

ARCHITECTURE OF THE STATE: ANKARA *İSTASYON CADDESİ*
IN THE LATE OTTOMAN AND EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIODS

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Yaşar Kondakçı
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel
Head of Department

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

Prof. Dr. T. Elvan Altan
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lale Özgenel	(METU, AH)	_____
Prof. Dr. T. Elvan Altan	(METU, AH)	_____
Prof. Dr. Adile Nuray Bayraktar	(Başkent Üni., MİM)	_____
Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan	(TEDU, ARCH)	_____
Prof. Dr. Namık Günay Erkal	(TEDU, ARCH)	_____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : CEM DEDEKARGINOĞLU

Signature :

ABSTRACT

ARCHITECTURE OF THE STATE: ANKARA *İSTASYON CADDESİ* IN THE LATE OTTOMAN AND EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIODS

DEDEKARGİNOĞLU, Cem

M.A., Department of History of Architecture

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. T. Elvan Altan

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This study focuses on the late 19th and early 20th century urban transformation of Ankara as exemplified in the development of the axis connecting the train station to the city center. The temporal scope of the research starts with the 1890s when the train station was constructed and its connection with the city was established, and ends at the turn of the 1930s until when a number of buildings were erected on the *İstasyon Caddesi* axis, and when Jansen's proposal for the development plan of Ankara started to be implemented. Analyzing the spatial alterations on *İstasyon Caddesi* in this chronological order, the study aims to discuss the relation of the architecture of the state in that period with the contemporary processes of state-building, modernization and nation-building, and to underline the continuity and change in the construction of the built environment in the case of the transformation of Ankara from a provincial center of the Empire at the end of the 19th century to the modernized capital city of the Republic in the beginning of the 20th century.

Keywords: Late Ottoman Architecture, Early Republican Architecture, First National Architectural Movement, Ankara, Station Street.

ÖZ

DEVLETİN MİMARLIĞI: GEÇ OSMANLI VE ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMLERİNDE ANKARA İSTASYON CADDESİ

DEDEKARGINOĞLU, Cem

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. T. Elvan Altan

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Bu çalışma, tren istasyonu ile kent merkezini birbirine bağlayan aksın gelişimi üzerinden, Ankara'nın 19. yüzyılın sonunda ve 20. yüzyıl başında yaşamış olduğu kentsel ölçekteki dönüşüme odaklanmaktadır. Çalışmada incelenen zaman aralığı belirlenirken, 1890'larda tren istasyonunun ve kentle bağlantısının oluşturulması temel almakta ve 1930'ların başında Jansen'in Ankara İmar Planı önerisinin uygulanmaya başlanmasına kadar olan sürede İstasyon Caddesi aksı üzerine inşa edilen yapılar incelenmektedir. Çalışmada, İstasyon Caddesi'ndeki mekânsal değişimlerin kronolojik sırayla incelenmesi yoluyla, dönemin kamu mimarisi ile aynı dönemdeki devlet inşası, modernleşme ve ulus inşası süreçleri arasındaki ilişkiyi tartışmak ve Ankara kentinin 19. yüzyıl sonunda İmparatorluk'un bölgesel bir merkezinden 20. yüzyıl başında Cumhuriyet'in modernleşmiş başkentine dönüşümü sürecinde yapılı çevrenin inşasındaki süreklilik ve değişimi vurgulamak hedeflenmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Geç Osmanlı Dönemi Mimarlığı, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı, Birinci Ulusal Mimarlık Hareketi, Ankara, İstasyon Caddesi.

To my dear parents
Alev and Kazım Dedekargınođlu,
and in loving memory of my grandmother
Letafet Dedekargınođlu.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim and Scope

This study starts from a common belief about the ideological characteristics of the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey, which created a dominant approach not only in conventional architectural historiography, but also in other fields of social studies. Despite the canonic binary opposition between the characteristics of the Empire and the Republic, which was expressed and solidified by the use of the term “fraction”¹, recent studies examine the historical continuity in between the modernization attempts of the Ottoman Empire to that of the Turkish Republic; and this study attempts to undertake a similar comparison of the built environments of these contexts by examining the interventions in the urban and architectural fields.

This type of a binary opposition is rooted in the evaluation of the 19th century Ottoman modernization and its impacts on the socio-political “framing” of Turkey.² Here, the dichotomy between the new and the old, the progressive and the regressive, and thus the modern and the traditional was explicitly being revealed in the propaganda materials of structuring the new Turkish nation-state in the 1920s and the 1930s, by breaking the bonds with the multi-cultural, multi-national and non-secular

¹ Tunçay, Mete. *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetimi'nin Kurulması: 1923-1931*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2005, p. 181.

² Zürcher, Erik Jan. *Turkey: A Modern History*. 3th ed. London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 2006, p. 1-2.

Empire.³ One side of the duality representing the new is exemplified in its best on the visual and verbal expressions in the official magazine *La Turquie Kamaliste*,⁴ which is explained by Güner as “the behind-the-scenes display of a legacy of self-definition of the Turkish Republic through the state apparatus”,⁵ and the other representing the old was materialized through the famous slogan of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic, “Let’s not stop, otherwise we will fall” (*Durmamalım Düşeriz*). (Figure 1.1)



Figure 1.1: A photograph taken on *İstiklal Caddesi* during the parade of the 10th anniversary of the Republic, including the celebratory structure with the label “Let’s not stop, otherwise we will fall”, 1933.

(Cengiz Kahraman collection.)

³ Kezer, Zeynep. *Building Modern Turkey: State, Space, and Ideology in the Early Republic*. Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015, p. 51.

⁴ For a comprehensive study on the framework and outputs of *La Turquie Kamâlîste*, see: Özükan, bülent (ed.). *Bugünün Bilgileriyle Kemal'in Türkiye'si: La Turquie Kamâlîste*. İstanbul, Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2012.

⁵ Güner, Kağan. *Modern Türk Sanatının Doğuşu: Konstrüktivist Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Kültür ve İdeoloji*. Edited by Ogan Güner. İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2014, p. 144.

The period covering the years between 1923 and 1950 was evaluated as *radical modernity* by Tekeli in that respect, which is explained as the sequent of *shy modernity* of the last decades of the 19th century.⁶ The terminological difference that Tekeli precisely paid attention to defines the phases⁷ of the modernization process⁸ starting from the attempts of the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire with the international capitalist system in the mid-19th century. This inevitably resulted in the changes in the economic, social and political structure of the Empire, and also affected the urban fabric and architecture with the emergence of new building typologies related with the bureaucratic and economic transformation.⁹ The reason that made the Ottoman modernization *shy* in that sense was the piecemeal attitudes of the rehabilitation of the existing urban fabric, and the partiality of the reforms that were expected to regulate the production of the urban space.¹⁰ The lingering modernity project of the 19th century swung into high gear with the initiative of the founding elite of the Republic in 1920s.

⁶ Tekeli, İlhan. “Kent Tarihi Yazımı Konusunda Yeni Bir Paradigma Önerisi.” In “*Cumhuriyet*”’in *Ankara’sı: Özcan Altaban’a Armağan*, edited by Tansı Şenyapılı. Ankara: ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2006, pp. 2-7.

⁷ The assimilation of the modernity project by the central authority of the Empire and even by the Sultans themselves was not a smooth process, but rather sprung from a series of coups, upheavals, and civil wars that took place in the 18th and early 19th century. See: Ahmad, Feroz. *The Making of Modern Turkey*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993, pp. 15-31.

⁸ Tekeli illustrated the process of the internalization of the modernity project in four phases; namely looking for the solutions of the problems in *status quo* and reviving the golden age, the instrumental and unwillingly entrance to the modernity project, the emergence of the diffusionist groups claiming for power to establish a fundamentalist relation with the modernity project, and the dissolution of the Empire with the emergence of nation-states that adopted a new relationship with the project, i.e. *radical modernity*. Tekeli, İlhan. *Modernizm, Modernite ve Türkiye’de Kent Planlama Tarihi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009, pp. 48-52.

⁹ Tekeli, İlhan. *Türkiye’nin Kent Planlama ve Kent Araştırmaları Tarihi Yazıları*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010, pp. 303-308.

¹⁰ Tekeli, İlhan. “Bir Modernite Projesi Olarak Türkiye’de Kent Planlaması.” *Ege Mimarlık* 16 (1995), p. 53.

In order to understand how the modernity project of the late Ottoman period was accelerated with the project of the founders of the Republic of Turkey in concrete and tectonic matters of fact, Tekeli illustrated a quadripartite structure: the proclamation of Ankara as the new culturally-homogenized capital city, which was aimed to be a model for the urban development of the country; the rapid development of a countrywide railroad construction program, which would connect the peripheries with the cities and the capital city of the Republic; the constitution of a light industrialization program in the cities connected to the railroad network as the economical counterpart; and the propaganda for the new culture, art and science for the new nation-state by People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) established in many cities.¹¹ As the role-model of the spatial, infrastructural, economic and cultural program of the Republic, the new capital Ankara, together with its urban and cultural development, was framed in this context as the victorious signature and end-product of the new regime,¹² and with the discourse of being “the heart of the new nation”.¹³

However, neither the binary opposition between the Empire and the Republic, nor the purification of Ankara as “the city built from scratch” were totally relevant.¹⁴ By reading the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire in detail focusing on its reasons and considering the intellectual and theoretical growth and bifurcation in the

¹¹ Tekeli, 2009, pp. 156-158.

¹² Cengizkan, Ali. *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı: Kentsel Mekan Özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı'na ve Bugüne Katkıları, Etki ve Kalıntıları*. Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı & Arkadaş Yayıncılık, 2004, pp. 12-13.

¹³ Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. Washington: Washington University Press, 2001, pp. 82-83.

¹⁴ Batuman, Bülent. “City Profile: Ankara.” *Cities* 31 (2013): 578–590, p. 578.

last decades of the 19th century,¹⁵ it is explicit to determine that the roots of the Republican “radical” modernization was hidden inside its Ottoman “shy” predecessor. Moreover, the growth of the city of Ankara between the late 19th and early 20th century reveals this situation in its best, by the developmental and spatial characteristics of the city that flourished out of the citadel and the historical center.

In that respect, the story of *İstasyon Caddesi*, the avenue which connected the old city to the train station in Ankara, gains importance. (Figure 1.2.) As one of the first major urban interventions that can be treated as “modern”, the establishment of the avenue paved the way for not only reaching the new train station from the old city, but also creating an attraction area for the concrete setting of the new modernized Ottoman bureaucracy, and later a prestigious scenery for the new Republic.¹⁶ By taking into account the two urban spaces on both ends of the axis, the Train Station and its Square, and the Governor’s Office and its Square, it is intended to read the urban development of Ankara from a modest city of the Empire to the splendid capital city of the Republic, in harmony with the political, cultural and architectural events of the era.¹⁷ The formation of *İstasyon Caddesi* in Ankara as the developing axis of the Anatolian town of the Empire at the outskirts of the Citadel,¹⁸ and its transformation

¹⁵ For a research on the ideological diversification of the Ottoman intelligentsia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see: Karpat, Kemal H. *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi: Toplum, Kuramsal Değişim ve Nüfus*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2017, pp. 79-86.

¹⁶ Avcı, Yasemin. *Osmanlı Hükümet Konakları: Tanzimat Döneminde Kent Mekânında Devletin Erki ve Temsili*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017, p. 138.

¹⁷ Bozdoğan, Sibel. “Reading Ottoman Architecture Through Modernist Lenses: Nationalist Historiography And The ‘New Architecture’ In The Early Republic.” *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 199–222.

¹⁸ Indeed, the typology of *İstasyon Caddesi* is apparent in the transformation of the many Anatolian cities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For the studies on different examples, see: Çetin, Sıdıka. “Geç Osmanlıdan Erken Cumhuriyete İç Batı Anadolu’da Kentsel Yapının Değişimi: Manisa, Afyon, Burdur Ve Isparta Kentleri Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir İnceleme (1).” *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 29, no. 2 (2012): 89–126; Özten, Meltem. “Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Anadolu Kentinde Bir Modernleşme Aracı Olarak İstasyon Caddesinin İncelenmesi: Ankara Örneği.” Unpublished Master’s Thesis. Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 2001; Yıldız, Esra, Süheyla Büyükaşahin-Sıramkaya, and Dicle Yıldız. “Anadolu Kent Kimliğinin Oluşumunda İstasyon Caddeleri: Konya Örneği.” *Arkitera*, 2017. Retrieved November 10, 2017 from:

as the nucleus of the new Republican capital¹⁹ present a fertile ground to discuss the ideological clashes and their expressions in architectural and urban context.

Architectural production is the end-product of a multi-faceted process, including the involvement of multiple actors. By looking through the perspective of the Ottoman-Turkish modernization in the late 19th and early 20th century, this web of relation gets much more complicated because of the economic and political conditions of the geography that obstructed the dominancy of the state on the production of the built environment. Moreover, scrutinizing this complexity is important to understand their impact on the flourishing of the “Architecture of the State”, in stylistic, spatial and ideological manners, with respect to the prevalent Turkist-nationalist political climate of the era.

Focusing on the role of the state in this framework of analysis, the main purposes of the research are to discuss the relation of the architecture of the state²⁰ in that period with the contemporary processes of state-building, modernization and nation-building, and to underline the continuity and change in the construction of the built environment in the case of the transformation of Ankara as a provincial center of the Empire at the end of the 19th century and the new modernized capital city of the Republic in the beginning of the 20th century. In that sense, the spatial alterations on the axis that connected the city with the station will be examined by analyzing the buildings and the public spaces located on or around *İstasyon Caddesi*. Moreover,

<http://www.arkitera.com/gorus/1104/anadolu-kent-kimliginin-olusumunda-istasyon-caddeleri-konya-ornegi>. Yet, the contextual relation of *İstasyon Caddesi* in Ankara with the transformation of the role of the city created a unique position and the geopolitical and historical relationship of the city with the train station in the late 19th century had a great contribution on that. See: Aktüre, Sevgi. *19. Yüzyılın Sonunda Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümlemesi*. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1979.

¹⁹ Cengizkan, 2004, pp. 11-31.

²⁰ The term was taken from: Altan-Ergut, Elvan. “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: Tanımlar, Sınırlar, Olanaklar.” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 7, no. 13 (2009a): 122.

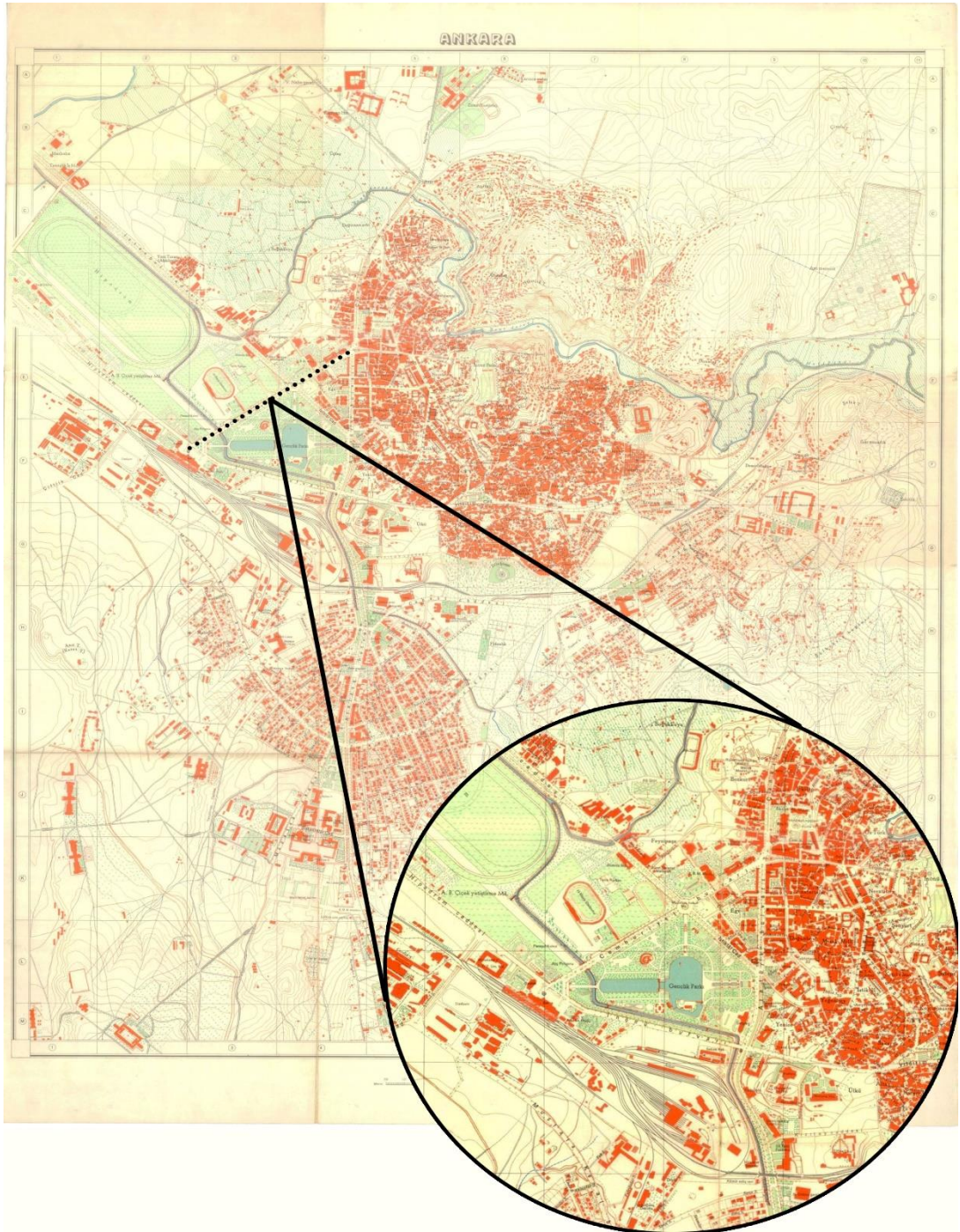


Figure 1.2: The research area in the city, marked on 1944 Ankara Map by the author.

(VEKAM Ankara Map Collection, Inventory No: H006.)

another aim of this study is to provide a fresh look on the topic of analysis not only on the level of argumentation, but also with the compilation of the related literature in a broader range, from the most canonic ones to the current studies. Besides those on the temporal scope of the thesis, a variety of sources from the 16th, 17th and 18th century economic and political history of Ottoman cities, and the fluctuating past of central Anatolia and Ankara in that era will also be used as related to the discussion of the study.²¹ The temporal scope of the research between the 1890s and the turn of the 1930s covers a number of buildings and open spaces on the axis of the avenue, erected specifically between 1892, the year of the arrival of the railroad to Ankara, and 1928, when Hermann Jansen's proposal on the development plan of Ankara was

²¹ Only a glance on the condition of Ankara and the Empire before 1892 is preferred to be included because of the limited scope of the study. To provide a basis for the future studies, the scholars interested in working on that context by aiming to look upon the change of the built environment can see: Aktüre, Sevgi. *19. Yüzyılın Sonunda Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümlemesi*. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 1979; Aktüre, Sevgi. "17. ve 18. Yüzyıllarda Ankara." In *Ankara Ankara*, edited by Enis Batur, 87–108. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994; Aktüre, Sevgi. "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler." In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2nd ed., edited by Aysıl Tükel-Yavuz, 3–48. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000; Aktüre, Sevgi. "1830'dan 1930'a Ankara'da Günlük Yaşam." In *Tarih İçinde Ankara II: Aralık 1998 Seminer Bildirileri*, edited by Yıldırım Yavuz, 35–74. Ankara: Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture Press, 2001; Akyüz-Orat, Jülide. "Bir Kez Daha Anadolu'da Kıtık Yılı: 1887 Kıtığı." In *Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç'e Armağan*, edited by Ümit Ekin, 293–307. İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 2013; Aydın, Suavi, Kudret Emiroğlu, Ömer Türkoğlu, and Ergi Deniz Özsoy. *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara*. Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 2005, pp. 150-408; Ayhan-Koçyiğit, Elif Selena. "A Tale of Ulus Square: A Critical Assessment of Continuity, Transformation and History in a Historic Public Open Space in Ankara." Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Middle East Technical University, The Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences, 2018; Bağlum, Kemal. *Beşbin Yılda Nereden Nereye Ankara*. Ankara, 1992; Çadırcı, Musa. "Yönetim Merkezi Olarak Ankara'nın Geçirdiği Evrim." In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2nd ed., edited by Aysıl Tükel-Yavuz, 89–96. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000; Ergenç, Özer. "XVII. Yüzyılın Başlarında Ankara'nın Yerleşim Durumu Üzerine Bazı Bilgiler." *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 1 (1980): 85–108; Ergenç, Özer. "16. Yüzyıl Ankara'sı: Ekonomik, Sosyal Yapısı ve Kentsel Özellikleri." In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2nd ed., edited by Aysıl Tükel-Yavuz, 49–58. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000; Eyice, Semavi. "Ankara'nın Eski Bir Resmi: Tarihi Vesika Olarak Resimler – Ankara'dan Bahseden Seyyahlar – Eski Bir Ankara Resmi." In *Atatürk Konferansları: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yıllık Konferansları* v.4, 61–124. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1971; Galanti, Avram. *Ankara Tarihi*. Ankara: Çağlar Yayınları, 2005; Georgeon, François. "Keçi Kılından Kalpağa: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Son Yüzyılında Ankara'nın Gelişimi." In *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, edited by Paul Dumont and François -Georgeon, 99–115. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996; Tamur, Erman. "Ankara Keçisi Yetiştiriciliği ve Ankara Tiftik Sanayi Tarihine Genel Bir Bakış." In *Tarihi Dokumak: Bir Kentin Gizemi, Sof*, edited by Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu and Gözde Çerçioğlu-Yücel, 71–86. Ankara: Koç Üniversitesi VEKAM, 2018.

chosen to be applied after a limited competition. The planning of Ankara shifted the axis of development from the beginning of the 1930s onwards to the north-south direction and overshadowed the importance of the avenue with a new axis connecting the new city (*Yenişehir*) with the old one, which was also new once upon a time. However, the selected milestones are open to critique regarding the canonical periodization in the disciplines of architectural, political, and urban history.²² It is eminent that the modernization of the peripheral cities had started far before 1892 and the realization of the Jansen Plan and the decline of *İstasyon Caddesi* did not suddenly occur in 1928. Yet, in order to illustrate the transition period of Ankara coherently and extensively, the years when the development on that axis accelerated and declined are taken as milestones in this study.

1.2. Methodology and Organization

This study is intended to be framed around the concept of *historical continuity* in an affirmative position of reading history by emphasizing the flow from the Empire to the Republic theoretically and physically²³. Burke used that term apart from the pejorative uses of the word “continuity”, and instrumentalized it for analyzing the conceptualization asserted by Bourdieu in the terms of “cultural reproduction” and “social reproduction”, with the help of agents of socialization, like parents, teachers,

²² For instance, Aslanoğlu drew the line on the year 1932, when the first People’s House was inaugurated in Ankara, the principle of statism (*devletçilik*) in economy was adopted, and the architectural competition of the Exhibition House (*Sergievi*) was opened, depicting that the style of the building should be “modern”. (Aslanoğlu, İnci N. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938*. Ankara: Bilge Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 2010 (1980), pp. 45-54). On the other hand, Tunçay designates the year 1931 as the turning point, when the third congress of Republican People’s Party proclaimed the regime as a party-state (Tunçay, 2005, p. 311), and Tankut as 1932, when the development plans of Jansen were approved. (Tankut, Gönül. *Bir Başkent’in İmarı: Ankara (1929-1939)*. Ankara: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1993, p. 25.)

²³ Burke, Peter. *History and Social Theory*. 2nd ed. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1992, p. 159.

employers, priests.²⁴ Moreover, the agents could be varied considering the specificity of the structure of the Ottoman social fabric and how it was reconstructed during the establishment of the Turkish nation-state. The concept of *invention* in history²⁵ and its reflections by both reading from the efforts of inventing an Ottoman identity in the Empire²⁶ and by re-contextualizing the old icons and rituals into new frames²⁷ in order to construct a Turkish national identity through its architectural and urban expression, and the theoretical background of the invention of different modernisms²⁸ with the distortion of traditions with paradigm shifts²⁹ also provides a basis for the discussion of this study. Moreover, the analogy of Mardin for illustrating the Turkish modernization on the tension and the relation between the center and the periphery is also taken as a recurrent motive for the explanation of the chronological events,³⁰ essentially for the development of the city of Ankara as a peripheral Ottoman city, which would later emerge as the nucleus of the new Turkish state. (Appendix A)

²⁴ For a detailed analysis on that, see: Altan-Ergut, Tomris Elvan. "Making A National Architecture: Architecture and the Nation-State in Early Republican Turkey." Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation. Graduate School of Binghamton University: State University of New York, 1998, pp. 39-57.

²⁵ Hobsbawm, Eric. J. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric. J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1–3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

²⁶ Hobsbawm, Eric. J. *Nation and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 67.

²⁷ Deringil, Selim. "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 1 (1993): 6-13.

²⁸ Vidler, Anthony. *Yaşadığımız Günün Tarihleri: Mimarlıkta Modernizmi İcat Etmek* (Trans. Alp Tümertekin). İstanbul: Janus, 2016, pp. 137-143.

²⁹ On an ideological debate about the term of "paradigm shift" and its intricate relationship with the process of modernization, see: Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. London: Penguin Books, 1988, pp. 15-36.

³⁰ Mardin, Şerif. *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler 4*, 21–79. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991.

In order to create a general overview of the contextual and political frame of the era and its material expression in architecture and urbanism, the canonical theoretical works will be mainly referred to. Moreover, a number of theses, articles and contemporary books that are broadening an event, building or controversy related with the scope of the work will also be helpful, as listed in the bibliography. The visuals and maps will be used both from the secondary printed sources including encyclopedias, manuals, and theses and the primary libraries and archives, namely Ministry of Culture and Tourism National Library of Turkey, Koç University Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Research Center (VEKAM), İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library, SALT Research, and Goethe Institute, as well as those belonging to the collections of individuals.

Following the introduction, the second chapter of the study is, in that respect, focused on the process of the relation between the state and the modernization of the built environment from the late Ottoman to the early Republican period. The reforms after the enactment of the Tanzimat Decree in 1839, which is found essential as the first announcement of the state to have fundamental changes in its structure as well as the society,³¹ were solidified on the reformation of the built environment in a short period of time, and with the emergence of the new building typologies such as military barracks, schools and administrative units, the urban fabric of the cities steadily transformed. The provision of the railroad and telegraph network throughout the Empire eventuated in the erection of train stations, and telegraph and post offices. The new urban regulations of the 19th century opened the way for the rationalization of the urban fabric, and the adoption of the use of urban space in a new concept of publicity depending on the modernist living norms and habits in the newly formed avenues, squares and gardens. Furthermore, the rise of the Turkist-nationalist ideology at the turn of the 19th century affected the architectural expression of the state, and resulted in an attempt to create a genuine order of architecture and

³¹ Zürcher, 2004, p. 56.

ornamentation, which was adopted with the title of “national architecture” (*Millî Mimarî*). In that sense, the aspects of the modernization of the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and how those were adopted, revised and reused in the first years of the Republic are briefly defined in this chapter. Moreover, the recontextualization of the style after the collapse of the Empire, and the reuse of the existing built environment inherited by the Republic from its processor will be defined in the framework.

By relying on this framework, the third chapter will focus on the case of *İstasyon Caddesi* in Ankara in order to analyze the architecture of the state as formed along its axis. Starting with a general overview of the city before the arrival of the railroad, the chapter will examine the formation of the axis as a consequence of the construction of the train stations, and typical governmental buildings in the peripheral cities of the Empire including Ankara for the sake of the bureaucratic modernization of the Empire. The consequent formation of a governmental district in Ankara, and the formation of public urban spaces during the late 19th and early 20th century will be studied. On the following part, the development of the axis will be mentioned in the chronological change of the sociopolitical events that reformed the city from its foundations, which are the change of the regime of the Empire, the Independence War commanded from the city after the defeat of the Empire in the First World War, and the establishment of the new Republic that accepted Ankara as the new capital city. Onto that framework, the development of the buildings and urban spaces, their particular architectural and spatial qualities, and the interrelation of those as functional subsidiaries and by means of the formation of the urban scenery of the Republic will be explained in detail. Lastly, the process of the making of the Jansen plan, which suggested the direction of development of the city on a different axis, and the related decline of *İstasyon Caddesi* in time with the implementation of the plan will be specified as concluding the analysis.

CHAPTER 2

THE STATE AND MODERNIZATION OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

On the turn of the 19th century, the rise of national identities and nationalist movements throughout Europe kept abreast of the processes of modernization in different geographies. The changes in the sociocultural realm and political missions were also fed from the economic and technological developments after the Industrial Revolution. The period between 1789 and 1848, which was indicated by Hobsbawm as “The Age of Revolutions”, was formed onto a tripartite structure, namely the flourishing of the capitalist industry, the formation of the bourgeois liberal society, and the establishment of the Euro-American bureaucratic structure of the state.¹ The modernization² of the Ottoman Empire, whose stately structure was depending on the primordial relations of production, pre-capitalist social structure, and the ultimate rule of a person with impotent sub-units, cannot be separated from those processes.³

Nevertheless, it is hard to state that the same model of governmental redevelopment occurred identically in the Ottoman territories. At the end of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire was ruling the territories including the Balkans, Anatolia and a large

¹ Hobsbawm, Eric. J. *Age of Revolution: 1789-1848*. New York: Vintage Books, 1996, pp. 1-7.

² The debate on the use of terms “modernization”, “Westernization” and “Western-oriented modernization” was prevailing for a long period of time, in parallel with the ongoing post-colonial critiques against the Western-oriented historiography. To stay in the scope of the topic, an evaluation on those debates will not be made in the study, yet it is important to note that reframing a global history apart from the bonds of the canonic Western historiography is necessary also for the reevaluation of the periods of Ottoman-Turkish modernization. See: Kezer, 2015.

³ Avcıođlu, Dođan. *Türkiye'nin Düzeni: Dün, Bugün, Yarın*, v.1. İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1984, pp. 11-46.

part of the Arab world, where around 25 million people were inhabiting.⁴ (Figure 2.1) Yet, it is hard to say that the Empire had a cultural or architectural domination on all of its territories, because of the regression in military power and authority. As stated by Findley:

Paradoxically, the late Ottoman Empire was doubly “imperial”. It was a multinational empire that was endangered by both separatist nationalism and European imperialism. Ottoman and Turkish forms of nationalism developed in response to that untenable situation.⁵

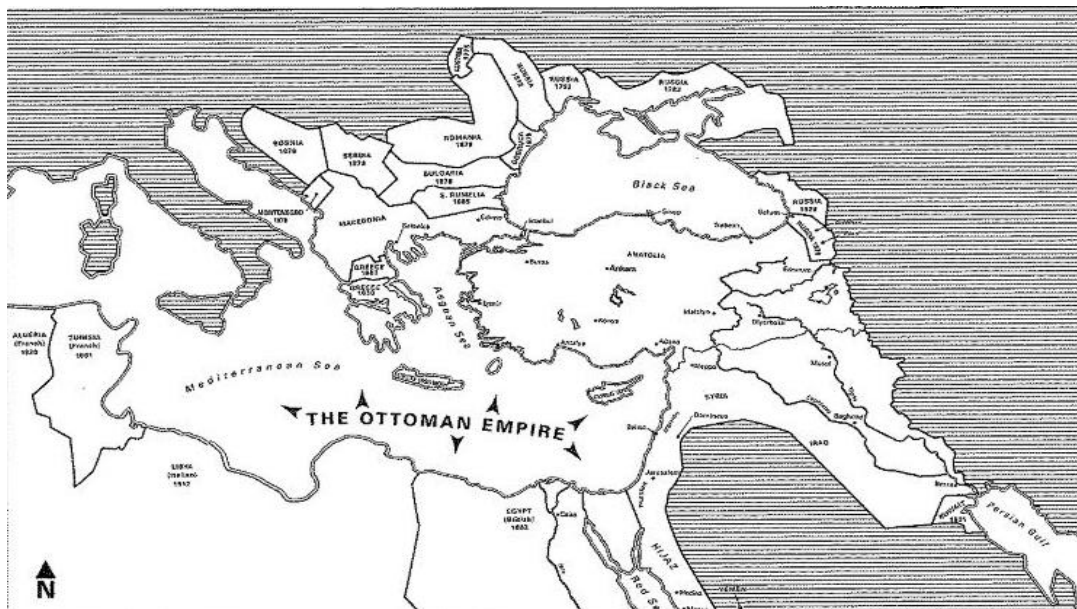


Figure 2.1: The territories ruled by the Ottoman Empire, and the losses between 1774 and 1912.

(Findley, 2010, p. 5)

⁴ Zürcher, 2004, p. 9.

⁵ Findley, Carter Vaughn. *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism and Modernity: A History, 1789-2007*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010, p. 9.

The process of the “shy” modernization in the Ottoman Empire started with a technical and military concern by importing the know-how and technology from the West; yet its intellectual, cultural and political premises were also developed in line with the reforms.⁶ As a solution to prevent the dissolution of the *millet* based sociopolitical structure of the Empire,⁷ the administrative organization was reframed by strengthening the central government and its extensions in the periphery,⁸ which intrinsically needed the empowering and expansion of state bureaucracy hierarchically and territorially. In other words, the Empire left the decentralized governance model depending on the tactical coalitions with the local power elites, and reinforced the authority of the absolute monarchy on a tripodal structure consisted of religion, centralized bureaucracy, and state army.⁹

Nonetheless, nationalist movements in the Empire opened the way to the dissolution of the Empire; and the empowering Turkish nationalist movement among others, starting from the time that the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) had come to power in 1908, became influential in the formation of a Turkish nation-state in 1923.¹⁰ In that sense, it is explicit to determine that the roots of the Republican modernization extended upon the consequences of the Ottoman modernization. In this chapter, the issues of the modernization processes in these consecutive periods as related to building and urbanization activities resulted from

⁶ Zürcher, 2004, pp. 25-42.

⁷ Mardin, 1991, p. 183.

⁸ Karpat, 2017, p. 22.

⁹ Berkes, Niyazi. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey, with a New Introduction by Feroz Ahmad*. London: Hurst&Company, 1998, pp. 94-95.

¹⁰ Kasaba, Reşat. “Kemalist Certainties and Modern Ambiguities.” In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, Seattle and Washington: University of Washington Press, 1997, p. 25.

contemporary organizational and technological reforms will form the main frame of analysis.

It is essential to note that the centralization of the state was neither a unique case for the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, nor realized solely for the sake of political decisions. In fact, in Ortaylı's definition, centralization could be stated as one of the greatest revolutions accomplished in the history of civilization, depending on the formation of courts and offices with the acceleration on specialization in distinct subjects, which was the model of the French modernization in the 18th century.¹¹ Architecture formed such a field of specialization that was used in the centralization efforts of the state through the modernization process. This chapter will focus on the change of the built environment and the architecture in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by examining the examples on the geographies ruled by the Ottoman Empire and later the Turkish Republic, to understand the bilateral relationship that was constructed on the aim of connecting the center and the periphery physically and ideologically, as a consequence of the process of centralization.

The examples will be consisted of the railway stations as the symbol of the technological advancement and the linkage with the center;¹² the buildings allocated for administrative purposes and public services as the anchorages of the central authority;¹³ and gardens, avenues, and squares as the places defining the publicity of the urban space. The appearance of Ottoman neo-classicism as a distinct style that

¹¹ Ortaylı, İlber. *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*. 3rd ed. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999, pp. 139-140.

¹² Christensen, Peter H. *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire, and Infrastructure*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017, p. 104.

¹³ Çelik, Zeynep. *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters 1830-1914*. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 2008, pp. 159-160.

expressed the new identity of the Empire will also be studied in this chapter.¹⁴ The aim is to understand how the formation of new building types changed the built environment, and how the emergence of the new “national” style affected the identity formation process of the late Ottoman and early Republican contexts, and became key factors in the modernization of the built environment from the late decades of the 19th to the first decades of the 20th century.

2.1. Connecting the Center to the Periphery: New Building Types

During the period of reforms, the most intensively seen change in the social fabric of the Empire was the employment of experts under the central organizations of ministries and directorates.¹⁵ Such a reformation process had direct effects on judicial system, international economic relations and education, with dominantly foreign investments in agriculture and trade by using the benefits of financial and political privileges.¹⁶ Hence, in order to operate a multi-faceted and complicated web of relations, a massive number of civil servants was needed to establish the bureaucracy in the center and the periphery. Hence, new typologies of administrative and public service buildings were required, which were realized by using the new construction and design techniques.¹⁷ According to Ertuğrul, those could be classified under eleven types, namely: military buildings (barracks, military schools, patrol, warehouse etc.), administrative buildings (governor’s office, courthouse, telegraph and post office, museum etc.), industrial facilities (factor, mill, workshop, power

¹⁴ Ersoy, Ahmet A. “XIX. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Mimarlık Tarihi ve Kuramsal Söylemin İnşası.” In *Mimar Kemalettin ve Çağı: Mimarlık/Toplumsal Yaşam/Politika*, edited by Ali Cengizkan. Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası & Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009, p. 119.

¹⁵ Zürcher, 2004, p. 94.

¹⁶ Karpat, 2017, p. 98.

¹⁷ Tekeli, İlhan. “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Kentsel Dönüşümler.” In *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 4, 878–890. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985.

plant etc.), schools of the New Order (*Dârülfünûn, Sultani* etc.), healthcare facilities (hospitals, quarantine facilities (*tahaffuzhane*), etc.), commercial facilities (passages, bank buildings, department stores, office buildings etc.), hotels, recreational facilities (parks, theaters etc.), new houses (palaces in Western style, apartment blocks, kiosks, villas etc.), transportation buildings (railroad stations, quays, depots etc.), and fire and clock towers.¹⁸

After the proclamation of the Tanzimat Decree in 1839, the pace of change in the urban fabric of Ottoman cities was impetuous. According to H. Kaynar's definition of Tanzimat as "(...) the re-centralization of an intrinsically centralized Empire",¹⁹ the efforts on restructuring the Empire were not only re-organizing the military and bureaucratic system, but also halting the organic development of cities with the acceptance of the accumulation of the land and estates, namely the proprietorship in urban areas.²⁰ Hence, it is possible to dismantle the reforms of Tanzimat affecting the built environment in a twofold structure while focusing on the topic of the study. The first face is the bureaucratic modernization in the center, which resulted in the reorganization of the state in the periphery as well as of its accommodation,²¹ and the second face is the regulation of the built fabric of cities with the regular extension through the outskirts and the rehabilitation of the existing urban patterns.²² This

¹⁸ Ertuğrul, Alidost. "XIX. Yüzyılda Osmanlı'da Ortaya Çıkan Farklı Yapı Tipleri." *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 7, no. 13 (2009): 293–312.

¹⁹ Kaynar, Hakan. "Siyasal İktidar ve Şehir: 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Şehirlerindeki Mekansal Değişimler Üzerine." *Kebikeç*, 2000, p. 141.

²⁰ Avcı, 2016, p. 22.

²¹ Ortaylı, 1999, pp. 149-153.

²² For a detailed overview of that in the example of the urban transformation of İstanbul in the 19th century, see: Z. Çelik, 1986, pp. 49-80.

resulted in the emergence of three essential elements of the Tanzimat city, i.e. railroad and communication district, business district, and governmental district.²³

This process continued and was even radicalized during the transition from the Empire to the Republic, by means of the reformation of the state, and reevaluation-recontextualization of the existing built environment in functional shifts and addition of new buildings and spaces. The existing architectural heritage of the Empire created a base for the new Republic,²⁴ yet the process of establishment of a new state inevitably opened the way for new interpretations on its architecture, which will be examined in this study on the *Ankara İstasyon Caddesi* (Station Street) case. In that sense, train stations, and the administrative and the public service buildings had a primary role of connecting the center with the periphery, and defining the everchanging identity of “architecture of the state”, during the transition from the Empire to the Republic. In order to scrutinize this continuity, this part will cover the architectural expression of Ottoman-Turkish modernization, under the definition of those typologies.

2.1.1. Train Stations

One key factor in the development of peripheral cities and their connection to the center during the late Ottoman period was the technological development²⁵ and the

²³ Tekeli, İlhan. “Anadolu’daki Kentsel Yaşamın Örgütlenmesinde Değişik Aşamalar.” In *Türkiye’de Kentleşme Yazıları*, 11–46. Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1982.

²⁴ Sözen, Metin. *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı (1923-1983)*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1984, p. 29.

²⁵ On the term of development, Tanyeli criticizes the search for the ideal “new”, which would only be a technical improvement that would be “brought/imported to the country” and not affect the culture and the social fabric. An underlying aim of this study is to give an example of the fact of how the “technical” modernization was not unfolded like that. See: Tanyeli, Uğur. “Yenilik, İcat, Yaratıcılık ve Diğer Mimarlık Mucizeleri.” In *Yıkarak Yapmak: Anarşist Bir Mimarlık Kuramı İçin Altlık*, 187–216. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2017.

need of related service buildings. From the 1850s onwards, telegraph lines had been extended from İstanbul to all parts of the Ottoman territory, which enabled the government to communicate with its servants effectively and quickly, and inevitably reinforced the central order.²⁶ Therefore, the buildings distinguished for the use of telegraph and post offices began to be provided as mostly placed in central locations of cities in the second half of the 19th century. The technology also paved the way for the extension of the railroad network from the central cities to the inner territories, which enabled the emergence of a “modern standardization” process throughout the Empire.²⁷

However, it must be stated that the technological development was not a process that was solely realized with the initiative of the state. Due to the inadequacy of the economic actors of the Empire and the low profits gained from the working of the lines during the first years, foreign actors received privileges and advantages for the construction and operation of the lines, including the tenure of the territories around telegraph or railroad lines, and the natural sources below and above of those.²⁸ Although this created a mutual advantageous position for both parties, the formation of the technical modernization of the Empire was also affected by this process of the emergence of numerous actors besides the central authority of the state such as the operation-construction companies (i.e., Anatolian Railroad Company), foreign states-political forces, capitalist sponsors (i.e., Deutsche Bank), and local actors that worked in cooperation with those as agencies.²⁹

²⁶ Zürcher, 2004, p. 77. The telegraph line between İstanbul and Ankara opened to service in 1860. Özkurt, Mehmet Çağlayan. “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Başkent İstanbul’da Ekonomi, Siyaset ve Mimarlık İlişkileri (1839-1923).” Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation. Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2016, p. 294.

²⁷ Can, Bilmez Bülent. *Demiryolundan Petrole: Chester Projesi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, p. 41.

²⁸ Özyüksel, Murat. *Hicaz Demiryolu*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, p. 10.

²⁹ Can investigated this complicated web of relationship under the term of “semi-colonization”. Can, 2000, pp. 38-40. The harsh competition between those parties and their relationship with the Empire is

In the 19th century, the railroad had a great impulse on the people of the era with its visual impact, and its strong relation with modernity, development and growth.³⁰ Thereby, stating the emergence of the railroad stations as the symbols of the progress would not be wrong. That symbolic output could even be more elaborated with two factors that defined its relation with the existing urban fabric: The distantness from the historical city center, and the architectural qualities. According to the tight and crumbled settlement of the existing cities and towns, and the high prices of the land at the center of bigger cities, the railroads usually passed out of the central areas of cities.³¹ Yet, the distantness from the city was a factor on decreasing the importance of the station, which was defined by Aktüre as an “alien element”.³² Meanwhile, with the practice of inhabiting the migrants nearby the railroads, and the existence of the facilities working for/with the station,³³ the environs of stations started to gain an identity of being secondary centers of cities, and train stations emerged as attention points.

The architectural qualities of railroad stations, on the other hand, varied in time and were dominated by the architecture of the countries whose companies were operating

a fertile economic history topic that reaches far beyond the scope of that study. Yet it is important to mention that, after the abandonment of the capitulations in the 20th century and the nationalization of the infrastructural investments in the Republican period, only the State Railways and its subsidiary companies remained in power among those actors.

³⁰ Ágoston, Gábor, and Bruce Alan Masters. “Railroads.” In *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, 478–484. New York: Facts on File, 2009.

³¹ Kösebay-Erkan, Yonca. “19. Yüzyıla Özgü Bir Kamusal Mekan Olarak Tren İstasyonları: Mimari ve Miras.” In *Tren Bir Hayattır*, edited by Tanıl Bora, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012, p. 125.

³² Excerpt from Aktüre (1981) by Özten, 2001, p. 23.

³³ This practice of inhabiting also continued in the Republican period and many migrant neighborhoods were established around the railroad. See: Aydın, Suavi. “Umran Yolu: Demiryollarının Gelişimi ve Türkiye Demiryolları.” In *Tren Bir Hayattır*, edited by Tanıl Bora, 11–118. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012.

the lines.³⁴ The stations in and at the environs of İzmir, for example, were copied from the examples in England³⁵ (Figure 2.2.a), whereas the ones on Haydarpaşa-İzmit-Eskişehir-Ankara line were designed by Germans as typical projects (Figure 2.2.b), called *Heimatstil* (homeland style).³⁶

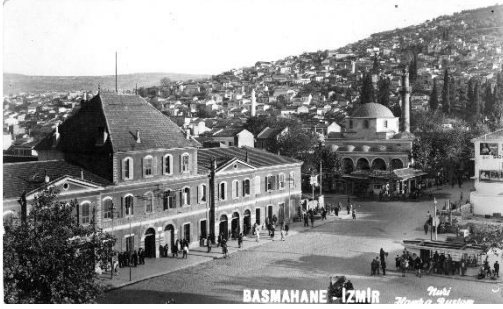


Figure 2.2.a: İzmir Basmane Train Station, Photograph by Nuri Hamza Rüstem, n.d.

(SALT Research İzmir Collection, Inventory No: AHZIM163.)



Figure 2.2.b: Eskişehir Train Station, late 19th c.

(İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library Postcard Collection, Inventory No: Krt_001353)

After the Independence War, authorities of the new Republic paid much attention on the construction of the railroad and expropriation of the existing lines.³⁷ Moreover, for the arrival of the railroad, as done for the immortalization of many events of the era,³⁸ the construction of commemorative structures like obelisks or victory arches,

³⁴ A simple differentiation was done for the manifoldness of the types of train stations. For a detailed and illustrated study on this types, see: Araz, Melda. *Impacts of Political Decisions in the Formation of Railroads and Railroad Architecture in Turkey between 1856 and 1950*. Master's Thesis, METU Architectural History Graduate Program, 1995.

³⁵ Kösebay-Erkan, 2012, p. 126.

³⁶ Christensen, 2017, p. 104.

³⁷ Aydın, 2012, pp. 76-82.

³⁸ Erkmen, Alev. *Geç Osmanlı Dünyasında Mimarlık ve Hafıza: Arşiv, Jübile, Âbide*. İstanbul: Akın Nalça Kitapları, 2010, p. 16.

which had also been a common practice in the Empire,³⁹ (Figure 2.3.a) succeeded in the Republican period with a different political motivation and propagandistic approach.⁴⁰ (Figure 2.3.b) The provision of a strong network of communication and transportation was also among the priorities of the Turkish Republic that aimed to form a more radical centralized system with the rising power of Turkish tradesman and the public sector in economy and construction activities. In that sense, the extension of railroads was treated as a national action, even to be stated in the commemoration song composed for the tenth anniversary of the Republic.⁴¹

2.1.2. Administrative and Public Service Buildings

Before the proclamation of the Tanzimat Decree in 1839, due to the fact that the Ottoman bureaucracy had not been solidified and the officers of the Empire not working efficiently in a consistent hierarchical system, the governmental units were not located at permanent places in the peripheral cities.⁴² As a result of the reinforcement of the central authority in the Empire with the reforms realized, the absolute authority of the Sultan was diminished with the emergence and development of a growing group of professionals, namely “civil bureaucracy”, which resulted in the de-personification of the state.⁴³ Here, the emergence of governmental buildings in the Empire could be taken to have started from the military modernization process.

³⁹ Christensen, 2017, pp. 128-140.

⁴⁰ Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 119-121.

⁴¹ The Tenth Year Anthem, written by Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel and Behçet Kemal Çağlar in 1933, includes a verse about the advance of the Republic in railroad construction, with the words of: “We knitted the Motherland with railroads from far and near.” (*Demir ağlarla ördük ana yurdu dört baştan.*) For a general overview of railroad construction in the Republic of Turkey, see: Aydın, 2012, 70-118.

⁴² Birkan, Çelen. “Söyleşi: Osmanlı’dan Bugüne Hükümet Konakları.” *Mimarlık*, no. 203 (1984): 3.

⁴³ Avcı, 2016, p. 13.

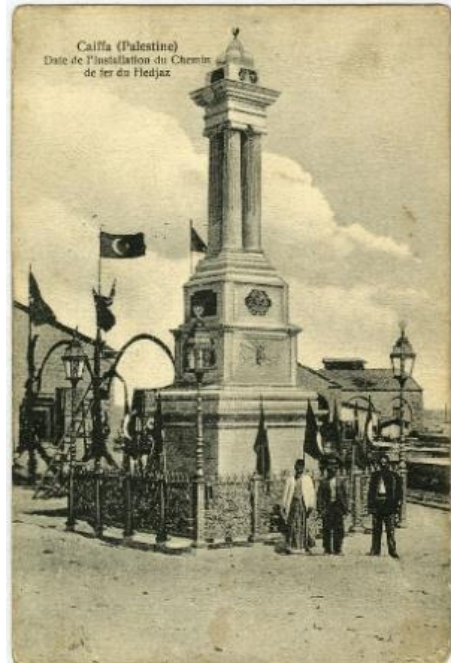


Figure 2.3.a: The obelisk erected for the commemoration of the railroad arrived to Haifa, 1905.

(İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library Postcard Collection, Inventory No: Krt_014894)



Figure 2.3.b: A victory arch placed near a railroad station in Anatolia, 1930's.

(İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library Postcard Collection, Inventory No: Krt_023868)

With the organization of the new army corps organized along European (French) lines according to the New Order (*Nizam-ı Cedit*), a new type of building, military barracks in the European style, was introduced.⁴⁴ The first barracks were constructed in İstanbul, and the pioneer of those was the Kalyoncu Barracks erected in 1783, followed by the Humbaracılar Barracks in 1793.⁴⁵ (Figure 2.4.a) The typology of the barracks as rectangular stone buildings with neo-classical façades and a courtyard in the middle or an inner garden at the back, was popularized in the 19th century and became the vantage points of İstanbul and other cities.⁴⁶ The emergence of new military buildings on the hilltops and outskirts of İstanbul and other cities were also essential in order to emphasize the military power of the developing modern state.⁴⁷

In the 19th century, the construction and typological definition of the buildings for public services also accelerated with the reforms done in different branches of the Empire. For instance, the increase in the construction of the buildings of educational institutions after 1860, in parallel with the reforms realized in that field, also resulted with the standardization of modern school buildings erected in different cities.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, the paramount expression of the administrative center was claimed in the same era, from a different typology. The emergence of the governor's office (*Hükûmet-Vilayet Konağı*) as the sign of the power of the Ottoman Empire in the

⁴⁴ Yavuz, Yıldırım & Süha Özkan. "The Final Years of the Ottoman Empire." In *Modern Turkish Architecture*, edited by Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin, and Süha Özkan, 2nd ed. Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁵ Ertuğrul, 2009, pp. 295-296.

⁴⁶ Z. Çelik, 1986, p. 139.

⁴⁷ Akyürek, Göksun. "Bilgiyi Yeniden İnşa Etmek: Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Mimarlığı." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 2008, p. 13.

⁴⁸ Özgüven, Burcu. "Son Dönem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Meslek Öğretimi: Sanayi Mektebi Binaları." In *Geç Osmanlı Döneminde Sanat, Mimarlık ve Kültür Karşılaşmaları*, edited by Gözde Çelik, 45–60. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2016.

peripheral cities⁴⁹ became eminent after 1868, the year when the regulation on the provincial organization (*Teşkilat-ı Vilayet Nizamnamesi*) was issued. According to that, the construction of buildings which would be used by the governors or executives started, for locating the administrative and bureaucratic functions permanently at defined places.⁵⁰ (Figure 2.4.b)

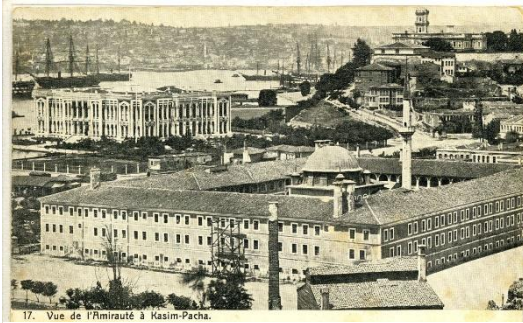


Figure 2.4.a: Kalyoncu Barracks in Kasımpaşa, İstanbul. (*Vue de l'Amirauté à Kasım-Pacha*), n.d.

(İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library Postcard Collection, Inventory No: Krt_004292.)



Figure 2.4.b: The Governor's Office in Sivas, n.d.

(İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library Postcard Collection, Inventory No: Krt_015050)

With the spread of the construction of those buildings in the 19th century throughout the cities of the empire, a number of manuals including the basic stylistic and functional preferences of the official buildings was prepared in the late 19th century, in order to standardize the architecture of the state. Although the manuals titled “*fenn-i mi'marî* (technique of architecture)” were not prepared with the directions of the central authority⁵¹, it is known that those were thoroughly used for the construction

⁴⁹ Z. Çelik, 2008, p. 180.

⁵⁰ Ertuğrul, 2009, pp. 296-297. On a detailed research about the characteristics and chronological development of the Governor's Offices and Governor's Squares in different cities of the Empire, see: Avcı, 2016.

⁵¹ After the establishment of the Ministry of Public Works (*Nafia Nezareti*) in the mid-19th century, an increasing demand on governmental buildings to house the enlarging bureaucracy of the Empire,

of new buildings and the renovation of the old⁵² ones. This aim of standardization accelerated in the late 19th century, with the preparation of the imperial stylistic guideline, *Usûl-i Mi'marî-i Osmâni*,⁵³ and continued in the 20th century with the stylistic preference of a “national” architecture, which will be explained in the following parts.

With reference to the plans of governmental buildings, it might be possible to state that many of these were constructed by the use of the same plan scheme. In this typical plan, the main entrance at the center followed with a central corridor with the spaces in different sizes on both sides, and the vertical circulation elements in the middle or at the corners.⁵⁴ (Figure 2.5.) Hence, apart from the façade layouts or the locations in the cities, it is hard to differentiate an official building functionally from another, which might be the reason of flexibility in the use of the buildings in small or underdeveloped cities, as it will be seen in Ankara during the War of Independence and in the first few years of the Republic.

caused the intensification of the governmental construction activity. Here, the fact that governmental buildings were constructed in “conformity with the technical documents of architecture (*Fenn-i Mi'marî*)” is important in understanding the efforts on the standardization of architecture. In that sense, a number of technical manuals for the construction of the administrative and public service buildings were prepared by the technicians and some of the manuals in foreign languages were translated and published in the late 19th and early 20th century. For more information, see: Akyürek, Göksun. “Tanzimat Döneminde Mimarlığın Değişen Bilgisi: Fenn-i Mimari, Gazeteler ve Diğerleri.” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 7, no. 13 (2009): 93–120.

⁵² Akyürek, 2008, p. 68.

⁵³ For a definitive study on *Usul* by analyzing it in every aspect, see: Ersoy, Ahmet A. “On the Source of the ‘Ottoman Renaissance’: Architectural Revival and Its Discourse during the Abdulaziz Era (1861-76).” Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Harvard University, Department of the History of Art and Architecture, 2000.

⁵⁴ Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), pp. 30-32. The “façadist” architecture of the early 20th century was highly criticized by the architects and the intellectuals of the era, and epitomized in the article of poet Ahmet Haşim, “The Retrogressive Architecture” (*Mürtecî Mimari*) in 1928. (Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 16.)

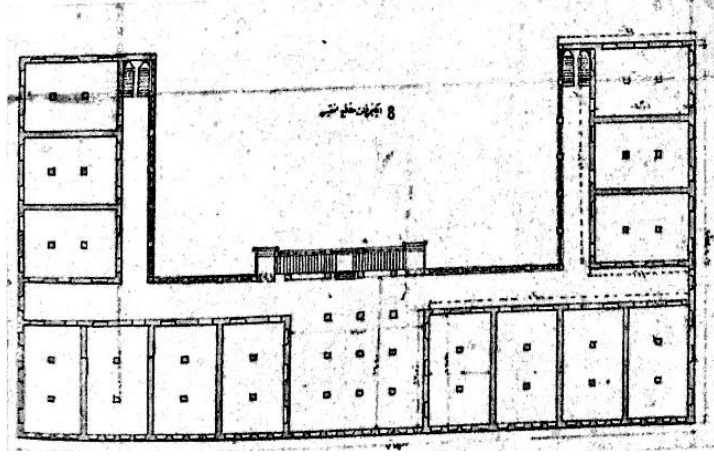


Figure 2.5: The plan of Mosul School of Industry, drawn according to the principles of *Fenn-i Mi'mârî*, 1880s.

(Özgüven, 2016, p. 57.)

2.2. Defining Public Space: New Urban Elements

Although the distinctive characteristics of the cities in Anatolia were crystallized in 15th and 16th centuries,⁵⁵ the consequences of the reforms indicated with the Tanzimat Decree had been seen on urban scale in a short period of time. The prescript declared shortly after the Decree in that scope dating November 17, 1839, included comprehensive regulations that banned establishing narrow and dead-end streets in cities, permitting the construction of buildings from brick rather than timber, and defining the widths and geometries of new roads.⁵⁶ Although those reforms also had a purpose of modernization of cities, notably of İstanbul, the main aim was to re-establish the central authority through the built fabric, especially at the peripheral

⁵⁵ Avcı, 2016, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Yerasimos, Stephanos. "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine." In *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, edited by Paul Dumont and François Georgeon. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996, p. 1.

cities of the Empire.⁵⁷ However, it is important to note that, in contrast with many Western countries, the officialization of the regulations in the Ottoman urban fabric waited until the mid-19th century. More than that, because of the social and economic structure of the Empire, the municipal institutions were established without the concern or participation of the civil organizations or companies, differently from the West.⁵⁸

In order to implement the changes, the rules of the re-planning of fire grounds, the widening of existing roads and the expropriations and new constructions while opening new roads, the erection of ostentatious buildings, and the embellishment of cities by these developments were notified in written documents.⁵⁹ By means of the “1st Building Code” (*Ebniye Nizamnamesi*) and “Building Declaration” (*Ebniye Beyannamesi*) dated 1848, and “2nd Building Code” dated 1849, the height differences and setback distances between buildings were assigned, and the privileges coming from religious and social status diversities were abolished and adjudicated.⁶⁰ Moreover, an independent institution called “Ministry of Public Works” (*Nafia Nezareti*) was established and held liable from all developmental practices.⁶¹ The districts that were proximate to the places where infrastructural investments (railroad, stations, etc.) were implemented, were projected as the possible new development

⁵⁷ Yerasimos, 1996, p. 6.

⁵⁸ Kırmızı, Abdülhamit. “19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Taşra İdaresi.” In *Selçukludan Cumhuriyete Şehir Yönetimi*, edited by Erol Özvar and Arif Bilgin. İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Belediyeler Birliği, 2008, p. 300. Moreover, the author of the article found a similarity between the urban extents of the Ottoman and Russian modernization processes in that sense, by the dominance of the central authority.

⁵⁹ Denel, Serim. “19. Yüzyılda Ankara’nın Kentsel Formu ve Konut Dokusundaki Farklılaşmalar.” In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2nd ed., edited by Ayşıl Tükel-Yavuz. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000, p. 130.

⁶⁰ Çetin, 2012, p. 91.

⁶¹ Özkurt, 2016, p. 12.

areas of the cities in that fashion.⁶² In that sense, this part will be focusing on the emergence of the urban elements that defined the publicity of the architecture of the modernizing state, as well as the perspectives of urbanization and urban renewal in the late 19th and 20th century Ottoman and Republican cities.

2.2.1. Avenues and Squares

In the 19th century, most of the governors came into power firstly focused on the issue of widening the existing roads in cities and opening new ones, just as Midhat Paşa did in Damascus, Baghdad, and İzmir.⁶³ The old urban fabric of the cities, depending on the neighborhoods with narrow dead-ends, started to be changed with the introduction of carriages and horsecars in the urban life.⁶⁴ Moreover, with the changing meaning of urban roads and urban spaces, the publicness of those were also taken into consideration. Despite the questioning on the existence of the public sphere in the Ottoman city,⁶⁵ the opening of plazas, squares and avenues were the concurrent activities at İstanbul in the second half of the 19th century, (Figure 2.6) which were realized both with the demolition of the existing fabric, and the rehabilitation of the fire areas of the city, administrated by “The Commission for Road Improvement”.⁶⁶ Similar practices could also be seen in different cities of Anatolia, where the fire areas

⁶² Tekeli, 2010, p. 108.

⁶³ H. Kaynar, 2000, p. 143.

⁶⁴ Tekeli, 1982, p. 37.

⁶⁵ For a thorough study on the variations of the urban space and its elements, see: Cengizkan, Ali. “Saat Kuleleri ve Kamusal Mekân.” In *Modernin Saati: 20. Yüzyılda Modernleşme ve Demokratikleşme Pratiğinde Mimarlar, Kamusal Mekân ve Konut Mimarlığı*, 15-28. Ankara, Mimarlar Derneği 1927 & Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2002.

⁶⁶ Z. Çelik, 1986, pp. 58-63. As Z. Çelik quoted, the immense work of the commission still served in İstanbul, as cultural historian Osman Nuri Ergin told: “The big fire of Hocapaşa in 1865 brought more happiness than disaster to İstanbul”.

were replaced with a new orthogonal urban tissue in respect to the *Ebniye* (buildings) and *Turuk* (roads) regulations.⁶⁷



Figure 2.6: Taksim Square and Boulevard, n.d.

(İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library Postcard Collection, Inventory No: Krt_004149)

Here, thinking about the identity of “being an urbanite” in the center and looking to the periphery with the deterministic lenses is essential, in order to understand the reformation of the urban fabric and the appearance of the Westernized/modernized public sphere in Ottoman cities. According to Makdisi, the construction of the new urban fabric was also compromised with the appearance of an urbanite identity in the center, with a glance of self-orientalism towards the uncivilized periphery:

(...) the 19th century transformation of the Ottoman Empire had been fueled by an acceptance of the West as a model for progress and the East as a

⁶⁷ Çetin, 2012, p. 97.

representation of backwardness. Yet, since an explicit recognition of this backwardness would put the Empire itself in the ranks of the uncivilized, the Ottoman center had to identify itself as a civilizing agent by creating its own orient. Thus, the Empire sought to present itself “as a modern, bureaucratic and tolerant state” that would guide the less civilized populations within its boundaries into modernity.⁶⁸

Another dimension of the reinterpretation of the urban space could be seen on the widening, elongation and appropriation of the streets that led the way on the formation of the typology of “avenue”.⁶⁹ Kostof equalized the spatial meaning of avenue in its rural origins and its adversity with the rural landscape around by means of its characteristics of being straight and abstract, which later occurred in its transformation into being the gate of institutions outside the urban area, with the trees around. Hence, the importance of the typology of avenue flourishes not only from its capability of transportation, but also from its urban and ceremonial characteristics as “a public promenade”.⁷⁰

The typology of “square” was a more familiar element of the Ottoman urban fabric⁷¹, yet the emergence of squares in front of railroad stations were a new intervention with the development of railroad in the 19th century. The railroad terminals in İstanbul, as well as in the other cities of the Empire, emerged as the new city gates that flourished from the connection of many axes coming from the city center, just as in many

⁶⁸ Quoted from Makdisi (1998) by Demirakın, Nahide Işık. “The City as a Reflecting Mirror: Being an Urbanite in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire.” Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation. İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, Graduate School of Economic and Social Sciences, 2015, p. 42.

⁶⁹ The emergence of the typology of avenue in the global urban history could be dated to the 15th century, yet the historical use of that as “the main street” could be dated further back. For instance, for a study focusing on the historical changes of Divanyolu, one of the first historical main streets in İstanbul, see: Cerasi, Maurice, Emiliano Bugatti, and Sabrina D’Agostiono. *The İstanbul Divanyolu: A Case Study in Ottoman Urbanity and Architecture*. Würzburg, Orient-Institut der DMG, 2004.

⁷⁰ Kostof, Spiro. *The City Shaped*. Boston, Mass: Little, Brown and Co., 1991, pp. 249-251.

⁷¹ Z. Çelik, 1986, p. 55. In fact, the debate about the prominence of “square” in Ottoman daily life is a fertile subject that continues far beyond the scope of this study.

European cities in that era.⁷² In that respect, the arrival of the railroad to Ankara also ended with the emergence of a new kind of publicity that reshaped the ends of *İstasyon Caddesi* in a different manner. More than that, in order to focus on the scope of the thesis, a distinguished analysis on the typology on *İstasyon Caddesi* should be done. With the emergence of train stations as the consequence of the extension of the railroad through the inner cities, the axial connection of the city with the station gained importance and a typology depending on this function emerged in the peripheral cities, which inevitably became the direction of growth of the regularized city in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁷³ By thinking on the spatiality of boulevards and squares, it is also important to underline their performative roles by means of both shaping the spaces of social and cultural activities, and representing the social and the cultural.⁷⁴ This could better be detected after the proclamation of the republic, when the axes and squares became the scenery of the shift of identity,⁷⁵ which would be defined in the following chapter on the case of Ankara.

2.2.2. Gardens

The Empire had an elaborative history on the use of green spaces via the tradition of Islamic culture, which could be detected on the restricted use of gardens of nobility like *hasbahçe*, and the daily practices of public green spaces for excursion (*mesire*)

⁷² Kostof, 1991, p. 238.

⁷³ Yıldız et al., 2017.

⁷⁴ Altan-Ergut, Elvan, and Belgin Turan-Özkaya. "Editors' Introduction: Culture, Diplomacy, Representation: 'Ambivalent Architectures' from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 50 (February 3, 2014): 6.

⁷⁵ Işın, Ekrem. "Osmanlı Modernleşmesi ve Pozitivizm." In *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 2. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985, p. 352.

on the fringes of the city,⁷⁶ Especially in the urban practices of the 18th century, known as the Tulip Period (*Lale Devri*), the gardens had a tremendous impact on the shaping of the urban identity for all the people from different social strata, dominantly in İstanbul. Çalış-Kural describes this situation as such:

During the Tulip Period, both the court and the common city dwellers enjoyed the city. The court and the elite enjoyed travelling from one private garden to another, while common city dwellers enjoyed travelling through the city and indulging in the serenity of different city spaces located side by side with the gardens of the court and the elite.⁷⁷

Besides, apart from that tradition, it could be stated that the first examples of modern urban parks were seen in İstanbul starting from the 1860s, by looking specifically from the scope of the establishment of urban spaces. *Taksim Bahçesi* that was completed in 1869, later enlarged and replaced with Taksim Gezi Park, and *Tepebaşı Bahçesi* in 1880 were the two early instances of contemporary public open spaces provided in the Ottoman Empire with configurations in harmony with the strict geometrical rules of the Beaux-Arts School, and the social utilization disregarding gender discrimination.⁷⁸

In the same period, a typology of gardens appeared in the cities of the Empire, i.e. *Millet Bahçesi*. (Figure 2.7.a., 2.7.b.) The most common argument about the origin of the name *Millet* (Nation) is that it came from the reflection of the reformations of the Empire from the 19th century on, which included the abolishment of the religious segregation in the public sphere, and the intention of establishing a unified Ottoman nation, rather than the traditional *millet* system depending on religions and their

⁷⁶ Ercan, Hakan. “Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Kentlerinde Kent Meydanı ve Millet Bahçeleri.” Unpublished Master’s Thesis. Pamukkale University Department of History, 2018, pp. 9-24.

⁷⁷ Çalış-Kural, B. Deniz. *Şehrengiz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman İstanbul*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2014, p. 220.

⁷⁸ Z. Çelik, 1986, pp. 69-70

institutions.⁷⁹ *Millet* Gardens, which were established as inspired from the French originated “Gardens of the Nations” (*Les Jardins des Nations*⁸⁰), controlled and socialized people according to the principles of the Ottoman morality. In that respect, especially after the re-proclamation of the constitutional monarchy (*2. Meşrutiyet*) in 1908, which led the nationalist Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki*) coming into power, it is not coincidental to determine that much of the gardens and recreational areas that were called with reference to their locations, were re-named with nationalist or libertarian terms like *Millet* or *Hürriyet* (liberty).⁸¹



Figure 2.7.a: Konya *Millet Bahçesi*.
Photograph taken by İbrahim Nihad, n.d.

(İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk
Library Postcard Collection, Inventory No:
Krt_011348.



Figure 2.7.b: Freedom (*Hürriyet*) garden in
Kırkkilise (*Vue de Kırkkilise, le jardin de la
Liberte*), Photograph taken by Isaac Mitrani, n.d.

(İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk
Library Postcard Collection, Inventory No:
Krt_012085.

⁷⁹ Memlük, Yalçın, “Osmanlı Modernleşmesi ile Ortaya Çıkan Bir Kentsel Mekân Olarak Millet Bahçeleri”. *Türkiye Sağlıklı Kentler Birliği Website*, 2017. Last visited on 5th November 2018: <http://www.skb.gov.tr/osmanli-modernlesmesi-ile-ortaya-cikan-bir-kentsel-mekan-olarak-millet-bahceleri-s25212k/>

⁸⁰ Çelik, Filiz. “Geç Osmanlı Dönemi Kentsel Mekânda Batılılaşma Etkileri: Konya Millet Bahçesi.” *SUTAD*, no. 44 (2018), p. 336.

⁸¹ Gürkaş, Tayfur. “Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye’inde Kamusal Yeşil Alanın Doğuşu.” Unpublished Master’s Thesis. Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, 2003, p. 178.

2.3. Constructing an Identity: Ottoman Neo-Classical Style

The architecture of the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire was evaluated as “the dark ages” for a long time, and the debates on the varying architectural languages of the period were delimited with this negative interpretation.⁸² In fact, the stylistic pluralism of the era fed from the European architecture of 18th and 19th centuries brought in different stylistic searches, occasionally in İstanbul. The most dominant style used for the governmental, military, religious, and commercial facilities was indicated as “classical revivalism”, distinguished with its material use, monumentality and façade arrangement.⁸³ The translation of the revivalist style into the Ottoman cognizance occurred with the combination of classical elements with neo-Gothic, neo-Islamic, and neo-Byzantine motives and forms,⁸⁴ which gave the Ottoman revivalism its highly eclectic shape. In that sense, it should be noted that such an eclecticism did not emerge as a reaction to the European styles, but rather as a variation of that with the addition of motives from medieval East and West to compose “eclectic” elements and forms, like pointed-arch windows or bulbous domes.⁸⁵

From the intention of self-proclamation via state architecture, which was revealed with the use of architectural elements and ornamentation specifically in the exterior

⁸² Quoted from Aslanapa (2003), Tuztaşı, Uğur, and İlgi Yüce-Aşkun. “Klasik Dönemden Batılılaşmaya Osmanlı Mimarlığında İdealleştirme Olgusu ve Batı Mimarlığıyla Olan Mukayesesi.” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 38 (2011): 220. This attitude was highly criticized by Ersoy from the perspective that such a narrative in architectural historiography was constructed in parallel with the decline and collapse paradigms borrowed from the canonical political history of the geography. Ersoy, 2000, pp. 262-265.

⁸³ Tuztaşı & Aşkun, 2011, p. 223.

⁸⁴ Z. Çelik, 1986, p. 128.

⁸⁵ Quoted from Kuran, Kafescioğlu, Çiğdem, Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, and Timur Kuran, eds. *Aptullah Kuran: Selçuklular'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye'de Mimarlık*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012, p. 598.

and interior of buildings,⁸⁶ the imperial style was manifested with the catalogue *Usûl-i Mi'mâri-i Osmâni* (The Principles of Ottoman Architecture), prepared for 1873 Vienna World Fair.⁸⁷ (Figure 2.8) The catalogue included 145 textual pages and 189 plates of illustration, which were compiled to deliver the premise that the existing artefacts and monuments in the Ottoman territory were signifying a common architectural language codified for the first time as “Ottoman” that flourished from the Ottoman culture.⁸⁸

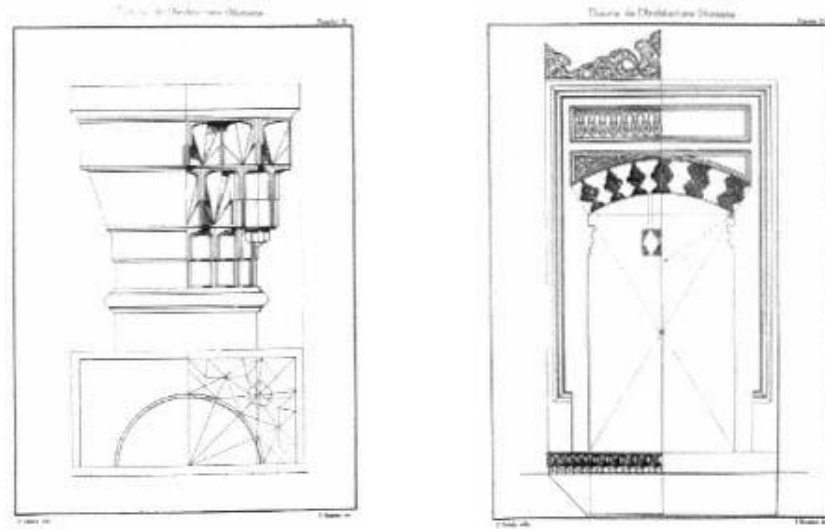


Figure 2.8: Two pages of *Usul* depicting the type of ornamentation on column capitals and pediments.

(Ersoy, 2009, 118-120)

⁸⁶ Arseven, Celal Esad. *Türk Sanatı, Tarihi: Menşinden Bugüne Kadar; Mimari, Heykel, Resim, Süsleme ve Tezyini Sanatlar*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1956, pp. 209-217.

⁸⁷ For a detailed research and evaluation on the self-expression of the Empire in the 1873 World Fair, see: Ersoy, 2005, pp. 1-29.

⁸⁸ Baydar-Nalbantoğlu, Gülsüm. “The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect.” Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation. University of California Berkeley, 1989, pp. 60-61. Later, a number of manuals, codes, and regulations would be prepared for illuminating the seek of a national-local architecture in Ottoman and Republican periods, which are beyond the scope of this study.

As it is specified in the previous parts, one of the essential characteristics of the emergence of the Ottoman neo-classicism was the attempt in systematizing the process of the production of the built environment, by regulating the techniques and qualities of architectural production. This had a similar logic to the construction of national styles in Europe, which were depending on the classical architecture, such as the British Order of the French order in the 18th century,⁸⁹ harmonious with the results of the emerging nationalism and the construction of national identities in European countries.⁹⁰ After the proclamation of the Tanzimat Decree, the non-Muslim communities gained an intermediary position between the Europeans and the Ottoman Muslims, and became the translators of many ideological and technological developments, including the formation of the Ottoman neo-classical architecture, which inevitably affected the architecture of the Empire in the 19th century.⁹¹ Hence, the adaptation of neo-classical forms in Ottoman architecture, and later the emergence of Ottoman neo-classicism with the mediation of the rising Turkist-Nationalist movement⁹² of the late 19th and early 20th century, were complementary with the national identity construction process of the era.⁹³

⁸⁹ Bergdoll, Barry. "Nationalism and Stylistic Debates in Architecture." In *European Architecture 1750-1890*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 139-140.

⁹⁰ For a pertinent analysis on the process of "invention" of societies, see: Hobsbawm, 1983, pp. 1-14.

⁹¹ Baydar-Nalbantoğlu, 1989, p. 5.

⁹² Gürol-Öngören, Pelin. "Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums From The Late Ottoman Empire To The Early Turkish Republic." Unpublished PhD Thesis. Middle East Technical University Graduate School of Social Sciences, 2012, pp. 1-10. That process could be detected in its most concise and simplified fashion from the article of Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Three Methods of Politics), related to the debates on the theorization of constructing a nation based on race or religion, all sides of which was represented through architecture and cultural policies of that era.

⁹³ Altan-Ergut, 1998, pp. 93-94.

The change from the Ottoman Neo-classicism to the emergence of a “national” architecture accelerated at the turn of the 20th century with the rise of the romanticist look on the heritage by the adaptation of new forms, techniques and programs. From that time on, the stylistic approach of the period incorporated a search for the Turkish national style.⁹⁴ Retrospectively labeled by historians of architecture as the "First National Style", but known to its contemporaries as the "National Architecture Renaissance," this eclectic Ottoman revivalism dominated architectural discourse and practice in Turkey from about the turn of the century well into the 1930s.⁹⁵ The fundamentals of the style were to combine decorative elements derived from the classical Ottoman architecture (especially semi-spherical Ottoman domes, wide roof overhangs with supporting brackets, pointed arches, and ornate tile decoration) with beaux-arts design principles (symmetry and axiality, in particular) and new construction techniques (reinforced concrete, iron, and steel).⁹⁶ Here, this emerged by instrumentalizing one of the most prominent features of the nationalist ideology, which directly relies on the hypothesis that every nation adopts its presence on the holistic and immutable characteristic of a national identity. In that sense, a national architecture is treated as the expression of the strong presence of the nation. Only after the admittance of that, the question on the stylistic approach, “the endless search for a lost *self*”⁹⁷, would be asked.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Tuztaşı & Aşkun, 2011, p. 230. The authors of the article also constructed a narrative on the formal idealization of the national architecture with the emerging orientalism in Europe and the prevailing self-orientalism in the Empire.

⁹⁵ Yavuz, Yıldırım & Süha Özkan. “Finding A National Idiom: The First National Style.” In *Modern Turkish Architecture*, edited by Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin, and Süha Özkan, 2nd ed. Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005, p. 67.

⁹⁶ Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 18.

⁹⁷ Tanyeli, Uğur. “Gecikmiş Bir Modernlik Tartışması: Kültür Otarşisi İleti.” In *Rüya, İnşa, İtiraz: Mimari Eleştiri Metinleri*. İstanbul: Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2011, p. 43.

⁹⁸ Altan-Ergut, Elvan. “Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi ve ‘Ulusal Mimarlık’: Sınırlar ve Sorunlar Üzerine Düşünceler.” *Toplumsal Tarih* 189 (2009): 78.

Simultaneously with the emergence of the national style, the first Turkish architects graduated from a disciplinary curriculum started their architectural practices and shaped the first decades of the 20th century with their professional production.⁹⁹ (Figure 2.9.a, 2.9.b.) The importance given to the prominent Turkish architects of that period, Kemalettin Bey and Vedat Tek, was indicated by Arseven as such:

Nearly all architects chose to walk on the road paved by the architects Kemalettin and Vedat. More than that, the government encouraged that movement, and insisted on the erection of buildings like schools, barracks, train stations, etc. in the national style. Even more, a bill of law that would force the individuals to raise buildings in national style was proposed.¹⁰⁰



Figure 2.9.a: General view of Fire Victims (*Hârikzedegan*) Apartments of Kemalettin Bey, built between 1919-1922 at Laleli, İstanbul.

(Yavuz & Özkan, 2005, p. 52)



Figure 2.9.b: Imperial Offices of Land Registry (*Defter-i Hakani*) building of Vedat Tek erected in 1910 at Sultanahmet Square.

(Yavuz & Özkan, 2005, p. 47)

This approach also dominated the initial years of the Republic, until the time at the turn of the 1930s when a new architectural language was found more appropriate to

⁹⁹ Yavuz & Özkan, 2005, pp. 45-48.

¹⁰⁰ Arseven, 1956, p. 435.

express the merits of modernity and national revolution,¹⁰¹ with a quite radical turn advocated by the highest authorities and implemented as a governmental policy.¹⁰² As stated by Aslanoğlu, the reason of this abrupt shift was quite obvious:

Despite the fact that, with the progress in architecture and art in Europe, the facadism and ornamentation in architecture had been replaced with the developments in rationalist movement that focused on social problems from a functionalist point of view, the Turkish architects were turning the clock back and defending revivalism. Consequently, they ran into a contradiction with the new revolutionist milieu of the era.¹⁰³

In that sense, it is understandable how the progressivist ideology of the new regime became critical of the Ottoman neo-classicism that needed to be abandoned as an approach that depended on the recontextualization of Ottoman heritage, which the new regime aimed to get rid of.¹⁰⁴ The new Turkish architecture was then claimed as a version of the modern expression, and implemented mostly by foreign architects,¹⁰⁵ although the theoretical gap and the lack of experience created practical and intellectual obstacles in its implementation in the country.¹⁰⁶

In short, in its relatively short lifespan, the Ottoman Neo-classicism had a great impact on the formation of the changing built environment of the center, i.e. İstanbul,

¹⁰¹ Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 56.

¹⁰² Batur, Afife. "To Be Modern: Search for A Republican Architecture." In *Modern Turkish Architecture*, edited by Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin, and Süha Özkan. Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005, p. 78.

¹⁰³ Aslanoğlu, 2010 [1980], p. 31.

¹⁰⁴ Bozdoğan, Sibel. "Reading Ottoman Architecture Through Modernist Lenses: Nationalist Historiography And The 'New Architecture' In The Early Republic." *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 202.

¹⁰⁵ Batur, 2005, pp. 78-79.

¹⁰⁶ Basa, Inci. "From Praise to Condemnation: Ottoman Revivalism and the Production of Space in Early Republican Ankara." *Journal of Urban History* 41, no. 4 (2015): 724.

and the peripheral cities during the late Ottoman period, and affected the formation of the built environment also during the early Republican years. Especially for the expression of the power of the state, the architecture of governmental buildings erected at the peripheral cities were chosen minutely in this style. This also paved the way for the constitution of the “architecture of the state” for the Republic, which was explicitly determined in the development of Ankara as the capital city, and the shaping of *İstasyon Caddesi* as its main axis, which will be broadly studied in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHITECTURE OF THE STATE ALONG ANKARA *İSTASYON* *CADDESİ*

The socio-political context of the late Ottoman period at the turn of the 20th century had a great impact on the shaping of not only its capital İstanbul but also the peripheral cities of the Empire. The modest late Ottoman town of Ankara was exemplary in this process of modernization as witnessed in the urban and architectural transformation of its built environment. The aim of this chapter is to analyze the architecture of the state in Ankara as a case to comparatively understand the consequences of “the longest century of the Empire”,¹ as well as the effects of the Republican period, on the formation of the built environment. The utmost reason for the choice of Ankara as a focus is related to its geographical centrality, which paved the road for the city to be a scenery of “infrastructural development” for transportation, trading and bureaucracy. According to Tekeli:

The importance given to the development of infrastructure as well as its occurrence of being a responsibility of the central government are the essential phases of the flourishing of Ottoman modernization. The foremost emphasis of infrastructural development according to the central authority was to make itself capable of receiving information from its territory, and reaching and inspecting every bit and piece of it, which would make it possible to conduct the project of bureaucratic modernization directed from the center by changing the hierarchical intra-relations that had existed because of the distantness of regions.²

¹ Ortaylı, 1999, pp. 13-31. The definition of the 19th century by Ortaylı as the “the longest” is based on the unsettling series of reforms and counter-reforms of the era that changed the bureaucratic and military structure, and consequently the built environment.

² Tekeli, 2009, p. 139. Translated by the author.

Here, it is understood that the modernization of Ankara was particularly rooted on the intention of the central authority to reinforce its power and sovereignty via the reorganization of the imperial territory, which would conserve the social order and make the central authority the one and only architect of the reforms.³ As examined in the previous chapter, the general formation of the modernization process was defined through the changes in the bureaucracy and the built environment of the late Ottoman period, which could be exemplified in the case of different peripheral cities of the Empire. However, the reason that distinguishes the development of Ankara in that period as representing the “Architecture of the State” is the change that the city witnessed in the late 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century⁴, which paved the way for its choice as the center of command during the Independence War at the end of the First World War, and later, as the modern capital city of the new nation-state established in Turkey in 1923.

The contextual shift that differentiated the built environment of Ankara from the other cities of the Empire must be taken into consideration during the minute analysis of the “Architecture of the State” In the process of nation-building by the newly established Turkish Republic, architecture was instrumentalized in “formal terms to provide the desired representation of/to the nation”⁵. The expression of the nation had also been pursued by the cadres of the late Ottoman period, and many of the politicians, civil servants and professionals who played significant roles in the establishment of the Republic had grown up in the institutions of the Empire. Nonetheless, the new policies applied and the services provided by the Republican modernization were based on a different context from the Ottoman modernization.

³ Karpat, 2017, p. 22.

⁴ Tekeli, İlhan. “Başkent Ankara’nın Öyküsü”. In *Anadolu’da Yerleşme Sistemleri ve Yerleşme Tarihleri*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011, pp. 270-271.

⁵ Altan-Ergut, 1998, p. 111.

For that sake, the chapter aims to investigate the “Architecture of the State” in Ankara to undertake such a comparative analysis.

In order to comprehend this ideological and expressional transformation, it is essential to clarify the milestones of the modernization of Ankara, determined for the explanation of the question of this study. The first milestone is 1892, when the railroad arrived to Ankara, paving the way for the expansion of the city through the road that was connecting the city with the train station, namely *İstasyon Caddesi*. (Figure 3.1.) The second one is 1928, when the competition for the urban development plan of Ankara was opened, in which the proposal of German architect Hermann Jansen was chosen.⁶ Both of these milestones and the developments in the built environment of the city between these years are examined in this chapter in relation to the framework of analysis defined in the second chapter of the study.

The chapter initially examines the context of Ankara in the 19th century before the arrival of the railroad to the city, then investigates the formation of *İstasyon Caddesi* as a new axis in the city as the settlement expanded beyond the limits of the citadel area, then continue with the investigation of the development of this axis with the construction of new public areas and buildings along the axis that connected the Ottoman to the Republican public spaces of the city, and underline as a conclusion how *İstasyon Caddesi* lost its importance in the urban development scheme of Ankara after the implementation of Jansen plan.

⁶ Tankut, 1993, pp. 65-81. Although the official results of the competition were announced on May 27, 1929 because of the fact that the direction of the development was irrevocably defined in the competition brief as the north-south axis, the year 1928 is taken as a milestone. See: Tankut, Gönül. “Jansen Planı: Uygulama Sorunları ve Cumhuriyet Bürokrasisinin Kent Planına Yaklaşımı.” In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2nd ed. edited by Aysıl Tükel-Yavuz, 301–316. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000.

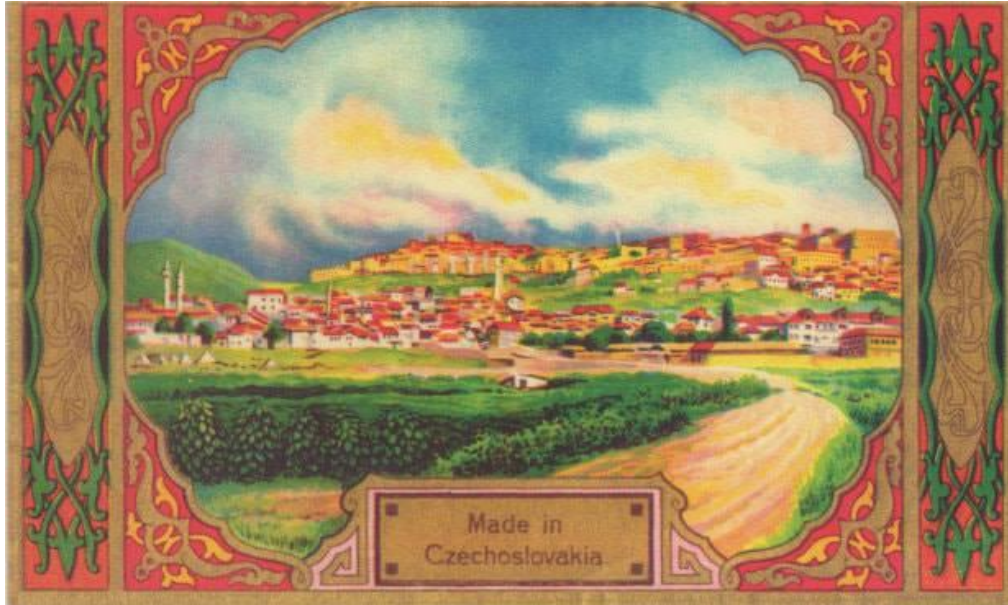


Figure 3.1: The view of Ankara from the road coming from the location where train station would be erected, depicted on the label of a bale of mohair (*sof*) exported, second half of the 19th century.

(Ankara Kulübü Derneği archive)

3.1. Ankara in the 19th Century

It is necessary to understand the context of Ankara before 1892 in order to evaluate the reasons why the arrival of the railroad created such a breakthrough for the faith of the city, and how that created a triggering effect for the development of Ankara in the following decades. Before that, Ankara had confronted with many highs and lows in its history of over two thousand and five hundred years.⁷ However, a general overview of the city before 1892 makes it possible to state that the situation of Ankara in the 19th century was revealing the indications of a decaying settlement in Central Anatolia. Although the city was reclaimed as a provincial capital (*eyalet merkezi*) in 1836 in the process of the reorganization of the armed forces and the administrative

⁷ Although it could be dated more with the artefacts found in excavations from the period of the Hittites, it is accepted that the city was established at the geographical location where the hill that *Hacıbayram* neighborhood located in the 8th C. BC by the Phrygians. (Aydın et al., 2005, p. 57)

order in the Empire⁸ (the new order / *Nizam-ı Cedid*),⁹ the economy of the city was crashed, and the population of the city center was fluctuating up and down according to the consequences of catastrophic events.¹⁰

The urban fabric had remained kept in a limited area from the 16th century to the arrival of the railroad in 1892, which can be analyzed in a tripartite structure: Hisar (citadel), Yukarı Yüz (upper face) and Aşağı Yüz (lower face).¹¹ (Figure 3.2.) Hisar is the name of the settlement in the citadel of Ankara. With the double fortification around it, the settlement inside was divided into two as Inner Citadel and Outer Citadel. The history of the citadel could be dated to the 3rd century BC, when the Galatians entered Anatolia and settled on the land between the Kızılırmak and Sakarya rivers. A tribe of the Galatians, Tectosags, inhabited in the area known as Ankara today, and established the capital of their group.¹² Even though the city continued to expand outside the citadel, Hisar stood as the main residential district of the city until the late 19th century, despite the fact that it was nearly dilapidated at that time according to the travelers.¹³ In the 16th century, moreover, Hisar also gained importance by housing the dungeons and treasury of the state, which developed from the mohair (*sof*) trade that skyrocketed in that century.¹⁴ From that period on, the

⁸ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 198. The city gained the status of being the center of a province permanently in 1864. See: Georgeon, François. “Keçi Kılından Kalpağa: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Son Yüzyılında Ankara’nın Gelişimi.” In *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, edited by Paul Dumont and François Georgeon, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996, p. 108.

⁹ Ortaylı, 1999: pp. 44-45. In that sense, the formation of one of the headquarters of it in 1803 is important to note. Çadırcı, 2000, p. 92.

¹⁰ Galanti, 2005[1950]: pp. 189-190

¹¹ Ergenç, 2000, p. 50.

¹² Aydın et al., 2005, pp. 64-66.

¹³ Aktüre, 2001, p. 51.

¹⁴ Ergenç, 2000, p. 49.

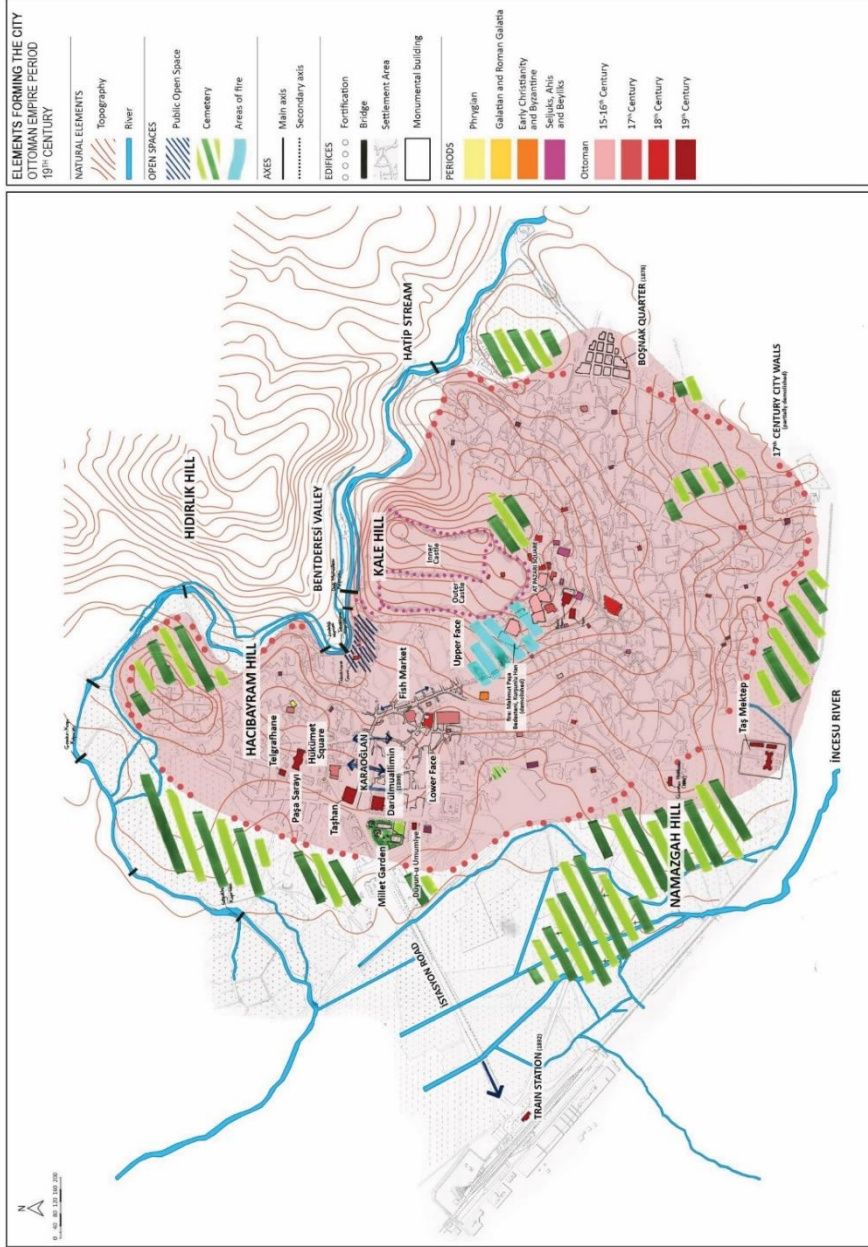


Figure 3.2: The existing urban pattern of Ankara in the 19th century . Prepared by Elif Selena Ayhan- Koçyiğit.

(Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 101.)

developing commercial districts below the city named as Yukarı Yüz (Upper Face) and Aşağı Yüz (Lower Face), remained as the center of commerce and trade for nearly four centuries.¹⁵ Yukarı Yüz was the area on the southwest of the main gate of the Outer Citadel, covering the commercial districts of Samanpazarı, Koyunpazarı, and Atpazarı. The main marketplace of the city, as well as the center of the *sof* trade¹⁶, Mahmut Paşa Bedesten and numerous *hans* used by the craftsmen and merchants of the city were located in that district, as well as many of the mosques erected in the Seljuk and Ottoman periods. The area was centralized around Atpazarı Square and elongated with the fringes of the streets of Samanpazarı and Koyunpazarı towards the southwestern direction.¹⁷ Due to the fire of 1881, much of the district, including the bedesten, was torn down,¹⁸ and the place gradually lost its importance in the late 19th century. Aşağı Yüz was the name of the area between Hacıbayram Mosque and Karacabey Complex, nearly following the direction of Anafartalar Avenue to be constructed during the Republican period. The center of gravity of the district was Hasan Paşa Hanı (Suluhan) from the 16th century, which was connected to the bedesten with a avenue called Uzunçarşı,¹⁹ which is known as Çıkırıçılar Yokuşu today. The open public market area known Taht-el-Kal'a/Tahtakale,²⁰ placed below

¹⁵ Mihçioğlu-Bilgi, Elif. "The Physical Evolution of the Historic City of Ankara between 1839 and 1944: A Morphological Analysis." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Ankara: Middle East Technical University Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences, 2010, p. 36.

¹⁶ Kaynar, İhsan Seddar. "Engürü'den Ankara'ya: 1892-1962 Arası Ankara'nın İktisadi Değişimi." Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation. Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2016, p. 163.

¹⁷ Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 69.

¹⁸ Mihçioğlu-Bilgi, 2010, p. 47.

¹⁹ Ergenç, 1980, p. 91.

²⁰ Özdemir, Rıfat. *XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Ankara*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1986, p. 39. Named as a phrase that can be translated as "beneath the citadel", the marketplace with the same name and location could be found in many of the Islamic cities of the period. For more information, see: Raymond, 2008, pp. 731-75 Raymond, André. "The Economy of the Traditional City." In *The City in the Islamic World*, Vol. 2, edited by Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli, and André Raymond, 731–752. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008.

the walls of the citadel in Aşağı Yüz, included numerous hans, mosques and hamams.²¹ Moreover, Bağlum states that this district was also a place of festivities and celebrations in the 19th century.²² The district damaged massively in 1929 as a result of the great Tahtakale fire and gradually lost its primacy.²³ As a part of Aşağı Yüz, Karaoğlan Bazaar through the western fringes of the city emerged in 17th century,²⁴ and later became the most essential marketplace of the town at the end of the 19th century with its proximity to the newly arrived railroad.²⁵

The deplorable events that affected Ankara were numerous. The first and the foremost was the harsh decline in the production and trade of mohair (*sof*), which was the locomotive of the economy of the city from the 16th century onwards. Because of the fact that there were not much fertile areas around Ankara that would provide a distinguishable surplus value,²⁶ the only profitable good was coming from the hair of an endemic breed of goats. According to Tamur, the weaving industry in Ankara reached its peak between the 15th and 18th centuries with the accumulating expertise on the production and manufacturing of mohair.²⁷ The mohair trimmed from Angora goat were prepared in the looms located in the eastern neighborhoods to produce yarn and fabric, colored near the tanning yards at the river called Bentderesi, and carried to the İzmir port after a 20-day journey, with the agency of mostly Venetian, Polish

²¹ Tunçer, Mehmet. “20. Yüzyıl Başlarında Tahtakale, Karaoğlan Çarşısı ve Taşhan’dan Ulus Merkezi’ne Dönüşüm.” *İdealkent* 5, no. 11, 2014: 19.

²² Bağlum, 1992, p. 67.

²³ Aydın et al., 2005, pp. 386-387.

²⁴ Özdemir, 1986, p. 38.

²⁵ Avcı, 2017, p. 117.

²⁶ Aktüre, 1979, p. 112. Aktüre asserts that as the reason of the lack of a great-scale place of worship (mosque, church etc.) in Ankara.

²⁷ Tamur, 2018, p. 74.

or Dutch merchants.²⁸ The anonymous painting displayed in Rijksmuseum, titled as “View of Ankara”, displays the figures that had role in the process of mohair production at that time. (Figure 3.3.)²⁹



Figure 3.3: “View of Ankara”, Anonymous. 18th century

(Eyice, 1971, plate IV.)

However, this profitable chain was broken with the changing realm of the Industrial Revolution during the 18th century. With the approval of Baltalimanı Free Trade Treaty in 1839 between the United Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire, merchants with massive amounts of end products invaded the inner market.³⁰ The authenticity

²⁸ Ergenç, Özer. *Şehir, Toplum, Devlet: Osmanlı Tarihi Yazıları*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2013, p. 301.

²⁹ For a detailed analysis on the elements and figures depicted in the painting and an overview of the 17th century Ankara, see: Eyice, 1971, pp. 61-124.

³⁰ Pamuk, Şevket. *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme (1820-1913)*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2018, pp. 16-21.

and quality of the wool of Angora and the increasing amount of exportation of *sof* as a raw material kept the city in pace,³¹ but in the 1880s, *sof* was succeeded to be produced in South Africa³², which led to the collapse of the production and trade in Ankara. Because of that, the goods produced in Ankara as an exportable commodity changed in the late 19th century from mohair to wheat, opium and livestock.³³ Moreover, this situation opened the way of dissolution for the existing social hierarchy in the city,³⁴ which had been rooted in the tradition of *Ahi* fraternity established centuries ago,³⁵ and created a fertile ground for both ethno-religious unrest and harsh economical competition between the gentry of the city.³⁶

On the other hand, the social and political traumas are also important for presenting an overview of the period, as well as the economic ones. In 1833, the khedive of Egypt, Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Paşa, revolted against the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II,³⁷ and proceeded with his army inside Anatolia, including the invasion of

³¹ Georgeon, 1996, p. 106.

³² Kafadar, Cemal. *Kim Var İmiş Biz Burada Yoğ İken: Dört Osmanlı: Yeniçeri, Tüccar, Derviş ve Hatun*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2009, p. 98.

³³ Yavuz, Erdem. “19. Yüzyıl Ankara’ında Ekonomik Hayatın Örgütlenmesi ve Kent İçi Sosyal Yapı.” In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2nd ed., edited by Ayşıl Tükel-Yavuz. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000, pp. 199-200.

³⁴ This paved the way for a different phase of social stratification between the merchants and the artisans, which also laid a brick on the wall of racial and ethnic segregation between the Muslim Turks and the Christian Armenians-Rums, according to Aktüre. (1979, pp. 125-128)

³⁵ Kılıçbay, Mehmet Ali. “Sof Şehri Ankara.” In *Ankara Ankara*, edited by Enis Batur. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994, p. 66.

³⁶ Nalbantoğlu defined this process as “the secular decadence” (Nalbantoğlu, Hasan Ünal. “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara’ında Yükselen Orta Sınıf Üzerine.” In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2nd ed., edited by Ayşıl Tükel-Yavuz. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000, pp. 289-290.)

³⁷ Ortaylı, 1999, p. 55.

Ankara for a couple of months.³⁸ In the years between 1845-1846, because of the great famine, which was indicated as “The 1261 Famine” or The Incinerating Drought” (*Ateş-i Samansuz Kuraklık*),³⁹ it is estimated that nearly 6000 Muslim people died and the number of people who migrated to neighboring cities were countless.⁴⁰ Another great famine occurred in 1874 (1290). Because of the floods in November in 1873 and the blizzard that continued for two months in 1874, all the roads connecting the city and villages with their neighbors were blocked and the starvation continued for over a year.⁴¹ A native witness of the catastrophe expressed her experiences as follows:

Even though we were rich and owned lots of villages, we couldn't find food. My father was offering ten golden coins in exchange for a small amount of wheat, but again he couldn't get anything. This is why we had to eat grass from the ground. Everyday more than a thousand of people were dying because of starvation.⁴²

A sheer number of people from surrounding villages and towns migrated to the Ankara city center in order to save their lives and the population of the city was doubled to 30.000 in a short period of time.⁴³ Nevertheless, it is estimated that approximately 18.000 people died in two years, according to the records.⁴⁴ The city

³⁸ Georgeon, 1996, p. 101. In the article, it is written that the fortifications of the citadel were reinforced and repaired soon after that.

³⁹ Özkan, Timur. *Ankara Şehrengizi*. Ankara: Alter Yayınları, 2014, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁰ Erdoğan, Abdülkerim. *Mamak Tarih ve Kültür Atlası v.2*. Ankara: Mamak Belediyesi Yayınları, 2015, pp. 17-18.

⁴¹ Eyice, 1971, pp. 86-87.

⁴² Bağlum, 1992, p. 25. Translated by the author.

⁴³ Erdoğan, 2015, p. 19.

⁴⁴ Özkan, 2014, p. 19.

struggled with a locust raid in 1881, which deserted much of the agricultural production of the year,⁴⁵ and with another drought in 1887 and needed extensive amounts of donation of agricultural products in order to prevent another famine.⁴⁶

Despite those events, the city center of Ankara was in a steady but constant growth in the 19th century. The number of people living in Ankara was around 20.000 in the 1830s, whereas after the migrations from the villages to the center after famines, the population rose to 25.000 in the 1880s, and after the arrival of the railroad in 1892, the number reached 30.000.⁴⁷ Especially in the governorship of Abidin Paşa (1886-1894), the city witnessed a massive infrastructural activity, which will be defined in the following part of the chapter. Yet, those were insufficient treatments for the rehabilitation of the city, regarding its diminishing social, political and economical importance during the late Ottoman period.

3.2. Formation of a New Axis

This part of the chapter examines how the city of Ankara transformed in the late Ottoman period, and consequently a new axis was formed in its new center. In order to understand this change, the expansion of the city outside the limits of the historical citadel area is initially studied. Among the various interventions in the built environment of the city during the period, the focus is kept on three most important developmental activities that affected the following decades of the city. Those were the arrival of the railroad and the opening of the train station in 1892, defining the new gate to the city; the establishment of the administrative center by the construction

⁴⁵ Müderrisoğlu, Alptekin. *Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda Ankara*. Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1993, p. 15.

⁴⁶ Akyüz-Orat, 2005, p. 296. The total amount of the aid was approximately 25 million kilograms (1 million *kile*) of wheat and 25 thousand kilograms (20 thousand *kıyye*) of barley.

⁴⁷ E. Yavuz, 2000, p. 195.

of the Governor's Office and the formation of Governor's Square in its front; and the expansion of this new center to Taşhan Square as a new node to connect the station to the new city center. These late Ottoman interventions affected the formation of *İstasyon Caddesi* as a new axis in the city, connecting the city center and the station with the provision of significant public buildings and urban elements along it.

3.2.1. Stepping Outside of the Citadel in Late Ottoman Ankara

The outcomes of the process of bureaucratic modernization of the Ottoman cities was realized pretty much effectively in Ankara during the second half of the 19th century. According to the administrative division of the Ottoman Empire⁴⁸ that was consisted of *eyalets* (states), which were divided into *sancaks*, the city was the center of Ankara *sancak* ruled by *mutasarrıf*.⁴⁹ In 1836, the city of Ankara became the center of Ankara *eyalet* and started to be ruled by a governor (*vali*).⁵⁰ With the proclamation of the Tanzimat Decree in 1839, for the application of the reforms in the peripheral cities of the Empire, including Ankara, and for decreasing the dominance of proprietors (*ayan*) in those cities⁵¹, a state council (*eyalet meclisi*) was founded in 1840. After numerous changes in the status of the city, finally with the Provincial Regulation of 1864 (*Vilayet Nizamnamesi*), the province of Ankara was formed in similar borders and administrative division.⁵²

⁴⁸ The structure of local authorities in the Ottoman Empire was changed in 19th century for a couple of times. For an elaborate source on the phases and content of those, see: Ortaylı, İlber. *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahallî İdareleri (1840-1880)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2000.

⁴⁹ Aktüre, 2001, pp. 47-48.

⁵⁰ Özdemir, 1986, p. 136.

⁵¹ Ortaylı, 2000a, pp. 29-30.

⁵² Aydın et al., 2005, pp. 198-200. From the 16th century to 1836, Ankara had been a district (*sancak*) under the supervision of the Anadolu governorship (*beylerbeyliği*). It is hard to state the differences in English between the terms *sancak*, *eyalet*, and *beylerbeyliği*, which could all be taken under the term

The reflections of these reforms could also be detected in the urban fabric of the city. The third fortification around the city was totally dissolved in the 19th century, which had loosely acted as a delimiter that defined the boundaries of the city center for centuries.⁵³ Numerous new *hans* were erected in that century, including *Taşhan* (1888)⁵⁴ as the last one built and one of the most essential elements that defined the expansion of the city in the late 19th and the early 20th century. The district around Hacıbayram Mosque and formed around the ruins of Hasan Paşa Bath, Tûlice neighborhood, was distinguished with the use of the mansions here as the governor's house and the courthouse, which laid the foundation stone of the formation of the Governor's Square (*Vilayet Meydanı*).⁵⁵

In that sense, the contributions of Abidin Paşa as the governor of Ankara is worthy to be mentioned. As a qualified bureaucrat who worked in settlements in different scales, he was indicated as “one of the typical examples of the modernized officials of the period, indicated as “the commander of the Decree” (*Tanzimat Paşası*)⁵⁶ because of the fact that he was well aware of the urgent need of the penetration of the reforms of the Tanzimat Decree in the periphery of the Empire. As Gülenç-İğdi indicated, for the realization of the reforms in the era of the transition from the *eyalet* system to the provinces, the partial participation of the people in local governance via the constitution of general provincial councils (*Vilayet Umum Meclisleri*) was found

of “governorship”. Hence, the Turkish equivalent of each “governorship” and “governor” are mentioned in parenthesis where needed. A/N

⁵³ Aktüre, 1994, p. 88.

⁵⁴ Aydın et al, 2005, p. 240.

⁵⁵ Özdemir, 1986, pp. 44-49.

⁵⁶ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 202.

appropriate.⁵⁷ These facilities were also functional in order to reinforce the authority of the center and accelerating the decision-making mechanisms of the provinces, particularly in cases of development and settlement.⁵⁸ Yet, because of the inconsistency in the designation of the governors and councils of Ankara⁵⁹, the immediate needs of the city and the environs could not be satisfied. In fact, the most prominent change in the city fabric that revealed the modernization of the Empire was the erection of the Clock Tower near the Horse Market (*Atpazarı*) gate of the Citadel in 1884.⁶⁰ (Figure 3.4.) Nevertheless, the eight years that Abidin Paşa was in office might be stated as the time that the city finally started to break the shell of poverty and incompetence.

In the period of Abidin Paşa, one of the first projects of the local authority was the improvement of the façades of houses by whitewashing them in order to change the image of the “off-yellow” mudbrick material.⁶¹ The water was brought to Ankara in pipes for the use of agricultural production from Eymir Lake in 1887, and from Elmadağ as drinking water in 1894.⁶² Likewise, over 600 kilometers of roads of the

⁵⁷ Gülenç-İğdi, Özlem. “Abidin Paşa’nın Ankara Valiliği.” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 53, no. 2 (2013): 225.

⁵⁸ Yet, it is essential to state that the terms “development and settlement” here were not rooted in the economic aspects of an industrializing city, but rather represented the interventions to answer the practical needs of the Ottoman cities, like preventing fires or improving the urban infrastructure, which opened arguments on the characteristics of the “modernization project” of the Empire. See: Tekeli, 1995, pp. 53-54.

⁵⁹ The borders of Ankara *vilayet* was changed for four times between 1836 and 1871, when 15 governors were assigned to Ankara for short terms. From 1871, when the General Provincial Regulation (*Vilayet-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*) was accepted, until the appointment of Abidin Paşa in 1886, 18 governors also worked in the city. (Aydın et al., 2005, p. 203)

⁶⁰ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 247.

⁶¹ Eyice, 1972, p. 88.

⁶² Gülenç-İğdi, 2015, pp. 238-243.

province were repaired in that era,⁶³ the first fire safety organization was established after the fire of 1881,⁶⁴ and the problem of water and urban pollution was solved.⁶⁵

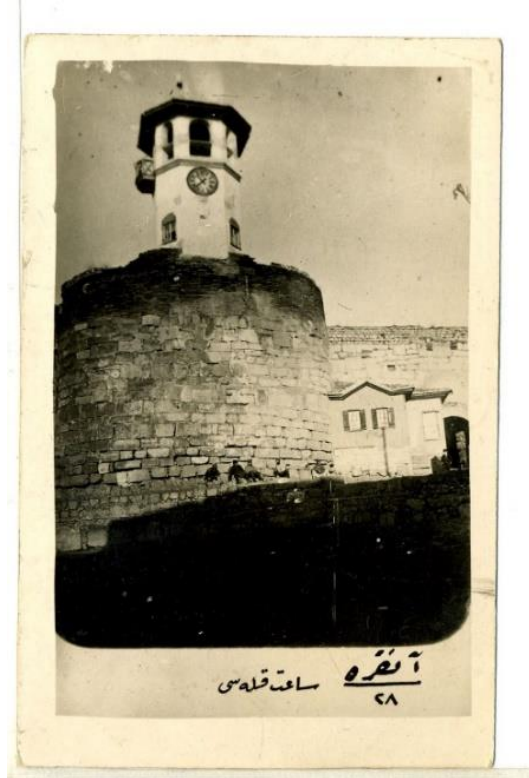


Figure 3.4: Ankara Clock Tower, 1900s.

(İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library Postcard Collection, Inventory No: Krt_004964)

More than that, a bunch of new imperial institutions were established in Ankara. The secondary school, called *Ankara Mekteb-i İdadisi* or *Taş Mekteb*, was opened with

⁶³ Gülenç-İğdi, 2015, p. 236.

⁶⁴ Denel, 2000, p. 132.

⁶⁵ Aydın et al., 2005, pp. 252-253.

ceremonies in 1887 as the first modern educational institution of the city.⁶⁶ (Figure 3.5) Due to its scale and location that dominated the city from the top of a hill, it was treated as the manifestation of the Ottoman reforms of the era.⁶⁷ Moreover, the inauguration of the Gureba Hospital in Ankara, and the renovation of Cenab-ı Ahmet Paşa Mosque could be considered as the other significant activities of the period.⁶⁸

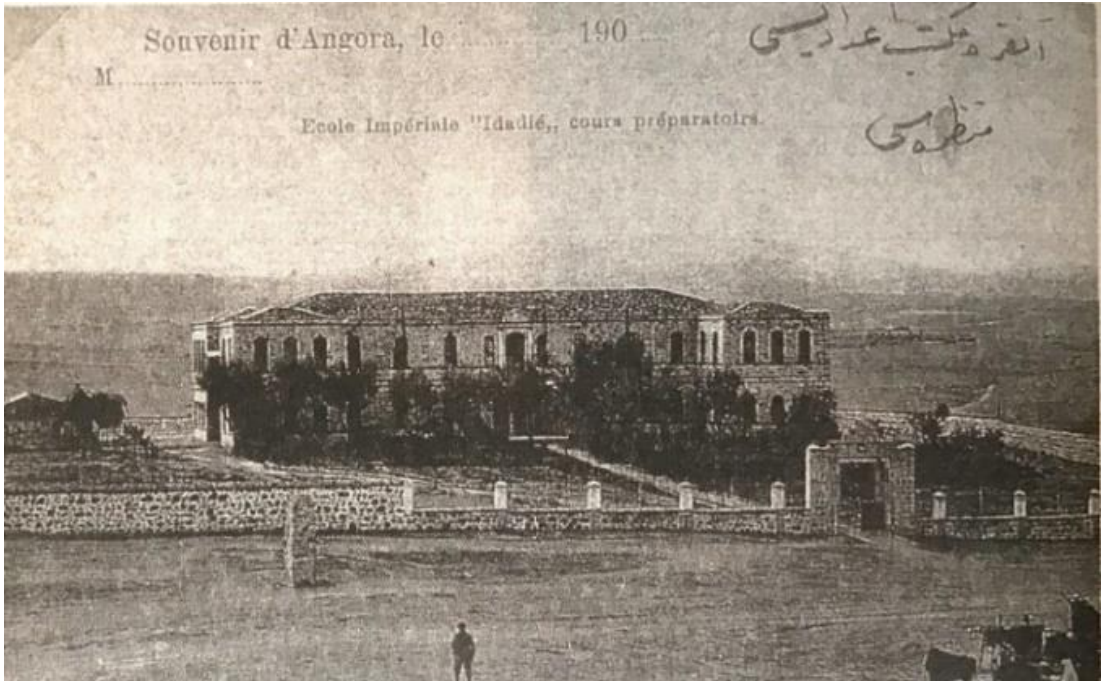


Figure 3.5: View from *Taş Mekteb* through Çankaya and Dikmen hills, 1890s..

(Tanyer, 2005, p. 146.)

⁶⁶ Tanyer, Turan. *Taş Mekteb*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005, pp. 18-23.

⁶⁷ Becker, Martina. "Making Art in the Early Turkish Republic: The Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul and The Art-Craft Department in Ankara." Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation. Ankara: Middle East Technical University Graduate School of Social Sciences, 2013, pp. 38-39.

⁶⁸ Kılıç, Filiz. "Ankara'nın Başkent Olma Yolunda İleri Görüşlü Bir İdarecisi ve Edibi: Âbidin Paşa." In *Cumhuriyetin 90. Yılında Her Yönüyle Ankara*. Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2004, p. 171.

3.2.2. Defining the Gate of the City: Ankara Train Station

The geographical advantage of Ankara that led the city to become as the intersection point of the commonly used trading routes in history was shortly mentioned in the previous chapter. After the reparation of the roads in Ankara *vilayet*, the four main transportation routes connected the city with the west, the east, the north and the southwest.⁶⁹ The main ports that were dominantly used by merchants of Ankara were in Samsun and İzmir⁷⁰; yet, the only possible way to reach those was by joining the groups of freight carrying animals, namely *kervans*, which would take a long time and cost a lot due to weather conditions, security problems, and the momentarily changes in the prices of goods.

On the other hand, the construction of railroads had already started in the Empire. According to Can, connecting a settlement to the railroad network was also equal to the acceleration of the process of standardization, dictated by the “center” to the “periphery”.⁷¹ For that reason, it is not surprising that the very first railroad line in the Ottoman Empire was constructed in Egypt.⁷² The steady railroad construction in Anatolia started with the inauguration of İzmir-Aydın and İzmir-Kasaba (Turgutlu)

⁶⁹ Önsoy, Rıfat. “19. Yüzyılda Ankara’nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi.” In *Ankara Ankara*, edited by Enis Batur. Ankara: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994, p. 135.

⁷⁰ Ergenç, 2013, pp. 291-298.

⁷¹ Can, 2000, pp. 41-42. Although the author constructed the “center-periphery” dichotomy on the basis of the Westernization-Europeanization process, it should also be kept in mind that the “center” of the Empire was also aspiring to reinforce the hierarchical relationship between itself and the periphery of the Empire via the process of bureaucratic modernization and civil development, which is actually the innate characteristic of much of the modernization processes. For a detailed debate on these themes by using the concept of “super-Westernization”, see: Mardin, 1991, pp. 21-29.

⁷² Can, 2000, p. 43. After the Crimean War of 1853, the race between the European countries to get the privilege of railroad construction in the Ottoman territories was won by the Great Britain, and the line from Alexandria to Cairo was built between 1854 and 1857 with the urge of the Great Britain looking for a safe track for the trading route of India. Within fifty years, the total length of the railways in Egypt reached around 4.400 km, which became a British dominion from 1881 onwards.

lines in 1866, which were built in order to transport agricultural goods to the İzmir Port time- and cost-effectively. The construction of the lines were financed and administrated by different British entrepreneurs and companies.⁷³ (Figure 3.6.)



Figure 3.6: The map of the railways built on Ottoman territories until 1914.

(Âgoston & Masters, 2009, p. 481.)

The international competition between the investors⁷⁴ was also efficacious in the construction of the railroads leading to inner Anatolia. After the establishment of Ministry of Public Works (*Nafia*) in 1865, the railroad starting from Haydarpaşa (İstanbul) started to be constructed by the Empire's equity, yet it was only sufficient

⁷³ Âgoston & Masters, 2009, p. 479.

⁷⁴ The competition on the railways was also meaningful in an underlying purpose, which was the distribution of the operational privileges of the over the ground and underground goods nearby the railroad. Especially with the factors of oil and precious metals, obtaining a construction privilege from the Empire was a run for the money. (Can, 2000, p. 52)

to elongate the line until İzmit in 1872.⁷⁵ Although the projects of the railway passing through Ankara had been prepared already in the same year,⁷⁶ because of the bankruptcy of the Ottoman treasure, the project could only be started in 1888 with the title of “Baghdad Railways” that would be constructed by the consortium led by Deutsche Bank, and under supervision of the German Emperor Wilhelm II.⁷⁷ The railroad reached Adapazarı in 1890 and the trains of “Anatolian Railroad Company” aimed to arrive in Ankara in 1892.

The expectations of the central authority from this extension was twofold: On the one hand, the railway was expected to be an apparatus of a more effective governmental control over inner Anatolia. On the other hand, the increase in agricultural production and the rapid distribution of goods for the needs of İstanbul was also expected.⁷⁸ Besides, the citizens of Ankara were also enthusiastic about the arrival of the railroad in their city. In fact, the statistics of the period reveal the legitimacy of this excitement with the doubling numbers of agricultural production and profit in the towns and cities connected to the railroad.⁷⁹ According to the memoir of the English officer Fred Burnaby, the well-educated, Francophone son of governor stated the importance of the railroad as follows: “The arrival of the railroads weights fifty times more than the

⁷⁵ Özyüksel, 2000, p. 15.

⁷⁶ On February 1872, German engineer Wilhelm von Pressel, who was assigned as the new general director of “Asia Ottoman Railways” by the Sultan Abdulaziz, prepared a railroad project that connected Haydarpaşa station in the Anatolian side of İstanbul with Baghdad and Basra. (Özyüksel, 2000, pp. 16-17)

⁷⁷ Özyüksel, Murat. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Nüfuz Mücadelesi: Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013, pp. 53-55.

⁷⁸ Avcı, 2017, pp. 121-122.

⁷⁹ Tekeli, İlhan. “Evolution of Spatial Organization in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.” In *From Madina to Metropolis: Heritage and Change in the Near Eastern City*, edited by L. Carl Brown. Princeton: Daewin Press, 1973, pp. 271-273.

declaration of the constitution.”⁸⁰ Moreover, during the construction of the railroad, the people of Ankara sent a telegraph to the sultan stating that they could voluntarily work for its construction, as a statement showing enthusiasm of the inhabitants.⁸¹

On the news published in *Servet-i Fünun* magazine on December 1, 1892, a telegraph sent by the chairman of the municipal council of Ankara, Hacı Abdi Bey, indicated that the first train entered Ankara Train Station on November 27, 1892. In the telegraph, the scenery of the celebrations was narrated in detail with the description of the rapturous welcoming of the governor, officers and citizens, with the ovations of “Long live our Sultan!” The photograph of these celebrations was published on the cover of the next issue of the magazine, dated December 29, 1892. (Figure 3.7.)⁸²

As it can be detected from the photograph, it is known that a pompous festivity was also arranged for the arrival of the train to Ankara, with the lavish ornamentation around the railroad and in the city, including the repair and whitewashing of houses and buildings seen from the railroad.⁸³ For the organization of celebrations, governor Abidin Paşa assigned actor Ahmet Fehim Bey, who came for a performance to Ankara.⁸⁴ In his memoir, Ahmet Fehim comprehensively illustrated the general

⁸⁰ Excerpt from Barnaby by Aydın et al., 2005, p. 231.

⁸¹ Ortaylı, İlber. “19. Yüzyıl Ankara’sına Demiryolunun Gelişi, Hinterlandının ve Hinterlanddaki Üretim Eylemlerinin Değişimi.” In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2nd ed., edited by Aysıl Tükel-Yavuz.. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000b, p. 207.

⁸² Mungan-Yavuztürk, Gülseren. “Ankara’da Demiryolunun CerModern’e Uzanan Tarihi.” *Kent ve Demiryolu Website*, 2017. Last visited on 7th April 2019: <http://kentvedemiryolu.com/ankarada-demiryolunun-cermoderne-uzanan-tarihi/>

⁸³ Galanti, 2005 [1950], p. 261.

⁸⁴ Later on, Ahmet Fehim Bey stood in Ankara for two years and opened a theater called “*Cenderoğlu Tiyatrosu*” at Balıkpazarı, in order to popularize the show business in the city. Although he firstly had an audience composed of officers, civil servants and foreign experts who came for the construction of the railroad, later he was forced to close his theater because of security problems. (Aydın et al., 2005, pp. 292-293)

condition of Ankara at that time, telling how they could reach Ankara inside swamps and trails by departing from the train at Sincan, how he prepared the arch at the station embellished with flowers, and how people at the celebration were amazed with the arrival of the train.⁸⁵ With the music played by the Hungarian Orchestra invited from İstanbul, the arrival of the railroad became a remarkable event that created a turning point for the history of Ankara.⁸⁶



Figure 3.7: The cover of *Servet-i Fünun* journal indicating the arrival of the railroad to Ankara, Issue: 94, December 29, 1892 (Kânun-ı Evvel 17, 1308).

(Christensen, 2017, p. 16.)

⁸⁵ Excerpt from Ahmet Fehim by Aycı, Mehmet. “Ankara’nın Garına Bak.” In *Memleket Garları*, edited by Kemal Varol. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012, pp. 95-96.

⁸⁶ Sarıaslan, Ümit. “Kara Tren Ankara’ya Kavuşalı 100 Yıl Oldu.” *Cumhuriyet* 2 24923 (1994), 19.

The first building of the railroad station of Ankara was a simple, double-storey structure, which is known as the “Direction Building” (*Direksiyon Binası*) (Figure 3.8.a). Shortly after, a passenger hall was erected near that building, which was a typical station that was built on many settlements on the line operated by “Anatolian Railroad Company”, like the ones in Eskişehir and Konya. These stations were grouped by the Germans as “Class I Stations”, consisting of a central block with double-storey two wings.⁸⁷ (Figure 3.8.b) With the additions made in time, the train station became a campus that was capable to accommodate for all the supplies and needs of a steam locomotive, from the buffet building (Figure 3.8.c.) to the warehouses and annexes.⁸⁸ (Figure 3.8.d)

After the arrival of the railroad, the economy of the city boosted in a short period of time.⁸⁹ The overall agricultural production and profit was doubled, the number of shops and stores on Karaoğlan Caddesi increased,⁹⁰ Taşhan was named as *Hotel d’Angora* and started to serve as a hotel instead of a traditional *han*; the product exchange in Fish Market (*Balıkpazarı*) was constituted;⁹¹ the Ottoman Bank opened its branch in 1893 near *Mahmut Paşa Bedesten*;⁹² and the building of *Düyun-u Umumiye* (Public Debt Administration of the Ottoman Empire) was constructed at the site of the *Kızılbey Türbesi*. Yet, as Ortaylı mentioned, the mission adopted by

⁸⁷ Christensen, 2017, p. 109.

⁸⁸ Aycı, 2012, p. 94.

⁸⁹ Aydın et al., 2005, pp. 79-81.

⁹⁰ Önsoy, 1994, pp. 136-137.

⁹¹ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 234.

⁹² Ortaylı, İlber. “19. Yüzyılda Ankara’da Yaşam.” In *Ankara Konuşmaları*, edited by Neriman Şahin. Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları, 1992, p. 91. It is indicated that the branch was commissioned with the collection of *öşür* in Ankara.

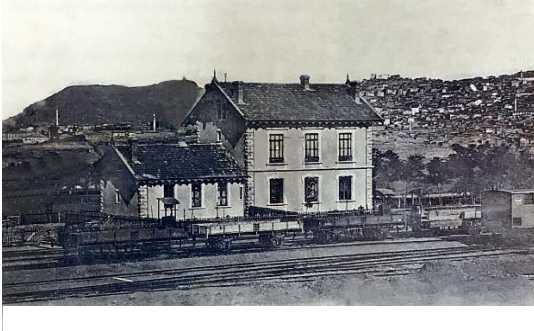


Figure 3.8.a: The direction building of the station., late 19th century.

(Evren, 1998, p. 61.)



Figure 3.8.b: The view of the old station from railroad, 1920s.

(*Fotoğraflarla Yeni Ankara Gari*, 1937, p. 19.)



Figure 3.8.c: The annex of the station, used as buffet, 1920s.

(*Fotoğraflarla Yeni Ankara Gari*, 1937, p. 17.)



Figure 3.8.d: The annex of the station, used as post office, 1920s.

(*Fotoğraflarla Yeni Ankara Gari*, 1937, p. 16.)

the city was not being an administrative and commercial center due to the fact that the city was the last stop of the railroad bifurcated at Eskişehir.⁹³ For that reason, Ankara rather became a hub of transportation of commercial and military goods, where *kervans* unloaded their freight to trains and vice versa.⁹⁴

⁹³ The other road separated at Eskişehir was extended through Afyon, Konya and Adana, and the Baghdad Railway was planned to be constructed on that route. Yet, because of the World War I, the construction of the railroad was halted. (Ågoston & Masters, 2009, p. 482)

⁹⁴ Ortaylı, 2000b, p. 208.

During the First World War, because of the inoperability of the maritime transportation to the cities in the Black Sea region, the transportation of goods and people were conducted with the interchange from Ankara, which increased the traffic and importance of the train station. In that period, the number of warehouses and depots increased and many of the tradesmen of the city began to act as brokers.⁹⁵ (Figure 3.9) After the surrender of the Empire in the First World War, many institutions started to be directed by the occupation forces, including “Anatolian Railroad Company” that was operating the Haydarpaşa-Ankara railroad. The Union Jack was hoisted in front of the Ankara Train Station and the commander of the troop sent to Ankara stayed at the direction building until 1920, when the government in Ankara was established and the commander of the Turkish army Mustafa Kemal Paşa started to use the building as the commanding center and his residence,⁹⁶ starting a new phase in the history of the axis of *İstasyon Caddesi* that is examined in the next parts of the study.

3.2.3. Establishing the Administrative Center: Governor’s Office and Square

The actual location of the residences and offices of local authorities in Ankara was indefinite for centuries. In the annuals (*salname*) from 17th and 18th centuries, the home-office of the governors were cited as different places belonging to mostly the prosperous people of the city.⁹⁷ In the first two decades of the 19th century, this situation did not change either, as it is seen from the case of the governor (*mutasarrıf*) Vezir Seyit Mehmet Galip Paşa who was residing in a sizable mansion near the Julianus Column in the Tûlice district in 1819.⁹⁸ It is known that a constant building

⁹⁵ Koç, Vehbi. *Hayat Hikâyem*. İstanbul: Apa Ofset, 1973, p. 24.

⁹⁶ Müderrisoğlu, 1993, p. 32.

⁹⁷ Akgün, Nejat. *Burası Ankara*. Ankara: Ankara Kulübü Derneği Yayınları, 1996, p. 247.

⁹⁸ Özdemir, 1986, p. 45.

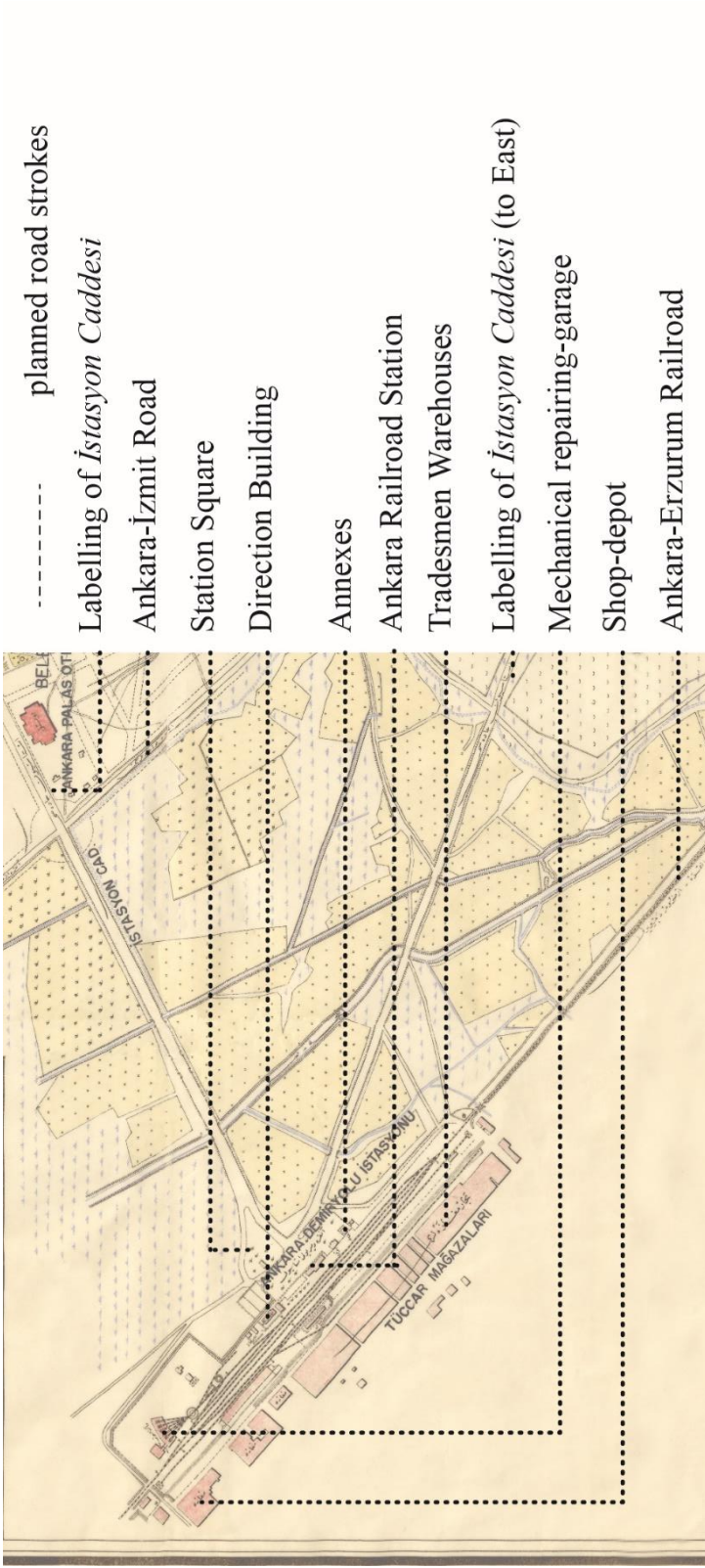


Figure 3.9. Ankara Train Station, Station Square and its environs. Inscribed on the 1924 Ankara map by the author.

(Günel & Kılıç, 2015, p. 82.)

was used for the accommodation⁹⁹ and the office of the governor in 1824, when “Hacı Abdi Ağa Mansion” was bought for that purpose in the name of the people of Ankara for 4000 kuruş.¹⁰⁰ (Figure 3.10)



Figure 3.10: Governor's Office in Ankara. Year: Late 19th century.

(Avcı, 2017, p. 123.)

On the map drawn by the German commander von Vincke in 1836, the location of the governor's office was indicated as *Paşa Sarayı* (Paşa Palace).¹⁰¹ Moreover, the location of the barracks of the *redif* troops¹⁰² are also indicated next to the governor's office. In fact, it is not coincidental that the new military and bureaucratic formations of the Empire was placed side-by-side. In many cities, the group of buildings allocated for the newly-established bureaucratic units of the Empire were located

⁹⁹ It is understood that the office was also used as the residence of the Governor, as the existence of a *harem* part in the building was indicated on the documents about the building. Avcı, 2017, p. 129.

¹⁰⁰ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 200.

¹⁰¹ Eyice, 1971, Plate XXXIX, Plate XL.

¹⁰² The *redif* troops were one of the three segments of the new army, consisted of reserve forces and located near the cities. Özkurt, 2016, pp. 43-44.

together and a specific site distinguished for stately functions was formed.¹⁰³ That was done purposefully for the sake of reinforcing the existence and dominance of the central authority through the agency of architecture and urbanization.¹⁰⁴ Hence, according to H. Kaynar, the local authorities of many of the cities under redevelopment in the same period were having a premise of constructing a Governor's Office as an expression of the power and prominence of the central authority, which was represented by the governor himself.¹⁰⁵ In that respect, the formation of the bureaucratic district in Ankara was one of the cases seen in many Anatolian cities in the 19th century.¹⁰⁶ (Figure 3.11)

It might be surprising that the presence of the Governor's Square of Ankara could be predated to a further history, from the fact that the original Roman acropolis of Ankyra had actually been at the same location.¹⁰⁷ The Julian (*Kıztaşı - Belkıs*) Column, which was erected for the memory of the visit of the Emperor Julian around 361-363 AD,¹⁰⁸ is the most apparent cultural heritage from that period in the area. Another artefact that defined the area was the ruins of Hasan Paşa Bath, a domed structure dating to the 16th century and demolished in 1929.¹⁰⁹ (Figure 3.12)

¹⁰³ Tekeli, 1985, p. 882.

¹⁰⁴ Yerasimos, 1996, p. 4.

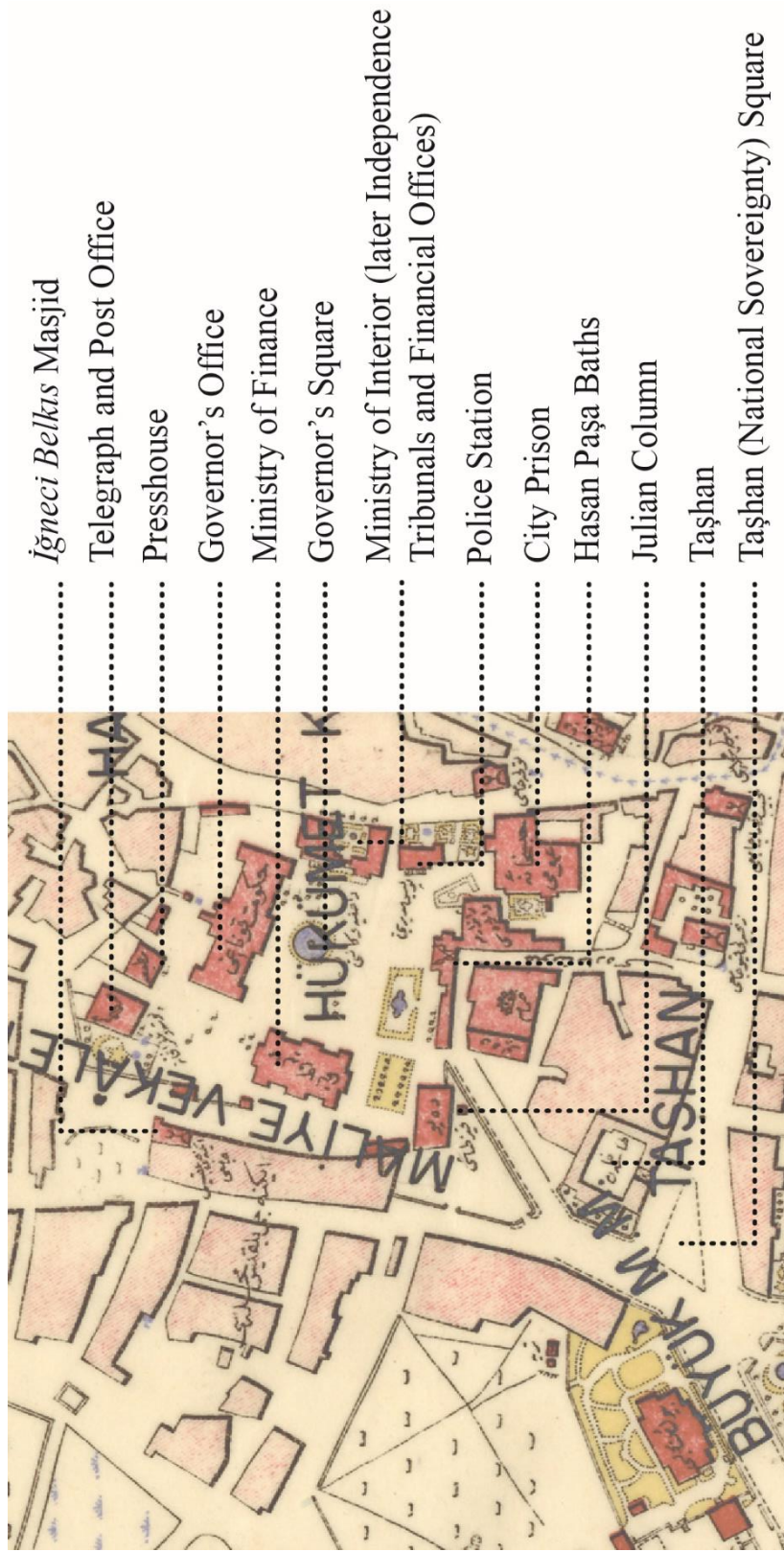
¹⁰⁵ H. Kaynar, 2000, p. 149.

¹⁰⁶ Aktüre, 1985, p. 896.

¹⁰⁷ A part of the *cardo maximus* from the Roman period of Ankara was found in the archaeological excavations done in front of the Governor's Office in 2006. For more information on the Roman city of Ankyra, see: Kadioğlu, Musa, Kutalmış Görkay, and Stephen Mitchell. *Roma Dönemi'nde Ankyra*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011.

¹⁰⁸ Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 22.

¹⁰⁹ Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 227.



İğneci Belkıs Masjid

Telegraph and Post Office

Presshouse

Governor's Office

Ministry of Finance

Governor's Square

Ministry of Interior (later Independence
Tribunals and Financial Offices)

Police Station

City Prison

Hasan Paşa Baths

Julian Column

Taşhan

Taşhan (National Sovereignty) Square

Figure 3.11. The official buildings and landmarks located around Governor's Square and Taşhan Square. Inscribed on the 1924 Ankara map by the author.

(Günel & Kılıç, 2015, p. 82.)



Figure 3.12: Julian Column and *Hasan Paşa* Baths in the *Vilayet* Square, 1900s.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 0986.)

Nevertheless, the area started to regain its identity of being central after the buildings of the bureaucracy started to be constructed one by one around in order to accommodate the increasing number of officers and staff.¹¹⁰ The first one of those was the archive building built in 1868 in order to keep the documents increasing in amount and varying in type.¹¹¹ Another building from the same years was the Telegraph and Post Office. Although the exact date of its construction is indefinite, it could be estimated that the building was constructed after 1860, or the office moved to an older building after that date as Ankara was connected to the telegraph system of the Empire at the time.¹¹² The building was located adjacent to the Governor's

¹¹⁰ According to the annuals (*salname*) of the Ankara province, the number of the civil servants increased from 118 in 1876 to 440 in 1908. (Aktüre, 1979, p. 97.)

¹¹¹ Avcı, 2017, p. 129.

¹¹² Aydın et al., 2005, p. 203.

Office, probably for practical reasons, and had an extensive reparation in 1886. It was one of the key places of the Independence War, and after 1926, functioned as the School of Law for a while. (Figure 3.13.) It is also known that a prison, a police station, a gendarmerie station, and some military warehouses were also built in 19th century in the area, which accentuated the importance of a genuine governmental settlement there.¹¹³ In the book *Ankara'nın Tarihi* (The History of Ankara), Avram Galanti cites from the Ankara Litograph Annual from the early 20th century in order to depict the basic characteristics of the group of buildings stated to have been placed at the Governor's Square:



Figure 3.13: Telegraph and Post Office in Ankara, on the left of the Governor's Office, 1920-21.

(Belko, 1994, p. 93.)

The office that is assigned for the central government is composed of (a building with) approximately forty rooms and a barn, a police station with twelve rooms with a jail and a barn built inside the borders of the assigned district, another building including a telegraph office with eight rooms, a part of mudbrick cistern for governmental archive and a municipal office with three rooms. The great storage assigned for the military forces is sufficient for

¹¹³ Avci, 2017, pp. 130-132.

the requirements of two troops. Moreover, a print house with five rooms is also available in this district.¹¹⁴

After the arrival of the railroad to Ankara in 1892, the axis connecting the city with the train station was starting from the open-space in front of the Governor's Office and other institutions. Therefore, it seems that, while deciding the place of the Governor's Office, which was slightly further from the historical center of the city and looking through wetlands on the west, the aim was to create a locus of attention that would promote the growth of the city to the West.¹¹⁵ Here, the visual and imaginary relationship between the city and the station should be taken into account, depending on the harsh topographical differences between the city and the station, the distantness of the railroad from the historical city, and the newness of the train, railroad and its services in contrast with the historical socio-spatial fabric in the city.

Nevertheless, in order to create a better image of the central authority in Ankara, Governor Abidin Paşa wrote a letter to the Yıldız Palace about the need of a new governor's office. Therewith, the Assembly of Ministers (*Meclis-i Vükela*) assigned Bedros Kalfa for the feasibility studies and construction of the building in 1892. After the harsh debates between the gentry of the city and the local authority, the building was inaugurated on August 31, 1897, the anniversary of the accession of Sultan Abdulhamid II.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Galanti, 2005 [1950], pp. 184-185. Translated by the author. The original text in Turkish:

"Şehir için hükümeti seniyyeye mahsus daire, fevkani ve tahnani kırk oda ve ahır ve dairei mezkûreye muhat olan cidar içinde ayrılmış olan zabita dairesi on iki oda ve hapishane ve ahır ve yine müfrez bulunan telgraftane dahil sekiz oda ve evrakı resmîye hızolunmak üzere bir bap kâgîr mahzen ve üç odalı belediye dairesinden ibarettir. Cidarı mezkûrun dahilinde asâkiri Osmaniye'ye mahsus olan büyük depo iki tabura kifâyet edecek derecededir. Yine bu cidarın içinde, beş odalık bir matbaa mevcuttur."

¹¹⁵ In the related panel however, Ortaylı also states that this cannot be the one and only solution for a city to grow. Birkan, 1988, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Erkmen, 2010, pp. 119-126.

The double-storey building with a symmetric stone-cladded façade arrangement had forty rooms, and costed 404.000 kuruş.¹¹⁷ (Figure 3.14) The pointed-arched windows and the relief-like marble embellishment around the entrance gate stylistically differentiates the building from its contemporaries, as it is in a more rustic manner. A diplomat from the USSR who arrived Ankara in the 1930s compared the building with the buildings in Russia and commented as such: “This building seems to be erected in order to show the thickness of the border between the new and the old Ankara,”¹¹⁸ for the sake of pointing out the difference between the Governor’s Office and Square and the new bureaucratic settlement that started to be constructed at the southern parts of the city.¹¹⁹



Figure 3.14: The Governor’s Office in Ankara and the square in front, 1923

(Belko, 1994, p. 93.)

¹¹⁷ Avcı, 2017, p. 127.

¹¹⁸ Excerpt from Nikutin by Akgün, 1996, p. 247.

¹¹⁹ In August 2019, the Governor’s Office was moved to the newly-restored Ministry of Health building in Sıhhiye, designed by Theodore Jost between 1926-1927.

Although the time when the open space in the middle of the public buildings of the period was named as Governor's Square is unknown, the place started to be used for public gatherings in the 20th century, including the political protests and celebrations. For instance, the proclamation of the Second Constitution in 1908 was celebrated there for one week,¹²⁰ and the protests to support the national forces (*Kuvay-ı Milliye*) also took place at this square.¹²¹ That signified the continuing importance of the site for the Republican context, which will be examined in the following parts of the study.

3.2.4. Expanding the New Center: Taşhan Square

The extension of the railroad throughout the Empire in the 19th century paved the way for many cities to be connected to the railroad system. Although the arrival of the train at the plains further from many of the city centers¹²² did not affect the growth of the Anatolian cities immediately, the emergence of an axis on many of the cities created a typology of *İstasyon Caddesi*.¹²³ The common characteristics of such a road type seen in the Anatolian cities, were its difference from the morphology of the old city, the long distance between its ends, the resultant need of a change in transportation modes along it (i.e., from manpower to horsepower)¹²⁴, and its identity as the showcase of its city for those who arrived by train.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Excerpt from (Koç, 1974) by Aydın et al., 2005, p. 316.

¹²¹ Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 186.

¹²² Tekeli, 1985, p. 882.

¹²³ Özten, 2001, p. 28.

¹²⁴ Yıldız et al., 2017.

¹²⁵ Çetin, 2012, p. 119.

In order to examine this typology in the case of the modernization and transformation process of Ankara, it is eminent to note that the formation of the axis between the city and the station, led to the formation of distinguished public nodes on both of its ends after the arrival of the railroad in 1892. Governor's Square was formed at one end of *İstasyon Caddesi*¹²⁶ where it was connected to the city, while the other end reached to the train station. The place where the road was connected with the city, i.e. Governor's Square, can be read in a multipartite structure, in order to avoid possible confusions about the characteristics of the site. The representational and bureaucratic meaning of the formation of Governor's Square is far different from the historical accumulation of the Hacıbayram district nearby, likewise from the civil fabric of the neighboring Karaođlan and Balıkpazarı districts. Although the analysis of those districts are beyond the scope of this study, Taşhan Square, located close to the eastern end of *İstasyon Caddesi* before Governor's Square, should be examined not only because of its location, but also due to the fact that it emerged and developed in the same period with *İstasyon Caddesi*,¹²⁷ and Taşhan and Governor's Squares supported each other in a mutual relationship by means of their urban and special uses. (Figure 3.15)

As Tekeli mentioned, the bipartite structure at the centers of many 19th century Ottoman cities was constituted on the separation of the commercial center from the bureaucratic center.¹²⁸ Hence, while the center of activity was shifting from Yukarı

¹²⁶ The names and labels for the avenues are firstly seen on the 1924 Ankara map. Before that, the roads were mostly defined by their directions or the important elements at the end or on the road. Nevertheless, even though *İstasyon Caddesi* had always been the road that was connecting the station with the city, it was officially named as *İstasyon Caddesi* from 1924. (Tamur, Erman. "Ankara'da Mahal İsimlerine Yansıyan Tarih - I." *Kebikeç* 29 (2010): 64)

¹²⁷ Yalın notes that the continuity of those two was symbolizing the expansion of the city out of its borders, as seen in many European cities like Vienna and Paris. Yalın, İnci. "Ulus Devletin Kamusal Alanda Meşruiyet Aracı: Toplumsal Belleğin Ulus Meydanı Üzerinden Kurgulanma Çabası." In *Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri: Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler*, edited by Güven Arif Sargın. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002, pp. 171-172.

¹²⁸ Tekeli, 1982, pp. 35-36.

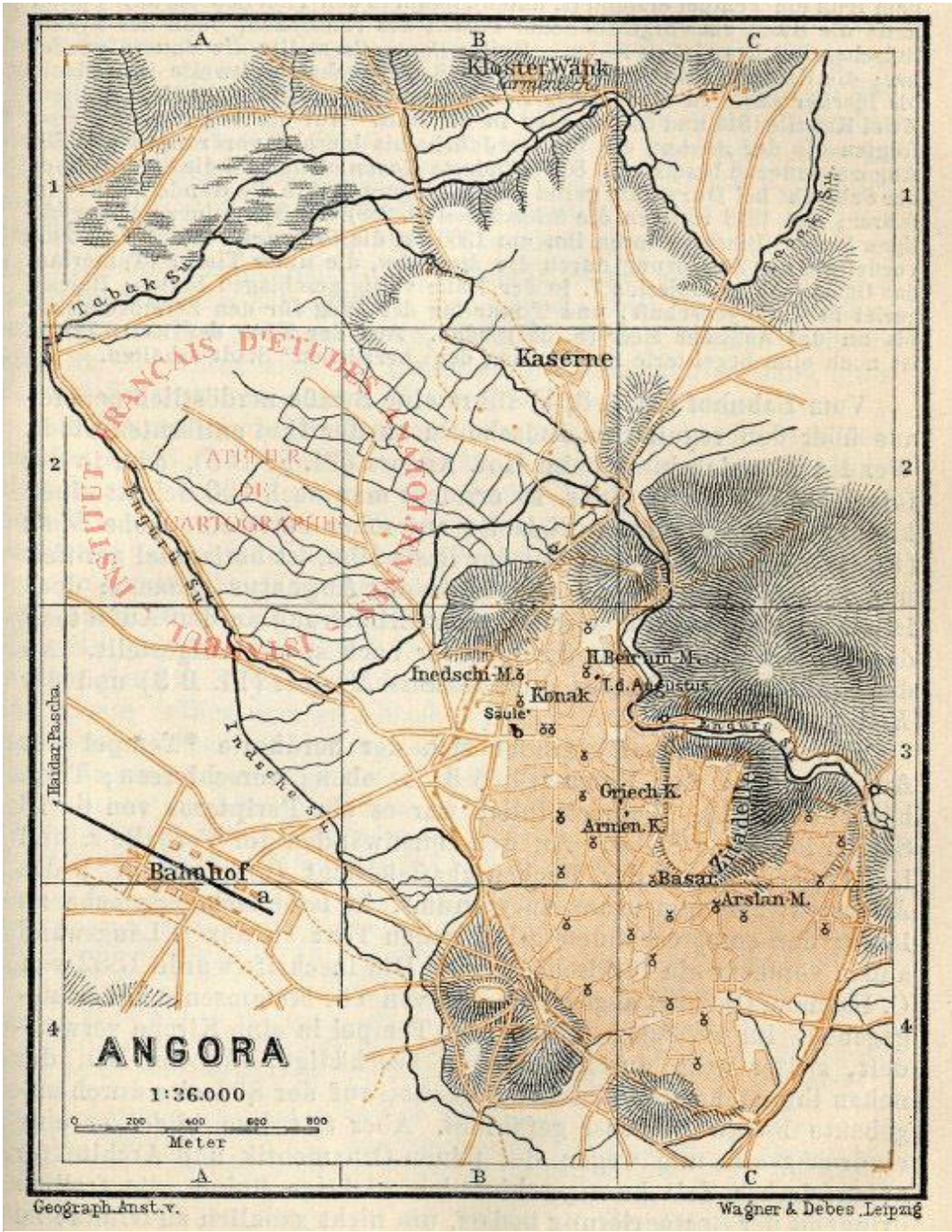


Figure 3.15: The Wagner & Debes map of Ankara, indicating the relationship of the city with the train station, through *Istasyon Caddesi*, 1903.

(Christensen, 2017, p. 145.)

Yüz and Aşağı Yüz districts close to the citadel area to Karaoğlan and Balıkpazarı¹²⁹ districts in the west of the old city with the opening of *İstasyon Caddesi* in 1892, Taşhan Square and Governor's Square could be treated as the two nodes of the newly forming public space in Ankara.

In order to understand the integrated spatial character of those two public spaces, it is necessary to examine the formation of Taşhan Square and its environs on the site of the cemeteries outside the city.¹³⁰ The building that named the square, Taşhan, was erected in 1888 by İsmail Hakkı Bey, the aide (*yaver*) of Abidin Paşa, shortly before the arrival of the railroad to Ankara.¹³¹ According to the grandson of the founder, Seyfi Taşhan, in the area of Taşhan Square, the lodges used as brothels had been located; yet, during his governorship, Abidin Paşa found these places inappropriate to be located on the entrance of the city and ordered them to be demolished.¹³² On the other hand, Şapolyo asserts that the area of Taşhan had been occupied by a small *masjid*, and due to the reaction of the people, it could only be demolished with the directive of Abidin Paşa.¹³³ (Figure 3.16) The location of the building, as the last site before exiting from, and the first entering to the city via *İstasyon Caddesi*, was creating a strategical superiority, making Taşhan the first building to attract the attention of a newcomer to the city by train, and thus the one that provided the image of the square.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Aktüre, 1994, p. 105.

¹³⁰ Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 159.

¹³¹ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 289. The building was indicated as the last *han* built in Ankara.

¹³² Sarioğlu, Mehmet. "Bir Vefâ Borcu: Taşhan." *Kebikeç* 1 (1995): 185.

¹³³ Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. *Atatürk ve Seymen Alayı*. 2nd ed. Ankara: Ankara Kulübü Derneği, 2002, p. 57.

¹³⁴ Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 163.



Figure 3.16: The panoramic view of Taşhan Square and its environs, 1889.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 0113.)

The well-known image of Taşhan from the old photographs and documents illustrates a cut-stone double-storey building with a courtyard. (Figure 3.17) The arched and heightened entrance of the courtyard on the left-hand side of the façade looking to Karaoğlan Avenue allowed carriages, horses, and cattle to enter, whereas the secondary entrance in the middle was for pedestrians. On the façade looking through *İstasyon Caddesi*, a label indicating the name of the hotel was placed. The name of the hotel was changed for a few times, because of the changes of proprietors-operators, or due to political changes. For instance, while the Committee of Union and Progress was erecting its headquarters in Ankara in the site across Taşhan, its name was forced to be changed as Constitution (*Meşrutiyet*) Hotel.¹³⁵

Due to the traffic created by the carriages and pedestrians coming from the station to the city and vice versa, which had to flow around Taşhan, the building became a point of intersection in time, in harmony with the development of the city and its environs. After the interventions of Governor Dr. Reşit Paşa in the 1911-12 period, including the widening and repair of *İstasyon Caddesi*, the reorganization of the area in front of Taşhan to form a square, and the construction of stone walls and fences around the

¹³⁵ Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 253.

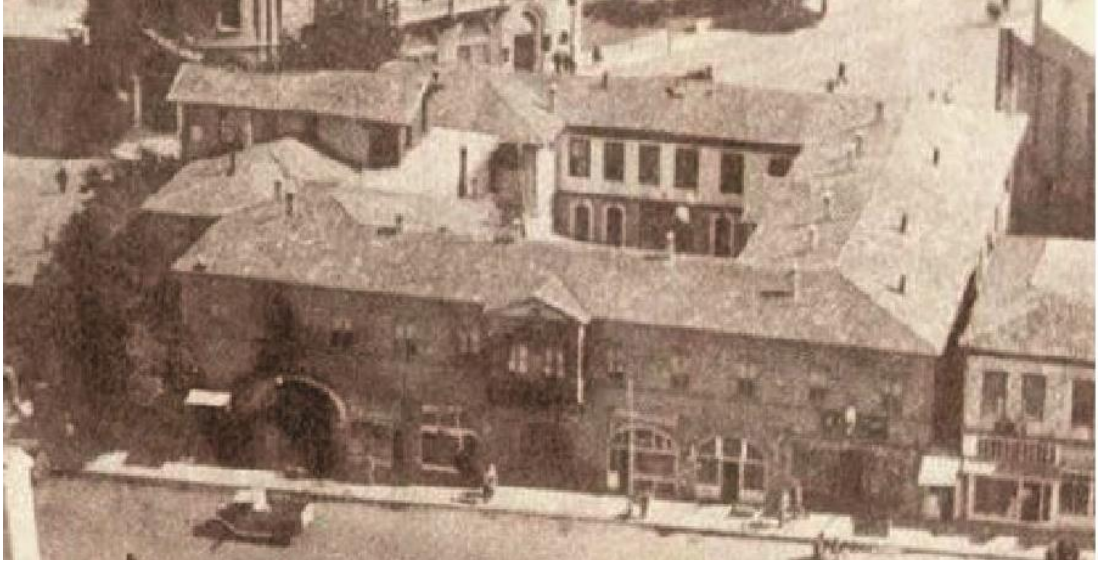


Figure 3.17: Taşhan from the bird's eye view, 1930.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1687.)

park called as *Millet Bahçesi* across Taşhan, the area started to be read as a unified urban space.¹³⁶ Yet, as Yalım indicated, the stimulating power that formed a square in this urban space was not only the movement of the people, but also the growth of the city towards the western direction with the arrival of the railroad, and the development of the governing center around Governor's Square, and the extension of trade spaces towards the Karaoğlan region, all in the western part of the city.¹³⁷ Despite the fact that the great fire of Ankara in 1916¹³⁸ destroyed many of the

¹³⁶ Müderrisoğlu, 1993, p. 22.

¹³⁷ Yalım, 2002, p. 171.

¹³⁸ For more information about the possible reasons and consequences of the fire, see: Esin, Taylan, and Zeliha Etöz. *1916 Ankara Yangını: Felaketin Mantığı*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2015, pp. 175-188.

buildings in the Yukarı Yüz district,¹³⁹ the constant growth of the city continued, dominantly towards the south-western direction.

The road going to the south was named as Kızılbey Road, due to the existence of Kızılbey Mosque on it.¹⁴⁰ A modest double-storey building erected next to the mosque was used by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (*Düyun-u Umumiye*) in the late 19th century. (Figure 3.18.a) The road was later renamed as School of Industry (*Mekteb-i Sanayi*) Avenue¹⁴¹ with reference to the school building that was constructed at the beginning of the road from Taşhan Square to the south.¹⁴² Two important educational institutions of late Ottoman Ankara were also erected on that axis. The first one was School of Industry (*Hamidiye Sanayi Mektebi*), (Figure 3.18.b) which was established in 1899. Contemporary postcards show that the school had initially been located on the south-east corner of Taşhan Square. In 1905, the school moved to a new building on the same road, a few blocks further in the south, and shortly after that, in 1907, the building was re-opened as Teacher Training School,¹⁴³ (*Dârülmualimîn*), (Figure 3.18.c) which had been opened in 1905.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ *Aşağıyüz* district was also widely damaged from the great Tahtakale fire in 1928. The devastation of the two historical commercial centers of Ankara inevitably accelerated the development of Taşhan Square, Balıkpazarı, and Karaoğlan districts. For more information, see: Şimşir, Bilal N. *Ankara... Ankara: Bir Başkent'in Doğuşu*. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 2006, p. 327.

¹⁴⁰ It is assumed that Kızılbey Mosque was built in the 13rd century. It was demolished in 1929 for the construction of the Central Bank building in its site. (Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 173)

¹⁴¹ Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 259.

¹⁴² The road leading to south from Taşhan Square would be called as Posta Avenue after the construction of the post office there, then as Banks Avenue with the construction of the headquarters of banks on both sides of the road, and still later, with the implementation of the Jansen Plan, as Atatürk Boulevard. Altan-Ergüt, Elvan. "Ankara 'Bankalar Caddesi' ve Ötesi." *Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Bülten* 31 (2005): 28–29.

¹⁴³ Müderrisoğlu, 2003, p. 27.

¹⁴⁴ Becker, 2013, p. 43.



Figure 3.18.a: Kızılbey road and *Diyyun-u Umumiye* building with Kızılbey mosque behind.

(Belko, 1994, p. 72.)



Figure 3.18.b: The *Hamidiye* School of Industry (later *Darülmüallimin*) with *Millet Bahçesi* in front, 1901.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: ACF0369.)



Figure 3.18.c: The new School of Industry and Mekteb-i Sanayi Avenue, 1900s.

(Tanyer, 2005, p. 161.)

The first official document indicating the existence of those institutions was the 1320 (1902) State Annual of Ankara, inscribing that a *Dârülmüallimîn* building was located in the city with a number of students around 14 and 18.¹⁴⁵ Both of the buildings were sharing the same typology of a large-scale, double-storey construction, consisted of four wings organized around a courtyard, and having a symmetrical organization on the front façade. Hence, with the new constructions in its immediate surrounding, Taşhan Square emerged as a center for the newly developing commercial and governmental districts of the city in the early 20th century. (Figure 3.19.)

In short, the axis of *İstasyon Caddesi* was formed with its significant nodes as Station Square, Governor's Square, and Taşhan Square, in the late 19th and the early 20th century, showing how the built environment of the late Ottoman Ankara moved beyond the limits of the old citadel area in line with the modernization process of the Empire. However, the economic and social devastation due to the series of wars

¹⁴⁵ Müderrisoğlu, 2003, p. 310.

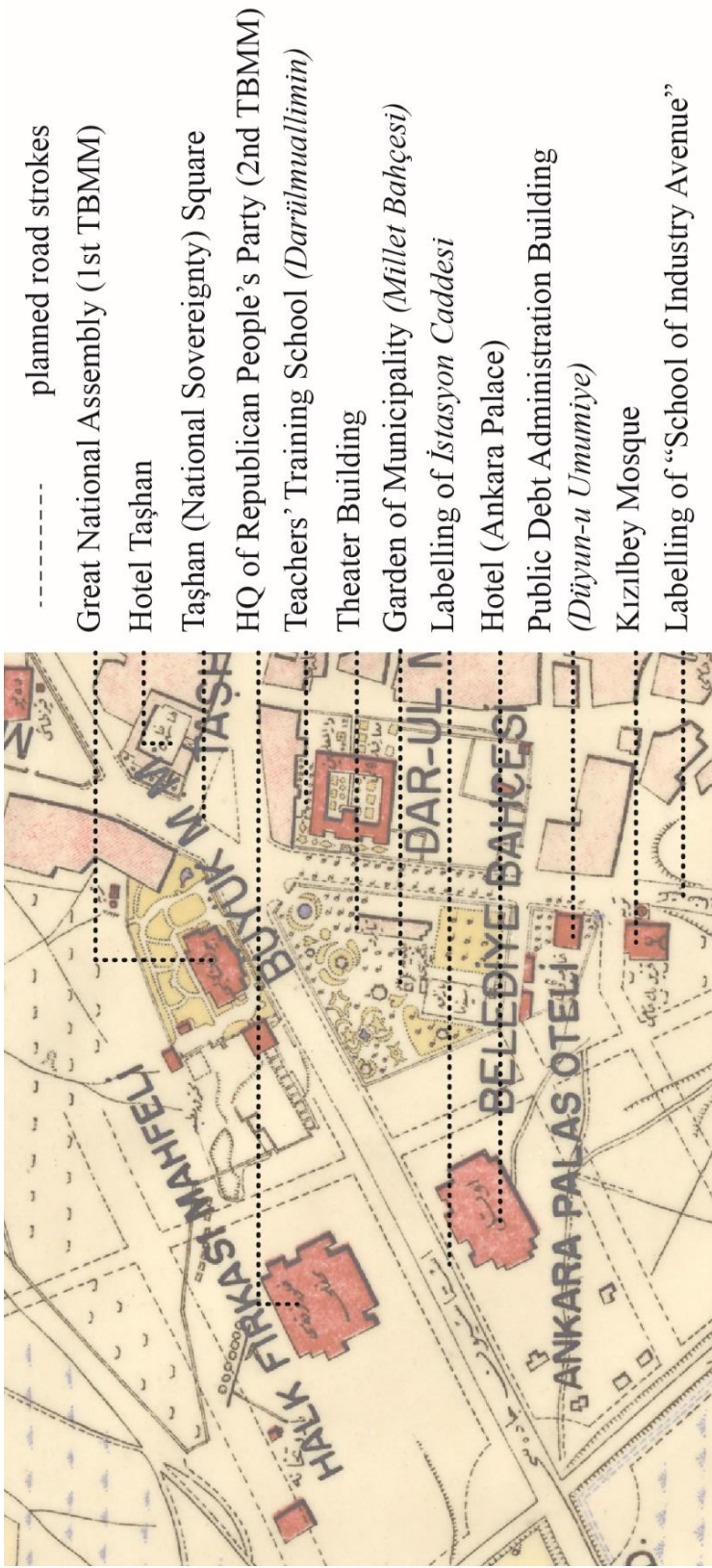


Figure 3.19. The official buildings and landmarks located around Taşhan Square, School of Industry Avenue, and *İstasyon Caddesi*. Inscribed on the 1924 Ankara map by the author.

(Günel & Kılıcı, 2015, p. 82.)

witnessed between 1909 and 1918, which ended with the ultimate defeat of the Empire, created a lapse on this process, and yet opened the way for the emergence of new possibilities for the transformation of Ankara. As the city became the center of the National Struggle and later the newly founded Republic, *İstasyon Caddesi* began to witness a new phase of development as will be examined in the next part of the study.

3.3. Development of the Axis

In this part of the chapter, the axis which has been slightly formed from the arrival of the railroad until the end of the First World War are analyzed through the chronologically successive phases of development in the 1920s. (Appendix A) Moreover, the architectural and spatial characteristics of the buildings/groups of buildings are examined in their own particularities, and also within the boundaries of the developmental context of the city and *İstasyon Caddesi* in that era.

However, before continuing on to analyze the elements that surrounded *İstasyon Caddesi*, it is essential to have a few words on the morphology and geometry of the axis. Although *İstasyon Caddesi* in Ankara was constructed as a straight road that flourished from the ends of the commercial area and the governmental district of the old city, it was not the only axis that connected the station with the city. The road going towards the east and connecting the southern districts (Hamamönü, Hacettepe ie.) of the city was also depicted on the 1924 Ankara Map and labelled as *İstasyon Caddesi*. Yet, as stated by Tamur, those labels presented a coarse definition of the city and are not conflicting with the genuinity of *İstasyon Caddesi* in our case.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Tamur, 2010, p. 64.

3.3.1. Rebuilding Ankara as the Republican Capital City

After the First World War, the British and French military troops accommodated in Ankara for a short period of time.¹⁴⁷ The British commander was staying at the direction building of the train station, whereas the French commander chose to use one of the rooms of the Committee of Union and Progress club house as the headquarters.¹⁴⁸ On February 28, 1919, the headquarters of the Turkish troop in Ereğli-Konya, commanded by Ali Fuat Paşa, moved to Ankara, and until July 1919, much of the occupied areas at the city center were emptied.¹⁴⁹ After months of struggle, including the protests at the Governor's Square, between the local resistance organizations and governor Muhittin Paşa who worked for the surrender of the city to foreign forces,¹⁵⁰ the branch of *Müdafaa-i Hukuk* (Defense of Rights), the national organization established to save the country from invasion, was founded in Ankara on October 29, 1919 and got the control of the city after the withdrawal of the governor.¹⁵¹

On December 27, 1919, the leader of the resistance movement Mustafa Kemal Paşa and the delegation committee (*Heyet-i Temsiliye*) entered the city with the traditional

¹⁴⁷ Aydın et al., 2005, pp. 338-343.

¹⁴⁸ Aytepe, Oğuz. "Milli Mücadele'de Ankara." In *Cumhuriyet'in Ütopyası: Ankara*, edited by Funda Şenol-Cantek.. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012, pp. 119-120.

¹⁴⁹ Sakallı, Bayram. *Ankara ve Çevresinde Milli Faaliyetler*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988, p. 44.

¹⁵⁰ The disorganized movement in Ankara against occupation of the cities in Anatolia has reached its peak on the days Sivas Congress was being held, when a telegram of protest posted by the gentry of the city to the Sultan and the dismissal of Ali Fuat Paşa created a tension in the city. Aydın et al., 2005, pp. 344-346.

¹⁵¹ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 347.

welcoming of Ankara *Seğmens*, the voluntary defense group of the city¹⁵² and the greetings of the many citizens gathered around Governor's Square and Taşhan Square. The warm welcoming of the people of Ankara to the forces of National Resistance had an underlying purpose on being a reaction to the occupation forces still standing in the city. The commander of the British troops in Ankara was still staying at the direction building of the train station at that time, and such a ceremonial reception could also be an intimidation for him.¹⁵³

Between the years 1919 and 1923, Ankara became the site witnessing the extraordinary conditions of the Independence War with dignity and devotion. During that period, *İstasyon Caddesi* and its environs were also transformed into a politically significant scenery. The marching soldiers going to and coming from the war zone by rising clouds of dust was vividly illustrated in many of the memoirs of the era.¹⁵⁴ The military parades passing in front of the building where the parliament was gathering, to be called as the Grand National Assembly building, and the public conventions at Governor's Square and Taşhan Square, which was renamed as National Sovereignty (*Hakimiyet-i Milliye*) Square, raised the representational importance of this axis, with the garnishing done through the street and the arches constructed on the ends of the road. (Figure 3.20.a) This was doubled after the Republic was established in 1923 and many of the parades and celebrations of the national days took place on that axis.¹⁵⁵ (Figure 3.20.b)

¹⁵² Şapolyo, 2002, p. 26. Moreover, Aydın et al. asserts that the participation of the members of different religious groups (*tarikât*) was censored in the later issues of Şapolyo's book. (Aydın et al., 2005, p. 349)

¹⁵³ Şapolyo, 2002, p. 34. The commander left the city on March 11, 1920. (Aydın et al., 2005, p. 352).

¹⁵⁴ Müderrisoğlu, 1993, pp. 105-107.

¹⁵⁵ Altan-Ergut, 2005, p. 28.



Figure 3.20.a: The Victory Arch constructed to celebrate the great victory against the Greek army (*Büyük Zafer*), 1922.

(Belko, 1994, p. 66.)



Figure 3.20.b: The marching soldiers on *İstasyon Caddesi*, 1924-1925.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1051.)

Ankara was declared as the center of the new state on October 13, 1923. Sixteen days after that, the regime of the new state was officially accepted as Republican, on October 29, 1923. From that date onwards, the process of the transition from the old to the new was accelerated, yet still keeping itself sure-footed. The reflection of that strategy could be read from the title of Ankara as “the center of decision-making” (*makarr-ı idare*), not as a capital.¹⁵⁶ The differentiation of the words capital city (*başkent-başşehir*) and center of decision-making (*makarr-ı idare*) given to Ankara, and center/feet of the throne (*payitaht*) to İstanbul, is quintessential to understand the motivation that made Ankara not only the new capital city, but also the capital of the new, modern Turkish Republic, which eradicated the ruins of the old Empire that had already been collapsed at the end of the First World War.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, this decision

¹⁵⁶ To understand the difference between the definition made with the title of “The establishment of the decision-making center (*makarr-ı idare*) in Ankara”, with the decision no. 27 accepted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on October 13, 1923, and becoming the capital city of the Turkish Republic, see: İ. S. Kaynar, 2016, pp. 57-64.

¹⁵⁷ Karal-Akgün, Seçil. “Kurtuluş Savaşı’nın Mekansal Stratejisi ve Ankara’nın Başkent Seçilmesi Kararının İçeriği.” In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2nd ed., edited by Ayşıl Tükel-Yavuz. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000, p. 230. In other words, the process of construction and deconstruction was indicated as a common characteristic of the regimes established after the First World War, namely aiming of “a radical break with the immediate past”. See: Altan-Ergut, Elvan.

also revealed the principal direction adopted by the new government through the realization of the “fundamentalist modernist project”.¹⁵⁸

At the time when the new Turkish Republic was established, however, the built environment of Ankara was in a bad condition. Many of the buildings were devastated after years of war and poverty, and the city was so overcrowded with the newcomers to the capital that even finding a room to accommodate with strangers was impossible. The population of the city was skyrocketing, which was quadrupled between 1920 and 1928.¹⁵⁹ *İstasyon Caddesi*, the axis of the most prestigious road of the capital city of the new regime, was only a narrow and dusty road passing through swamplands. (Figure 3.21) The debris of the great fire of 1916 was kept untouched for years and became a shelter for the homeless people.¹⁶⁰ Hence, the projections on the urban-scale development of Ankara by proclaiming it as the capital city was indicated in three aims: forming a city with a modern living environment; creating a city as a model for other Anatolian cities with its new social norms developed in its new urban space; and most importantly, symbolizing the achievements of the new Republic via the formation of the new capital.¹⁶¹

“Presenting Ankara: Conceptions of Architecture and History.” In *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, edited by Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan-Ergut, and Belgin Turan-Özkaya, 151–168. Routledge, 2006

¹⁵⁸ Tekeli, 2009, pp. 152-155.

¹⁵⁹ Cengizkan, Ali. “Türkiye İçin Modern ve Planlı Bir Başkent Kurmak: Ankara 1920-50.” In *Bir Başkent'in Oluşumu: Avusturyalı, Alman ve İsviçreli Mimarların Ankara'daki İzleri*, edited by Leyla Alpagut and Achim Wagner. Ankara: Goethe-Institut Ankara, 2011, p. 27.

¹⁶⁰ Arık, Sabire. “Polonyalı (Leh) Ziyaretçilerin Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankarasına Ait Gözlemleri.” In *Tarihte Ankara Uluslararası Sempozyumu: Bildiriler, 25-26 Ekim 2011*, v.1., edited by Yasemin Kurt. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, Tarih Bölümü, 2012, p. 875.

¹⁶¹ Tekeli, İlhan. “Ankara'nın Başkentlik Kararının Ülkesel Mekân Organizasyonu ve Toplumsal Yapıya Etkileri Bakımından Genel Olarak Değerlendirilmesi.” In *Ankara Ankara*, edited by Enis Batur. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994, p. 148.



Figure 3.21: The view of Ankara from *İstasyon Caddesi*, right after the proclamation of the Republic, 1925.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 0950.)

The first thing done for those sakes was the reorganization of the municipal authority. Although a municipal law was passed on October 23, 1923, that stood invalid with the legal codes binding the authority, primarily *Ebniye* regulations from the 19th century.¹⁶² The law no. 417 accepted on February 16, 1924 was indicating the formation of a new municipality (*şehremaneti*) based on the model of the one established in İstanbul in the 19th century. Accordingly, a mayor (*şehremini*) designated by the Minister of Interior became responsible from the administration of the city with a council of 24 members.¹⁶³ This was specifically done before the start of planning activities in Ankara, because coping with the increasing number of people migrating to Ankara required a legal body that would take decisions immediately.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Şenel, Şennur. “Cumhuriyet’in Başkenti Ankara’nın İmarı ve Yankıları.” In *Cumhuriyetin 90. Yılında Her Yönüyle Ankara*. Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2004, p. 308.

¹⁶³ Bademli, R. Raci. “1920-40 Döneminde Eski Ankara’nın Yazgısını Etkileyen Tutumlar.” *Mimarlık* 212–213 (1985): 11.

¹⁶⁴ Tankut, 1993, p. 49. The main difference of Ankara *şehremaneti* from the one at İstanbul is the abolishing of the requirement of having a commodity in the city for being a member of the council, in order to prevent the planning manipulations and taking advantage.

In its six years lifetime from 1924 to 1930,¹⁶⁵ the Municipality of Ankara managed to undertake comprehensive works, including the drainage of swamplands, the opening of factories of building materials near the railroad area¹⁶⁶, the reorganization of the burnt area, the reestablishment of the fire safety organization, and the construction of a power plant, a flour mill, and a gas storage as well as 100 houses.¹⁶⁷ In that time, the municipal expenses per person in the city were twenty-eight times that of the average for Turkey in 1927, and twenty-three times in 1931, excluding the infrastructure expenses met from the central budget.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, the rehabilitation of *İstasyon Caddesi* and its covering together with National Sovereignty Square with cobblestone were also achieved.¹⁶⁹ Yet, as a negative connotation, it should be stated that the construction of the infrastructure with the privileges given to foreign companies ended with a catastrophe and the accessibility to tap water, sewage system, electricity and telephone stood very limited for that era.¹⁷⁰ As a result, the greatest achievement that the Municipality was able to realize was the “Great Expropriation” and the Lörcher Plan.

The law no. 583 was accepted on March 24, 1925 to create the legal layout for the “great expropriation”, which would prepare the ground for the development of the

¹⁶⁵ The Municipality of Ankara was deauthorized in 1930 with the delegation of its authorities on planning and building regulation to the Directorate of Development of Ankara city, which was established in 1928 and incumbent upon Ministry of Interior. (Bademli, 1985, pp. 13-14)

¹⁶⁶ İ. S. Kaynar, 2016, p. 66. Yet those factories could not be operated neither by the Municipality, nor by the transferee companies. See: Sey, Yıldız. “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye’de Mimarlık ve Yapı Üretimi.” In *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, edited by Yıldız Sey. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, p. 27.

¹⁶⁷ Aydın et al., 2005, pp. 385-387.

¹⁶⁸ Batur, 2005, p. 75.

¹⁶⁹ Akgün, 1996, p. 166.

¹⁷⁰ Tankut, 1993, p. 50.

“new city” (*Yenişehir*) on the south of the existing city. The expropriation was done based on the tax values of the deed of the lots in the year 1915, in order to provide the acquisition of the area for cheap and its liquidation for expensive values by the Municipality, which would capitalize it.¹⁷¹

The studies on the plan of Ankara, prepared by German planner Carl Christopher Lörcher and commissioned by the company named Turkish Consultancy and Construction Incorporation (*Keşfiyât ve İnşâ'at Türk Anonim Şirketi*),¹⁷² started in harmony with that process. According to the plan (Figure 3.22), the formation of a new city with a network of interconnecting roads and infrastructure at the plains on the southern side of the railroad, and the connecting it with the existing city by opening new roads, were proposed in order to constitute a city with 200.000 population in total.¹⁷³ With these interventions, it is possible to state that the period between the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 and the redefinition of the direction of development of Ankara in 1928 was one of the changes in the built environment in the scope of the study, not only for the accommodation of the Republican institutions and the newcomers to the city, but also in order to provide Ankara with an identity “representing the nation as does the ‘nation’-state in political terms”.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 384. Nevertheless, the manipulation on values of the lots could not be prevented, which is stated by Cengizkan as “the de-flator of Lörcher Plan” (2004, pp. 53-54).

¹⁷² The company was also responsible from the construction of the Ankara Palas (Vakıf) Hotel and the planning of Bursa. The Lörcher plan was actually known as Heussler plan for years due to the fact that the name of the manager of the company was Mr. Heussler. For more information, see: Cengizkan, 2004, p. 36, footnote 79.

¹⁷³ Cengizkan, 2004, p. 44. The plan is also found essential as being the first modern plan made in the history of this geography that treated the urban grounds in a wholistic manner, regarding to the sensibilities of the contemporary needs.

¹⁷⁴ Altan-Ergut, 2006, p. 154. The indentation was done by the author of the referenced study.

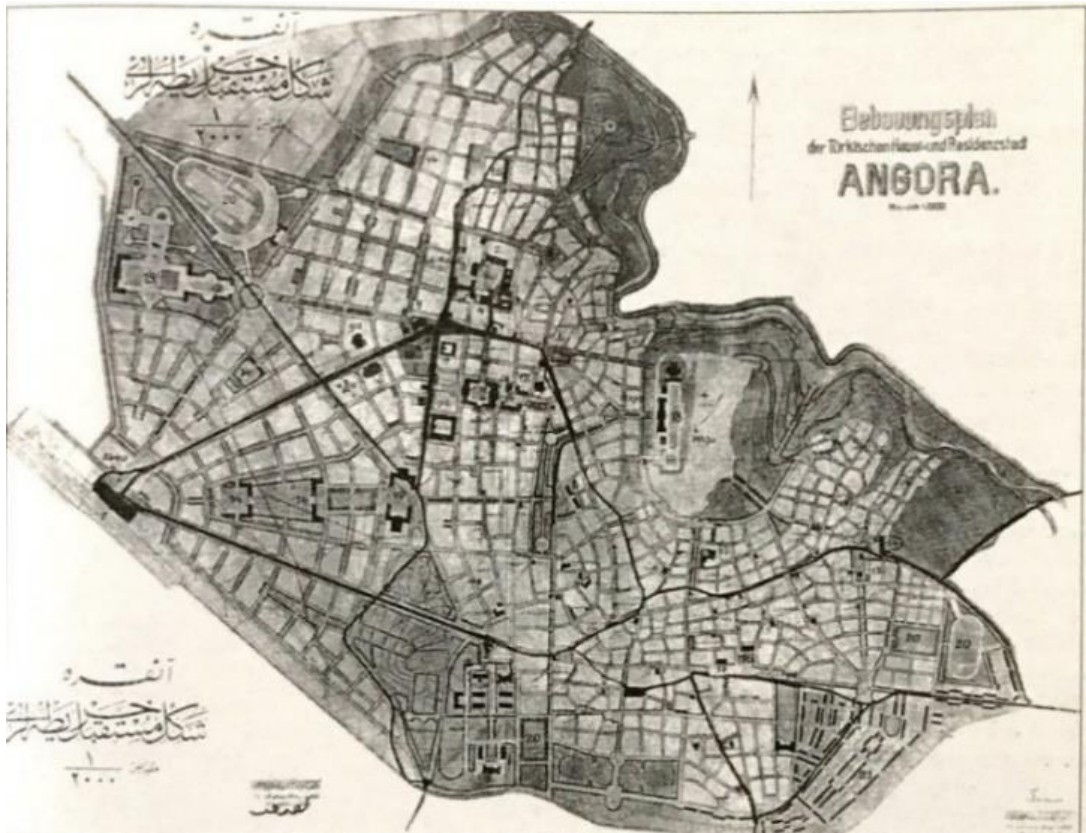


Figure 3.22: 1924 Lörcher Plan for the Old City, titled “The Application Plan for Ankara, the capital city and residence of the Turks.

(Cengizkan, 2004, p. 39.)

As for *İstasyon Caddesi*, Lörcher Plan proposed it as one of the primary axes of the city as a road divided with a tramway in the middle that connected National Sovereignty Square with the Station Square. The swamplands on the two sides of the road were planned as the sites where the future central business district of the city would be located,¹⁷⁵ and Station Square was foreseen to be the most essential open space of the city with the tramlines passing through and the pool, park and columns

¹⁷⁵ Cengizkan, 2004, pp. 61-63.

embellishing it.¹⁷⁶ Apart from the functional compartmentation of the foreseen urban expansion, the proposed open spaces in the Lörcher Plan around the axis and the implicated visual relationship between the historical city at the top called as “the beautiful citadel” in the plan, and the train station at the bottom as the new gate of the city, were creating a self-explanatory image, supported with the sketches drawn by Lörcher.¹⁷⁷ (Figure 3.23.) From that understanding, it is possible to read the hierarchical relation proposed by the plan among the train station, the central business district, “the beautiful citadel”, and the public open spaces. However, despite the fact that the mayor of the era, Asaf Bey, was also a strong proponent of the plan,¹⁷⁸ because of the weakness of the soil and the lack of financial resources, just a little part of its proposals related with *İstasyon Caddesi* could be realized.¹⁷⁹



Figure 3.23: The bird’s eye perspective sketch of National Sovereignty Square and the Citadel at the back, drawn by Lörcher as one of the supplements of the project report of the Plan.

(Cengizkan, 2004, p. 64.)

¹⁷⁶ Kezer, Zeynep. “The Making of a National Capital: Ideology and Socio-Spatial Practices in Early Republican Ankara.” Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation. University of California at Berkeley, 1999, p. 62.

¹⁷⁷ Cengizkan, 2004, p. 58.

¹⁷⁸ Cengizkan, 2004, p. 121.

¹⁷⁹ Mihçioğlu-Bilgi, 2010, p. 194.

On the other hand, it is important to mention that the proposed way of the development of the city through the direction of *İstasyon Caddesi* did not satisfy everybody. Before the implementation of the proposal, the debates between the Municipality and Ministry of Public Works were revealing the drawbacks in minds about the partitive characteristic of the plan.¹⁸⁰ This mood of unsteadiness could be read from a letter written by an auditor and criticizing the development of Ankara in such an unplanned way that the buildings were “gushing out (of the ground)”. (Figure 3.24) The author of the letter specifically mentioned the condition of *İstasyon Caddesi* and criticized its development by laying cobblestones rather than paving asphalt, which was defined by the author as a “dusty” method left in Europe years ago. Moreover, the author also criticized the width of the avenue and stated that the 15-metres width of an avenue was insufficient for a modern capital. Hence, the ongoing constructions must consider the appropriate setback distance for the future widening of at least 40 meters.¹⁸¹

Despite the critiques on the design and application of the plan, its effect on the development of *İstasyon Caddesi* is undeniable in reinforcing the relation of the train station with the city, pointing out the axis of the avenue as one of the most dominant development directions of the city, and bettering its material condition as worthy for the capital of the new Republic. For instance, in the article of an Italian journalist, Giovanni Alessio, Ankara was defined as “the city of discrepancies” resulted from the tension coming from the collateral prominence of the new and the old, which could also be detected from the built environment, and gave the example of *İstasyon Caddesi* as the showcase of the new by means of its “formidable, wide and ultra-

¹⁸⁰ Cengizkan, 2004, p. 51.

¹⁸¹ Cengizkan, 2004, pp. 185-186.

modern” characteristics.¹⁸² Moreover, another article written by Kemalettin Bey also expressed about his experiences in Ankara with pride as follows:

The city of Ankara at present is an immense construction site that walks on the way of emergence as a metropolitan city, and numerous edifices of prosperity and civilization are flourishing from all sides of this site only in weeks.¹⁸³



Figure 3.24: The view of Ankara for Station Square, with the buildings “gushed out” through the beautified *İstasyon Caddesi*, 1926-1927.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1039.)

Nevertheless, at the turn of the 1920s, it is possible to state that *İstasyon Caddesi* as a cobbled avenue with a row of trees planted on its sidewalks and divided with a strip

¹⁸² Şimşir, 2006, p. 378. Similarly, in his article, Sargın made an analysis of the double-facedness of *İstasyon Caddesi* and Taşhan Square from the terms of progressive and regressive publicity. See: Sargın, Güven Arif. “Öncül Kamusal Mekanları Tasarlamak: Başkent Ankara Üzerine Kısa Notlar, 1923-1946.” *Mülkiye Dergisi* 27, no. 241 (March 5, 2014): 285-288.

¹⁸³ Tekeli, İlhan, and Selim İlkin, eds. *Mimar Kemalettin'in Yazdıkları*. Ankara: Şevki Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı Yayınları, 1997, p. 200. Translated by the author.

of greenery was prepared for the proper representation of the new Republic with the prestigious buildings, houses and public spaces on both sides, and crowned with National Sovereignty Square at the center, and Station Square at the gate of the new capital city.¹⁸⁴ (Figure 3.25) In that sense, the new built environment shaped around the avenue simultaneously with the preparation of Lörcher Plan are worthy to be examined in detail as the buildings on the avenue were representative of “the reality and codes of the new regime”.¹⁸⁵



Figure 3.25: The view of *İstasyon Caddesi* and its environs from Gunpowder (*Baruthane*) intersection, 1928.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 0953.)

In parallel with the plan, the first developmental activities of the city after the proclamation of the Republic started in the area centered around National Sovereignty Square; and within that scope, the square was paved with cobblestone in order to get

¹⁸⁴ Özten, 2001, p. 74.

¹⁸⁵ Basa, 2015, p. 717.

rid of dust and mud.¹⁸⁶ In that scope, in 1924, with the initiative of the *Yeni Gün* newspaper, an international competition for the “Monument of Victory at National Sovereignty Square” was organized. A monument with a composition depicting “the soul of the Independence War” was expected, which was realized by the winner Austrian sculptor Heinrich Krippel, and placed at the entrance of Karaođlan Avenue in 1927. (Figure 3.26) The very location of the monument was essential, as located at the triangular area in front of Tařhan looking down upon the possible future expansion area of the city in the west as determined by Lörcher Plan,¹⁸⁷ by following the trace of *İstasyon Caddesi*. Its intricate relation with the existing buildings was essential in redefining the end of *İstasyon Caddesi* in the city center by turning the area into the property and showcase of the new regime.

In the memoirs from the early Republican era, it is seen that the transition of Ankara as the capital city also opened the way for the transformation of Tařhan, located at one corner of National Sovereignty Square at the end of *İstasyon Caddesi* in the city center. Tařhan turned into a proper hotel with modern infrastructural facilities, and refurbishments.¹⁸⁸ At the place where barns had earlier been located, the first modern restaurant of Ankara, named *Karpiç*, was opened on the ground floor of the building.¹⁸⁹ After *Karpiç* moved to its new location at one of the shops placed across the square in 1932, another restaurant called *řölen* took the same place.¹⁹⁰ However, in spite of the reputation and prominence it had in the late 19th and early 20th century of Ankara, Tařhan Hotel confronted with financial difficulties and finally

¹⁸⁶ Akgün, 1996: p. 166.

¹⁸⁷ Cengizkan, 2004, pp. 70-73.

¹⁸⁸ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 290.

¹⁸⁹ Sariođlu, 1995, p. 189.

¹⁹⁰ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 400.



Figure 3.26: The construction of “The Monument of Victory” at National Sovereignty (*Hakimiyet-i Milliye*) Square, 1927.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 0114.)

Sümerbank, a state-owned bank, and the Taşhan Hotel building was demolished in order to build the headquarters of the bank in the same year,¹⁹¹ designed by Austrian architect Martin Elsaesser.¹⁹²

In the 1920s, the existing buildings and places surrounding *İstasyon Caddesi* began to be used for the newly required functions of the republic. The building constructed as the club of the Committee of Union and Progress during the late Ottoman period turned into the Grand National Assembly building in 1920 and affected the

¹⁹¹ Sarioğlu, 1995, pp. 191-193.

¹⁹² Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), p. 261.

transformation of National Sovereignty Square in its front. The small garden located in the other corner of the square, called *Millet Bahçesi*, was an example of its typology built as part of the modernization of the urban space in the peripheral cities of the Empire, and later became a center of attention for the modernizing daily life in the new capital city with the coffeehouse and the theater placed inside.¹⁹³

In short, from the eyes of the Hungarians who worked extensively for the formation of Ankara as craftsmen and worker in 1920s, the new view of Ankara was turning its back to the old and “signifying a model for the development of the new modern Turkish republic”¹⁹⁴ Hence, despite the financial difficulties of the Municipality and the central government, new buildings were built rapidly on and near *İstasyon Caddesi*, which appeared as the main axis of the city for that sake between 1923 and 1932. The re-use of existing Ottoman buildings and the construction of new buildings at the time paved the way for the formation of the built environment of early Republican Ankara, (Figure 3.27) which will be examined in the following parts of the study.

3.3.2. Connecting the Empire to the Republic

On the turmoil of the Independence War, the node that connected the city with *İstasyon Caddesi* defined a historically noticeable space, with two important landmarks on each side, the former headquarters of the Committee of Union and Progress and *Millet Bahçesi*. Both spaces were the examples of the new typologies of the built environment in peripheral cities, which emerged during the process of the

¹⁹³ Memlük, 2017.

¹⁹⁴ Quoted from the article of the newspaper *Pesti Hirlap*: Çolak, Melek. “Macarların Gözü İle Yeni Başkent Ankara (1923-1938).” In *Tarihte Ankara Uluslararası Sempozyumu: Bildiriler, 25-26 Ekim 2011*, v.1, edited by Yasemin Kurt. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü, 2012, p. 863.

modernization of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹⁵ Nonetheless, beyond their equivalents in other cities, those were differentiated not only because of the events that would place there in the coming years of the Republic, but also because of the unique characteristics of their sceneries to represent the new state in Turkey. This part of the chapter elaborates the story of those places and explains their continuing prominence from the Empire to the Republic.



Figure 3.27: The aerial view of Governor's Square, Taşhan Square, and the upper side of *İstasyon Caddesi*, 1930s. The numbering was done by the author

(Kezer, 2015, p. 24.)

The locations and buildings indicated: 1) Taşhan, 2) Governor's Office, 3) Ministry of Finance, 4) *Governor's Square (Vilayet Meydanı)*, 5) Revenue Office (*Defterdarlık*), 6) Taşhan (*Hakimiyet-i Milliye*) Square, 7) Teachers' Training School (*Dârülmualimin*), 8) Hamidiye School of Industry, 9) Turkish Central Bank Headquarters (where Kızılbey Mosque and Düyun-u Umumiye located), 10) The First Grand National Assembly, 11) *Millet Bahçesi*, 12) Court of Accounts (*Divan-ı Muhasebat*), 13) Ankara Palace Hotel, 14) The Second Grand National Assembly and its garden, 15) Pious Houses (group of four), 16) Pious Houses (group of seven), 17) The First Pious Apartment (Belvü Palas Hotel), 18) The Second Pious Apartment.

¹⁹⁵ Ertuğrul, 2009, pp. 294-295.

3.3.2.1. The Building at the Center: From the Committee of Union and Progress Headquarters to the First Grand National Assembly Building

The unbalanced political situation in the Ottoman Empire after the declaration of the Second Constitution in 1908 was stabilized in 1913 after the dramatic defeat in the Balkan Wars with *coup d'état* organized by the Committee of Union and Progress, which is known as the *Bab-ı Âli* Raid. With the change in the ideology of the state towards Turkism,¹⁹⁶ the Committee of Union and Progress, then the party in power, preferred to constitute its own ideological apparatus in order to reinforce its authority with the diversification of social organizations in number and scope, such as football clubs, paramilitary organizations, fraternities and social groups. Here, it can be said that the club buildings constructed in different cities acquired a critical role for the sake of the penetration of the new central authority to the peripheral cities of the Empire.¹⁹⁷

One of those buildings were started to be erected in Ankara in 1916, facing Taşhan Square, right at the intersection of *İstasyon Caddesi* and the road going to *Çankırıkapı*. According to Şapolyo, the construction of the club building was ordered by Enver Paşa, the powerful commander of the Ottoman army;¹⁹⁸ yet, there is no evidence whether he visited the construction site during his visit to Ankara on July 10, 1916.¹⁹⁹ It is only possible to state that the rough construction of the building had nearly been completed until 1920, but the timber and brickworks were not started.

¹⁹⁶ Berkes, 1998, pp. 359-366.

¹⁹⁷ Çiftçi, Ali. “İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti’nin Örgütlenme ve Yönetim Yapısı İçinde Kulüplerin Yeri.” *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 37 (2015): 123-133. More than that, as stated in the article, organic relationship between the methods and structuring of the organization of *Türk Ocakları* and *Halkevleri* in later years are worthy to speak on.

¹⁹⁸ Şapolyo, 2002, p. 11.

¹⁹⁹ Müderrisoğlu claims that (1993, pp. 28-29.) Enver Paşa gave an order in 1916 for the preparation of Ankara as a center of resistance after a possible defeat of the Empire in the First World War. He

The name of the architect of the building varies in different sources. According to Şapolyo, the plan of the building was drawn by Salim Bey, an architect working for the Pious Foundations, and the construction was realized by Hasif Bey, the military architect of the army corps in Ankara.²⁰⁰ Bozdoğan, on the other hand, wrote only (İsmail) Hasif Bey as the designer and gives the year of the design as 1917.²⁰¹ The one and a half storey building is organized around a central corridor of 42 meters length with rooms on both sides. The corridor ends with two entrances on both sides. The frontier façade is accentuated with the overhanging wooden eaves, pointed-arched openings, stone-timberwork embellishments, and the volumetric variations on the symmetry axis, which highlight the room at the center and raises the roof level for an half-storey.²⁰² (Figure 3.28)

For the need of a proper working space for the delegation committee that arrived Ankara on December 27, 1919, the unfinished club building of the defunct Committee of Union and Progress was selected.²⁰³ To finish the construction, a donation campaign was started among the inhabitants of the city, and in a short period of time, 46.500 kuruş was collected.²⁰⁴ Yet, three days after the halting of the parliament in İstanbul with the intervention of the British troop on March 16, 1920, a call for the

proposes that the Club Building was ordered by foreseeing it. Yet, that is an assumption not supported by evidence.

²⁰⁰ Şapolyo, 2002, p. 12.

²⁰¹ Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 36.

²⁰² It is indicated that some of the dark-colored stones used for the construction of the building is taken from the cemeteries of non-muslims under the supervision of the branch director of Union and Progress. (Esin & Etöz, 2015, p. 171).

²⁰³ Sakallı, 1988, pp. 94-95.

²⁰⁴ For the list of financial support in 1920, see: Şimşir, 2006, pp. 190-194.



Figure 3.28: The First Grand National Assembly Building, 1922.

(İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library Postcard Collection, Inventory No: Krt_005055.)

convening of a grand assembly was announced and the repair of the building continued for housing the assembly. The roof was covered with the bricks purchased for the construction of a primary school, and from the rooftops of Ankara houses.²⁰⁵ Hence, the building became the first place of the Grand National Assembly, opening in the building on April 23, 1920 with a pompous inauguration, and it remained as the central symbol of the emergence of a new country during a few years leading of the foundation of the Republic in 1923 and the early years of the new regime.

²⁰⁵ Akpolat, Mustafa Servet, and Erdal Eser, eds. *Ankara: Başkentin Tarihi, Arkeolojisi ve Mimarisi*. Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları, 2004, p. 197. Although a common belief states that the bricks were picked up and sold to the parliament by prospective business person Vehbi Koç, Koç explains that he sold a bunch of Marseille bricks for the repairing of the roof due to a storm that damaged the building, which happened after the inauguration of the Assembly. Koç, 1973, p. 48.

During the Independence War, the First Grand National Assembly Building stood as one of the key elements that depicted the urban scenery of Ankara and *İstasyon Caddesi*. As the main catalyzer of Taşhan Square, the results of the divisions held inside and the news coming from the war zone were immediately affecting the people just outside of the building. Many parades of soldiers, citizens, and artisans were passing in front of the building on important days, and the bilateral relation thus formed between the people marching or walking through *İstasyon Caddesi* (Figure 3.29.a), and the representatives or officials on the balcony of the building who were watching them (Figure 3.29.b), created an important scenery that vividly illustrated the extraordinary days of the war.²⁰⁶ As a result, the area in front of the building adopted the identity of being the new public sphere of the city, and was thus renamed as National Sovereignty (*Hakimiyet-i Milliye*) Square.²⁰⁷

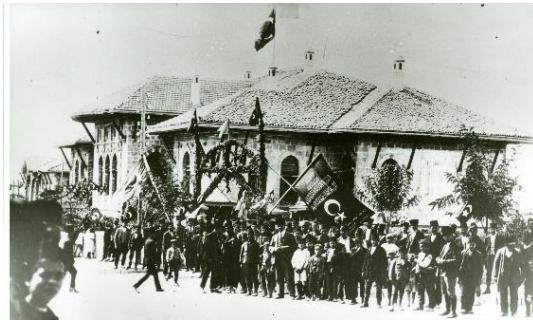


Figure 3.29.a: The military parade in front of the First Grand National Assembly, 1920.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 0021.)

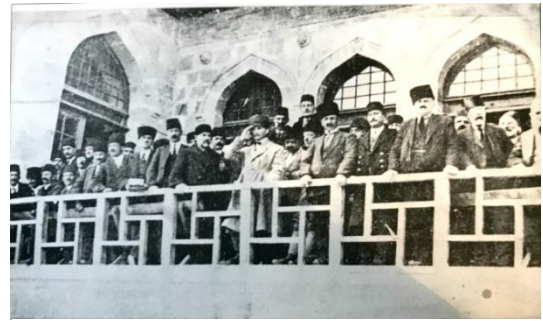


Figure 3.29.b: Mustafa Kemal Paşa and the representatives were greeting the people in front of the building, from the balcony of the lobby, 1920s.

(Belko, 1994, p. 46.)

²⁰⁶ Yalın, 2002, pp. 178-181.

²⁰⁷ The name of the square was changed for a couple of times between 1920 and 1935, as *Taşhan*, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, *Millet*, and *Ulus*. Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 121.

Because of the inadequacy of the interior space, the building continued to be used as the Grand National Assembly only until 1924, when the construction of a new parliament building designed by architect Vedat (Tek) was completed. From that time on, the building began to be used as the headquarters of the founder Republican People's Party, which might be considered as a callback to the first proprietor of the building.²⁰⁸

Briefly, the building could be defined as the key place that connected the Ottoman Ankara with the Republican Ankara, by means of its political essence, function and stylistic preferences. It is important to emphasize that the building was originally intended to be built as the club building of the ruling party, in the architectural qualities that the party wanted to express through its nationalist discourse, and as an extension of the center to the periphery in 1910s power relations. However, with the emergence of Ankara as the new command center and later, being the center of decision-making of the Republic, the building is transformed from a copycat of the committee to the headquarters of the nation itself, which directly affected the formation of the immediate environment. In other words, while focusing on the transition period of the city from a modest town of the Empire to the modern capital city of the Republic, the role of this building shall not be undermined.

3.3.2.2. The Public Space from Late Ottoman and Early Republican Ankara: *Millet Bahçesi*

The year of the start of the construction of *Millet Bahçesi* in Ankara, which was located on a lot that had once been a cemetery, is not exactly known. The first traces

²⁰⁸ The building was used as the Grand National Assembly till October 15, 1924, when the new Assembly building was inaugurated. Between 1924 and 1952, the headquarters of Republican People's Party (CHP) located at there, and a room was assigned to the Law School of Ankara. The building used by the Ministry of Education then, and converted into "The Museum of War of Independence" in 1961. ("Kurtuluş Savaşı Müzesi." Leaflet. Ankara: TBMM, 2015, p.2.)

of the garden can be found in an issue of *Ankara Provincial Newspaper (Vilayet Gazetesi)* from 1886,²⁰⁹ which was the news on an excursion about the possible location for the garden and the fundraising campaign for its construction, which ended with the 11200 liras collected from the topline-civil servants of the city. On another issue of the same newspaper from 1895, it was stated that forestation work was done in the place where the garden is assumed to be located.²¹⁰

Nevertheless, the exact information about the garden can be found in 1325/1907 *Ankara Vilayet Salnamesi* (Provincial Annual),²¹¹ where it was mentioned as a property belonging to *Kızılbey Vakfıyesi* (endowment). It is predicted that the garden was established in the first decade of the 20th century after the removal of the city cemetery at that place under the administration of the governor of that time, Dr. Reşit Bey, because of public health reasons, and specimen locust seedlings produced by *Ankara Ziraat Mektebi* (The School of Agriculture) were planted there. With the small fountain in the middle, the garden was fortified with walls and balustrades, and illuminated with kerosene lamps.²¹² (Figure 3.30)

²⁰⁹ Tuğluca, Murat. “Ankara: Vilayetin Resmi Gazetesi (1870-1921).” Unpublished Master’s Thesis. Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2003, p. 67. The garden indicated in that news is assumed to be at the location where the First Grand National Assembly is existing now. (Aydın et al., 2005, p. 255)

²¹⁰ Tuğluca, 2003, p. 262., p. The garden indicated in that news is predicted to be the area called “Beylik” which might be somewhere around the train station. (Aydın et al., 2005, p. 255)

²¹¹ Emiroğlu, Kudret, Ahmet Yüksel, Ömer Türkoğlu, and Ethem Coşkun, eds. *Ankara Vilayeti Sâlnâmesi 1325 (1907)*. Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları, 1995.

²¹² Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 80.



Figure 3.30: The former entrance of *Millet Bahçesi* on the intersection of Banks Avenue and *İstasyon Caddesi* (Taşhan Square), 1924.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 0923.)



Figure 3.31: The *Memleket* Garden and Coffee House of Ankara, 1880-1900.

(Kavas, 2014, pp. 166-167)

On the side of the garden facing *Mekteb-i Sanayi* (The School of Industry) Avenue (later *Atatürk* Boulevard), the prominence of an undated timber-frame building is known (Figure 3.31). From the official documents, it is understood that it was intended to be used as a military club by the corps staying in Ankara during the First World War.²¹³ After the war, the building was stated as “theater” in the maps of that era, and said to be functioned as a modest restaurant during the War of Independence.²¹⁴

On the map of Ankara drawn in 1924, the very location of *Millet Bahçesi* (Figure 3.32) could be seen as encircled with the key buildings of the era like those of the Grand National Assembly, the Independence Tribunals (*İstiklal Mahkemeleri*), and Taşhan, together with the prominent urban spaces like Taşhan Square, Governor’s Square and *İstasyon Caddesi*.

This illustrates well how that open public space acted as a site of intersection, which could also be read from the memoirs written at that time. For instance, one of the most well-known poets of the era, Ceyhun Atuf Kansu, was defining the area like that:

Taşhan was the most vibrant place of Ankara at that time. The area now facing the statue of Atatürk was occupied with a cut-stone building, which would later become a shelter for the first Turkish Grand National Assembly. On the side of that building, with four or five defoliated locust trees, a place called “Millet” Garden was located and used as a park with also a coffeehouse. An unpaved road passing between that park and the Assembly building was reaching to the Ankara station.²¹⁵

²¹³ Ercan, 2018, p. 90.

²¹⁴ Memlük, 2017.

²¹⁵ Akgün, 1996, p. 128

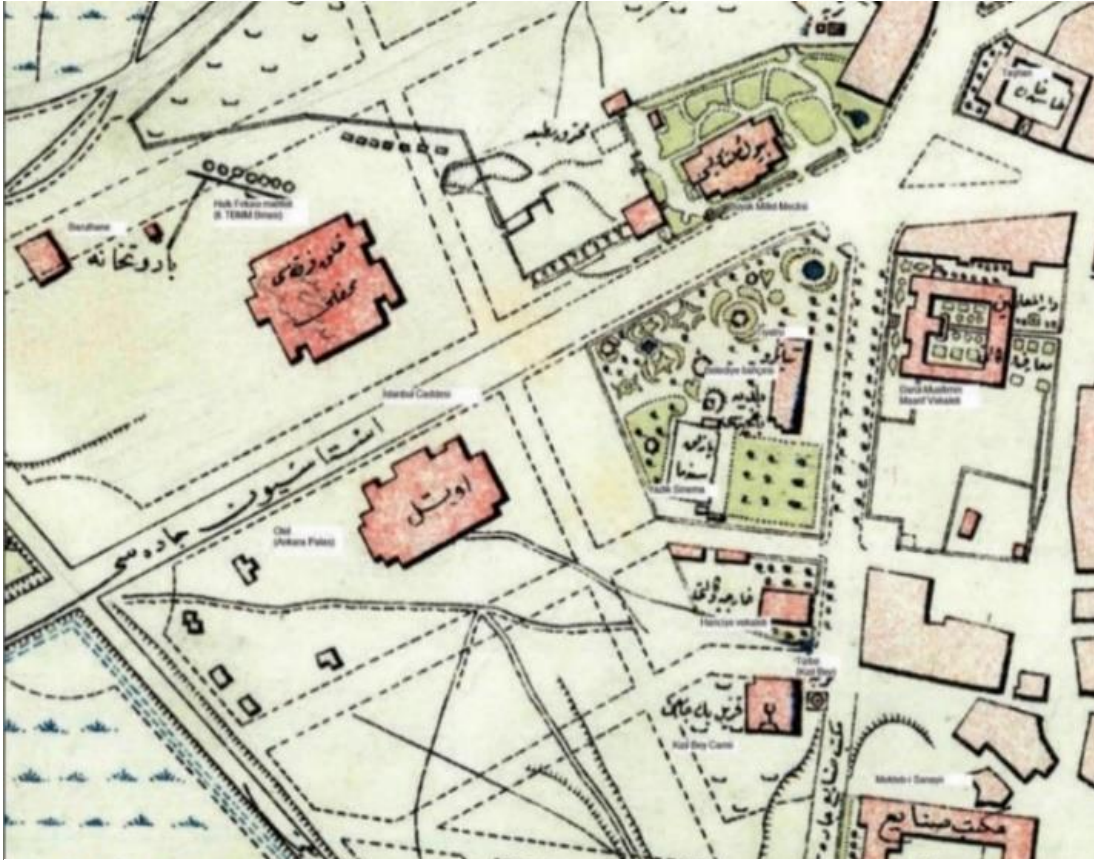


Figure 3.32: The location of the Garden on 1924 Ankara map.

(Günel & Kılıcı, 2015, p. 82.)

The functioning of Ankara as the decision-making center of the Independence War, and the utilization of the building facing Taşhan Square as the Grand National Assembly and the Independence Tribunals, diversified the use of *Millet Bahçesi* located on the opposite side of the square. The garden became a place where President Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa and other prominent figures of the era were spending time between intense legislature works, the army band was giving concerts on occasions, and the government was organizing dinners in honor of important guests. (Figure 3.33) Apart from that, some plays were staged in the theater building by the *Azmi Milli* (The National Tenacity) organization, and the first theater and cinema venue of

Ankara was opened there by Ahmet Hilmi Bey.²¹⁶ The venue embellished with Turkish-style engravings, which used elements of Ottoman Neoclassicism, is indicated to be destroyed with a fire in 1929.²¹⁷ Moreover, on the corner of the garden, the first café-restaurant of the city, *Fresko*, was opened and became a gathering place for the people who were familiar with the modern lifestyle experienced in İstanbul.²¹⁸



Figure 3.33: The entrance of *Millet Bahçesi* from Taşhan Square, 1920s.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1312.)

Between 1929 and 1931, the year when it was officially re-opened, the garden was reorganized and a row of single-storey shops and annexes were constructed on the

²¹⁶ Şimşir, 2006, p. 188.

²¹⁷ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 478

²¹⁸ Tanyer, Turan. “Ankara’da Sosyal Yaşam (1923-1938).” In *Ankara: Kara Kalpaklı Kent 1923-1938*, edited by Ekrem Işın. İstanbul: Suna ve İnan Kırac Vakfı İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2009, p. 136.

site of the old theater-restaurant building. From that time on, the garden was renamed together with the shops as City Market and Garden (*Şehir Çarşısı ve Bahçesi*).²¹⁹ (Figure 3.34.a) These shops were including some of the commercial landmarks of Ankara at that time, namely *Akba* Bookstore, *Karpiç* Restaurant, *Uğrak* Restaurant, *Fresko* Café-Restaurant, Florist *Sabuncakis*, *Hacı Bekir* Candy Store, and *Osman Nuri Uzun* Candy Store.²²⁰ The market, which contributed to the boulevard image that was intended to be created at the time with its arched entrance and colonnade, (Figure 3.34.b) is predicted to be designed by Robert Oerley, who was also commissioned with the *Ulus* Marketplace and the General Directorate of Red Crescent in Yenışehir, yet this stood unconfirmed.²²¹

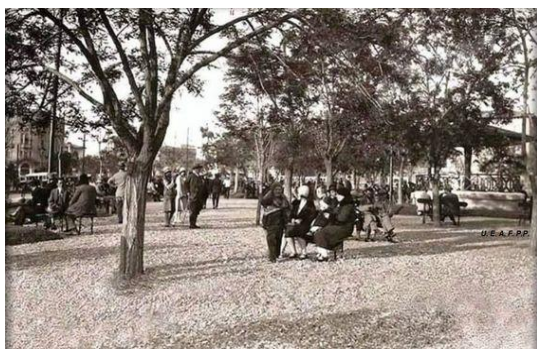


Figure 3.34.a: A view of the Garden, 1940s.

(Gürkaş, 2003, p. 158.)



Figure 3.34.b The arched gate of the garden, 1940s.

(Serhat Koçak archive.)

²¹⁹ Aslanoğlu, İnci N. “1923-1950 Yılları Arasında Ankara’da Çalışan Yabancı Mimarlar.” In *Ankara Konuşmaları*, edited by Neriman Şahin. Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları, 1992, p. 122. The names of the shops are indicated as *Muhasebe-I Hususiye (Özel İdare) Çarşısı* as well in some sources. (Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 258)

²²⁰ Tanyer, Turan. “Ankara Kitabevlerine Dair...” *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2013): 116.

²²¹ Aslanoğlu, 1992, p. 122, Cengizkan, 2004, p. 122. The garden lost its primacy after the 1940s and was surrounded with scratchy single-storey shops. The whole area was demolished in the 1960s and replaced with a multi-storey office building and a bazaar named 100. Yıl Çarşısı ve İşhanı. See: <http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/index.php?Did=1481>

To summarize the role and importance of the garden in the early 20th century Ankara, it is important to point out the difference with its equivalents in other peripheral cities of the Empire. Many of the gardens acted as an urban scenery for the imposition of the modernization reforms, and reinforced the imagery of the modern city aimed to be formed with the extent of the Tanzimat reforms on the urban platform.²²² Yet, *Millet Bahçesi* in Ankara witnessed much more than that in its relatively short lifetime; it also became the scenery of the headquarters of the War of Independence, and was later transformed into the central recreational facility of the flourishing capital city of the new Republic.

3.3.3. Building the Architecture of the Republican Capital City

This part of the chapter examines how construction activities on both sides of *İstasyon Caddesi* continued after the proclamation of the Republic with the erection of the most prestigious buildings and complexes of the new state. Focusing on the increasing role of the avenue with these constructions in the early Republican years, the stylistic and functional changes of the buildings on the axis in time, and the changing focal points on the avenue with the intertwining urban activities are also discussed.

3.3.3.1. The New Administrative Center: The Second Grand National Assembly Building, and Ankara Palace Hotel

To house the new state was not a case of *fait accompli* for Ankara. While the new state was being constructed, much of its institutions were having difficulty to find an adequate place to work. During the Independence War, all ministries except those of Defense, Education, and Foreign Affairs were crumbled into the Governor's House. The Ministry of Defense was settled in *Taş Mekteb*, and The Ministry of Foreign

²²² Ercan, 2018, pp. 87-88.

Affairs was in the Public Debt Administration building.²²³ The Ministry of Education was settled at Teachers Training School,²²⁴ whereas a part of the same building was being used as the dormitories of the representatives of the Grand National Assembly in the period of war.²²⁵

The need for housing the institutions of the new state increased after the Independence War. (Figure 3.10) On the rear side of Governor's Square, at the place where the İğneci Belkıs Masjid used to be standing,²²⁶ the Ministry of Finance Building was erected in 1925, designed by architect-contractor Yahya Ahmet and Engineer İrfan.²²⁷ (Figure 3.35.a) The main entrance in the middle of the symmetry axis of the building was accentuated with volumetric differences, a marble staircase and the extension of the eaves of the gable roof. The rectangle-based plan of the building²²⁸ consisted of the spaces surrounding two parallel corridors on two and a half storeys placed above the basement. The towers at the corners including stairwells were extended and covered with wide eaves in a repair made a few years after the building had been constructed.²²⁹ The façade arrangement based on the projection of multiple entrances distinguished the building from their contemporaries. (Figure

²²³ Kafescioğlu et al. (eds.), 2012, p. 676.

²²⁴ Mamboury, Ernest. *Ankara Kent Rehberi*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005 (1933), p. 36.

²²⁵ Müderrisoğlu, 1993, pp. 205-206.

²²⁶ The Julian Column had also been standing at that place, yet it was carried before the construction started to the current location. Aydın et al., 2005, p. 96.

²²⁷ Aslanoğlu, 2010 [1980], pp. 120-121.

²²⁸ Akpolat & Eser (eds.), 2000, p. 93.

²²⁹ Cengizkan, 1994, p. 212.

3.35.b.) Moreover, the empty lot on the rear side of the building, looking through Çankırı Avenue, was arranged as the “New Garden” (*Yeni Bahçe*) in 1929.²³⁰



Figure 3.35.a. The Ministry of Finance Building and *Vilayet Meydanı* in front, 1930s.

(İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library Postcard Collection, Inventory No: Krt_017840.)



Figure 3.35.b. The original view of the building before the additions were made, 1924-25.

(Belko, 1994, p. 88.)

Simultaneously, the three-storey building facing the Ministry, which had been used as the headquarters of the 20th corps of the army command defending the city, was reserved as the gendarmerie station, and later, Ministry of Interior.²³¹ The provost court called Independence Tribunals (*İstiklal Mahkemeleri*), was constructed in the late 1920s and moved there after the timber building near the Court of Accounts, called *Mahfel*, was demolished.²³² The building would later be used as the financial office (*Defterdarlık*) of Ankara.²³³ Moreover, the police station was located near the

²³⁰ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 404.

²³¹ Günel, Gökçe, and Ali Kılıcı. “Ankara Şehri 1924 Haritası: Eski Bir Haritada Ankara’yı Tanımak.” *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3, no. 1 (2015): p. 81.

²³² Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 192.

²³³ *ASBÜ Çalışmaları 2: Müzeler Avlusu*. Ankara: Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi, 2018, p. 4.

Ministry of Interior, and in between of that and the City Prison, the timber building next to that was a restaurant where officers could dine cheaply.²³⁴ (Figure 3.11)

Hence, the need of workspace became an urgent issue after the proclamation of the Republic. The limited sources of the new state were allocated for the reconstruction of the cities devastated by the wars in years, and especially for the construction of Ankara;²³⁵ yet, finding qualified workforce and experienced professionals of construction and architecture was a hard task to accomplish.²³⁶ An Italian journalist who visited Ankara in 1923, Paul Erio, explained the situation as such:

The officers were also cramped like the representatives at the parliament. The superiors were sharing the same room with their subordinates, and maybe having much difficulty than them. Housing the governmental spaces became problematic like accommodating the people. Many of the ministers were squeezed in the old Governor's Office building, and every ministry has only two or three rooms to work in. (...) There is only one building erected according to the contemporary principles of architecture in Ankara, whence being used as the Grand National Assembly.²³⁷

In order to accelerate the formation of the built environment and construct the administrative buildings of the new state, one of the most prominent figures of the late Ottoman architecture, Vedat (Tek), was invited to Ankara by President Mustafa Kemal Paşa.²³⁸ He was known as the first Turkish architect who had a training of

²³⁴ Aydın et al., 2005, pp. 397-398.

²³⁵ Tekeli, 2010, pp. 308-310.

²³⁶ The need of workforce and vocational training was partially fulfilled with the craftsmen came from Hungary in the 1920s, who affected the architecture of the era much. For more information, see: Çolak, 2012, pp. 848-850.

²³⁷ Quoted from Erio, Şimşir, 2006, p. 362. Translated by the author.

²³⁸ Yavuz, Yıldırım. "Kimliğinin İzinde III: Yeni Başkentte." In *M. Vedat Tek: Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar*, edited by Afife Batur. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003, p. 173. Although the year when

architectural education abroad, and had worked on many projects since 1899, like Central Post Office and Imperial Offices of the Land Registry in İstanbul.²³⁹ He stayed in Ankara for about two years and worked on a few projects, including the two buildings that redefined the characteristics of *İstasyon Caddesi* in the 1920s: The Second Grand National Assembly Building, and Ankara Palas Hotel.

The construction of the Second Grand National Assembly Building started in 1923, to be used as the headquarters of the ruling Republican People's Party and the clubhouse (*Mahfel*) of the representatives.²⁴⁰ However, because of the lack of the allocated money in the governmental budget for the construction of a new parliament building that was an urgency in the face of the inadequacy of the existing one. The functional shift of the building as a parliament was accepted on March 1924.²⁴¹ After that, some additions and revisions were made in the project, like the addition of the stone crown gate with marble plaque and the extension of the building through the northern direction. (Figure 3.36.a, 3.36.b).²⁴² With the application of the needed revisions, including the assembling of the electricity system and the ornamentation of the hall, the building was inaugurated on October 15, 1924.²⁴³ The plan of the double-storey building with a basement is organized around a heightened central assembly hall surrounded with circulation spaces and other rooms. (Figure 3.37) The staircases on the left and right-hand side of the main entrance were directing people

Vedad Tek was invited to Ankara is unknown, from the letters written by his son, it is estimated that he should be arrived to Ankara in the first months of 1923.

²³⁹ Yavuz & Özkan, 2005, p. 46.

²⁴⁰ Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), p. 115.

²⁴¹ Y. Yavuz, 2003, pp. 177-178.

²⁴² It is indicated that the crown gate was added with the intervention of Kemalettin Bey, architect of the Second Grand National Assembly and Ankara Palace hotel, in 1925. Yavuz & Özkan, 2005, p. 59.

²⁴³ Y. Yavuz, 2003, p. 182.

to the workspaces and the audience balcony of the hall on the upper level. The frontier façade was emphasized with the three-arched loggia on the first floor, which is directly overlooking *İstasyon Caddesi* and thus creating a similar relationship with the urban space in front, as the first Assembly building did.²⁴⁴



Figure 3.36.a: The original façade layout and mass of the Second Grand National Assembly Building during the construction.

(Y. Yavuz, 2003, p. 178.)



Figure 3.36.b: The Second Grand National Assembly Building, 1926.

(Yavuz & Özkan, 2005, p. 57.)

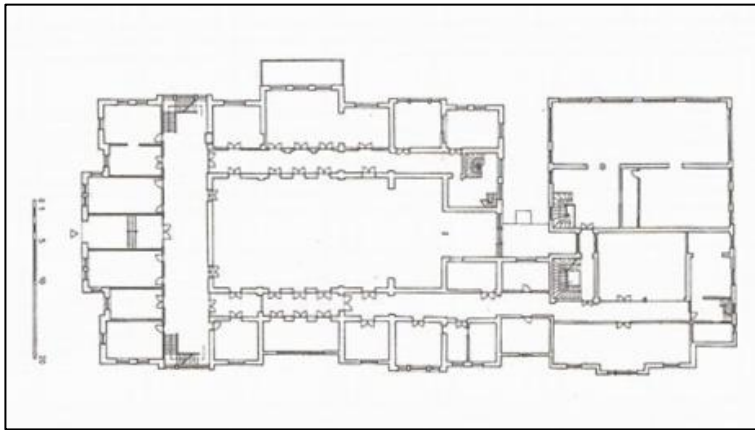


Figure 3.37: The ground-floor plan of the Second Grand National Assembly.

(Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), p. 116)

²⁴⁴ Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 38.

Another agent of integration with the city was the garden of the Assembly, opened in 1926, which was depicted as an essential public space of that era. (Figure 3.38.a) With its beautiful landscaping and cascaded pool, the garden created a pleasant and modern place for the people, and the concerts given there by the Presidential Orchestra (*Riyaset-i Cumhuriyet Orkestrası*) every week was enriching that welcoming atmosphere.²⁴⁵ On the northern side of the building, two semi-individual units were attached to the main mass with a corridor. One of them was planned to be the representatives' clubhouse (*mahfel*), and the other one is a structure depicted as a greenhouse that is formally distinguishable in many photos of the era, which was resembled to the “Dome of the Rock” in Jerusalem. (Figure 3.38.b)²⁴⁶



Figure 3.38.a: The garden of the Assembly with the cascaded pools, 1933.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1644.)



Figure 3.38.b: The greenhouse of the Assembly, n.d.

(Evren, 1998, pp. 116-117.)

At the same time, Vedat Tek was commissioned for another project that was facing the Assembly building. In 1923, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare intended to construct a ministry and lodging building and conducted an agreement with Vedat

²⁴⁵ Türkyılmaz, Mehtap. “Ankara’da Havuzbaşları: 1923-1950.” *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3, no. 1 (2015): p. 110.

²⁴⁶ Y. Yavuz, 2003, pp. 184-186. The comparison made by Yavuz is hyphenated by the author.

Tek.²⁴⁷ Although the construction started according to the project drawn by him, the Ministry gave the ownership of the building to the Pious Foundations, which converted the building into a hotel serving for the elite of the new regime.²⁴⁸ Yet, this situation unfolded the ongoing conflict between Vedat Tek and the central authority.²⁴⁹ Thus, Vedat Tek quitted from his responsibilities on the projects in Ankara at the end of 1924, and the construction of the building was so decelerated that, a rumor about the lack of stairs in front of the entrance gate was spread.²⁵⁰

Soon after that, another important architect of the era, Kemalettin Bey who was considered to be the “historiographical twin”²⁵¹ of Vedat Tek, took over the project. As the chief architect of the Pious Foundations from 1909 on, he had worked in numerous projects throughout the territories of the Empire, including the office blocks (*Vakıf Hanı*) and apartment blocks (*Harikzedegân*) in İstanbul, the religious school (*Dâr-ül Ulûm*) in Medina, and the restoration project of Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.²⁵² He arrived to Ankara in the first months of 1925 and revised the project in order to turn it into a modern hotel building, which would provide “the prosperity and comfort of the hotels in Europe for the Turkish and European customers.”²⁵³ With

²⁴⁷ Berdi-Gökhan, Çiğdem. “Ankara Palas: Bir Mimari Yapının Toplumun Sosyo-Kültürel ve Politik Yaşamı İle Etkileşimi.” In *Başkent Oluşunun 90. Yılında Ankara: 1923-2013, Sempozyum Kitabı*, edited by Ayşegül Köroğlu. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014, p. 19.

²⁴⁸ İnci-Fırat, Nurcan. “Ankara Palas ve Restorasyonları.” In *Ankara Ankara*, edited by Enis Batur. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994, p. 476.

²⁴⁹ Y. Yavuz, 2003, p. 175.

²⁵⁰ Berdi-Gökhan, 2014, p. 20. It is probably because of the changes in road level during the works.

²⁵¹ The term is firstly used in: Tanyeli, Uğur. *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000*. İstanbul: Garanti Galerisi, 2007, p. 108.

²⁵² Yavuz, Yıldırım. *İmparatorluktan Cumhuriyete Mimar Kemalettin*. Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası & Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009, pp. 27-35.

²⁵³ Tekeli & İlkin, 1997, p. 193.

the contributions of Alâaddin Bey, one of the architects working under the supervision of Kemalettin Bey, the construction of the hotel was finished on April 17, 1928,²⁵⁴ and it was named as Ankara Palace Hotel (*Vakıf Oteli*).²⁵⁵

The formal accentuation of the double-storey reinforced concrete building with a basement is unique among its contemporaries in Ankara. The tripartite projection of the frontier façade relying on the symmetry axis was made more evident with the corner towers on two sides and the extended central portion that was totally converted into the arrangement of a crown gate. (Figure 3.39.a) The overhanging eaves with colorful ornaments underneath placed on top of corner towers and the main mass, the rich embellishments of the balustrades of the balconies on the first floor, the glazed tile adornment on the pediment of the gate, the arrangement of arched windows and the use of a bulbous dome on top of the crown gate, vividly expressed the pompous formalism of the era.²⁵⁶ In contrast to the frontier façade, the others were left plain and unornamented, probably due to the financial insufficiency.²⁵⁷

The plan scheme of the building is consisted of the smaller spaces of rooms and services organized around a central grand hall for balls,²⁵⁸ which was found reminiscent with the historical Ottoman inn typology organized around a central

²⁵⁴ Sumbas, Ahu. “Türk Modernleşmesi’ni Ankara Palas Üzerinden Okumak: ‘Doğu’dan Batı’ya Açılan Bir Pencere.” *H.Ü. İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi* 31, no. 1 (2013): 178-179. However, Kemalettin Bey was not enough fortunate to witness the inauguration of the hotel. On July 13, 1927, he passed away in the room that he was accommodating during the time he spent in Ankara, in the construction site of the hotel. See: Y. Yavuz, 2009, p. 42.

²⁵⁵ The cost of the construction and furnishing of the building was over 1.5 million Turkish liras. See: Y. Yavuz, 2009, p. 335. The amount depends on the records of the Pious Foundations.

²⁵⁶ Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), pp. 268-269. The scale of the eaves and the bulbous dome was specifically chosen to reveal the prosperity of the new Republic, instead of the hipped roof of the first proposal, according to Y. Yavuz. (2009, p. 110)

²⁵⁷ Berdi-Gökhan, 2014, p. 27.

²⁵⁸ Y. Yavuz, 2009, p. 338-339.

courtyard, seen in the exemplary case of Taşhan.²⁵⁹ (Figure 3.39.b) Despite the revivalist-Orientalist formal characteristics, the building was equipped with all the modern needs of a hotel building, including pressurized water, central heating system, Western style toilets and baths, and an electric generator.²⁶⁰ The contradiction between the revivalist-Orientalist formal characteristic of the building and its Western-functionalist equipping can be asserted as representing the multiple searches of the early Republican for the architectural expression of the new state, that made Ankara Palas “the most paradigmatic National Style building in Ankara”.²⁶¹



Figure 3.39.a: Ankara Palace Hotel, 1930.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 0233.)

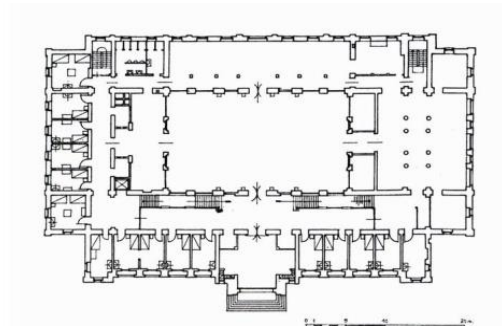


Figure 3.39.b: The ground-floor plan of Ankara Palace Hotel.

(Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), p. 270.)

The two buildings facing each other, the Second Grand National Assembly building and Ankara Palace hotel, created a new sense of publicity on *İstasyon Caddesi* in the 1920s.²⁶² The aim of the new regime, while creating a national bourgeoisie, was also

²⁵⁹ Yavuz & Özkan, 2005, p. 58.

²⁶⁰ Sumbas, 2013, p. 177.

²⁶¹ Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 38.

²⁶² The section of the axis passing front of the building was renamed as The Grand National Assembly Avenue in 1925. Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 219.

to create a proponent class for the top-down reforms that would inevitably affect the built environment.²⁶³ The traffic of the bureaucrats between the two crown gates of these buildings and around presents a good example for that, which was also highly criticized to be alienating for the people in general.²⁶⁴ Although the modern life style in Ankara started to flourish with the agency of this new administrative center,²⁶⁵ and the parades were still passing on *İstasyon Caddesi* like they used to be, the bilateral relationship between the people on the avenue and those at the balcony of the First Grand National Assembly building, seems to have transformed into a different and alienating (*yaban*) shape.²⁶⁶

3.3.3.2. Dwellings for the New Citizens: Pious Foundations Apartments and Houses

After the proclamation of the Republic, with the increasing migration to the new capital Ankara from other cities, the housing shortage in the city was eminent. However, neither the public nor private sector was capable to fulfill that need and the newly formed Municipality was falling short of providing the infrastructural and cadastral needs for construction. In a report he submitted to London, the first British ambassador of Turkey, Ronald C. Lindsay, depicted that situation as a consequence of the temporariness of the new capital city because of the lack of confidence of

²⁶³ Yalım, 2011, p. 189.

²⁶⁴ For some sequences depicting the alienation of the modern person in Ankara and the awkwardness of Ankara Palas in that settlement, see: Kaynar, Hakan. "Yeni Bir Başkenti Yazmak: Ankara'nın Edebiyatı Veya Edebiyatın Ankara'sı." In *Cumhuriyet'in Ütopyası: Ankara*, edited by Funda Şenol-Cantek.. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012, pp. 397-398.

²⁶⁵ Özten, 2001, p. 74.

²⁶⁶ For a sophisticated debate on the circumstances of being *yaban* or local in Ankara, see: Şenol-Cantek, L. Funda. "*Yaban*"lar ve Yerliler: *Başkent Olma Sürecinde Ankara*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003, pp. 1-12.

entrepreneurs for the decisions of the central government.²⁶⁷ In order to solve that emergent problem various methods were implemented, including the zoning of a part of the fireplace for the construction of multi-storey apartment blocks around Işıklar Avenue, and the villas began to be built in Kavaklıdere-Çankaya vineyards for the prominent figures of the new regime.²⁶⁸

A distinct variation of the solution was the construction of residential buildings by institutions like banks, ministries, and the Pious Foundations for the accommodation of civil servants,²⁶⁹ which was regularized on May 30, 1928 by the approval of the law no. 1352, called the “law on the ministry buildings and officers’ houses which will be constructed in Ankara”.²⁷⁰ For that purpose, the ownership of the area that had belonged to the Kızılbey Foundation located on the fringes of *İstasyon Caddesi*, at the southern side of National Sovereignty Square, was transferred to the Municipality of Ankara.²⁷¹ With the direct interventions of the Assembly in residential construction,²⁷² the public institutions and state-owned companies were held responsible for this practice. In that sense, a few examples of mass housing were planned in Ankara in the first years of the 1920s.²⁷³ The Pious Foundations aimed to

²⁶⁷ Quoted from Lindsay, Şimşir, 2006, pp. 330-331.

²⁶⁸ Tankut, 1993, pp. 53-54.

²⁶⁹ Sarıoğlu, Mehmet. “Ankara”: *Bir Modernleşme Öyküsü (1919-1945)*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001, p. 82.

²⁷⁰ In Turkish, it is titled as: “Ankara’da İnşâ Edilecek Vekâlet ve Devâir Binalarıyla Me’mûrîn Apartmanları Hakkında Kânun”. Cengizkan, 2004, p. 221.

²⁷¹ Bağlum, 2004, pp. 155-156.

²⁷² Öztürk, Sefa. “Spatial Transformations in Early Republican Ankara and Their Origins.” Unpublished Master’s Thesis. Marmara University Graduate School of Social Sciences, 2014, p. 130.

²⁷³ The list of mass housing projects implemented by the public sector in that era: (Aslanoğlu, 2010 [1980], p. 378-387) 1) Pious Houses in Hamamönü, Gündoğdu district, 1920’s, 2) *Ziraat* (Agriculture) Bank Lodging in Yenışehir, 1925-1926. Designed by Giulio Mongeri, 3) The Children Palace (*Çocuk*

build multiple villas and apartment blocks and the chief architect of the institution, Kemalettin Bey, was commissioned for that, on the triangular block that was formed according to the Lörcher Plan.²⁷⁴ (Figure 3.27) The construction of thirteen buildings (Two apartment blocks, and two groups of villas consisted of four and seven units) on the site took more than four years and costed for around 2.5 million Turkish liras.²⁷⁵ (Figure 3.40)



Figure 3.40: The view of Pious Houses and Blocks from İstanbul Avenue, 1930.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 0031.)

Esirgeme Kurumu Kira Apartmanları) on Anafartalar Avenue, Ulus, 1926, 4) *Memurin* (Civil Servants') Houses: 198 single-storey, detached house, 1926-1927, costed 2 million liras.

²⁷⁴ Avcı-Hosanlı, Deniz. "Housing the Modern Nation: The Transformation of Residential Architecture in Ankara during the 1920s." Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Middle East Technical University Graduate School of Social Sciences, 2018, pp. 115-116.

²⁷⁵ Bağlum, 2004, p. 156. For the list of the construction expenses of the General Directorate of Pious Foundations between 1923 and 1933, see: Bayram, Sadi. "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Ankara'da İmâr Faaliyetlerinde Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü'nün Rolü, Atatürk Orman Çiftliği ve Bazı İmâr Hatıraları." In *Başkent Oluşunun 90. Yılında Ankara: 1923-2013, Sempozyum Kitabı*, edited by Ayşegül Köroğlu. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014, p. 54.

The first ones in the chronology were the detached, double-storey houses built on the southern side of the area. It is assumed that the first studies on the houses started in the last days of 1923 and continued in 1924. From the fact that a bunch of separate files including the drawing and documents of the villas are found in the archive of Mimar Kemalettin at the Pious Foundations,²⁷⁶ it could be thought that a considerable amount of time was spent during the design phase of the houses. For instance, probably to satisfy the needs of the state, the file of drawings of the villa assigned to the Embassy of the United States was separated with six plates of drawing, whereas six of the single villas were filed by the name of *Derdest İnşa Evleri*, and the twin-houses were categorized in “Four in One House Projects (*Dördü Bir Arada Ev Projeleri*)”.²⁷⁷ (Figure 3.41.a) On a newspaper clipping from 1924, the projects were depicted as including double-storey detached houses with four or five rooms, modern kitchens and bathrooms equipped with tubs and toilets imported from the West, and had electricity and tap water.²⁷⁸ (Figure 3.41.b)

On the other hand, the basic formal elements of the houses include those characteristic decorative features of the historicist “First National Style” of the period like wide eaves, solid balustrades of the stairs and balconies, and the arched porches that acted like a pseudo-crown gate with the stucco embellishments on the pediment-ish place.²⁷⁹ Thus, as in the case of Ankara Palas Hotel, these houses were also presenting the position of contemporary architectural production in-between the traditional and the modern with their traditional forms and modern functional plan schemes.

²⁷⁶ Tekeli & İlkin, 1997, pp. 255-258.

²⁷⁷ Y. Yavuz, 2009, pp. 291-292.

²⁷⁸ Yavuz, Yıldırım. “1923-1928 Ankara’ında Konut Sorunu ve Konut Gelişmesi.” In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2nd ed., edited by Aysıl Tükel-Yavuz, Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000, p. 234.

²⁷⁹ Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), p. 379.



Figure 3.41.a: The row of Pious Houses, 1928.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1657.)

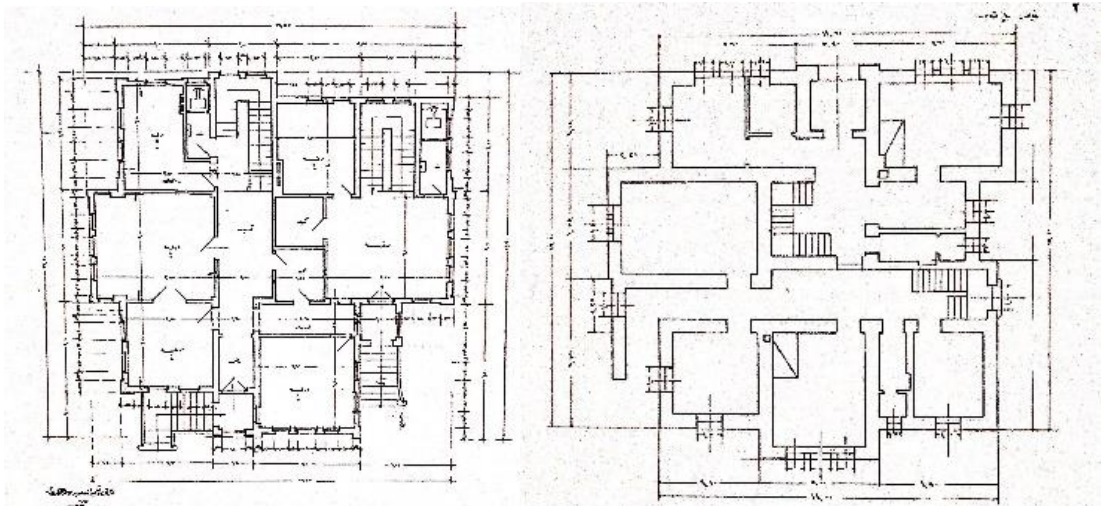


Figure 3.41.b: The ground and first floor plans of the twin-type Pious Houses.

(Y. Yavuz, 2009, p. 286.)

In addition, two multi-storey apartment blocks were constructed on the site.²⁸⁰ The construction of the First Pious Apartments started in 1926, as the first of its kind as an apartment block built for rent. According to the documents and drawings, the four-storey building had eight apartments with central heating, in-situ kitchen and bathroom, electricity, elevator, and laundry.²⁸¹ The projections coming from the alignment of the main rooms of the apartments were accentuated on the façade, as well as the trace of the vertical circulation. (Figure 3.42.a) The year when the construction completed is unknown, yet it is eminent that, from the last years of the 1920s on, the building started to be used as a hotel named “Belvü Palas Hotel” with 14 rooms on every floor, and having a total of 65 rooms.²⁸² (Figure 3.42.b) On the guide of Mamboury, it was depicted as the second most luxurious hotel in Ankara.²⁸³

The Second Pious Apartment is well known with its scale, function and the people who lived in it. The building was designed between 1926 and 1927, as one of the last projects of Kemalettin Bey. The construction started in 1928 and was completed in 1930.²⁸⁴ The building consisted of four floors with an attic and a pitched roof, over a heightened ground floor and a basement floor. The plan scheme of the quadrangle shaped building was organized around a courtyard, which would later be converted into a theater.²⁸⁵ (Figure 3.43.a) The ground floor level was completely allocated for

²⁸⁰ According to Y. Yavuz (2000, p. 237) , a third apartment block was erected in Samanpazarı by Pious foundations, yet the numbering between that and Belvü Palas by means of being the first one is changing according to different sources.

²⁸¹ Y. Yavuz, 2009, p. 293.

²⁸² Günel, Gökçe. “I. Vakıf Apartmanı ‘Belvü Palas.’” In *Mimar Kemalettin ve Çağı: Mimarlık/Toplumsal Yaşam/Politika*, edited by Ali Cengizkan. Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası & Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009, p. 215.

²⁸³ Mamboury, 2005 (1933), pp. 25-26.

²⁸⁴ Y. Yavuz, 2009, p. 297.

²⁸⁵ Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), pp. 381-382.

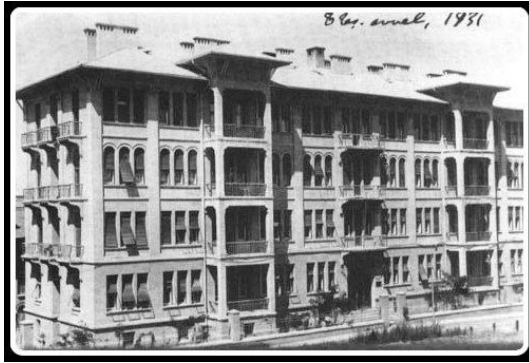


Figure 3.42.a: The First Pious Apartment, “Belvü Palas”, 1931.

(Günel, 2009, p. 210.)

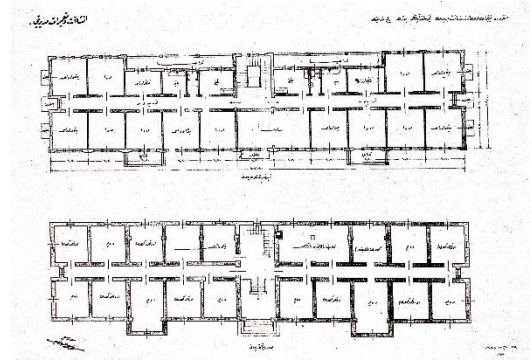


Figure 3.42.b: Ground and normal floor plans of Belvü Palas.

(Y. Yavuz, 2005, p. 294.)



Figure 3.43.a. The Second Pious Apartment.

(Yavuz & Özkan, 2005, p. 60.)

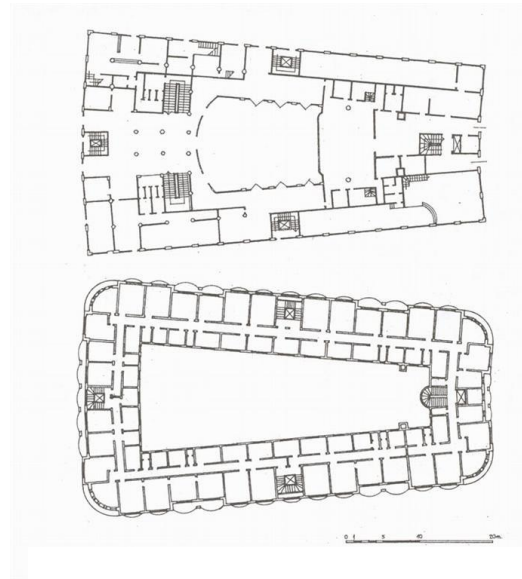


Figure 3.43.b. Ground and normal floor plans of the Second Pious Apartment.

(Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), p. 382.)

rental commercial spaces, and four different entrances were provided to the apartment block on each side of the mass, which were aimed to serve originally for two apartments on each floor.²⁸⁶ On the original floor plans, the service spaces like bathrooms and kitchens were placed on the sides looking to the courtyard, whereas the living spaces were facing outwards.²⁸⁷ (Figure 3.43.b)

With the filleted corners of the mass, the semi-circular projections, and the accentuations on the façades, the apartment was considered as one of the most imposing buildings of the new city, by directly grabbing attention from Station Square and *İstasyon Caddesi*. The building accommodated not only many bureaucrats and officers of the era, but also the institutions like Faculty of Language and History-Geography in its early years.²⁸⁸ In short, the buildings constructed in the area near *İstasyon Caddesi* during the early Republican years as modern dwellings of the new citizens of Ankara, are noteworthy to understand the transformation of the center of the capital city in terms of their formal characteristics and their relation with the immediate environment. Among them, only the Second Pious Apartment has survived, used as the General Directorate of the State Theaters, and two theaters operated by the same institution.²⁸⁹ (Figure 3.44)

²⁸⁶ Y. Yavuz, 2009, p. 297.

²⁸⁷ Y. Yavuz, 2000, p. 237. After the unification of the storeys by the removal of the partition walls in later years, the circulation scheme changed though.

²⁸⁸ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 401.

²⁸⁹ In present, almost all of the buildings explained in this part have been replaced with large-scale buildings. The group of four houses looking to the Gunpowder (*Baruthane*) intersection were demolished in the 1960s for the construction of Stad Hotel, a skyscraper-hotel building with 225 rooms, designed through a national competition won by architects Doğan Tekeli, Sami Sisa and Metin Hepgüler. See: “Stad Hoteli.” *Arkitekt*, no. 338 (1970): 52–58. The other ones remained for a while, yet the apartment block used as Belvü Palas Hotel and the last standing houses were demolished for the construction of the Turkish Central Bank Headquarters in 1973. Yavuz, Yıldırım. “1923-1940 Arası Ankara’da Mimari.” In *Ankara Ankara*, edited by Enis Batur. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994, p. 204.



Figure 3.44: Demolition of Pious Houses before construction of Turkish Central Bank Headquarters, Summer of 1973.

(Y. Yavuz, 2009, p. 285)

3.3.3.3. Is Ornament Crime? Or the Style of Republican Buildings: Court of Financial Accounts and its Formal Transformation

According to the stimulant article of renowned modernist architect Adolf Loos, originally published in 1913, the ornamentation in modernist buildings are considered as redundant and causes the wasting of labor, money and material, as well as the exploitation of the culture.²⁹⁰ Considering the realm of the centenary Vienna modernism, the denial of the prominence of the over-lavished Secession style is contextually understandable. However, the reflection of such a discourse in the 1920s' scenery of the architecture of the state in Ankara is worthy to note, which could be discussed in the case of the drastic change in the façade and plan organization of the Court of Financial Accounts.

²⁹⁰ Loos, Adolf. "Süsleme ve Suç." In *Mimarlık Üzerine* (Trans. Alp Tümertekin, Nihat Ülner), İstanbul: Janus, 2014, pp. 164-165.

To satisfy the emerging need of a building that would house the facilities of the Court, which were being moved from İstanbul to Ankara at that time²⁹¹, the construction started in 1925 on the plot at the south of the First Grand National Assembly Building, as a two-storey building designed by architect Nazım Bey.²⁹² The contractor of the building was another prominent figure of the period, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu,²⁹³ and it is said that he also provided assistance on the design of the building.²⁹⁴

The original building had a symmetric mass with an accentuation on the entrance gate by the use of two miniscule towers, and a balcony on the upper floor of the entrance. (Figure 3.45.a) The terrace at the southern side of the building with the extension of the basement floor and the independent building on the northern side, were also remarkable on understanding the building as a totality. The windows on both sides with pointed arches, the four-sided wide eaves of the gable roof and the rich embellishment of the frontier façade revealed a clear example of a building that carried the characteristics of the First National Style. In addition, it is also important to indicate the prominence of a small double-storey timber building near the Court of Accounts building, which was allocated for the use of the Independence Tribunals. After a new building on Governor's Square started to be used for the Independence Tribunals, the building turned into a club house for the parliament members called

²⁹¹ Because of the lack of available space, the Court of Accounts was located in multiple buildings in Ankara, including Taşhan. See: Kış, Salih, ed. "Geçmişten Günümüze Sayıştay Binaları." In *Kuruluşundan Cumhuriyet'e Sayıştay Tarihi*. Ankara: T.C. Sayıştay Başkanlığı, 2018, pp. 266-288.

²⁹² Kış (ed.), 2018, p. 275.

²⁹³ Aslanoğlu, 2010 [1980], p. 151.

²⁹⁴ Atalay-Franck, Oya, and Ali Cengizkan. "Sayıştay Binası" In *Ernst A. Egli: Türkiye'ye Katkılar: Yerel Yorumlar, Eğitimde Program, Pratiğin Muhabesesi*, edited by Ali Cengizkan, N. Müge Cengizkan, and Selda Bancı. Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2017, p. 147. In his memoir, Koyunoğlu implicates that, because of a misunderstanding during certificating the master builders, he was charged for making communism propaganda and was attempted to be judged in the Independence Tribunals. See: Kuruyazıcı, Hasan. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Mimar: Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008, p. 246-247.

Mahfel, which would be demolished during the works of the renovation and extension of the Court of Accounts building.²⁹⁵ (Figure 3.45.b)



Figure 3.45.a: The Court of Accounts (*Divan-ı Muhasebat*) Building, 1925-1926.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1193.)



Figure 3.45.b: Independence Tribunals (*İstiklal Mahkemeleri*) building nearby the Court of Accounts building, 1922.

(Frédéric Gadmer Archive, Le Département des Hauts-en-Seine, Inventory No: A036957.)

The Court of Accounts building constructed in 1925 had a major renovation in 1930 by the Austrian-Swiss architect Ernst Egli, which included the total refurbishment of the frontier façade, the redesign of the roof and the addition of extra space. From the similarities and differences between the two states of the building, it is explicit that Egli aimed to protect the original axial order of spaces that went parallel with the avenue and the centrality of the main entrance. Rather than designing a building from scratch, the architect limited the intervention on the mass by only adding two wings on each side of the building and creating an inner courtyard by connecting the two sides with a single-storey corridor at the backwards. Moreover, the architect also respectfully designed the overall structure in two-storeys, by protecting the original height of the building; yet, because of the inclination on *İstasyon Caddesi*, the basement floor of the enlengthened building became explicit as an extra floor on the southern side. The central roof on the entrance part of the building was also widened

²⁹⁵ Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 222.

and covered the whole part of the building looking to the avenue, which resulted in the formation of an attic, whereas the newly constructed spaces were covered with flat roof. The gabled roof was perforated with a parapet, which created the illusion of a flat-roofed building as seen from human scale.

The main issue that is reminiscent about the story of the building, in relation with the changes in the identity of *İstasyon Caddesi*, was the dramatic change in façade layout. (Figure 3.46) The original embellished façade was totally replaced with a plain, orthogonal organization divided with horizontal stripes and projections on the façade towards the avenue. The symmetry of the original building was abandoned with the extensions on the main block towards the site of the *Mahfel* building, and the accentuation on the main entrance was preserved by treating them as projections.



Figure 3.46: The new façade layout of the Court of Accounts (*Divan-ı Muhasebat*) Building in the general scenery of *İstasyon Avenue*, 1930.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1195.)

The overall contrast of the building with the environment was interesting, which was explained by Bozdoğan as the “actual complexity of the cultural and ideological scene during the first decade of the republic”.²⁹⁶ According to Atalay-Franck, this discrepancy could be explained by various reasons. Firstly, the building can be distinguished by its stylistic authenticity, compared with the early period buildings designed or modified by Egli, by means of being an experimental work of regionalizing modernism, or at least creating an interconnectivity with it.²⁹⁷ It is open to questioning that, in his later career, Egli focused more on creating a synthesis between the “traditional” and the “modern”, and mostly stood on the point of regionalizing the modern,²⁹⁸ although such an aim was stated neither in the related parts of his memoir²⁹⁹ nor in the other articles and manuscripts written by Egli.³⁰⁰

In short, it might be possible to state that the refurbishment of the building in a new façade treatment and the new plan scheme reveal the shift in the choices of the period from the “traditional” to the “modern”.³⁰¹ Although this change does not seem to be a sudden urge for leaving the “national” architecture behind, representing the

²⁹⁶ Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 48.

²⁹⁷ It should be kept in mind that the “modernism” that is indicated could be noted as a “Viennese” modernism, which also Loos was fond of. While thinking that the inspirations that Egli got during his architectural education and the fact that after his graduation, Egli found the opportunity to work with Loos, this intricate relationship with a variation of modern architecture should gain more attention. Atalay-Franck, Oya. “Mimar Kimliğiyle Ernst Egli: Modern ile Yerel Mimarlığın Sentezi Üzerine Denemeler.” In *Ernst A. Egli: Türkiye’ye Katkılar: Yerel Yorumlar, Eğitimde Program, Pratiğin Muhabesesi*, edited by Ali Cengizkan, N. Müge Cengizkan, and Selda Bancı, 37–48. Ankara, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 2017, p. 25.

²⁹⁸ Atalay-Franck, 2017, p. 40.

²⁹⁹ Egli, Ernst Arnold. *Genç Türkiye İnşa Edilirken: Atatürk’ün Mimarının Anıları (1927-1940, 1953-1955)*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013, pp. 21-41.

³⁰⁰ Nevertheless, a concrete evidence for that aim is his role on preparation on the “National Architecture Seminar” in the curriculum of Academy of Fine Arts, which has later been given by Sedat Hakkı Eldem for years. Egli, 2013, pp. 77-80.

³⁰¹ Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), p. 271.

approach that could be considered as "shy" modernist in the context of the early Republican years, the building can be treated as one of the first and probably unintentional examples of what was seen as the concrete expression of the identity of the new Republic in the 1920s.

3.4. Spatiality and Scenery of *İstasyon Caddesi* Axis and the Approval of the Jansen Plan

Understanding the uniqueness of *İstasyon Caddesi* in comparison with the other equivalent roads in the Anatolian cities that were constructed to connect the city with the train station, and with the other axes of Ankara, depends on a comparative analysis of the phases of the road before and during the Independence War, and its aftermath in the early Republican years. During the late Ottoman period, before the choice of Ankara as the commanding center of the Independence War, the road had already been defined albeit in a dusty appearance; and it had acquired an intermediary role between the city and the station, although still inadequate to become the gate of the city. In and after the period of the Independence War, the importance of the station, and thus of *İstasyon Caddesi* increased for various reasons: Because of the fact that the commanding center of the war was in Ankara, the station and its vicinity served as a recruitment place. The trains were carrying soldiers to the war zones at the West and bringing the casualties back to Ankara, via *İstasyon Caddesi*.³⁰² At that time, a single-lane track was also built between Taşhan Square and the station for carrying goods, as an alternative mode of transportation on the same axis.³⁰³ After the war, the station became a self-sufficient area with annexes and added facilities, and a public area was defined in front of the station called Station Square (*İstasyon Meydanı*),

³⁰² Müderrisoğlu, 1993, p. 104-105.

³⁰³ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 360.

functioning as a place for loading where carriages would stop, as it can be detected from the 1924 map of Ankara. (Figure 3.9)

Especially as a result of the relationships established between the city and the station, the area became a locus of the development of Ankara, and *İstasyon Caddesi* was formed as the main axis of the city in the early years of the Republic. The geometry of the road was straightened and the road was covered with cobblestone and asphalt.³⁰⁴ The swamplands on the two sides of the road were dried and partial gardening works were even started.³⁰⁵ In that sense, Özten indicates that the spatiality and scenery of *İstasyon Caddesi* was formed in a logical manner. Due to the lack of planning, to satisfy the increasing need of accommodation and workspace, as well as the basic urban services like roads and infrastructure, using the empty spaces on both sides of *İstasyon Caddesi* and defining the possible direction of extension on that base was adopted for a few years for practical reasons.³⁰⁶ This was also accepted by Lörcher with the needed geometrical regularization of the road, and the vicinity of Station Square was proposed as the central business district with high density.³⁰⁷ The development on and around that axis was realized by depending on its potential to become the *cardo maximus* of modern Ankara.

It might be better to illustrate the existing condition of *İstasyon Caddesi* in 1928, at the end of the period of analysis in this study, for a broader explanation: The wide area in front of the station (Station Square) was then called *İstasyon Meydanı* or *19 Mayıs Meydanı*, which was newly refurbished in order to create a proper entrance

³⁰⁴ Özten, 2001, p. 74.

³⁰⁵ Uludağ, Zeynep. “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Rekreasyon ve Gençlik Parkı Örneği.” In *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, edited by Yıldız Sey. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p. 69.

³⁰⁶ Özten, 2001, p. 67.

³⁰⁷ Cengizkan, 2004, p. 61-63.

gate for the new capital of the Republic.³⁰⁸ Apart from the modest buildings encircling the square, on the left-hand side, a seven-storey apartment block in Ottoman-Revivalist style was constructed, which had been planned to be used as a residence, yet later modified into the General Directorate of State Railways and the Ministry of Public Works. (Figure 3.47.a)³⁰⁹ The road coming from the city center created a wide loop over there, with the greenery in the middle of Station Square. (Figure 3.47.b)



Figure 3.47.a: Station Square, the old train station and facilities, and General Directorate of State Railways, n.d.

(Belko, 1994, p. 17.)



Figure 3.47.b: The loop at the end of *İstasyon Caddesi*, 1928.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1928.)

A commercial taxi or a carriage could take one to the city center, because of the fact that most citizens still preferred not to walk that far.³¹⁰ The pleasant divided road with trees planted on both sides would take you to the Gunpowder (*Baruthane*)

³⁰⁸ Sak, Segah, and Inci Basa. “The Role of the Train Station in the Image Formation of the Early Republican Ankara.” *Journal of Urban History* 38, no. 4 (2012): p. 787. A new train station was constructed between 1935 and 1937, with the demolition of all existing facilities of the old station, except the direction building and the cut-stone annex erected in 1924 as the “Ankara Hotel” on the western side of the old station. (Mungan-Yavuztürk, 2017) Yet, the story of the planning and construction of the new station complex is beyond the scope of this study.

³⁰⁹ Y. Yavuz, 2009, pp. 303-308. The project was one of the last projects of Mimar Kemalettin, and only one-third of the building could be realized.

³¹⁰ Uludağ, 1998, p. 65.

Intersection,³¹¹ the place where *İstasyon Caddesi* and the road leading to İstanbul were intersecting. (Figure 3.48.a) On the left-hand side, the windows of the Second Grand National Assembly could be seen behind the shades of trees and the landscape of the garden in front. On the right-hand side, four elegant villas and a sizeable dome of the ostentatious building of Ankara Palas Hotel could be seen. While climbing the gentle slope of the avenue, one should be impressed with the prestigious buildings and places of the era, the parliament, the most famous hotel of Ankara, and the headquarter of the ruling party in the historicist style of the early years of the Republic, and Court of Accounts in the “cubic” style emerging at the end of the decade, as well as *Millet Bahçesi* with the newly built row-of-shops around. (Figure 3.48.b.) From there, the road would meet with the Monument of Victory in the middle of a crowded open space, National Sovereignty Square, where it would bifurcate and lead you to another open space, Governor’s Square, as well as towards the old city. This was not only a journey from the gate to the city, but also a passage through the social and spatial development of modern Ankara.³¹²

As indicated by Tanyeli, for modernizing the urban life of the Republican cities, some facilities and equipment existing in the cities were revitalized and recontextualized, or new constructions were realized, mainly in order to create three types of public spaces: train station, park and People’s House (*Halkevi*). Those were found valuable in order to shatter the distinctions depending on gender, family and community, and to define the mixed urban spaces of the new Republican society.³¹³ Hence, the formation of *İstasyon Caddesi* was also a space of education and a scenery of the ideals of the new state. The avenue was embellished with the modern social

³¹¹ The name Gunpowder (*Baruthane*) came from the shop located on the southwest of the Second Grand National Assembly, nearby the intersection. Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 223.

³¹² Özten, 2001, pp. 69-74.

³¹³ Tanyeli, Uğur. “Türkiye’de Mimari Modernleşmenin Büyük Dönemeci (1900-1930).” *Arredamento Mimarlık*, no. 100+7 (1998): 65.

practices³¹⁴ such as the commemorative practices of National Day celebrations,³¹⁵ which were defined by Kezer as “the actualization of Turkey’s long quest to become a modern nation-state whose legitimacy was predicated on popular sovereignty and a monument celebrating that arduous journey”.³¹⁶ (Figure 3.49)



Figure 3.48.a: *İstasyon Caddesi* from Gunpowder (*Baruthane*) intersection, 1930s.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1935.)



Figure 3.48.b: *İstasyon Caddesi* and National Sovereignty (*Hakimiyet-i Milliye*) Square, n.d.

(VEKAM Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Archive, Inventory No: 1138.)



Figure 3.49: The “modern” view of Ankara from Station Square, 1933. Taken by Sebah & Joallier.

(Mamboury, 1933, p. 8.)

³¹⁴ Bayraktar, Adile Nuray. “Başkent Ankara’da Cumhuriyet Sonrası Yaşanan Büyük Değişim: Modern Yaşam Kurgusu ve Modern Mekânlar.” *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4, no. 1 (2016): 69.

³¹⁵ Akyürek, 2000, pp. 83-92.

³¹⁶ Kezer, 1999, p. 62.

However, that representative character of *İstasyon Caddesi* started to change from 1927 onwards, year when the planning competition of the city was announced by the Directorate of Development of Ankara City. It might be true to state that the adopted *Şehremaneti* (municipality) model did not work well for the development of Ankara between 1924 and 1928. The infrastructural and developmental projects were stagnated and the increasing need of housing could not be satisfied. Hence, for the planned development of the new city, “The Directorate of Development of Ankara City” was established with the approval of the law no. 1351 in 1927,³¹⁷ and took much of the authorization of Ankara Municipality with the regulations in 1928 and 1930.³¹⁸ One of the first decisions of this directorate, headed by the novelist and parliament member Falih Rıfkı (Atay),³¹⁹ was to open a limited competition on the new developmental plan of Ankara for inhabiting 300.000 people in 50 years.³²⁰ The proposal of German planner Hermann Jansen was chosen and announced as the new development plan of Ankara in 1929.³²¹

The application projects of the plan were prepared by Jansen between 1929-1932. The idea of developing a zone around the train station as the central business district was abandoned due to its cost, and the area was planned instead to as a site of parks,

³¹⁷ In Turkish, it is titled as “*Ankara Şehri İmar Müdüriyeti Teşkilat ve Vezâifine Dair Kanun*” Cengizkan, 2004, pp. 219-220.

³¹⁸ For the debates on the centralization of the planning of Ankara, see: Tankut, 1993, pp. 92-97.

³¹⁹ Atay explains his experiences in his memoir with the personal thoughts on how and why the planning attempts on Ankara were failed. See: Atay, Falih Rıfkı. *Çankaya: Atatürk’ün Doğumundan Ölümüne Kadar*. İstanbul: BATEŞ A.Ş., 1984, pp. 417-428.

³²⁰ Aydın et al., 2005, p. 390. Although much of the preparations for the competition were done by the Municipality, with the initiative of mayor Asaf Bey in 1927, including the invitation of the competitors to Ankara for distributing information. Tankut, 1993, p. 77.

³²¹ Tekeli, İlhan. “Türkiye’de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması.” In *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, edited by Yıldız Sey. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998, p. 9.

sports and exhibitions.³²² However, the importance of *İstasyon Caddesi* was also emphasized by Jansen as a connection between the old and the new city, and the concept of “beautiful citadel” was replaced with “the city crown” in that fashion.³²³ By depending on the fact that a new neighborhood on the south of the railroad, *Yenişehir*, had been proposed in the Lörcher Plan and largely developed until that time, Jansen proposed the extension of the city towards the south, which was based on a central artery from the north to the south, to be called as Atatürk Boulevard.³²⁴ The new development in the south would also include a governmental district for new ministries and government offices, and a new place for the Grand National Assembly, both of which would later be designed by Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister.³²⁵ Nevertheless, the transition of the center of gravity from the National Sovereignty (later Nation/*Ulus*) Square to the Red Crescent (*Kızılay*) Square in *Yenişehir*, also transformed the central axis of the city from *İstasyon Caddesi* to Atatürk Boulevard. The direction of the development of Ankara from National Sovereignty Square along the southwest-oriented *İstasyon Caddesi* thus changed towards the south in line with the new plan.³²⁶

³²² Cengizkan, 2004, pp. 119-121.

³²³ Due to this kind of similarities between the two plans, Lörcher sued Jansen in 1930 at Berlin for counterfeiting his plan. Tankut, 1993, pp. 56-57.

³²⁴ Tankut, Gönül. “Jansen Planı: Uygulama Sorunları ve Cumhuriyet Bürokrasisinin Kent Planına Yaklaşımı.” In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2nd ed. edited by Aysıl Tükel-Yavuz. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000, p. 306. For not to jump out of the limits of the study, a debate on the validity of the Jansen Plan was not preferred to be made. A/N

³²⁵ Bozdoğan, 2001, pp. 70-71. For more information about the projects of Holzmeister in Turkey, see: Balamir, Aydan. *Clemens Holzmeister: Çağın Dönümünde Bir Mimar*. İstanbul: Boyut Yayın Grubu, 2010.

³²⁶ Kezer also implies that the shift was purposefully reoriented the focal point of the city from the Citadel and the National Assembly, to the Presidential Palace of Atatürk on the southern hills of Ankara. (Kezer, 1999, pp. 66-67.)

On the other hand, the developments around National Sovereignty Square at the end node of the *İstasyon Caddesi* axis still continued for a while.³²⁷ (Figure 3.50.a) The first private bank of Turkey, Türkiye İş Bankası, erected its new headquarters on the corner of the Governor's Square and Çankırı Road, facing towards National Sovereignty Square. The oval design on a triangular plot was by Giulio Mongeri, and the eclectic façade arrangement of the building could be treated as a celebration of being one of the last architectural edifices realized in the style of Ottoman Neoclassicism.³²⁸ Moreover, the famous Taşhan would be demolished in 1935 and the headquarters of Sümerbank, one of the biggest state-owned banks, would construct its headquarters in its place in a modern façade language and with a curvilinear geometry.³²⁹ Both of these buildings would change the architectural and urban definition of National Sovereignty (later Nation (*Millet, Ulus*)) Square, and *İstasyon Caddesi*. (Figure 3.50.b)

In addition, the eastern part of *İstasyon Caddesi*, which was an old swampland, would be refurbished as a grandiose city park named Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*) and inaugurated in 1937.³³⁰ Besides, the western part of the road would accommodate sports facilities, like the National Stadium designed by Paolo Vietti-Violi and Ladislav Kovacs between 1934-1936.³³¹

³²⁷ The northwest of the central business district proposed in the Lörcher plan was foreseen as the City Park, Exhibition Garden and Sports District, which could be seen as a preliminary model of the Youth Park and its environs. Cengizkan, 2004, p. 63.

³²⁸ Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), p. 247.

³²⁹ Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), pp. 261-262.

³³⁰ Uludağ, 1998, pp. 69-73.

³³¹ Aslanoğlu, 2010 (1980), p. 230.



Figure 3.50.a: *İstasyon Caddesi*, 1938.
(Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 286.)



Figure 3.50.b: Nation (*Ulus*) Square,
Monument of Victory, and HQs of İş Bank
and Sumerbank, n.d.

(Ayhan-Koçyiğit, 2018, p. 288.)

Despite these developments around *İstasyon Caddesi* after 1928, the fact that the road could be determined as “a partially lifeless road”³³², which was stated in the architectural competition documents of *100. Yıl Çarşısı ve İşhanı*, the building constructed on the plot of *Millet Bahçesi* in the 1970s, clarifies how the avenue lost in time the importance that it had had during the early Republican years as the city developed towards the south, and Yenışehir-Kızılay emerged as a new center of Ankara in the coming decades. Even the name of the avenue was changed in the 1950s to “Republic” (*Cumhuriyet Caddesi*), which was a definite reference to the spatial characteristic of the axis as the place of the establishment of the new regime, yet eradicating the main characteristic of the avenue as a connection between the new and the old.

³³² “Ankara Ulus Meydanı Çarşısı ve Büro Binası Proje Yarışması.” *Mimarlık*, 7 (1967): 16.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

It is possible to state that the first forty years of the lifespan of the axis of *İstasyon Caddesi* can be evaluated through reading the socio-political history of Ankara in the context of the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. As it was pointed out in the introduction chapter, the discourse of the Republic constructed on the term of “fraction” that separated the two sides of the supposed binary opposition between the Ottoman and Republican contexts seems to be inadequate to explain the development of Ankara in its historical complexity.

By looking from both the ideological and socio-economic perspectives of the late 19th and early 20th century,¹ it is not easy to determine exactly where the Empire eventually halted, and where the Republic flourished. In fact, trying not to fall into the delusion of oversimplification, it is still possible to argue that, although the regime changed after a series of catastrophic events by the foundation of the Republic, the intention of nation-building carried on similar underlying centralist political premises as those of the late Ottoman period.² Similarly, in the fields of architecture and urbanism, the adaptation of the existing built environment that had been formed in the late Ottoman period³ as well as its “national” architectural style by the Republican

¹ Mardin, 1991, pp. 218-223.

² Kasaba, 1997, pp. 22-23.

³ Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 53.

regime, signifies a continuity, although the stylistic preference would be changed in a short time favor of the “international” modernist approach.⁴

In that sense, by focusing on the story of the development of one significant avenue of the city, the aim of this study was to discuss how Ankara was neither a city built from scratch, nor an edifice of the “incomplete project” that turned its back to its history and built environment. The discussion develops instead on how it embellished its unique and multi-faceted identity inherited from its past with new elements, as it transformed from a provincial center of the Empire to the capital city of the Republic, while thinking on the formation of modern Ankara as an “imagined rationality”⁵, the showcase of the new central authority.

As it was examined in this study, both ends of the *İstasyon Caddesi* axis were instrumental and essential in understanding the rapid transformation of the city, not only for the architectural and urban developments but also in the scope of comprehending the establishment of political regimes through the formation of the built environment. The ends of the axis, both dating to the start of the modernization process in the late 19th century, provided a functionally appropriate scenery for the newly-establishing bureaucracy at Governor’s Square and the very first steps of infrastructural development at Station Square, which were connected via the avenue, *İstasyon Caddesi*. The axis became the scenery of the transition of the city from the modest peripheral town of the Empire to the promising capital city of the new Republic, with the conversion of the building from the headquarters of the Committee of Union and Progress into the new Great National Assembly, and the reformation of the urban spaces around Governor’s Office, Taşhan and Train Station. The axis was

⁴ Kezer, 2015, p. 17.

⁵ Tanyeli, Uğur. “Düşlenmiş Rasyonalite Olarak Kent: Türkiye’de Planlama ve Çifte Bilinçlilik.” In *İlhan Tekeli İçin Armağan Yazılar*, edited by Selim İlkin, Orhan Silier, and Murat Güvenç. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004, p. 504.

further enhanced in the early years of the Republic as the most prestigious public space of the period⁶ with the erection of new governmental buildings, hotels, manors, and the Monument of Victory on the very end of the axis at National Sovereignty Square that defined the new city center. The iconic photograph of the avenue, taken from behind the monument and looking through the empty plains ahead, which was projected as the new central business district of the city in the early years of the Republic, was published with the title of “Ankara Builds” (*Ankara Construit*) on the official publication *La Turquie Kamaliste* (Figure 4.1.), as the stunning summary of this situation.⁷

Despite the fact that *İstasyon Caddesi* would be left as a secondary axis during the development of Ankara after the selection of Jansen Plan in 1928, the developments on the axis would still continue in the following decades. With the planning and application of the Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*) on the east, and the sports facilities on the west, including a stadium, a hippodrome, a tennis club, a swimming pool, a sports hall, a parachute tower and an artillery range, the environs of the Train Station would turn into a space for recreational facilities during the 1930s, which could be evaluated as “an alternative to the traditional concept of daily excursion (*mesire*)”.⁸ (Figure 4.2.) In that sense, the gap between “the gate of the city and the city itself was filled with the embellishment of the ‘spaces of representation’”, also revealing how the process of the modern identity construction in Republican Turkey was formulated and applied

⁶ Bayraktar, Nuray. “Tarihe Eş Zamanlı Tanıklık: Ulus ve Kızılay Meydanlarının Değişim Süreci.” *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2013): 23.

⁷ Contrarily, Batuman criticizes the use of photographs as mediators of nostalgia in case of the recall of the development of Ankara from today’s perspective, and defines this as the display of the urban environment “as an ideal but long last milieu”. See: Batuman, Bülent. “Photography at Arms: Early Republican Ankara from Nation-Building to Politics of Nostalgia.” *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 25, no. 2 (2008): 99–117. In that sense, the singularity of visual material would be misleading to understand the actual condition of the city and the axis, apart from the propagandistic material.

⁸ Uludağ, 1998, p. 68.

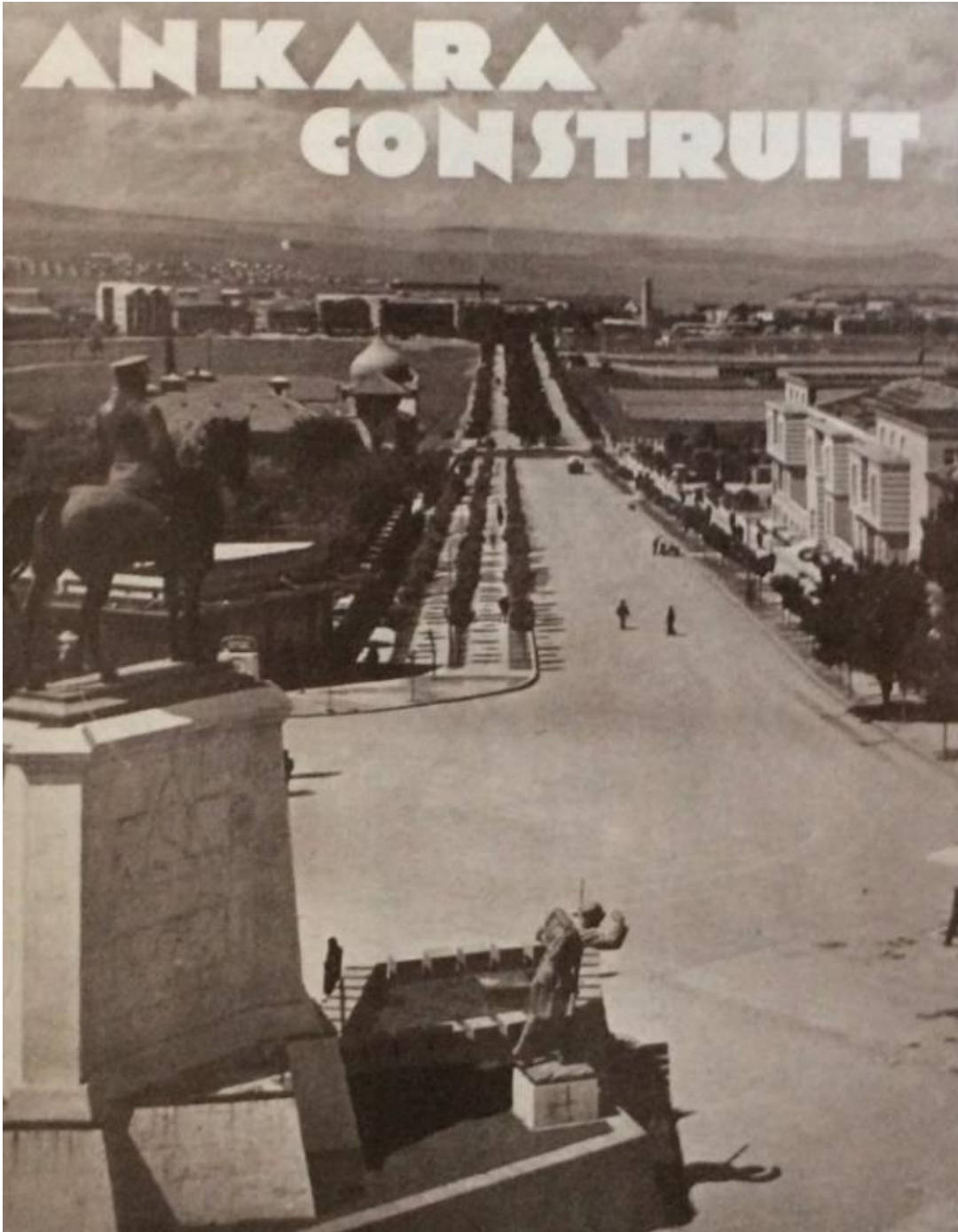


Figure 4.1: “Ankara Construit” (Ankara Builds), *La Turquie Kamaliste*, no: 17, February 1937.

(Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 51.)

on the built environment.⁹ However, comparing with Atatürk Boulevard, the newly-established main axis of the city that connected the Assembly and the ministries with the residence of Atatürk¹⁰ located on the southern hills of the city, *İstasyon Caddesi* lost its paradigmatic importance from the 1930s onwards.



Figure 4.2: The aerial photo of the Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*), and the sports facilities with the view of *İstasyon Caddesi* and Atatürk Boluevard, 1953.

(Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Education, Education and Information Network (*MEB-EBA*))

Before having the last word, it is also important to mention a series of contemporary developments about the area examined in this study. After another recent shift in the political regime of Turkey from parliamentary democracy to a “Turkish-style” presidentialism that was accepted with the 2017 Referendum and put into action with the 2018 Presidential Election, another important change in the built fabric of Ankara began to be witnessed on the *İstasyon Caddesi* axis. In June 2019, the guesthouse

⁹ Yılmaz, Burcu. “Bozkırdaki Cennet: Gençlik Parkı.” In *Sanki Viran Ankara*, edited by Funda Şenol-Cantek. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006, pp. 218-220.

¹⁰ Kezer, 1999, pp. 65-66.

building at the Station Square and the service buildings of the State Railways (TCDD) behind have been allocated for the use of Ankara Medipol University,¹¹ which is administrated by a foundation whose president is the Ministry of Health in power, whereas all the buildings around Governor's Square, including the Governor's House, have been assigned to Ankara Social Sciences University (ASBÜ).¹² The removal of the governmental institutions and facilities of *ancien régime* to other and outer parts of the city and the restructuring of the city center with the allocation of the buildings and places important in evoking the urban memory to the restricted uses of foundations, will shatter the most fundamental image of Ankara *İstasyon Caddesi* as the scenery of the modern Republic that developed on the Ottoman heritage of the city, and will damage the public-use pattern of the Ulus region, i.e. the center of the early Republican period.

To conclude, it is valid to state that examining the formation of the built environment in harmony with the modernization process of Turkey especially at a time when the very context is in a process of another transformation, the particular example of *İstasyon Caddesi* provides a full-fledged case study to discuss the issue of continuity and change in history. Rooted in the Ottoman reforms from the Tanzimat period onwards and accelerated with the revolutionary shifts of the Turkish Republic that led to the formation of the modern city of Ankara, the architecture of the state changed in time with the underlying political and economic relation patterns of the late 19th and early 20th century, although the different layers of these periods created the final form of the built environment as exemplified in *İstasyon Caddesi*. In that sense, the analysis of the axis in this study is hoped to provide a basis for future studies focusing on Ankara and the reflections of Turkish modernization on the built environment to be understood in its multiple historical layers.

¹¹ See: <http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/index.php?Did=9685> (Retrieved August 16, 2019.)

¹² See: <https://t24.com.tr/haber/medipol-den-sonra-bir-tahsis-de-ankara-sosyal-bilimler-e,833120> (Retrieved August 16, 2019.)

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APPENDICES

A. TIMETABLE OF THE POLITICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENTS, 1800s-1930s

- 1803: The construction of *Nizam-ı Cedid* Barracks in Ankara
- 1819: The accommodation of the governor (*mutasarrıf*) of Ankara, Vezir Seyit Mehmet Galip Paşa, in a sizeable mansion near the Julianus Column in the Tûlice district.
- 1824: The expropriation of “Hacı Abdi Ağa Mansion” in Tûlice district as the permanent place for the Governor’s Office and Residence.
- 1826: The abolishment of Janissaries.
- 1829: The upheaval against the collector (*mütesellim*) of Ankara, Mustafa Bey, which ended with killing of him.
- 1833: The occupation of Ankara by the armed forces of the khedive of Egypt, Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Paşa, and the repairment of the outer fortifications.
- 1836: The emergence of Ankara as a provincial capital (*eyalet merkezi*).
- 1839: The declaration of Tanzimat Decree.
- 1840: The establishment of the state council (*eyalet meclisi*) of Ankara.
- 1845-1846: The years of famine in and around Ankara.
- 1848-1849: The declaration of the “1st Building Code” (*Ebniye Nizamnamesi*), “Building Declaration” (*Ebniye Beyannamesi*), and “2nd Building Code” successively.
- 1853: Crimean War.
- 1854-1857: The construction of the first railroad in the Empire between Alexandria and Cairo.

- 1860: The start of the service of the telegraph lines between Ankara and İstanbul.
- 1864: The approval of the Provincial Regulation of 1864 (*Vilayet Nizamnamesi*), and the establishment of Ankara province. (*vilayet*)
- 1865: The establishment of Ministry of Public Works (*Nafia*).
- 1866: Inauguration of the first railroads in Anatolia, between İzmir-Aydın and İzmir-Kasaba (Turgutlu).
- 1868: The release of The Regulation on the Provincial Organization (*Teşkilat-ı Vilayet Nizamnamesi*). The erection of the archive building near the Governor's Office.
- 1869: The inauguration of *Taksim Bahçesi* in İstanbul.
- 1871: The declaration of General Provincial Regulation (*Vilayet-I Umumiye Nizamnamesi*).
- 1872: The elongation of the railroad from Haydarpaşa to İzmit, and the preparation of the projects of extension to Ankara.
- 1873: The publishing of the catalogue *Usûl-i Mi'mâri-i Osmâni* (The Principles of Ottoman Architecture) for 1873 Vienna World Fair.
- 1873-1874: The floods, the blizzard, and the great famine of 1290 in Ankara.
- 1876: The proclamation of the first constitutional monarchy. (*1. Meşrutiyet*).
- 1880: The inauguration of *Tepebaşı Bahçesi* in İstanbul.
- 1881: The great fire in Yukarı Yüz and the collapse of Mahmut Paşa Bedesten. The locust raids.
- 1884: The erection of the Clock Tower near the Atpazarı Gate of the Citadel.
- 1886: The year of the designation of Abidin Paşa as the governor of Ankara. The repairment of Telegraph and Post Office. The first attempts to build a *Millet Bahçesi* in Ankara.
- 1887: The drought of Ankara and the bringing of water from Eymir Lake to the city. The opening of *Taş Mekteb*.

- 1888: The inauguration of *Taşhan*. The start of Baghdad Railway project.
- 1890: The arrival of the railroad to Adapazarı.
- 1892: The arrival of the railroad to Ankara, the construction of the railroad station, and the grand festivity to celebrate the first arrival of the train, organized by Ahmet Fehim Bey. The assignment of Bedros Kalfa for the construction of the new Governor's Office.
- 1893: The opening of the branch of Ottoman Bank in the city.
- 1894: The reach of Elmadağ water to Ankara with pipes.
- 1897: The inauguration of the new Governor's Office.
- 1899: The establishment of School of Industry (*Hamidiye Sanayi Mektebi*).
- 1905: The opening of Teacher Training School (*Dârülmua'llimîn*) in the building of School of Industry.
- 1907: The moving of School of Industry into a new building nearby.
- 1908: The proclamation of the second constitutional monarchy. (2. *Meşrutiyet*).
- 1909: The year when Kemalettin Bey started to work as the Chief Architect of the Pious Foundations.
- 1911-1912: The interventions of Governor Dr. Reşit Paşa, including the widening and repair of *İstasyon Caddesi*, the reorganization of the area in front of Taşhan to form a square, and the construction of stone walls and fences around the park called as *Millet Bahçesi* across Taşhan.
- 1913: The defeat in Balkan Wars and the *coup d'état* that brought the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) in power.
- 1914: The start of the First World War. In November, Ottoman Empire entered the war as an ally of Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
- 1915: The deportation of the many Gregorian Armenians living in Ankara.
- 1916: The Great Fire of Ankara. The visit of Enver Paşa on July 10, 1916.

- 1917: The start of the construction of Committee building at Taşhan Square.
- 1918: The end of the First World War and the defeat of the Empire.
- 1918-1919: The partial occupation of the city by the British and French troops.
- 1919, Feb 28: The move of the headquarters of the Turkish troop in Ereğli to Ankara.
- 1919, Oct 29: The establishment of Defense of Rights (*Müdafaa-i Hukuk*) organization to support the national resistance movement.
- 1919, Dec 27: The arrival of Mustafa Kemal Paşa and the delegation committee to Ankara with the welcoming of the inhabitants of the city.
- 1920, Mar 11: The day when the British Commander staying in the direction building of the station left the city.
- 1920, Mar 16: The occupation of İstanbul and the halting of the Assembly of Representatives with the intervention of the British troop.
- 1920, Mar 19: The call released by Mustafa Kemal Paşa for the convening of a Grand National Assembly in Ankara, and the start of the repair of the Committee building, with the financial support of the citizens.
- 1920, Apr 23: The inauguration of the Committee building as the Grand National Assembly.
- 1921-1922: The War of Independence.
- 1922, Aug 30: The Great Victory against the Greek Army (*Büyük Taarruz*)
- 1923, Jul 24: The signature of the Lausanne Treaty.
- 1923, Oct 13: The declaration of Ankara as the center of the state. (*makarr-ı idare*)
- 1923, Oct 23: The approval of the new municipal law, abolishing the *Ebniye* regulations.
- 1923, Oct 29: The proclamation of the Republic.
- 1924: The organization of an international competition for the design of a monument of victory on National Sovereignty (Taşhan) Square. The start of the construction of the Pious Hotel. (Ankara Place Hotel). The preparation of the Lörcher Plan.

- 1924, Feb 16: The establishment of Ankara municipality (*şehremaneti*) (law no. 416)
- 1924, Oct 15: The inauguration of the Second Grand National Assembly building.
- 1925: The erection of Ministry of Finance building, and the Court of Accounts. The arrival of Kemalettin Bey to Ankara, after the leaving of Vedat Tek.
- 1925, Mar 4: The accede of the first mayor, Mehmet Ali Bey.
- 1925, Mar 24: The approval of law no. 583 that created the legal layout for the “great expropriation”.
- 1925-1926: The time when the second mayor Ali Haydar Bey was in office.
- 1926: The opening of the Garden of the Grand National Assembly to public use. The start of the construction of the First Pious Apartments.
- 1926-1927: The beautification of *İstasyon Caddesi*.
- 1927: The announcement of the competition of the planning of Ankara.
- 1927, Jul 13: The death of Kemalettin Bey.
- 1927, Nov 24: The opening of the Monument of Victory on National Sovereignty Square.
- 1928, Apr 17: The inauguration of Ankara Place Hotel.
- 1928, May 28: The establishment of The Directorate of Development of Ankara City” was established with the approval of the law no. 1351, and the expropriation of the authorities of the municipality on planning.
- 1928, May 30: The approval of “The law on the ministry buildings and officers’ houses which will be constructed in Ankara” (Law no. 1352)
- 1928-1929: The selection of Jansen Plan as the new development plan of Ankara.
- 1928-1930: The construction of the Second Pious Apartment.
- 1929: The great Tahtakale fire. The refurbishment of Governor’s Square, and the demolition of Hasan Paşa Bath. The demolition of Kızılbey Mosque in order to build the new Central Bank building. The inauguration of İş Bank Headquarters on Millet (National Sovereignty) Square.

- 1929, May 27: The announcement of the results of Ankara plan competition.
- 1929-1931: The renewal of *Millet Bahçesi* and the construction of single-storey row shops nearby the avenue.
- 1929-1932: The preparation of the application projects of the Jansen Plan.
- 1930: The unification of authorities of the Governor and the Mayor of Ankara.
- 1930-1932: The renovation of Court of Accounts building by Ernst Egli.
- 1932: The approval of Jansen Plan.
- 1933: The 10th anniversary of the Republic. The bankruptcy of Taşhan.
- 1934-1936: The construction of National Stadium.
- 1935: The demolishment of Taşhan and the start of the construction of Sümerbank headquarters. The lase name changing of the square into “Ulus” (*Nation*).
- 1935-1937: The construction of the new train station.
- 1937: The inauguration of the new train station and the Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*).

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

DEVLETİN MİMARLIĞI: GEÇ OSMANLI VE ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMLERİNDE ANKARA İSTASYON CADDESİ

Bu tez, Ankara kent merkezini tren istasyonuna bağlayan ve zaman içerisinde kentin gelişimi için bir çekim alanı ve erken Cumhuriyet döneminin bir kamusal mekânı haline gelen İstasyon Caddesi'nin oluşum, gelişim ve dönüşüm süreçlerini incelemektedir. Çalışma özünde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yıkılması ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşu dönemi olarak ifade edilebilecek olan geçiş dönemini açıklamak için temel eğitimden itibaren kullanılan bir sav olan, İmparatorluk ve Cumhuriyet modernleşme süreçleri arasındaki “ikili karşıtlık” anlatısının yeniden düşünülmesini ve değerlendirilmesini temel almaktadır.

Çalışma, gerek mimarlık tarih yazımında, gerek beşeri bilimlerin diğer alt disiplinlerinde bu dönemi açıklamak için sıkça kullanılan “kırılma” tabirinin, odak olarak alınan Ankara kenti özelinde fazlaca indirgemeci bir yaklaşıma yol açabileceği görüşünden yola çıkmaktadır. İlhan Tekeli'nin bu dönemleri tanımlamak için kullandığı “utangaç modernleşme” ve “radikal modernleşme” terimleri üzerinden¹ tarihsel devamlılık yöntemine sadık kalınarak² bir değerlendirme yapıldığında, “radikal” olanın esas olarak “utangaç” olandan kök aldığı ve katı sınırlarla belirlenmiş dönemsel anlatılardan ziyade, bu coğrafyadaki modernleşme süreçlerinin devamlılık içinde ele alınmasının gerekli olduğu yönünde bir ana fikir öne

¹ Tekeli, İlhan. *Modernizm, Modernite ve Türkiye'de Kent Planlama Tarihi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009, pp. 156-158.

² Burke, Peter. *History and Social Theory*. 2nd ed. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1992, p. 159.

sürülmektedir. Bu kapsamda, Ankara kentinin 19. yüzyılın sonunda ve 20. yüzyılın başında, Osmanlı'nın mütevazı bir kasabasından yeni Cumhuriyet'in modern başkentine dönüşüm süreci ele alınarak Ankara'daki İstasyon Caddesi, Ankara kentinin bu dönem içindeki gelişimini ve dönüşümünü incelemek üzere bir örnek olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu incelemede cadde yalnızca, kent merkezi ile 1892'de Ankara'ya erişen demiryolunun son istasyonu olan Ankara Tren İstasyonu arasında bağlantı sağlamış olması özelliğinden ötürü incelenmemiş; aynı zamanda, hem kendi özelinde yaratmış olduğu kentsel mekân, hem de kentle ve istasyonla bağlandığı noktalarda ortaya çıkmış olan yeni mekânsal kimlikler üzerinden, tek yapı özelinden kentsel bütünlüğe kadar farklı ölçeklerde değerlendirmeye tabii tutulmuştur.

Çalışmanın amaçları, bu bağlamda, İstasyon Caddesi aksı üzerinden devletin mimarisini; modernleşme, devlet inşası ve ulus inşası süreçleriyle paralel bir biçimde okumak ve bu kapsamda günümüze kadar yapılmış olan çalışmaları güncel bir gözle yorumlayarak, İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e geçiş süreci hakkında olası farklı okumalara, mimarlık tarihi alanından bir katkı sunmaktır. Çalışma kapsamında 1892 yılında demiryolunun Ankara'ya ulaşması ve 1928-1932 arasında yarışmaya çıkarılan, uygulanmaya değer görülen ve uygulama projeleri hazırlanan, Alman şehir plancısı Hermann Jansen'in müellifi olduğu Ankara İmar Planı'nın oluşumu, önemli olaylar olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu nedenle tezde 1890'lar ile 1930'ların başı arasındaki dönem, Ankara kenti özelinde "geçiş dönemi" olarak incelenmektedir.

Araştırma sürecinde dönemin koşullarını tutarlı bir biçimde yansıtmak adına mimarlık ve şehircilik alanının kabul görmüş kaynakları temel alınmış; ayrıca konunun alt başlıkları ile ilgili tezler, makaleler ve güncel kitaplar gibi daha dar kapsamlı kaynaklardan da yararlanılmıştır. Kullanılan görseller ve haritalar, kamuya ait veya özel arşivlerden, koleksiyonlardan ve kütüphanelerden edinilmiş; buna ek olarak konuyla ilgili ansiklopedi, tez, rehber gibi ikincil kaynaklardan malzemeler de kullanılmıştır.

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19. yüzyılın son döneminde Avrupa genelinde çok uluslu imparatorlukların çöküşünü, belirginleşen ulusal kimlikleri ve yükselen ulusalcı hareketleri değişik coğrafyalardaki modernleşme süreçlerinden bağımsız olarak ele almak mümkün değildir. Bu dönemde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yaşanan değişim ve modernleşme süreci de bu süreçlerin bir parçasıdır. İlk olarak teknik ve askeri amaçlarla ve Batı'dan bilgi ve teknoloji ithalatı yöntemiyle başlayan "utangaç" Osmanlı modernleşmesi, yüzyılın ikinci yarısında İmparatorluk sathında yayılan bağımsızlıkçı hareketleri önlemek ve milletler sistemi üzerine tesis edilmiş olan sosyopolitik yapıyı³ korumak için, devlet yapılanmasında temelden bir dönüşüme yol açmıştır. Yönetiş şema, merkezi hükümetin ayanlar ve yerel güç odakları ile işbirliği üzerine kurmuş olduğu gevşek bağlılık yerine güçlü bir merkezi otoritenin ve yerelde ona doğrudan bağlı olan uzantıların temel alındığı bir hale bürünmüştür.⁴ Bu durum, merkezde ve yerelde güçlü ve örgütlü bir devlet bürokrasisinin hiyerarşik ve bölgesel bir biçimde oluşturulması gereğini ortaya çıkarmış ve bir reform döneminin açılmasına zemin hazırlamıştır. "Bölüm 2: Devlet ve Yapılı Çevrenin Modernizasyonu", bu zeminden hareketle, tezde Ankara İstasyon Caddesi'ni tariflerken incelenmiş olan yapılı çevre öğelerini ana hatlarıyla açıklamaktadır.

Bu dönemde bürokratik yapılanmanın oluşumuyla ve yatayda-dikeyde gelişimiyle paralellik seyreden memur ve uzman istihdamı, kısa zaman içerisinde bildik mekânsal tipolojilerin bu oluşumların ve kadroların mekânsal gereksinimlerini karşılayamamasına sebep olmuştur. Böylece, yeni inşaat ve tasarım tekniklerinin kullanımıyla vücuda gelen yeni yapı ve mekân tipolojileri ortaya çıkmıştır. Ayrıca

³ Karpat, Kemal H. *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi: Toplum, Kuramsal Değişim ve Nüfus*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2017, p. 22.

⁴ Berkes, Niyazi. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey, with a New Introduction by Feroz Ahmad*. London: Hurst&Company, 1998, pp. 94-95.

yapı ve mekân ölçeğinin ötesinde, kentsel dokunun iyileştirilmesine yönelik önemli adımlar atılmış ve kentlerin yeni gelişme bölgeleri çağın gereklerine uygun bir biçimde tasarlanarak imara açılmıştır.⁵ Eğer bu dönemde ortaya çıkan bu mekânsal yapıyı Tanzimat kenti olarak tarif edersek, bu yapının üç önemli ögesinden bahsetmemiz mümkündür: demiryolu ve iletişim bölgesi, iş-ticaret bölgesi ve kamu yapıları bölgesi. Kentlerdeki bu yeniden yapılanma süreci Cumhuriyet'in ilanıyla birlikte daha da radikalleşerek devam etmiştir.

Bu süreç, tipolojiler bazında ilk olarak demiryollarının 19. yüzyılın ortasından itibaren İmparatorluk sathında bir “modern standardizasyon” projesi olarak nitelenecek biçimde⁶ yaygınlaşmasıyla teknik ve ekonomik gelişmenin simgeleri olarak örnekleri görülmeye başlanan tren istasyonları üzerinden ele alınmıştır. Çoğunlukla mevcut kentlerin dışında planlanmış olan demiryolları ve tren istasyonlarının çevreleri; zaman içinde gerek göçmenlerin iskânı, gerek doğaları gereği oluşturdukları ticari-sınai çekim alanı nedenleriyle kentlerin yeni gelişim alanları olarak ön plana çıkmış ve dönemin mimarlık-patronaj ilişkilerinin önemli sahnelerinden biri olmuştur. İkinci olarak incelenmiş olan kamu yapıları özelinde, özellikle taşrada devletin mimari ifadesinin, bu yapıların ve yapı gruplarının oluşturduğu sitelerin mekânsal tezahürüyle olduğu belirtilmiş ve özel olarak vilayet konağı-hükümet konağı tipolojisinin oluşumu ve dönüşümü üzerinde durulmuştur.

Kentsel mekândaki değişimler ise, Tanzimat döneminde art arda çıkarılmış olan yasal düzenlemelerin ışığında, ilk olarak caddeler ve meydanlar üzerinden işlenmiş; bu bağlamda tren istasyonlarını kentlere bağlayan istasyon caddelerinin kendilerine özgü mekânsal özelliklerine ayrıca vurgu yapılmıştır. İkinci olarak, İmparatorluğun

⁵ Çelik, Zeynep. *The Remaking of İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986, pp. 49-80.

⁶ Can, Bilmez Bülent. *Demiryolundan Petrole: Chester Projesi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, p. 41.

bahçe kültürüne de referans verecek biçimde, kentlerde parkların oluşumu kısaca belirtilmiş, özel olarak Millet Bahçesi tipolojisinin oluşumu ve muadilleriyle farkları-benzerlikleri ifade edilmiştir.

Bunlar dışında, 18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda Avrupa'daki mimari dil arayışlarından hareketle, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kendine has bir mimari dil arayışında olduğu belirtilmiş ve 1873 Viyana Dünya Sergisi için hazırlanmış olan *Usûl-i Mi'mârî'i Osmânî* yayını bu kapsamda örnek gösterilmiştir. Ayrıca, 19. yüzyıl sonunda ve 20. yüzyıl başında milli bir mimarlık dili olarak kabul gören Osmanlı neoklasisizmi, temel üslupsal ve işlevsel öğeleri ve bu dilin sonraları Ankara İstasyon Caddesi'nin yapılaşmasında da pay sahibi olacak olan iki önde gelen aktörü olan Mimar Vedat (Tek) ve Mimar Kemalettin'in mesleki üretimleri üzerinden anlatılmıştır.

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“Bölüm 3: Ankara İstasyon Caddesi Üzerinden Devletin Mimarlığı”, bahsedilen bu değişim sürecini Ankara kentinin teze konu olan dönemdeki tarihini ve dönüşümünü İstasyon Caddesi'ni odak alacak biçimde çözümlenmek üzere kurgulanmıştır. İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e geçiş sürecinde bürokratik ve mekânsal modernleşmenin devamlılık arz eden bir bütün olduğu savından hareketle, Ankara'nın yeni Cumhuriyet'in idare merkezi olarak seçilmesinin tepeden inme bir karar değil, bilakis bu sürecin taşra kentlerinde yarattığı mekânsal ve bürokratik biçimlenmenin bir sonucu olarak ele alınabileceği öne sürülmüştür. Bu bağlamda, hem İmparatorluk'un hem Cumhuriyet'in kullandığı mimari dil ve mekânsal ifade biçimlerinin Ankara İstasyon Caddesi üzerinden kronolojik bir analizi yapılmıştır.

İlk olarak, Ankara'nın 19. yüzyıldaki durumu ve geçirdiği önemli olaylar ele alınmış ve 1892'de demiryolunun Ankara'ya ulaşmasından önce, yaşanan çeşitli doğal afetlerin verdiği zararlar ve zanaatlara dayalı üretim biçiminin Sanayi Devrimi

sonrası deęişen ekonomik düzene uyum sağlanamaması nedeniyle kentin sorunlu bir dönemden geçtięi ve nüfusunun bu durumlardan ötürü istikrarsız bir biçimde artıp azaldığı dile getirilmiştir. Ankara kent merkezinin tarihsel oluşumu, Hisar, Aşağı Yüz ve Yukarı Yüz olmak üzere üç parçalı bir yapıda⁷ belirtilmiş ve kentin yönetsel düzeninde yüzyıl boyunca İmparatorluk'un idari yapılanmasında yapılan deęişikliklerle paralel seyredecek biçimde gerçekleşen düzenlemeler, yine kronolojiye sadık kalınarak anlatılmıştır.

Devamında, Ankara İstasyon Caddesi'nin oluşumu ve şehrin tarihsel çekirdek alanından taşarak bu aks doğrultusunda gelişmesi ele alınmıştır. İlk olarak, bürokratik ve mekânsal modernleşme süreçlerinin kentin yönetsel şeması ve yapılı çevresi üzerine etkileri incelenmiş, bu kapsamda 1884-1892 yılları arasında Ankara Valilięi yapmış olan Abidin Paşa'nın görev süresi içerisinde gerçekleşmiş olan altyapı ve imar hareketlerine⁸ vurgu yapılmıştır. İkinci olarak, bu hareketlerin en önemlilerinden biri olan, Haydarpaşa-İzmir demiryolunun 1892 yılında Ankara'ya ulaşması ve tren istasyonunun inşası ele alınmış; demiryolunun şehre ulaşması şerefine yapılan kutlamalar, şehrin ticari hayatının canlanması⁹ ve tren istasyonu, İstasyon Meydanı ile çevresindeki servis yapılarının mimari özellikleri bu kapsamda incelenmiştir. Üçüncü olarak, şehrin yönetsel düzenindeki deęişikliklerden hareketle sabit konumlu bir idari merkez arayışına gidildiğinden bahsedilmiş ve 1897'de

⁷ Ergenç, Özer. "16. Yüzyıl Ankara'sı: Ekonomik, Sosyal Yapısı ve Kentsel Özellikleri." In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2. Baskı, edited by Ayşıl Tükel-Yavuz. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000, p. 50.

⁸ Aydın, Suavi, Kudret Emiroęlu, Ömer Türkoęlu, and Ergi Deniz Özsoy. *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara*. Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 2005, pp. 201-202.

⁹ Ortaylı, İlber. "19. Yüzyıl Ankara'sına Demiryolunun Gelişi, Hinterlandının ve Hinterlanddaki Üretim Eylemlerinin Deęişimi." In *Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri*, 2nd ed., edited by Ayşıl Tükel-Yavuz, 207–219. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2000b, pp. 207-208.

tamamlanmış olan Vilayet Binası¹⁰, önündeki açık alan, çevresindeki yapılar ve bir bütün olarak Vilayet Meydanı'nın mekânsal özellikleri ayrıntılı biçimde betimlenmiştir. Dördüncü olarak, İstasyon Caddesi'nin kente bağlandığı noktanın zaman içerisinde işlevsel olarak ikili bir yapıya dönüştüğüne¹¹ dikkat çekilmiş ve 1888 yılında inşa edilmiş olan Taşhan (Otel) ve çevresinin zaman içerisinde bir meydan özelliği kazandığı¹² ifade edilerek, çevresindeki yapılaşma ve işlevsel dağılım hakkında bilgi verilmiştir.

Bu kısmın ardından, İstasyon Caddesi ve çevresinin İmparatorluk'un son yıllarındaki ve Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarındaki gelişimi, aksın mekânsal özellikleri ve aks üzerine inşa edilmiş yapı ve yeşil alanların tekil nitelikleri üzerinden işlenmiştir. Bunu açıklamak için, öncelikli olarak Ankara'nın Birinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında Anadolu'nun işgaline karşı Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) önderliğinde başlatılan Milli Mücadele hareketinin merkezi olmasından ve savaş sonrasında yeni Cumhuriyet'in karar alma merkezi ve başkenti ilan edilmesinden¹³ bahsedilmiştir. Milli Mücadele'nin merkezi olan Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin İstasyon Caddesi üzerindeki eski İttihat ve Terakki Kulüp Binası'nda mukim olması nedeniyle, caddenin kent merkezi ile tren istasyonunu birbirine bağlama işlevi dışında ortaya çıkmış olan törensel niteliği de bu kapsamda vurgulanmaya değer görülmüştür.

¹⁰ Avcı, Yasemin. *Osmanlı Hükümet Konakları: Tanzimat Döneminde Kent Mekânında Devletin Erki ve Temsili*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017, pp. 125-127.

¹¹ Tekeli, İlhan. "Anadolu'daki Kentsel Yaşamın Örgütlenmesinde Değişik Aşamalar." In *Türkiye'de Kentleşme Yazıları*. Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1982, pp. 35-36.

¹² Ayhan-Koçyiğit, Elif Selena. "A Tale of Ulus Square: A Critical Assessment of Continuity, Transformation and History in a Historic Public Open Space in Ankara." Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Middle East Technical University, The Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences, 2018, pp. 158-163.

¹³ Kaynar, İhsan Seddar. "Engürü'den Ankara'ya: 1892-1962 Arası Ankara'nın İktisadi Değişimi." Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation. Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2016, pp. 57-64.

Savaş sonrasında Ankara'nın başkent olması nedeniyle aldığı yoğun göç sonucunda ortaya çıkan artan yapı ihtiyacını karşılamak amacıyla sahne olduğu imar faaliyetleri belirtilmiş; bu bağlamda Ankara'nın imarının aynı zamanda diğer Anadolu kentleri için de hem mimari hem mekânsal kullanım ve gündelik yaşam pratikleri anlamında bir örnek oluşturmasının gerekli görüldüğünün altı çizilmiştir.¹⁴ Bu durumu açıklamak için, 1924 yılında Alman şehir plancısı Carl Christopher Lörcher tarafından hazırlanmış olan Ankara Şehri İmar Planı¹⁵ ve bu tasarıda İstasyon Caddesi'nin kentin birincil aksı olarak sahip olduğu önem ve tarihi kent ile yeniden tariflenmiş olan ilişkisi ayrıntılı olarak ifade edilmiştir. Bu kapsamda, 1920'lerin sonunda İstasyon Caddesi'nin, şehrin önemli kamusal mekânlarından geçen, özenle imar edilmiş ve “yeni rejimin gerçeklerine ve kurallarına harfiyen uyan”¹⁶ bir yapıyı çevre olma özelliği kazandığı belirtilmiştir.

Bu bağlamsal bilgilerden sonra, aksın İmparatorluk ve Cumhuriyet rejimleri arasındaki bağlantısını sağlayan iki yapı örnek olarak incelenmiştir. İlk olarak bugün Birinci Meclis olarak adlandırılan, fakat orijinalinde Osmanlı'nın son döneminde iktidar olan İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin taşra örgütlenmesi ve kitle endoktrinasyonu için inşa ettirmekte olduğu¹⁷ Kulüp binalarından biri olarak 1916 yılında inşa edilmeye başlanmış olan yapı ele alınmıştır. Yapı, yalnızca mimari nitelikleri bakımından değil, aynı zamanda Milli Mücadele'nin yönetilmiş olduğu

¹⁴ Tekeli, İlhan. “Ankara'nın Başkentlik Kararının Ülkesel Mekân Organizasyonu ve Toplumsal Yapıya Etkileri Bakımından Genel Olarak Değerlendirilmesi.” In Ankara Ankara, edited by Enis Batur. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994, p. 148.

¹⁵ Cengizkan, Ali. *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı: Kentsel Mekan Özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı'na ve Bugüne Katkıları, Etki ve Kalıntıları*. Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı & Arkadaş Yayıncılık, 2004, pp. 43-63.

¹⁶ Basa, İnci. “From Praise to Condemnation: Ottoman Revivalism and the Production of Space in Early Republican Ankara.” *Journal of Urban History* 41, no. 4 (2015), p. 717. Translated from English by the author.

¹⁷ Çiftçi, Ali. “İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti'nin Örgütlenme ve Yönetim Yapısı İçinde Kulüplerin Yeri.” *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 37 (2015): 115–141.

Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin mukim olduğu mekân olmasından ötürü de ayrıntılı olarak incelenmiş ve hemen önündeki İstasyon Caddesi'yle, karşısındaki Millet Bahçesi'yle ve çaprazındaki Taşhan Meydanı'yla kurduğu mekânsal-törenselle ilişki vurgulanmıştır. Bu ilişki üzerinden ikinci olarak Millet Bahçesi'nin Vali Dr. Reşit Bey'in görev süresi içinde kentin ilk çağdaş rekreasyon alanı olarak inşası ve Milli Mücadele döneminde içinde bulunduğu mekânsal ilişki ağı üzerinden yeniden tanımlanması ifade edilmiştir.

Sonraki bölümde, Cumhuriyet'in ilanından sonra inşa edilmiş olan ve yeni rejimin değişik aşamalardaki mimari ifadesi olarak ele alınabilecek olan İstasyon Caddesi üzerindeki birkaç yapı ve yapı grubu incelenmiştir. Bu kapsamda ilk olarak, Cumhuriyet'in ilanından hemen sonra büyük bir sorun olarak ortaya çıkmış olan kamu yapılarının nicelik ve nitelik olarak yetersizliğine dikkat çekilmiş ve o dönem Vilayet Meydanı'na inşa edilmiş olan Maliye Vekâleti ve Defterdarlık yapıları erken dönem yapı üretimine örnek olarak verilmiştir.

Bu yapılaştırmayı hızlandırmak amacıyla, Mimar Vedat (Tek) Bey, bizzat Atatürk tarafından yeni Meclis'in kamu yapılarının inşası için davet edilmiştir.¹⁸ İlk olarak, hâkim parti Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası'nın genel merkezini ve milletvekilleri kulübünü (mahfel) inşa etmekle görevlendirilmiş; ancak Meclis'in acilen giderilmesi gereken mekânsal gereksinimi nedeniyle, yapının projesi tadil edilerek Meclis binasına çevrilmiştir.¹⁹ Yapı, aynı zamanda, giriş cephesindeki önündeki alana ve İstasyon Caddesi'ne bakan revakla ve taç kapıyla ve güneyindeki bahçeyle mekânsal olarak da önem arz etmiştir. Mimar Vedat, aynı dönemde Meclis'in tam karşısında Sağlık ve İçtimai Muavenet Vekâleti binasını yapmakla görevlendirilmiş, ancak inşaatına henüz başlanmışken yapı Vakıflar İdaresi'ne devredilerek otele dönüştürülmesine

¹⁸ Yavuz, Yıldırım. "Kimliğinin İzinde III: Yeni Başkentte." In *M. Vedat Tek: Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar*, edited by Afife Batur. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003, p. 173.

¹⁹ Y. Yavuz, 2003, pp. 177-178.

karar verilmiştir.²⁰ Bu durum üzerine projeden çekilen Vedat Bey yerine, dönemin Vakıflar baş mimarı olan Kemalettin Bey projeyi üstlenmiş ve yapı 1928 yılında Ankara Palas adıyla otel olarak hizmete alınmıştır. Yapı, sahip olduğu modern programla zıt biçimde kurgulanmış olan İstasyon Caddesi'ne bakan cephesindeki biçimsel özellikleriyle ve karşı karşıya bulunduğu Meclis yapısıyla birlikte tanımlamış olduğu, Cumhuriyet elitinin kamusalığa getirdiği yeni yaklaşım ve yeni mekân kullanım biçimleriyle ayrıntılı olarak incelenmiştir.

Sonrasında, Ankara'da 1920'lerde baş döndürücü bir hızla artan konut gereksinimini karşılamak amacıyla, Vakıflar tarafından Kızılbey Camii ve Türbesi arazisine inşa edilmiş olan Vakıf Evleri ve Evkaf Apartmanları, mimari özellikleri ve tarihçeleri özelinde incelenmiş ve Cumhuriyet döneminde konut kullanımına çağdaşlık ve işlevsellik üzerinden yorum getirilmiş olmasının altı çizilmiştir. Son olarak, 1925 yılında Osmanlı Neoklasisizmi ilkelerine uygun bir cephe ile tasarlanarak inşa edilmiş olan "Divan-ı Muhasebat" (Sayıştay) yapısının, 1930 yılında Avusturyalı mimar Ernst Egli tarafından sade ve geometrik bir cephe düzenine sahip olacak biçimde yenilendiği belirtilerek, bunun "Cumhuriyet'in ilk on yılının kültürel ve ideolojik zemininin çapraşıklığını"²¹ yansıtip yansıtmadığı üzerinden, geleneksel-modern ve utangaç modernite-radikal modernite ikiliklerine atıf yapılarak bir tartışmaya gidilmiştir.

Bu bölümün son alt bölümünde ise İstasyon Caddesi aksı, başlangıç ve bitişindeki mekânsal değişimler, aksın önemini kaybetmesi ile paralel bir biçimde okunmuştur. 1928 yılında Alman şehir plancısı Hermann Jansen'in Ankara İmar Planı

²⁰ İnci-Fırat, Nurcan. "Ankara Palas ve Restorasyonları." In Ankara, edited by Enis Batur. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994, p. 476.

²¹ Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. Washington: Washington University Press, 2001, p. 48.

Yarışması'nı kazanan önerisiyle²² kent, esas olarak kuzey-güney doğrultusunda gelişmeye başlamış ve İstasyon bölgesi ile Gençlik Parkı-19 Mayıs Spor Alanı bölgelerindeki bütün gelişmelere karşın İstasyon Caddesi, 1930'lardan itibaren mekânsal ve törensel olarak eski önemini yitirmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, Ankara İstasyon Caddesi, diğer Anadolu kentlerindeki dönemdaşı olduğu benzerlerinden farklı olarak, kentin yeni baştan inşa edildiği bir dönemin başat kentsel gelişim aksını gösteriyor olması, kentin deneyimlediği politik değişimlerden ötürü aynı zamanda törensel bir öneme kavuşmuş olması ve aks olarak bizatihi Cumhuriyet'in yeni başkentinin giriş kapısı olan tren istasyonundan, eski kente doğru, yeni kentin yapılı çevresinin ortasından geçerek topografik ve imgesel olarak bir giriş ve yükselme atfetmesinden ötürü incelenmeye değer bulunmuştur. Özetle, bu çalışmada Ankara İstasyon Caddesi, İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e geçiş sürecini, Ankara özelinde çözümleyebilmek için ideal bir mekânsal odak olarak ön plana çıkmış ve yeni rejimin bürokratik, teknolojik ve mekânsal oluşumunun deneyimlendiği noktaları birbirine bağlayarak dikkate değer bir tanıklık ilişkisine zemin hazırlamıştır. Ne var ki, güncelde ilginç bir tesadüf olarak, yeni bir rejim değişikliği sonrasında iki ucundaki yapı gruplarının yaşamakta olduğu işlevsel değişim, bir yerde tarihin tekerrür etmekte olduğu duygusunu uyandırmaktadır. Bu bağlamda tezin, modernite üzerinden getirmiş olduğu mimarlık tarihi anlatısı yorumlamasıyla, gelecekte bu alanda yapılacak geniş kapsamlı ve disiplinlerarası çalışmalara verimli bir zemin hazırlaması ümit edilmektedir.

²² Tankut, Gönül. Bir Başkent'in İmarı: Ankara (1929-1939). Ankara: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1993, pp. 65-81.

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Soyadı / Surname : DEDEKARGINOĞLU
Adı / Name : CEM
Bölümü / Department : MİMARLIK TARİHİ

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