. Some members of the generation worked in the Şişli Atelier that opened by the request of Enver Paşa and under the patronage of Ministry of War. They were ordered to produce paintings about First World War and heroic scenes in order to be displayed in Vienna and Berlin.¹²⁶

Many members of the generation continued painting during the Republican era, and they took administrative and educational roles in the academy, and strongly affected the dynamics and styles of the forthcoming generations together with their comprehension of modern painting. It is necessary to mention that despite the developments and increasing number of artists in the field, it is not possible to speak about an art market in this period in any sense. It is known that *Sultans* and ruling elites were the major patrons of art and artists, however not exactly in the western sense. Art was not a field of production that was subject to the common public interest. Artists were more or less officers under service of *Sultan* and the reign. Gülen points out that situation by emphasizing an auto-portraiture of Şeker Ahmed Paşa. He states that Şeker Ahmed Paşa’s austere pose, standing with his fez and

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 118-120

¹²⁶ Ibid., p.151

palette in front of a canvas gives us clues about the period artists' comprehension of their profession. If one overlaps the palette in the figure for a minute, he/she can easily think that he is an officer on duty.¹²⁷ Consequently, artists usually did not expect an additional economic return more than they earned as an officer until the liberalization of field. Up to that date, major expectation of the artist was to be honored morally.¹²⁸

Obviously, it is not possible to compare the conditions of artistic environment in European countries and Turkey in the period since socio-economic and cultural variables were completely different from each other. It must be remembered that social and cultural processes preparing the substructure of modern art market in western world were out of question in the case of modern art in Turkish culture.

3.2. Artistic Sphere in the Early Periods of Turkish Republic

In this period, movements and actions in the artistic field are going to be analyzed with respect to two centers. The first one covers the artistic formations in terms of group movements and their activities in the artistic sphere, specifically those in İstanbul. The other focus constitutes of the governmental policies and consequent applications. Predictably, these two poles mutually affected and shaped each other in time.

In the early years of Republic, state was the patron of art, and artistic field was reassured by governmental policies. The main target of cultural politics was creating a national identity and a modernized society. With this aim, in the light of populism principle, certain cultural policies were carried out regarding education, language, literature, national history, social life, and fine arts. In this frame, art was seen as a mean of expressing and representing the national awakening and developments. Artistic field was one of the major focuses of reorganization and reconstruction activities of early Republican governments.

¹²⁷ “Cumhuriyet’in İlk Yıllarında Sanata Yaklaşım ve Sorunları”, Söyleşi, (Ahmet Kamil Gören, Ahmet Oktay, Arzu Öztürkmen, Uğur Tanyeli) in **Sanat Dünyamız**, Vol. 89, 2003, p: 88

¹²⁸ Tansuğ, op.cit.: p. 220

3.2.1. Artistic Movements and Groups

During the period, *Galatasaray* exhibitions of the Turkish Painters Union had continued in İstanbul. In 29 October 1923, they opened their first Ankara exhibition in “*Türk Ocağı*”¹²⁹ building in the honor of the proclamation of Republic. In time, Ankara exhibitions turned out to be the permanent cultural activities in the capital. Ruling elites paid great attention and gave importance to the exhibitions. The major economic sustenance of artists was artwork purchases of official institutions. In addition, Ödekan states, “In the first ten years of the Republic the major recipient was the Republican bourgeoisie”.¹³⁰ It is known that still an independent art market was not present. Thus, to make a living from art was restricted only to the vanguard artists of the period. Some others could only find a chance to make a living by teaching art in academy and in other schools.

The first fine arts society of the period following the establishment of Republic was the “Association of Independent Painters and Sculptors” (*Müstakil Ressamlar ve Heykeltraşlar Birliği*). The association founded around 1928-1929 as a result of the reaction to the members of 1914 generation by young artists who came back from art education in Europe to their homeland in 1926.¹³¹ The society expanded in time that some of the well-known and primary members of the association were Ali Avni Çelebi, Refik Fazil Epikman, Hale Asaf, Mahmut Fehmi Cuda, Cevat Hamit Dereli, Nurullah Cemal Berk, Ahmet Zeki Kocamemi, and Seref Kamil Akdik. They were deeply inspired by the cutting-edge artistic trends of their era such as cubism, fauvism, and constructivism and such.

Just before the official foundation of the organization, some of the above-mentioned names opened a joint exhibition in Ankara Museum of Ethnography, where they announced their manifesto in the exhibition catalogue as follows;

¹²⁹ Today the building is used as ‘Ankara Painting and Sculpture Museum’.

¹³⁰ Ayla Ödekan. “Çağdan Olmak” in *Cumhuriyet’in Renkleri, Biçimleri* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası & Tarih Vakfı, 1999): p.5

¹³¹ Some members of the society also took part in a short-lived experience ‘New Painting Society’ in 1923 as a resistance to the 1914 generation. (Erol, op.cit.: p.174)

The aim of this exhibition and those that will follow is to aid in the development and progress of the rebirth of Turkish painting, and to help national fine arts reach the level they deserve by providing firmly founded directions through conceptually and technically more convincing works.¹³²

As it is understood from the wording, those young artists were not pleased of the activities and artistic attitudes of the previous generation insomuch that they could talk about the “rebirth” of Turkish painting. The elementary disagreement between the two generations took its source probably from the differences in their comprehension of the western art especially due to the formalistic issues. Despite the fact that there was not a common artistic style adopted by Independents, it is known that they considered design and drawing as the main problematic in art.¹³³ They believed that Fine Arts Association was dominating the artistic preferences and production in the field. According to Erol;

The constitution of the society advocated working “within art’s own independence”. It is obvious from this that these young men considered the older artists (the generation that included their own masters) to be the representatives of “official” art.¹³⁴

Erol’s emphasis on “official art” can be interpreted as follows; issues, Independents did not appreciate their masters’ attitude about the governmental subvention and their relations with the Ankara surrounding nor their approaches to the formal issues. As it is going to be mentioned, state’s cultural policies for a long time has been on the agenda and hence ruling elites and artists were in close relations. Therefore, independency of the artists and their production has been a question for the period.

Modern art have always been an arena for the struggles between different styles and genres that usually occurred as reactions to each other. Every movement caused another one criticizing the predecessors. Thus, in this frame, emergence of another artist’s society namely, Group D, beside Independents was no surprise, Founders

¹³² Ibid., p. 175

¹³³ Tansuğ writes that Independents criticized the 1914 generation as their works were deprived of a strong figure and their palettes were all mixed up haphazardly with paint. (Tansuğ, op.cit.: p.119)

¹³⁴ Erol, op.cit.:p. 176

were Zeki Faik Izer, Nurullah Berk, Elif Naci, Cemal Tollu, Abidin Dino, and sculptor Zuhtu Muridoglu. Later Eşref Üren, Turgut Zaim, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, and Eren Eyüboğlu joined to former members.¹³⁵ The group founded in 1933, and opened their first exhibition in an extraordinary place; a hatter shop named “*Mimoza*” in Beyoğlu.¹³⁶ This is a significant indicator for the deficient conditions of the art world in those days. At the beginning of Republican era, there was not any exhibitionary space in the country that artists could carry exhibitions and come together other than Fine Arts Academy. However, Academy had offered a very conservative and limited field to the young artists. Group D members were not close to a specific genre or manner; however, they were strongly against impressionist tendencies. On the other hand, they were criticized as being disinterested to the societal problems and corrupting the national art by emphasizing western trend overmuch. Their influence had lasted in the art arena extensively almost until 1950s, and during this time, they have opened several exhibitions under hard conditions. Berk quotes a memory from Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu about Elif Naci regarding the activities of the group:

Whenever I hear the name of Elif Naci, the most generous years of the group come to my mind. I never forget that, around 1935s we were meeting at the office of Tan newspaper from time to time. Without rhyme or reason, he said;
— I m not appreciated of going of the group. We should open an exhibition soon. What is your opinion?
— Lets do it.

¹³⁵ The reason for choosing “D” as the name was;

The letter “D” was chosen since it is the first letter of the Turkish word *dördüncü* meaning the fourth; thus, these young artists were asserting that the group they had formed was the fourth such artistic organization founded in Turkey. (Ibid., p. 198)

The first three were Ottoman Painters Society, Turkish Fine Arts Union, and the Independents. Aksüğür quotes the aims of “Group D” from Nurullah Berk as follows:

Constituting an art society, Exhibiting art to public,
Mentioning the necessity for art,
Opening an energetic art path in Turkey that is liberated from Ottoman.
(İpek Aksüğür Duben, “Cumhuriyette Tenkit” in *Ödekan*, op.cit.:p. 159) [2]

¹³⁶ Nurullah Berk & Gezer Hüseyin. **50 Yılın Türk Resim ve Heykeli** (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1973): p. 50

In the next day, it was written in newspapers that members of Group D were going to open a big exhibition in the fifteenth of that month. It was only ten days before the date. Members who learned the opening of their exhibition from the news of Elif Naci after that came together.¹³⁷ [1]

The group dissolved in 1947, yet according to Berk, the reason for the break up was not the personal disagreements between the members, but rather an understandable will of members for working independently and searching for their own individuality after a long lasting group experience.¹³⁸

A last society should be mentioned in order to reach a comprehensive scheme of the period and the dynamics around the artistic production and general tendencies. The “New Group” (*Yeniler Grubu*) was founded in late 1930s by Nuri İyem, Abidin Dino who left Group D, Haşmet Akal, Turgut Atalay, Mümtaz Yener, Faruk Morel, Agop Arad, Avni arbaş, Selim Turan, and Nejad Melih Devrim. After they opened the "Harbour Paintings Exhibition" (*Liman Resimleri Sergisi*), group began to be called as “Harbour Painters” (*Liman Ressamları*). Their difference from the former groups was the importance they gave to the subject matter and content. They emphasized the social realities of the era in their paintings.¹³⁹ Actually, this change can be interpreted as a kind liberalization of artists. They realized the conditions of their age and society and hence far away from the debates about the adoption of western forms and guaranteed themes they produced unusual works reflecting the reality of city especially İstanbul.

Consequently, it must be added that taking part in a group movement was a necessity in the period. As it is clear, economic and professional opportunities and facilities for artists were very rare and limited. Only the ones who gained recognition by the aid of their extraordinary talent and effort as well as personal relations were economically advantageous and could make a living by their profession. However, many of them had to work in secondary works. In a suchlike environment, intentionally or not

¹³⁷ Berk and Gezer,op.cit.:p. 65

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 54

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 69

artists usually came together within groups in order to stand as a whole against the economic challenges and production problems of a newborn artistic field. Save a few exceptions, that attitude was almost a burden under the conditions of the day. On the other hand, there was not a matured artistic production taking its roots from local culture in terms of artistic forms. They were adopting western forms; however, they were not familiar to the historical, cultural, and social conditions that generated those forms. In addition, there was not a sufficient and wealthy literature about western art and related topics that artists could attain to train themselves. Accordingly, by creating groups and working together they transposed their artistic and intellectual accumulation to the common realm, and hence cultivated each other. Naturally, they experienced confusions, disagreements, and struggles within and between groups, however those contributed to the creative power and development of artistic sphere. In this instance, they were given the major subvention and encouragement from the state by means of cultural policies. In the subsequent part, governmental institutions, policies, and their relationship with artistic spheres are going to be considered in detail.

3.2.2. Governmental Policies and Artistic Field

As aforementioned, at the early republican period' ruling elites paid great attention and gave importance to the cultural and artistic practices. State's encouragement to art activities was easily observable. During 1930's we witnessed a quite active and proliferated art scene in Ankara as well as İstanbul, since one of the fundamental aims of the government was to highlight Ankara in all cultural and social aspects as to compete with İstanbul. Authorities wanted to take the attention to the capital of young Republic, Ankara.¹⁴⁰ With this aim, the Cabinet decided with a law in 1926 to open the Galatasaray exhibitions of Fine Arts Academy also in Ankara.¹⁴¹ Main landmarks of the art scene of the period will be mentioned are; Exhibition of Paintings of The Revolution (*İnkılap Sergileri*), People's Houses' Activities (*Halk Evi Etkinlikleri*), The Provincial Tours (*Yurt Gezileri*), The State Exhibitions of

¹⁴⁰ For further information and a detailed history of the construction of Ankara with all aspects, please look at L. Funda Şenol Cantek, "Yaban'lar ve Yerliler Başkent Olma Sürecinde Ankara (İstanbul: İletişim, 2003)

¹⁴¹ Ayla Ödekan, *Türkiye Tarihi, Çağdaş Türkiye 1908-1980*, Cilt IV (İstanbul: Cem, 2005): p. 555

Painting and Sculpture (*Devlet Resim ve Heykel Sergileri*), and Opening of İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum (*İstanbul Devlet Resim Heykel Müzesinin Açılması*).

3.2.2.1. Exhibitions of Paintings of the Revolution

At the tenth anniversary of Republic, in 1933, the first “Exhibition of Paintings of the Revolution” opened in Ankara People’s House. Several artists participated to the exhibition with their works representing the Independence War and Republican revolutions. Exhibitions started by the efforts of Reşit Galip, Ministry of National Education and continued until 1937.¹⁴² Özsezgin points out an important consequence of these exhibitions. He states that with the opening of first exhibition, and alongside the escalated artistic activities in Ankara, many artists began to move Ankara to continue their artistic life.¹⁴³ Another point worth to mention is the opening of “Painting Department of Gazi Educational Institution” (*Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Resim-İş Bölümü*) in 1931, which also ensured job opportunities in Ankara to a number of artists.¹⁴⁴ From this point of view, exhibitions reached the aim of transforming Ankara to a centre of attraction. However, the exhibitions as the very first examples of patronage of state in the artistic field were also criticized for being insufficient with respect to plastic values.¹⁴⁵

As stated in the previous chapter, patronage of ruling elites and authorities was a general phenomenon in the western history of art. Germaner opposes the critics suggesting that artistic production was governed by the state for propaganda as in the case of Russia and Germany.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, it can be claimed that artists who

¹⁴² For further information; Üstünipek, Mehmet. “**Cumhuriyet’ten Günümüze Türkiye’de Sanat Yapıtı Piyasası**” Unpublished diss., (Mimar Sinan University, 1998): p. 83-84, and Özsezgin, op.cit.: p. 29

¹⁴³ Some of those artists were Cemal Tollu, Muhittin Sebati, Turgut Zaim, Eşref Üren, Arif Kaptan and Cemal Bingöl. Özsezgin, op.cit.: p. 41, quoted from Z. Büyükişleyen. **Türk Resminde Ankaralı Sanatçılar** (Ankara: Sanat Yapım, 1991)

¹⁴⁴ First instructors of the Institution were well-known artists of İstanbul art scene, namely Malik Aksel, Refik Epikman, Zeki Faik İzer.

¹⁴⁵ Necla Arslan. “1950’den 2000’e Türk Plastik Sanatları” in **Toplumsal Tarih**, No:2, 1994, p. 41

¹⁴⁶ Semra Germaner, “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Resim Sanatı” in *Ödekan*, op.cit.: pp. 17-18

participated to exhibitions were already devoted to revolutions and they willingly produced those works due to their belief to the culture revolution in the country.¹⁴⁷

3.2.2.2. People's Houses and Their Activities

People's Houses, which opened in 1932 officially with a decision of Republican People's Party (RPP)¹⁴⁸, had played a critical and effective role as a party-apparatus for long years until 1951 in the practicing of cultural policies all over the country. Introducing and adopting the revolutions to the society, increasing the cultural and educational level of public, uniting citizens around a common national mentality, and collecting and preserving the local cultural heritage and accumulation were aimed at. Karpat states the purpose of Houses as follows:

... [t]o bridge the gap between the intelligentsia and people by teaching the first of these the national culture which lay among the Anatolian masses and, the second, the rudiments of civilization, and an indoctrination of the nationalist secular ideas of the Republican regime.¹⁴⁹

In this frame, People's Houses were the major vehicles of government, or in other word's RPP's, in the practicing populism principle aiming to reach all parts of society in order to modernize and develop the country and citizens with respect to all economic and cultural aspects. Program of People's Houses covered nine fields, that one of those was the fine arts branch. Opening of fine arts branch had attributed much to the spread of fine arts to the rest of the country out of Ankara and İstanbul. Houses provided public opportunities such as painting and photography courses, prized competitions, holding exhibitions, film screenings and like. Özsezgin quotes from Çavdar that during the years of 1932-40 almost 970 exhibitions opened in the whole People's Houses.¹⁵⁰ Thus, it can be easily proposed that they should have

¹⁴⁷ In the interview with Kayıhan Keskinok, he also supported that opinion. He insistently emphasized in the interview that state authorities, save a few and personal exceptions, had never insisted on artists in terms of form or content. There was a general tendency of public officials, however never guided the artist.

¹⁴⁸ English acronym is RPP.

¹⁴⁹ Kemal H. Karpat. "The People's Houses in Turkey-Establishment and Growth" in **Middle East Journal**, Vol.17, Winter-Spring 1963, p. 55

¹⁵⁰ Özsezgin, op.cit.: p. 35 quoted from T. Çavdar, "Halkevleri" in Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ans., p. 880

played a critical role in the emergence of artists from Anatolian cities in the following years. However, in 1951 after Democrat Party (DP)¹⁵¹ came to power the government closed the Houses, and all their property were expropriated to the state.

3.2.2.3. The Provincial Tours

Perhaps the most affective and interesting activity that introduced painting to the society was the “Provincial Tours” that started in 1938. Tours were defined as “travels for examining art in the countryside”, and by the way, artists would have the chance of “determining the local beauties of the country onsite”.¹⁵² In this program, artists within groups who were determined by Fine Arts Academy were sent to the provinces for a month to produce works representing the social and cultural atmosphere and characteristics of the place. It is decided that when the tour was over, works were going to be presented to a jury in order to be evaluated. During the following six years, tours continued regularly despite the Second World War and its pernicious affects on economy. Artists were paid commissions in acknowledgement of their service by RPP, and usually accommodated in the People’s Houses. The result was encouraging and pleasing. In contrast to “Paintings of Revolution”, provincial tours succeeded to create a long lasting impression on artistic spheres. By the aid of those tours, many artists found chance of facing with the reality of Anatolia. Moreover, public could also meet and observe artists in their neighboring. In the following periods, traces of those experiences became observable on canvasses concerning themes. Provincial Tours led painters to find new, innovative, and realistic subject matters for their works instead of stereotype İstanbul views, and cliché Anatolian sceneries. Üstünipek lists the major affects of tours that; meeting artists with the society, providing artists economic opportunities, and entrance of the local and folk figures in modern Turkish painting.¹⁵³ The first exhibition consisted of

¹⁵¹ English and Turkish acronym is DP.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 43

¹⁵³ Üstünipek, op.cit.: p.94

101 works of 10 painters opened in 23 April 1939 in Ankara Exhibition House (*Ankara Sergi Evi*), and 43 paintings were bought for the state collection.¹⁵⁴

At the end of six years a huge number of paintings, totally 675 pieces of 58 painters representing 63 cities of the country were produced.¹⁵⁵ Eyüboğlu wrote in 31 August 1953 in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper that many artists willingly participated to the tours despite the low yield, since the motion was exciting. By the way, artists who did not go beyond *Pendik*, were given an opportunity of traveling the whole country. Unfortunately, at the end the fate of the works was deplorable. Since they were not preserved and protected as a collection, in time a significant number of them were ruined and lost. Eyüboğlu stated that they could only find and save a few of them by chance as they were thrown in cellars and depositories of official buildings.¹⁵⁶

Certainly Provincial Tours were also criticized as being governed by the government through political aims. Additionally, RPP authorities accused of dictating subject matters to artists. Therefore, both the government and the party were under attack. However, of course separating and evaluating those two were not possible. Erol points out the situation clearly;

The Provincial Tours were part of a broad-spectrum cultural program jointly undertaken by both the Republican People's party and the government. However in fact those two were the same in the period of single-party era.¹⁵⁷

However, because of the transforming political environment and turning of government's focus on the economic growth and development in the mid-1940s, willingly or not, political authorities lost their interest to the tours, as well as to other

¹⁵⁴ The list of artists participated the first tour was; Ali Avni çelebi (Malatya), Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu (Edirne), Cemal Tollu (Antalya), Feyhaman Duran (Gaziantep), Hamit Görele (Erzurum), Hikmet Onat (Bursa), Mahmut Cuda (Trabzon), Saim Özeren (Konya), Zeki Kocamemi (Rize), and Sami Yetik (İzmir) (Zeynep Yasa Yaman. "Yurt Sergileri ya da Mektepten Memlekete Dönüş in **Toplum Bilim**, No.4, July 1996, pp.42-43)

¹⁵⁵ Tansuğ, op.cit.: p.216

¹⁵⁶ Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, "Gün ışığına hasret çeken tablolar" in *Daily Cumhuriyet* (31 August 1953) in Ödekan, op.cit.: p.226-227

¹⁵⁷ Erol, op.cit.: p.207

cultural policies. Henceforth, a period began witnessing the recession of state from cultural and artistic field.

3.2.2.4. State Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture

“Provincial Tours” and “Exhibitions of Paintings of Revolution” were activities organized by state with specific aims mentioned above. In each one, there was a specific ideological expectation considering subject matter. Artists were expected to reflect; in the first one, the birth of a nation and state; and in the latter views of the homeland. Furthermore, both aimed to meet society with painting. However, “State Exhibitions of Painting and Sculpture” (*Devlet Resim ve Heykel Sergisi*) differed from them in some respects. First, artists were free to paint whatever subject they want. There was not a restriction in style and subject to partake in exhibitions, since it was open to all artistic movements. Moreover, it was also open to foreign artists; despite they were not given awards. The first exhibitions of Provincial Tours and of those opened in the same place and date. To some, unluckiness of Provincial Tours was their occurrence at the same time with State Exhibitions since the latter gained more attention and importance in time than the former.

State exhibitions contributed to the development and encouragement of modern Turkish painting in terms of plastic values more than other actions. State bought most of the works displayed in the state exhibitions and accordingly, today a significant part of collections governed by state and banks are constituted of those works.¹⁵⁸ However, it has been observed in the analysis of exhibition reviews in journals and magazines, during 1950s, state exhibitions are strongly criticized by being insufficient and disqualified in terms of plastic and aesthetic values. In 1957, Bilge Karasu writes about the state exhibition in *Forum* magazine that year after year state exhibitions had lost their importance and in each year, it took shorter time to visit the exhibitions.¹⁵⁹ Additionally for 1958 exhibition, he writes that the artworks

¹⁵⁸ For detailed information, Tansuğ, op.cit.: pp. 217-218

¹⁵⁹ Bilge Karasu, “Exhibition critique” in *Forum*, No: 77, June 1957

were so much poorly and unsatisfying that this could be happened only if, the works had not been evaluated by the jury of the year before the exhibition.¹⁶⁰

State exhibitions still continue, however, they have lost their importance in the course of time mostly because of the opening of private art galleries, and emergence of an independent art market centered in İstanbul.

3.2.2.5. Opening of İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum

The preceding important development in that period was the opening of the first of the Art and Sculpture Museums in Turkey. Opening of a fine art museum had been on the agenda of since 1910's, however it opened in eventually in 1937 at the Heir's Quarters of the Dolmabahçe Palace in 1937 by the directive of Atatürk.

Additionally, as it was stated in second chapter, emergence of museums led to the growth of art market in western world. Thus, in long term, contribution of the opening of the museum to the history of Turkish plastic arts and occurrence of the independent art market is beyond dispute. However, it should be noted that the capital city, Ankara, could open its museum only around 1980s.

In the final analysis, in the frame of above mentioned cultural practices of governments that lasted actively until the end of 1940s an energetic artistic sphere emerged in Ankara as well as in İstanbul. The economic and educational facilities and exhibition spaces presented by state to the artists provided them a secure field of artistic production. In addition to those of governments, there were also artistic activities especially in İstanbul which were sustained by means of artist societies and efforts of art following public. However, after the mid-1940s the picture changed because of the concentration of state on economic and industrial development. Therefore, new actors had come to the art scene such as private art galleries, and private entrepreneurs.

¹⁶⁰ Bilge Karasu, "Sergi Bolluğunda Devlet Sergisi" in **Forum**, No: 100, May 1958

3.3. End of Cultural Policies, the Last Era: Post 1945

Post 1945s had quite different characteristics of the earlier periods. As a consequence of the Second World War, Turkey witnessed a series of transformations in cultural and social arena like Europe. The difficulties that the government had to survive throughout the transition period from one-party to multi-party democratic system, led to ending of program concentrated on cultural politics. Henceforth, political transformation and liberalization in economics were at issue. Eventually, with 1950 elections, DP came to power and there occurred a radical conversion in the relationship of state and artists. Thus, a new era started in many fields when a two-party democratic system formed in Turkey. State's patronage and financial support had decreased in time. After 1950s, developing liberation policies that accepted modernization as an economic process had caused the negligence of cultural development. Governmental authorities usually assessed contemporary art, which had been supported by state until that time, as harmful to national and traditional culture.¹⁶¹

As result of withdrawal of government from the artistic field, there existed a gap between public and artistic field which is filled by private sector. On the other hand, this withdrawal also led to the liberalization of the artist. During 1950s, with the growing interest in the art market, artworks had gained a financial value, and the number of modern art collections, public auctions, collectors, and art galleries had increased. While the former actors of art scene were artists and state before, thereafter conditions changed. Whereas for the period before 1950s the main effort of government and Republican intelligentsia was establishing a link between nation and artistic field in order to create a nationalist art and enlightened public. During the following years art has been moved far away from public and became the focus of wealthier and eminent classes. From this point of view, according to Yaman the

¹⁶¹ For further information about DP's program and considered period, look at; **Türkiye Tarihi, Çağdaş Türkiye 1908-1980**, Vol. IV, (İstanbul: Cem, 2005): pp. 215-224, and Erik Jan Zürcher. **Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi** (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004): pp. 321-351

ending of *Kemalist* projects and beginning of a new era in artistic field could be easily seen.¹⁶²

On the other hand, despite the understanding of pre-1950 modernism guided by elites in artistic field depending on Western forms, and reorganization of official institutions, we encounter radical contumacies, innovations, and individual pursuits through post-1950s. As aforementioned, during 1930s grouping among artists was a widespread tendency. One-man shows were not common and artists generally held their exhibitions together with their groups until the beginning of 1950s. However, in this novel era trend has changed and a variety of personal choices and styles began to flourish. Still, there existed some groups such as Group Ten (*Onlar Grubu*), New Branch Group (*Yeni Dal Grubu*), and lastly Black Pen Group (*Siyah Kalem Grubu*) that worth to mention on account of their contributions to artistic sphere in the time. Despite the academy's enforcements to move along within the frame of classical western styles and concepts, during the period artists discovered and emphasized local and national tastes in their works.

A highlighted and attracting event of the 1950s was the convent of AICA's (*Association Internationale des Critiques d'Art*) annual meeting in İstanbul by the invitation of Society of Art Critics in 1954. AICA has been supporting non-figurative painting that became popular after the Second World War. Indeed, in consequence of the developing relations with European art milieu and proliferation of relevant literature nonfigurative art raised in there, despite the fact that demand of state and private collectors to those works was little. However, it is obvious that non-figurative painting and related debates marked 1950s and the following decades in Turkey.

3.4. General Evaluation of the Considered Period

In this chapter, it has been tried to put forward a general scheme of the art scene in relation with the governmental policies of the considered period. In this frame, it is determined that artistic field was constituted of two poles. On the one side, there was

¹⁶² Zeynep Yasa Yaman. "1950 li Yılların Sanatsal Ortamı ve Temsil Sorunu" in **Toplum ve Bilim**, No:79, Winter 1998, p.131

İstanbul as the source of artistic movements, artists, and trends. Since the very first and most important educational institution, namely, Fine Arts Academy was in İstanbul; city has saved its importance and continued to play its pioneering role until today. However, political authorities wanted to raise Ankara as the new attraction centre of the country. Until 1950s, as Artun states, “The state was not only the sole customer and collector of their art but also its exhibitor, audience and critic.”¹⁶³ The solely buyer of art has been state and ruling elites for a long time, since that attitude was adopted by them as a part of national culture policy. Thus, some artists had to develop relations with Ankara sphere with economic concerns. However, as mentioned, it is not possible to assert that applied governmental policies regarding fine arts were aimed at guiding and controlling artistic production totally. Thus, in the frame of period’s circumstances patronage of state could be interpreted as functional. In addition, Özsezgin support the opinion that at the beginning and following periods of the Republican era, except the decade between 1950 and 1960 that witnessed some oppressive and prohibitive practices of the government, Republican governments usually played an objective, preparing, and encouraging role in the field of fine arts.¹⁶⁴ Since, in the centre of the cultural politics of the *Kemalist* project, there laid the cultural development of all strata of the society and creating a common national culture. In the light of that aim, all the policies were oriented towards the education and development of society. Thus, cultural policies applied in the light of populism principle, and state used its all facilities and opportunities to this end. The fundamental effort was modernizing the nation while also preserving national characteristics and values. However, in time cultural policies of Republican regime inevitably identified with the identity of RPP government. This comprehension was an expected consequence of long-lasting single party period. Overall, it can be claimed that, identification of cultural policies with RPP could be a reason of the relative disinterestedness of DP governments to the continuing activities. In the mean time, closing of People’s Houses also can be interpreted as a radical sign of that reaction.

¹⁶³ Ali Artun. “The Museum That Cannot Be” Seminar paper, “Exposer l’art contemporain du monde arabe et de Turquie, ici et là bas” organized by IISMM-École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, 14 June 2002.

¹⁶⁴ Özsezgin,op.cit.: p.58

As mentioned in the second chapter, modern art market was a product of a long-term period that was shaped by social, political, and cultural transformations of the continent. All the actors of market; artist, collector, dealer, and the art gallery came to scene as results of those transformations. Renaissance period, reform and counter-reform movements, enlightenment, rationalization and industrialization were the major determinants. Consequently, it is clear that during the first decades of Republican era economic and cultural variables in condition to the emergence of art market in Western sense were not matured yet. Additionally, the art following public was not sufficient to satisfy, and activate artistic production in terms of cultural and economic aspects. However, when the patronage of state loosened than the movements, which can be accepted as the emergence of art market occurred. Certainly, that was a result of also increasing number of artists, proliferation of publications and translations on relevant literature and lastly economic growth of some parts of society after the Second World War. In the following chapter, the early examples of private art galleries in Turkey, specifically in Ankara, are going to be stated. Additionally, their roles in the art market and society as agents between public and art are going to be questioned. Search of the relevant literature (magazine and daily newspapers of the period) and interviews with witnesses of the period, artists and critics are going to contribute our effort.

CHAPTER IV

THREE PIONEERING GALLERIES IN ANKARA: HELIKON SOCIETY'S GALLERY, GALLERY MİLAR, SOCIETY OF ARTLOVERS' GALLERY

In order to put forth the emergence of private galleries in Turkey, certain crucial points have been discussed so far. In the second chapter art market and the field of artistic production in the western sense was taken up from a historical point of view. Then, early examples of artistic movements, tendencies, and institutions of the period that began in the last decades of Ottoman reign up 1960 were presented. Meanwhile, early cultural policies and regulations of state were also taken under debate. Mentioning all those points was necessary for comprehending the dynamics of our subject matter. Therefore, we have demonstrated a scheme that covers Turkey's case in comparison with the world at large.

As stated in the third chapter, emergence of private art galleries can be interpreted as the result of both a lack in cultural state policies of the state in artistic field and artists' need of freedom of self-expression and economic independence. For that reason, emergence of art galleries in our country should be better studied in a socially and historically determined frame rather than in an art historical scenario. This chapter based on the field research mainly focuses on the early art galleries and exhibition spaces, specifically three selected pioneering private art galleries in Ankara. To this end, period's selected newspapers, *Zafer* and *Ulus*, and magazines, *Yeditepe* and *Forum* were searched. Apart from that, interviews with academicians, artists, critics, and witnesses of the period were held in order to gather information from their personal experiences and interpretations. In the light of collected data, social and cultural roles of private galleries during the 1950's Ankara as well as Turkey are going to be scrutinized in relation to state policies and socio-economic determinants of the period. It is hoped that this effort will contribute to our current understanding of cultural and artistic formations in Turkey.

4.1. Pioneering Exhibition Spaces and Galleries

In the third chapter we already mentioned how early artistic activities were conducted under rough conditions and limited possibilities. During the late Ottoman period, there were no “exhibitionary spaces” as Bennett described; rather, there were spaces artists used rarely for exhibitions. Only Tansuğ gives the example;

There is a building called *Sanayii Nefise* (Fine Arts) having departments next to each other deployed for various works in *Yıldız* Palace Complex. A department of the building is said to be a gallery with corner locket paintings allegories of arts as palette-brush, column capital, compass, ruler, lyre in the ceiling. Yet, this place is also thought to be the library of *Yıldız* Palace.¹⁶⁵ [3]

Even if the argument that *Yıldız* Palace had a gallery would be true, it is more likely that this gallery had a purpose of princely galleries already mentioned in the second chapter; that is, the gallery and the activities held there only served for the *Sultan*, and his courtiers, and without any purpose towards any sales activity. However, it was an honor to get under the patronage of the *Sultan* and to be awarded for one’s own artwork.

As discussed previously, various exhibitions were opened at the end of nineteenth century in İstanbul. Yet these exhibitions were realized especially at minority schools and they targeted a specific group of people. Opening of the Fine Arts Academy certainly had an encouraging effect. Academy students going abroad, learning arts in the western sense, and observing western art market and its fluctuations have obviously had contributed to the artistic movements back home. The vivid art market in Europe had a considerable impact on returning Turkish artists in establishing artistic groups. However, *Galatasaray* exhibitions had not changed the situation with respect to the formation of an art market since it was not possible to proclaim a significant sales activity within the limited context of exhibitions. Artists mostly earned their living through teaching art. Some could be employed in academies. Spectators were members of specific socio-economic classes, mostly ruling classes,

¹⁶⁵ Tansuğ, op. cit. : p.86

and minorities. However, the situation was to change with the beginning of the Republican period.

Turkey experienced a planned program concerning cultural and artistic issues during the first governments of the Republic. The policies concerning plastic arts were mentioned beforehand. An intense program was executed through Exhibitions of Paintings of the Revolution, The Provincial Tours, State Exhibitions of Painting and Sculpture, and People's Houses. These policies were functional in nation formation, and art was seen as a means in creating the consciousness in the western sense of modern nation. In this frame, state preferred to dwell on content rather than form in plastic arts. These practices were agents both in spreading plastic arts through the society and in disseminating the Republican ideology.

The crucial means in introducing and diffusing plastic arts to the public were People's Houses (*Halk Evleri*). People's Houses were used broadly for courses, activities and, competitions about fine and performance arts. The most effective means for RPP to keep in touch with masses were People's Houses through which the authority made itself visible, served to the public, and realized the populism principle. For instance, Şevki Vanlı tells the first time he listened to classical music in Konya People's House and adding;

People's houses were incredible, my childhood passed in that period. I saw the first piano concert in Konya People's House when I was a child. Beside, before the concert someone came and told, "You can not understand when the concert is over. Do not applaud at the wrong time. We sit in front rows, thus wait us to begin to applaud". Then we waited for them to begin applauding and we followed them.¹⁶⁶[4]

Nearly all interviewees had mentioned People's Houses affirmatively and stressed their significance in their function to educate and enlighten the masses. People's Houses had their own exhibition spaces where competitions and exhibitions were took place. Nearly all of People's Houses around the country were involved in fine arts activities and without any regional differentiation. However, at August 4th in

¹⁶⁶ Şevki Vanlı, interview.

1951, together with the election of DP government People's Houses were closed resulting in the suspending of the improvements. In this respect, it was reasonable for the DP not to sustain the policies, which are closely identified with RPP. It is no further discussed in this thesis; yet it should be remembered that some considered People's Houses as the ideological medium of RPP and criticized it for creating a homogeneous cultural environment and "an imagined community" designed and dreamed by RPP.¹⁶⁷

State provided facilities and opportunities and contributed much to the artistic production by means of People's Houses. Additionally, ruling elites prolonged the patronage routine that was practiced by Atatürk in early republican era. Following Atatürk, İnönü continued the role of the patron of art. Still the most important and active figure in state patronage and in practicing state policies in relevant fields was Hasan Ali Yücel, Minister of Education who was known as the closest person to the art milieu, given his political stance and personal attention. Keskinok told a memory clearly illustrating the patronage of political leaders;

Bedri and Eren Eyüboğlu opened an exhibition in a cafe named *Kutlu*. It was a pastry shop. It was about 1944. They exhibited gouache paintings representing *saz* players, Anatolian people and alike. They hanged the paintings on walls. We visited and viewed these. However, they could not sell any painting. On the last day of exhibition, İnönü came and realizing that paintings were not sold, he bought some, and dictated to the Party to buy more. At least they recovered the expenses of exhibition.¹⁶⁸[5]

The two agents crucial for the formation of an independent art market, namely gallery and art dealer, were absent in this period. In one of his articles written in 1938, Sebahattin Eyüboğlu associates the absence of art galleries with the mentality he criticized as "paintings would not be sold in Turkey, so why open galleries". Eyüboğlu suggested that it is impossible to access and possess paintings, given the lack of galleries. It can be deduced from the article that in that period independent

¹⁶⁷ Sefa Şimşek. **Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi; Halkevleri 1932-1951** (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniv. Yayınları, 2002)

¹⁶⁸ Kayhan Keskinok, interview.

group exhibitions were common where the artists themselves determined prices; thus the prices were relatively high which, in return, resulting in lower sales. The exhibitions were mostly visited to “see” the paintings. Eyüboğlu suggested that state should support art rather than artists. Therefore, galleries were essential, even more than museums. He made an analogy of museum and school; grave and cellar. In addition, added that:

[P]ainting without gallery is a landless painting away from social conditions, away from the public. Gallery is a place where artist and the masses-the nutritious populace enter into contact each other. What improves art is the continuous material and moral exchange between art and the public.¹⁶⁹ [6]

Another important article about the necessity of art galleries was written by Prof. Afet İnan. İnan interpreted gallery as a source giving inspiration and acceleration to the period’s progeny. Yet it should be remembered that the gallery of the period, as mentioned above, refers to a space formed and supported by state rather than private and commercial art galleries. During that period, it was hard to imagine that any private enterprise might attempt such an endeavor.¹⁷⁰

It seems that, despite the presence of the artistic production and many educated artists, the absence of an art gallery was quite disappointing for the art milieu of the period. Many articles and comments concerning the issue complained that the exhibitions were displayed under difficult and inappropriate conditions. Zühnü Müridoğlu points out another void concerning artistic field in his article, which appeared in the journal, *Ar*:

Those, the art dealers are terrific enemies who exploit artist as well as best friends saving them from starvation. It can never be suggested

¹⁶⁹ Sabahattin Eyüboğlu. “Resim Galerisi” in *İnsan*, No: 4, 1938, p. 374

¹⁷⁰ Afet İnan. “Resim Galerisi” in *Ar*, No: 20, 1937, p. 1

Ali Akay calls attention to the positivist stress in the article of Afet İnan and her rejection of the works done in Ottoman period, adding that the “new regime, new man and new art carry the effects of positivism as any other field in Turkey and this effect develops in relation with a straight linear progressing time”, Ali Akay “Devlet Himayesinden Serbestleşmeye Plastik Sanatlar” in URL: <http://www.sanalmuze.org/paneller/Mtskm/34dhs.htm>

that there is no man (whatever his mentality is) to buy painting and sculpture in our country. Many people are fond of antique stuff like rugs, coins, and manuscripts. Because, there are many antiquarians selling those works already. Naturally, there are people fond of paintings and sculpture. Yet, there is no dealer introducing and promoting the artist and showing the value and love of artwork. It is perhaps for this reason that artists lack customers and our houses lack artworks.¹⁷¹[7]

Even though the absence of art dealer was going to continue for some more time, art galleries were soon going to appear in Turkey.

When we consider the exhibitionary spaces provided by state, first we encounter halls of People's Houses, which hosted many exhibitions. Especially "Revolution Exhibitions" were displayed in them. More to the point, Provincial Tours Exhibitions were also held again in People's Houses and later on in "Ankara Exhibition Hall". The most important annual event of the period, State Painting and Sculpture Exhibitions had been realized first in Ankara Exhibition Hall, which has started to be built in 1932 by the directive of Atatürk, and kept hosting these exhibitions until the building transformed into an opera house in 1944. Afterwards, the exhibitions continued to be held in a hall of "*Dil Tarih Coğrafya* Faculty" which, for the view of certain newspapers and magazines, seemed not appropriate for painting and sculpture exhibitions due to its physical conditions and later at the "*Türk Ocağı*" building, today the Museum of Painting and Sculpture. Erol mentions another hall used for Ankara exhibitions, which "was a small space in *Ulus* square by the entrance of the *İller* Bank, where artists from Ankara and İstanbul could carry exhibitions- it was reserved by the state for this purpose".¹⁷² It is not fair to claim that the period was deficient in terms of exhibitionary spaces and exhibitions in number. There were permanent exhibitions supported by the state in Ankara, and in İstanbul marked by individual effort. The situation is clearly seen in the review of the newspapers and magazines of the period. Nevertheless, art market was consisted of only two actors; state and artist. State, the only customer of art provided support, motivation and encouragement to the artists and obviously affected the cultural climate. Definitely,

¹⁷¹ Zühnü Müridoğlu. "Bir Tablo Taciri" in *Ar*, No: 5, May 1938, p. 11

¹⁷² Adnan Turani. "Post-Second World War Trends in Turkish Painting" in *History Of Turkish Painting* (İstanbul: Tiglat, 1987) : pp. 239-240

Ankara was advantageous as the capital city in terms of exhibitionary spaces. The state offered all its potential to Ankara and left İstanbul on its own. As an example, although İstanbul was the center of artistic production, there was not a hall like “Ankara Exhibition Hall”. The state aimed at attracting the density of İstanbul to Ankara by providing such opportunities.

4.1.1. İstanbul and Its Early Private Art Galleries

In the early periods, main exhibition spaces in İstanbul were *Galatasaray* Lyceum, Academy’s salon, and in addition French consulate. However, in time, the occasions took place in several spaces like restaurants, cafes, *Beyoğlu* streets, foreign country locals, furniture shops, bookstores, and even apartments around Pera. İstanbul art milieu had to handle with the problems by itself. For instance, Group D was not affirmed by Ankara’s official art milieu, yet opened exhibitions in İstanbul without fees. As far as it is known, a hat shop, a pub, and even curtains of theatres had been places for exhibitions of Group D.

Thus, lack of exhibitionary spaces forced private entrepreneurs and artists to open private art galleries in İstanbul. The first art gallery in İstanbul, according to Üstünipek, was opened in 1939 in *Taksim* by a group of young artist pioneered by Sabahattin Eyüboğlu. Arif Kaptan comments on the opening of gallery as such;

Architects were consulted, carpenters were contested, painters were quarreled, friends were conferred, and then we had a fitted and arranged shop.¹⁷³[8]

The first clients of the gallery were artists and academicians. However, the gallery did not last long due to the road constructions in the neighborhood. Except this short-lived example, there opened “*İsmail Hakkı Oygur* Gallery” in 1947. The gallery was at *Beyoğlu*, the art and culture center of İstanbul. Even though the gallery received favorable responses, it could not last longer than two years.¹⁷⁴ The most important

¹⁷³ Üstünipek, op.cit. : p. 93 quoted from Arif Kaptan. “Sanat dünyasından haberler” in **İnsan**, March 1939, C.2, S.10.s. 848

¹⁷⁴ Çalıkoğlu, Levent. “*Maya* Sanat Galerisi'nden Geriye Kalanlar” in URL: <http://www.sanalmuze.org/paneller/Mtskm/11msg.htm>

gallery following these two examples was *Maya* Gallery, which is cited first when talking about galleries in Turkey. *Maya* opened at 25 December 1950 in an apartment at *Beyoğlu, Kallavi* Street by Adalet Cimcoz. Cimcoz was a well-known figure for certain people in İstanbul. In addition to its main purpose of exhibiting, *Maya* also functioned almost as a culture center where artists, academicians, and writers met.¹⁷⁵ As later will be seen, specifically in Ankara galleries, gallery functioning as a meeting address for intelligentsia was dominant over its sale function. Germaner narrates his memories about *Maya* as follows;

During my whole preteens, there was only one gallery in İstanbul, *Maya* (established 1950). For long time, in an apartment flat having two small rooms inside one another, *Maya* survived as the only gallery of İstanbul with the help of a small number of intellectuals. The number of invitations for all culture attaches, press members and art lovers released was not more than 200 or 250 which was quite enough for 1950s İstanbul.¹⁷⁶[9]

Even though *Maya* lasted for only four years, it was more famous than *Oygar* Gallery regarding both the exhibitions held and consensus created. Cimcoz displayed not only up-to-date paintings and sculptures but also local hand works and objects in the gallery. Although *Maya* held various exhibitions as a popular gallery, sales were not enough for even the rent and expenses of the flat. When the gallery was about to close due to financial problems, the leading artists of the period donated some of their works for an exhibition organized to save *Maya* from bankruptcy. The efforts exerted to save *Maya* confirm the need for an ambiance as such.¹⁷⁷ The cooperation can be inferred from;

¹⁷⁵ Özsezgin, op.cit. : p.51

¹⁷⁶ Ali Teoman Germaner. “Cumhuriyetimizin 75. Yılında, ülkemizde “heykel” olgusuna genel bir bakış” in Ödekan, op. cit.: p. 65

Üstünipek quotes another interpretation about *Maya* from an interview he held with Germaner;

I could be able to pass beyond the narrow walls of academy by the help of people I met in *Maya* and the milieu I witnessed in there. I was in an intellectual environment. That was not a specific situation to me. Every one like me, of my generation who experienced the ambiance of *Maya* took the reward. (Üstünipek, op. cit. : p. 125) [10]

¹⁷⁷ Yeditepe magazine announced the “Recovery Exhibition” in *Maya* as follows;

When it is told that *Maya* Gallery would be closed a lot had happened: Artist like Bedri Rahmi and Nuri İyem run to help with their paintings... Some of them like Avni Arbaş sent paintings from Paris. Even one named Nedret Gürcan, from a village of Anatolia who published a magazine “*Şiir Yaprığı*” and probably has never seen *Maya* sent a letter: ‘It is for you this much money, this much from our magazines with signatures. Sell them, and spend the money. We will send more in 6 months. But do not close.’¹⁷⁸[12]

The income achieved from the savior exhibition could extend the life of *Maya* only for one more year. Following *Maya*, the magazine “*Yeditepe*” announced the opening of a small gallery as a fortunate enterprise of Fethi Karakaş, a painter from İstanbul art milieu. Gallery was at *Beşiktaş* not *Beyoğlu* and this was interpreted at the magazine as a chance for affiliating art closer to masses.¹⁷⁹ In the gallery, one could buy books and magazines as well as visiting exhibitions. Later, there was news in *Yeditepe* that Muammer Karaca had an attempt to allocate the entrance hall of “*Maksim Theater*” to exhibitions, which would gratify art lovers.¹⁸⁰ However, there is no more information available about the result of that attempt. As far, we have mentioned the private galleries of İstanbul. In this period, Ankara was as active and wealthy as İstanbul in terms of artistic production in plastic arts.

4.1.2. Pioneering Galleries in Ankara

It has previously covered that starting from early republican era Ankara has been constructed as a center for culture and arts against İstanbul. In this frame, Ankara has always been subject to a positive discrimination of state and early Republican cadre. It was valid for plastic arts as well. As it is seen all plastic arts exhibitions organized by state were taking place at Ankara. These investments led a well-educated, city-

The news that *Maya* gallery is going to be closed due to the economical problems worried all art lovers. All friends began to work in order to save the gallery that was opened by Adalet Cimcoz four years ago and continued to operate until today with great devotion. The first thing to do is to open a “recovery exhibition” constitutes of artworks given as presents by artists. The exhibition opened in 14th June heartened all of us. *Maya* is not closed. *Yeditepe* announces this gladsome news to the readers. [11] (“Kurtarıcı Sergi” in *Yeditepe*, June1954, p. 63)

¹⁷⁸ Zahir Güvemli quoted in Çalikoğlu, op.cit. in
URL: <http://www.sanalmuze.org/paneller/Mtskm/11msg.htm>

¹⁷⁹ “Küçük Galeri”, Anonymous news in *Yeditepe*, Sep. 1952, p. 21

¹⁸⁰ “Sanat Haberleri”, Anonymous news in *Yeditepe*, Dec. 1953, p. 50

dweller, republican group of people from a high socio economic class to settle down in Ankara who in turn needed to create a social milieu of its own where they could meet, assemble, and join to cultural and artistic events. Bülent Ecevit noted that he foreseen the chance of development of Ankara as an industrial and commercial center as very low; adding that Ankara has already been a culture center of the country, commented on this occasion in *Ulus* newspaper as such;

Intellectuals lost in chaotic life of İstanbul can better proclaim their existence in Ankara. The city owes its success to the revolution movement which is central to republican administration and which grasps our social and cultural lives, being located here. The art of painting and sculpting which has been liberated from the pressure of intolerance by Republic can not be considered separately from this revolutionary movement. Even so state does nearly nothing for Ankara to become a painting and sculpture center. If Ankara possess a development of art; if there is a climate which enable artists to earn a living, suitable even maybe more suitable than İstanbul, this climate had been produced by intellectuals of Ankara on their own account. In such a culture center having a half million people where such climate had occurred on its own, it should be counted as time for an art museum and fine arts academy. Ankara's two lacks are the art academy and the museum. If National Education Ministry do not have funds to allocate such endeavor maybe one of the banks bearing altruism for last years to serve country's culture may commit. We can only remind. We hope that the painters who have greater roles in realizing the needs for academy and museum also will take part in achieving this goal.¹⁸¹[13]

It has been seen that, in spite of the intellectual crowd in Ankara during 1950s, the energy of the social and cultural environment, which was affected negatively from the political and economic conditions, was vanishing. Cultural and artistic activities between 1950s and 1960s in Ankara could be traced via the painter İhsan Kemal Karaburçak's articles in *Vatan* newspaper and Bülent Ecevit's articles on plastic arts in *Ulus* newspaper. Besides, in *Forum* magazine, periodical exhibition critics were done by Bülent Ecevit, Kaya Özsezgin and Bilge Karasu. On the other hand, it is seen that the intensity of culture, art, and city news in Ankara newspapers in the early years of the Democrat Party Government diminished through the end of decade, leaving the foreground to the quarrels between RPP and DP.

¹⁸¹ Bülent Ecevit. "Günün Işığında" in *Daily Ulus*, 24 Apr. 1956.

It was clear that Ankara was not lacking in terms of agents such as artist, critics, and following mass in the artistic field. Due to the needs of this sphere, in Ankara, art galleries were no less important than the ones in İstanbul. Nevertheless, it has to be kept in mind that those samples were apart from the contemporary concept of art gallery. Most of those galleries had the characteristics of a cultural centre; not just a place used for organizing plastic art exhibitions but assembling various branches of art. This is because the needs of the day were beyond an exhibition hall, more towards a public opportunity that would host the developing artistic sphere. As stated above, the founders' primary aim was on this point rather than selling the artworks. The main places of the era in Ankara were *Helikon* Society's Gallery, Art Lover's (*Sanatsevenler*) Society Gallery, and Gallery *Milar*, which are to be stated deeper further on. At the same time, there was another important gallery founded in *Kızılay*, Ankara by İhsan Cemal Karaburçak¹⁸²; "*Karaburçak* Art Gallery". Karaburçak was a painter also writing critics about artistic events and Ankara's cultural life in daily *Zafer*.

4.1.2.1. Helikon Society's Gallery

Helikon was founded in 1952 by a number of professional and amateur artists, scholars, and art lovers, namely Bülent Arel, Selma Arel, Bülent Ecevit, Raşan Ecevit Rasin Arsebük and Zerrin Arsebük with an aim of refreshing Ankara's artistic life when government' subvention to fine arts was decreasing. Ecevit expresses about the period that, artists who were used to the opportunities provided by Peoples Houses had almost been left orphans together with the closing of those houses.¹⁸³ The general tendency among artists was still to expect financial and organizational support from state and its institutions. At this manner, *Helikon* could be accepted as the first private organization in Ankara that began its activities by personal and limited efforts in order to introduce contemporary art genres and styles to the public. In *Helikon*, beside plastic art exhibitions, concerts, meetings, conferences and several other artistic activities were held. Even though the music group of the society performed small number of performances, they were highly

¹⁸² "İhsan Cemal Karaburçak galeri açtı." Anonymous in *Daily Ulus*, 5 Mar. 1956.

qualified and attracted a public.¹⁸⁴ The president of the orchestra was Bülent Arel who later became a famous figure in electronic music. Turan Erol states that;

At that time, the club of the *Helikon* Association hosted various activities mostly music and painting. The name *Helikon* was perhaps chosen for this reason; meeting point of art fairies. Maybe due to the members like Bülent Arel, İlhan Mimaroglu, İlhan Usmanbaş, Faruk Güvenç *Helikon* had a weight for music. In addition, definitely, Bülent Ecevit was closely interested in plastic arts and painting.¹⁸⁵[14]

The news announcing the opening of *Helikon*'s permanent gallery with the exhibition of a child painter Hasan Kaptan was published in *Zafer*.¹⁸⁶ Cemal Karaburçak also had been pleased with the establishment of *Helikon* and, wrote in *Zafer* about the occasion.

Founders of *Helikon* were not disinterested in politics and they were disturbed by the oppressing environment and administrations of government. In this respect, the news about the establishment of society published in *Zafer* may be interpreted as an indicator of the support of the limited art milieu to each other unconditionally;

Helikon Art Society was established by Bülent Arel, Selma Arel, Rasim Arsebük, Zerrin Arsebük, Orhan Burlan, Bülent Daver, Raşan Ecevit, and Reha Kargas by an exhibition of Hasan Kaptan at the club at Mithatpaşa No: 25. The opening of *Helikon*, which aims to

¹⁸³ Bülent Ecevit, "Helikon" in **Gergedan**, No: 17, July 1988, p. 150

¹⁸⁴ A memory of Günsel Koptagel that is quoted in Ayhan illustrates the importance of Helikon in those days and its intimate atmosphere:

There was a unique society that we follow its music events, especially atonal and 12 toned music, namely Helikon. The helicon quartet: Ulvi Yücelen (violin), Faruk Güvenç (Viola), İlhan Usmanbaş (Cello) and...now I can not remember the fourth. One day they were performing baroque music, maybe it was Vivaldi. They stopped several times while playing. Then, F. Güvenç stood up and said: "Excuse us, we did wrong, again!" (Ece Ayhan, Sivil Denemeler Kara (İstanbul: YKY, 1998): p. 45) [15]

¹⁸⁵ Turan Erol. **Helikon'da On Yıl** (Ankara: Helikon Sanat Galerisi Yay., 2006): p. 3. The Helikon Gallery, which is now in Ankara, has no relation with the one this thesis focusing. Turan Erol and his family manage the gallery. The name Helikon was chosen for this contemporary one with only emotional reasons.

¹⁸⁶ "Helikon Derneğinin Galerisi." Anonymous in Daily Zafer, 18 Jan 1953.

familiarize music, painting, sculpture, cinema, and art movements, with an exhibition by Hasan Kaptan was an appropriate action for the foundational aims of the association... For *Helikon* Arts Society, applause would not be enough. The number of art museums, galleries, and organizations as such determine the level of a nation in the civilized world. Congratulations to its founders. We expect a lot from *Helikon*.¹⁸⁷[16]

When they decided to establish an association, they had not demanded any incentives from the state since they believed that state support might even be harmful in some conditions. Despite the fact that banks started to gather collections at that time, and thus could provide a potential support as a kind of sponsorship willingly, together with other private organizations and prosperous people, members of society did not think about this option either. They established it by their own means at an apartment of early Republican era, on the road from *Sakarya* to *Sihhiye*. They decided to use the name *Helikon* for the society, which refers to the mountain where fairies and muses met in Greek mythology. Depending on the research conducted by searching the newspapers and magazines of the time, it can be concluded that the society was one of the most active culture and art center in Ankara during the period.

Members' tendencies were towards the non-figurative style at painting, yet they provided the opportunity of exhibiting abstract paintings to many artists who had no chance to participate state exhibitions. Keskinok mentions that everything, which was indifferent or not understood, was seen "communist" at the period. On the contrary, abstract and non-figurative paintings were evaluated as ignorable and degenerated at Soviet Russia at the center for so-called communist threat.¹⁸⁸ Even more, Ecevit tells about an interesting memory on the issue when he was not enrolled in politics, but rather he was a journalist writing culture and arts news in *Ulus*. In a period were the competition with DP is high Ecevit got angry to daily *Ulus* for being reluctant to art news and for publishing the exhibition news late, mostly after the end of exhibitions. He told the administration of the newspaper that he would not write art news anymore. His reaction did not change the attitude of the newspaper and a

¹⁸⁷ İ. Cemal Karaburçak. "Üç Güzel Tezahür" in *Daily Zafer*, 06 Feb 1953.

¹⁸⁸ Kayıhan Keskinok, interview.

police journalist was assigned to the news of exhibitions. The journalist even though was a talented one had never been interested in arts, until then;

Once, a photograph of a painting from an exhibition at *Helikon* had been published in the daily, *Ulus*. The caption was written by the police journalist who was responsible to follow the exhibition: beginning like “At *Helikon* Art Gallery, paintings in the genre newly emerging after Nafi Güratif” I was totally surprised. Despite the fact that I was one of the administrators of *Helikon*, I had never heard about such an exhibition of a painter named Nafi Güratif. Neither knew I a painter as such... Later I found out the fact. The journalist found it unnecessary to see the exhibition, rather he phoned the association to write a caption to the photograph he had. Since he never heard of non-figurative until then he thought it was a painter named Nafi Güratif and the news was published as so at *Ulus*.¹⁸⁹[17]

In a period when the most classic and figurative paintings were sold hardly, they were trying to spread abstract art. It was apparently a hard way. On the other hand, again, as Ecevit mentions, the sales were unexpectedly high and regular. There nearly left no paintings from exhibitions at *Helikon* and the society had %20 of the sales.¹⁹⁰

Helikon granted a possibility for citizens to buy a work they wanted with low prices. It was the first time in Turkey. We were taking the attention of civil servants, workers, and housewives to the art works. Artists were informing spectators about the works by themselves and made hire- purchases. Some of our members started to open their own ateliers. By the way, they took steps to become producers rather than being spectators.¹⁹¹[18]

¹⁸⁹ Ecevit, op.cit. : p. 153

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. : p. 151

We understood that the main expectancy from the exhibitions was to earn as much as to supply the fundamental needs. In addition, Keskinok tells about *Helikon*;

In that period, there was a cultural, energetic life in Ankara. There was a gallery named *Helikon*. One of the founders was Bülent Ecevit. We were all young in those days. He was writing exhibition critics in *Ulus*. In my opinion, that endeavor was above the average, so idealist. The two galleries in that period, *Maya* and *Helikon* definitely and clearly were the products of a highly qualified cultural and intellectual mind. When I look through the past today, I can easily claim that they were idealistic works. Today the fundamental concern of almost % 90 of art galleries is earning more money.

¹⁹¹ Anadolu Ajansı. “Ecevit’ten Çok İlginç Anılar.” 8 Dec 2004, in URL: <http://www.maksimum.com/haberler/haber/24/17396.php>

One of the principal aims of *Helikon* was to introduce and promote contemporary art to society. Maybe if the association could have lasted longer, and continued its activities, it might have helped Ankara to become a more active place in the cultural and artistic map of Turkey. However, the rumors about the bombing of Atatürk's house at *Selanik* on 6-7 September 1955, which resulted in aggressions toward minorities, had affected *Helikon* due to its name.

Ecevit interprets the events as a menace to the Ottoman tradition bestowing equal rights to people of each nation and religion, enabling them to know the same country as homeland. Even if we were right as a nation, it was not a justification to burn a foreign consulate building or a temple of another religion.¹⁹² However, later on, the association had been effected from the events. After the application of martial laws, the state started an investigation period to find the responsible. As many other associations *Helikon* was also closed due to the Greek origin of its name and the administrators of the society were took on investigation.

Officers conducting the investigation could not decide how to relate *Helikon* with 6-7 September events. Investigation was unavoidably covering the discussion about abstract and non-figurative art and the issue was not interesting for them.¹⁹³[19]

The society was given permission to start over its activities after investigation resulted without any important evidence. In this period, Ecevit stopped writing articles about art. He experienced his first political investigation with this incident and told that the experience affected his decision about his engagement in politics.¹⁹⁴ After months, *Helikon* Society general assembly gathered a meeting and decided to resume its activities.¹⁹⁵ The opening of the association was celebrated by an exhibition which included the works of İhsan Cemal Karaburçak, Eren Eyüboğlu, Füreyya, Hasan Kaptan, Nuri İyem, Lütfü Günay, Özgür Ecevit, Semra Doğada,

¹⁹² Bülent Ecevit. "Fatih Bizi Affet" in Daily Ulus, 9 Sep 1955.

¹⁹³ Ecevit, Gergedan, op. cit. : p. 153

¹⁹⁴ "Sanat İçin Siyasete Girmiş." Anonymous in Daily Radikal, 9 Dec 2004, in URL : <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=136702>

¹⁹⁵ Anonymous news, Daily Ulus, 21 Feb 1956.

Rasim Arsebük, Naim Fatihođlu ve Selim Turan and opened at *Mithatpařa* Avenue, at Turkish American Association's hall. We can infer from the exhibition place that the society lacked a place where it could operate regularly further on.¹⁹⁶ Even though the reopening was appreciated the members who lost enthusiasm due to the events they went through. *Helikon* never restored its previous diligence despite the fact that Ecevit had written an article at *Forum* after the reopening that praises the society:

When *Helikon* was established 4 years ago it had not an intention to hold creative activities, rather it only targeted to introduce the contemporary artistic movements. However, the interest of the members of the society to art was increasing parallel to the aim of discovering and introducing contemporary genres unavoidably resulted in creative endeavor on painting and music. The progress some *Helikon* members had realized at most in three or four years on artistic issues is the evidence of how further our artistic potential can improve around the country in a short time by the help of such attempts.¹⁹⁷[20]

4.1.2.2. Gallery *Milar*

Gallery *Milar* was founded at 25 June 1957 by architect Selçuk Milar as a highly progressive exemplary gallery with world-class standards. It is important to know Selçuk Milar and his life history to understand the reasons underlying the opening of Gallery *Milar*. Milar has been an important figure in Ankara's cultural and social life and with his works he left his mark on the period.

Milar was known with his graphic designer, gallerist and publisher identities, as well as his professional career as an architect. He published a successful and vanguard fine arts magazine during 1947-48, working so hard with low quality printing press.¹⁹⁸ řevki Vanlı notes he first met Milar in a printing office while he was working on the publishing of the magazine and adds that he was fascinated by

¹⁹⁶ Anonymous news in *Daily Ulus*, 27 Feb 1956.

¹⁹⁷ Bülent Ecevit, *Forum*, No: 55, July 1956.

¹⁹⁸ Emin Nedret řli. "Eser Dergisi ve Selçuk Milar" in *Sanat Dünyamız*, No: 74, p.243

Milar's peevish and excited attitude. Even though Milar had no capital, he had spent his money in order to publish a high quality magazine even better than the period's famous magazine "*Arkitekt*". About the magazine, Vanlı tells in a witty sense while also referring to the Gallery *Milar* that Selçuk Milar was always interested in impossible things. Milar was in great effort which went far beyond the period's circumstances. There was no capital, no advertisement income and thus the magazine could be published for only two volumes.¹⁹⁹ Milar was interested in publishing and literature, thus he also wrote stories in Grand East Magazine (*Büyük Doğu Dergisi*) which was a magazine published by Necip Fazıl Kısakürek.²⁰⁰

Before bringing up the professional works of Milar, his famous poster, which is commonly declared as to direct the Turkish political history, should be mentioned. Milar created the famous poster and slogan used by the DP during the first elections of multi party period in 1950: An open hand written the famous slogan 'Enough, Word is Nation's (*Yeter, söz milletindir*).' It is mostly accepted that the effect of the poster has disrupted the plans of RPP. As far as it is known and told, Milar was not a supporter of DP. Even when Celal Bayar introduced him as "from our party" he rejected and said, "No, Mr Bayar, I am a democrat but not from Democrat Party."²⁰¹ As later, he himself also declared, he was bored with the oppressive mentality and late politics of RPP against democracy. When one of Milar's friends told Adnan Menderes, the Prime Minister about him and his interest in graphic arts, Milar was asked to participate in the commission meetings by DP in charge of organizing a propaganda and poster for the approaching elections. Milar went to the meetings of however; he was disappointed to see the ordinary and common ideas being discussed. He quitted after fifteen days due to the selection of a poster he did not approve. He said that DP could not seize the authority with this poster. Despite Milar's reaction, Celal Bayar called him the following day. Milar claimed that by his own poster party could gain the respect and love of people who would realize that DP really cared them. He added that people would apprehend their power and real

¹⁹⁹ Şevki Vanlı, interview.

²⁰⁰ From the notes of Abidin Dino about Milar, we learn that he is the nephew of Necip Fazıl. Quoted in "Selçuk Milar" in *Arkitekt*, No:3, 1991, p. 49

²⁰¹ Mehmet Gürlek quoted in "Selçuk Milar", *Arkitekt*, p. 51

democracy and accordingly Democrat Party would come to power. Consequently, he was asked to prepare the poster. The poster took attention.²⁰² Milar writes that people liked the poster and DP, and articles and caricatures had been published concerning the poster at newspapers and magazines frequently in those days.²⁰³ The poster had the sought result for DP however; the situation was different for Milar who was a public officer. Hasan Ali Yücel found out the creator of the poster and came to see Milar who was at the time working in “Deputy of Technical Education” (*Teknik Öğretim Müsteşarlığı*). The following conversation took place between them;

- You have prepared the poster “Enough, Word is Nation’s” for DP, didn’t you?
- Yes sir, I have my signature on it.
- Congratulations. An admirable work.
- Thank you. I am glad to hear it especially from you.
- Actually, we would like to be the one who made use you. However, we know you as one of our architects. You do not have your atelier. Your name is not written on the door. How would we know?
- Mr Minister, Today I am an architect that work here. Tomorrow I have to leave here. This is not important. I have my profession and my diploma signed by you highness. They may take my job away but my diploma remains. Moreover, I should mention it: Even if you wanted a service like this from me, I would not do it. Because I was longing to see that Turkish nation not to listen the reality of democracy but to live. For this reason, I want you to lose power with the votes of the people and the opposition party to come to power.
- Ok, but, what do you mean by saying “enough”? What is “enough”?
- What is done to people who supported the opposition party; those unpleasant events we read at the newspapers; state services fail to reach the supporters of the opposition party is “enough”. Shortly, the nation will say its words and a new authority will come into power.
- Who wanted this poster from you?
- I cannot tell it to you Mr. Minister.
- Why?
- Just because I know what will happen to them.

²⁰² The poster can be seen at the source; **Cumhuriyetin 75 Yılı**, Vol.1 (1923-1953) (İstanbul: YKY, 1999); p. 290

²⁰³ Selçuk Milar. “Yeter Söz Milletin Afişi Nasıl Doğdu?” in **Tarih ve Toplum**, No: 54, June1988, pp. 15-16.

Mr Yucel stood up, said, "thank you", and greeted me. I thanked him and left the room.²⁰⁴ [21]

Following this conversation, in 20 days Milar was designated to Urfa and then he resigned from his duty. The interesting point is that DP after taking power had forbidden using photographs and pictures in election posters. Milar later prepared the poster "What we have done is the assurance for what we will do (*Yaptıklarımız yapacaklarımızın teminatıdır.*)". However, he did it due to insistence because he was not happy with the actions of DP, which was in power.²⁰⁵

As far as we know, after these works Selçuk Milar continued to his professional life as a freelancer architect. Milar was an idealist architect, he was very active in the Ankara branch of Architects Association (*Mimarlar Derneği*) and he was in conflict with the former group of architects due to his progressive and dominant attitudes. The initiations for "Union Of Chambers Of Turkish Engineers And Architects" (*Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği*) as a professional association had started in Architects Association and during the period until it opened in 1955 Selçuk Milar was actively on duty and participated to the efforts. Nejat Ersin, one of the first members of Ankara branch of The Chamber of Architects of Turkey (*Mimarlar Odası*) expresses about Milar that he believed the chambers' laws by heart and sometimes due to his efforts there happened some conflicts with members of previous generation in the Chamber, and they competed with each other in a kindly way;

All the criticisms were pointing Milar in the congress and he always had an answer. This competency was per se. We liked it and wanted the conversations to last longer. Selçuk Milar was a colorful person

²⁰⁴ Ibid. p.15

²⁰⁵ Ibid. Another note about the famous slogan is that;

Anyone can encounter the simple styled poster and the slogan that led DP to win the 1950 elections in somewhere. In order to comprehend the importance of slogan better I note that; In 1999 Tansu Çiller used "Enough, right is nation's (*Yeter, hak milletindir*), and than today Tayyip Erdoğan participates to the elections with a transformed model of the slogan as "Enough, the decision is nation's (*Yeter, karar milletindir*).[22]

Taha Kıvanç, "Seçim ve Kampanya Kitapları", 20.10.2002, in
URL: <http://www.tumgazeteler.com/fc/ln.cgi?cat=33&a=140580>

working on lots of issues, trying to dispose modern architecture to Ankara.²⁰⁶ The first general secretary of Ankara branch of The Chamber of Architects was Milar himself. Moreover, in the period the chamber used Milar's office that was at Posta Avenue in Ulus for the meetings of Ankara branch.²⁰⁷ [23]

Selçuk Milar opened "Milar Furniture and Decorative Arts Gallery" at 25 June 1957 at *Kumrular* Avenue against the building of previous National Library. As it can be inferred from its name, it was not just a fine arts gallery. At the point, we should underline another profession of Milar that was the furniture design.²⁰⁸ The opening of the gallery was announced on the front page of daily *Zafer* with a photograph. This photograph shows Selçuk Milar and his wife together with Celal Bayar, the president of the date.²⁰⁹ It can be interpreted from the participation of Bayar and other public officers to the opening as a sign of sympathy of the party to Milar due to his poster work. Vanlı also mentions that DP members liked him very much and thus the job of

²⁰⁶ Çetin Ünalın. **Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti'nden Mimarlar Derneği 1927'e**. (Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği Yayınları, 2002): p. 69

In that vying and contentious surrounding in Turkish Architects Association, Selçuk Milar came into prominence. In the Fine Arts magazine (1953) published by the Association at the annual balls, caricatures representing Milar as Hitler and a dictator king were published. (quoted in Ünalın: pp. 56-57)

²⁰⁷ Çetin Ünalın, interview.

²⁰⁸ Şevki Vanlı, interview.

Another important point should be mentioned about Milar that he was the first one to produce modern furniture when there was any other sample. He was so much careful and paid great attention to quality of his works that many times he delivered the furniture later than the deadline. He used Milar gallery for both his furniture designs and art exhibitions of several important artists of the period. [24]

²⁰⁹ Anonymous, Daily Zafer, 26.06.1957

Selcuk Milar, one of our interior designers and architects opened a new gallery named "Galeri – Milar" in Yenışehir, in front of National Library. The President Celal Bayar, the foregoing artists of our city, and a group of elite guests were in the opening ceremony that held yesterday. Photograph shows the President talking with Mr. And Mrs. Milar about the works exhibited in gallery. [25]

The opening of gallery also announced in Yeditepe magazine published in İstanbul. (No: 134, July 1957) Probably, because of the participation of the President Bayar, and several other politicians and deputies, the opening of gallery was listed among the important events of the July of 1957 together with several political and social events in the website of Directorate General Of Press And Information Of The Prime Minister Office.

URL: <http://www.byegm.gov.tr/YAYINLARIMIZ/ayintarihi/1957/haziran1957.htm>

preparing ornaments (*tak*) on national feasts was given to Milar by *Ziraat* Bank. However, he also said that Milar was a dear man known by different social networks other than his relations with DP and the gallery was an attraction center for all these diverse groups:

At the DP period, I met Celal Bayar there, for instance. However, not only people from DP but also other intellectuals and other politicians were coming to Milar. For example, I also met Hasan Ali Yücel there. He was a very nice man. I only saw him as a politician who can talk about arts so wisely. He knew the thought, the philosophy of this job; as far as I can remember, he made meaningful speeches, there. I met the favorite painters of Turkey there, such as Abidin Dino, Eyüboğlu, and his wife, Cihat Burak. These contacts were possible through Milar's relationships and friends. I met these figures through him.²¹⁰[26]

Selçuk Milar was already known with his interest in arts and painting before he opened his gallery. Vedat Dalokay states that Milar gave a place to Abidin Dino's paintings on his building "*Cündüoğlu Han*", and by the way represented Dino to Ankara art milieu.²¹¹ After he opened the gallery, we can observe that many important painters such as Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, Abidin Dino, and Avni Arbaş of the day opened exhibitions there. Moreover, the gallery hosted not only paintings but also other forms of artistic production, namely the batik exhibition of Ülker Okçuoğlu²¹², decorative wood works of Lerzan Bengisu²¹³ and, mosaic exhibition of Ferruh Başağa²¹⁴. Other than plastic arts exhibitions held on the gallery, as we already mentioned in the *Helikon* example, these galleries undertook the task of producing a social network concerning artistic production at the city.

Gallery *Milar* was differentiated from its premises with its physical advantages since the gallery space was specially arranged for exhibitions; at least it was not a room in

²¹⁰ Şevki Vanlı, interview.

²¹¹ Vedat Dalokay quoted in quoted in "Selçuk Milar", *Arkitekt*, p. 47

²¹² Bilge Karasu, "Exhibition critique" in **Forum**, No: 102, June 1958

²¹³ Bilge Karasu, "Exhibition critique" in **Forum**, No: 95, March 1958

²¹⁴ Bilge Karasu, "Exhibition critique" in **Forum**, No: 99, May 1958

an apartment building. Today, displaying works of art together with furniture is not suitable to the “white cube” concept dominant in contemporary art and evaluating artworks as a part of interior design in a furnished environment is arguable today. However, Gallery *Milar* has critical importance in art history since it was opened in a period in which we cannot even talk about an art market yet. In addition, its exhibition programs providing opportunities to various artists from diverse branches raised its importance. After the exhibition of Ferruh Başıağ, Karasu wrote the following notes underlying its diversity from other spaces;

An exhibition opened at *Milar* is “luckier” than other exhibitions opened at any other place. Paintings on naked walls, mosaic “panneau”s will only be limited to their own frames, but at *Milar*’s Gallery these paintings and mosaics just take an in-home value, hanged on the walls they find their places like a “trestle” or a “tablet”.²¹⁵[27]

Depending on oral interpretations and news in magazines of the period it is not hard to claim that Gallery *Milar* had reached an intense crowd interested in art in Ankara and played a critical role as a cultural and social attraction center. Vanlı states that during 1950s, Gallery *Milar* was not an apathetic, but rather a vivid gallery:

It had seemed to host guests instead of solely being an official gallery, providing a meeting space for people. Besides, many people dropped by the gallery during the day. *Milar* did an incomparable work and filled the void of *Helikon* in a better way except music.²¹⁶[28]

According to his friends, *Milar* was a perfectionist man ahead of his time, with high expectancies and ideals. Thus, he disappointed several times in his professional life. There was not a significant and profitable sale in the gallery and only furniture sales brought him a limited income. Unfortunately, he could not struggle with the fabricated furniture and as a result had to close the gallery.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Şevki Vanlı, interview

²¹⁷ Mehmet Gürlek quoted in “Selçuk Milar”, *Arkitekt*, p. 51

4.1.2.3. Society of Artlovers' Gallery

Society of Artlovers was founded in 1950 by Munis Faik Ozansoy in order to make Ankara “the capital of art and culture as well as political capital” and continued to its activities for years and turned out to be Art Association (*Sanat Kurumu*). As the former president mentions; “[the association] is proud to be the first and the only civil society organization lasted this long without taking state support.”²¹⁸ The association has sustained with small modifications since 1950. However, there is not any research or study about the association and its history. The activities and structure of the association can only be traced from the newspapers and magazines of the period.

Şenyapılı mentions the gallery of Artlovers as a small hall, and adds that even the worse gallery now is better than its gallery however it is inevitable to expect more when the conditions of the period are considered.

Artlovers was a meeting place rather than a gallery. It was near the main avenue, and in the backstreet of Restaurant *Piknik*. People sat and chatted, ate and drank, discussed and, quarreled. Ankara had not yet yielded the artistic and cultural activities to İstanbul. It can even be said that it was more active compared to İstanbul.²¹⁹[29]

The insufficiency of the exhibition hall was evident especially when crowded exhibitions were held. As in the exhibition criticism, Bilge Karasu wrote in *Forum* magazine; “In this exhibition the display is really bad; illumination is not enough to show the paintings even in this condition”.²²⁰

Artlovers held a congress in 1953 and, the tradition of giving awards concerning arts, which will last until today and has been a distinctive feature of the Society; took a start within this congress. Even though the gallery of the association was not well illuminated and not physically sufficient, the important figures of the period had

²¹⁸Aslıhan Aydın, “50 yıllık kurumuz; ama ödüllerimiz hiç konuşulmuyor” in *Daily Zaman*, 18.03.2003, in
URL:<http://arsiv.zaman.com.tr/2003/03/18/kultur/h12.htm>,

²¹⁹ Önder Şenyapılı, interview

²²⁰ Bilge Karasu, “Exhibition critique” in *Forum*, No:77, June 1957

opened exhibitions there. Just like Gallery *Helikon*, it can also be considered as a culture center since there were held music concerts, meetings, seminars and other cultural and artistic activities beside usual gallery exhibitions. As it is inferred from the research of the daily newspapers of the time, the association had a scope to organize tea parties, activities, and conversations. It can be claimed that Society of Artlovers and *Helikon* separated from each other in terms of spectators' profile. Although, Artlovers was also gathering the producers of arts and culture, unlike *Helikon* it missed a political and social stance or a distinctive artistic attitude.

The opening of the club (*lokal*) of the association was received an excited welcome in the city. Diplomats, artists, political leaders were present at the opening and opening was recorded by Ankara Radio. The new club included a pocket theater where rehearsals could be played everyday.²²¹ On a newspaper, a writer nicknamed "Sü-Ha" wrote a long article about the opening of the club in his column:

... [I]n addition to our happiness about this opening, we also want to express our criticisms to be beneficial. We are glad to hear the opening of a club as such, because we believe that it will fulfill an important need. A club was necessary where artists attend and gather frequently at our capital city where art movements advance day by day. Moreover, a club as such will create the opportunities for initiatives that will lead to useful ends through gathering artists of all branches. However, first, let focus on the name of the club; why is it not only "art" or "artists" club but rather Art lovers Club? If the aim is to include those who are not artists but art lovers and benefit from their helps, it could be done so in other ways, too. However, when the name of the club is Art lovers, the case changes as if artists are accepted the club as a favor. Even though the aim is not per se, at least it can be inferred from the name as such. [30]

It can be concluded that the writer interpreted the name of the club being "Artlovers" as leaving artists for the second consideration. The writer continues with the following criticism:

Other than these observations, we should underline some points about the administration of the club. The Italian orchestra was excellent but the service was not satisfactory. However, an art club as such is

²²¹ Anonymous, Daily Halkçı, 25.01.1955

desired to have first class restaurants, buffet and service standards and even more. We hope our observations mentioned here with good wills will be received positively and the precautions to make the club excellent both in form and content regarding all terms.²²²[31]

It is evident from the article that Artlovers constituted a social environment, also as Keskinok states:

Artlovers hosted exhibitions, but rather it was a place where artists ate and drank. Everyone was there, it was very nice. I met many people there. The exhibitions were held in a small hall. It was free of charge; maybe one painting was donated to the club. It had contemporary qualities. Everyone went there afternoons, it was not that much expensive though.²²³[32]

It is clear that, there was a mentality difference between *Helikon* and Artlovers. Artlovers was established so as to provide these services to the people interested in culture and arts. It can be concluded from the interviews that Artlovers, as its name already refers, was a place, a club that enabled people who were interested in arts and culture in different levels rather than being a place for artistic production and sharing.

Artlovers was not at the level of *Helikon*. The contact with intellectual and upper class was through *Helikon* and *Milar*. Artlovers was a social place mostly addressing women, a little more amateur club. Artlovers had a mission of social more than a mission of intellectual. For instance, I remember watching theatre. It was quite good. I remember their invitations; they had a huge hall. They were the only to receive provisions from banks.²²⁴[33]

We can understand from Vanlı's words that Artlovers had received support and material incentives from various organizations and institutions by the help of their relations, which was not a frequent and common application for the period. By the aid of their facilities, building of the society had hosted several exhibitions and activities and gathered the art following public in Ankara for long years by providing them a common realm.

²²² Anonymous, in *Daily Ulus*, 14.02.1955

²²³ Kayhan Keskinok, interview.

²²⁴ Şevki Vanlı, interview.

So far, information has been given upon the three galleries our study based on. It is seen that galleries set up and served in Ankara during 1950s had the motive, rather than a sales objective, to create a cultural and social common targeting a determined class of people. Gallery management was not perceived as a branch of occupation, a profession. The *Helikon* and Artlover's Society had the association statute, and the Gallery *Milar* was a study Selçuk Milar endeavored to conduct only together with furniture production. So, in none of the three cases the gallery activity was aimed as a means of existence. However, this situation does not change our acceptance of those as the very first private art galleries in Ankara as well as Turkey.

In Ankara, there was an educated middle-class committed to republican reforms and politics. They participated in cultural and social affairs as a sign of modern urban way of life and of modernization. They had the opportunity of following exhibitions since state exhibitions had been arranged in the capital city. Despite there was a public equipped with cultural capital, there was any purchaser. During early republican years there were only personal purchases of leading state authorities and institutional purchases of state organizations, which were signs of state incentive to art and artists. Therefore, it is possible to claim that there was an artificial group of purchasers. In fact, from mid-1940s onwards with the changing profile of politics and politicians this group of purchasers gradually had disappeared. On the other hand, despite being the main source of production, İstanbul was devoid of those opportunities provided by state, despite with its urban profile and economic accumulation it harbored the major artwork purchasers beside the state.

As mentioned before, artwork business ideally necessitates the existence of two kinds of capital, first of which is cultural capital. It is already stated that artwork collection carries symbolic values that provide social and cultural advantage forcing certain classes to participate in that practice. Only certain groups of people who appropriate and dominate certain cultural and artistic codes purchase and collect artwork, patronize and protect art as a sign of their existence, of their status. Either also, they themselves are aware of artistic and cultural discourse or they work in communication with dealers and connoisseurs who possess such discourse. When we examine the instances of private art galleries in Turkey that emerged during 1950s, it

is seen that the followers of galleries and exhibitions were enthusiastic about adopting that culturally unfamiliar practice with the aid of their social class and education. However, such class of people is neither qualitatively nor quantitatively enough to represent the general tendency of the rest of the society. Still, this milieu rooted the early movements of artwork collection, and art trade.

Economic capital is another kind of capital, which is necessary for an art market to exist. The adoption of art collecting and purchase from galleries do not depend on cultural capital but besides require the provision of a purchasing power allowing such practice. People and institutions enter in artwork trade both with symbolic and economic expectations. As mentioned in the part on art trade, until eighteenth century in which art organized as a distinct and independent field of production, there was not any economic expectancy. At the end of seventeenth century, when sale and purchase of artworks existed as an economic activity with all its agents such as galleries and dealers, then a market of artworks like of other commodities occurred. So, artwork, besides symbolic expectancies, was appraised as an investment, as a source of economic profit. From this point of view, in Turkey, sales and purchase of the artwork had long been realized within the monopoly of state organizations from the beginning of republican period until 1950s. Saving a few exceptions, individual and institutional participation to the trade system only occurred in 1950s. During that period, for reasons as the increase in foreign aid after 1940s, the post war movements in the world market following Second World War, agricultural mechanization, and realization of a widespread transportation network during mid-1950s, a rise in national income, and an economic growth of %13 had been achieved.²²⁵ Besides, with the dominance of liberal ideologies, private enterprise could become visible in field of cultural production. In the light of such knowledge, it can be claimed that the participation of financially strengthened groups into the artwork business, and the set up of first private art galleries in this period is not a mere coincidence.

In 1950s, the leading instances of art galleries in Turkey, which does not exactly correspond with present conception of the art gallery, constitute the first exhibition

²²⁵ Feroz Ahmad, **Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu** (İstanbul: Doruk, 2002): pp. 150–151

places and pioneering movements of an art market except that of state authority. Such galleries and their owners, ceased to display activity at the beginning of 1960s. However, during 1970s, we can say that art galleries both in Ankara and in İstanbul have entered a heyday period. From the date onward art gallery management started to appear as a branch of occupation. The rise of the interest in the artwork, orientation of collectors' interests from ancient monuments and antique to contemporary artworks, the rise in the number of galleries and auction companies, and the existence of an educated group of artists and critics specialized on their fields led to the establishment of an art market with its various agents.

Nevertheless, even today it is still impossible to talk about an organized art market in Turkey. There may be many reasons for this, which remain out of the agenda of this thesis. However, it can be stated that, the very late existence of the conception of a private art gallery in Turkey is a great handicap since a western model of artistic field and market was accepted as the role model. The position of galleries, as the way it is all over the world, as an economic agent in the field of artistic production between the artists and society, is not yet matured in Turkey. Complaints stating auction companies unboundedly lead and manipulate market prices and the value of art works, thesis on that art galleries dominate artists and their production through their own economic and social advantages, and the absence of a live museum with a comprehensive and constant collection betraying Turkish modern art are seen as problems restraining the development of the art market in Turkey. Therefore, the existence of galleries alone is not enough for the settlement of the system.

The present commercial art galleries amount hundreds, save a few and institutionalized ones, are far from representing the universal criterions and values of the field of artistic production and constituting a connection and a platform for contemporary artworks and artists. Artun brings up the matter as follows:

Galleries remained inadequate in cultivating mechanisms and institutions of public mediation, primarily those of history and criticism, which would then guide the public to appropriate its wealth of art. Instead of the construction of public taste and an aesthetical canon, which would categorize art and discard non-art, all art got 'gallerized'. A great majority of the 440 galleries in Turkey are

located in İstanbul and Ankara. To a large extent, they exhibit a kind of dilettante art which is in demand by the wealthy provincials who migrated to these cities following the hectic privatization of the 1980's. Only several galleries stick to a modernist taste, resisting not only dilettantism but also the severe pressure of fashionable trends labeled as post-modern and preferred by corporate galleries.²²⁶

Artun also adds to this criticism that in Turkey art history developed in the direction of the taste of certain groups in the constitution of their private collections, than later on that taste launched as the public canon. That is to say, interested public has built the art history in accordance with its own taste. At this point, the absence of museum has been a deficiency blocking the progress at the evolution period of modern Turkish plastic arts. The need for museum means more than a necessitate for a space in order to accumulate artworks. Due to the lack of museum, a specific period could not be documented and publicized. In this frame, the existence of private art gallery becomes more significant. In Artun's words, "the private gallery and the private living rooms of the middle class still remain as the major time-spaces of art".²²⁷

Throughout the chapter, it is seen that in the course of 1950s, two types of galleries; first, the private galleries that were implemented through personal endeavor and interest and secondly, galleries of art and artist associations provided plastic arts the spatial opportunities for exhibitions. Each one of them had contributed much to the cultural accumulation and history of Turkish fine arts and paved the way for the meeting of a society interested in arts and culture. Artists, collectors, and followers gathered in those spaces formed the artistic sphere, and they became the source for the formation of an art milieu. On the other hand, it should be added that, as in the Western example, those spaces were theoretically open to all strata of society, however practically only those who are the members of a definite socio-economic class and of higher educational level can easily and inherently participate to the milieu. Bourdieu also underlies that situation and suggests that visiting art galleries and having the knowledge of painting, that are correlated with each other are

²²⁶ Ali Artun. "The Museum That Cannot Be", Seminar paper, ("Exposer l'art contemporain du monde arabe et de Turquie, ici et là bas" organized by IISMM-École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, 14 June 2002) : p. 8

²²⁷ Ibid., p. 10

strongly related to the existence of two types of capital, educational and cultural.²²⁸ That is to mean, art gallery visitors should be familiar to the artistic and cultural codes and symbolic values that the gallery carries and produces by the aid of their academic education. On the other hand, only a person might choose to visit an art gallery who is equipped with the necessary educational and cultural qualifications and codes. Therefore, for the case in Turkey, it is observable that the visiting society mostly constituted of artists, academicians, vanguard names of political, cultural, and social life. Thus, we can suggest depending on newspapers, magazines and personal witnessing, the profile of visitors of the early private art galleries in Ankara and İstanbul verify the suggestion that level of cultural and educational capitals are significant variables in the adoption of cultural practices and habits.

²²⁸ Pierre Bourdieu. **Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste**; trans. by Richard Nice. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); p. 14

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, the fundamental aim was to provide a historical analysis on the emergence of private art galleries in Turkey by focusing on the artistic movements and pioneering galleries, more specifically three selected galleries of 1950s in Ankara while also considering state policies concerning plastic arts. Based on the issues discussed in the previous chapters it is concluded that decreasing interest of state in terms of applied policies towards cultural and artistic aspects by the end of 1940s had a significant affect on the coming out of private art galleries and more generally of an artistic field independent of governmental regulations.

In order to cover the focus of this thesis, several issues concerning field of artistic production in Turkey as well as in the Western world were mentioned from a historical point of view. At the beginning, a comprehensive study was held about collecting practice and early types of exhibitionary spaces. In this way, the motives for art collecting and exhibiting artworks were tried to be unfold. It is seen that from the early ages until today almost every culture used to collect and display things, namely semiophores²²⁹ as the symbols of prestige, power, economic and social hierarchy, and like. Collected things have been displayed in several spaces such as caves, tombs, princely galleries, curiosity cabinets, museums, and art galleries. Collections had carried symbolic values and power to their collectors. However, especially in artwork collecting economic concerns and expectancies began to be dominant around seventeenth and eighteenth centuries together with the division of art and craft, liberation of fine arts as an independent field of production and dignification of artist as a creator. While the concept of art and artist have been transforming, on the other hand patron of art has been clergy, popes kings, aristocracy, governments, rich individuals, firms, banks and business corporations respectively. Thus, evidently field of artistic production and history of taste mostly determined by those. As a result of cultural and social transformations, art market

²²⁹ We have mentioned the use of word by Pomian in the second chapter in detail.

and its agents; artist, dealer, connoisseur, and gallery have come to the scene. In that scheme, art gallery undertakes a crucial and strategic role firstly by hosting artworks and secondly meeting artists, collectors, and visitors. Thus, in art business gallery became an essential wheel. In addition, another important point underlying the importance of gallery in the market is that the division of labor between galleries and museums. While museums are collecting, preserving, and protecting the master and outstanding works by keeping them out of economic circuit, art galleries actively operate in the contemporary market as economic agents.

In addition to those, it is also stated that for a long time, to be precise until the opening of private collections to the public in museums during the eighteenth century, such practices were mostly specific to economically and socially privileged classes and nobility. These classes did not want to allow ordinary people to see their wealth and collections, since collecting, establishing a curiosity cabinet, constituting a collection, and displaying it were accepted as the signs of prestige, honor, nobility, wealth, and power that should be shared by only members of the same class. However, in time, the situation changed and collections were democratized, but still visiting an art gallery or establishing an artwork collection are mostly specific to those having economic and cultural capital. It is not necessary to have the both, and as well having economic capital does not necessarily require collecting artworks. However, groups having higher education but limited economic capital might prefer to visit exhibitions, or joining other cultural activities such as concerts, meeting, theatres in order to gain maximum cultural accumulation even if they cannot buy an artwork.²³⁰

It should be remembered that, each artwork is a unique, uncomparable and unreplaceable thing. Art gallery and museum provide spaces for those works in order to be exhibited. Moreover, exhibitionary spaces; museum and gallery underlie and guarantee their value, authenticity and uniqueness before society. Thus, to be accepted with his/her works in those spaces is an achievement for an artist so as to be included in the international and local art market. In this way, the authority of the

²³⁰ Bourdieu, op. cit.: pp. 261-287

works are testimonied. Contemporary artworks are produced so as to be exhibited and are charged with ideological, political and cultural codes and meanings in the gallery context. They could become what they are produced to be only when they are replaced in exhibitionary complexes. Today, the use value of those works is to provide symbolic power, knowledge, and pleasure to the owners. According to Benjamin, there are two planes that artworks are valued. These are cult and exhibition values of an artwork. In the past while artwork was almost an instrument of magic, the 'cult value' of it was determinant and dominative, however today the emphasis is on the 'exhibition value' of the work of art and it became "a creation with entirely new functions" when compared to past.²³¹ Additionally, it can be still claimed for painting and art galleries that, displaying a painting and visiting an exhibition still contain a kind of cult value, that position visitors in a certain ritual that should be obeyed. The ritual for contemporary artwork is to be exhibited and to be viewed in the gallery space.

After examining the art gallery phenomenon in world scale from a historical point of view, in the third chapter, the case of Turkey was studied in terms of the initial artistic movements in western sense in relation to governmental policies concerning plastic arts. The period was studied in three main epochs in order to comprehend the historical process and dynamics developing in the field of artistic production, which later would cause the emergence of art galleries in Turkey. First, beginning from the Ottoman reign' last decades until the proclamation of Turkish Republic was examined. Apparently, there was the educated and talented group of young artists who also studied art abroad, settled in İstanbul. These groups later on constituted the early artistic milieu and became the first staff of Fine Arts Academy in Republican period.

In the early republican period, as previously mentioned, a strict and organized program of cultural policies were applied in plastic arts field as well as in all other fields with the aim of creating a modern nation. The fundamental principle guiding and dominating those policies was the populism principle. Reaching all strata of society in order to educate, and enlighten them was the major motive that is easily

²³¹ Walter Benjamin. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" in **Illuminations** (London, Pimlico, 1999): pp: 218-219

sensible in all practices of the state. To illustrate that point, Exhibition of Paintings of The Revolution, People's Houses Activities, The Provincial Tours, The State Exhibitions of Painting and Sculpture, and opening of İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum were examined as the landmarks of that period's artistic field that were programmed, executed, and controlled by state.

As aforementioned, the state wanted to raise the capital city Ankara as the center of newborn Turkey and with this aim authorities held all activities in Ankara in spite of the fact that artistic milieu was mostly centered in İstanbul. Therefore, this situation forced some artists to move to capital city. This second period was studied until mid-1940s, since it is assumed that there existed a rupture in the application of cultural policies. After that date, accordingly both RPP and DP governments focused on economic growth due to economic pacts and received foreign aid. Targeted cultural and social development during the early decades of Republican era had been neglected. Thus, above-mentioned activities, which were organized from the early years of Republic, lost firstly state subvention and accordingly public attention and their artistic importance.

Consequently, together with the withdrawal of governmental policies from the field, artistic sphere that was accustomed to state support and subvention had to create its own facilities and agents; galleries, dealers, clients, visitors and critics. Therefore, we encounter the pioneering private art galleries and early independent art market movements at the end of 1940s. During the period passed until 1960, only a few private art galleries opened with individual efforts and endeavors, however they contributed much to the modern Turkish art history and social and cultural life in Ankara and İstanbul. Gallery of *Helikon* Society, Gallery *Milar*, and Society of Artlovers' Gallery were analyzed in detail as the pioneering examples of private galleries in Turkey. Unfortunately, most of the galleries had survived only a couple of years since contemporary artwork collecting and trade in art were unfamiliar concepts to the society. Personal purchases were very rare. Until that date, the major client of the exhibitions had been political leaders and state institutions. State was the patron of art. However, depending on several sources it was emphasized in the third chapter that state's patronage of fine arts in Turkey should be interpreted as a

motivating and encouraging one, rather than oppressive and guiding examples in Russia, and Germany.

In conclusion, it is decided that there are two reasons that affected the emergence of private art galleries during 1950s. First, one is the withdrawal of state from the field of cultural production. Since there was not a state program, in time private entrepreneurship had filled the gap. Secondly, after the Second World War, increase in the national income up to a level due to economic growth, had also influenced public to pay money on artwork collecting. These two situations and the emergence of private art galleries were overlapped with each other historically. Those mentioned pioneering examples might be not suited to the contemporary art gallery concept today, however without doubt they have constituted models for the following instances.

In the analysis of those galleries, it was observed that almost all of them were opened by individual efforts and facilities. Despite *Helikon* and Society of ArtLovers were known as institutions, there was only a small group of people managing the activities. Since both in Ankara and İstanbul art purchases were so low, gallery management was not accepted as a profession. Thus, to make a living gallery owners usually had to work in other jobs. The situation was also valid for artists. Most of the artists had to work as teachers and state officers in order to continue artistic production. That is to say, the fundamental motive was creating a social and cultural network for the groups of artists, critics, scholars, and followers of the day. At the point, the distinctive factor is cultural accumulation and social class rather than economic capital. When we examined the profile of gallery visitors by depending magazines, newspapers, and personal expressions we encounter a picture just as in the western example: a definite group of people having higher education, cultural capital, and socio-economic conditions.

At that juncture, a comparison of state galleries and private galleries should be put forth in contribution to the comprehension of Turkey case. For a long term, Republican state aimed at popularizing and introducing the modern artistic forms such as classical music, theatre, painting, and sculpture in the society so as to create a

modernized and educated nation. Especially by the means of People's Houses, they reached their aim more or less. As mentioned before, their motive was reaching all parts of society without considering any discrimination such as gender, age, or region. That is the fundamental distinction between the state galleries and private art galleries. As mentioned before, though it is open to all public and does not require restrictions in the entrance, private art gallery does not expect to undertake a societal and educational role, since museums perform social responsibilities in western world. However, in Turkey the lack of a museum for a long time constituted a trouble that resulted in a division between art and its public. On the other hand, Tansuğ states that even if the private art galleries could be established a little bit earlier, it could be possible to talk about a complete artistic sphere in Turkey today. Due to this hindrance and lack of art galleries, it is also not achievable to follow the genres and styles in an ordered and comprehensive scheme today.²³²

As mentioned at length in the previous chapters, emergence of art galleries and the development of art market in western world have been the products of a long lasting social, cultural, political transformations throughout the history. Western society had experienced those developments and turns as long as centuries. Thus, in this process they could be able to interiorize art collecting, art galleries and artistic practices as parts of the culture. However, in Turkey, the adoption of those forms and introduction of them to the public was not a *sui generis* process, but rather a project executed by state agencies. Thus, it is expectable that formation of a systemized and matured art market in Turkey with all its economic and social agents such as art gallery requires time for the development of social and economic variables in society.

²³² Tansuğ, op. cit.: p.218

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APPENDIX

THE ORIGINALS OF TRANSLATIONS

[1] Elif Naci denince aklıma d grubunun en verimli seneleri gelir. Hiç unutmam 935 senelerinde yeni çıkmaya başlayan tan gazetesinde sık sık buluşurduk. Elif Naci durup dururken:

— Grubun gidişini beğenmiyorum, bu aylar içinde bir sergi açmazsak işler kötü gidecek, ne dersin?

— Açalım, açalım.

Ertesi gün gazetelerde şu havadis çıkardı: haber aldığımızı göre “d grubu” ressamaları bu ayın 15inde büyük bir sergi açacaklar. Ayın on beşine on gün vardır. Arkadaşlar sergi açacaklarını Elif Naci’nin kaleminden çıkan havadisten öğrenip toplanırlar.

[2] Sanat grubunu teşkil etmek

Harice eser göstermek

Sanatın lüzumundan bahsetmek

Türkiye’ de canlı ve Osmanlılıktan kurtulmuş bir sanat çığırı açmak

[3] Yıldız Saray’ı kompleksi içinde Sanayii Nefise (Güzel Sanatlar) yapısı adı verilen uzunlamasına, çeşitli işlere ayrılmış yan yana bölümleri olan bir bina vardır. Bu binada esim galerisi olduğu söylenen bir binanın tavanında palet-fırça, sütun başlığı, pergel, cetvel, lir gibi sanatlara ilişkin alegorileri kapsanan köşe madalyon resimleri vardır. Fakat bu merkezin aynı zamanda Yıldız Sarayı kitaplığını da oluşturduğu düşünülmektedir.

[4] Halk evleri müthiş şeylerdi. Bu dönemde çocukluğum geçti. İlk piyano konserini Konya’da halk evinde dinledim. Hatta konser başlamadan evvel birisi geldi, dedi ki: ‘ne zaman bittiğini siz anlayamazsınız. Yanlış yerde alkışlamayın. Biz önde oturacağız. Biz alkışladığımız zaman alkışlırsınız’, dedi. O alkışlayınca biz de alkışladık.

[5] 1944 yılında Bedri Rahmi ile Eren Eyübođlu Kutlu gazinosunda, Ankara'da 30-40 tane Anadolu'da yapılmıř saz çalanlar, daha çok guařlar sergilemiřlerdi. Orada duvarlara asılmıřlardı. Gidip seyrediyoruz. Serginin kapanmasına bir gn kala İnn gidiyor. Bakıyor satılmamıř. Kendisi alıyor, partiye emrediyor, en azından serginin masrafları çıkıyor.

[6] Galerisiz resim, içtimai řartlardan uzak, halktan ayrı, topraksız bir resim demektir. Galeri, sanatkrla ktlenin, besleyici kalabalıđın temas ettiđi yerdir. Sanatı inkiřaf ettiren, halk ile sanat arasındaki mtemadi maddi ve manevi alıřveriřtir.

[7] O tablo tacirleri ki sanatkrı istismar eden mthiř bir dřman, aynı zamanda ekseriya ađlıktan kurtaran iyi bir dosttur. Hiçbir zaman iddia edilemez ki bizde (herhangi zihniyette olursa olsun)resim ve heykel satın alacak adam olmasın. Antikaya meraklı halıya, sikkeye, eski yazıya meraklı birçok insan vardır. Çünkü bunları satan birçok da antikacı veya eskici vardır. Gayet tabidir ki resim ve heykel meraklısı pek çok adam olsun. Fakat bunlara sanatkrı tanıtacak, reklmını yapacak, eserin kıymeti ve hatta sevgisini verecek satıcı yoktur. Belki bunun içindir ki sanatkr mřterisiz ve evlerimiz esersiz kalıyor.

[8] Mimarlarla mřavere, marangozlarla mcadele, boyacılarla mnakařa, dostlarla mbahase falan derken bir baktık ki dřeli, dayalı řık bir dkknımız var.

[9] İlk gençlik yıllarımda tm İstanbul'da bir tek galeri vardı; Maya (kuruluřu 1950). Uzunca bir sre iç içe iki kçk odadan ibaret bir apartman dairesinde, bir avuç aydınım çabasıyla varlıđımı tek galeri olarak srdrmřtr. Sergi ađılıřlarında basılan davetiye sayısı kltr ateřlikleri, basın ve tm sanatseverler için 200 veya 250 yi geçmezdi. 1950lilerin İstanbul'unda bu sayı yeterliydi.

[10] Maya'da tanıdığım insanlar, içine girdiğim ortam sayesinde Akademi'nin dar duvarlarını ařmıř oldum. Entelektel bir çevreye dřmř oldu. Bu benim řahsıma gsterilmıř zel bir řey deđildir. Benim gibi maya'ya katılan, giden gelen, kendi kuřađımın genç insanları da bunun gibi bir karřılıđı aldı.

[11] Masraflarını karşılayamadığından dolayı Maya sanat galerisinin büsbütün kapanacağı haberi bütün sanatseverleri üzmüştür. Adalet Cimcoz tarafından dört yıl önce kurulan ve bugüne kadar büyük fedakârlıklarla devam ettirilen bu müessesenin kapanmaması için dostları derhal faaliyete geçmiştir. İlk akla gelen tedbir, sanatkârların hediye edecekleri eserlerden mürekkep bir “kurtarıcı sergi “açmak olmuştur. 14 Haziranda açılan bu sergi hepimizi sevindirmiştir. Maya kapanmayacaktır. Yeditepe bu güzel haberi okuyucularına müjdelere.

[12] Maya Galerisi kapanacak denince neler olmamış ki: Bedri Rahmi, Nuri İyem gibi sanatçılar tablolarının kollarının altına sıkıştırıp koşmuşlar... Avni Arbaş Paris'ten eserler yollamış, Hatta Nedret Gürcan isminde, Anadolu'nun bir bucağından "Şiir Yaprığı"nı çıkaran, belki de Maya'yı hiç görmemiş bir sanat aşığı, tutmuş bir de name döşenmiş: "Sana şu kadar para, neşriyatımızdan da bu kadar imzalanmış eser gönderiyoruz. Sat bunları bozdur bozdur harca. Altı ay sonra gene yollayacağız. Ama kapanma".

[13] ...İstanbul'un karmaşık hayatı içinde eriyip giden aydınlar Ankara'da varlıklarını daha iyi duyurabilmektedirler. Kent bu başarısını cumhuriyet idaresinin temelinde bulunan ve bütün sosyal ve kültürel hayatımızı kavrayan devrim hareketinin burada üslendirilmiş olmasına borçludur. Taassubun baskısından cumhuriyetle birlikte kurtulup özgürlüğüne kavuşan resim ve heykel sanatı da bu devrim hareketlerinden ayrı düşünülemez. Öyle iken devlet Ankara'nın bir resim ve heykel sanatı merkezi haline gelmesi için hemen hiçbir şey yapmamaktadır. Eğer şimdi Ankara da bu sanatın gelişme, , bu sanatla uğraşanların geçinip yaşayabilmelerine elverişli hatta belki İstanbul'dan daha elverişli bir hava varsa, bu havayı Ankara'nın aydınlar çevresi kendiliğinden yaratmıştır. Böyle bir havanın kendiliğinden ortaya çıkmış olduğu yarım milyon nüfuslu bir kültür merkezinde artık bir sanat müzesiyle bir güzel sanatlar akademisi için çoktan vakit gelmiş sayılmalıdır. Ankara'nın iki eksiği sanat akademisi ve müzesi. Eğer M.E. B' in böyle bir teşebbüse ayıracak parası yoksa belki de memleket kültürüne hizmet edebilmek için son yıllarda birçok fedakârlıklara katlanan bankalarımızdan biri buna önyak olabilir. Bizden ancak hatırlatması. Umarız ki Ankara'da bir akademi ve müze

ihtiyacının elle tutulur hale gelmesinde büyük rolü olan ressamlarımızda artık bu işin ardına düşünler.

[14] O zamanlar Helikon Derneğinin lokalinde başta müzik ve resim olmak üzere çok yönlü etkinlikler yer alırdı. Helikon adı herhalde bu nedenle seçilmişti; sanat perilerinin buluştukları yer. Belki de Helikon'da Bülent Arel, İlhan Mimaroglu, İlhan Usmanbaş, Faruk Güvenç gibi üyelerin etkisiyle ağırlık müzikte yanaydı. Plastik sanatlar ve tabii resim alanıyla da Bülent Ecevit yakından ilgilenirdi.

[15] Bizim Ankara'daki üniversite gençliğimizde müzik derslerini de dinlediğimiz (özellikle atonal ve 12 ton müziği) benzersiz bir Helikon Derneği vardı. Bir de Helikon Dörtlüsü: Ulvi Yücelen (keman), Faruk Güvenç(viola), İlhan Usmanbaş (viyolonsel), - dördüncüyü şimdi çıkaramıyorum. Bir gün barok müzik çalışıyorlardı, belki Vivaldi. Birkaç kez durmuşlardı. Ve F. Güvenç ayağa kalkarak, “ Kusura bakmayın, yanlış girdik, yeniden dedi.”

[16] Bülent Arel, Selma Arel, Rasim Arsebük, Zerrin Arsebük, Orhan Burlan, Bülent Daver, Rahşan Ecevit, Reha Kargas tarafından kurulan Helikon sanat derneği Mithatpaşa Cad. 25 numaradaki lokalinde Hasan Kaptan'ın sergisiyle açıldı. Müzik, resim, heykel sinema ve sanat hareketlerini tanıtmaya çalışmak gayesiyle kurulan Helikon Derneğinin kapılarını Hasan'ın sergisiyle açması derneğin kuruluş amacına uygun bir hareket oldu... Helikon sanat derneğine gelince bu hayırlı teşebbüsü ne kadar alkışlasak azdır.

[17] Bir gün *Ulus*'ta Helikon galerisinde açılan bir sergiyle ilgili bir resim yayımlandı. Resim altını da sergiyi izlemekle görevli polis muhabiri yazmıştı. : “Helikon sanat galerisinde, 1945 ‘den beri yeni doğan Nafi Güratif tarzında resimler...” diye başlıyordu. Çok şaşırılmıştım. Helikon yöneticilerinden biri olduğum halde Nafi Güratif adlı bir ressamın sergisinden haberim yoktu. Üstelik öyle bir ressamda duymamıştım... Sonunda işin aslını öğrendim. Polis muhabiri arkadaş sergiye gitmeyi gereksiz bulduğundan eline geçen sergi fotoğrafının altına bir şeyler yazmak için Derneğe telefon etmişti... O zaman kadar non-figurative resim diye bir

şey duymayan polis muhabiri, telefonda non-figuratifi Nafi Guratif adlı ressam sanmış ve sergi haberi Ulus gazetesinde o şekilde yayımlanmıştı.

[18] Helikon, ucuz, düşük fiyatlarla vatandaşlara istedikleri çalışmalarını alma olanağı sağladı. Bu, Türkiye'de ilk defa oluyordu. Memur, işçi, ev hanımlarının ilgisini çekiyorduk sanat çalışmalarına. Sanatçılar, eserlerini izleyen vatandaşlara o eserlerle ilgili bilgileri bizzat veriyorlar ve taksitli satışlar da yapıyorlardı. Bazı üyelerimiz de kendi atölyelerini kurmaya başlamıştı. Böylelikle sadece seyirci olmaktan çıkıyor, üretici olma yönünde adımlar atıyorlardı.

[19] Sorgulamayı yürüten siyasi şube görevlileri ise, 6-7 Eylül olaylarıyla Helikon derneği arasında nasıl bir bağlantı kurabileceklerini bilmiyorlardı. Sorgulama ister istemez, soyut ve non-figurative sanat konularına kayıyor, o konularda siyasi şube görevlilerini pek ilgilendirmiyordu.

[20] Helikon Derneği Ankara'da bundan 4 sene önce kurulduğunda bu derneğin yaratıcı faaliyet göstermesi hesapta yoktu. Helikon yalnız çağdaş sanat akımlarını tanıtmak amacıyla kurulmuştu. Ama dernek üyelerinin sanata duydukları ilgi bu derneğin çağdaş sanat akımlarını tanıma ve tanıma yolundaki çalışmalarına paralel olarak geliştikçe ister istemez resim ve musiki alanlarında yaratıcı çabalara yol açtı. Birer amatör olarak çalışan bazı helikon üyelerinin en çoğu 3-4 yıl içinde bu sanat kolunda göstermiş oldukları ilerleme, böyle teşebbüslerin bütün yurttaki çoğalmasından dolayı sanat hayatımızın kısa zamanda ne kadar gelişebileceğine kanıttır.

[21]

— Demokrat Parti'nin Yeter, Söz milletindir afişini siz yaptınız değil mi?

— Evet, efendim, altında imzam var.

— Sizi yürekten kutlarım. İnsanda hayranlık uyandıran çok ustun bir başarı...

— Teşekkür ederim. Özellikle sizin beğenmiş olmanız beni çok mutlu etti.

— Asil sizden biz yararlanmak isterdik. Ama biz sizi burada çalışan bir mimarımız olarak biliyoruz. Özel bir atölyeniz yok. Kapınızda adınız yazılı değil. Nereden bilebilirdik?

— Sayın Bakanım ben bugün burada çalışan bir mimarım. Yarın buradan ayrılmaya mecbur olabilirim. Bu önemli değil, Kolumda altın bir bilezik cebimde sizin saygıdeğer imzanızı taşıyan bir yüksek mimarlık diplomam var. İşimi elimden alabilirler ama diplomamı hiç kimse alamaz. Ayrıca şunu da belirteyim: Siz benden böyle bir hizmet isteseydiniz, yapmazdım. Çünkü ben Türk Milletinin demokrasi gereğini dinlemesinin değil, yaşamasının hasreti içindeyim. O nedenle sizin iktidarı halkın oylarıyla kaybetmeniz ve muhalefetteki partinin gelmesini istiyorum.

— Pekiyi ama yeter sözü ile ne demek istiyorsunuz, ne yeter?

— Muhalefeti destekleyen vatandaşlara yapılanlar yeter; her gün gazetelerde okuduğumuz tatsız olaylar yeter, devletin görevi olan hizmetlerin muhalefetteki vatandaşlardan esirgenmesi yeter. Kısacası Millet sözünü söyleyecek ve yeni iktidar iş başına gelecektir.

— Bu afişi sizden kim istedi?

— Onu size kesinlikle söyleyemem Bakanım.

— Neden?

— Başlarına neler geleceğini bildiğim için. Sayın Yücel ayağa kalktı, "teşekkür ederim" diyerek elimi sıktı. Ben de kendisine teşekkür ederek odadan çıktım.

[22] DP'ye 1950 zaferini kazandıran 'Yeter söz milletindir' sloganı ile o sloganı zihinlerde canlandıran basit çizgilerle ifade edilmiş afiş bir yerlerde karşınıza çıkmıştır. Sloganın önemini daha iyi anlamanız için kayıt düşünüyorum: Tansu Çiller, geçen seçimde (1999) 'Yeter, hak milletindir' demişti; Tayyip Erdoğan da bu seçime 'Yeter, karar milletindir' biçimine döndürülmüş, o ilk afişten esinlenmiş sloganla katılıyor.

[23] Birlik kongrelerinde bütün eleştiriler Selçuk Milar'a yöneltilir, o da onların altında kalmaz cevap yetiştirirdi. Bu rekabet kendiliğinden oluşmuştu. Biz de hoşlanırdık, çekişmenin biraz daha uzamasını isterdik. Selçuk Milar çok renkli, çok konuda işler yapabilen, Ankara'da modern mimariyi yerleştirmeye çalışan birisiydi".

[24] Milar'ın önemli bir özelliği de daha o dönem Türkiye'de böyle bir örneği yokken, ilk defa modern mobilya üretmiş olmasıdır. Milar bu konuda da o kadar titizdir ve kaliteye önem verir ki siparişleri bu detaycılığı yüzünden çoğu kere geç teslim etmektedir. Milar Galeri'de hem kendisinin mobilya tasarımlarını teşhir etmekte hem de çeşitli sergiler açmaktadır.

[25] DP zamanı mesela Celal Bayar'ı orada tanıdım ben... Ama Galeri Milar'a yalnız DP'liler değil başka entelektüellerde geliyordu, mesela Hasan Ali Yücel'i de ben orada tanıdım. Çok hoş bir adamdı sanattan bahsedebilen yetkiyle bahsedebilen bir politikacı yalnız onu gördüm. O bu işin düşüncesini felsefesini biliyordu çok kaliteli konuşmaları vardı orada, hatırlıyorum. Türkiye'nin en gözde ressamlarını orda tanıdım; Abidin Dino, Eyüboğlu ve eşi, gibi Cihat Burak gibi. Bu temaslar Milar'ın ilişkileri ve dostlukları sayesindeydi, ben bu isimleri onun sayesinde tanıdım.

[26] Mimar ve dekoratörlerimizden Selçuk Milar, Yenişehir'de Milli Kütüphane'nin karşısında Galeri - Milar adıyla yeni bir dekorasyon galerisi açmıştır. Bu münasebetle dün yapılan açılış töreninde Reisicumhur Celal Bayar, şehrimizin tanınmış sanatçıları ve güzide bir davetli kitlesi hazır bulunmuşlardır. Resim, Reisicumhurun, galeriyi ziyareti sırasında Selçuk Milar ve Bayan Milar'a, teşhir olunan eserler hakkında görüştüğü sırada alınmıştır.

[27] Milar'da açılan bir sergi, herhangi bir sergi yerinde açılacak sergilerden daha talihli oluyor. Kuru duvarlarda görülecek resimler, mozaik "panneau"lar, gerçi yalnız kendi değerleri ile görülecek, kendi çerçeveleri ile sınırlandırılacaklardır ama Milar'ın dayalı döşeli galerisinde bu resimler, bu mozaikler, hemen bir ev-içi değeri alıyor, duvarlara asılı olarak, "sehpa" yahut "levha" olarak yerlerini buluyorlar.

[28] Resim galerisinden ziyade misafir kabul eder bir hali vardı; açılışlarda insanlar buluşurdu, onun dışında da mekâna gün içinde uğrayanlar çok olurdu. Bir benzeri olmayan bir iş yaptı. O sırada Helikon kapanınca müzik hariç Helikon'un yerini tuttu ama bu anlamda daha iyi tuttu.

[29] Sanatseverler galeriden ziyade bir toplanma ortam gibiydi. Sanatsevenler caddede Piknik restoranın arka sokağına düşerdi. İşte gelenler oturur sohbet eder,

yer, ier tartıřır, konuřurlar kavga ederlerdi. Ankara o dnem tam olarak İstanbul’a kaptırmamıřtı kltr sanat aktivitelerini. O dnemde İstanbul’a gre faaldi bile denebilir.

[30] ...Bu aılıř mnasebetiyle duyduėumuz sevinci belirtirken dikkatimize arpan bazı noktalar hakkındaki samimi tenkitlerimizde faydalı olur dřncesiyle ifade etmek isteriz. Byle bir lokalin aılmasına seviniyoruz, nk mhim bir ihtiyaa cevap verebileceėini umuyoruz. Sanat hareketlerinin gnden gne geniřlediėi bařkentimizde sanatkrların sık sık toplanacakları, devam edecekleri bir mahfi, bir kulp elbette lazımdı. stelik byle bir kulp gzel sanatların her řubesine mensup olanları bir araya getirmek ve bu beraberlik sayesinde faydalı neticeler verebilecek gzel teřebbslere gemek imknlarını yaratmıř olacaktır. Fakat nce kulbn ismi stnde duralım: neden sadece “sanat” veya “sanatkrlar” kulb deėil de “sanatseverler” kulb? Maksat sanatkr olmayıp ta sadece sanatseverleri de kulbe alabilmek iin ve onların yardımından da faydalanmaksa, bunun aresi bařka trl de olabilir. Fakat isim “S.S.K” olunca iř deėiřiyor. Adeta sanatkrlar sanatseverlerin kulbne, bir cemile gsterilerek alınmıř oluyorlar. Maksat bu deėilse bile kulbn isminden ıkan anlam budur denebilir.

[31] Bu mlahazalar dıřında lokalin idaresine ait bazı noktalara da dikkati ekelim. İtalya’dan getirilen orkestra mkemmeldir, fakat servis tatmin edici deėildir... Hlbuki byle bir sanat kulbnn her bakımdan 1. sınıf lokanta, bfe ve servis imknlarına, hatta daha fazlasına sahip olması arzu edilir. İyi niyetle belirttiėimiz bu mlahazaların hoř karřılanacaėı ve kulbn her bakımdan stn bir mahiyet ve řekil alması iin gerekli tedbirlerin alınacaėını mit ederiz.

[32] Sanatseverler’ de sergiler aılıyor daha ok sanatıların gidip yiyip itikleri bir yerdi, ama ok hořtu. Herkes geliyordu birok kimseleri orada tanıdım ben. Orda sergilerde atık. Ufak bir odada sergiler aılıyordu. Parasızdı aarken bir řey de istenmiyordu belki bir resim veriliyordu, bilmiyorum gzel bir yerdi. aėdař nitelikler tařıyordu akřamstleri herkes oraya giderdi. Fazla pahalı da deėildi.

[33] SSK o düzeyde değildi. O başka bir kesimin yani entelektüel ve üst düzey kesimle teması Helikon ve Milar kurdu. Öbürü biraz sosyal nitelikli yani amatör çoğunlukla hanımlardan oluşan amatör bir ortamın kulübüydü. Ondan sonra tabii onların başka onlardan daha üst düzeyle biraz ilgisi vardı. Davet ediyorlardı ama SSK entelektüel olarak hizmetten ziyade sosyal bir hizmet yapıyordu. Mesela o kulüpte tiyatro seyrettiğimi hatırlarım. Oldukça iyi bir oyundu. Onların davetlerini hatırlarım kocaman bir salonları vardı ve onlara banka falan gibi kurumların teşviki vardı ama diğerlerine yoktu.