

SYMBOLISM WITHIN 'FORMALISM':

IN CONTEMPORARY TURKISH ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES

OF

THE MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

YUSUF CİVELEK

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF

MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE

IN

THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE

SEPTEMBER 1998

Approval of the Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences



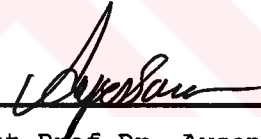
Prof. Dr. Tayfur Öztürk  
Director

I certificate that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Architecture.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Selahattin Önür  
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in the scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Architecture.



Asst. Prof. Dr. Ayşen Savaş  
Supervisor

Examining Committee members

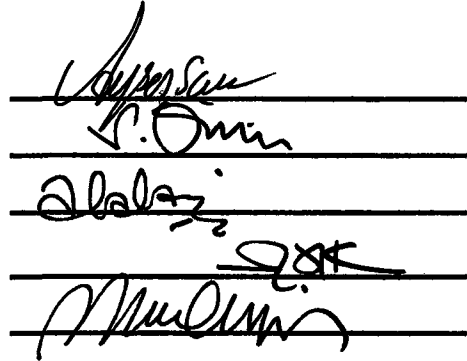
Asst. Prof. Dr. Ayşen Savaş

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Selahattin Önür

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Oğuz Işık

Inst. Dr. Mualla Erkılıç



## **ABSTRACT**

SYMBOLISM WITHIN 'FORMALISM':

IN CONTEMPORARY TURKISH ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE

CİVELEK, Yusuf

M. Arch, Department of Architecture

Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Ayşen Savaş

September 1998, 166 pages

This study is about the interrelationship between symbolic meanings and a 'formalist' architectural discourse. It examines interpretations of formal aspects of architecture through contemporary Turkish architectural discourse and tries to detect the symbolic meanings attributed to those formal aspects.

Although it is assumed that form is the ultimate thing of architecture, the interrelationship between form and meaning constitutes a framework, whereby configurations of formal properties are based on a set of norms, conventions.

The symbolic function that provides associational meanings of objects beyond their instrumental use may incorporate also in the determination of the formation of an architectural product. By way of connotation, architectural form may turn into a vehicle that carries

analogies, images and symbols, which are to be meaningful in a given code. Thus, an image, being 'a reproduction or similitude of something', may indirectly determine a formation. In other words, an image may turn into a symbol in an architectural form of which it is a reproduction. Therefore, symbolic function of architecture is as much important as the 'function it makes possible', 'its usage context', in the analysis of formal aspects of architecture.

However, architecture as a profession, creates symbolic meanings through the 'internal codes' as well as the codes that lie outside the profession. Moreover a code itself is always subject to change. Therefore, symbolic function may act different not only for an architect and for an ordinary observer, but also for a different architect or a contemporary observer. Yet, the symbolic function begins to act as a determinant of configuration also when it becomes a part of a discourse that conceives form as the carriage of symbolic meaning.

In this respect, the discourse of contemporary Turkish architecture throughout the century can be addressed to a 'dialectic interplay' between form and symbolic meaning. A limited discourse that concentrated upon formal aspects of architecture, defined and redefined the symbolic meanings as result of 'consumption and recovery of forms and obsolescence of values' or emergence of new values.

From this point of departure, the two dimensions of 'formalism' can be mentioned in contemporary Turkish architecture. It can be addressed to the evaluation of architecture through cultural aspects of form that



brought forth the symbolization of ideological convictions in an architectural formation. On the other hand, without any ideological motivations, it can be the treatment of architectural form as a formal entity to be shaped through aesthetical qualities. Yet, both of the dimensions of 'formalism' are assumed here to have no theoretical and conceptual background.

It is to be stated that the 'formalist' discourse has been developed from the stylistic aspects of an 'elitist' architecture, that is, a limited architectural production. Therefore, the discourse that was created through the analyses, criticisms, evaluations and promotions of outstanding architectural works or designs, constitutes the scope of this study. It is by means of such a discourse, which is directly related to the practice of architecture, that 'formalism' proliferated along with the stylistic attitudes.

The motto 'symbolism within formalism' signifies the change of symbolic meanings in contemporary Turkish architectural discourse while it regards 'formalism' as a phenomenon that remained unchanged throughout the century.

Keywords: Symbolic Meaning, Formalism, Architectural Discourse, Cultural Symbolization, Social Symbolization.

## ÖZ

'BİÇİMCİLİK' TE SEMBOLİZM:

ÇAĞDAŞ TÜRK MİMARLIK SÖYLEMİ

CİVELEK, Yusuf

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Y. Doç. Dr. Ayşen Savaş

Eylül 1998, 166 sayfa

Bu çalışma sembolik anlamlar ile biçimci bir mimarlık söylemi arasındaki ilişkiyi konu edinmiştir. Çağdaş Türk mimarlık söylemindeki mimarlığın biçimsel özelliklerine dair değerlendirmeler incelenmiş ve bu biçimsel özelliklere atfedilmiş sembolik anlamlar tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Biçimin mimarinin esası olduğu farzedilse de, biçim ile anlam arasındaki ilişki biçimsel özelliklerin şekillenmelerinin temellendiği normlar ve teamüller için bir altyapı oluşturur.

Nesnelerin faydaya yönelik kullanımlarının ötesinde çağrışımsal anlamlarının oluşmasını sağlayan sembolik işlev, bir mimari ürünün biçimlenmesinin belirlenmesinde de etkili olabilir. Bir mimari biçim, yananlam vasıtasıyla mevcut bir kod çerçevesinde anlamını bulan analogileri, imajları ve sembolleri taşıyan bir araca dönüşebilir. Keza 'birşeyin tekrar üretimi veya benzeşimi

olarak bir imaj, bir biçimlenmeyi dolaylı olarak belirleyebilir. Başka bir deyişle, bir imaj tekrarı olduğu şeyin sembolüne dönüşebilir. Bu sebeple, mimarının biçimsel özelliklerinin çözümlenmesinde mimarının sembolik işlevi, gerçekleşmesine vasıta olduğu kullanım işlevi kadar önemlidir.

Bununla beraber, bir uzmanlık olarak mimarlık, uzmanlık dışı kodlar ile olduğu gibi 'içsel kodlar' ile de sembolik anlamlar oluşturur. Dahası bir kodun kendisi daima değişime maruzdur. Bu yüzden, sembolik işlev sadece bir mimar ve sıradan bir gözlemciye göre değil, farklı bir mimar ve yakın zamandaki bir gözlemciye göre de değişiklik gösterebilir. Ancak sembolik işlev, biçimi sembolik anlamların potansiyel bir taşıyıcısı olarak gören bir söylemin parçası olduğu zaman da biçimlendirmede belirleyici bir unsura dönüşebilir.

Bu bakımdan, yüzyıl boyunca çağdaş Türk mimarlığının söylemi biçim ile sembolik anlam arasındaki bir 'diyalektik etkileşim'e atfedilebilir. Sınırlı bir söylem, ister 'biçimlerin tüketilmesi ve yeniden diriltilmesi ve değerlerin eskimesi'nin, isterse de yeni değerlerin ortaya çıkmasının bir sonucu olarak tekrar tekrar sembolik anlamları tanımlamıştır.

Buradan yol çıkarak çağdaş Türk mimarlığında biçimciliğin iki boyutundan bahsedilebilir. Biçimcilik, bir mimari biçimlenmede ideolojik düşüncelerin sembolizasyonunu beraberinde getiren, biçimin kültürel özelliklerine göre mimarlığın değerlendirilmesi olarak düşünülebilir. Öteki taraftan, hiçbir ideolojik şartlanma olmaksızın, mimari biçimin estetik değerlerle şelillendirilecek bir biçimsel varlık olarak kullanılması

da olabilir. Fakat burada biçimciliğin her iki boyutunun da kuramsal ve kavramsal altyapıdan yoksun olduğu kabul edilmiştir.

Biçimci söylemin bir elit mimarının üslupsal özelliklerinden, yani kısıtlı bir mimari üretimden doğduğu belirtilmelidir. Bu sebeple, önde gelen mimari yapıların ve tasarımların çözümlenmeleri, eleştirileri, değerlendirmeleri ve tanıtılmalarının yarattığı bir söylem bu çalışmanın kapsamını oluşturacaktır. Üslupsal özelliklerin yanısıra biçimcilik, mimarlığın pratiği ile doğrudan ilişkili olan bu söylem yoluyla yayılagelmiştir.

'Biçimcilikte sembolizm' deyişi, biçimciliği yüzyıl boyunca değişmeyen bir olgu olarak kabul ederken çağdaş Türk mimarlığındaki sembolik anlamların değişimine işaret eder.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sembolik Anlam, Biçimcilik, Mimari Söylem, Kültürel Sembolizasyon, Toplumsal Sembolizasyon.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to express gratitude to Asst. Prof. Dr. Ayşen Savaş, who supervised the thesis, for her guidance and encouragement throughout the study, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Selahattin Önür and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir for their comments and criticisms.

I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Yurtsever, with whose support it became easier to prepare this thesis.

I am particularly grateful to my family for their presence.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	III
ÖZ .....	VI
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	IX
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	X
LIST OF FIGURES .....	XII
<b>CHAPTERS</b>	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. BASIC NOTIONS ON THE SYMBOLIC MEANING OF ARCHITECTURE.....	10
2.1. SEMIOTICS OF ARCHITECTURE .....	10
2.2. ANALYSIS OF SYMBOLIC MEANING .....	18
2.2.1. <i>Form and Meaning</i> .....	18
2.2.2. <i>Change of Meaning</i> .....	24
2.2.3. <i>Symbolic Meaning</i> .....	27
2.2.4. <i>Change of Symbolic Meaning</i> .....	31
3. TURKISH ARCHITECTURE DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1908-1970...36	
3.1. SEARCHING FOR FORMAL ASPECTS AND THEIR SYMBOLIC MEANINGS IN THE DISCOURSE .....	36
3.1.1. <i>Between 1908 - 1927</i> .....	36
3.1.2. <i>Between 1927 - 1938</i> .....	39
3.1.3. <i>Between 1938 - 1950</i> .....	45
3.1.4. <i>Between 1950 - 1960</i> .....	50
3.1.5. <i>Between 1960 - 1970</i> .....	55
3.2. FORMALISM, SYMBOLISM AND THE DISCOURSE.....	61
3.2.1. <i>The Symbolic Function and the Discourse</i> .....	61
3.2.2. <i>Change of Symbolic Meaning and the Discourse</i> .....	67

<b>4. TURKISH ARCHITECTURE DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1970–1990..</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>4. 1. SEARCHING FOR FORMAL ASPECTS AND THEIR SYMBOLIC</b>	
<b>MEANINGS IN THE DISCOURSE .....</b>	<b>72</b>
<i>4. 1. 1. Between 1970 and 1980.....</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>4.1.2. Between 1980 and 1990.....</i>	<i>81</i>
<b>4. 2 . FORMALISM, SYMBOLISM AND THE DISCOURSE.....</b>	<b>94</b>
<i>4. 2. 1. The symbolic Function and the Discourse.....</i>	<i>94</i>
<i>4. 2. 2. New Symbolic Meanings and the Discourse.....</i>	<i>102</i>
<b>5. CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>ENDNOTES.....</b>	<b>119</b>
<b>APPENDIX</b>	
<b>A. FIGURES.....</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>160</b>



## LIST OF FIGURES

### Figure

- 1.a. Sirkeci Railroad Terminal, İstanbul,  
1890, Jachmund; view of the entrance facade. ... 124
- 1.b. Deutsche Orient Bank,  
İstanbul, 1890s, Jachmund, view of the  
corner elevation. .... 125
- 1.c. Archaeological Museum, İstanbul,  
1891-1907, Aléxandre Vallaurý;  
general view from the northwest. .... 125
- 2.a. Central Post Office, İstanbul, 1909,  
Vedat (Tek); general view from the northeast. .. 126
- 2.b. The Fourth Vakıf Hanı, İstanbul, 1912-1926,  
Kemalettin Bey; partial view of  
the southeast corner. .... 126
- 3.a. Agricultural Bank, Ankara, 1926-1929,  
Gulio Mongeri; general view. .... 127
- 3.b. General Directories of İş Bankası, Ankara,  
1928, Gulio Mongeri; view of the  
entrance facade. .... 127
- 3.c. Gazi Teacher's College, Ankara, 1928,  
Kemalettin Bey; general view  
from the southeast. .... 128
- 3.d. Museum of Ethnography, Ankara, 1926, Arif  
Hikmet Koyunođlu; view of the entrance facade. . 128
- 4.a. Central Bank, Ankara, 1931-1933,  
Clemens Holzmeister; general view. .... 129



- 4.b. Ministry of Health, Ankara, 1926-1927,  
Theodor Post and Carl Lörcher; view of the  
entrance facade. .... 129
- 5.a. İsmet Paşa Institute for Girls,  
Ankara, 1930, Ernst Egli; general view. .... 130
- 5.b. Court of Financial Appeals, Ankara,  
1928-1930, Ernst Egli; general view. .... 130
- 6.a. The Karl-Marx-Hof, Vienna, 1927,  
Karl Ehn; general view. .... 131
- 6.b. Ministry of Defence, Ankara, 1927-1931,  
Clemens Holzmeister; general view  
from the northeast. .... 131
- 7.a. State Railroad Headquarters,  
Ankara, 1941, Bedri Uçar; view of  
the entrance facade. .... 132
- 7.b. Anıtkabir (Atatürk's Mausoleum),  
Ankara, 1944-1953, Emin Onat and  
Orhan Arda; general view. .... 132
- 8.a. Senate Building of the University  
of Rome, Rome, 1932, Piacentini and Team;  
view of the entrance facade. .... 133
- 8.b. Faculty of Sciences, Ankara, Emin Onat and S.H.  
Eldem; view of the entrance to the courtyard. .. 133
- 9.a. Exhibition Hall, Ankara, 1933-1934,  
Şevki Balmumcu; general view. .... 134
- 9.b. Opera House (conversion of the early  
Exhibition Hall by Balmumcu), Ankara, 1948,  
Paul Bonatz; general view. .... 134
- 10.a. Faculties of Sciences and Letters, İstanbul,  
1944, Emin Onat and S.H. Eldem; general view. .. 135
- 10.b. Palace of Justice, İstanbul, 1949,  
S.H. Eldem and Emin Onat; perspective drawing. . 135
- 11.a. First prize Project for Vakıf İşhanı,  
İstanbul, 1949, Fatih Metigil and  
Demirtaş Kamçıl; perspective drawing. .... 136

- 11.b. Second prize project for Vakıf İşhanı,  
İstanbul, 1949, Reha Ortaçlı and Fethi Tulgar;  
perspective drawing. .... 136
- 11.c. Third prize project for Vakıf İşhanı,  
İstanbul, 1949, Fatin Uran;  
perspective drawing. .... 136
12. City Hall, İstanbul, 1953, Nevzat Erol;  
view of the model. .... 137
- 13.a. Hilton Hotel, İstanbul, 1952,  
Skidmore, Owings & Merrill and S.H. Eldem;  
view of the Bosphorus elevation. .... 138
- 13.b. Çınar Hotel, İstanbul, 1959,  
Rana Zıpçı, Emin Ertan and Ahmet Akın;  
general view. .... 138
- 14.a. Seagram Building, New York, 1958, Mies van der  
Rohe; general view. .... 139
- 14.b. Emek Building, Ankara,  
1959-1964, Enver Tokay and  
İlhan Tayman; general view. .... 139
- 15.a. House in Australia, 1950s,  
Harry Siedler, view of the facade. .... 140
- 15.b. House in İstanbul, 1950s,  
view of the facade. .... 140
16. Sheraton Hotel, İstanbul, 1958-1974,  
Akın, Emiroğlu, Erol, Handan, Suher;  
view from the northeast. .... 141
- 17.a. METU Faculty of Architecture,  
Ankara, 1961-1964, Altuğ Çinici  
and Behruz Çinici; site plan. .... 142
- 17.b. Research Center, Ankara, 1964,  
Yüksel Okan and Fikret Cankut;  
view of the model. .... 142
- 18.a. Museum in Høvikodden, 1960s, Eikvar  
and Engebretsen; view of the model. .... 143

- 18.b. METU Auditorium, Ankara, 1966-1967,  
Altuğ Çinici and Behruz Çinici;  
scheme of the building. .... 143
- 19.a. First prize project for İstanbul  
Congress Center, 1969, Oktay Gürün and  
Somer Ural; site plan. .... 144
- 19.b. Second prize project for İstanbul  
Congress Center, 1969, Yılmaz Sanlı,  
Güner Acar and Aydın Boysan; site plan. .... 144
- 19.c. Third prize project for İstanbul  
Congress Center, 1969, Mete Ünügür and Cihangir  
Tutluoğlu; site plan. .... 144
- 20.a. Turkish Pavilion in New York World's Fair,  
1939, Sedat Hakkı Eldem; general view. .... 145
- 20.b. Turkish Pavilion in Brussels World's Fair,  
1958; aerial view of the model. .... 146
- 20.c. Turkish Pavilion in New York World's Fair,  
1962, Ruşen Dora and  
Ünal Demiraşlan; site plan. .... 146
21. Lassa Tire Factory, İzmit, 1975-1977,  
Doğan Tekeli and Sami Sisa;  
general view from the northwest. .... 147
- 22.a. İş Bankası Tower, Ankara, 1976, Sargın and  
Böke; general view from the northwest. .... 148
- 22.b. Odakule, İstanbul, 1975, Kaya Tecimen;  
view of the narrow elevation. .... 148
- 22.c. Odakule, İstanbul, 1975, Kaya Tecimen;  
detail view of aluminum wainscotings. .... 149
- 22.d. Etap Hotel, İstanbul, 1970-1975, Yüksel Okan;  
view of the back street elevation. .... 149
23. First prize project for Trabzon City  
Hall, 1979, Mahmut Tuna; site plan. .... 150
24. Turkish Language Society, Ankara, 1972-1978,  
Cengiz Bektaş; view from the northwest. .... 150

25. Iranian Primary School, Ankara, 1970s,  
Altuğ Çinici and Behruz Çinici;  
view of the entrance. .... 151
26. Kemer Holiday Village, Kemer, 1970s,  
Tuncay Çavdar; general view. .... 151
- 27.a. Vakıflar Bank, Ankara, 1974-1978,  
Erdoğan Elmas, Ertuğrul Yener and  
Zafer Gülçur, view from the northwest. .... 152
- 27.b. Agricultural Bank Extension, İstanbul,  
1970s, Muhteşem Giray and Nezih Eldem;  
general view. .... 152
28. Houses of Deputies, Ankara, 1980s,  
Altuğ Çinici and Behruz Çinici;  
elevation drawing. .... 153
29. Project for Ekincik Holiday Village,  
Köyceğiz, 1980s, Ali Esad Göksel; plan types. .. 153
30. Megasaray Hotel, Belek, 1980s,  
Atölye T; a detail view. .... 154
31. Atatürk Cultural Center, Ankara, 1980s,  
Coşkun Erkal and Filiz Erkal;  
view of the entrance elevation. .... 154
32. Sürücüler Terrace Houses, Ankara, 1980s,  
Merih Karaaslan; general view. .... 155
33. Reklamevi, İstanbul, 1987, Haydar Karabey;  
perspective drawing of the facade. .... 155
34. Emlak Bankası and Petrol Ofisi  
Kızılay Service Building, Ankara, 1980s,  
Sezar Aygen; view of the facade. .... 156
35. Atakule, Ankara, 1980s,  
A. Ragıp Buluç; general view. .... 156
- 36.a. Altındağ Municipality Building, Ankara,  
1987, Merih Karaaslan; view from the courtyard. 157
- 36.b. Kaysu (Kayseri Water Works), Kayseri, 1980s,  
Merih Karaaslan; view from the southwest. .... 157

- 37.a. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ankara,  
1980s, Hasan Özbay and Tamer Başbuğ;  
general view. .... 158
- 37.b. Agricultural Bank Service Building, Ankara,  
1980s, İlhami Ural,;general view. .... 158
38. Halkbank Headquarters, Ankara, 1980s,  
Doğan Tekeli and Sami Sisa; general view. .... 159
39. Klassis Hotel, Silivri, 1980s, Şefik Birkiye;  
general view. .... 159



## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

It may not be too contradictory to start with the assumption that the contemporary Turkish architecture has been heavily influenced by the architecture developed both in Europe and America. Although this was conceived as a direct influence, there took an adaptation process. The main effects that shaped this process is the socio-economic and cultural conditions of Turkey.

In this study, it will be argued that Turkish architecture has been evaluated either according to the application of the traditional references to form, or according to the employment of current formal architectural trends. But the 'symbolic milieu' mediated by the 'physical milieu' that was constituted by architectural forms has not been taken into consideration. As Christian Norberg-Schulz stated, "it is surely possible to perceive architecture formally, that is, relative to certain formal categories. But it is just as possible to perceive the forms as manifestations of the presuppositions which have determined them" (1965; 86). It is to be stated however, that the meaning of the forms or the symbolic aspects of architecture might also be indifferent to those presuppositions related to socio-economic and cultural conditions that have determined architectural forms. For instance this was the case when the formal aspects of the Modern architecture began to be

imported in Turkey by the 1930s. It is assumed here that rather than the thought underlying Modern architecture, its forms were adopted, since these architectural formal qualities symbolized modernism.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the presuppositions which have determined those forms were of secondary importance in comparison to the meanings that they acquired in their new location. This is, in fact, the point of departure for this investigation, for it is not concerned with the criticism of physical forms or types, but with the new symbolic meanings they acquire in a new socio-economic and cultural context.

As an opposition to the assertion that imported forms acquire new meanings, Norberg-Schulz states that "meanings are transported when similar buildings are erected in different places just as language allows for flexible communication. In this way diffusion of culture becomes possible" (1974; 433). However, Norberg-Schulz also stresses a fact that "a form has only meaning within a system of forms, and that the idea of independent meaningful forms is a misconception" (1965, 156). Therefore it can be said that the forms of Modern architecture erected in a different socio-cultural location must have had different meanings from the meanings they would have brought together. The main difference, it will be argued here, has been hidden in the symbolic meanings of the architectural forms. Architecture, as a medium for the symbolization of social and cultural conditions, should naturally reflect such differences. Therefore, the meaning of the similar formal aspects of Modern architecture which were applied both in Turkey and in the other parts of the world might be different from each other because of different social and

cultural conditions. As a result, it can be said that as all the writings on the contemporary Turkish architecture confirm, Modern architecture was adopted in Turkey more as a style less as an architectural thought, as in the case of the 'International Style'.<sup>2</sup> And since style can be defined as "a formal-probability structure of a symbol system" (Norberg-Schulz, 1965, 70), it is a necessity to concentrate on the symbolic meanings of architectural forms and to determine the change in those meanings as well as to determine the occurrence of new meanings in the course of the time. Niels Luning Prak underlined that "the symbolic mode of evaluation is heuristic. It is rooted in the meaning which particular forms acquired for a certain society at a particular time" (1968, 6).

Norberg-Schulz stated that as a reaction to l'Art pour l'Art , "functionalism rejected all formal (aesthetic) speculation, and concentrated itself upon the practical aspects" (1965, 133). Yet, it has also been argued that the Modern formal aesthetics, which were based on psychology of perception, was influential on the forms of Modern art and architecture. On the other hand, the formal aspects of Modern architecture are only a limited part of the probabilities of Modern formal aesthetics. Thus, it can be said that Modern architecture which spread over the world including Turkey was in fact an international style, and it is reasonable to think that it was a new formal aesthetics that introduced new symbolic meanings to Turkey. Therefore, the forms of Modern architecture in Turkey have to be evaluated through symbolic rather than formal aesthetics, since, as Norberg-Schulz stated, "the formal attitude is more narrow than the symbolizing one, without offering



anything new" (1965, 86). A quotation from Prak clarifies this assertion:

Formal aesthetics deals with proportions, rhythm, repetition, formal cohesion, consistency, etc.. Symbolic aesthetics on the contrary employs such epithets as 'honest', 'truly modern'; or, in the case of Palladio: 'barbarian' versus 'good'; or, again with Ruskin and Pugin: 'pagan' versus 'Christian' (Prak, 1968, 5).

Jon Lang stated that for the formal aesthetics "the concern is with the pleasure afforded people by different patterns of the world for their own sake rather than for any instrumental purpose they serve or associational meaning they provide" (1987, 188). On the other hand, symbolic aesthetics is concerned with "the meanings of the environment" which "have to do with its potential instrumental use" and also "with the emotional qualities that an observer and user reads into it" (Lang 1987, 203). The emotional qualities of the built environment, as it will be argued here, were essential point of the symbolism of the Turkish architecture. Since the formal considerations occupied a great part of the architectural discourse in the contemporary Turkish architecture, the symbolic meanings acquired by the emotional qualities of the form became the most important, more than that acquired by the instrumental use. This situation also explains the title "symbolism within formalism" in the contemporary Turkish architecture. The symbolic meanings attributed to the architectural forms of the century also play an important role in both the development and the criticism of the contemporary Turkish architecture. A comparative analysis on the particular formal traits of Modern architecture applied in Turkey would not be

helpful in this investigation, since it would not say anything new.

It is crucial that "formalism" not to be confused with formal aesthetics or with design theories based on 'formal aesthetics'. The term 'formalism' was used here to signify the interest in aesthetic qualities of architectural forms as formal entities rather than the interest in objective psychological qualities of forms as in the Gestalt psychology of perception.<sup>3</sup> By the term 'formalism', it was intended here to signify an attitude that sees formal properties as its main concern rather than the content. It was also assumed here that the subject underlying 'formalism' is the symbolic meanings acquired through the formal properties. Therefore, 'formalism' is bounded with image, symbol and the relation between the two.

For Lang, an image "is an imitation or a reproduction or a similitude of something". Lang also stated that "a symbol is the result of a cognitive process whereby an object acquires a connotation beyond its instrumental use. An 'object' in this sense may be an environment or a person as well as a material artifact". Lang's quotation from James J. Gibson (1966) is an explanatory example: "the image of St. Peters is an image of St. Peter's and nothing more; if it suggests Rome or the Holy Catholic Church, the image becomes a symbol" (Lang, 1987, 204).

Although this investigation will be based on symbolic meanings, the definition of symbolic meaning and its acquisition is not easy. It is also problematic to choose the appropriate approach for the Turkish

architecture which will be investigated in its formal aspects. Moreover, searching symbolic meanings through architectural forms requires a method for the analyses of the form itself. Lang (1987, 210-213) gave the coexisting theories which "attempt to explain why certain patterns in the built environment communicate specific meanings to specific groups of people". These theories are: 1) the theory of physiognomic properties (Rudolf Arnheim), 2) Jungian approaches to symbolism, 3) the behaviorist model, 4) the ecological model of perception and cognition. For Lang, "these theories may act simultaneously, each explaining some aspects of symbolism, no integrative model exists". On the other hand, Lang defines the variables of the built environment that carry meaning as 'building configuration', 'spatial configuration', 'materials', 'the nature of illumination', and 'the non visual element'. These variables of the built environment are related with the communication aspect of architecture. Therefore, a discipline concerned directly with architectural communication would be mostly benefited in order to explain the notions and aspects of architectural symbolism, that is, architectural semiotics.

Here, it is to be emphasized that the 'building configuration' is the main subject of this investigation and this conclusion was drawn from the discourse on the contemporary Turkish architecture. Therefore, it was preferred to focus on architectural forms that were defined and institutionalized by the architectural discourse itself that based on stylistic aspects of architecture (such as architectural criticism, seminars, information in the architectural magazines, jury reports

of architectural competitions, etc.). It is also admitted that architectural discourse inheres and reveals the symbolic meanings. Therefore, instead of applying a method to the chosen specific architectural works that would lead to subjective conclusions, the architectural discourse developed in texts was taken into consideration. It is argued that such an architectural discourse determined both the formal aspects and their symbolic meanings.

It will also be argued in this study that the symbolic meanings attributed to particular building forms or typologies undergo a constant change. This means that as the social and cultural development proceeds, meanings of the built environment may change or new meanings may emerge. Change in the meanings of the built environment may also signify the change in the built environment itself. In fact this was the case for the contemporary Turkish architecture during the republican period since both social and cultural structure of the Turkish society has undergone a constant change. Therefore it cannot be said that a particular form can preserve the same meaning all the time. Moreover, the meaning of a particular architectural form may differ according to the percipient. Prak stresses these points:

meaning may have gradually become associated with the forms under review, or consciously intended from the start; it may be different for the architect, for a contemporary observer and for a later one (1968, 5).

The study on the symbolic meanings of the contemporary Turkish architecture were based on

outstanding works which was called 'prestige' architecture here in the sense that Uğur Tanyeli used the term. The main reason for this is that the architectural discourse that was generated from the stylistic aspects of architecture focuses on a kind of architecture which inherited something outside the pragmatic intentions of architecture. Since the symbolic aesthetics is directly related with the symbolic meanings of forms, and since "the concept of style traditionally covers formal properties common to a collection of works" (Norberg-Schulz, ,1965, 156), an architectural discourse concerned with stylistic aspects would have to be concerned with the 'elitist', 'prestige' architecture'.<sup>4</sup> However, it is to be stated that the term 'prestige' achitecture" comprises limited architectural productions. Yet, 'prestige' buildings being public entities, are the best mediums for social and cultural symbolization. Tanyeli (1984, 38) demonstrated almost all of the architectural production in Turkey by the categories produced for the architecture of 1980s, which were: 'new-vernacular architecture (apartment blocks)'; 'official architecture'; 'marginal architecture (squatters)'; 'religious architecture (mosques)'; 'historical architecture (restoration, reconstruction, revitalization)'; 'new-rural architecture'; and 'prestige architecture'. The significance of this categorization is that it was constructed according to the "organization of architectural production". Except the 'prestige architecture', Tanyeli stated, the contribution of architect to the decision-making mechanism was minimum in all these categories. As a result, 'prestige architecture' seems like the only category that involved architectural productions which were worth taking into

consideration for a stylistic debate. However, it is to be reminded that an official building or a mosque can be included in the category of 'prestige architecture' instead of 'official' or 'religious' architecture. Therefore, the term 'prestige' architecture will cover all of the architectural production that exhibited stylistic aspects and will be the subject of this investigation.

The question here may be how the forms alone can be taken as the only manifestations of symbolic meanings. Hence it is to be stated that other determinants of form such as function of building and social determinants have to be taken into consideration as well as the symbolizing function of buildings, such as building typology and 'prestige'. This is because function of building, social determinants and the symbolizing function of buildings have always been in constant change. As it is possible to see through an investigation on the volumes of the 'Mimarlık' magazine published by the Chamber of the Turkish Architects, the two decades between 1970 and 1990 signify a period that reflected such a movement very well. However, 1970s can be also considered as the peak point of the development in the Turkish architecture started after the Second World War. Although the 1980s was the natural follower of the 1970s, it also signified a new period for it differed from the past periods in many ways. Therefore, the period between 1970 and 1990 is of prime importance to be studied. The two main architectural magazines, which witnessed the development of the contemporary Turkish architecture, namely, Arkitekt and Mimarlık , have been scanned thoroughly.

## CHAPTER 2

### BASIC NOTIONS ON THE SYMBOLIC MEANING OF ARCHITECTURE

#### 2 . 1 . SEMIOTICS OF ARCHITECTURE

Semiotic investigation of architecture has been developed from the study on linguistic analyses by Ferdinand de Saussure (published in English as the *Course in General Linguistics*, in 1959) and Charles Sanders Peirce (*Collected Papers*, 1974) in the second half of this century. Since linguistic analyses were not sufficient in explaining the question 'what do symbols mean?' and was directly concerned with the question of 'how do symbols (signs) work?', modern semiology concentrated upon the question 'how do symbols mean' and 'what do symbols mean?' (Sperber, 1991, 51-52).<sup>5</sup> This distinction laid in the study of language as a system of signs and as an aspect of communication, as Geoffrey Broadbent stated:

One has to make a choice between that which studies language as a system of signs, such as Saussurean semiology, and that which sees language as an aspect of communication, as in the semiotic of Peirce and Morris; between which sees to describe language at a particular moment in time, as in certain kinds of structuralism which have developed



from Saussure, and that which aims to find the rules by which language is generated. (Broadbent, 1980b, 124-125)

However, as Donald Sperber noted, the 'how' and the 'what' questions presupposed each other, as in the case of architectural semiotics (1991, 52). Therefore, structuralism of Claude Lévi-Strauss based on Saussurean semiology went beyond the system of signs and introduced 'codes' in order to explain the set of domains of expression (Sperber, 1991, 52). While Saussurean semiology was concerned with the system of signs without respect to connotation, and Peirce's semiotic with the variety of signs in communication, Lévi-Strauss's notion of codes incorporated in explaining what symbols, being particular signs, mean in a particular moment in time. However, Umberto Eco interrogated the notion 'sign' from the point of view of 'codes' while explaining his semiotic framework of his study *Function and Sign: The Semiotics of Architecture*, and at the same time distinguished it both from the behaviorist and Saussurean models:

One is not obliged to characterize a sign on the basis of either behavior that it stimulates or actual objects that would verify its meaning: it is characterized only on the basis of codified meaning that in a given cultural context is attributed to the sign-vehicle (Eco, 1980, 18).

Architectural semiology appropriated the notions of semiology to architecture. Therefore, for an investigation on symbolic meanings of architecture, the basic notions on which architectural semiology was based have to be explained. An important distinction between



Saussure's semiology and Peirce's semiotic was the dichotomy of the former and the trichotomy of the latter (Broadbent, 1980a, 2-3). Saussure's division of the sign into two parts consisted of "the signifier (the pattern of marks on paper, sound in the air or even building forms by which the sign itself is made physically manifest)" and "the signified (the concepts, ideas or other thoughts which the signifier stands for)", while Peirce's division of the sign consisted of Icon, Index and Symbol (Broadbent, 1980a, 2-3).

A further component, 'referent', was detected within the division of the sign of Saussure by Ogden-Richards semiotic triangle. The Ogden-Richards semiotic triangle has been one of the major semiotic model applied to architectural signification. According to this model, "the signifier (symbol, word of architectural form) connotes a signified (concept, thought, content) and may or may not denote a thing (referent, object, or 'actual function' in architecture)" (Broadbent, 1980b, 78).<sup>6</sup>

The Ogden-Richards semiotic triangle was of great importance in that "it incorporated extra-semiotic elements in the universe of architectural meaning" (Jencks, 1980, 80). It introduced 'referent' (object or actual meaning) and demonstrated that there is more than one relation between the components of the sign that constitute the universe of architectural meaning. It also gives way to the distinctions in the architectural meaning such as 'primary meaning' and 'secondary meaning' or 'denotation' and 'connotation', as will be seen in the following parts. Having learned that there is a difference between symbol (signifier) and actual function' (referent), Peirce's definition of symbol is

required in order to distinguish it from other sign types.

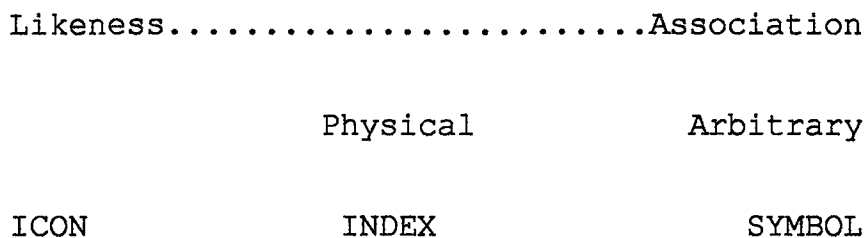
For Peirce, a symbol is "a sign which refers to the object that it denotes by virtue of a law, usually any association of general ideas, which operates to cause that symbol to be interpreted as referring to that object... all words, sentences, books and other conventional signs are symbols. We speak of writing or pronouncing the word 'man'; but it is only a replica, or embodiment of the word, that is pronounced or written. The word itself has no existence, although it has a real being, consisting in the fact that existents will conform to it" (Broadbent, 1980c, 315-316).

For architectural forms have corporeal existence on the contrary of words, a certain difference between the 'actual function' or the 'object' and symbol can be deduced from this definition when applied to architecture. For the icon and index, Peirce said:

An icon is a sign which refers to the Object that it denotes by virtue of certain characteristics of its own and which it possesses just the same, whether any such object exists or not (Broadbent, 1980c, 315).

An index is a sign, or representation "which refers to its object not so much because of any similarity of, or analogy with it, nor because it is associated with general characters which that object happens to possess, and because it is in dynamical (including spatial) connection both with the individual object on the one hand and with the senses or memory of the person for whom it acts as a sign" (Broadbent, 1980c, 315).

According to the definitions of icon, index and symbol given by Peirce, Broadbent chose the continuum given below to which it was possible to plot Peirce's signs.



(Broadbent, 1980c, 317).

Broadbent applied these sign types to architecture and stated that "the drawing of a building, and particularly a design drawing, is an iconic sign" and that "certain buildings are indices", which, by their actual form, "expresses certain functions in ways which can be read by anyone, irrespective of culture, which do not require a learned response", such as a primitive shelter. For Broadbent, a building may also be a symbol "given that the essence of symbol is a learned relationship between the signifier and the signified" (1980c, 330).

However, Broadbent underlined the complexity of symbolization and stressed that arbitrary relationships (associations) between the object and the user or the percipient, were learned. Therefore, Broadbent put forth the dual characteristic of architectural signification: connotation and denotation. Saussure himself restricted the arbitrariness of symbolization for the reason that "one characteristic of the symbol is that it is never wholly arbitrary; it is not empty, for there is a

rudiment of a natural bond between the signifier and the signified" (Gandelsonas, 1980, 245). Gandelsonas, accepting the building as the signifier and the meaning as the signified, stated that the building "must establish and maintain a relationship to the thing being symbolized" in order it to symbolize something different from its 'actual function'. Gandelsonas also stressed the complexity of the relationships between form and meaning and therefore stated that "it is usually simplified however, when it appears as a direct relationship between architectural form and something that embodies conventional meaning" (1980, 245).

The expressions given above such as "the learned relationship" and "something that embodies conventional meaning" indicate the notion of 'codes' as termed by Claude Lévi-Strauss (Sperber, 1991, 52). Sperber cited the two different principles at the basis of the study of symbolism proposed by Lévi-Strauss: "firstly, an element never of itself receives a symbolic interpretation, but only in so far as it is opposed to at least one other element; and secondly, there is not one unique domain of interpretation", but there are 'codes' as a set of domains "in which symbolic oppositions are interpreted" (1991, 52).

Gandelsonas, quoting from Jakobson (1962), explained the notion of code as it "refers to the organization, or system, that interrelates the elements, or units, of any message and makes possible its understanding" (1980, 249). Gandelsonas stated that a code had a pair of oppositions "that have something in common in conjunction with something that separates them, such as in and out". From this point of departure, he claimed that a code is

not to be seen as "a body of architectonic ideas structured within a fixed framework", but rather as "a field of dynamic tensions, based on oppositions, which only provide an empty framework of possible architectonic relationships". For Gandelsonas, it is through this framework that the set of ideas, images, and notions of buildings drawn from the architectural repository must pass, "in order to create the synthesis that underlies architectural form" (1980, 249-250).

It can be said that, in architectural semiotics, the notion of code determines the character of sign. Eco, seeing sign as a unit of an architectural code, defined architectural signs "generically as a system of manufactured objects and circumscribed spaces that communicate possible functions, at the basis of conventions (codes)" (1980b, 213). Eco went beyond the definition of architectural codes as related only to architectonic relationships and stated that architecture must be based upon external codes as well as existing architectural codes, from which the architect will depart. Therefore, for Eco, "while the elements of architecture constitute themselves a system, they become a code only when coupled with systems that lie outside architecture" (1980a, 43). It can be derived from this explanation that not only architectonic codes, but also external codes based on social exigencies, cultural units are required for an architecture to be meaningful.

Each of the componential codes internal and external to architecture is prerequisite for the semantics of architecture. Charles Morris (1970) distinguished three characteristic dimensions of every system of signification, which are semantic, syntactic and

pragmatic (Gandelsonas, 1980, 246).<sup>7</sup> Gandelsonas stated that semantics, according to Morris, "deals with the relation of signs (something that refers to something), to their designata (what is taken account of) and so to the objects which they may or may not denote", and that "syntactics (is) the study of the relations of signs to one another in abstraction from the relation of signs to objects or to interpreters" (1980, 246). Moreover, Gandelsonas underlined that "architectural form, as conceived by the architect through internalized thought, has always been related to an external problem".<sup>8</sup> For Gandelsonas, although there was a necessity to construct a body of syntactic concepts to guide the activity of architecture as problem solving, these syntactic prescriptions related to external problems (1980, 246). It can be said that Gandelsonas accepted that architectonic codes without referring to external codes, do not alone constitute the semantics of architecture.

It is clear that the semantic dimension of architecture is constituted of both internal and external codes, while an investigation based on syntactic dimension excludes the latter although it effects the former to a certain degree.<sup>9</sup> For an investigation on symbolic meanings of architecture - that is the What-question - the semantic dimension of architecture is of concern. Pragmatic codes also incorporate in here to the extend that they may somehow coexist within the semantic dimension, although Eco claimed that they had no communicative content.<sup>10</sup>

As a result, it is to be stated that an investigation on symbolic meanings of architecture does

not need to depend on Saussurean semiology or semiotic of Peirce, but the notions of architectural semiotics developed from both schools and the school of Lévi-Strauss are prerequisite to cite. It is also to be noted that many notions concerned with the component parts of meaning in general have been proposed by various researches. The common point of all is that they indicate primary and secondary meanings, as will be seen in the following part.

## **2 . 2 . ANALYSIS OF SYMBOLIC MEANING**

### **2 . 2 . 1 . Form and Meaning**

A semiotic investigation of meaning requires distinguishing the component parts of meaning. There is no doubt that visual perception is a necessary condition for the signification of a physical object. However, for an investigation on the meanings of architectural forms, it is more important to find the answer to 'how do they mean?' instead of 'how do the signs work?' in order to understand 'what do they mean?'

Juan Bonta interrogated the relation between form and meaning and detected two kinds of form in the visual perception, which were 'physical form' and 'significant form'. For Bonta (1980, 283), the physical form of an object was the "set of all its features directly or indirectly perceptible, such as, color, texture, smell, sound, temperature, weight, mechanical, chemical,



electrical properties". The significant form "is an abstraction of physical form which includes some of its features - those which refer to the meaning - and excludes the rest". Moreover, Bonta stated that although one significant form referred to one meaning, it could correspond to diverse physical forms. That one significant form corresponding to diverse physical forms is 'polysemy', and that one significant form admitting various meanings is 'ambiguity'. For Bonta, the question "how do we know which features of significant form refer to meaning" was a semantic problem to which the communication procedure could be applied (1980, 284). As mentioned before, communication procedure accepts that the features of a given form is encoded so that they have to be decoded in a system of conventions for them to refer to meaning. Thus, for the explanation of 'how do they mean?', the signification phenomenon of physical forms was based on the notion of 'codes'. Therefore, the signification of a physical object still lacks meaningfulness unless there is a system of conventions (codes). Preziosi explained this situation:

Meaning does not exist in an aprioristic manner, as an entity 'carried' by signalization, any more than formations exist apart from their significations. In addition, meaningfulness is invariably oriented toward one or more of the component parts of a generator or the receiver, toward the signalization itself, or simply toward the maintenance of contact between encoder and decoder. In addition, any message constitutes an interrogation of or commentary upon the code of which it is a manifestation (Preziosi 1979, 47).



That particular meanings are attributed to particular forms is a result of complex relations between the form and the generator or the receiver of the form. These complex relations can be explained through the analysis of how the signalizations of forms were encoded and decoded in a particular society in a particular time. Eco discerned primary and secondary functions in the signification which lead to denoted and connoted meanings of the architectural object. According to Eco, the denoted meaning of the sign-vehicle in an architectural sign is "the function it makes possible" (1980a, 2). Eco used the term 'sign-vehicle' (signifier) as the carriage of meaning (signified) in a sign. Yet, while the observable and describable character of sign-vehicles denotes the precise functions, the meanings we attribute to them varies when determined in specific codes, those what Eco called connoted meanings:

The semiotic perspective that we have preferred with its distinction between sign-vehicles and meanings, the former observable and describable apart from the meanings we attribute to them, at least at some stage of semiotic investigation, and the latter variable but determined by the codes in the light of which we read the sign-vehicles - permits us to recognize in architectural sign sign-vehicles capable of being described and catalogued, which can denote precise functions provided one interprets them in the light of certain codes, and successive meanings with which these sign-vehicles are capable of being filled, whose attribution can occur, as we will see, not only by way of denotation, but also by way of connotation, on the basis of further codes (1980a, 20).

Like Eco, Bonta characterized primary and secondary meanings, which were derived from form as a result of two kinds of sign-vehicle' in a sign: indicator and signal. These 'sign-vehicles' are filled with meanings corresponding to Eco's definition of denoted and connoted meaning. Bonta described indicator as "a directly perceptible fact, by means of which it is possible to learn something about other indirectly perceptible facts", and signals as "special class of indicators" that must be "eventually produced with the purpose of having an act of communication" (1980, 276 - 277). Therefore, according to Bonta, while the indicative relationship was a triadic one (form/meaning/interpreter), signals had emitter, form, meaning and interpreter. The significant role of signals in communication is that they are encoded by the emitter and decoded by the interpreter, as Bonta explained:

In the case of indicators, the relationship between form and meaning is natural or factual; the meaning results from the form as the consequence of an act of analysis. In the case of signals, on the other hand, this relationship is conventional and, up to a certain point, arbitrary or not motivated; though it is possible to limit somewhat the arbitrariness of codes using resources such as iconicity and articulation, the reading of signals always requires the knowledge of some conventions, the learning of a code (1980, 278).

Preziosi defined architectonic code as a "system of relationships manifested in material formations". For Preziosi, this relationship is constituted by the visual perception of the entire set of material resources (1979, 7). In the previous part it was underlined that a code is

composed of both the systems constituted by the elements of architecture and the systems that lie outside architecture. Therefore, it is to be stated that architectonic codes are not to be interpreted as the system of mere architectonic relationships. Preziosi's definition of architectonic code at first glance seems like without culture-specific limitations and 'panhuman'. However, Preziosi, like Bonta and Eco, discerned two kinds of 'function' in signification architectonic codes. For Preziosi, "architectonic forms, while primarily significant in a systemic or sense-discriminative sense, may also serve sense-determinative or directly significant functions under certain conditions in given codes" (1979, 7). For Preziosi, while the primary function in signification of forms was to distinguish and discriminate their corporeality among other forms, the secondary function in signification of forms was 'over and above' their material realization in a given code.

Preziosi's definition of the dual characteristic of signification of forms can be appropriated easily to Eco's definition of the notions of denotation and connotation. Yet, Preziosi defined the primary function in a signification not as a denotation of the function it makes possible, but as a discriminative function serving for distinguishing of a given form. It can be said that the 'denotation' which Eco defines is a one more step forward from the 'discrimination' of forms. Although several nuances can be traced, the concept of duality such as primary and secondary functions is also clear in Bonta's analysis of indicators and signals.

It is to be stated that none of the authors cited above conceived the term 'function' in architecture in

its narrow sense as mere "immediate purpose - its usage-context". They also detected in 'function' a "historical purpose, wherein functionality was governed not only by immediate practical consideration but also by a fixed canon (or set of norms)".<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the authors stresses the role of codes as cultural and social as well as architectonic patterns in the occurrence of meanings, as Preziosi says:

A built environment is a model of the reality or realities of a society, staged in a spatio-temporal/geometric object-language which serves to cue the perception of culturally-important semantic domain through the exploitation of characteristic patterns and processes of activity (Preziosi, 1979, 40).

The common points in the analyses of the authors for occurrence is that the meaning of forms depends on 1) the visual perception of physical realities, that is, discriminating geometric aspects of a physical object or determining its function of use; 2) decoding the meaning of an appearance by means of visual perception, that is by virtue of communicative aspects of physical objects (or of built environments). This duality was termed by Alfred North Whitehead as 'direct recognition' and 'symbolic reference' (1985, 7). As a result it can be said that there is an interrelationship between form, code and meaning. This is not to say that there is a one way reference from form to meaning. However, the process of signification requires a preexisting code that will lead it from 'direct recognition' to 'symbolic reference'.

## 2 . 2 . 2 . Change of Meaning

In the previous part the double function of meaning was underlined. It was stated that the primary function of meaning was the immediate perception of the signing element or recognition of the function it makes possible. However, the interrelationship between these two functions has to be questioned according to change taking place in either of the two.

Eco criticized behaviorist approach in explaining a given signification that accepts the denotata (primary function) as corresponding to an observable behavior in a synchronic manner (1980a, 19-20). Eco found this schema impossible to apply "to the works of the past that have lost their function", or to works of which even the significatum is obscure, such as megalithic temples. What Eco underlined was the impossibility of tracing meaning in a signification only to the immediate perception of physical objects, since these objects might signify somewhat obscure to the contemporary percipient. However, as Eco emphasized, nothing can be meaningless, since

(a) these sign elements still exist, at least as observable and describable phenomena, and (b) history tends to see these observable physical phenomena continue to be filled with new meanings, through successive interpretations in spite of the fact that they continue to be regarded as signs, no matter how ambiguous and mysterious they may appear (Eco, 1980a, 19-20).

Although Bonta defined the meaning as "the set of norms susceptible to being modified by changes taking place in the form" (1980, 284), Eco's confirmation of the

permanent change of meanings reveals the fact that change in the meaning does not only depend on the change in the form. A change taking place in the form effects the existing meaning of the form or may assign to it a new meaning. Yet, the change of form may also be a result of change of meaning. That was the point when Preziosi asserted that "human built environments are subject to change over space and time" is "a manifestation of the fact that the code is fundamentally a system of relationships rather than a system of forms" (1979, 16). It is clear that the word 'relationship' that was used here as corresponding to an interaction which inheres change and transformation. Therefore, it can be deduced that the code itself is subject to change over time and space, and therefore may lead to a change that will take place in form and meaning.

Eco, seeing this 'dialectic interplay' between form and meaning, pointed out the change in the meaning as a result of 'consumption and recovery of forms'. For Eco, the interplay between forms and the constantly changing circumstances conferred new meanings on forms. This process ends up with constantly "consumption of forms and obsolescence of values". However, "the same process while providing the conditions for this consumption, also provides the conditions for the recovery of forms and the rediscovery of senses" (1980a, 30). Although the expression 'rediscovery of senses' seems like Eco defended the idea that rediscovery of forms was the rediscovery of their meaning in the past, Eco stated that it was not:

It is an engrossing and adventurous process, rediscovering, given a form, the

original context and creating new contexts, what Lévi-Strauss has called 'semantic fission. An abstraction of the sign from its original context, which charges it with different meanings and a reinsertation of it in a new context (1980a, 31).

Preziosi called the resistance of forms to easy change as 'object permanence'. However, in spite of the 'object permanence', Preziosi showed that the permanence of meaning of a form was not that easy:

because an architectonic formation may become intersubjectively appropriated by groups of individuals, the various referential associations of a given formation may change over time, whether or not the construct is materially altered (Preziosi, 1979, 50).

Preziosi stressed the fact that architectonic evolution, being in no way a linear system, is "a function of the complexly integrated and cumulative evolution of a culture itself, in its totality" (1979, 50). With this expression, Preziosi put forth the question of the objectivity of the apprehension of formal properties of objects. While the formal properties of objects may remain the same, the referential associations of any object may change in respect to culture. Preziosi, after defining meaningfulness of a formation as "a function of culture-specific networks of association", found conventionality or arbitrariness of referent in also "group identity" and self-definition". Therefore, "what looks like a random stick in the ground to an outsider may be, to the insider, the sacred gnomon or axis mundi of his settlement" (Preziosi, 1979, 37).



It has been argued that meanings may change and transform with respect to culture or due to the change taking place in the form or in the code itself. Moreover, it can be said that meanings may 'shift' from one referent to another. Preziosi pointed out the 'shifted' meanings in verbal language and stressed that "while it is the case that every language contains 'shifters' as such, the phenomenon of deixis potentially implicates almost any aspect of the code" (1979, 47-48).

### **2 . 2 . 3. Symbolic Meaning**

In order to understand what symbolic meaning is, the relation between symbol and meaning has to be investigated. Whitehead gave a definition of symbols and meaning of symbols:

The human mind is working symbolically when some components of its experience elicit consciousness, beliefs, emotions and usages, respecting other components of its experience. The former set of components is the 'symbols', and the latter set constitutes the 'meaning' of the symbols. The organic functioning whereby there is a transition from symbol to meaning will be called symbolic reference (1985, 8).

Whitehead's two types of functioning in signification were mentioned before, which were 'direct recognition' and 'symbolic reference'. Direct recognition, which can be considered as the primary function in a signification, was defined by Whitehead as "conscious recognition of a percept in a pure mode, devoid of symbolic reference" (1985, 19). On the other hand, Whitehead defined symbolic reference with respect



to two distinct perceptive modes: 'presentational immediacy' and 'causal efficacy'. Presentational immediacy is, for Whitehead, "the immediate presentation of the contemporary world, by means of our projection of our immediate sensations, determining for us characteristics of contemporary physical entities" (1985, 14), and causal efficacy "is the hand of settled past in the formation of the present" (1985, 50). Given these definitions, symbolic reference is "the synthetic activity whereby these two modes are fused into one perception" (1985, 19).

Whitehead stressed the necessity of "a ground founded on some community between the natures of symbol and meaning" (1985, 8). It can be said that the aforementioned notion 'ground' corresponds to the notion 'code' in semiotic investigations mentioned before. Therefore, it can be said that dual character of a signification is also clear in Whitehead's conception of communicative aspects of objects. Direct recognition corresponds to the 'primary function' (Eco) or 'denotation' (Eco, Broadbent) of a sign, which constitutes 'primary meaning' (Gandelsonas, Bonta) in a signification. Symbolic reference, as defined by Whitehead as a transition from symbol to meaning, corresponds to the 'secondary function' (Eco) or 'connotation' (Eco, Broadbent), which constitutes the 'secondary meaning' (Gandelsonas, Bonta) in a signification. Eco himself put the 'secondary function' as counterpart of 'the symbolic values of architecture', as, Eco stated, art historians and iconologists have preferred to classify (1980b, 214). Therefore, it can be said that the connoted meaning in the secondary function

of signification is the symbolic meaning. However, there still remains the question how do the symbolic reference constitute the symbolic meaning?

Whitehead stated that the 'ground' founded on some community between the natures of symbol and meaning "does not of itself necessitate symbolic reference, nor does it decide which shall be symbol and which shall be meaning" (1985, 8). Whitehead stressed the artificial character of symbolic reference as a synthetic activity and pointed out the role of the percipient in constituting the symbolic meaning. Although this brings forth the relativity of symbolic function, it is a fact that a symbol is generally learned and accepted. Preziosi, while disclosing Mukarovsky's 'five functional horizons of architecture', quoted from him that "a building also exists as a manifestation of the identity and territoriality of its users and makers, and contributes to the maintenance of that association" (1979, 48).<sup>12</sup> However, the associations constructed between the buildings and the percipients may be specific to the percipient, as in the example of Pugin's pointed church.

Broadbent described the essence of a symbol as "a learned relationship between the signifier and a signified" and stated that Pugin's (definition of ideal Christian) church was a symbol in this sense, "any building which displays the attributes he describes almost certainly is a church" (1980c, 330).<sup>13</sup> For Broadbent considered Pugin's definition of the formal aspects of a church as the necessary 'learned relation' for it to become a symbol, Prak's statement on the same definition of a church by Pugin (and Ruskin) is to be

remembered. While he was comparing formal aesthetics with symbolic aesthetics, Prak considered the application of neo-Gothic style to churches in the nineteenth century as a manifestation of paganism (Classic) versus Christianity (Gothic). Church as a building denoted its function as a symbol for worshipping, and it connoted all of the associations constructed between the percipient and the values of Christianity. It can be said that church has been a symbol for Christianity and its symbolic meaning is that it is a manifestation of the values of Christianity. On the other hand, a Gothic church 'might be' a symbol of 'true Christianity', and its symbolic meaning 'might be' that it is a manifestation of the values of 'true Christianity', at least at a certain time or for a particular group. However, the conception that a Gothic church is a symbol of 'true Christianity' is something more than decoding the meaning of a learned relation. It requires the role of the percipient in order to define even the symbolic reference, as in the neo-Gothic church of which the symbolic reference may be attributed by Ruskin or Pugin himself.

As a result, it can be said that symbolic meanings can also be culture-specific and code-specific. A church is a symbol for every Christian. A Gothic church, on the other hand, can symbolize code-specific elements because of the architectural codes of an architectural style. Therefore, it can be said that although the referent is the same, the symbolic reference mostly depends on the percipient. However, code-specific symbolization may also be a part of cultural symbolization, as will be seen in the following part.

## 2 . 2 . 4 . Change of Symbolic Meaning

In the previous part, the synthetic and artificial character of symbolic meaning was mentioned, and also the factors that cause change in meaning were given. Depending on these aspects concerned with symbol and meaning, three distinct but interrelated aspects of change in symbolic meaning can be traced, which are: symbolic meaning may change in time due to change in form or change in the associations with form; symbolic meanings may differ according to the contribution of the percipient in the decoding of the symbolic meaning of form; symbolic meanings may shift over time.

The two functions in signification of form were mentioned and it was underlined that change in meaning does not depend only on change in form. Having known that symbolic reference as the secondary function in signification depends on the association with form, it is palpable to suppose a change in symbolic meaning as a result of change in form. However, it is also palpable to suppose a change in symbolic meaning as a result of change in the association with form. Moreover, since the association with form depends on architectural codes, cultural codes and social exigencies, symbolic meaning may also differ according to the percipient as a result of code-specific and culture-specific character of symbolic meaning. Therefore, it is no easy to determine the boundaries of symbolic meaning. The assumption that symbolic meaning may change over time or due to some reasons has to be verified by a group or a society. However, as it was mentioned above, symbolic meaning may

differ in the various groups in a society. Whitehead underlined this aspect:

Also in its flux a symbol will have different meanings for different people. At any epoch some people have dominate mentality of the past, some of the present, others of the future, and others of the many problematic futures which will never dawn. For these various groups an old symbolism will have different shades of vague meaning (Whitehead, 1985, 63-64).

Whitehead also pointed out the unfamiliarity of symbolic meaning in different nations supposed to have different cultures: "what is familiar for one nation will be strange to the other nation, what is charged with intimate associations for the one is comparatively empty for the other" (Whitehead, 1985, 67).

The expression 'comparatively empty' does not mean that what is unfamiliar to a culture cannot be meaningless altogether, since, as it was mentioned before, every signification fills with a meaning.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, since an architectural form is meaningful in its signification in a given code in a given culture, it is supposed to be charged with new symbolic meanings in a new cultural context, different from that of in its original context. However, culture is also characterized "by being transmitted in spite of the existing social situation as well as "by the common institutions which result from human interaction" (Norberg-Schulz, 1965, 121). Therefore, Norberg-Schulz distinguished two kinds of symbolization as a result of two symbolizing effects such as cultural milieu and social milieu, which were 'cultural symbolization' and 'social symbolization'.

Norberg-Schulz's basic statement here is that "cultural symbolization may take independently of the formation of a social milieu". Although the social objects and the social milieu mediate the cultural objects on which they are founded, cultural objects have a certain degree of independence. Therefore, Norberg-Schulz distinguished between cultural symbolization and social symbolization as follows:

any social milieu indirectly symbolizes cultural objects, while the cultural symbolization can only take place directly by letting particular architectural forms designate particular architectural objects.<sup>15</sup>

On this point it is to be stated that new formal qualities do not create a new social milieu but, as Norberg-Schulz underlined, they symbolize new cultural objects. Therefore, cultural symbolization is an aspect of communication that allows symbolic meanings either differ or change in a society as a result of code-specific and culture-specific characteristics of symbolization.

As mentioned before, formal properties play an important role in symbolization. Therefore, it can be said that symbolization is a kind of communication depending directly on visual perception. Preziosi, focusing on Mukarovsky's 'five functional horizon of architecture' (1978), disclosed his notion of 'aesthetic functionality':

A building additionally may reveal a predominance of orientation upon its own signalization or composition, thereby implicating aesthetic function, correlative

to the poetic usage of any speech-act. As with other functions, what constitutes a dominance of aesthetic orientation is code-specific with respect to the norms of that code at a specific time and place. In order to understand what is aesthetic about a given formation, one must know the code of which that formation is a realization (Preziosi, 1979, 53-54).

It can be deduced from the statement above that symbolic function is only efficient by means of aesthetic function and therefore the communicability of built environments becomes possible. Yet, although aesthetic function of a building may be, as Preziosi stated, a dominating factor upon its formation, symbolic function may also be dominant over aesthetic functionality as a result of the associations with that aesthetic function. Therefore, it is argued here that formal aesthetics cannot be dominant over the formation of built environments without respect to symbolic aesthetics. Broadbent emphasized that the relationships between patterns of life, physical conditions and craftsmanship were learned conditions and have been difficult to abandon. (1980b, 137-139). Broadbent quotes Rapoport's (1969) claim that "certain cultures have built house forms which, in terms of fitness for purpose, really do not perform very well. Function is overridden by symbolism" (1980b, 137). This statement could also be stated as, depending on the derivations from Mukarovsky's symbolic function and aesthetic function, that 'function (of use) is replaced by the aesthetic function'. Mukarovsky suggested that symbolic function was incorporated in the function of a building "as a manifestation of identity and territoriality of its users and makers" (Preziosi, 1979, 48, 57). Parallel to this



statement, Broadbent defined a building as also 'a cultural symbol'. All of what said until now is to show that symbolic function is incorporated as much in the 'aesthetic function' as in the manifestation of identity and territoriality - in both of the two functions proposed by Mukarovsky.

As it was mentioned before, meanings may shift over time, and that this not only because of a change taking place in form. This means that symbolic meanings may also shift as a result of a change taking place in form or the code itself. However, symbolic function, because it dominates over the aesthetic functionality as it was seen, may shift also as a result of the shift in aesthetic function. Preziosi underlined the 'shift' in aesthetic functionality:

The site of aesthetic functionality necessarily shifts over time and geography, even within the same code: at one period it may be predominant in religious or governmental constructs, at an other in private dwellings or the modularities of street architecture (Preziosi, 1979, 54).

As a result, the 'shift' in the aesthetic function, in its connection with the symbolic function, signifies a 'shift' also in the symbolic meaning. This is true for both the 'shifted from' and the 'shifted to' and may create a dialectic relation between the two.



**CHAPTER 3**  
**TURKISH ARCHITECTURE**  
**DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1908 - 1970**

**3 . 1 . SEARCHING FOR FORMAL ASPECTS AND THEIR SYMBOLIC MEANINGS IN THE DISCOURSE**

**3 . 1 . 1 . Between 1908 - 1927**

Lang stated that "identification with the symbolics meanings of the built environment is an important way whereby people attain a sense of belonging to a group of people or a place" (1987, 180). Accordingly, the struggle between 'nationalist' and 'internationalist' architectural trends in Turkey in the first four decades of this century was the problem of the main debate on Turkish architecture. The two opposite poles, which were (1) creating a national identity, and (2) to be contemporary, situated Turkish architecture in between two formal poles: the 'National Style', and the 'International Style'.

During the last decade of the Ottoman Empire, the nationalist currents found an opportunity to be effective in the artistic fields as well as in the government

management. The "Turkism" ideology iconized in the work of Ziya Gökalp on the Turkish culture, history and literature, became the state ideology. Gökalp traced the frame of Turkish nationalism, which also involved in aesthetical conceptions:

Turkish nationalism, while adopting the way of contemporary nations, keeps preserved the specific position of the Turkish social character and its precisely distinct identity, therefore does not allow foreign currents to insert into the country (Sözen, 1973, 28).

"Gökalp believed that it was necessary for the Ottomans to direct the development towards a nation based on history and tradition on the one hand, and to develop a science actually based on technology on the other" (Altan, 1991). This meant that it was technology to be imported from the West, but not culture. It is clear that the European eclectic styles which prevailed in the Ottoman architecture during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century could not reconcile with the artistic view of such an ideology. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, new building types, which were not known during the long period of the classical Ottoman architecture, such as banks, post offices, railway stations, began to be built in the country (Alsaç, 1976, 10). (Fig.1a, 1b, 1c) As a result of the introduction of the idea of nationalism to architecture, many buildings carrying modern functions were built with classical ornaments and facade organisations. This signified a new period in the history of Turkish architecture, which then was called as the 'renaissance of national architecture'. Architects such as Kemalettin Bey, Vedat (Tek) Bey and Gulio Mongeri

realized many public as well as private buildings in the 'National Style'. (Fig.2a, 2b) Their followers, such as Muzaffer Bey and Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu led to the proliferation of this style in Anatolia.

The 'National Style' was also well received by the newly established Turkish Republic so much so that Ziya Gökalp was one of the jury members for the competition of the headquarters of *Türk Ocağı* (The Turkish Hearth) in Ankara in 1927 (Aslanoğlu 1980, 13). Regarding this situation, Üstün Alsaç stated that the Turkish society was looking for a new support and therefore forcing every medium, including architecture, that would reinforce "national consciousness". In other words, what the society needed were those of symbolic values (1976, 16). Architecture was seen as a medium for the "identification with symbolic meanings of the built environment" which would help to mediate people to be the members of the Turkish society. The 'National Style' used the national architectural heritage as the representative of Turkish identity. However, Turkish Islamic architecture of which the forms were the point of departure for the 'National Style', was not investigated analytically and their interpretation in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was not questioned during its domination on the architectural production. It was praised because of emotional associations. Behçet Ünsal criticized this attitude for it was "conceived as facade artistry". Moreover, Ünsal underlined that "what is Turkish in the plan level was not detected" (Aslanoğlu, 1980, 15). Eventually, it is argued here that the 'national style' was not elaborated but developed from the formal imagination as result of the visual contemplation of facade organization. It was also taught

to students in the design studio of Mongeri and Vedat (Tek) in the School of Fine Arts.(Fig.3a, 3b, 3c, 3d)

### **3 . 1 . 2 . Between 1927 - 1938**

1930s have always been regarded as the years that 'rational' or 'international architecture' became dominant as a result of the revolutions made by the government in every field (Alsaç, 1976, 20 and Sözen, 1973, 167). According to Afife Batur, "the period between 1930 and 1940 marks the formation of Republican architecture; it is in this period that its forms were developed and its functions were ascertained" (1984, 68). Alsaç evaluated the architecture of the period as "international architecture" that developed in the direction of the revolutions opposed to the idea of nationalist architecture and introduced new issues to architecture besides monumentality and symbolism (1976, 20). This means that Republican architecture should not invoke the Ottoman past. It is evident that the symbolic meaning of buildings designed in the 'nationalist style' could not reconcile with the 'spirit of the revolutions'. The new and contemporary country had to break off with the past and with its image also. In the articles written by the Architect Behçet and Bedrettin, it was proposed to realize a revolution in the new Turkish art and architecture like in the new letters, new language and new history.<sup>16</sup> He also stated that the Ottoman architecture belonged to history, therefore Turkish architects, leaving the shapes like domes and ornamentations with figures such as flowers and with materials such as tiles, began follow a rational way.<sup>17</sup> As

Yıldırım Yavuz (1984, 65) stated, "for a center whose aim was to develop new forms of Turkish cultural life, the image of a discarded past was totally inappropriate." Moreover, Ziya Gökalp's dualist ideal to take civilization from the West on the one hand and to develop a national culture on the other, was also left aside. İlhan Tekeli (1984, 16) underlined this shift:

The development of an architectural movement in Europe deemphasizing the national dimension on the one hand and the emergence of a "monist" cultural theory in Turkey on the other facilitated the acceptance of the Modern Movement in Turkey. Turkish nationalism was reinterpreted in the 1930s to allow for an internationalist orientation. Two theories advanced in this period, the Sun Language Theory and the History Thesis, sought to establish common origins with Western culture and civilization. Furthermore, the design philosophy of the Modern Movement based upon technology, function, materials, and geometry was in line with the positivism of the Republicans.

According to İnci Aslanoğlu (1980, 33), foreign architects working in Turkey exhibited two kinds of attitudes during the 1930s: to realize monumental buildings in neo-classic manner; and to realize buildings in the 'International Style'. On the other hand, Turkish architects who were following the foreign architects, aimed at creating an architecture in a 'rational - functional' attitude as well as in a formalist, monumental attitude. Aslanoğlu believed that foreign architects, since they were conditioned to symbolize the state authority in their designs, were responsible for the application of neo-classicism and therefore formalism that were applied in this period. For Aslanoğlu,

government authorities did not impose what kind of an architectural style had to be applied to government buildings, except during the first years of the Republic when the 'National Style' was promoted in order to reinforce national consciousness (1980, 44). However, Somer Ural (1974, 23) evaluated the applications of foreign architects as an obligation to create 'revolution architecture' against the condemned architecture of the 1920s. Üstün Alsaç stressed the point that the International Style was supported by the newly established revolutionary republic (Alsaç, 1976, 20-30). To do this , foreign specialists were imported (Ünsal, 1976, 39). On the other hand, Behçet Ünsal regarded 'rational architecture' as a part of the revolutions that aimed at changing the medieval structure of the country (1976, 39). Ünsal stated that the desire of the revolutionists were frequently expressed in words such as "being contemporary" and "employing specialists". However, this meant that the practice of architecture was to be left to foreign architects. Ünsal, quoting from Falih Rifkî Atay, disclosed the suspicion of the authorities on the competence of Turkish architects in realizing contemporary architecture: "could our young architects know the architecture of the age (Europe) better than them (*European architects*)?" (Ünsal, 1976, 39)<sup>18</sup>

However, the Turkish architects also had the same reservation for their abilities in realizing the contemporary architecture. Burhan Asaf wrote in the magazine 'Mimar' that the Turkish architects were not experienced enough to realize architecture in the same quality as that of in the West, and therefore the foreign

masters working in Turkey were beneficial for the Turkish architects for they had been realizing concrete examples. However, as Asaf stated, that a Turkish architect's winning the first prize in the international competition for the Exhibition Hall confirmed that Turkish architects could undertake most of the works that the foreigners did (Asaf, 1934, 241). Therefore, it is palpable to infer from the situation that Turkish architects could not find opportunity to discuss the 'rational-functional' architecture in depth, since foreign architects were undertaking almost all of the outstanding works. It can be said that, they were, in a sense, obliged to adopt the current style to be able to take part in competitions commissioned by the state and therefore in building official buildings, which were the prestige architecture of the period.

Although Aslanoğlu considered monumental architecture which evoked neo-classical attitude as the opposite of 'rational-functional architecture', it can be claimed that Turkish architects imitated whatever style the foreign architects applied, be it monumental, neo-classical, or 'rational-functional'. Therefore, they were formalist in both. It was a duty for the foreign architects to create for a newly established state a Western capital (Ankara), and therefore to apply representational architecture (Özer, 1964, 52). On the other hand, Turkish architects were trying to confirm that they were as capable as foreign architects in realizing it (Özer, 1964, 62 and Sözen, 1973, 171). Either neo-classic or Modern, the representative aspects of European architecture were adopted since they had become the forms that symbolized the contemporary West.



This fact was affirmed by the coexistence of monumental forms in neo-classic effect (Fig.4a, 4b) and the purist forms of the 'International Style' (Fig.5a, 5b). Therefore, the 'International Style' or the so-called 'rational-functional' architecture must have been conceived formally. To give an example, in the 'Mimar', quotations from Le Corbusier's 'Towards A New Architecture' (1927) were published, which was said to be translated from 'André Lurçat' by Samih Saim (Saim, 1931a, 85). In the following article, without mentioning his name again, Saim interpreted Le Corbusier's 'five points on architecture' as the new aspects of the architecture of the age, such as 'pillar-pilotis', 'free facade' and 'roof garden'. However, Saim interestingly interpreted the necessity of flat roofs in the contemporary life as a consequence of the change of viewing buildings. For Saim, as a result of viewing buildings from airplanes, the appearance of pitched roofs from the point of view of surface level lost the importance (Saim, 1931b, 135). On the other hand, Burhan Arif complained of the absence of flat roof materials in Turkey and Turkish architecture to be obliged to remain local as a consequent of this situation (Arif, 1931, 365). Accordingly, the criticism of this current style was formalist also. It was called 'cubic' architecture.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, neo-classical attitude that carried historical patterns such as symmetric facades, colonnades, arcades, and stone surfaces, had a monumental effect that symbolized the government authority. As a result, sometimes it was also called the 'Reich' architecture.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, it can be said that besides Modern Architecture, a Central European architecture also



was seen appropriate for the new monuments of the country, which was seeking the representative qualities for a contemporary Turkish identity.(Fig.6a, 6b) Again Alsaç claimed that in this period Turkish architects adopted an architectural thought that inhered some other problems than symbolic needs and which leded Turkish architectural discourse to raise to the level of contemporary Western architecture (1973, 20). However, the position of Turkish architects entailed them to follow the European architects who were to realize the contemporary symbols of the West. There was no argumentation focused on the principles of Modern architecture, except the replicas of the architectural ideology of Bauhaus.<sup>21</sup>

Therefore, it can be said that Modern Architecture was imported firstly more as an act of replacement of forms for the implantation of the symbols of being modern and contemporary, than as an architectural thought. Aslanoğlu, while evaluating the replacement of the 'National Style' with 'rational-functional architecture', expressed the change as "the replacement of the 'National Style' with contemporary architectural forms" (1980, 181). There is no doubt that Turkish architecture as a discipline and profession began to be institutionalized in this period. The foreign architects as designers and educators contributed in this development. However, the formal aspects of architecture due to the symbolizing effects were so important that architectural critics underestimated formalist attitudes in the 'rational-functional' style. It may be argued that the 'International Style' represented the 'machine aesthetics' as it applied to pure geometric forms and

also it was an outcome of the aesthetic taste of industrial societies. However, the meanings it carried with itself in Turkey might have been different than those of the West, since it was conceived as a repertory of symbolic forms. Lang (1987, 205) pointed out that "the symbols people choose to have around them may reflect their perception of who they are or whom they aspire to be, or they may be simply a rejection of the past". To give a striking example, 'Mimar' (The Architect), the name of the architectural magazine first published in 1931, was changed into 'Arkitekt'. The Arabic word was replaced by its counterpart in European languages owing to the quest of government authorities.

### **3 . 1 . 3 . Between 1938 - 1950**

Following the nationalist governments that took power in Italy and in Germany, nationalist tendencies in architecture prevailed not only in Europe, but also in Turkey. Although it was called as the "Second National Architecture" in Turkey, Alsaç (1976, 35) claimed that this style differed from both the "First National Architecture" and the nationalist architecture that prevailed in Europe. Alsaç stated that while the European architecture at that time was constituted from the blend of the classical monumental architectural elements of Europe and the contemporary ideological symbols, the national architecture thought in Turkey was based on traditional domestic architecture. From this point of departure, the choice of domestic architectural symbols instead of classical monumental architectural elements in creating a national architecture is also to be questioned.

Tekeli explained this choice as that "the turn to civic architecture was caused by the realization that reviving the images of Ottoman religious architecture would never be allowed in secular Republican Turkey" (1984, 20). It can be said that in the "Second National Architecture" there was an effort toward distilling cultural symbols in order to secularize the national architecture that was to be recreated. The four distinct approaches in this 'movement' discerned by Tekeli affirm this secularization method, which were 'regionalist', 'nostalgic', 'populist', and finally 'chauvinist' approaches (1984, 21). The symbolic references of the latter approach even extended to a mausoleum, which was regional but non-religious. It is to be noted that while evaluating their project for Atatürk's mausoleum, Anıt-Kabir, Emin Onat and Orhan Arda explained their choice of form and rejection of Turkish-Islamic references. According to Onat and Arda, despite a glorious past, the values that were represented in the personality of Atatürk and that of a closed medieval tradition could not coincide. On the other hand, Turkish history had started thousands years ago, including Sumerians, Hittites (Onat and Arda, 1954, 57-58). Tekeli exemplified this approach with the monumental buildings such as the State Railroad Headquarters and Anıt-Kabir in Ankara. (Fig.7a, 7b) Both of these two buildings demonstrate that not only domestic architecture, but also classical monumental architecture was included in the form preferences of Turkish architects in this period. Therefore, an attempt to coincide classicism with rationalism and nationalism was evident in the 'Second National Architecture' as in the Italian architecture during the Fascist period. Moreover, the rich repertory of architectural forms that belonged

to the history of Anatolia could be involved in the formal aspects of this style as a result of the conception of Turkish history that extended to the old Anatolian civilizations, similar to the notion of Latin spirit, 'mediterraneita' of Italian architects during the time.<sup>22</sup>(Fig.8a, 8b)

That the concern of the government for symbolic meanings of architecture and the result of the change in the state policy can be best shown in a specific event. As Turkish architects tried to compete with the foreign architects who carried out the 'International Style' in Turkey, they succeeded in realizing some outstanding works. One of these works was Ankara Exhibition Hall, designed by Şevki Balmumcu. This building was regarded as the concrete evidence for the ability of Turkish architect in realizing a contemporary building since Balmumcu undertook it as a result of an international competition. However, by the recurrence of the 'national architecture', this building was found inappropriate for the taste of government authorities. When it was restored and transformed into an opera house, the modernist building reappeared in a national cloth. The striking thing here was that the architect who mutated the original building for the sake of the 'national architecture' was Paul Bonatz, a foreign architect(Fig.9a, 9b).

As a result, it can be said that the 'National Style', although it was rooted in the past initiations and have specific character, was seen as a counterpart of the formal developments in the West. The 'National Style' was the contemporary symbol of a modern Western country that had a glorious history, a specific culture and which

belonged to a specific nation. It can be claimed the symbolic meanings in the architectural discourse of Turkey and Germany converged this time. German architectural ideology was emphatically persuasive. However, it led to formalist conceptions in the architectural discourse as in the preceding periods.

Bülent Özer criticized the architectural discourse created by the advocates of the 'Second National Architecture'. Özer (1964, 58) stated that as a result of putting stress on its associational character, architecture was believed to carry national emotions. For Özer, this attitude detached architecture from its real foundation and directed it toward aestheticist and emotional arbitrariness. Özer detected in the definition of the national architecture by S. H. Eldem and Paul Bonatz that architecture was conceived nothing more than as a symbolic element that reflects national character (1964, 70). Paul Bonatz, who came to Turkey firstly for the Exhibition of German Architecture in 1943, influenced the architectural applications in Turkey during his teaching at İstanbul Technical University between 1946 and 1954. Bonatz, who had an important position at the İstanbul Technical University, influenced the architectural milieu also by means of his jury memberships in the architectural competitions, such as Anıt-Kabir (1942), The Çanakkale Monument (1944), Adana City Hall (1944), İstanbul Radio House (1945) (Özer, 1964, 72). Bonatz, referring to national socialist ideology, regarded the 'International Modernism' as cultural degeneration (Bonatz, 1943, 119). S. H. Eldem, who constituted a National Architecture Seminar in the Academy of Fine Arts, developed the thought of national

architecture during the 1930s and 1940s. Eldem, depending on the architectural attitudes prevailing in Italy and Germany, defended the idea that '*Tarzı Mimari*' (architectural style) has not to be imported, on the contrary, must be local and specific to every countries. Eldem also defended that the national architecture to be supported by the State (Eldem, 1940, 69). Emin Onat, professor at İstanbul Technical University, realized many works in this style some of which with the accompaniment of S. H. Eldem. (Fig.10a, 10b)

Somer Ural (1974, 41) criticized the architectural competitions commissioned during the decade. He stated that prizes were given to those who designed in the 'National Style' and some restrictions were added in the specification of the competition in this direction. Moreover Ural went on to say that high level bureaucrats from the Ministry of Public Works promoted and controlled the 'National Style' as jury members in those competitions. One of the competitions which consisted the restrictions that Ural mentioned, was commissioned for the Vakıf İş Hanı (Pious Foundation Office Building) in İstanbul in 1949. In the specifications of the competition, it was necessitated to cover three of the elevations with stone plates. As a result, all of the projects which won the prizes exhibited nearly the same visual effect in their stone-covered plain elevations, drop-vaulted arcades and pitched roofs. No one exception existed.<sup>23</sup> (Fig.11a, 11b, 11c)

### 3. 1 . 4 . Between 1950 - 1960

The end of the Second World War resulted in the abandonment of architecture carrying nationalist symbols. Alsaç explained this situation as a consequence of the change in the political milieu of Turkey and the acceptance of liberal - capitalist economic model (1976, 42). During this period, Turkish architects followed the masters in Europe and United States through magazines and created a kind of 'magazine architecture'. The architectural competition for İstanbul City Hall in 1953 was shown as the end of the "formalist attitudes" in the 'national architecture' due to the projects which won the prizes.<sup>24</sup>(Fig.12) However, Özer pointed out that this competition also signified a current fashion that again prevailed over architectural formation which was called as the 'International Style', 'Rationalism' or 'Functionalism'. Özer (1964, '76) described new formal organizations of masses and facades in the new style as:

Resting on the principle of composing proportionally in the site plan the geometric elements such as squares and rectangles, this attitude, especially in the high-rise mass, applies to the facade various possibilities which depend on gridal organization in additive series.

However, it was the Hilton Hotel designed by Skidmore, Owings & Merrill which introduced the 'International Style' to Turkey as the current trend of American architecture in the very beginning of the 1950s. The promotion of the new style by the media and by means of the exhibition of the perfect model, reinforced the conviction that the contemporary 'International Style'



could also be applied in Turkey (Kortan, 1971, 33). (Fig.13a, 13b)

Üstün Alsaç evaluated the dominance of the 'International Style' and claimed that Turkish architects studied all those current trends and their applications and tried to benefit from the wide range of thoughts and formal possibilities, extending from 'rational-prismatic' to 'emotional-organic'. Alsaç defended that the thought of 'National Architecture' was replaced by an attitude which was conscious of local conditions and which enabled architects to express themselves and use new construction techniques (1976, 43). However, Mete Tapan criticized the attitude of Turkish architects in this period for they copied the architectural solutions published in magazines with no regard to appropriateness (1984, 108). It is interesting that specific formal characteristics of original works and sometimes their typological attributes were reserved in their reproduction in Turkey. A hotel should generally look like Hilton, an office building like the Seagram Office Building in New York with curtain glass walls, or like the Brazilian interpretation of the 'International Style' with gridal cassette facades and vaults on top. (Fig.14a, 14b) Moreover, The facade of a resident realized in Australia could be reproduced in a residence in Turkey. Kortan (1971, 49) showed how influential was a single issue of the magazine 'L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui' in Turkey, which was special for Brazilian architecture. Kortan also demonstrated the reproductions of buildings in the 'International Style' in all over the world. One of them was the aforementioned house in Istanbul with the same facade of a house in Australia designed by Harry Siedler.



The residence in Australia was published in 'L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui', and the resident in Turkey was published in 'Arkitekt' (Kortan, 1971, 82). (Fig.15a, 15b)

The prestige architecture of this period was dominated not only by the public buildings in gridal facades copied for creating new images of a liberal country, but also by buildings for a rising social class which began to be involved in this category, such as hotels and office buildings. Metin Sözen emphasized this important development in the history of Turkish architecture:

For hundred of years it was only possible to see the developmental trend in Turkish architecture by looking at the buildings constructed by the State, but by the 1950s, the most important buildings have become residences, hotels, factories, bank buildings, and office buildings of private companies (Sözen, 1996, 76-77).

Somer Ural related the rapid change in the architectural milieu to social exigencies as a result of the state policy that oriented to liberal economy and parliamentary democracy. Private initiation would be supported and economic policy of America would be followed (Ural, 1974, 46). Ural pointed out that the debates on the 'National Architecture' slowed down as the ideologues of the discourse ignored their heritage. The winner of the first prize of the competition of İstanbul Palace of Justice, S. H. Eldem (with Emin Onat) evaluated his attitude in this project as " a return to their very nature" (Özer, 1964, 74). This project was regarded as the signal of the end of the 'National Architecture' and

the beginning of contemporary tendencies in architecture.(Fig.10b) Tapan's evaluation was close to that of Tekeli. Although Tapan (1985, 105) accepted that the desire to construct buildings like in the West brought about the the use of new construction methods, he related this aspect to rise of bourgeoisie after 1950. From this point of departure, Tapan labeled the 'International Style' in Turkey as "liberalism in architecture". When considered the need for industrial building materials for rapid and economic construction after the Second World War in Europe and the backward construction materials industry in Turkey, it can be seen that Tapan's statement disclosed the direction of the prestige architecture to the contemporary symbols of the West. Accordingly, Alsaç named this period as "searching for architectural solutions with free formal treatments" (1976, 43).

It can be said that Turkish architects began to supply the demands of a rising social class emerged after 1950. Not only government buildings were to be designed which had to symbolize what the country aspired to be, but also the symbolic needs of a wealthy class who adopted the Western way of life were to be satisfied. Architects who undertook these works were culturally involved in this class and tried to supply these demands by the images of the contemporary West. To do that, they copied from the magazines not only the works in the 'International Style', but also some subjective creations. This situation necessitated the importation of many precast building materials (Ural, 1974, 48). Therefore, the effects of 'Western way of life' were seen in imported building materials as well as in the symbolic

architectural forms. Eventually, it can be said that the 'Second International Architecture' in Turkey was also an eclectic attitude and a copy of the Western architectural forms (Kortan, 1971, 95) and did not emerge "as a response to the actual needs" of the Turkish society (Özer, 1964 79 and Kortan, 1971, 95). For Tapan, "this period emerged as a decade of paradoxes with conflicting social needs, economic goals and technology" (1984, 117).

Two important aspects of this period, which might also be correlated, have to be underlined: firstly, the architecture of the period was called as "magazine architecture"; secondly, almost all of the architects who undertook the realization of the prominent works were Turkish. It has to be remembered that they were generally the European architects who erected the prestige buildings of the State in the 1930s and 1940s. The architectural style they applied was what they had brought with their arrival. However, in the beginnings of the 1950s, Turkish architects had gained enough power and begun to overcome the struggle against foreign architects. To do so, they took over the mission of creating a constructed image of contemporary Turkey that they were not merited in the 1930s. However, this time there were no foreign masters constructing buildings in Turkey in the 1950s. There were the images of their works in the magazines. Eventually, it can be said that changing symbolic meanings of architectural products entailed Turkish architects to apply new formal aspects that would once more have to contrast with those of the neglected past. Also, contradicting with his aforementioned claim that Turkish architects conscious of

local conditions adopted a rational architectural thought, summited the occurrence of this phenomenon:

Could there be a better way of getting free for the young Turkish architects who were depressed of the features of the 'National Architecture' that paralleled to the ideology of a regime which caused a crises called the Second World War (Alsaç, 1973, 17).

### **3 . 1 . 5 . Between 1960 - 1970**

1960s signified the beginnings of a period of architectural plurality. By the democratic atmosphere of the 1960s and the freeing of architects from the canonical forms of the International Style, Turkish architecture never again witnessed the domination of a certain style. It was mentioned before that the role of the State in determining the forms of prestige architecture since the establishment of the Republic diminished gradually after 1950. This was also an underlying cause for the architectural plurality in Turkey after 1960. Meanwhile, the Western architectural debates on organic architecture, '*Organhaft*', '*New-Brutalism*', and the '*International Style*' and as a result, the flow of current western forms icreasingly effected the form preferences of Turkish architects. The current forms and shapes of the Western architecture were imported, without much theoretical input. As Yücel stated:

Turkey's openness to the Western world, coupled with the intensification of information flow, made the architectural milieu of the country vulnerable to the

current trends of the other parts of the world. Cross-cultural influence generally manifested themselves in formal tendencies rather than in coherent ideological unity (Yücel, 1984, 123).

Just like in the beginning of the 1950s, an architectural competition marked new tendencies that would shape Turkish architectural milieu in 1960s. The first prize given in the competition for the Taksim Hotel signified the main tendency to distort the right-angular system of the 'International Style'. (Fig.16) It can be said that the Taksim Hotel did the same effect as the Hilton Hotel in the 1950s. As Skidmore, Owings & Merrill showed that the 'International Style' could be realized in Turkey, Prof. Rolf Gutbrod, being the jury member of the competition, encouraged Turkish architects to play freely with architectural masses (Özer, 1964, 77 and Kortan, 1974, 69). The dynamic mass of the building was regarded as a revolutionary attitude in the architectural milieu of the 1960s (Özer, 1964, 77). Prof. Gutbrod supported this attitude. He evaluated the project as an argumentation to the Hilton scheme and favoured the distortion of right-angularity and dividing up the main mass (Kortan, 1974, 69).

The tendency toward distorting the subtle morphology and geometry of the 'International Style' ended with the 'articulated small blocks scheme' and 'the distortion of right-angular system'. Besides Brutalism, a debate on regionalist architecture began by the 1960s. Turgut Cansever and Sedat Hakkı Eldem was trying to construct the theoretical structure of a local architectural language, that is, the so called New-Regionalism. Architectural plurality led to the increase in the

variety of the symbolic meanings acquired from the built environment. Architecture was shaped according to the images of the current Western architectural forms and building materials on the one hand, and the images of traditional architecture recalled by a tendency towards creating regionalist architecture, on the other. However, sometimes 'Brutalism' was regarded suitable to regional conditions. Alsaç regarded the formal aspects of the decade not very distinct from that of the preceding decade. Although the influence of the Western architectural thoughts were still determinative, Alsaç claimed, a more realistic architectural thought prevailed over the formations that took in consideration the economic conditions and the building materials produced in Turkey. Alsaç mentioned here 'Brutalism' and the building norms of the Ministry of Public Works (1976, 48). However for Kortan, 1960s marked the reaction in the world to the 'technical perfection' and the 'glazed surfaces' of the 'glass cubes' of the 1950s. As a result, rough surfaces, massive appearances were preferred proper to the 'ruling taste' of the decade (1974, 62). Le Corbusier's applications in Chandigarh where exposed concrete was treated as a plastic material were influential on younger architects. Therefore Brutalism was introduced to Turkish architecture as a current style, as the 'ruling taste'. Unlike the norms of the Ministry of Public Works, 'Brutalism' can not be regarded as a reaction to the unsatisfactory applications of the 'International Style' in Turkey as a result of the insufficiency of building technology. Yücel explained the significant place of 'Brutalism' in the Turkish architecture as follows:

With the Brutalist interpretation of the articulated small blocks scheme, mass was introduced into Turkish architecture. Architectonic mass was no longer reduced to fragile horizontal facades. It gained an autonomous expression in the volumetric appearance of the raw surfaces, staircases, building parts, etc. and were often pierced with small holes only (Yücel, 1984, 132).

According to Alsaç (1976, 48), 'Brutalism' was suitable to the economic and building production conditions of Turkey for it did not need to cover building material and construction. However, as Kortan (1974, 57) pointed out, the 'New-Brutalism' developed by Smithsons differed from the 'International Brutalism' that ended up with the exposure of rough concrete surfaces. In the former, high building technology was required, while in the latter, construction cost was generally higher when a satisfactory surface appearance was wanted. In both cases, 'Brutalism' seemed not so much suitable to the regional conditions. Therefore, 'Brutalism' in Turkish architecture was also a manifestation of formal tendencies inspired from the West. From this point of departure, it is argued that the significance of 'Brutalism', as Atilla Yücel pointed out, is that it coupled with new formal organizations, such as the 'articulated small blocks scheme'. This attitude was adopted in Turkey not only as the dividing up the masses into small cubes, but also as the formal treatments in the Japanese interpretation of 'Brutalism' (Kortan, 1974, 125-126). Kortan gave as an example METU Faculty of Architecture (Fig.17a) for such an influence and described it:



different functional elements that constitutes the building totality appear as squares (cube in three dimensions) and the design results in the organization of these elements according to the 'function scheme' (Kortan, 1974, 78).

Kortan criticized this attitude with respect to various points of inappropriateness to economic, functional and physical conditions. The two important points which have to be cited are "disregarding different climatological factors", and "disregarding different building typologies serving to different functions" (1974, 79). Therefore, it can be said that the only reaction to the 'International Style' was directed to its formal aspects. New forms that would represent prestige buildings were sought that would have to be distinguished among the forms of the existing built environment. Therefore, this attitude adopted by many architects as a method for contemporary design. To give an example, the description of a research center design by its architects was the same as Kortan's description of the attitude of 'articulated small blocks scheme': "different functional elements that constitute the building totality was expressed within their dynamic masses" (Arkitekt, 1966, 32). (Fig.17b)

Reminding Yücel's statement about the lack of coherent ideological unity, it is possible to understand the continually changing interest in 'mannerist' attitudes. After Behruz Çinici built up Faculty of Architecture, 'the articulated small blocks scheme' was applied all over the country. However, Çinici demonstrated new formal arrangements at METU Central Auditorium, and this time, Aalto's 'sinuous plasticity'



became favourable.(Fig.18a, 18b) All of the projects which won the first three of prizes in the competition for İstanbul Congress Center exhibited this attitude with slight differences.(Fig.19a, 19b, 19c)<sup>25</sup>



### **3 . 2 . FORMALISM, SYMBOLISM AND THE DISCOURSE**

#### **3 . 2 . 1 . The Symbolic Function and the Discourse**

It can be inferred from the architectural discourse concerned with formal aspects of Turkish architecture that formalism was accepted as an occasion when "function was overridden by symbolism" (Broadbent, 1980b, 139). Therefore, functionalism, that must be the opposite of formalism, should not entail the same formal solutions, that is, the stylistic aspects of Modern Architecture developed in the West. However, the fact that the architectural solutions and formations were brought together with the thought of 'functional architecture' reveals the symbolism within a transformed formalism. The term 'rational-functional' signified a formal antithesis as well as an architectural ideology that can be deduced from the literal meaning of the term. The 'rational-functional' architecture was regarded as a manifestation of an architectural thought through formal aspects that would have to be the alternative of associative images created by the forms of the 'national architecture'. However, as "what is Turkish at the plan level remained unknown" in the 'national architecture', what is irrational also was not clarified. On the other hand, although the secondary function, the symbolic function of the 'national architecture' was stressed, function has been conceived in its narrow sense when the 'rational-

functional' architecture was mentioned. The symbolic character of the so-called 'International Style' or other architectural formations occurred in the West was overestimated and interpreted merely as influences.

Eventually, it is claimed that the term 'functional architecture' symbolized in the discourse a summation of formal probabilities that was concerned with the associative aspects of architectural elements and their organization according to the architectural ideology. For instance a building was not functional if it has two floors and the facade was organized to give the impression as if it has three floors.<sup>26</sup> The primary function, the immediate purpose was sought in the appearances of buildings and this was due to the secondary function, the symbolic function that those buildings provided.

As mentioned before, 'Formalism' was frequently used in the criticism of architecture carrying historical references. It was also regarded as the opposite of 'rational-functional' architecture as in the case of the 'neo-classic' formations of the 'First International Style' and the 'Second National Style'. Since function was conceived as 'immediate purpose' in 'its usage context', formalism was attributed to the architecture in which it was thought that the secondary function was intentionally taken into consideration and the primary function was underestimated. However, it can be said that the architectural discourse found in 'function' also a "historical purpose, wherein functionality is governed not only by immediate practical consideration but also by a fixed canon", that is, the symbolic function (Preziosi, 1979, 48). The search for a national idiom in the last

decade of the Ottoman Empire and in the first decade of the Republic of Turkey was supported by aesthetical manipulations. As Alsaç mentioned, what the society needed was the symbolic things that would help to reinforce Turkish identity. It cannot be assumed that after this period the symbolizing effects of architecture were ignored. The associative images of architecture were oriented to a Western identity. The intention to create a certain impression of Turkishness was regarded as formalist. However, when the image of the past had to be discarded, the new formations of architecture must have had an intention to create an impression of a contemporary Western country. This is what Bonta called 'intentional indicator' in the signification of architectural objects:

In design these manipulations are not usual. They occur each time an office is arranged to produce a certain impression on the visitor; or when a house, factory, or public building is designed in order to reflect a certain image of the client, whether individual or collective (Bonta, 1980, 279).

Therefore, it is argued here that the secondary function, the symbolic function of the 'rational-functional' architecture was as much important in architectural formations in Turkey as in the 'formalism' of the 'national architecture'. This was affirmed by the continuous change of architectural formations in every decade. On the other hand, the distinction between rational and irrational architecture was sought also in formal aspects of buildings. Kortan detected in the 'irrational architecture' emotionality, pluralist works, searching for free dynamic forms, personal creativity,

spontaneity (1974, 46). According to this classification, the Sheraton Hotel (Taksim Oteli) in İstanbul was regarded as 'irrational' since its plan scheme were not based on a right-angular system (Kortan, 1974, 120-121). However, as Yücel underlined, "the International Style which was also 'functional', was 'rational', too". According to Yücel, "this confusion is partly due to the unidimensional nature of the criticism. The absence of any counter criticism led to a one-way discourse and was exacerbated by the absence of a conceptual framework and a historical tradition of criticism" (Yücel, 1984, 125). Yücel also underlined a fact that these conceptual pairs were identified with formal images:

It is clear that when rationalism (or irrationalism) is used in its historical/philosophical idiomatic context, no semantic ambiguity remains. Ambiguity begins when formal features are taken as sufficient criteria for considering a building as being rationalist or irrationalist without any reference to historical explanation. And this value judgment remains vague since features of form such as angular or circular configuration can also be products of strict rationalism without any subjective or 'irrational' intention (Yücel, 1984, 151).

Depending on the criticism of Turkish architecture, it can be said that the so-called 'irrational architecture' provided new formations for the prestige architecture as 'rational-functional' architecture provided an antithesis to 'national architecture'. Therefore, the title function can be extended to the communicative character of architecture:

So the title function should be extended to all the uses of object of use (in our perspective, to the various communicative, as well as to the denoted, functions), for with respect to life in society the 'symbolic' capacities of these objects are no less 'useful' than their 'functional' capacities. And it should be clear that we are not being metaphorical in calling the symbolic connotations functional because they may not be immediately identified with the 'functions' narrowly defined; they do not represent (and indeed communicate) in each case a real social utility of the object (Eco, 1980a, 24).

On this point Whitehead underlined that social symbolism had a motivative character that helps to congregate the members of a society and organize them by means of common associations:

the social symbolism has a double meaning. It means pragmatically the direction of individuals to specific action; and it also means theoretically the vague ultimate reasons with their emotional accompaniments, whereby the symbols acquire their power to organize the miscellaneous crowd into a smoothly running community (Whitehead, 1986, 74).

Thus, the symbolizing effects of the architectural formations in Turkish architecture reflected the direction of the society. As mentioned before, Norberg-Schulz described culture as "common institutions which result from human interaction". He also stated that culture is characterized "by being transmitted in spite of the existing social situation" (1965, 121). That the independence of cultural symbolization from social symbolization as claimed by Norberg-Schulz, was the case that effected most of the architectural formations of the

period. The prestige architecture was a product of the cultural milieu. Norberg-Schulz's basic statement that "the cultural symbolization may take independently of the formation of a social milieu" and "cultural symbolization can only take place directly by letting particular architectural forms designate particular architectural objects" explains the formal tendencies of the Turkish architecture during this period of searching a cultural identity. As Norberg-Schulz (1965, 126) stated, "the social milieu mediates the cultural objects on which they are founded", therefore, it can be said that it would take a time for cultural objects like architectural entities to be a part of social symbolization.

Eventually, it is argued that the architectural discourse mainly focused on formal aspects, because the symbolic meanings were more influential than theory in the formation and criticism of architecture. However, the need for creating an architectural theory appropriate to the conditions of the country was also expressed and formalism was frequently condemned, as seen in an inquiry to the problems of the current Turkish architecture edited and published in 1970 by the Turkish Chamber of Architects.<sup>27</sup> Yet, the main concern has been the formal problems of architecture. The titles of articles written on Turkish architecture during the republican period reveals symbolism within formalism, such as 'Finding A National Idiom: The First National Architecture', and 'To Be Modern: Search For A Republican Architecture', 'International Style: Liberalism In Architecture'.<sup>28</sup> That the projects won the first prizes for the Turkish pavilion at the international expositions in New York 1939, Brussels 1957 and New York 1962 stand for the

change of symbolic meanings due to architectural form and the ideology concentered in that form.<sup>29</sup>(Fig.20a, 20b, 20c)

### **3 . 2 . 2 . Change of Symbolic Meaning and the Discourse**

Change of architectural formations naturally paralleled to change of architectural discourse concerned with formal aspects of architecture. The titles of articles given before also demonstrated that architectural criticism, although kept a historical distance with the subject it dealt with, established itself on the symbolic associations with form. Even when 'formalism' or 'mannerism' was criticized as a general tendency in Turkish architectural milieu, again the criticism had to focus on the formal aspects of architecture as a result of that the discourse of the architectural production that was of concern, offered no more important material than form.<sup>30</sup> The dialectic relationship between the sequential formal attributes was also manifest in the discourse. Therefore, it can be said that the discourse was a vehicle for the proliferation of a formal theory as well as it defined and redefined the symbolic meanings attributed to form, as Eco said:

Architectural discourse is psychologically persuasive: with a gentle hand (even if one is not aware of this as a form of manipulation) one is prompted to follow the 'instructions' implicit in the architectural message: functions are not only signified but also promoted and induced, just as certain products and attitudes are promoted through 'hidden persuasion', sexual associations, etc. (Eco, 1980a, 41).



It is argued here that the criticism of the 'national architecture' as formalist and offering 'rationalism' and 'functionalism' as virtues of the Modern Architecture was also bounded with a 'hidden persuasion' that the contemporary images of the West were to symbolize the formal antithesis of the images of the discarded past. However, the continuous desire manifested in the discourse to express the locality or, Turkishness in form again bounded with the contemporary image of the West that allowed the national forms to revive, this time on condition that the figures evoking religious associations were eliminated. The duality of Turkish culture and Western civilization played an important role in the development of architectural discourse, which oscillated between the two formal poles until 1960s. This duality can also be regarded responsible for the 'polysemy' and 'ambiguity' in the architecture of this period. The 'Pluralism' that dominated the architectural scene from 1960s to now abolished the tension due to this duality. However, it can be said that the architectural media became much more influential in creating images of the contemporary architecture after 1950, therefore the discourse was rather constituted by formal fashions than an ideological thesis - antithesis relationship, saving the dialectic relationship between formal attributes of 'prestige' architecture.

One of the most important ways that the discourse determined architectural formations was architectural competitions, which were once seen by Turkish architects as a means to demonstrate their abilities in spite of foreign architects. Therefore, until the degrading of the State authority in the architectural milieu by the 1950s

as a result of the rise of private initials, architectural competitions served to keep the formations appropriate to the ideological atmosphere. On the other hand, the period after 1950s signified an ambition in the competitions to follow the current trends in the West, which could be called 'architectural fashion'. In both cases, architectural competitions were initiative. While they marked the beginning of a new period until 1950s, they marked the current attitudes in the 'prestige' architecture after this time, therefore led the architectural production and debates to follow the discourse, which emerged or grew after an important competition. Eco very well expresses the role of the discourse in the proliferation of an attitude:

Architectural discourse is experienced inattentively, in the same way in which we experience the discourse of film or television, the comics, or advertising - not, that is, in the way which one is meant to experience works of art, and other more demanding messages, which call for concentration, absorption, wholehearted interest in interpreting the message, interest in the intentions of the 'addressor' (Eco, 1980a, 42).

As Bonta stated, "that one significant meaning corresponds to diverse physical forms is 'polysemy', and that one significant form admits various meanings is 'ambiguity'" (1980, 284). From this point of departure, it can be said that change of symbolic meanings and formal attitudes in Turkish architecture in this period created both 'ambiguity' and 'polysemy'. The 'national architecture' and the 'international architecture' became the ideological symbols of the presumed images of a contemporary Turkish country and their consequent

endeavour to negate each other created a formal vocabulary that inhered 'ambiguity' and 'polysemy'. On this point it is to be reminded that "meaning does not exist as an apprioristic manner", as "formations do not exist apart from their meaning". Meaningfulness is invariably related to the generator or receiver, and oriented "toward the maintenance between encoder and decoder". "In addition, any message constitutes an interrogation of or commentary upon the code of which it is a manifestation" (Preziosi, 1979, 47).

Therefore the messages that the architectural forms were believed to inhere, it can be said, constitutes a commentary upon the codes that lie outside architecture. As in the case of Turkish architecture during this period, the 'dialectic interplay' between the cultural codes caused a struggle between architectural forms due to their symbolic meanings. The forms shaped by the effects of cultural symbolization were under stress of the dichotomies of the culture. The thesis-antithesis relationship between the 'national architecture' and the 'international architecture' led architectural forms to have double meaning, such as 'Turkish Culture, Turkish Taste' - Formalist, Chauvinist' for the 'national architecture' and 'Rational-Functional - Cubic, Degenerated' for the 'international architecture'.

The dichotomies resulted from nationalist and internationalist architectural vocabularies such as 'Formalist, Chauvinist - Rational-Functional' and 'Turkish Culture - Western Culture' demonstrated the double-coded character of Turkish architecture during this period. Because of the double-coded character of architecture, the symbolic meaning did not need to change

according to change taking place in form. On the contrary, it can be said that change of form was a result of change of symbolic meaning. On the other hand, the dichotomies in the 'international architecture' such as, 'Rational-Prismatic - Irrational- Emotional' and in the 'national architecture' such as, 'Turkish-Islamic Roots - Turkish-Anatolian Roots' do not signify change in symbolic meanings which were 'liberalism' for the former and 'nationalism' for the latter, although it is certain that there existed certain changes in form. It is assumed that symbolic meanings shifted to the new formal organizations due to these changes took place in form. Therefore, from the point of view of form and meaning it is argued that while the dichotomy of nationalism - internationalism created the 'ambiguity', the dichotomies in the 'national architecture' and the 'international architecture' introduced the 'polysemy' into the contemporary Turkish architecture in this period.

**CHAPTER 4**  
**TURKISH ARCHITECTURE DURING THE PERIOD**  
**BETWEEN 1970 - 1990**

**4 . 1 . SEARCHING FOR FORMAL ASPECTS AND THEIR SYMBOLIC MEANINGS IN THE DISCOURSE**

**4 . 1 . 1 . Between 1970 and 1980**

The pluralistic scene of the Turkish architecture occurred in 1960s, also continued intensively in the 1970s and 1980s. As mentioned before, the private sector's becoming the most important client for the architectural market had an indisputable role in creating the necessary conditions for architectural plurality to emerge. Atilla Yücel studied the architecture of the 1970s in two main categories: "new-monumentality and symbolism", and "search for a historical basis" (1984, 132). Yücel also pointed out the industrial buildings and evaluated their symbolic potential. İlhan Tekeli explained the economic development that effected the architectural practice in Turkey:

industrial buildings also constituted a significant area of practice. Industrial monopolies, operating at high margins of

profit, began to commissioning aesthetically conscious industrial buildings. This development was followed by the concentration of capital in large holdings and banks had become more prominent than government as clients (Yücel, 1984, 29).

As a result of this development started in the 1950s, 'the aesthetically conscious' factories began to take their places among the outstanding works of the Turkish architects in 1970s. The concern of architectural magazines for industrial buildings affirmed the emergence of "aesthetically conscious industrial buildings" which demonstrated the "industrial symbolism as a result of using advanced technologies effectively and extensively in industrial buildings after 1970" (Sözen 1996, 90), such as the Arkitekt magazine which introduced four factories in its 1979/1 publication.<sup>31</sup>

Lassa Tire Factory in Izmit designed by Doğan Tekeli and Sami Sisa (Fig.21) was one of those outstanding works which was introduced in the Mimarlık magazine and to which the 'industrial symbolism' was attributed by the critics, such as Yücel (1984) and Sözen (1996). According to the magazine,

the cylindrically shaped openings which were located between the series of prestressed reinforced concrete beams with a span of sixteen meters are the extensions of the elevations and serve to the plastic unity of the building. (Mimarlık, 1978, 37)

In the magazine it was also said that the architects regarded this building as a step toward attaining plastic unity as well as responding to structural, technological and functional requirements. As Yücel stated:

the industrial activity involved in this building confers an immediate functional basis for the form generation of factory buildings, however the compactness of monoblock mass, the explicit choice apparent in formal configurations such as the curvilinear contours of the modular units and the shape of the round windows (scuttles) give a monumentality and assign an industrial symbolism to this building (Yücel, 1984, 138).

Related to the increasing concern for industrial buildings, Sedat Hakkı Eldem (1973, 7) stated that sociological tendencies had emerged among architects in Turkey by the 1970s, that they again began to be 'builders' rather than 'designers', and he also added that yet, this new attitude showed itself in the industrial buildings. He claimed that industrial buildings revealed the "self-contained beauty " of the "construction technique" as well as they forced "unnecessary decorative formalism and mannerism to be left aside" as advocated by Hennes Meyer in the 1920s.<sup>32</sup> Eldem (1973, 7) hoped "the self-contained beauty of the construction technique" would be applied at some other building types.

The industrial development mentioned above had two effects in Turkish architecture. When they turned into holding companies, industrial monopolies commissioned not only industrial buildings that demonstrated aesthetical intentions. They "then commissioned equally elaborate office buildings" (Tekeli, 1984, 29). İş Bankası Tower in Ankara by Ayhan Böke and Yücel Sargın and Odakule by Kaya Tecimen were two main examples given by both Yücel and Sözen for their monumentality and symbolic effect. For Yücel, these buildings "attain monumentality not only



through their dimensions, but perhaps more so through their just standing there"(1984, 138). Therefore the İş Bankası Tower became "a monumental landmark" since it was "not constrained by a dense urban environment", and so did the Odakule since it "creates a rupture in the continuation of a strong historical pattern of İstiklal caddesi" (Yücel 1984, 179). However for Sözen, these buildings were of "expressionist" manner (1996, 88). The curvilinear contours of the İş Bankası Tower and the distortion of the right angular system between the axis in Odakule (though it was based on a rectangular plan scheme) and their monumentality must be the reasons for Sözen to call them 'expressionist'. Etap Hotel in İstanbul by Yüksel Okan was a similar example. Nevertheless, its plan scheme and form completely ignored rectangularity, thus the architect's self-expression was evident.(Fig.22a, 22b, 22c, 22d) As a result, it has to be underlined that the 'new- monumentality and symbolism' in the architecture of the 1970s was created by office buildings, bank buildings, hotels, industrial buildings of private monopolies, by those that the symbolic effect was sought essentially.

On this point, it has to be emphasized that 'the new monumentality and symbolism' or the 'unity of form' ,as Yücel indicated, coincided with economic development as a result of the rise of industrial sector and their constituting monopolies. 'New monumentality', as the term signified, was attained not only through new formations and materials but also through new associations with buildings. The development of the industrial sector resulted in the construction of holding headquarters and bank buildings in such a manner that they would have to



represent the prestige of those foundations. This situation also coincided with the private sector's becoming the most important client for the architectural market. The need for the representation of prestige looked for an expression that would be differentiated from the existing urban fabric, and therefore created the symbols of a growing power. The symbolic meanings attributed to the so-called 'new monumentality' were similar to that of the monumentality of the official prestige buildings before. Yet, it can be said that official architecture and 'prestige' architecture have to be considered as two different categories in the Turkish architecture in this period.<sup>33</sup>

The 'unity of form' generated an important aspect of Turkish architecture in this period. Nevertheless, the 'articulated small block scheme' was still valid, not as a gathering cubes together, but as a gathering different blocks together that have different functions. Eldem (1973, 7) claimed that architectural competitions obstructed the improvement of Turkish architects. For Eldem, the Turkish architects were not encouraged to make innovations since, in order to be successful in the competitions, exact and known formulas were preferred. As an addition to Eldem's claim, it can be said that there were differences between the architectural works provided by employing architects directly and the works acquired by architectural competitions which were generally commissioned by the Ministry of Public Works. A competition for Trabzon City Hall exemplifies this distinction. Most of the projects attended to the competition have the understanding of separated blocks, which were sometimes even not united to another. One of

the aspects of the first prize project of Mahmut Tuna that the jury regarded successful was the "separation of the mass with respect to the topography" and consequently its "dynamism" (Mimarlık, 1980, 45).(Fig.23)

On the other hand, the monumental buildings mentioned above reflected 'unity of form'. Moreover, though it is not a huge building, the Turkish Language Society building by Cengiz Bektaş, which did not have a 'known' plan scheme such as separation or articulation of blocks, was regarded by Yücel as monumental for its "just standing there" (1984, 138).(Fig.24) Those buildings that were regarded as exhibiting monumentality were not generally provided by architectural competitions. Two consequences can be derived from this situation: the first is that in the competitions commissioned by the Ministry of Public Works, the formal aspects which were shaped by the economic policy of the Ministry were usually taken into consideration. To give an example, the prolongation of the construction time generally entailed these buildings to be designed in separate blocks. This was a characteristic of what called as 'Bayındırlık' style; the second is that the buildings realized by private companies and foundations pioneered to the Turkish architecture in the 1970s.

An important characteristic of 1970s was that the regionalist attitudes exacerbated by the rise of tourism industry. New-regionalism which was contemporaneous to these developments presented itself in some of the outstanding works of 1960s, such as Karatepe Open Air Museum by Turgut Cansever, the Turkish Historical Society Building by Turgut Cansever and Ertur Yener, and the Social Security Complex by S.H. Eldem. Yücel (1984, 147)

enumerated regional attitudes which were: "the acceptance of the formal elements as they are"; "Eldem's attitude of a rational architectonic interpretation of the traditional form"; the deeper philosophical interpretation of Cansever"; and the free formal interpretation of Çinici". Iranian Primary school in Ankara(Fig.25), which was given by Yücel as an example to Çinici's attitude, however, was regarded as one of the first 'Postmodern' buildings in Turkey by Sözen (1996, 90).

In the 1970s many holiday villages and houses were constructed in 'regionalist' manner. Yücel (1984, 145) stated that "either projected or built on the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts, they generally reproduced the spatial pattern as well as the forms, and in some cases even the building techniques of the indigenous architecture". In Kemer Holiday Village(Fig.26), Tuncay Çavdar, one of the members of Birleşmiş Mimarlar (United Architects), emphasized their attempt to realize a village atmosphere by playing with scale and fragmentation. He defined the architectural language of the village as "reflecting the will to transform Mediterranean and traditional Turkish architecture to a language adequate to the functions of today... In order to realize this, traditional construction materials such as timber and stone were used" (Aritekt, 1975, 61). Çavdar claimed that Kemer Holiday Village was an example of the appropriation of the architecture of today to local conditions. However, Yücel criticized regionalist holiday villages for their "functional use is different from that of indigenous architecture, and for several nuances of formal sources

coexist and very often the construction system and some materials are also imported" (Yücel 1984, 145). One of the examples that Yücel criticized was the Kemer Holiday Village, which claimed to be 'regional'. Moreover, Yücel stated that in the Artur Holiday Village in Güllük, Altuğ and Behruz Çinici have brought free interpretations and fantasy to the eclecticism of holiday villages (1984, 145).

A search for a spatial language was evident in new-regionalism. On the other hand, the architect's interpretation of the form distinguished the building from the vernacular. This was inevitable because of the contemporary typologies such as holiday village and because of the contemporary functions required in a building like a holiday house. Special treatments of form by various architects were also indicated by the categories like Yücel's mentioned above. Yet, it can be said that holiday villages and houses were identified by the symbols of the vernacular architecture that stood on the opposite of urban residences. The image of a village life - yet comfortable - was created by the symbols of vernacular forms in contemporary treatments. In order to create holiday village image, some construction materials could be imported. Later this attitude would allow imaginary places to occur as a result of the prevalence of 'Postmodernism' on the Aegean coasts. Another architectural attitude that used historical patterns was facade articulation:

On small urban plots where no big masses were allowed, articulation was realized on the facade, or in the spatial order, or both, through alternate planimetric typologies. And where larger volumetric

freedom was no longer possible, diversity was sought in the richness of semantic references(Yücel, 1984, 139).

Vakıflar Bankası in Ankara by Ertur Yener, Erdoğan Elmas, Zafer Gülçur, and Ziraat Bankası in İstanbul by Nezih Eldem and Muhteşem Giray, exemplified this attitude that can be considered as a step toward the 'Postmodern' facade organizations in the 1980s.(Fig.27a, 27b)

The architectural developments mentioned above were all represented by a limited group of elitist prestige architecture. Besides these developments, another one is to be stressed which is concerned with a huge government foundation, that is the Ministry of Public Works which has a great deal of contribution in shaping the built-environment in Turkey. As Sözen put it, the "rational-functional International Style was re-evaluated after 1970 according to its fit into economic and technological conditions of the country". The pitched roof took the place of the flat roof for insulation, windows got smaller for energy saving, cheaper materials are used for economy, and so emerged "*Bayındırlık*" style (Sözen, 1996, 88-89). This architectural style has been generally called so because many buildings were constructed by the typical projects that were also based on the norms of *Bayındırlık Bakanlığı* (Ministry of Public Works). The significance of this development was that the Ministry of Public Works realized not only ordinary public buildings but also prestige buildings that were generally provided by architectural competitions commissioned by the Ministry.

#### 4 . 1 . 2 . Between 1980 and 1990

Uğur Tanyeli (1984), like many other critics, pointed out the multifold developments in the practice of architecture after 1980. Moreover , Tanyeli regarded the development as unique in the republican period. In fact, when the character of the development and its effects on the built-environment is revealed, Tanyeli's claim becomes quite convincing.

In the practice of architecture, there were two main factors effecting the change in the built-environment: the rise of 'Postmodern' architecture and the local government's gaining their autonomy as a result of decenterilization policy of the government. The pluralistic character of the Turkish architecture of 1970s remained in the 1980s even more sophisticated by the addition of 'Postmodernism'. Many critics, however, did not regard 'Postmodernism' as a style, the term was used as a general description for the attitudes opposing to the design methods independent of history.<sup>34</sup> Although the number the examples of 'Postmodern' architecture was small, it is to be stated that the interest in this attitude has been proliferated by the 1980s in Turkey.

After the I. National Architecture Exhibition and Awards in 1988, the distribution of awards was interpreted as that the jury had a 'modernist bias' in judging the projects since they had to take into account the last thirty years period of Turkish architecture.<sup>35</sup> Expressions such as 'modernist bias' and the fact that a so-called 'Postmodernist' building won the 'Design Award' revealed a new phenomenon in the formation of Turkish

architecture that was called as 'Postmodern' architecture. Reklamevi building to which the 'Design Award' was given was regarded by the Mimarlık magazine as one of the first indisputable 'Postmodern' buildings in Turkey (Mimarlık, 1989, 26).

'Postmodern' architecture was generally defined as eclectic facade architecture and condemned for being populist.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, Atilla Yücel (1989, 31) stated that only if the aesthetic-intellectual-philosophical background was developed on which, the design should be based, architectural production in Turkey including 'Postmodernism' could have international validity; Uğur Tanyeli (1986, 47) believed that if the high potential of historical forms of Turkey was used, there was no reason for not to be more productive in 'Postmodernism'. For Tanyeli, because its material was technology, modern architecture was hardly followed by the Turkish architects. He stated that the material of 'Postmodernism' was history and form, therefore, he hoped Turkish architects would be more successful in 'Postmodernism'.

Tanyeli determined three varieties of 'Postmodern' architecture in Turkey, which were "direct usage of historical forms"; "interpreting history"; and "free formal interpretations". The first one, "direct usage of historical forms", comprised generally 'facade architecture', as in Atalar Mağazası and in Reklamevi Building in İstanbul. The second one, "historical interpretation", meant rejecting to use historical forms directly and aims at interpreting them by abstraction. This attitude was exemplified by Haydar Karabey's design for the mosque of the Atatürk Dam Settlement and Turgut



Cansever's design for Atatürk Cultural Center. In the last one, "free formal interpretations", historical forms modified without a specific method so that they became unrecognizable, as in Houses of Deputies designed by Çinici.(Fig.28)

Although it seems like Tanyeli included the historical attitudes such as regionalism, traditionalism, and nationalism in those categories for their opposition to the internationalism of architecture, it is argued here that 'Postmodernism' developed in the Western architecture was introduced to the Turkish architectural scene as an international attitude. The contradiction here is that while the regionalistic debate brought to architecture the hundred years duality between national culture and universal civilisation (Altan 1991, 78), 'Postmodernism' itself was an extension of the universal civilisation which was an outcome of 'postindustrial' societies. According to Fredric Jameson, "it is essential to grasp 'postmodernism' not as a style, but rather as a cultural dominant". Jameson goes onto say that "yet American, postmodern culture is the internal and superstructural expression of a whole new wave of American economic and military domination throughout the world" (1993, 64-65).

According to Şengül Öymen Gür (1989, 41), starting from the 1960s, an anti-thesis was developed against the 'modern thesis' and this phenomenon became dominant in the 1970s and 1980s and also effected the Turkish architectural milieu in someways. However, Gür underlined that as a result of the tendencies toward imitation in Turkish architecture, symbols, analogies and ornamentations were chosen from a repository that was



alien to culture as well as the plans chosen from the typologies that were applied in the West. Therefore, the 'Postmodern' condition was rather a 'ruling taste' in architecture than a reaction to the 'alienation' to the built environment as an outcome of 'Modernism' in architecture, as Harvey underlined very well:

The geography of differentiated tastes and cultures is turned into a pot-pourri of internationalism that is in many respects more startling, perhaps because more jumbled, than high internationalism ever was (Harvey, 1990, 87).

Although the debate on the identity problem have been existed far so long in the Turkish architectural milieu, the way that the problem was handed in the 'Postmodern' attitudes was imported. This was the case for "free formal interpretations". In the "usage of historical forms directly", the design was based on the traditional forms and typologies (Yücel 1984, 146), or it could be only a 'facade architecture' (Tanyeli 1986, 44). In the "interpretation of history", "not only the abstract form was considered, but also the space and its existential meanings were discussed" (Yücel 1984, 147). In both cases, there was an attempt to create a language - either a formal or an abstract one - "in order to create a communication between the built environment and the inhabitant, although populist with a few exceptions. Yet, in the "free formal interpretations" which is regarded here as the international 'Postmodernist' attitude, the forms and shapes were either abstracted or attributed arbitrarily in a 'collage' or in a patchy manner, and were not represented in a traditional syntax. Eventually, the most important 'Postmodernist' objective

to create an architecture which can 'communicate with the public' seems contradictory here so that the buildings in 'Postmodern' attitudes were regarded as 'new' and 'modern' by the public. The search for semantic differences by the peculiar treatments of form aimed at creating the identity of the building. Yet, the identity was sought only in the contrast with the existing urban fabric. Therefore the meaning of the form was emptied and replaced with the symbolizing function of the foundation.

In short, it can be said that the 'Postmodern' architecture as a style was the new fashion that the 'prestige architecture' has always followed (Tanyeli 1986, 42). Rather than using symbols in order to create the communication, 'Postmodernism' in Turkey itself could be regarded as symbol of the new 'prestige architecture' of the West. However, for a better comparison, all of the categories cited above have to be studied and examined according to how the symbolic meanings effected their configurations or were assigned to them.

However, it is to be stressed that constructing a categorization for 'Postmodern' architecture as given above seems problematic, if not confusing, since the arbitrariness in using historical references in 'Postmodernism' can anytime cause a design to venture in other categorical fields. This difficulty is evident especially in the touristic architecture in which imaginary spaces were created disrespectively to time and space relation. Accessories, figures, forms and even typologies were interpreted, abstracted or applied directly so that any group of Tanyeli's categories, if enough, can be addressed. Moreover, a 'Postmodern' building can be involved by three of them. Also new

categories can be added, such as attempts to modify diverse historical typologies into contemporary buildings as seen in the Ekincik Holiday Village Design by Ali Esad Göksel which, as diverse building typologies and artifacts as Egyptian obelisk, Greek Stoa, Hadrian's Villa and Ottoman Bülbül Kasrı coexisted and constituted a 'collage'. All of the historical quotations in the Ekincik Holiday Village design in Köycegiz, which was introduced by the Mimarlık magazine in 1987, intended to symbolize vacation at Mediterranean coasts.<sup>37</sup>(Fig.29)

The rise of the tourism industry in the 1980s had a particular place outside the general characteristics of the Turkish architecture. It is evident that the touristic facilities constructed in the 1980s have pioneered to the rise of 'Postmodern' architecture in Turkey. The 'Postmodern' applications acquired immense opportunity by this turn, since the flow of financial sources required for such a populist architecture were less problematic. Moreover its 'market oriented' character was more suitable for the tourism industry's function of image-selling.<sup>38</sup> 'Postmodernist' attitudes spread and prevailed rapidly in the southern coasts because of the desire to create imaginary places for tourists. The peculiarity of the 'Postmodernist' attitudes in the touristic facilities was that the usage of historical forms were so arbitrary that they were completely free from time, place, and culture. Even different 'Postmodernist' attitudes were sometimes applied in one design. In short, they were not based on an architectural theory at all. Megasaray Hotel in Belek (Fig.30) was a good example of the 'collage' of different times and places. The design varied radically in the

interpretation of architectural elements extending from an arch to the 'Deconstruction'. This place was regarded by Esra Akcan not "anywhere" but "everywhere" (Akcan, 1996, 117).

Among the attributions on 'Postmodern' architecture, the 'facade architecture' was the most inadequate for holiday villages. Yet, the spatial treatment seen in holiday villages and hotels, can be considered as "a stage set inserted into a new and modern context" (Harvey 1990, 95), and the architecture as "scenographic" (Frampton 1990, 307). In fact, it caused alienation to symbolic meanings of historical architectural elements as a result of the "penchant for fragmentation, the eclecticism of styles", and "the peculiar treatments of space and time" (Harvey 1990, 97). Moreover, it can be claimed that the 'scenographic' spatial organization in holiday villages for the sake of creating an imaginary place and time legitimated 'fragmentation' as well as peculiar treatments of place and time, therefore, their identity as touristic facilities. The 'collage' of various symbols became the symbol of tourism.

Although it was not possible to see such extensive and striking 'Postmodern' architectural examples all around Turkey mostly because of the economic conditions of the building market, the proliferation of 'Postmodernist' applications was evident. Yet, although eclecticism, fragmentation and arbitrariness still remained, in the cities that did not serve to tourism industry as much as those of the southern coasts, quoting from different historical typologies was not possible as a result of modern city functions which varied in wide spectrum and differed from that of the holiday villages.

To give an example, although the main form of Atatürk Cultural Center designed by Coşkun and Filiz Erkal was said to be inspired from borrows, it had a contemporary function (Mimarlık, 1990a, 31). (Fig.31) Similarly, Sürücüler Terrace Houses in Ankara designed by Merih Karaaslan(Fig.32), which was said to be inspired from the morphological organization of traditional Kayseri Houses, their plan typology was the same as that of modern residents, mostly because of the contemporary functional requirements. From this point of departure, Esra Akcan stated that the Terrace Houses were not Cappadocia houses, but they were "like" them (Akcan, 1996, 115).

As stated before, although the term 'facade architecture' seems insufficient for the definition of 'Postmodern' architecture, the postmodernist penchant for "fascination with surfaces" can not be overestimated in cities (Harvey 1990, 88). All of those examples given above were realized by less restrictions than those which can be confronted in a smaller urban plot, such as between two existing buildings with a street at the front side. As a result of such restrictions and building regulations, the facade became the most important. Haydar Karabey's Reklamevi building in İstanbul, which won the 'Design Award' of the I. National Architecture Exhibition, was a good example for such a situation. The plan and the section that signified an ordinary office building was not followed up with interest, however, the attention was directed to the facade by the Mimarlık magazine which illustrated the rewarded projects.<sup>39</sup>(Fig.33) It can be said that this was the 'facade architecture' that a formal criticism of 'Postmodern' architecture dealt with. Other important

point here is the richness of material used on the facade and at the interior decoration.<sup>40</sup>

The growing importance of the facade in small urban plots became the most important for commercial and office buildings which do not even claim to be 'Postmodern'. Buildings with reflective curtain glass walls increased, moreover, the facades of some old buildings were renewed by precast materials such as reflective glass, compact plates, etc. Türkiye Emlak Bankası ve Petrol Ofisi Kızılay Service Building designed by Sezar Aygen is a good example for the growing importance of the facade of a commercial building in a small urban plot.(Fig.34) Although Aygen (Mimarlık 1990a, 39) defended the use of reflective glass for his admiration technology and for it is not effected by the polluted air, the intention to emphasize the facade in his design cannot be overestimated. It can be said that, as a result of the intention to express the prestige or the power of the foundation, such buildings "...repel the city outside" and "...prevent the seer been seen, thus permitting (the building) a peculiar and placeless dissociation from its neighbourhood" (Jameson, quoted in Harvey 1990, 88).

It is evident that the 'Postmodern' facade articulations were applied in order to create contrast in the existing urban fabric. As a result of the inappropriate conditions for seeking new spatial organizations, the symbolizing effects were sought at the facade. On the one hand, the clients demanded the expression of prestige from the architect, they did not generally compromise the 'lose' of meter square and meter cube in the business districts, on the other. As a result, facade organizations and formalist attitudes

became the focus of the client, the architect, the architectural media and inevitably, the critic. The search for the different and discernible provoked the architectural plurality in the cities. Moreover, with the anonymous and 'arabesque' architecture that constituted the greatest part of the built environment, architectural complexity reached its peak point in Turkey.

One of the most important developments of 1980s was the expanding authority and financial sources of local governments. Because of the increasing problems resulted from the extravagant growth of cities, the central government assigned wide authority to local governments in the 1980s and led them give their own decisions for their cities (Sözen 1996, 90). Sözen claimed that local governments tended to create new images for the cities. Then they realized huge constructions and as a result, the cities underwent a big change. Therefore, architects confronted with fewer constraints in the architectural practice and so, there became a discernible change in the appearance of the cities. New landmarks emerged and they also became city symbols. Atakule in Ankara, which demonstrated "symbolic, plastic and technological properties that public buildings began to exhibit by the turn of the 1970s", was one of the best examples for new images created for the cities.(Fig.35) This situation paralleled to that of the monumental symbolism of the private sector. However, now the public buildings began to contribute in creating symbols for the cities. A special issue of the Mimarlık magazine published under the title of "Ankara after 1980" the development in the architecture of public buildings.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, it can be said that while the 'new monumentality and symbolism' was



an important characteristic of the formation of 'prestige' architecture in the 1970s, so was the 'public building symbolism' along with 'Postmodernism' in the 1980s. As Lang said:

The symbolism of patterns of furnishings, buildings, and landscapes is central to the aesthetic appreciation of the world. The choices of people make of where they will work and live often are made on symbolic grounds. Rapoport (1977) notes that by changing the appropriate symbols associated with a place, people's perceptions of its qualities can change (Manus 1972). Some cities, notably Baltimore, have created new images for themselves by selective changes in land use and building design (Lang, 1987, 213).

The decentralization process of the central government management also led to overcoming the typification problem caused by the hegemony of the Ministry of Public Works on public buildings and the building industry. Consequently the building industry realized an admirable progress in producing building materials and in construction technology. It has to be stressed that by the contribution of local governments in creating new city images, Turkish architects have found greater opportunities for expressing themselves in the pluralistic atmosphere emerged after the 1960s that they could not find under the hegemony of Ministry of public works. Davran Eşkinat's statement in the special issue for his AŞTİ (Ankara Bus Terminal) project revealed this very well: "while the Ministry of Public Works could not construct a flat roof in Turkey, we have realized nearly four hundred meters spanning flat roofs on which the buses run".<sup>42</sup>



Moreover, 'Postmodern' architecture quickly took its place in public buildings realized by local governments as Karaaslan's Kaysu (Kayseri Waterworks) and Altındağ Municipality Building in Ankara.(Fig.36a, 36b) Although the expanding authority and increasing financial sources of the local governments was one of the most important developments related to 'prestige' architecture, such a public building symbolism freed from the constraints of the norms of the Ministry of Public Works might have also supported Post-modernist tendencies somehow.

The City Entrance competition, a part of "Beautiful Ankara" project, was a good example of local governments' endeavour for providing qualified projects by commissioning competitions for the city image they wanted to create. The jury declared that debates on visual symbols intensified in the urban architecture during the last few years. One of the requirements for the designs declared by the jury was that the entrance must be emphasized by symbolic and plastic formations.<sup>43</sup>

At the same time when local governments took the power and began to contribute in shaping cities, buildings commissioned by Ministry of Public Works began to go better, as a result of reactions raised against the applications of the Ministry.<sup>44</sup> Although some of the outstanding buildings of the Turkish architecture of the 1980s are realized by the Ministry, such as Atatürk Cultural Center by Coşkun and Filiz Erkal, Residence of the Turkish Presidency by Orhan Genç and Mustafa Aytöre, and the National Library, it can be said that most of the time the end product was 'mediocre'. Although Aydan Balamir evaluated the National Library as the

'masterpiece' of 'Bayındırlık' Style, she thought that it was still mediocre for the only National Library of Turkey (1996, 27).

Besides those developments, monumental high-rise buildings, either of private companies or of the government, also continued to appear in 1980s. Halk Bankası Headquarters designed by Tekeli and Sisa, according to Sözen (1996, 91), was a symbol for Ankara with its gate-like form and is the determining product of the Turkish architecture of the 1980s. Due to their massive block appearance, Enis Kortan evaluated Ministry of Foreign Affairs Building by Hasan Özbay and Tamer Başbuğ and Ziraat Bankası Building as the successful examples of the 'International Style' in 1980s (1989, 37). It can be said that the former was the follower of 'distortion of right-angular system' which Kortan called 'angular plasticity' and both of them inhere the monumental symbolism of the state.<sup>45</sup>(Fig.37a, 37b)

As mentioned before, Sözen (1996, 90) claimed that after 1950 the most important buildings became residences, hotels, factories, bank buildings and office buildings of private companies. However, this observation became evident after 1970. Now, not only the power of the state began to be replaced by the power of private companies and holdings, but also by the power of local governments. Therefore the outstanding examples of the Turkish architecture began to symbolize those new powers. As a result, the symbolic meanings attributed to building form were changed, replaced with, and complicated. By the development of building technology enrichment of construction materials, 1980s became the peak of plurality in the Turkish architecture. However, the

complex appearance of the built-environment remained and exacerbated by the addition of new factors.

#### **4 . 2 . FORMALISM, SYMBOLISM AND THE DISCOURSE**

##### **4 . 2 . 1. The symbolic Function and the Discourse**

After 1970, the architectural discourse began to draw the formal aspects of architecture to symbolic associations. Architectural connotation became important in both the practice and criticism of the profession as a result of the growing importance of architectural communication in the world. Buildings were considered to have the potential symbols of what their forms were to connote in the social context of the architectural production. On the other hand, 'Postmodernism', as well as 'new regionalism', inherited symbolic connotations due to their very natures.

It seems like "industrial symbolism" and new monumental symbolism was introduced into the Turkish architecture as a result of the rise of the industrial and business sector and their commissioning aesthetically conscious buildings. However, it can be said that this was done by the architectural discourse on symbolizing effects of architectural form in connection with "social symbolization". The architectural criticism and explanations cited before underlined a growing power in the society and affirmed its right to gain a necessary symbolic meaning. Yet, even though structural and

constructive elements and the function in the industrial buildings were essential for the architectural design, they were taken into consideration as how they constituted the form. Notwithstanding Eldem's confirmation of exposing "the self-contained beauty of building materials" in the industrial buildings, the criticism depended on "using building materials aesthetically". For instance in the Arkitekt magazine, Odakule was introduced and its high construction technique was mentioned in detail:

Odakule was totally covered with reflective sunbreaker curtain glass walls hanged upon aluminium profiles, the suspended ceiling of office stories and exhibition halls are covered with aluminium sheets, the electric installation was located on the slabs and covered with panels, and the vertical installation channels outside were hidden in aluminium wainscotings. (Arkitekt, 1976, 54)

However, none of the other architectural components of the design but technical aspects were mentioned. As a result, the publication sublimated only the appearance of high-technology, which a building of Chamber of Industry and Commerce requires as its symbol. However, Odakule was monumental for Yücel since it created "a rapture in the continuation of a strong historical pattern of İstiklal Caddesi" (1984, 179). (Fig.22c) Similarly, the technical aspects of the construction of Lassa Tire Factory in İzmit were introduced in the Mimarlık Magazine. Although it was stated in the magazine that the formal aspects of the constructive elements "serve to the plastic unity of the building", it can be said that 'the industrial symbolism' was attributed by Yücel and Sözen. Moreover,

Sözen regarded the Halkbankası Headquarters a symbol for Ankara for its gate-like form.(Fig.38) Although the architects did not intend in their design such a specific symbolic effect, they sought for symbolic associations similar to those assigned to the building by Yücel and Sözen.<sup>46</sup> It was stated in a special issue of the Mimarlık magazine that a symbolic expression that would reflect the image of both the bank and Ankara was demanded in the specifications of the competition for this building.<sup>47</sup> As a result, it is seen that symbolic effects were sought not only by the architect, but also by the client and the critic.

As mentioned before, arbitrary treatments of place/time and form in the holiday centers became the symbol of the tourism industry to the extent that architectural magazines began to illustrate extensively the photographic images of these facilities.(Fig.39) It is to be reminded however, that the counter-criticism toward the debate on the national architecture which was tried to be developed for a hundred years, was not directed to the "Postmodern" architecture by the architectural media. Even academicians such as Yücel and Tanyeli were optimistic for the future of "Postmodernism" in Turkey. Yücel accepted it on condition that the conceptual background is constituted, while Tanyeli found in it a chance to benefit from the treasures of the architectural forms of Anatolia. Although pluralistic atmosphere may have enabled this, that the "Postmodernism" to be an international attitude was also an important factor.

The 'First National Architecture' that sought for reflecting the 'Turkish character' in architecture had been criticized for being inappropriate for Modern Turkey. The associations with Turkish-Islamic roots had been neglected for they had symbolized the backwardness of the discarded past. In other words, they had become negative associations. Similarly, the 'Second National Architecture' had been criticized for they had carried fascist tendencies. However, the criticism of 'Postmodern' architecture did not nourish from the conflict between "the national culture and universal civilization". The criticism of this style as well as the style itself was Western-originated. It is evident that 'Postmodernism' had no claim to be national, or even regional. It was the new fashion of the prestige architecture. Moreover, unlike their colleagues in the West, the architects who realized buildings in 'Postmodernist' attitudes did not contribute in disclosing 'Postmodern' theories. Therefore, it can be said that these attitudes were conceived as the set of formal treatments of historical and contemporary architectural elements. As a result, the architectural debates once more turned around an imported attitude and its formal problems. Besides these debates, the symbolic meanings of the forms gained authority.

Behruz Çinici, Merih Karaaslan, Haydar Karabey were some of the well known architects who used references from the history of Anatolia, yet their attitudes differed precisely from each other. For example, Merih Karaaslan, an advocate of 'Postmodern' architecture in Turkey, stated that he had no formal obsessions and did not want to copy any style, and his intention was to be

both "Anatolian and modern".<sup>48</sup> No need to mention the "Postmodernist" discourse explicit in Karaaslan's statement. Filiz and Coşkun Erkal explained that their design for Atatürk Cultural center was inspired from the barrows located on the wide plateaus of Anatolia, although their discourse was very close to Modernist terminology, such as "rationality", "the exposition of structure", "modular repetition", "the expression of the internal at the external", etc.<sup>49</sup> This comparison is given for not to demonstrate the varieties of 'Postmodern' architecture, but to emphasize that on the one hand, referring to historical formations was conceived as the 'Postmodern' discourse and that such a discourse combined with the Modernist discourse, on the other. Architects have begun to explain what kind of an image was influential in their determining the form.

Uğur Tanyeli claimed that the conflict in Turkish architecture, which manifested as either to choose Western or Anatolian sources, was a problem of 'prestige' architecture. Tanyeli also underlined that the two opposite poles in Turkish architecture which were 'national architecture' and 'international architecture' spread out from the same elite class in both the Ottoman and Turkish society. Tanyeli stated that the oscillation between these two poles must be sought in the elites' culture that was tried to be attached to a specific identity. For Tanyeli, although the public survived their culture in spite of the elites' culture, the 'pluralist culture' began to dissolve after 1950 as the public found opportunity to come to power. According to Tanyeli such a transformation in the socio-cultural milieu had deeper impacts on the society than the Westernization. Tanyeli



wanted to demonstrate that the convergence of two cultural poles was a process that effected heavily the formation of the built environment, which manifested as a result of migration from villages to cities that exacerbated after 1970. Tanyeli inferred from this situation that this phenomenon caused the 'disorder' and 'complexity' in Turkish cities (1986, 37-38). Also Doğan Kuban evaluated the general characteristics of the social milieu in the 1980s as that the people of Anatolia ended the sovereignty of the bourgeois bureaucracy and of cosmopolitan, pluralist thought (1989, 29).

Depending on the writings on Turkish architecture, it can be said that while the term plurality comprised only elitist 'prestige' architecture which was evaluated in its stylistic aspects, the terms 'complexity' and 'disorder' signified the unpleasant appearance of the built environment including every kind of architectural and artifactual production. Therefore, while Atilla Yücel chose the title "Pluralism Takes Command" for his article which he focused on the outstanding architectural works of Turkish architecture between 1960 and 1980, Muhlis Türkmen named his article "Complexity in Architecture" which he criticized the disorder in the built environment in the 1980s (1989: 39).<sup>50</sup> Nezih Ayıran (1996, 50-55) evaluated the role of democracy in the evolution of the Turkish architecture that he thought there was a correlation in between. For Ayıran, with the democratization process that began after the change of single party regime in 1950, the Turkish architectural thought also had changed. He claimed that the plurality in the architectural thought prevailed essentially after 1980 mostly because the rational-functional approaches



dominated in the architectural schools for a long time. On the other and, in his article named "The Period of Contradictions in Turkish Architecture", Üstün Alsaç stated that while the architecture of 1970s could be evaluated as 'pluralist', in the 1980s the distance between the stylistic poles extended.<sup>51</sup> For Alsaç, besides the contemporary tendencies in formation, eclectic formations appeared with a direction toward the past (1989, 24). However, Enis Kortan pointed out 'arabesque' architecture that proliferated in the cities and contributed in the complexity together with the plurality of stylistic formations in the 1980s (Kortan, 1989, 37)

Regarding the different significations of 'plurality' and 'complexity', it can be said that critics sought for coherence in designs appropriate to the primary and secondary functions of buildings, yet the complex, or, better to say, disordered appearance of the cities as a result of the rapid urbanization entailed them to make a difference between the architectural productions in the built environment, between ordinary and anonymous buildings and the 'prestige' architecture that was now evaluated in the urban context. However, since the architectural production that lacked stylistic aspects were not taken into consideration, the buildings which were included in the category of 'prestige' architecture was regarded to be coherent to be charged with contemporary symbolic meanings. On the other hand, anonym buildings that contrasted with the 'pluralist' stylistic applications constituted the great part of the built environment. Özlem Özker (1996, 92) claimed that although contemporary urban images have been imported from the West, the habits and life style of the Turkish

society changed slowly, and as a result, there became an unsuitable relation between the built environment and inhabitants that caused complexity in the cities. Quoting from Prak (1968, 42), it can be said that "a world seen as full of conflicts allowed for a greater tolerance for contrasts, and correspondingly less coherent design".

Contradictorily, the outstanding buildings of Turkish architecture gained their symbolic attributions wherein the incoherency and disorder prevailed, through their "just standing there". Unlike the attribution of symbolic meanings to architectural forms due to ideological direction they represented or cultural symbolization they provided, symbolic meanings were assigned to the buildings in this period according to their contrast with the existing urban fabric as well as their specific formal attributes, that is, what Yücel named as "new monumentality and symbolism". Moreover, it can be claimed that sometimes in the process of architectural design, the buildings were planned to connote something. This was certainly so in the 'Postmodern' applications, although what the formal language connoted was ambiguous. Social symbolization was manifested generally in populist and arabesque architecture as well as 'Postmodern' architecture. Therefore the architectural discourse concentrated on social symbolization rather than cultural.

The criticism based on the dialectic relation between the thesis and anti-thesis for formal theories was replaced with the dialectic relationship between the building and the built-environment. The formal pairs such as 'national - international' and 'rational - irrational' or 'rational - emotional' were not mentioned much, and

instead buildings were evaluated in their connection or, contradiction with the urban fabric and in their social context. Therefore, the discourse developed from ideological associations with the formal aspects such as 'cubic' architecture, 'Reich' architecture, or 'mosque' or 'dome' architecture was replaced with another formal discourse dealing with the connotative aspects directly such as 'monumental landmark', 'industrial symbolism' or 'Anatolian and modern'.

#### **4 . 2 . 2 . New Symbolic Meanings and the Discourse**

Symbolic meanings that the architectural forms afford increased parallel to the architectural plurality. The period between 1970 and 1990 is worth to a greater concern for it provides the greatest variety of and a change in the symbolic meanings of the built environment. The variety and change of symbolic meanings is due to new building types, configurations and materials on the part of architecture, and rising values, functions and socio-economic life on the part of the society.

Şengül Öymen Gür claimed that the architecture of the 1980s could be considered as 'double-coded'. While there were attempts to refer to traditional architecture or to benefit radically from the advantages of high technology, some architects preferred to preserve the grammar of Modern architecture in their designs. From this point of departure Gür explained the 'double-coded' character of current architecture as 'populist' and 'elitist' (Gür, 1989, 41). However, when considered the 'semantic fission' that resulted in resemantization of form, it becomes problematic for the formal aspects of

'Postmodern' architecture to be meaningful through cultural codes. However, 'Postmodern' architecture itself could be considered to be 'double-coded' and therefore 'populist', for the blend of an ambiguous formal language and the primary function of the building that is meaningful through contemporary cultural codes, that is, the discord of denotation and connotation. Moreover, it is also problematic to assume that the grammar of Modern architecture represented elitism in architecture.

The 'elitist' architecture that Gür attributed to buildings in Modern grammar was charged with new meanings as a result of the consumption of their forms. The formal aspects of 'elitist', 'prestige' architecture had to be renewed in order to answer to the need of expressing values, such as prestige, power or nobility. Broadbent interpreted the prestige buildings of corporate headquarters in the 1950s such as Gordon Bunshaft's Lever House as "the fixed mental image of a generation of architects and clients as to what office building should be like" (1980, 139). It can be claimed that this was the case in Turkish architecture during the 1950s when the symbolic meaning of 'prestige architecture' was charged with the values of liberalism. However, as the private sector began to produce 'prestige architecture', and therefore applied stylistic treatments, a derivation of the International Style was preserved in official architecture.

As a result, the official architecture that was regarded as the symbol of being contemporary and the prestige and power of the state began to symbolize 'mediocrity' in architecture.<sup>52</sup> This was the case also for the extensive application of a kind of architectural

style, the so-called 'Bayındırlık' style. As a result of the norms of the Ministry of Public Works such as the pitched roof and small windows, a regional but unpleasant derivation of the 'International Style' emerged and spread all over the country. Such a reevaluation of the 'International' Style according to the local conditions affirmed that the Western forms had been considered by architects as the symbols of the 'modern' and the new: function was overridden by symbolism. However, new formal vocabularies of the new prestige buildings such as main offices, banks, hotels, factories, etc. began to be discerned among the common and 'mediocre' appearances of the both classical and degenerated forms of the 'International Style'. Therefore, it can be said that the symbolic meanings, which were attributed to the buildings through their forms, changed and buildings with new formal vocabularies were charged with new symbolic meanings.

New formations were sought that would recover the monumental effect of the buildings designed in the 'Modern' language. It was essential for the new formal attributes to be discerned among the 'mediocre' appearance of existing buildings. The discourse that was created from the formal aspects of 'prestige' architecture reflected this differentiation and consequently the criticism focused on new formal languages. The architecture in a new formal vocabulary was also considered to have appropriate formal aspects to symbolize the contemporary values in the society. Without repeating the formal aspects of the 'International Style' and with a desire to be distinguished in its environment, these buildings were charged with the symbolic meanings

that once attributed to official architecture. As a result, the symbolizing function of the official 'prestige' buildings was shifted to such buildings designed in a new formal vocabulary. 'New monumentality and symbolism' was the term that explained this shift.

To give an example, Harvey stated that although "it is hard to see that the working in postmodern AT&T building by Philip Johnson is any different from working in the modernist Seagram building by Mies Van Der Rohe, the image projected to the outside is different". According to Harvey, the architect, Philip Johnson, stated that they were "looking for something that projected the company's image of nobility and strength". Crimp detected in this building with a "thrust upon a neighbourhood that is not particularly in need of another scycraper" (Harvey, 1990, 114). From this point of departure, Harvey claimed that "with luxury housing and corporate headquarters, aesthetic twists became expression of class power" (1990, 114). Similarly, new formal aspects were sought in Turkish architecture that would contrast with the formal aspects of a style that became a fixed mental image of 'prestige' architecture. Yet, since the 'unity of form' and contradiction with the existing urban fabric was an aspect of the private office buildings, these buildings were also assigned with a commercial symbolism along with the monumental symbolism, just like industrial symbolism was assigned to factories through their different formal aspects.

Not only symbolism of 'new monumentality' but also a public building symbolism inserted into the discourse in the 1980s, which was manifested through formal treatments in order to create urban images contrasting with the

existing urban fabric. As a result of a need for expression of the autonomy of local governments and a desire of political administrators of municipalities to mark their success by means of discernible architectural and artifactual products, symbolizing effects were primarily sought in the buildings constructed by local governments. However, depending on architects' conception of symbolic form, these buildings gained their symbolic expressions through either 'unity of form' or regionalist approaches or 'Postmodern' eclecticism. Nevertheless, whatever the symbolic meanings were suggested to project through formal aspects of these buildings, 'Modern', 'Postmodern' or traditional, the search for social identity was evident. The formal elements did not reflect their particular symbolic meanings. They served as a vehicle to symbolize a foundation, which was taking its place and gaining authority in the society.

The acquisition of symbolic meanings through the associations with the historical patterns differed from that of the so-called 'new-monumentality'. While the symbolism was attributed to the buildings designed in the new formal vocabulary of the 'Modern' terminology, in the 'search for a historical basis', the preexisting symbols were used in order to create a communication between the built environment and the inhabitants. This happened either by using a spatial and formal language or by using mere formal languages or facade articulations. In both cases there was not much emphasis on the authenticity of the building material. However, symbolic references of 'Postmodern' architecture can be interpreted more as a collage of 'aesthetic twists' and less as a desire for communication in architecture.



Esra Akcan underlined an outcome of the 'information age', that is, the impossibility of the existence of a specific place that emerged solely from its original context. From this point of departure, Akcan pointed out the ambiguity of meanings of the built environment in a touristic domain in Side. The juxtaposition of five hotels having various languages turned Titreyengöl into a collection of different places, such as Hotel Excelsior Corinthia by Atölye T that projected the taste of the East, Hotel Arianna by Merih Karaaslan who sought for the interpretation of Anatolia, Hotel Grandprestige and Hotel Kaya that reflected the language of Modern architecture and finally Hotel Seven Seas where the elements from the Western classical architecture were pasted on the facade (1996, 116). It can be claimed that the built environment that was constituted by a plenty of diverse signs did not create communication, but caused ambiguity just like in the design for the Ekincik Holiday Village by Ali Esad Göksel in which diverse building typologies and artifacts from diverse historical patterns were collected and congregated. Although symbolic meanings were tried to be recuperated through the usage of various historical elements or traditional patterns, the image of imaginary places became the identity of touristic facilities and charged it with a symbolic meaning that connoted touristic commercialism.

However, Tanyeli (1988, 63) defended the idea that conviction that architectural forms belong to a period of time in history was not correct. For Tanyeli, form and symbol are different things. While symbol belongs to history, form does not. Therefore, not the forms but their usage is historical. Tanyeli implied that taking

architectural forms from history did not mean to revive the same meaning they connoted in their original contexts in the past. Therefore Tanyeli ignored a fixed connotation of formal aspects in modern life and underlined a fact that formal aspects were to be charged with new meanings in their new contexts. This was what Eco meant when he asserted that change of meaning also resulted from "consumption and recovery of form". As stated before, the interplay between forms and constantly changing circumstances confer new meanings on forms (1980a, 30). Eventually, regionalist attitudes during the 1970s as well as 'Postmodernist' tendencies during the 1980s created their own symbolic meanings apart from the meanings of their historical and traditional formal aspects in their original context. Close to the idea that Tanyeli asserted about form and symbol, those formal aspects were not treated as symbols of what they connoted in their original context, but as a repertory of forms to charge with new meanings. Not the semantics of architecture, but the 'semantic fission' was of concern: "an abstraction of the sign from its original context and reinsertion of it in a new context" (Eco, 1980a, 31).

In his statement about form and symbol along with his aforementioned claim that there is no reason for Turkish architects to be more productive in 'Postmodernism', Tanyeli advocated the usage of historical forms. Since the conflict between the universal civilization and Turkish culture was not the main debate in the realm of architecture in this period, the formal attributes of 'Postmodern' architecture was not charged with the ideological symbolic meanings which were studied before. As an imported attitude,

'Postmodern' architecture offered Turkish architects arbitrary treatments of formal aspects in a free syntax. Therefore the historical architectural elements did not connote in the syntax the conventional dichotomies, those which played an important role in the formation of Turkish architecture until the 1950s. On the contrary, the arbitrary syntax itself became the symbol of a contemporary image in 'prestige' architecture that sought for symbolic expressions. Therefore, not the particular meanings of various historical forms and patterns that coexisted in the building, but the arbitrary syntax of 'Postmodern' architecture created the symbolic meaning.

Eventually, while the 'new monumentalism' signified a shift of symbolic meaning as a result of change in form, new symbolic meanings emerged as a result of the plurality of formal attitudes and social exigencies, such as touristic commercialism, public building symbolism. Moreover, isolation of buildings with reflective curtain-glass walls and 'Postmodern' facadism were the means of creating contemporary images in the monotony of the built environment that can be named as commercial symbolism. However, while the symbolizing effects mentioned above were specific to the functional uses of the buildings, the stylistic and formal aspects were mobile. These buildings created their symbolic meanings through the blend of their denotatum, the meaning of primary function in social context, and their formal attributes, which were suggested to express this meaning.

## CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

The search for symbolism through formalism in Turkish architecture is not only due to the transformation of the inevitable relation between symbolic meanings and formal properties, but also due to the fact that their interrelation has effected the formation of Turkish architecture and the architectural discourse far so long.

'Symbolic meaning' of architecture is acquired through a learned relationship between the formal properties of the built environment and a set of values, cultural codes and ideological convictions. It is not surprising that a change taking place in one of the pairs of this relationship, that is, the change of formal properties or the change of values, cultural codes, will naturally cause the change of symbolic meanings of the formal properties. Therefore, as it was discussed in this study, that symbolic meaning, or as it was called, the 'secondary function' of architecture, is subject to a continuous change. Although the change of symbolic meaning may be the result of a change taking place in formal aspects, it may also depend on social exigencies, cultural aspects and ideological convictions. Moreover, the emergence of new formal qualities, or the transformations in the social and cultural structures may

signify a 'shift' in the meaning which may also cause a series of change in symbolic 'meaning'.

Formal qualities of the built environment inevitably offer various meanings to the percipient. And thus, identification occurs by means of two kinds of signification: namely, denotation and connotation. When the formal qualities are determined directly by connotation, that is, when they turn out to be symbols through certain images presumed to signify the same meaning of these images in their original context, this is called 'formalism'. From this point of departure, the application of international styles in Turkey or the adaptation of historical or traditional forms can be evaluated as being 'formalist' without a theoretical background, which otherwise would be manifest in the architectural discourse. In fact, it is due to the weakness of such a conceptual architectural discourse that the outlines of the development of Turkish architecture have been drawn by formal attributes and therefore by symbolizing affects. As a result, the limited discourse perpetually defined and redefined the symbolic meanings of architecture, and since the discourse is a tool by which architectural attitudes proliferate, it somehow determined the formations of 'prestige' architecture by means of persuasion and encouragement.

Since the establishment of modern Turkey, the duality between the ideologies of nationalism and internationalism effected the formations of Turkish architecture. The Republican cultural identity was to be created by symbolic frameworks. The 'National Style' was accepted by the Republicans as well as the 'Young Turks'

during the final years of the Ottoman Empire for it signified the Turkish cultural identity in the newly established country. However later, the formal aspects of this style became the symbol of a discarded past and the discord between the Turkish culture and the modern Turkey after the 1920s. The Republican reforms were desired to be symbolized both in art and architecture. Foreign architects were in charge of developing the image of a modern country. Despite what they had symbolized in the West, in their new location in Turkey, formal aspects of 'Modern' architecture were the symbols of the West itself, of what the country aspired to be. Therefore, 'Modern' architecture was adopted as an international style that signified a thrust toward 'Modernism' as well as the opposition to the backwardness of the Ottoman past that was then symbolized by the 'National Style'.

In the 1940s, the extremely nationalist tendencies that came to power in Italy and Germany in the 1930s, affected the Turkish political milieu and the desire to merge Turkish culture and Western civilization became favourable again. Yet this time, neither the image of the neglected Ottoman past was revived nor the image of the contemporary West was omitted. The 'Second National Architecture' followed a way that accepted 'Turkishness' extending to the Anatolian civilizations and non-religious roots. Therefore, instead of the formal aspects of the Ottoman architecture, the formal aspects of domestic architecture and monumental forms of the ancient times were adopted. The latter also grounded the nationalist attitudes of both Italian and German architecture. Eventually, a new 'National Style' was created similar to the national styles in Europe. As a

result of the developments in Europe, it was believed that an architecture that completely ignores local culture could not coincide with the nationalism of Atatürk. Reactions arose against the 'International Style' and architectural elements were sought that would symbolize both contemporary Turkey and nationalism. This situation contradicted with the "monist cultural theory" of the 1930s. When the monumental forms of the 'International Style' and the monumental neo-classic forms of the 'Second National Architecture' are considered, the 'ambiguity' in the symbolic meanings can be understood. The blend of the 'International Style' and the representational requirements of the State 'prestige' buildings, and the conflict between nationalism and internationalism created such an ambiguity. On the other hand, when the periods of the 'First National Style' and the 'Second National Style' are considered, it can be said that the meaning of national identity shifted from the synthesis of Turkish-Islamic roots and Western civilization to the synthesis of a secular Turkism and Anatolian and Western civilizations. Therefore, the historical and traditional forms of Anatolia replaced the symbolizing effects of the Turkish-Islamic forms, which were secular in their new context.

After the defeat of the fascist and Nazi regimes in Europe and by the rise of America as a super force in the world, nationalist tendencies in architecture were left aside and internationalism prevailed again as an ideology developed parallel to the developing Turkish politics. In spite of the insufficient construction technology, the 'International Style' was quickly adopted. While the 'Second National Architecture' became the symbol of



nationalism and fascism, the 'International Style' symbolized Turkey's openness to the world and liberalism. The meaning of internationalism shifted from Germany centered Westernization to Anglo-American liberal economy. Especially in the 1950s, the 'prestige' architecture began to symbolize not only the state ideology, but also the class power. As a result of Turkey's openness to the world and emerging new social classes, 'pluralism' prevailed in architecture in the 1960s. It was not possible to see the domination of a certain architectural style in Turkish architecture anymore. By this turn, Turkish architecture experienced not only the imitation of architectural styles but also 'mannerism'.

After 1950, the private sector became the most important client for the architectural market, and the cultural dichotomies played a less important role in determining architectural formations. 1970s and the 1980s reflected the transformation very well. Yet, these two decades differed from each other. Starting from the 1970s, the extravagant growth of the cities as a result of the migration from villages to cities and the increasing role of the economic powers in producing the 'prestige' architecture, the built environment began to differ radically in various zones or even in the same district. The 'prestige' architecture, being a status symbol, acquired its meaning through 'social symbolization', rather than 'cultural symbolization'.

The 'International Style', which was generally applied in an official 'prestige' architecture, was applied in bank buildings, holding headquarters, and hotels with a new formal vocabulary that ignored the

rigid geometry of rectangular forms. At the same time, the Ministry of Public Works developed building norms that would effect any kind of official building production extensively. A derivation of the 'International Style' was created, which has been called 'Bayındırlık' style and became the symbol of an architecture without identity. As a result, the symbolizing effect of the official 'prestige' architecture shifted to those 'prestige' buildings constructed by private initials, which always reflected the 'newness' in architecture.

1980s can be considered as the peak point of architectural plurality in Turkey. However, when all aspects of the built environment are considered, this period can also be evaluated as the peak point of 'complexities and contradictions'. The powers, which effected architectural formations in the society, such as economic powers, building speculations and official-building investments, created complex, thus contradictory environments. Public buildings and touristic facilities searched for identity in such an architectural complexity. As a result, symbolizing effects of a 'prestige' building were sought in its formal contradiction with its neighbourhood, or, in the wider context, with the existing urban fabric. Although this was the situation emerging in the 1970s, it became evident in the 1980s that a wide range of stylistic attitudes and local 'kitsch' were applied extending from the 'International Style', 'Bayındırlık' style', to Postmodern' architecture and 'arabesque' architecture.

When the architectural discourse that was influential in the formations of the 'prestige'

architecture during this 80 years period is reconsidered, it can be argued that the dialectic relationship between formal aspects of architecture have been the trajectory around which the debates emerged and criticisms developed. Although a plurality of stylistic attitudes enabled architects to set themselves free from the constraints of a certain style with its ideological pretensions after 1960, it did not give way to create an architectural theory. Architectural form remained as the main tool by which the symbolic meaning of the 'prestige' architecture expressed. By the disappearance of the ideological motivations of architects, which were based on cultural dichotomies, and by the 'prestige' buildings becoming the symbol of class power, 'social symbolization' dominated over the 'cultural symbolization' in the realm of architecture. Building forms were not conceived as elements that reflect cultural identity. Diverse formal aspects, which were once the alternatives of each other, coexisted and acquired their symbolic meaning not through ideological pretensions but through the social status of buildings. This situation caused 'prestige' architecture to be symbolized in its contrast with the existing urban fabric in the 1970s and intensively in the 1980s. It is to be noted that the role of the State in determining the architectural formations was minimized in the 1980s.

A characteristic of the 1980s was that although the 'Postmodern' architecture claimed to create communication through cultural aspects of form, the eclectic properties of this style also signified a social structure, melting the specific meanings of these properties in a pot and offering a new wave of 'prestige' architecture. Parallel

to the assertion above, this style had nothing to do with symbolizing cultural aspects. It offered new configurations for symbolizing the social status of buildings. Here, a second dimension of 'formalism' can be mentioned after 1970s. 'Postmodern' architecture as an international style can be given as an example to 'formalism' cited before, that is, it was expected to signify in Turkey the same socio-cultural conditions in the West. However, when the efforts to create environments that are to be distinguished from the existing built environment are considered, such as striking facade organizations, 'Postmodern' eclecticism, or 'new monumentality', the term 'formalism' is to be attributed to an attitude which is free from ideological pretensions and using form as a tool for symbolizing the social status of the building.

Since the formal aspects have been the main interest in Turkish architecture due to the symbolic meanings they provided, and therefore became the focus of the critic, a conceptual discourse could not be created that would deal with architectural problems other than form. Therefore, it can be said that since symbolic meanings of formal aspects were sought in criticism as well as in design process, architectural form became the focus of both the designer and the critic. That some other architectural components of the buildings which were included comparatively less in the discourse, such as architectural space, plan, and light, also demonstrates this fact.

Consequently, it is argued that in spite of the increase of clients from the private sector, development of economy and building industry and addition of many

social problems, symbolic expression through formal aspects still remained the main trajectory during the 1970s and 1980s. Moreover, by the introduction of 'Postmodern' architecture to the Turkish architectural milieu, the architectural discourse involved more tendencies related to the 'secondary function' of architecture, which always effected covertly the formation of Turkish architecture, yet without a conceptual background and with a desire to follow the developments in the West.

To conclude, the problem of contemporary Turkish architecture seems "neither to be effected by the West or to be interested in history",<sup>53</sup> but to conceive architecture formally. I believe that there is a weakness of a conceptual and theoretical background which has created a gap, and this gap has been filled by the insufficient debates on formal aspects. This situation caused a pseudo-symbolic conception of architecture and the creation of a discourse that supports such conception even by means of criticising it.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> On this point, Lang stated that "the symbols people choose to have around them may reflect their perception of who they are or whom they aspire to be, or they may be simply a rejection of the past". Lang, Jon, Creating Architectural Theory: The Role of the Behavioral Sciences in Environmental Design, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1987, p.180.

<sup>2</sup> For instance Özer, Bülent, Rejyonelizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine Bir Deneme, İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1964.

<sup>3</sup> It is to be remembered that the 'formal' theories developed from "the Gestalt 'laws' of proximity, similarity, continuence, and closure" are not to be confused with what is called 'formalism' here. Lang, Jon, "Theories of Perception and 'Formal' Design, in Designing for Human Behavior, (ed.) Jon Lang, Charles Burnette, Walter Moleski, David Vachon, Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania: Dowden, Hutchingson & Ross, c1974, p.103.

<sup>4</sup> Atilla Yücel stated that the debates on style was concerned only with the 'elitist' (prestige) architecture. Yücel, Atila, "Farklı Mimarlıklar", Mimarlık, 1989, n.2, p.30.

<sup>5</sup> Sperber explained this difference: "in a semiology thus conceived, the fundamental question is no longer 'What do symbols mean?' but 'How do they mean?' These two questions are clearly linked. Pre-or-para- Saussurean semiologists who are concerned above all with the What-question support their analyses with hypotheses about the 'how'; conversely the question 'how' presupposes the knowledge of 'what'. Sausseren semiologists have completely left aside the What-question, and have studied not at all 'how do symbols mean?', but rather 'how do symbols work?' In this study they have established, all unknowing, that symbols work without meaning. Modern semiology, and this is at once its weakness and its merit, has refuted the principles on which it is founded." Sperber, Dan, Rethinking Symbolism, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975 (1991), pp. 51-52.

<sup>6</sup> Eco objected to this model for it gives way to extinction of the distinction between the signifier and the object itself. Eco, Umberto, "Function and Sign: the Semiotics of Architecture", in Signs, Symbols and Architecture, (ed.) Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, Charles Jencks, Pitman Press, 1980. However, Broadbent states

that Eco misunderstands what the architectural signifier in this case and goes on to say that it is just the image on retina, not the object itself. Broadbent, Geoffrey, "The Deep Structures of Architecture", in Signs, Symbols and Architecture, (ed.) Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, Charles Jencks, Pitman Press, 1980.

<sup>7</sup> Umberto Eco determined three architectural codes corresponding to Morris's three dimensions of signification, which were semantic, syntactic and technical codes. *Ibid.*, pp.39-39.

<sup>8</sup> Eco gave an example to clarify this relation. Eco stated that when Le Corbusier proposed his elevated streets, he moved out the accepted typology of 'street', and he did it "with a certain assurance believing that this new sign would be accepted and comprehended by user". *Ibid.*, p.53.

<sup>9</sup> Gandelsonas considered the architecture of Michael Graves as a semantic approach since he "indicates the relationship between architecture and content", and that of Peter Eisenman as syntactic since he "disregards all the relationships between architecture and cultural meaning". Gandelsonas, Mario and Morton, David, "On Reading Architecture", in Signs, Symbols and Architecture, (ed.) Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, Charles Jencks, Pitman Press, 1980, p.245.

<sup>10</sup> Eco defined technical codes as that they deal with the science of architectural engineering and have no communicative content. *Op. cit.* In note 6, p.38.

<sup>11</sup> Preziosi quoted these expressions from Mukarovsky (1978). Preziosi, Donald, Architecture, Language, and Meaning, Mouton Publishers, 1979, p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> Preziosi stated that "Mukarovsky suggests that several nuances of symbolic function are incorporated in here". *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>13</sup> Broadbent stated that "Pugin described in the True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture, the attributes he thought a building must possess to symbolise the true Christian church". For Pugin, a true Christian church must have possessed a tower with buttresses, a spire and pinnacles, a porch, a nave and aisles, an altar, and east window, etc. Broadbent, Geoffrey, "Building Design as an Iconic Sign System", in Signs, Symbols and Architecture, Pitman Press, 1980, p. 321.

<sup>14</sup> Moreover, architectonic objects, as Preziosi stated, has a certain degree of meaningfulness for every human beings because of their some panhuman architectonic qualities, concerned mostly with the concept of dwelling of every societies. Preziosi, Donald, Architecture, Language, and Meaning, Mouton Publishers, 1979.

<sup>15</sup> Norberg-Schulz gave as an example of Brunelleschi's breaking with the current Gothic style by building up S. Lorenzo in Florence. For Norberg-Schulz, "he did not therefore create a new social milieu; rather he symbolized new cultural objects". Norberg-Schulz,



Christian, Intentions in Architecture, Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1965, p.125.

<sup>16</sup> Mimar Behçet ve Bedrettin, "Mimarlıkta İnkılap", Mimar, 1933, n.8, p.247.

<sup>17</sup> Mimar Behçet ve Bedrettin, "Türk İnkılap Mimarisi", Mimar, 1933, n.8, p.265.

<sup>18</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>19</sup> Behçet Ünsal reacted to naming rational Modern Architecture as 'cubic'. For Ünsal, the buildings which were constructed by the contractors for speculative purpose were the 'cubic' ones. Ünsal, Behçet, "Kübik Yapı ve Konfor", Arkitekt, 1939, no.3/4, p.60.

<sup>20</sup> For instance see, Aslanoğlu, İnci, Erken Dönem Cumhuriyet Mimarisi, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1980, p.39.

<sup>21</sup> For the effects of Bauhaus ideology on the Turkish architectural discourse in the 1930s, see Alsaç, Üstün, Türkiye'deki Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi, Trabzon: KTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1976.

<sup>22</sup> Ciucci, Giorgio, "Italian Architecture During the Fascist Period", The Harvard Architecture Review, 1987, n. , pp.77-87.

<sup>23</sup> The rewarded projects were published in Arkitekt, "Vakıf İşhanı Proje Müsabakası", 1949, no.11-12, pp.213-222 and 251.

<sup>24</sup> Özer, Bülent, Rejyonelizm, Üiversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine Bir Deneme, İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1964, p.76, and Kortan, Enis, Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi 1950-1960, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1971, p.33.

<sup>25</sup> The rewarded projects were published in Arkitekt, "İstanbul Kongre Binası Mimari Proje Yarışması", 1969, no.333, pp.33-43.

<sup>26</sup> Aslanoğlu made this comment for the General Directories of İş Bankası in Ankara. Aslanoğlu, İnci, Erken Dönem Cumhuriyet Mimarisi, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1980, p.14.

<sup>27</sup> Mimarlık, Şehircilik ve Türkiye'nin Sorunları, İstanbul: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayını, 1970. Some of the articles in the book are: ÖZER, Bülent, "Mimaride Üslup, Batı ve Biz", pp.25-48; HASOL, Doğan, "Endüstri ve Mimarlığımız", pp.49-55; and KUBAN, Doğan, "Gelecek Açısından Günümüz Mimari ve Şehircilik Uygulamalarının Eleştirisi", pp.76-95.

<sup>28</sup> These articles were collected in the book, Modern Turkish Architecture, Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin (ed.), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

<sup>29</sup> According to Kortan, the Turkish pavilion in Brussels demonstrated a 'rational-international' attitude and the Turkish pavillion in New

York 1962 demonstrated an 'irrational' attitude. Kortan, Enis, Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi 1960-1970, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1974.

<sup>30</sup> For instance, Kortan, Enis, Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi 1950-1960, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1971; Kortan, Enis, Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi 1960-1970, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1974; and Özer, Bülent, Rejyonalizm, Üiversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine Bir Deneme, İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1964.

<sup>31</sup> These factories were Çukobirlik Tekstil Kombinasi (Adana), Çukobirlik Sawgın ve Yağ Kombinasi (Adana), Özbucak Boya ve Apre Fabrikası (Adana), Aksa Akrilik Kimya Fabrikası (Karamürsel). "20. Yılında SEYAŞ", Arkitekt, 1979, no.1, pp.16-22.

<sup>32</sup> For Meyer's ideology, see Michael Hays, "Reproduction and Negation" in Architectureproduction, (ed.) J. Ockman, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988, pp.153-178.

<sup>33</sup> For instance Yücel did not include the official architecture in the category of the 'elitist' architecture. Yücel, Atilla, "Farklı Mimarlıklar", Mimarlık, 1989, n.2, pp.30-31.

<sup>34</sup> For example Kortan, Enis, "Türkiye'deki Mimarlık Hareketleri", Mimarlık, 1989, n.3, pp.36-38.

<sup>35</sup> This evaluation belongs to Karaaslan, Merih, "I. Ulusal Mimarlık Sergisi ve Ödülleri Üzerine", Mimarlık, 1988, no.4, p.29.

<sup>36</sup> For instance, Kortan evaluated postmodernist attitudes as eclectic and mannerist and claimed that they resulted in a "facade architecture". Kortan, Enis, "Türkiye'deki Mimarlık Hareketleri", Mimarlık, 1989, n.3, p.37.

<sup>37</sup> The application of this project was cancelled by the Ministry of Tourism. Mimarlık, "Turizm, Kıyılar ve Mimarlık", 1987, n. , pp.42-57.

<sup>38</sup> According to Harvey even Jenks conceded that postmodern architecture is market-oriented. Harvey, David, The Condition of Postmodernity, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, p.95. This was also evident in worldwide advertisements of Holiday centers in Turkey in which they were represented as 'dream lands'.

<sup>39</sup> In the magazine, a colorful perspective drawing of the facade alone was illustrated. Mimarlık, "I. Ulusal Mimarlık Sergisi ve Ödülleri", 1988, n.4, p.41.

<sup>40</sup> Karabey introduced his building. Ibid., sp.41.

<sup>41</sup> "80 Sonrası Ankara'da Kamu Eliyle Mimarlık", Mimarlık, 1987, n.2, pp. 29-67.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p.60.

<sup>43</sup> Mimarlık, "Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi "Güzel Ankara" Projesi - Kent Girişleri Düzenlemesi, İstanbul Girişi Proje Yarışması", 1990, n.5/6, p.59.

<sup>44</sup> Karaaslan, Merih, "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı ve Mimarlığımız", Mimarlık, 1987, n.3, p.32.

<sup>45</sup> Kortan used this term for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Building which was first designed for DÖSİYAB Headquarters. Kortan, Enis, "Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri", Mimarlık, 1989, n.3, p.37.

<sup>46</sup> Although Doğan Tekeli explained the hollows on the east and west sides of the mass as a functional requirement, he accepted that the symbolism required in this building was acquired through the gate-like form appeared as a result of those hollows. Mimarlık, "Çağdaş Mimarlık Akımları ve Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu", 1990, no.1, p.44..

<sup>47</sup> Op. cit. in note 39, p.60.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p.40.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p.31.

<sup>50</sup> Yücel, Atilla, "Pluralism Takes Command: The Turkish Architectural Scene Today", Modern Turkish Architecture, Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin (ed.), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984, pp.119-15; and Türkmen, Muhlis, "Mimaride Karmaşa", Mimarlık, 1989, no.2, pp.31-32.

<sup>51</sup> Alsaç, Üstün, "Türk Mimarlığında Çelişkiler Dönemi", Mimarlık, 1989 n.1, pp.24-25.

<sup>52</sup> Balamir stated that the official buildings along the Eskişehir highway were all "mediocre". Balamir, Aydan Keskin, "Mimarın Kimlik, Meşruiyet, Etik Sorunları ve Mimarlığın Disipliner Buhranı", Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu II: Kimlik-Meşruiyet-Etik, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayını, 1996, pp.24-30.

<sup>53</sup> This expression was cited from Altan, T. Elvan, Historicism in Architecture: a Conceptual Framework for Interpretations of Historicism in Contemporary Turkish and Western Architecture. An Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara: Middle east Technical University, 1991.

APPENDIX A  
FIGURES



Fig.1.a. Sirkeci Railroad Terminal, İstanbul, 1890,  
Jachmund; view of the entrance facade.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)



Fig.1.b. Deutsche Orient Bank,  
İstanbul, 1890s, Jachmund, view of  
the corner elevation.  
(Yavuz and Özkan, 1984, 37)



Fig.1.c. Archaeological Museum, İstanbul,  
1891-1907, Aléxandre Vallaury;  
general view from the northwest.  
(Yavuz and Özkan, 1984, 40)





Fig.2.a. Central Post Office, İstanbul, 1909, Vedat (Tek); general view from the northeast.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)



Fig.2.b. The Fourth Vakıf Hanı, İstanbul, 1912-1926, Kemalettin Bey; partial view of the southeast corner.  
(Yavuz and Özkan, 1984, 48)

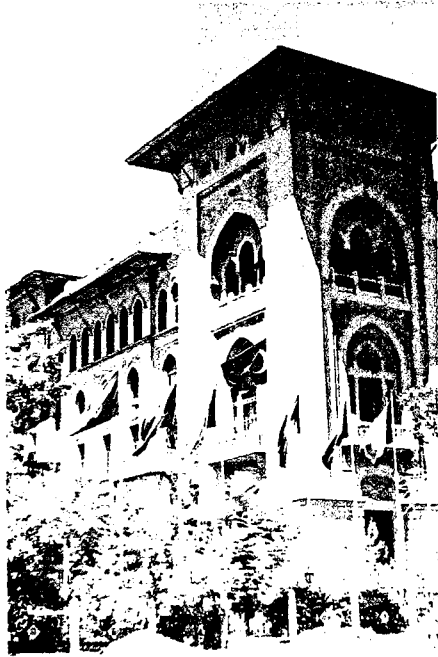


Fig.3.a. Agricultural Bank, Ankara, 1926-1929,  
Gulio Mongeri; general view.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)

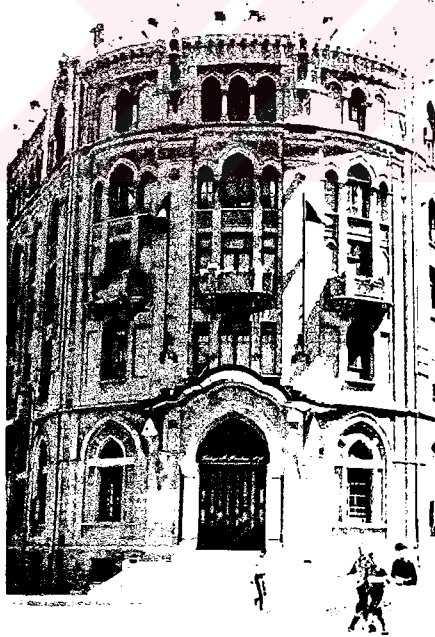


Fig.3.b. General Directories of İş Bankası,  
Ankara, 1928, Gulio Mongeri; view of  
the entrance facade.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)



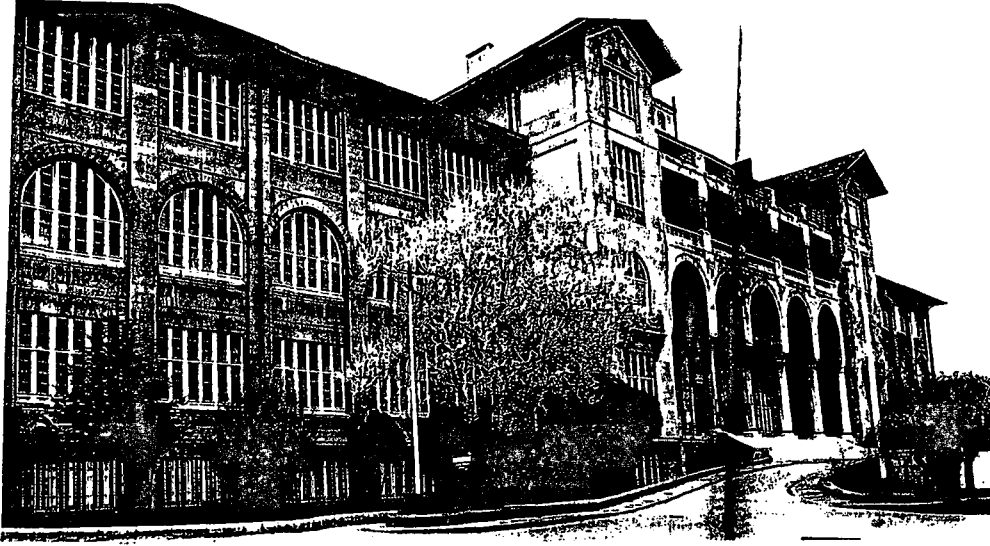


Fig.3.c.Gazi Teacher's College, Ankara, 1928,  
Kemalettin Bey; general view from the  
southeast.  
(Ankara, 1992, 152)

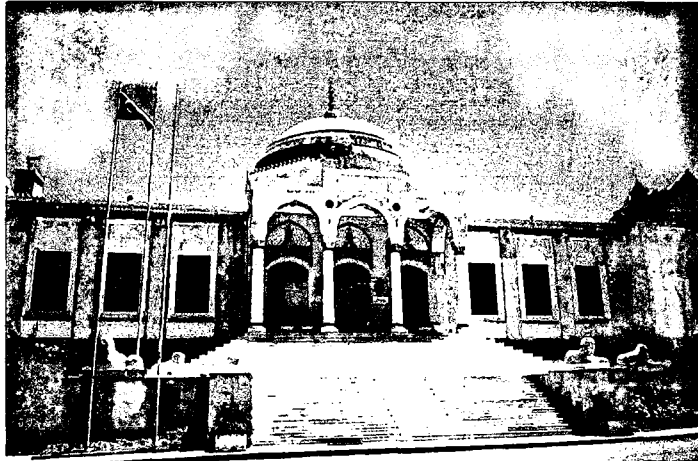


Fig.3.d.Museum of Ethnography, Ankara, 1926,  
Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu; view of the  
entrance facade.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)

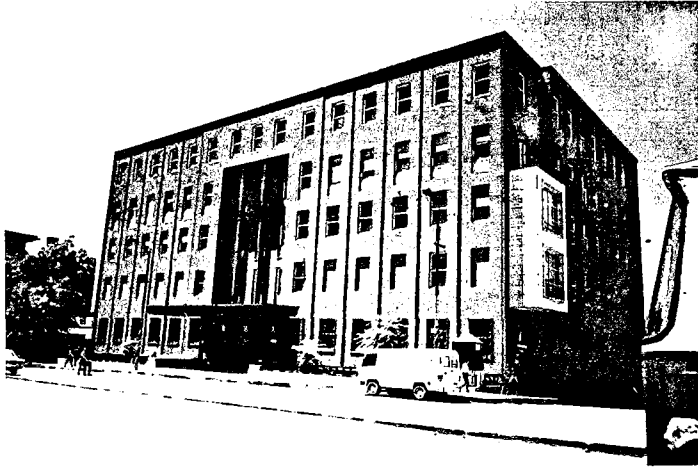


Fig.4.a. Central Bank, Ankara, 1931-1933,  
Clemens Holzmeister; general view.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)



Fig.4.b. Ministry of Health, Ankara, 1926-  
1927, Theodor Post and Carl  
Lörcher; view of the entrance  
facade.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)

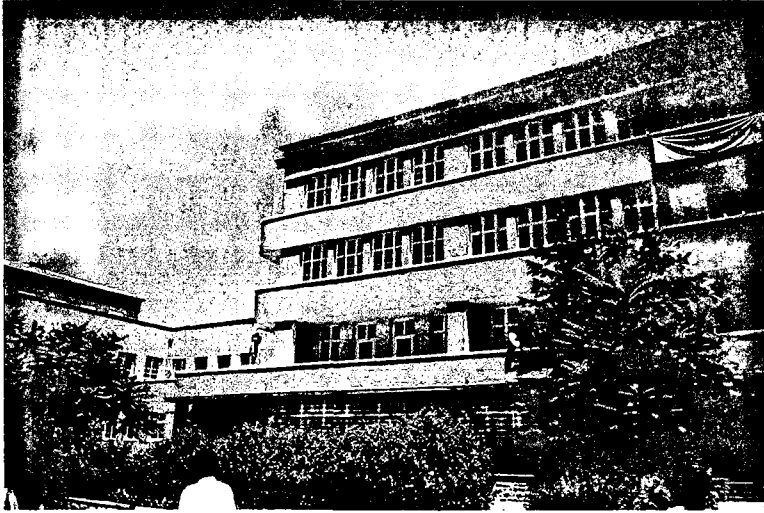


Fig.5.a. İsmet Paşa Institute for Girls,  
Ankara, 1930, Ernst Egli;  
general view.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)



Fig.5.b. Court of Financial Appeals, Ankara,  
1928-1930, Ernst Egli; general view.  
(Batur, 1984, 82)

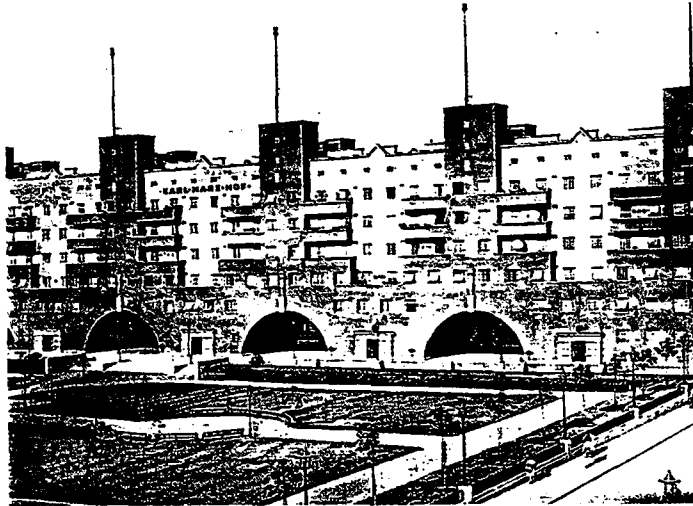


Fig.6.a. The Karl-Marx-Hof, Vienna, 1927,  
Karl Ehn; general view.  
(Dictionary of 20<sup>th</sup> Century  
Architecture, 1986, 87)

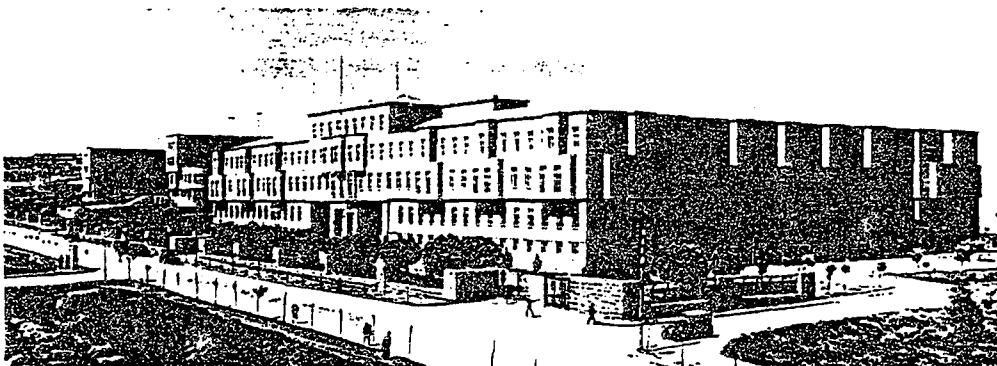


Fig.6.b. Ministry of Defence, Ankara, 1927-1931,  
Clemens Holzmeister; general view from  
northeast.  
(Batur, 1984, 78)

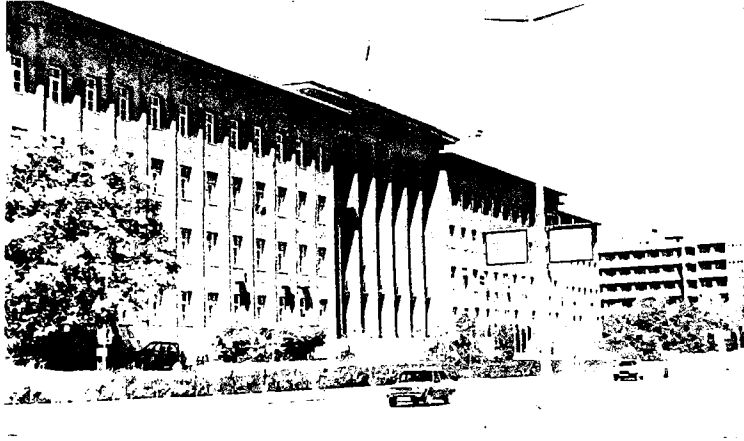


Fig.7.a. State Railroad Headquarters,  
Ankara, 1941, Bedri Uçar; view of  
the entrance facade.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)

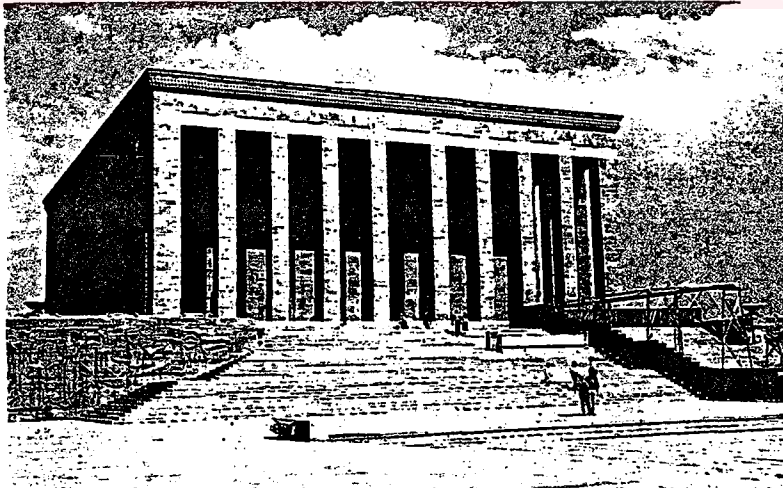


Fig.7.b. Anıtkabir (Atatürk's Mausoleum),  
Ankara, 1944-1953, Emin Onat and  
Orhan Arda; general view.  
(Sözen, 1996, 81)

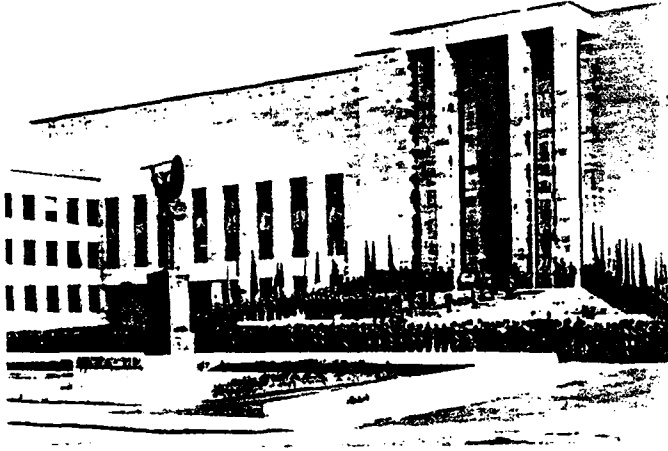


Fig.8.a. Senate Building of the University of Rome, Rome, 1932, Piacentini and Team; view of the entrance facade. (Frampton, 1996, 204)



Fig.8.b. Faculty of Sciences, Ankara, Emin Onat and S.H. Eldem; view of the entrance to the courtyard. (Photo by Yusuf Civelek)



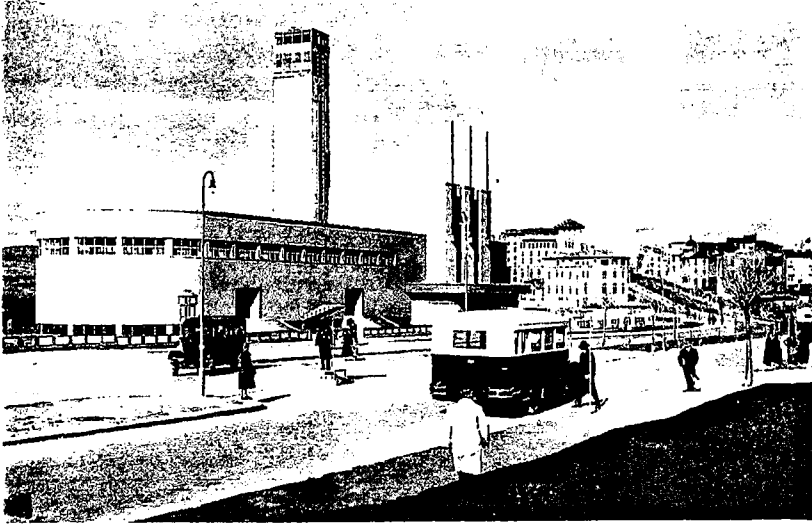


Fig.9.a. Exhibition Hall, Ankara, 1933-1934,  
Şevki Balmumcu; general view.  
(Kortan, 1998, 69)

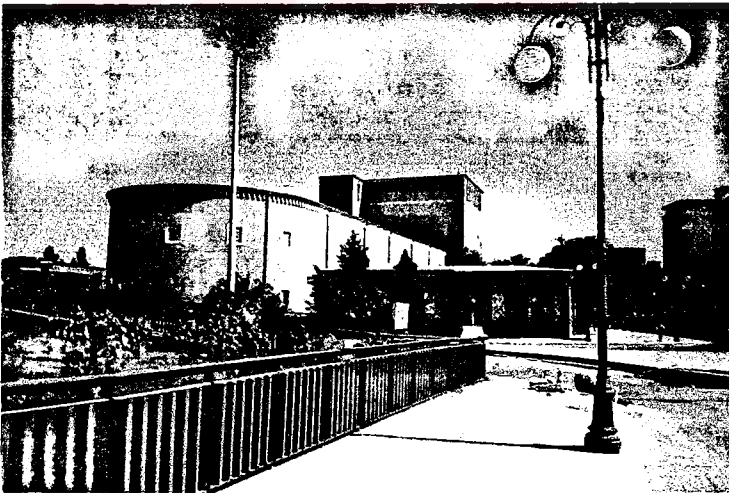


Fig.9.b. Opera House (conversion of the early  
Exhibition Hall by Balmumcu), Ankara, 1948,  
Paul Bonatz; general view.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)





Fig.10.a. Faculties of Sciences and Letters, İstanbul, 1944, Emin Onat and S.H. Eldem; general view.  
(Photo by Nazım Timuroğlu)

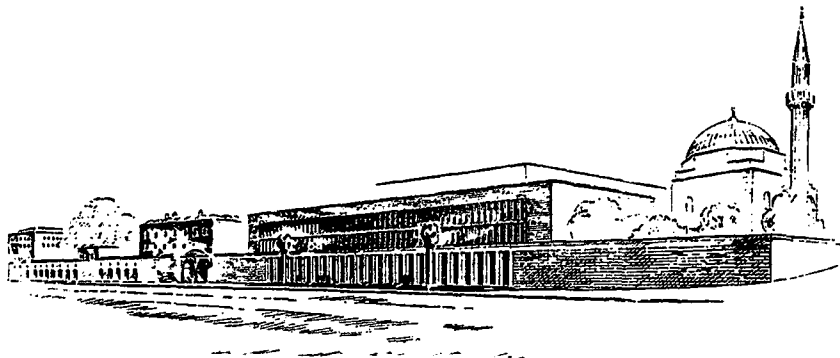


Fig.10.b. Palace of Justice, İstanbul, 1949, S.H. Eldem and Emin Onat; perspective drawing.  
(Kortan, 1997, 29)

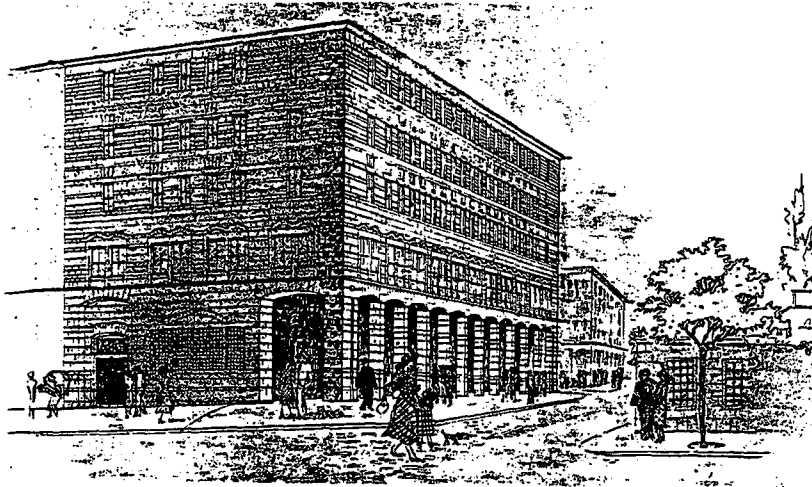


Fig.11.a. First prize Project for Vakıf İşhanı, İstanbul, 1949, Fatih Metigil and Demirtaş Kamçıl; perspective drawing. (Arkitekt, 1949, 213)

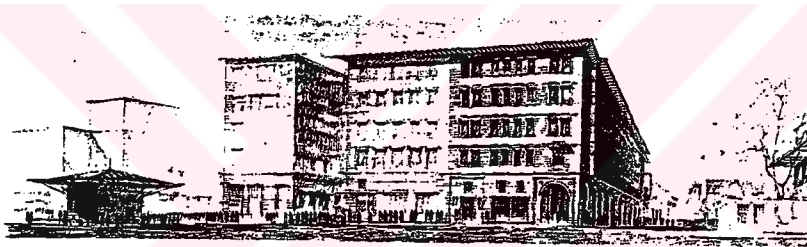


Fig.11.b. Second prize project for Vakıf İşhanı, İstanbul, 1949, Reha Ortaçlı and Fethi Tulgar; perspective drawing. (Arkitekt, 1949, 215)

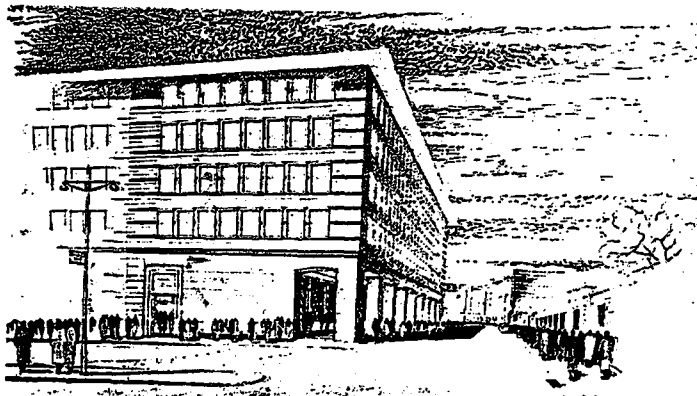


Fig.11.c. Third prize project for Vakıf İşhanı, İstanbul, 1949, Fatin Uran; perspective drawing. (Arkitekt, 1949, 216)



Fig.12. City Hall, İstanbul, 1953, Nevzat Erol;  
view of the model.  
(Kortan, 1971, 51)

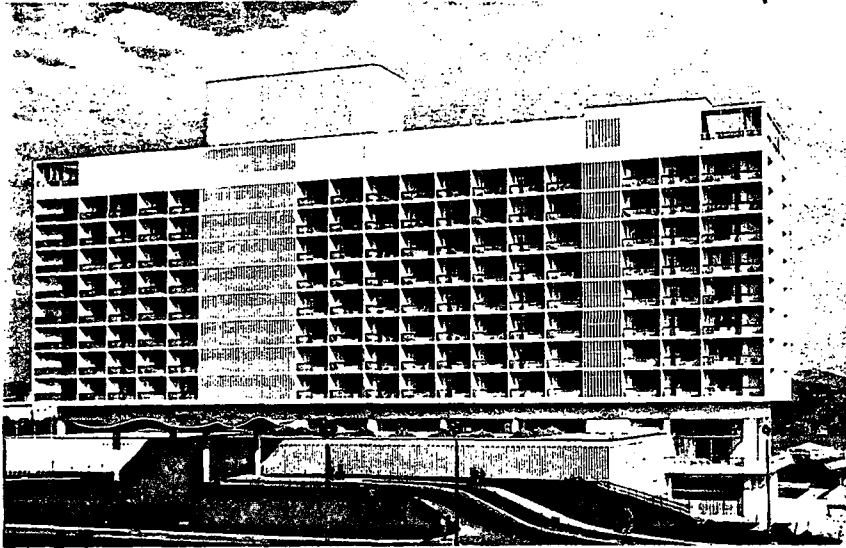


Fig. 13.a. Hilton Hotel, İstanbul, 1952, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill and S.H. Eldem; view of the Bosphorus elevation.  
(Kortan, 1997, 23)

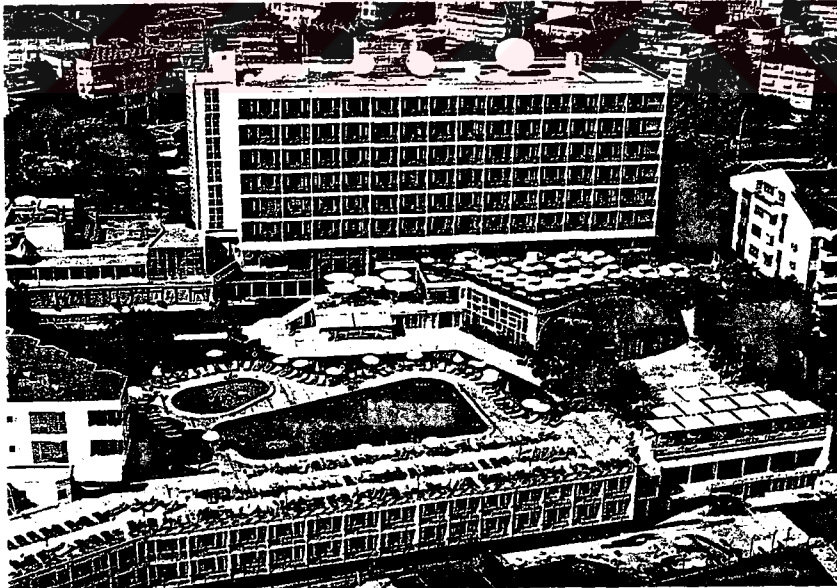


Fig. 13.b. Çınar Hotel, İstanbul, 1959, Rana Zıpçı, Emin Ertan and Ahmet Akın; general view.  
(Photo by Gürol Kara)



Fig.14.a. Seagram Building, New York,  
1958, Mies van der Rohe;  
general view.  
(Frampton, 1996, 23)



Fig.14.b. Emek Building, Ankara,  
1959-1964, Enver Tokay and  
İlhan Tayman; general view.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)





Fig.15.a. House in Australia, 1950s,  
Harry Siedler, view of the facade.  
(Kortan, 1971, 82)



Fig.15.b. House in İstanbul, 1950s,  
view of the facade.  
(Kortan, 1971, 82)



Fig.16. Sheraton Hotel, İstanbul, 1958-1974,  
Akin, Emiroğlu, Erol, Handan, Suher;  
view from the northeast.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)



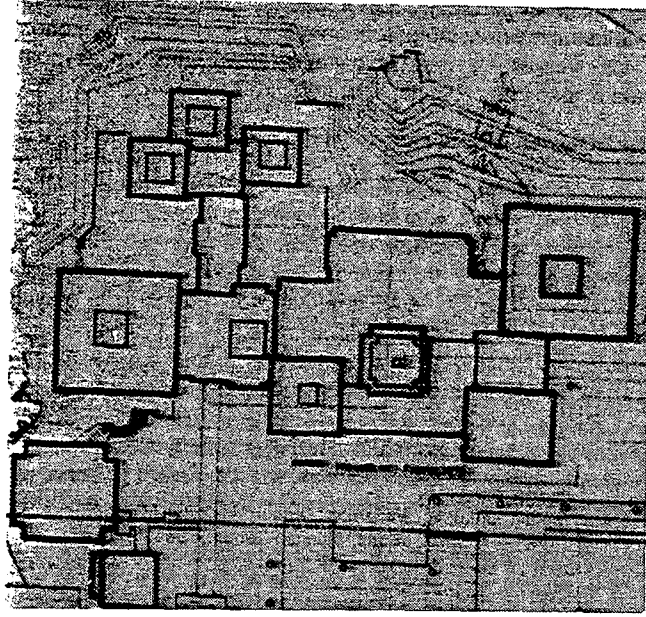


Fig.17.a. METU Faculty of Architecture,  
Ankara, 1961-1964, Altuğ Çinici  
and Behruz Çinici; site plan.  
(Kortan, 1974, 73)

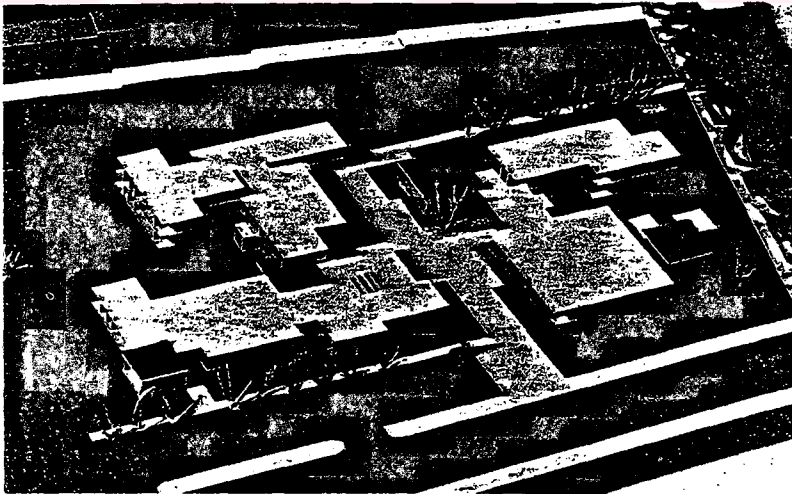


Fig.17.b. Research Center, Ankara, 1964,  
Yüksel Okan and Fikret Cankut;  
view of the model.  
(Arkitekt, 1966, 32)

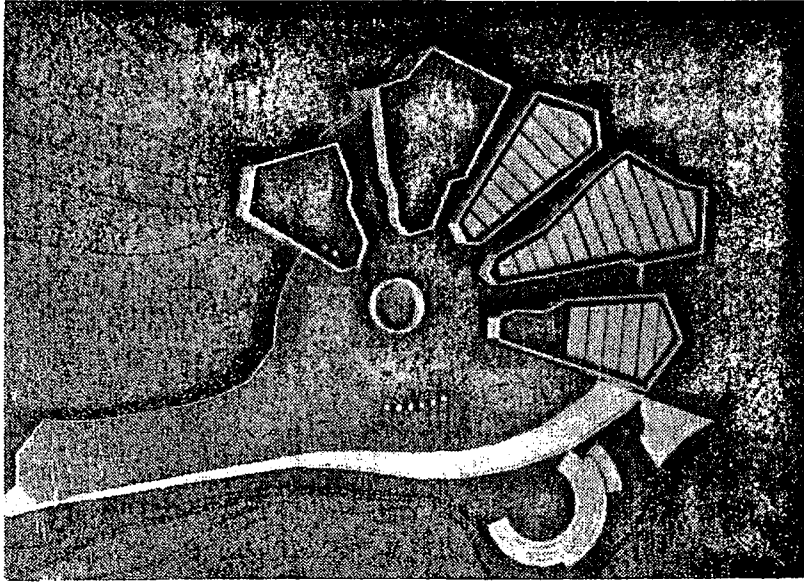


Fig.18.a. Museum in Hövikodden, 1960s, Eikvar and Engebretsen; view of the model.  
(Kortan, 1974, 142)

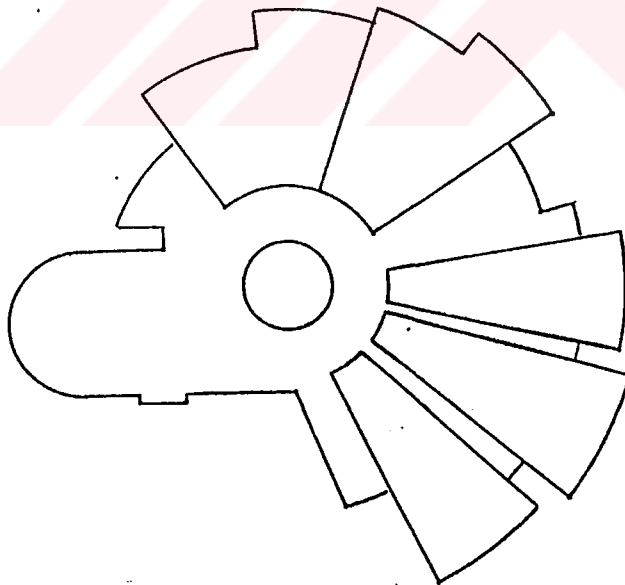


Fig.18.b. METU Auditorium, Ankara, 1966-1967, Altuğ Çinici and Behruz Çinici; scheme of the building.  
(Kortan, 1974, 143)

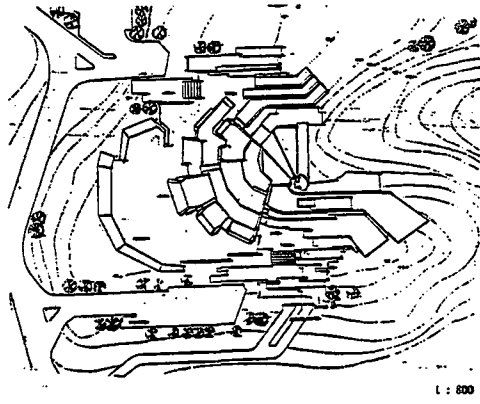


Fig.19.a. First prize project for İstanbul Congress Center, 1969, Oktay Gürün and Somer Ural; site plan. (Arkitekt, 1969, 33)

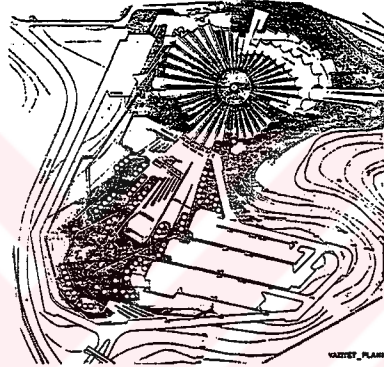


Fig.19.b. Second prize project for İstanbul Congress Center, 1969, Yılmaz Sanlı, Güner Acar and Aydın Boysan; site plan. (Arkitekt, 1969, 36)

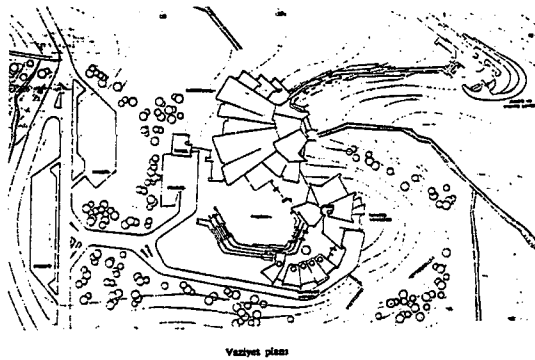


Fig.19.c. Third prize project for İstanbul Congress Center, 1969, Mete Ünügür and Cihangir Tutluoğlu; site plan. (Arkitekt, 1969, 39)

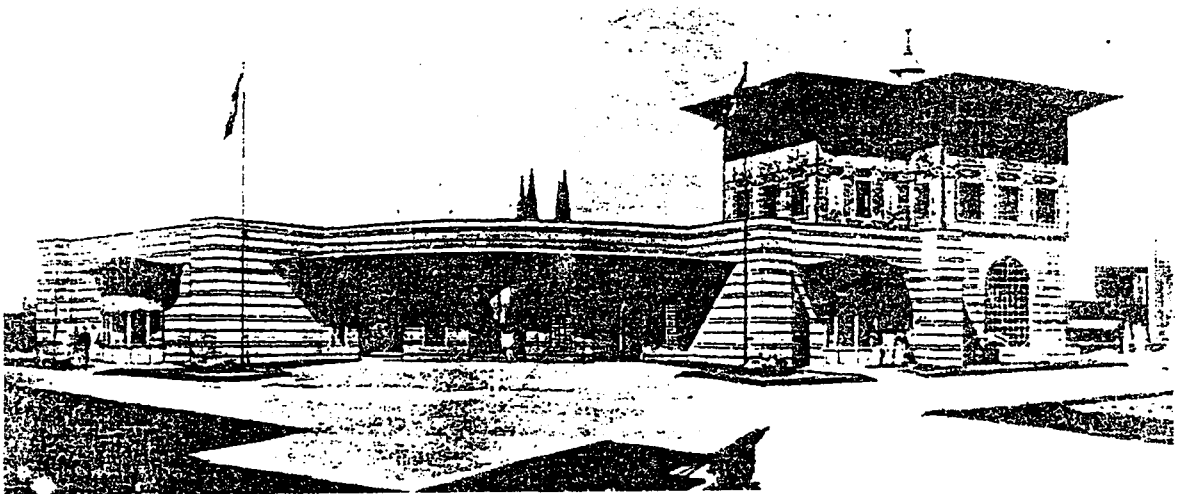


Fig.20.a. Turkish Pavilion in New York World's Fair,  
1939, Sedat Hakkı Eldem; general view.  
(Batur, 1984, 91)



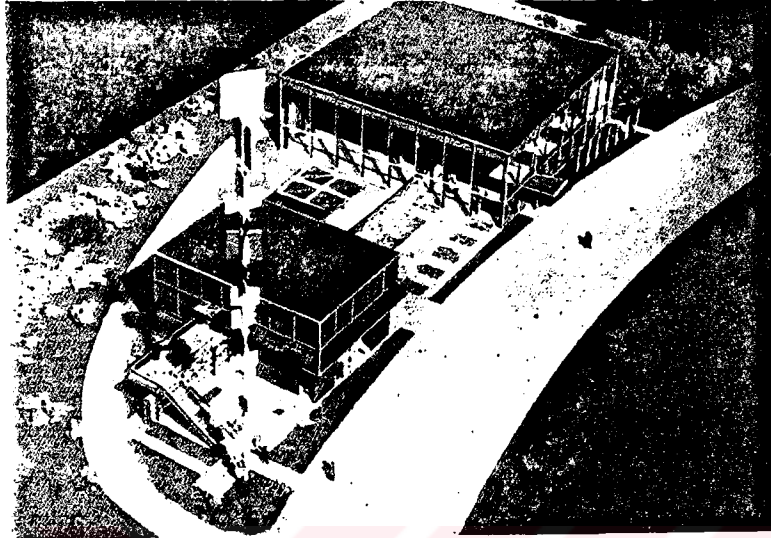


Fig.20.b. Turkish Pavilion in Brussels World's Fair, 1958; aerial view of the model.  
(Kortan, 1971, 80)

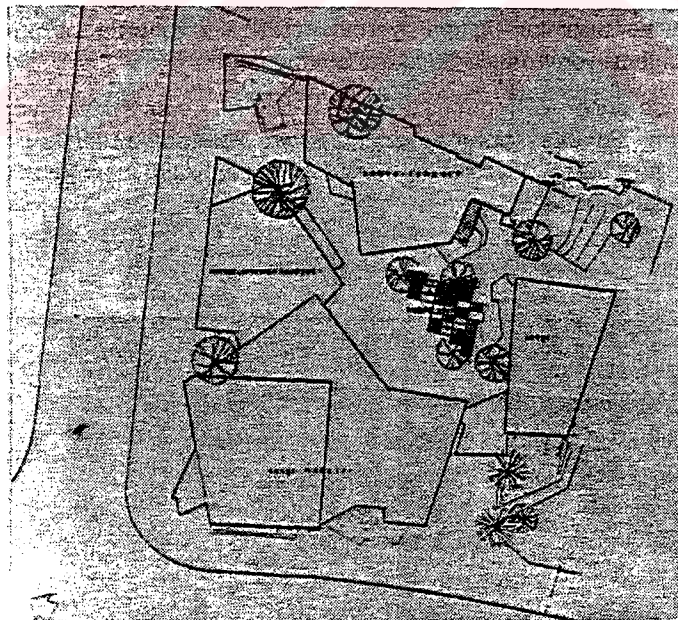


Fig.20.c. Turkish Pavilion in New York World's Fair, 1962, Ruşen Dora and Ünal Demiraslan; site plan.  
(Kortan, 1974, 141)

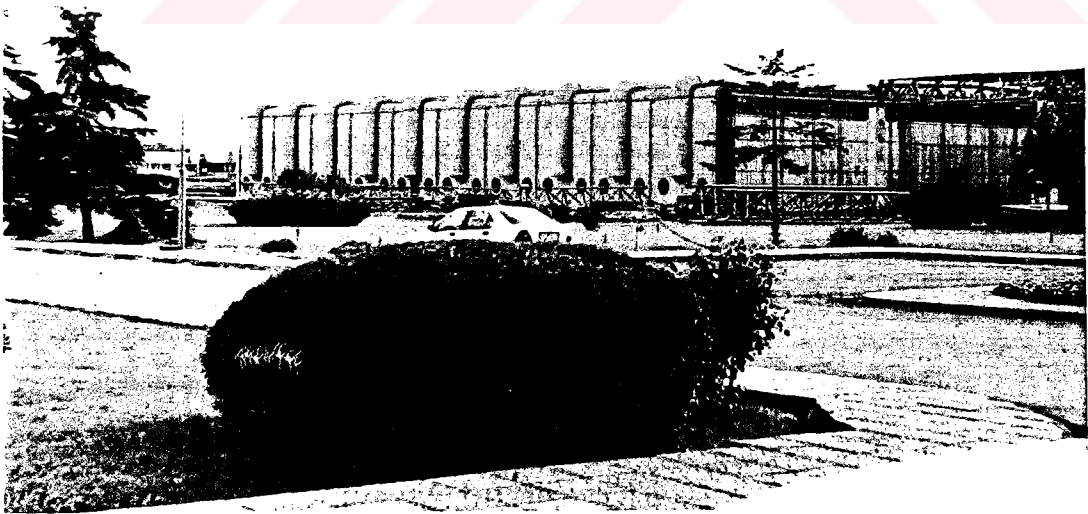


Fig.21.Lassa Tire Factory, İzmit, 1975-1977, Doğan Tekeli and Sami Sisa; general view from the northwest.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)

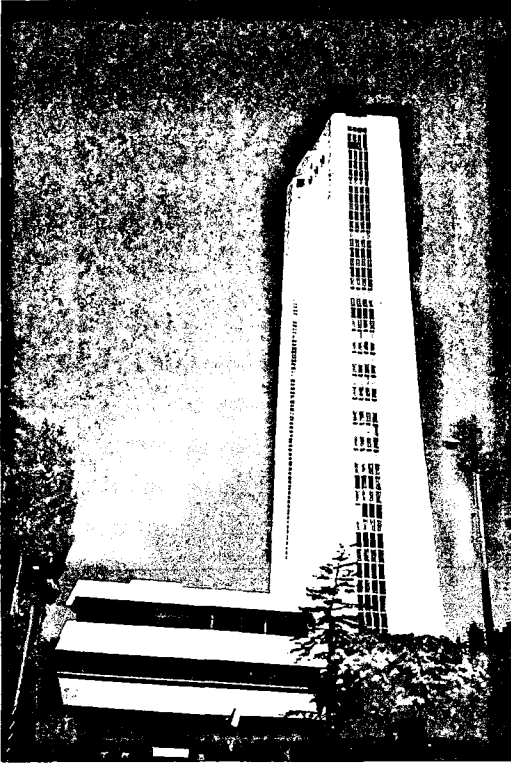


Fig.22.a. İş Bankası Tower, Ankara, 1976, Sargın and Böke; general view from the northwest.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)



Fig.22.b. Odakule, İstanbul, 1975, Kaya Tecimen; view of the narrow elevation.  
(Photo by Afife Batur)



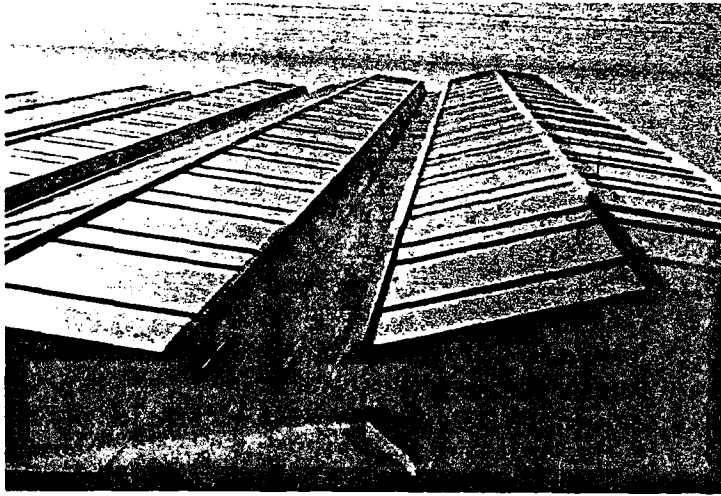


Fig.22.c. Odakule, İstanbul, 1975, Kaya Tecimen;  
detail view of aluminum wainscotings.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)

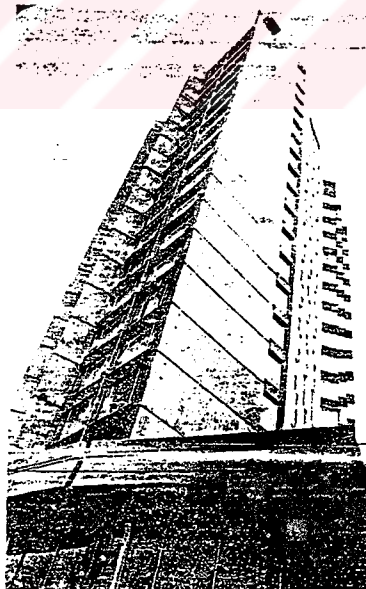


Fig.22.d. Etap Hotel, İstanbul, 1970-1975,  
Yüksel Okan; view of the back  
street elevation.  
(Arkitekt, 1980, 5)

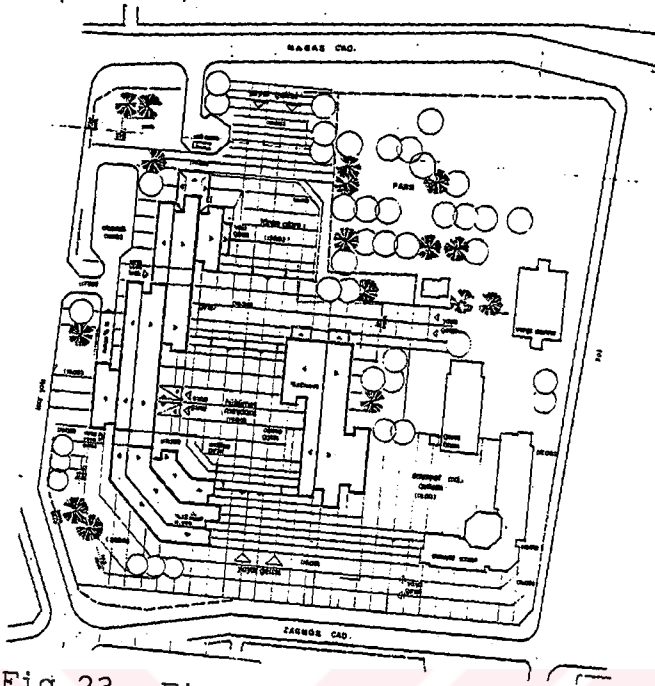


Fig.23. First prize project for Trabzon City Hall, 1979, Mahmut Tuna; site plan. (Mimarlık, 1980, 44)



Fig.24. Turkish Language Society, Ankara, 1972-1978, Cengiz Bektaş; view from the northwest. (Kortan, 1997, 50)



Fig.25. Iranian Primary School, Ankara, 1970s, Altuğ Çinici and Behruz Çinici; view of the entrance. (Yücel, 1984, 149)

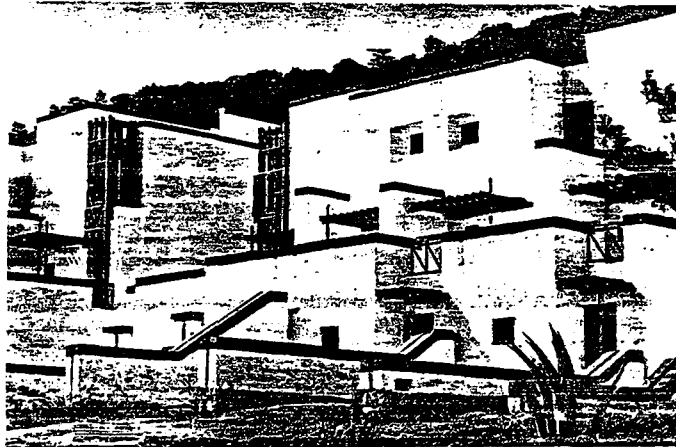


Fig.26. Kemer Holiday Village, Kemer, 1970s, Tuncay Çavdar; general view. (Arkitekt, 1975, 61)



Fig.27.a. Vakıflar Bank, Ankara, 1974-1978, Erdoğan Elmas, Ertuğrul Yener and Zafer Gülçur, view from the northwest.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)

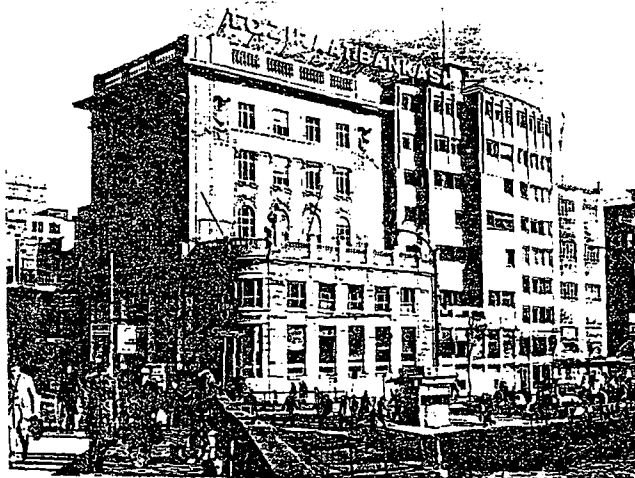


Fig.27.b. Agricultural Bank Extension, İstanbul, 1970s, Muhteşem Giray and Nezih Eldem; general view.  
(Yücel, 1984, 140)



Fig.28. Houses of Deputies, Ankara, 1980s, Altuğ Çinici and Behruz Çinici; elevation drawing.  
(Tanyeli, 1986, 45)

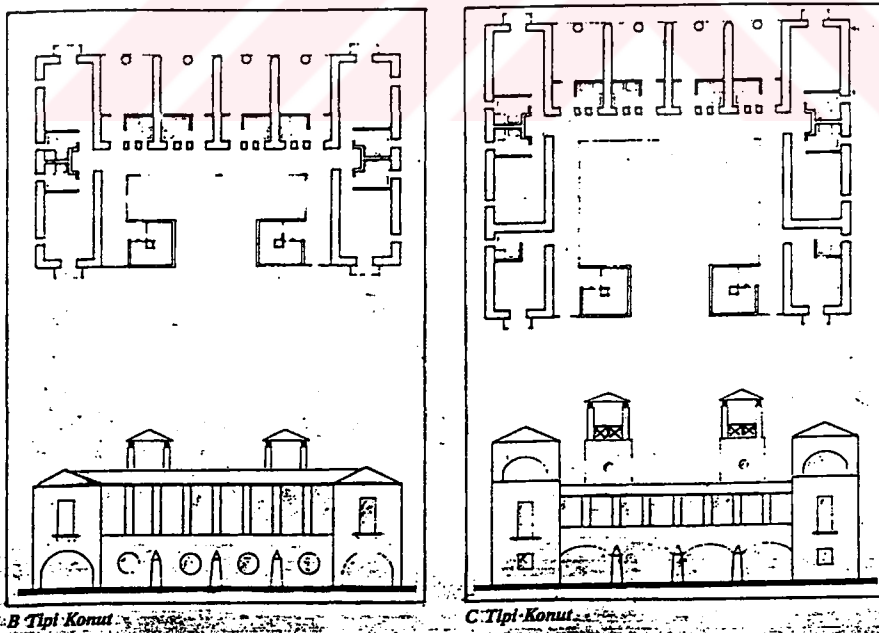


Fig.29. Project for Ekincik Holiday Village, Köyceğiz, 1980s, Ali Esad Göksel; plan types.  
(Mimarlık, 1987, 55)



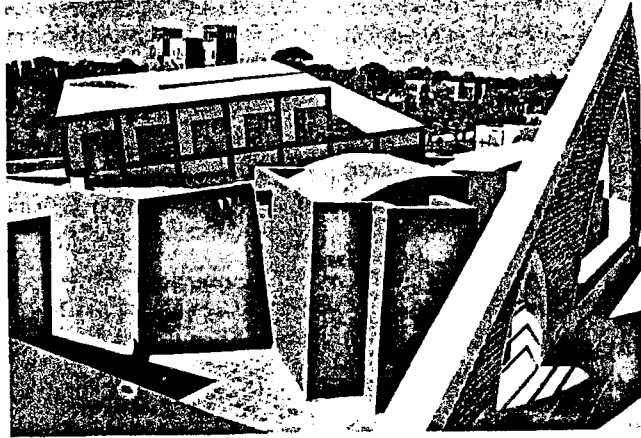


Fig.30.Megasaray Hotel, Belek, 1980s,  
Atölye T; a detail view.  
(Akcan, 1995,115)

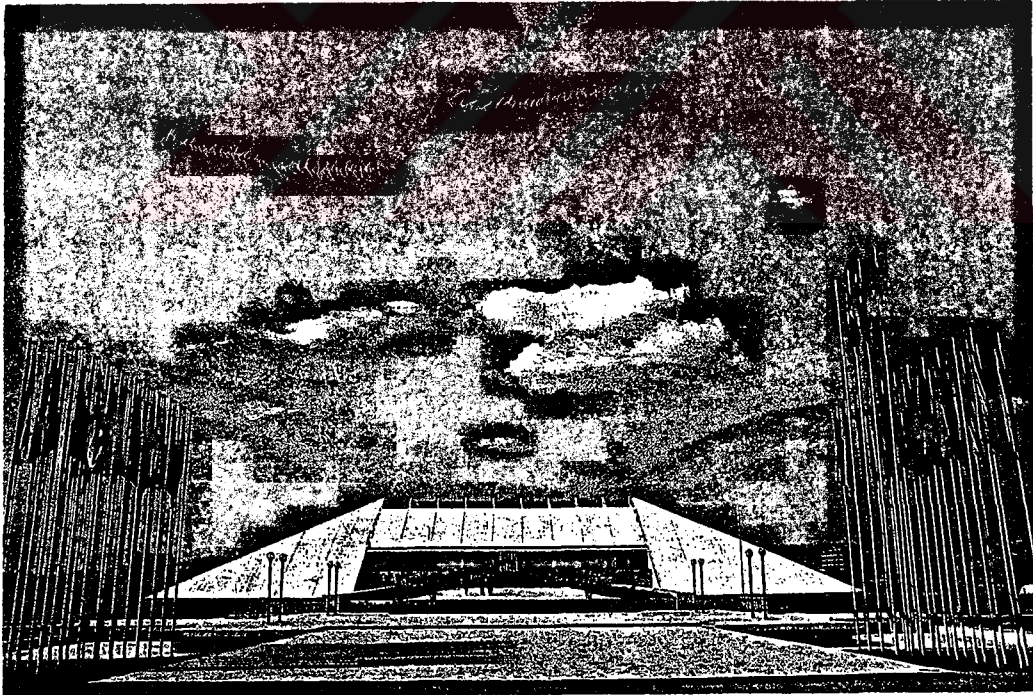


Fig.31.Atatürk Cultural Center, Ankara, 1980s,  
Coşkun Erkal and Filiz Erkal; view of the  
entrance elevation.  
(Ankara, 1982, 175)



Fig.32. Sürücüler Terrace Houses, Ankara, 1980s, Merih Karaaslan; general view. (Akcan, 1995, 115)

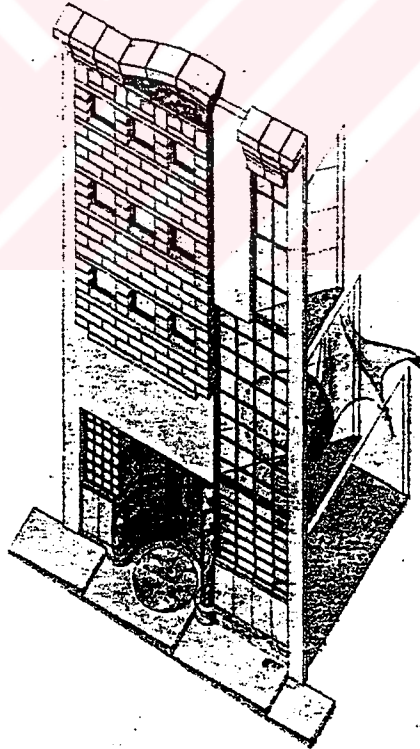


Fig.33. Reklamevi, İstanbul, 1987, Haydar Karabey; perspective drawing of the facade. (Mimarlık, 1988, 41)





Fig.34. Emlak Bankası and Petrol Ofisi Kızılay Service Building, Ankara, 1980s, Sezar Aygen; view of the facade.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)



Fig.35. Atakule, Ankara, 1980s, A. Ragıp Buluç; general view.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)

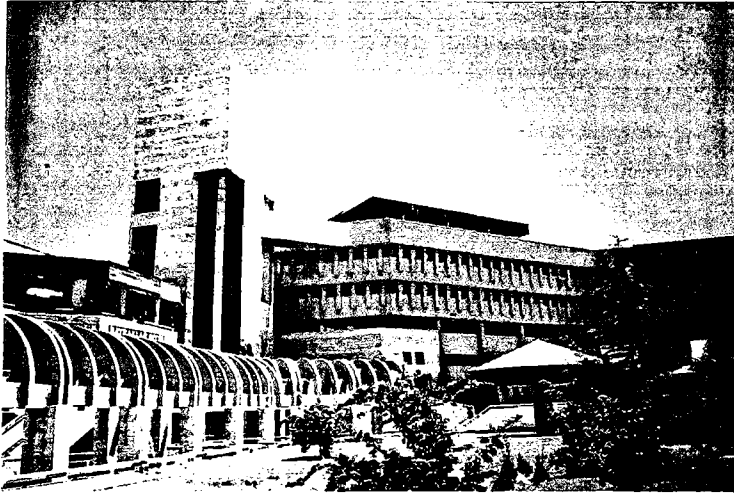


Fig.36.a. Altındağ Municipality Building, Ankara, 1987, Merih Karaaslan; view from the courtyard.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)



Fig.36.b. Kaysu (Kayseri Water Works), Kayseri, 1980s, Merih Karaaslan; view from the southwest.  
(Photo by Yusuf Civelek)

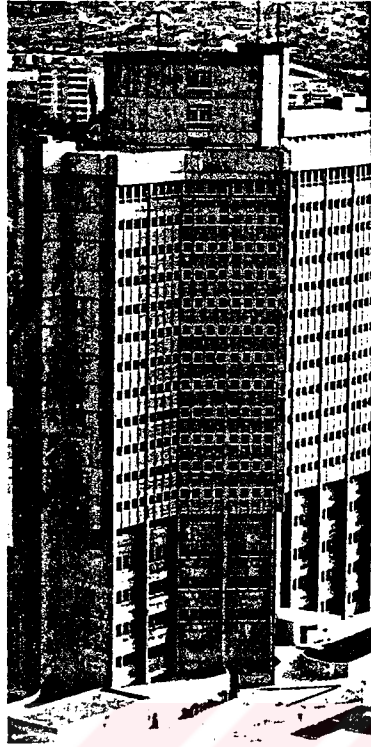


Fig.37.a. Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Ankara, 1980s, Hasan Özbay  
and Tamer Başbuğ; general  
view.  
(Kortan, 1989, 36)



Fig.37.b. Agricultural Bank Service  
Building, Ankara, 1980s,  
İlhami Ural,;general view.  
(Kortan, 1997, 187)



Fig.38.Halkbank Headquarters,  
Ankara, 1980s, Doğan Tekeli  
and Sami Sisa; general view.  
(Mimarlık, 1994, 18)



Fig.39.Klassis Hotel, Silivri, 1980s, Şefik  
Birkiye; general view.  
(Bektaş, 1989, 40)

## REFERENCES

- (1) ANKARA, Kltr Bakanlıđı Gzel Sanatlar Mdrlđ Yayınları, Ankara, 1992.
- (2) ARKİTEKT, "Vakıf İřhanı Proje Msabakası", 1949, n.11-12, pp.213-222 and 251.
- (3) ARKİTEKT, "Test Arařtırma, Eđitsel Araçları Geliřtirme Merkezleri Milli Eđitim Bakanlıđına Ait Arařtırma Binalar Gurubu", 1966, no.321, pp.32-35.
- (4) ARKİTEKT, "İstanbul Kongre Binası Mimari Proje Yarışması", 1969, n.333, pp.33-43.
- (5) ARKİTEKT, "Kemer Tatil Ky", 1975, n.2, pp.60-65.
- (6) ARKİTEKT, "İstanbul Sanayi Odası (Odakule) Binası", 1976, n.2, pp.53-58.
- (7) MİMARLIK, "İzmit'te Bir Lastik Fabrikası", 1978, no.1, pp.36-38.
- (8) ARKİTEKT, "20. Yılında SEYAŐ", 1979, no.1, pp.16-22.
- (9) MİMARLIK, "Trabzon Hkmet Konađı Mimari Proje Yarışması", 1980, n.1, pp.44-49.
- (10) MİMARLIK, "Proje&Uygulama: Turizm, Kıyılar ve Mimarlık", 1987a, n., pp.42-57.
- (11) MİMARLIK, "80 Sonrası Ankara'da Kamu Eliyle Mimarlık", 1987b, n.2, pp.29-67.
- (12) MİMARLIK, "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlıđı ve Mimarlıđımız", 1987c, n.3, p.32.
- (13) MİMARLIK, "I. Ulusal Mimarlık Sergisi ve dlleri zerine", 1988a, n.4, p.29.



- (14) MİMARLIK, "I.Ulusal Mimarlık Sergisi ve Ödülleri", 1988b, n.4, pp.34-45.
- (15) MİMARLIK, "Forum: Son on Yılda Mimarlığımız", 1989, n.1, p.26.
- (16) MİMARLIK, "Çağdaş Mimarlık Akımları ve Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu", 1990a, n.1, pp.30-53..
- (17) MİMARLIK, "Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi "Güzel Ankara" projesi-Kent Girişleri Düzenlemesi, İstanbul Girişi Proje Yarışması", 1990b, n.5-6, pp.58-63.
- (18) THE THAMES AND HUDSON DICTIONARY OF 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARCHITECTURE, Thames and Hudson, London, 1966.
- (19) AKCAN, Esra, "Mimarlığımızda Kimlik - Yer İlişkisi ve İçerik Sorunu", Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu II: Kimlik - Meşruiyet - Etik, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayını, 1996, pp.113-118.
- (20) ALSAÇ, Üstün, "Türk Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Devrindeki Evrimi", Mimarlık, (11/12), 1973, pp.12-25.
- (21) ALSAÇ, Üstün, Türkiye'deki Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi, Trabzon: KTÜ Yayını, 1976.
- (22) ALSAÇ, Üstün, "Türk Mimarlığında Çelişkiler Dönemi", Mimarlık, 1989, n.1, pp.24-25.
- (23) ALTAN, T. Elvan, Historicism in Architecture: a Conceptual Framework for Interpretations of Historicism in Contemporary Turkish and Western Architecture. An Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 1991.
- (24) ARİF, Burhan, "Türk Mimarisi ve Beynelminel Mimarlık Vasıfları", Mimar, 1931, v.2, p.365.
- (25) ASAF, Burhan, "Bizim Mimarlarımız ve bizim Mimari", Mimar, 1934, n. 9, p.241.
- (26) ASLANOĞLU, İnci, Erken Dönem Cumhuriyet Mimarisi, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1980, p.39.
- (27) AYGEN, Sezar, "Milli Üslup'tan Uluslararasıçılığa", Mimarlık, 1989, n.1, pp.25-26.

- (28) AYIRAN, Nezh, "Demokrasi Baęlamında Türk Mimarlıęı", Türkiye Mimarlıęı Sempozyumu II: Kimlik - Meşruiyet - Etik, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayını, 1996, pp.50-55.
- (29) BALAMİR, Aydan K., "Mimarın Kimlik, Meşruiyet, Etik Sorunları ve Mimarlıęın Disipliner Buhranı", Türkiye Mimarlıęı Sempozyumu II: Kimlik - Meşruiyet - Etik, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayını, 1996, pp.24-30.
- (30) BATUR, Afife "To be Modern: Search For A Republican Architecture", Modern Turkish Architecture, (ed.) Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984, pp.68-94.
- (31) BEKTAŞ, Cengiz, "Şu Son On Yilda", Mimarlık, 1989, n.4, p.40.
- (32) BONATZ, Paul, "Yeni Alman Mimarisi (II)", Arkitekt, 1943, n.137/138, p.119.
- (33) BONTA, Juan, "Notes for a Theory of Meaning in Design", in Signs, Symbols and Architecture, (ed.) Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, Charles Jencks, Pitman Press, 1980, pp.275-310.
- (34) BROADBENT, Geoffrey, "General Introduction", in Signs, Symbols and Architecture, (ed.) Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, Charles Jencks, Pitman Press, 1980a, pp.1-6.
- (35) BROADBENT, Geoffrey, "The Deep Structures of Architecture", in Signs, Symbols and Architecture, (ed.) Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, Charles Jencks, Pitman Press, 1980b, pp.119-168.
- (36) BROADBENT, Geoffrey, "Building Design as an Iconic Sign System", in Signs, Symbols and Architecture, (ed.) Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, Charles Jencks, Pitman Press, 1980c, pp.311-332.
- (37) CIUCCI, Giorgio, "Italian Architecture During the Fascist Period", The Harvard Architecture Review, 1987, n. , pp.77-87.
- (38) ECO, Umberto, "Function and Sign: the Semiotics of Architecture", in Signs, Symbols and Architecture, (ed.) Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, Charles Jencks, Pitman Press, 1980a, pp.11-70.



- (39) ECO, Umberto, "A Componential Analysis of the Architectural Sign/Column", in Signs, Symbols and Architecture, (ed.) Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, Charles Jencks, Pitman Press, 1980b, pp.213-232.
- (40) ELDEM, Sedat Hakkı, "Yerli Mimariye Doğru", Arkitekt; 1940, n.5/6, p.69.
- (41) ELDEM, Sedat H., "Elli Yıllık Cumhuriyet Mimarlığı", Mimarlık, 1973, n.11-12, pp.5-11.
- (42) FRAMPTON, Kenneth, Modern Architecture, New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996.
- (43) GANDELSONAS, Mario, and MORTON, David, "On Reading Architecture", in Signs, Symbols and Architecture, (ed.) Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, Charles Jencks, Pitman Press, 1980, pp.243-276.
- (44) GÜR, Şengül Ö., "Çift Kodlu Mimarlık", Mimarlık, 1989, n.4, p.41.
- (45) HARVEY, David, The Condition of Postmodernity, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, p.95.
- (46) HAYS, Michael, "Reproduction and Negation" in Architectureproduction, (ed.) J.Ockman, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988, pp.153-178.
- (47) HASOL, Doğan, "Endüstri ve Mimarlığımız", Mimarlık, Şehircilik ve Türkiye'nin Sorunları, İstanbul: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayını, 1970, pp.49-55.
- (48) JAMESON, Fredric, "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism", in Postmodernism, (ed.) Thomas Docherty, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, p.64, 65.
- (49) JENCKS, Charles, "The Architectural Sign", in Signs, Symbols and Architecture, (ed.) Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, Charles Jencks, Pitman Press, 1980, pp. 71-118.
- (50) KORTAN, Enis, Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi 1950-1960, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1971.

- (51) KORTAN, Enis, Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri ve Eleştirisi 1960-1970, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1974.
- (52) KORTAN, Enis, "Türkiye'de Mimarlık Hareketleri", Mimarlık, 1989, n.3, pp.36-38.
- (53) KORTAN, Enis, 1950'ler Kuşağı Mimarlık Antolojisi, YEM Yayın, İstanbul, 1997.
- (54) KORTAN, Enis, "Mimarlık'ta Modalar ve Evrim", Yapı, 1998, n.199, pp.68-74.
- (55) KUBAN, Doğan, "Gelecek Açısından Günümüz Mimari ve Şehircilik Uygulamalarının Eleştirisi", Mimarlık, Şehircilik ve Türkiye'nin Sorunları, İstanbul: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayını, 1970, pp.76-95.
- (56) KUBAN, Doğan, "1980'lerde Türkiye'de Mimarlık: Genel Bir Değerlendirme", Mimarlık, 1986, n.2, pp.29-31.
- (57) LANG, Jon, Creating Architectural Theory: The Role of the Behavioral Sciences in Environmental Design, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1987, p.180.
- (58) LANG, Jon, "Theories of Perception and 'Formal' Design, in Designing for Human Behavior, (ed.) Jon Lang, Charles Burnette, Walter Moleski, David Vachon, Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania: Dowden, Hutchingson & Ross, c1974, p.103.
- (59) Mimar Behçet ve Bedrettin, "Mimarlıkta İnkılap", Mimar, 1933, n.8, p.247.
- (60) Mimar Behçet ve Bedrettin, "Türk İnkılap Mimarisi", Mimar, 1933, n.8, p.265.
- (61) NORBERG-SCHULZ, C., Meaning in Western Architecture, New York: Praeger, 1975.
- (62) NORBERG-SCHULZ, C., Intentions in Architecture, Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1965, p.157.
- (63) ONAT, E. and ARDA, O., "Anıt-Kabir", Arkitekt, 1954, v. 24, p. 57-58.
- (64) ÖZER, Bülent, Rejyonolizm, Üiversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarlığımız Üzerine Bir Deneme, İstanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayını, 1964.

- (65) ÖZER, Bülent, "Mimaride Üslup, Batı ve Biz", Mimarlık, Şehircilik ve Türkiye'nin Sorunları, İstanbul: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayını, 1970, pp.25-48.
- (66) ÖZKER, Özlem, "Mimarlığımızda Kimlik Sorununun Tarihsel Süreç İçinde İrdelenmesi", Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu II: Kimlik - Meşruiyet - Etik, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayını, 1996, pp.91-95.
- (67) PRAK, Niels Luning, The Language of Architecture, Mouton & co., 1968.
- (68) PREZIOSI, Donald, Architecture, Language, and Meaning, Mouton Publishers, 1979.
- (69) SAİM, Samih, "Bugünkü Mimari Telakkiler", Mimar, 1931a, n.1, p.85.
- (70) SAİM, Samih, "Yeni Unsurlar", Mimar, 1931b, n.2, p.135.
- (71) SÖZEN, Metin, Elli Yılın Türk Mimarisi, Ankara: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1973.
- (72) SÖZEN, Metin, Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarisi, Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1996.
- (73) SPERBER, Dan, Rethinking Symbolism, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975(1991), pp. 51-52.
- (74) TANYELİ, Uğur, and KAZMAOĞLU, Mine, "1980'li Yıllarda Türk Mimarlık Dünyasına Bir Bakış", Mimarlık, 1986, n.2, pp.31-47.
- (75) TANYELİ, Uğur, "Tarih, Tasarım ve Mimarlıkta Geçmişten Yararlanma Üzerine Gözlemler", Mimarlık, 1988, n.2, pp.61-64.
- (76) TANYELİ, Uğur, "Türk Mimarının Etik Sorunu", Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu II: Kimlik - Meşruiyet - Etik, Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayını. 1996, pp.108-112.
- (77) TAPAN, Mete, "International Style: Liberalism in Architecture", Modern Turkish Architecture, Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin (ed.), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvana Press, 1984, pp.105-119.

- (78) TEKELİ, İlhan, "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey", Modern Turkish Architecture, Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin (ed.), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984, pp.9-33.
- (79) TÜRKMEN, Muhlis, "Mimaride Karmaşa", Mimarlık, 1989, n.2, pp. 31-32.
- (80) URAL, Somer, "Türkiye'nin Sosyal Ekonomisi ve Mimarlık 1923-1960", Mimarlık, 1974, n.1-2, pp.5-51.
- (81) ÜNSAL, Behçet, "Kübik Yapı ve Konfor", Arkitekt, 1939, no.3/4, p.60.
- (82) ÜNSAL, Behçet, "Fikir Hareketleri ve Cumhuriyet Mimarlığımıza Dair", Arkitekt, 1976, n.1, p.39.
- (83) WHITEHEAD, Alfred, N., Symbolism: Its Meaning and Effect, New York: Fordham University Press, 1927 (1985).
- (84) YAVUZ, Yıldırım, "Finding a National Idiom: The First National Style", Modern Turkish Architecture, Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin (ed.), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984, pp.51-68.
- (85) YÜCEL, Atilla, "Pluralism Takes Command: The Turkish Architectural Scene Today", Modern Turkish Architecture, Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin (ed.), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984, pp.119-152.
- (86) YÜCEL, Atilla, "Farklı Mimarlıklar", Mimarlık, 1989, n.2, pp.30-31.