

## BRUNO TAUT AND THE PROGRAM FOR THE PROTECTION OF MONUMENTS IN TURKEY (1937-38)/ THREE CASE STUDIES: ANKARA, EDİRNE AND BURSA

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1. An early version of this paper, presented at the XVII International Congress of Aesthetics held in Ankara at METU in July 2007, has been recently published: Gasco (2008, 197-204). The main contribution of this revised and extended version is to sound the possibility to establish a series of links between the activity of Bruno Taut, the first restoration works in Turkey and the editing of monuments as national icons. This research moves from the results of my Doctoral Thesis (Gasco, 2007). I would like to express my deepest gratitude to all the persons who gave their support and help for the preparation of this work: Dr. Esin Boyacıoğlu (Gazi University) for her contribution as co-advisor of my thesis and for her precious advises during the compilation of this paper; Prof. Dr. İnci Aslanoğlu (METU) for her advice that offered me the chance to start the exploration of Taut's involvement in early restoration in Turkey; the professor Ali Cengizkan (Middle East Technical University) for his valuable help and information, in particular for advising me to visit the library of the Turkish Historical Society where Taut's original letter discovered by him is kept; Dr. Tanja Morgenstern and the staff of Akademie der Künste Baukunst Archiv in Berlin for their kindly permission to use Taut's Turkish diary; Mrs. Ulrike Güldali of Ankara Goethe Institut for her help in reaching copy of Fisher's article on Restauration; my friend Sakiko Niimi in Tokyo for her help in finding original version of Bruno

In 1933 the Ministry of Education set up a program for the protection of Turkish monuments that marks the beginning in the country of restoration works characterized by a scientific and systematic approach (1). Right at the beginning of the operative phase of the program, the German architect Bruno Taut was officially asked by the Ministry to give his professional opinion in three different episodes: the restoration of *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* in Ankara, the monitoring phase to evaluate the condition of several monuments in Edirne, the restoration of *Yeşil Türbe* in Bursa.

The paper offers a critical reading of these episodes on the base of important documentary sources, in the attempt of re-constructing both their chronological sequence and historical background. The most valuable document this paper refers to is the *İstanbul Journal*, the diary in which Taut recorded the main episodes of his professional agenda in Turkey. Together with this primary source other evidences come from secondary sources included in various Turkish publications, especially the report published in 1935 by the Committee for the Protection of Monuments (Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu). In the case of the restoration of *Yeşil Türbe* in Bursa then the author had the chance to refer to a Taut's unpublished text: *Bericht über die Renovierung der Yeşil Türbe*, the report Taut drew up in analyzing the monument. This is a clear evidence of the official character of this assignment and moreover it represents a source of a paramount importance not only to investigate the relationship between Taut and restoration principles but especially to re-formulate his professional status inside the operative structure of the Ministry of Education.

These episodes offer a new angle from which is possible to evaluate the effort of the Ministry in setting the restoration program as a national project aimed at grounding the identity of the new state on its historical heritage. The editing of the monuments as national icons, prime strategy implied in Ministry's policy, characterizes indeed the work agenda of the selected case studies and clears up the decision to make use of foreign experts' opinion.

Taut's *Report on Restoration of Yeşil Türbe in Bursa*. The document is in Iwanami Shoten Publishing House's possession and it is deposited at Bruno Taut Memorial Hall in University of Creation in Tokyo, I thank both the institutions for their kind permission to use this document. People who worked on translations gave an extraordinary contribution. I wish here to thank all of them: professor Şemsa Gezgin for the translation of Macit Rüstü Kural's article and Bruno Taut's article *Türk Evi, Sinan, Ankara*, professor Elisabetta Garelli for the translation of Taut's letter and his included essay *Reiseindrücke aus Konstantinopel* (30/09/1916, TTK, Ankara HEE 5767), Mss Maria Elisabetta Bier Gola, professor Esin Boyacıoğlu and professor Önder Aydın for the translation of excerpts from *Istanbul Journal* (Berlin, AdK, BTS 01-273), *Bericht über die Renovierung der Yeşil Türbe in Bursa* (Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten Publisher's Archive, Iw 45), and Fisher's article *Über das Restaurieren*. I wish to thank also professor Christopher Wilson for his evaluable contribution in the proof reading of the manuscript.

2. At the beginning of his professional career, when he was still a training architect in Theodor Fisher's office (1904, 1908) and short after when he moved to Berlin (1909, 1914), Taut, together with Franz Mutzenbecher, dealt with interior decoration and restoration works for two little village churches: Unterriexingen church, 1906 and Nieden church, 1911. See: *Ausstellung der Akademie der Künste* (1980, 266-7).

3. For a complete account on Ministerial Program for Ancient Monument's Protection see: Madran, E. (2002, 109, 126, 128).

4. Taut's Turkish diary is the main source to reconstruct both the operative details and the chronological sequence of the three episodes: in February and March 1937 he visited the *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* in Ankara; in January 1938 he was in Edirne analyzing especially the complex of *İkinci Beyazıt's complex*; in September 1938 he went to Bursa to visit the *Yeşil Türbe*. See: *Istanbul Journal*, (AKB, BTS 01-273, 10.11.1936-13.12.1938, 1,143). Original handwritten text is in the archive of Iwanami Shoten Publishing House in Tokyo, Taut's legacy (Iw 36).

5. Kural (1944, 50-102).

6. *Bericht über die Renovierung der Yeşil Türbe in Bursa* (ISA, Iw 45, 1938, 1-8).

By this point of view this side of Taut's professional activity in Turkey, until now quite ignored, turns to be essential in order to evaluate his role in the re-elaboration of monuments for the benefit of state ideology and his contribution on the topic right at the beginning of the construction of a restoration culture in Turkey.

## INTRODUCTION

Glancing over the list of works that mark Bruno Taut's professional biography, two very early assignments immediately draw our attention: the renovation works of two village churches carried out during first years of his practice (2), two marginal episodes quite unconnected with the body of his later *oeuvre*. During the last phase of Taut's professional experience in Turkey from 1936 to 1938, these works are an unexpected chance to critically evaluate this unusual side of his career.

In addition to the responsibilities of his prestigious governmental assignment in Turkey, Taut also devoted himself to the study of Turkish historical architecture. He was so keen about this topic that his passion was not confined to a personal interest only, but also drove him to deal with classical Ottoman architecture from a professional point of view. This aspect of Taut's professional activity in early Republican Turkey, until now quite ignored, indeed offers the possibility to question his role from a different angle as architect in the service of the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Vekâleti*). Taut was officially asked by the Ministry to give his professional opinion about three important restoration projects that marked the beginning phase of the State Program for Monuments Protection (3): the restoration of the *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* in Ankara, the monitoring phase to evaluate the condition of different monuments in Edirne, and the restoration of the *Yeşil Türbe* in Bursa (4).

This paper, providing general information on each of these three episodes, especially focuses on the last of these projects, the restoration of the *Yeşil Türbe* in Bursa. There are two important original sources concerning the project: the complete account of the restoration works edited by Macit Rüstü Kural, author of restoration project and the director of works (5) and Taut's unpublished text, *Bericht über die Renovierung der Yeşil Türbe* (6). The latter document, eight pages of considerations Taut collected in analyzing the monument, is clear evidence of the official character of the assignment. Moreover, it represents a source of paramount importance to not only investigate the relationship between Taut and his restoration principles, but also to re-formulate his professional status inside the operative structure of the Ministry of Education.

These episodes offer a new angle to evaluate Taut's contribution to the Ministry of Education's efforts in the construction of a national identity. Taut's involvement as a foreign expert inside the Ministry's agenda for the protection of monuments in fact, besides its concern with specific restoration matters, must be framed inside a broader context where the protection of monuments functions to create objects of national icons on display. This paper aims to stress Taut's role in the re-shaping of a national past according to a Turkish identity grounded on the historical heritage of the country.

7. Taut (1938a).

8. Bozdoğan (2001, 250); Baydar (1993, 66-7).

9. Bozdoğan (1997, 163).

### THE INSTITUTIONAL ROLE OF BRUNO TAUT AND THE RECOVERY OF THE PAST FOR THE GROUNDING OF TURKISH IDENTITY

Taut's activity in Turkey is known principally for the educational buildings he designed as the Head of the Architectural Office in the Ministry of Education, and for his book *Mimari Bilgisi* [literally, *Architectural Knowledge*, but usually translated into English as "Lectures on Architecture"] (7), his manifesto of theoretical discourse he developed as the Head of the Department of Architecture at the İstanbul Fine Arts Academy. Alongside this defined professional context, Taut's involvement in the Ministry's restoration program in a clear way completes a complex and specific profile that seems to fit the label of state architect. Taut was in fact fully devoted to fulfil his governmental duties, and his relations with the Ministry were exclusive and binding such that Taut would not and could not deal with any private practice or projects. In this way, his service as state architect discloses a quite open political meaning for both his design practice and his architectural discourse, turning out to be effective tools for the sake of state rhetoric. It is possible to refer to several reasons to support this statement: on the one hand, the running of his functions both in the Ministry of Education architectural office and in the İstanbul Fine Arts Academy Department of Architecture could not help conforming to the dictates of the government in accordance with the official character of his assignment. On the other hand, Taut's ideas and principles matched the narratives of national ideology drawn up by the Ministry. The construction of a new national identity, pursued as a prime goal by the Ministry, from the 1930s onward, in fact started to be characterized by a multilayered and plural profile in which the concept of modern and traditional, and old and new co-existed (8).

This close relationship between Taut's search for a new path for modernity and Turkish Republican claims for a national identity is plainly disclosed by several topics included in his book *Mimari Bilgisi*. Taut's *culture/nature* pair as a key concept to re-find the *local* roots of a *community*, the concept of *continuity*, his re-fashioned interest in *regional* architectural qualities, and above all the notion of a synthesis of *tradition* and *modernity*, all seem to echo the same dialectical opposition mediating inside a nationalistic ideology fostered by the Ministry of Education in those years, based on the historical interplay between a spontaneous support of modernist and progressive trends and a radical quest for cultural identity that distinguished the emerging nationalist politics in Turkey.

Taut's efforts in the construction of a national identity in architectural terms are also quite evident in his projects in Turkey. His education buildings clearly reflect an aim to construct an active dialogue between a modern architectural language and references to local tradition. As Sibel Bozdoğan has stated, Bruno Taut

"was a meaningful choice for Turkey in the 1930s precisely because he was thoroughly ambiguous with respect to this profound dilemma. His legacy in Turkish architectural culture still alternates between equally powerful images of 'Taut the modernist' who taught rational, functional design to Turkish students, and 'Taut the regionalist' who had a deep reverence for Ottoman architecture and vernacular traditions" (9).

Indeed, his position was quite ambiguous because he always avoided espousing any dogmatic idea. Taut strove to point out an architectural path that rejected both a blind obedience to International Style precepts

10. Taut (1938b, 93-8).

11. Taut (1938b, 95).

12. The graphic layout of *La Turquie Kemaliste* (issues published between 1934 and 1944) seems to testify a new elaboration of radical cultural approach of Republic's first years, when the myth of an independent Anatolia embodied by Ankara, the core of patriotism, idealism and progress was displayed in opposition to Istanbul symbol of an imperialist past people wished to forget. Near to the end of thirties on the contrary past and future, tradition and modernity, new buildings and historical monuments became the dialectics oppositions Turkish national identity was settled by.

13. Just to mention a few: in 1930 the Turkish Historical Society started a scientific research on Turkish History and Civilization whose historiographical focus was shifted from Ottoman to Central Anatolian Cultures (Seljuks, Hittites); the Society for Research on Turkish Language as from 1932 headed a linguistic research aiming at purifying Turkish from all foreign influences and at detecting its ancient Turkic roots of Central Asia; in 1936 Bela Bartok dealt with his Folk Music Research in Turkey with the support of the Ministry on the traces of old pentatonic folk music style in recent Turkish folk music; in 1934 in the Istanbul Fine Arts Academy Sedat Hakkı Eldem directed the Seminar on National Architecture based on an extensive documentation of Turkish vernacular buildings.

and a sterile imitation of traditional-historical examples. In spite of this stiff opposition to any formalist-stylistic understanding of architecture, it was Taut's definition of the strong connections of architecture with the local features of a place in terms of "national character" that, in the end, fascinated the audience at large in a country in search of a proper national style. Herein lies the paradox that characterizes the relationship between Taut and the construction of a Turkish national identity. Taut in fact often stated that "national character" should not be pursued as a main goal in design, clear evidence that he himself was not in search for a national style (although others were). Nevertheless, his discourse lent itself to be easily assimilated into the stream of state rhetoric.

Clear evidence of this assimilation comes from an interview Taut gave to the monthly magazine "*Her Ay*" (10). In this interview, Taut was skilfully led by the interviewer, which is obvious from the article's title (*Türk Evi, Sinan, Ankara*), to answer questions on the three basic and key-topics of Turkish nationalistic culture: the domestic vernacular tradition, the master pieces of classical Ottoman architecture designed by Sinan, and the ideals of modernity and progress as symbolized by the new capital. Taut actually clearly expressed his critical attitude towards nationalist tendencies by declaring his famous maxim in the central part of the interview: "All nationalist architecture is bad, but all good architecture is national" (11). The latent ambiguity of this sentence seems to be carefully edited in order to wink at the nationalist claims of the time.

During Taut's years in Turkey, the Turkish state propaganda continued to use the initial tempting images of progress and modernity that had distinguished the first phase of the modernization process (1923-1933) but at the same time began to attach a great importance to taking traditional elements into consideration, and moreover to stress the urgency of preserving the nation's historical heritage. This latter aim discloses the strategic possibility to cast ancient monuments as national icons in order to embody the identity of the roots of the country.

The same dialectic also characterized the publications of the Ministry of Education, as they were more and more involved in a restless propaganda activity. The palimpsests of such journals as *La Turquie Kemaliste* were effectively conceived on the basis of this two-fold idea of modernity. In those years, each issue of *La Turquie Kemaliste* displayed several meaningful images: the one, under the title *Ankara Construit*, fostered the construction of Ankara as a modern capital city (Figure 1), the other, under the title *La Turquie: Pays de soleil de Beauté et d'Histoire*, fostered both the landscape of the country and its historical-cultural heritage treasures (Figure 2). The *Ankara Construit* series, formed from architectonic collages displaying a futuristic city made from abstract and geometric buildings, symbolized the heroic and modern side of the Turkish nation. The *La Turquie: Pays de soleil de Beauté et d'Histoire* series, formed from classical composed photographs displaying landscape framed with monuments and fragments, symbolized the traditional and romantic side of the same nation (12).

These images were skilfully used to embody the two souls representing the country's identity; or, in other words, to display the two channels through which the national identity was under construction: the realization of the new and the recovery of the past. This latter aim especially surfaces to reconstruct a presumed authenticity that is able to be used as a catalyst element inside the definition of a Turkish identity with a more powerful appeal than simply the language of modernity.



**Figure 1.** Ankara Construit (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, n: 6, 1935).



**Figure 2.** La Turquie: Pays de soleil de Beauté et d'Histoire (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, n: 6, 1935).

The Ministry of Education, through its several state departments, directed different research programs in order to re-master the past as an ideological support for the new nation-state (13). The common aim of all these programs was to select what, beside a vague idea of “the past,” could be defined as Turkish or at least could fit an idea of “Turkish-ness.”

A valuable contribution to this aim was characterized by the studies in art history carried out by Celal Esad Arseven (14). His *Türk Sanatı*, published in 1928 (15), was the first attempt, in the field of Turkish art history, to establish unique and coherent evolutionary line and assemble several periods under the heading of “Turkish Art” (16). The assumption of his work, as Elvan Ergut has argued, “was the existence of a pure and uncontaminated ‘national’ art of the Turks” (17). As Arseven himself stated in the book: “Turks displayed alongside their history an art of great originality.” (18)

The main aim of his text is to prove the originality of the artistic expressions of Turkish people alongside their history, especially defending its autonomy towards other artistic trends (19). Such a construction, in fact, was necessary to demolish a misunderstanding shared by the major part of art history books that regarded Turkish art just as a secondary school of Islamic art (20). Arseven actually accused Turkish people of lacking in critical perspective since for a long time they had never been interested in their own history, but points out that at the present time things were changing because:

“The young Turkish Republic set by the great innovator Kemal Atatürk started as from the beginning to search for the roots of both its history and art.” (21)

This quotation especially points out the nationalistic character of this rescue of historical roots and hints at the importance of state activity on this matter. At the bottom of this research lies a complex work of classification that stands out as a fundamental ideological base of Arseven’s study. He succeeded in reassembling different trends, forming a picture of great

14. Celal Esad Arseven (1875-1971) was professor of History of Architecture and Town Planning in the Fine Arts Academy in the period Taut was the head of the department of Architecture. His approach quite fits the ambivalence between past and future that distinguished the debate of the period. After having devoted himself to publication of several books on Turkish and Islamic Art History, in 1931 he published a text titled *Yeni Mimari* (Modern Architecture). Actually it was the Turkish version of Andre Lurcat’s *L’Architecture* (1929) and it included Arseven’s additions and annotations. See: Bozdoğan (2001, 159).

15. The book was translated in French in 1939: Arseven (1939).

16. Arseven came up with the definition “Turkish Art” in 1909 for the first time. See: Arseven (1909).

17. Ergut (2008, 168).

18. Arseven (1939, 5).

19. He tried to stress the difference between the art of Turks and the other near regions; according to him Turkish art was somehow “harmonious” and “simple” meanwhile the artistic expressions of Arabs for example were “extremely luxurious” or the Iranian ones were “overloaded with decorative fantasies”: Arseven (1939, 5).

20. Arseven (1939, 5).

21. Arseven (1939, 6).

22. Gabriel (1938, 11-9). Albert Gabriel (1883-1972) was a French architect and archeologist. He directed the *Institut Francais d'Archeologie* in Istanbul, his activity focused especially on the Islamic monuments of medieval Anatolia.

23. Gabriel (1938, 12).

24. Gabriel (1938, 12).

25. Gabriel (1938, 13).

26. Gabriel (1938, 13).

27. Before the establishment of republican institutions protection interventions on monuments were managed by structures in connection with religious power (waqf). In 1935 Waqfs were abolished and State charged of both control and direction of monuments. In order to manage those in Ottoman times were defined pious foundations (Islamic schools and other structures linked to mosques) an Official Department called Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (Pious Foundations General Directorate) was established. See: Madran (2002, 107).

28. ANITLARI KORUMA KOMİSYONU (1935, 10).

complexity both from a geographical and temporal point of view, under a sole, autonomous and coherent current. Inside this classification, both Seljuk and Ottoman contributions are included as temporally limited signs of a wider expression labelled as "Turkish Art." In general, Arseven's *Türk Sanatı* is the first attempt to provide the idea of a Turkish National Architecture with a strong and clear historical basis.

Alongside these attempts in institutionalizing the past, tradition and folk culture, the first scientific restoration works were performed as an effective tool in order to re-cast and re-shape the monuments of this supposed Turkish past. The first contribution of a national perspective in the discourse on restoration was given by Albert Gabriel in his essay on the restoration of the Turkish historical monuments (22). The beginning of this essay stresses the value and historical role of the Seljuk architecture. Moreover, Gabriel's aim is to defend the Turkish paternity of such an artistic trend:

"... since the 12th century and during the major part of the 13th century, both the rulers of the country as well as its citizens were Turks, there is no reason to attribute to others the paternity of such master works we are still admiring and since then have their name" (23).

These considerations allow Gabriel to state that: "Actually, Seljuk architecture is a Turkish architecture" (24). He particularly pointed out how these monuments, especially funerary buildings (*türbe*) were unquestionable manifestations of a new aesthetic. Like Arseven, Gabriel too underlined the powerful effect of their simple silhouettes and the clear-cut essence of their design, recognizing in them the sign of an "extra-Mediterranean aesthetic" (25). In this way, Gabriel attempted to frame those artistic tendencies outside a typical Western sphere of influence.

The latter part of Gabriel's text focuses on a series of considerations about the protection of the national heritage. The first issue he calls attention to concerns the necessity to fix a set of methodological rules to guide restoration works in an effective and univocal way on a national level. In order to deal with this aim in the terms of a national project, the role of the state then assumes a prime importance for the coordination and management of the different activities involved (26). In particular, Gabriel stresses how a restoration project is the result of an integrated process that includes several operative steps: from survey to documenting the building's structures and main spatial features, from careful cataloguing and recording of all the problematic issues to the preparation of detailed cost estimates. Gabriel's central management and scientific approach indeed reflect the general features of the Turkish State Program for Monuments Protection, already set up in those years thanks to the activity of the Ministry of Education. The necessity to outline a general program to carry out restoration works in a scientific way surfaced as a prime task after 1930, the time after which the question concerning the protection of cultural assets became central in the Turkish cultural debate (27).

#### **PROGRAM FOR THE PROTECTION OF MONUMENTS AND EDITING OF MONUMENTS AS NATIONAL ICONS**

The official frame of the Programme for Ancient Monuments Protection was defined by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and approved by the committee of ministries on 28 June 1933 (28). The first act of this program was the establishment of a specific Committee for Monuments'

29. Madran (2002, 109). A first committee, with nearly same duties, had been already established in 1917, still in Ottoman times, but its responsibilities were restricted only to İstanbul municipality's monuments. This committee was named Council for Ancient Monuments' Protection (Muhafaza-i Asar-ı Atika Encümeni Daimisi) and its direction was entrusted to Halil Edhem Eldem at that time Head of both Imperial Museums and Fine Arts Imperial School (Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Alisi). Eldhem kept on holding a prime role in these questions even after Republic's foundation.

30. Madran (2002, 126-8).

31. The results of this Committee's work were published in 1935. ANITLARI KORUMA KOMİSYONU (1935, 11-6).

32. ANITLARI KORUMA KOMİSYONU (1935, 6).

33. A specific office for the execution of these survey works (Rölöve Bürosu) was established in 1936 in the Fine Art Academy in İstanbul and it was set under the direction of Sedat Çetintaş. The operative structure of the program was then organized through the synergic activity between this office in İstanbul and the committee in Ankara, both under the control of the Directorate of Antiquities and Museums of the Ministry of Education. Ülgen (1946, 23).

34. In 1935 was organized in Ankara an exhibition of the survey drawings of Sedat Çetintaş. The exhibition counted 50 drawing boards illustrating especially monuments in Bursa and Edime. ANITLARI KORUMA KOMİSYONU (1935, 12).

35. ANITLARI KORUMA KOMİSYONU (1935, 15-6).

36. It is not by chance that the major part of the minor repairing works concerned cleaning works on the façades of buildings or on their valuable decorative structures.

Protection (*Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu*) (29) with the task of directing preliminary steps for the protection of monuments in Central Anatolia. The members of this Committee were Macit Rüştü Kural (architect), Sedat Çetintaş (architect), Miltner (archaeologist) and Schultz (photographer) (30). The activities of this committee were fully devoted to accomplish a methodological work that included photographic surveys, writing descriptive reports for each monuments listed and defining a detailing strategic plan including operative phases and economic analysis (31).

The committee was entrusted by the Ministry of Education to accomplish this program and set to work immediately according to a three-year schedule (1933-1935). This preliminary phase of the program, mainly characterized by an extensive survey campaign, was completed with the publication of a detailed report in 1935. Results and evidence from this report give a broad picture of the efforts of the scientific team of that committee in the fulfilment of the challenging task of giving monuments back their prestige and dignity, defined in the report pages as a "mission for tomorrow" (32). This phase of work was carried out by the architect Sedat Çetintaş, appointed for preparing survey drawings of architectonic buildings, and by the German photographer Schultz, in charge of producing a complete photographic documentation for the purpose of classification and official registration of monuments and for the preparing of publications (33).

The construction of this iconographic material was conceived to assure an immediate public reception of the historical heritage of the country (34), and turned out to be effective in order to put the past on display in the shape of a cultural-historical heritage shared by the nation. The committee drafted a broad agenda of initiatives to popularize this brand new version of the past, such as collaborating with the publishing network of the ministry to diffuse the results of their scientific works at large, the preparation of an illustrated map to visualize the historical and cultural richness of the country, and the editing of 3500 cards illustrating the monuments of the country coming alongside the idea of displaying and selling them in museums (35). The common aim of these initiatives, and in particular the latter ones, was to display the new face of monuments rescued from the state of neglect they faced in the recent past and re-cast them as the first cultural-historical assets of the Turkish nation (36). As might be expected, the report blamed the Ottoman Empire for this state of neglect and held up the new nation as an example of strong respect for the roots of its own past, a modern nation that celebrated its emerging culture in the protection and preservation of monuments as a sign of progress and civilization.

The State Program for Monuments' Protection stands as a demonstration of the recognized benefit, for the sake of national ideology, represented by the celebration of past heritage. Furthermore, this was the first time in Turkey that a restoration program was carried out on a scientific basis with the result that the protection of historical buildings became more organized and potentially more popular. As a result of this modern cultural policy pursued by the Ministry of Education, protection and restoration activity became the effective tool to edit the buildings of the past as national icons. The significance of antiquity, in fact, was transformed into a romantic value shared by people, a new opportunity to cast their emotional attachment to the national state.

37. ANITLARI KORUMA KOMİSYONU (1935, 13-4).

38. The Museum was precisely named as *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi* (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations).

39. Bayburtluoğlu (1991, 96).

40. In the process of nation building the goal of the government was to construct a new Turkish identity based on a specific and autonomous past that was possible to display through a set of new symbols. The designated representation for this was neither Ottoman nor Greek-Roman rather Turkish historical roots were carefully re-cast upon Ancient Anatolian Civilizations.

41. The proposal actually dates back to 1933 when, during the first congress of the Turkish History Association (TTK), Halil Edhem Eldem stressed the necessity of a specific and suitable place to exhibit and protect the findings coming from excavations in Hittite sites, at the time arranged in an open air place in Hacı Bayram. I. TÜRK TARİH KONGRESİ (1933, 564-5).

In the period between 1933 and 1935 the scientific team's activity focused on the repair of minor works (37), but in general the architect Macit Rüştü Kural, in charge of the execution of restoration works, dealt with the drawing up of detail cost estimates concerning the large interventions that characterized the following phase of the programme and included also the three case studies analyzed in the present article. They were brought to conclusion in the space of a decade and form the set of exemplary works that marks the beginning of a building restoration culture in Turkey.

### BETWEEN NEW CONSTRUCTION AND PRESERVATION: THE OLD BAZAR AND CARAVANSERAI OF ANKARA.

One of the first interventions set aside to give the Turkish past strong roots was the restoration of the complex formed by the *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* and the *Kurşunlu Han* in Ankara, respectively the old Bazaar and Caravanserai of the city (Figure 3, 4). The reason behind this restoration was to provide facilities for a new archaeological museum intended to contain the large collection of the objects of Anatolian Civilizations unearthed from several excavations in Central Anatolia (38). This project fits to be analyzed according to an interpretative double-track: together with the aim of protecting an important cultural and historical heritage, the desire to establish a new museum, conceived as a "contemporary institution", is one of the signs of Westernization efforts. The idea of a new museum to exhibit this collection as the best representation of the Turkish national past, was strongly fostered by Atatürk himself (39). This new museum had to be designed to celebrate a common and great past. As a direct consequence of this process of celebration, the opportunity of visualizing this same past in the rooms of this new space assumed the manifested intention of providing the Nation of a strong sense of shared heritage (40). The recent Ottoman past was erased, the remote one was exhumed in an attempt to settle the genetic characters of a cultural and artistic trend developed in Central Anatolia and kept alive through diverse transformations. The power of this evolutionary line as a means to ground the root of the new state can be set against the background of the strong ideological consistency of the young Republic.

Figure 3. Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni, Ankara, after restoration works (1940-1943) (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive, Ankara).

Figure 4. Kurşunlu Han, Ankara, during restoration works (Bayburtluoğlu, 1991).

In 1936 Hamit Zübeyr Koşay, the Director of Culture at the time, suggested to restore Ankara *Kurşunlu Han* and *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* to provide a proper place for a new museum (41). He discussed this idea with the Minister of Education, Saffet Arıkan, who asked Bruno Taut, who at that







Figure 5. Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni, Ankara, before restoration works (Kural, 1944).



Figure 6. Kurşunlu Han, Ankara, before restoration works (Bayburtluoğlu, 1991).

time was involved in the design of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography in Ankara, to evaluate the condition of both monuments and to state his professional opinion (42). Koşay claims that at first Taut was opposed to the idea of restoring the complex in order to provide a space for the museum, preferring instead the construction of a completely new building (43). Only after visiting the site and according to the explanations given to him about the project's lines, he changed his mind and expressed an opinion in favor (44).

Taut visited the complex in February 1937. His entry in *İstanbul Journal* in relation to this episode seems to confirm Koşay's version but at the same time offers a new angle to sound Taut's sensitivity in this field:

"Museum: inspection to Ancient Bazaar and to Han with Nazim Bey. Then with Semih Bey and later with professor Rohde and Landsberger. I desist from opposing restoration works. Otherwise [the building] will be smashed into pieces." (45)

From the images of the time, depicting the complex before restoration, it is possible to state that the structure was in a condition of complete ruin, especially the *Bedesten* (Figure 5, 6). Of the powerful vaulted structures, only lateral arches remained standing. Without an appropriate intervention, the building would have soon collapsed. Facing the site with the real condition of the building, Taut most probably realized the need to restore it as soon as possible and, even though he supported the construction of a new building, finally he agreed to the restoration project.

Meanwhile, Taut meditated on the problem trying to figure out a personal suitable proposal. During a second inspection about one month later, in fact, he expressed to Cevat Dursunoğlu and a representative from the Ministry of Education his ideas about an alternative solution which sounds like a compromise between a strong decision to rebuild, deeply changing those spaces, and an attempt to save the ancient complex's memory:

"With the Minister and Cevat in Bazaar ruins: only the Bazaar has to be reconstructed (vaults, windows), the rest of ruins have to be preserved. No reconstruction of destroyed parts!" (46)

The words of Taut in this case well express his conception on restoration quite oriented to defending the image of a supposed originality kept inside ruins. A similar theoretical approach already had addressed his work method in the restoration of the village churches referred to at the

42. Koşay (1979, 311).

43. According to Koşay, Taut suggested to build a completely new building since this would have been the best way to invest the estimated large amount of money (50.000 TL). Koşay (1979, 311).

44. The restoration project was drawn up by Macit Rüştü Kural who directed the works too. The contract for the execution of the work was assigned to the constructor Zühtü Başar. Bayburtluoğlu (1991, 101). Kural later in his account for the restoration works of *Yeşil Türbe* in Bursa, refers to Taut's initial reluctance in accepting the project for *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* confirming Koşay's evidence. Kural (1944, 96-7).

45. "Museum: Alter Bazar und Han, mit Nazim bey angesehen. Nachher bei Semih und später mit prof. Roh(de) u. Landsberger. Geb Opposition gegen Restaurierung auf. Weil er sonst abgerissen würde." *İstanbul Journal* (AKB, BTS 01-273, 25/02/1937, 26). At the visit were present the Head of the Construction Office of Ankara, Arch. Semih Rüstem and two German archaeologists at the time teaching in Ankara University, Prof. Georg Rohde and Prof. Benno Landsberger. For information about their involvement in this project, Bayburtluoğlu (1991, 101).

46. "Mit Minister, Cevat u. Arch. in Ruine Bazar: nur Bazar soll ausgebaut werden (gewölbe, fenster) übrige soll als Ruine konserviert werden. Keine Neuaufbauten zerstörter teile!" *İstanbul Journal* (AKB, BTS 01-273, 03/03/1937, 27).

47. Bruno Taut quoted in Maasberg (2002, 213).

48. For example the Ottoman masonry technique he used in the alternation of bricks and stone ashlar outside and in the cladding of turquoise tiles inside in order to integrate traditional stylistic elements with modern outlines of the buildings.

49. Bayburtluoğlu (1991, 100).

50. The issue of the definitive settling for the Hittite art works was an important target in the committee's work agenda. The construction of a provisional Hittite open air museum in the area of Hacı Bayram Mosque in Ankara in fact formed part of the interventions realized by the committee in 1934. ANITLARI KORUMA KOMİSYONU (1935, 14-5).

51. The ten domes that compounded the hall were consolidated and basements were provided and set to locate the Hittite sculptures. Bayburtluoğlu (1991, 101).

52. Bayburtluoğlu (1991, 101).

53. The works went ahead providing the museum with other exhibition spaces in the rooms adjacent to the central hall and with a separate area intended for offices and the direction in the Han. This second phase of the work ended in 1968 and for that time the museum gained its present arrangement. Bayburtluoğlu (1991, 101-2).

54. Güterbock and Özgüç (1946).

55. References to this school trip are also included in the memories of Sedat Çetintaş. Ödekan (2004, 35). Among many others colleagues in the İstanbul Fine Arts Academy, Celal Esad Arseven was one of the few to be in friendly relations with Bruno Taut. The common interest for historical architecture, Taut's concern for Turkish architecture and the mutual teaching activity in the Department of Architecture, indeed encouraged their good terms. Taut's Turkish diary offers several evidences about their conversations on different topics concerning teaching methods and programs and the study of antiquities (AKB, BTS 01-273, 30/12/36, 9; 03/02/37, 22; 15/06/37, 50).

beginning of this paper. Already in 1911, Taut stated the main principle that drove the restructuring works of Nieden Church in this way:

“... to preserve old exactly like it is and to make new appear as new” (47)

The reference to “the new” in this quotation actually displays an approach that goes beyond the simple romantic defence of ruins that could echo some of Ruskin's ideas. Nieden Church in fact was not a true restoration but a re-design of the interior. The rule standing behind this work dictated not to imitate the past but to enrich it with the new soft and sensitive additions which were able to establish a good relationship between old and new.

In particular, it appears clear how Taut's ideas on the issue of conservation and especially the principles of his project for the Faculty of Language, History and Geography in Ankara (quite leaning towards a clever recovery of ancient masonry techniques) (48), were fundamental in making way for the Ministry of Education to ask for his opinion on a restoration project. Actually, at the beginning of the 1930s, studies and surveys on the possibility of establishing a new museum in Ankara had been started under the direction of the Ministry of Education. Among other professionals, Hermann Jansen and Ernst Egli had been involved in the preliminary phase of this project. In 1931 Jansen drew up a report and Egli sketched out a project. This preliminary phase of the work lasted until the end of the 1930s, but their proposal did not satisfy the authorities (49). The involvement in this restoration project of foreign architects, well known and respected in the country, did not depend so much, by a typically professional point of view, on specific skills, as much as on the chance to take advantage of their charisma as state architects in legitimating a method (scientific restoration) and an aim (the institutionalization of the past).

The restoration of the *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* and the *Kurşunlu Han* in Ankara, although it was not actually scheduled in the committee agenda, was undertaken precisely following on the necessity, stressed by the committee in its report (50), of providing the collection of Hittite remains with a proper exhibition space. The restoration works, after a preliminary inspection phase in 1937 including Taut's involvement, started in 1938 according to a project by Macit Rüştü Kural. The works went on until 1945 and concerned only the arrangement of the *Bedesten's* central hall devoted to the display the largest sculpture pieces of the Hittite collection (51). This stage of work, apparently in line with Taut's advice, did not include interventions in the other rooms of the *Bedesten*. As for the spaces of *Han*, they were used as temporary storage (52). In 1945, the central hall was ready and in 1948 the first exhibition was held (53). The rich collection displayed in the restored central hall of the *Bedesten* was organized by Prof. Güterbock who had published a guide of the Hittite statuary ensemble in 1946 (54). The public opening of the *Bedesten's* central hall 20 years before the works were eventually completed suggests the urgency of both setting a suitable stage for the Hittite collection and displaying the features of the hall's vaulted ambiances to their original splendor. In the end, the requirements of a new and modern exhibition space took priority over the initial idea of carrying out the reconstruction of the old bazaar vaults, providing only protection works for the rest of the spaces.

56. "In Edirne. Dort im Europa Oteli Celal Esat. Nachher Nurullah u. der Z. Unterdirektor. Mit denen u. den ca. 25 Studenten beim Sen. Inspektor Gen. Kazim Dirik. Hat mir u. der Studenten immer Auto (bzw. Camion) gestellt, war am Vormittag bei Besichtigung mit uns. Wünscht Gutachten!" *Istanbul Journal* (AKB, BTS 01-273, 21/01/1938, 92).

57. ESKİ ESERLERİ SEVENLER KURUMU (1939, 3). This publication refers to the outcome of a congress held in April 3rd 1939 in which the Commission presented a complete report on the activity delivered as from 1935, year of its establishment.

58. In 1935 Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish History Association) promoted a research preliminary project aiming to cataloguing monuments' condition in Ankara, Istanbul, Bursa, Izmir and Edirne. Project's supervision was entrusted to Association's director, Afet İnan, and to Imperial Archeological Museums' ex director Halil Edhem Eldem. Madran (2002, 151-2); İnan (1943, 39-51). Türk Tarih Kurumu, under Halil Edhem Eldem's supervision, kept devoting itself in following years to a systematic reading of Turkish history and of its architectonic heritage. In 1937 Turkish History second congress was held. Organized by Türk Tarih Kurumu and by Ministry of Culture it was precisely given up to this ambitious cataloguing project. Saffet Arıkan, Ministry of Culture, and Halil Edhem Eldem held respectively the role of chairman and vice-chairman of congress's scientific committee. See: *La Turquie Kemaliste* (21-22) 1937, special issue given up to II Turkish History Congress (20-26 September 1937). The presence of Celal Esad Arseven too is worth to be taken into consideration. In former time in fact he held official roles in monument protection's field. In 1917, as head of İstanbul's Kadıköy district, he took part of the first committee for Ancient Monument Protection directed by Halil Edhem Eldem. Alsac (1992, 23).

59. *Istanbul Journal* (AKB, BTS 01-273, 21/01/1938, 93-4).

60. "Angesehen: Die Selimige von Sinan. Enttäuschung, nach dem Sinan zugeschrieben, Reklameausspruch. Die Suleimeneige ist in jeder Hinsicht weit überlegen: Aussenkomposition, Silhouette, Innenraum, Details etc. Bei Selimige mancher direct schlecht, z.B. seith. Aussenfront. - Hübsch Hof der angrenzenden Medrese mit Zimmern. - Bei Selimige Tendenz zur „Stadtkrone“; viell. daher Sinans angebliches Selbstlob.“ (AKB, BTS 01-273, 21/01/1938, 93).

61. Bruno Taut to Ignote (TTK, HEE 5767, 30/09/1916, 7). The typewritten letter includes *Reiseindrücke aus Konstantinopel* (Impressions of the Trip to Constantinople) Taut later published in "Deutsche Levante-Zeitung", 19, 1916, 735-37. This letter has been analyzed by Prof. Ali Cengizkan who was the first to notice the document among the archive items of the Turkish History Association; see: Cengizkan (2002, 29-35).

## DELEGATION OF İSTANBUL FINE ARTS ACADEMY AND THE MONUMENTS PROTECTION PROGRAM IN EDİRNE

In January 1938, Taut took part in a school trip to Edirne together with his colleague Celal Esat Arseven, his assistant Şinasi and a group of 25 students (55). The day after their arrival there was a meeting with different state officers, after which Taut was asked to draw up a report on different works:

"In Edirne. There in Europa Oteli with Celal Esat. Then with Nürullah and the Vice-Director. With them and with ca. 25 students to Senior-Inspector General Kazim Dirik. We and students again with car (as a matter of facts a Camion) given us by him [who] in the morning was with us during the inspection. He wants a report!" (56)

Amongst others, the most important person here is General Kazim Dirik. At that time, he was posted as the Senior Inspector for the Thrace Region (the area of Turkey where Edirne is located) and was the Head of the Committee for the Protection of Monuments of Edirne, which from 1935 was devoted to the protection of the historical buildings of that region (57). Dirik had the ultimate responsibility for both restoration interventions and archaeological surveys that were going to be undertaken in that region (58). His presence among the group and above all his demand for a report from Taut give to the episode an official value that allows us to consider the visit a formal inspection and more than a simple study trip with students. Moreover, this evidence allows the connection of this trip with the agenda itself of this commission.

The visit to Edirne was full of tours and suggestions. The group visited, amongst other monuments, the *Selimiye Mosque* constructed by Sinan, the *Üç Şerefeli Mosque*, the *Caravanserai*, the *Gazi Mihal Mosque*, *Yıldırım Mosque* and the Complex of Beyazıt II (59). Taut was apparently disappointed by *Selimiye*, recognizing its common features with his 1919 *Stadtkrone* project, he praised Sinan:

"Remarkable: Selimiye by Sinan. Disappointment. Suleymaniye is in any case superior: exterior composition, silhouette, interior, details, etc. Selimiye has something ugly, for example external part of lateral façade. Nice: the court of the nearby Medrese with rooms. Selimiye conformation as a "Stadtkrone" kind of; it asks for a praise to Sinan." (60)

Taut was intrigued by the architectural forms of Ottoman mosques: their outline displaying sequences of domes actually reminded him of the pyramidal feature of his project for the *Stadtkrone*. Already in his very first visit to İstanbul in 1916 Taut was fascinated by the specific arrangement of mosques alongside the outlines of İstanbul's hills:

"... the outline [of a Mosque] from a distance seems like the pyramid's one distinguished by a manifold and lively silhouette and signed by elongated minarets. Upon hills stand like crowds the big mosques..." (61)

The *Selimiye Mosque* stands on a huge esplanade and has its entrance façade covered by a bazaar structure, so that its general appearance is quite different from the İstanbul Mosques that Taut preferred. This could account for Taut's disappointment and his preference for the *Suleymaniye Mosque*.

Besides these formal issues, the analogy between Ottoman mosques and the *Stadtkrone* for Taut figures on a deeper concept: the social meaning of architecture. Buildings in the *Stadtkrone* were symbols for a community's political and spiritual values. For this reason, both the *Stadtkrone* and

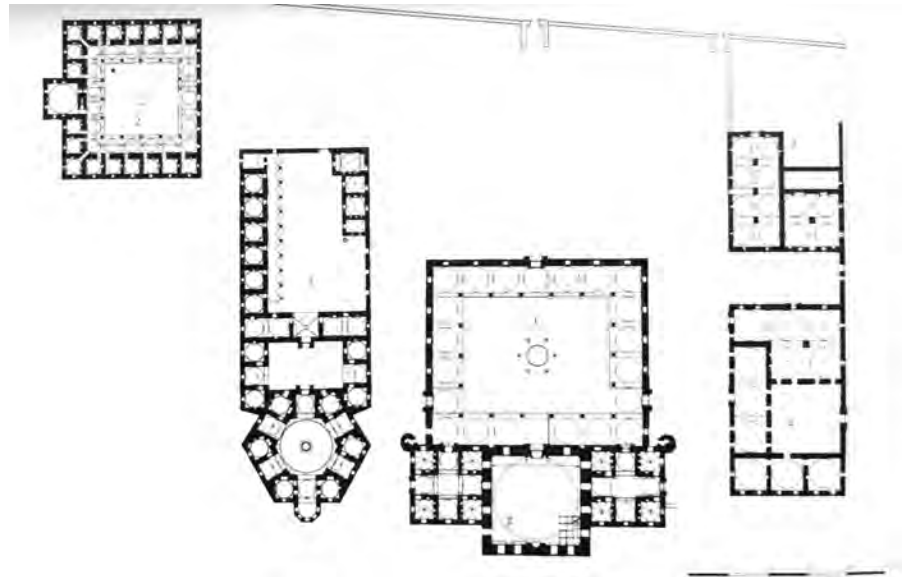


Figure 7. İkinci Beyazıt Külliyesi, Edirne, general plan of the complex (Kuban, 2007).

its community constructions would be the direct transposition of a society's form. Taut perceived Ottoman mosques' great complexes as a manifestation of his former ideas. They were real community places where all the activities of a Muslim society occurred. In *Mimari Bilgisi*, speaking about Turkish mosques in the chapter "Construction," Taut claimed:

"Peacefulness mosque offers to our soul does not depend on religious spirituality but on artistic spirit our sense of proportion trusts in." (62)

Visiting the *İkinci Beyazıt Mosque* (63), Taut dwelled with a vivid attention upon the problem of axis. In this case, Taut was caught by the features of the interior space, especially in account to the entrance's paths:

"İkinci Beyazıt: outside of the city among villages. Big building with a lot of secondary constructions. Interesting: the problem of axis, a deviation between marble door and entrance to the courtyard. Why is the courtyard entrance out of axis (as usual in all the mosques)? Big shift of the portal in the portico at the court area of both sides. It's interesting for the exactitude in axis' diversion at courtyard's walls. Very powerful game of asymmetry in the courtyard of Hospitals: hall of patients, central dome with niches and the ring structure of rooms between them." (64)

Taut was intrigued by the lateral and asymmetric disposition of the entrance door, a particular solution subverting the courtyard's axial arrangement. In this case, the axis is overturned by a diagonal gap between two entrances – one leading to the courtyard, the other to the prayer hall. Taut carefully noticed how this deviation of the rules of symmetry was determined with precision. But what mainly captured his interest was the complex of Hospitals. He was so struck by the sequence of these coordinate spaces and by the asymmetrical relationship between their accesses and the courtyard's entrance (Figure 7) that he recorded this feature in a sketch he drafted together with his comments. (Figure 8) (65).

The introduction of carefully controlled deviations inside a symmetric arrangement is one of the strategies of composition in Ottoman architecture in which Taut was interested from the beginning. The idea of following a method to overturn symmetry actually became a peculiar feature of Taut's projects in Turkey, for both planimetric layouts and elevations. In his *Mimari Bigisi*, Taut defines this strategy as "Mastery of Asymmetry" (66).



Figure 8. Taut's sketch of İkinci Beyazıt (Istanbul Journal, AKB, BTS 01-273, 21/01/1938, 94).

62. Taut, B. (1938a, 153).

63. The complex included the Mosque and Kulliye (a complex; a cluster of halls with different functions organized around courtyards).

64. "Ikinci Beyazit: Weiter ausserhalb der Stadt zwischen Dörfern. Grosse Anlage mit vielen Nebenbauten. Interessant: Achsenfrage, Knicker zwischen Mauerportal u. Hofeingang. Warum (wie bei allen Moscheen) Seitenhofportale ausser Achse? Grosse Portalverschiebung im Portikus Zeichnung \*) am Gerichtsraum, auf beiden Seiten. Interessant bei aller Genauigkeit die Achsenabweichungen an Hofwand." *Istanbul Journal* (AKB, BTS 01-273, 21/01/1938, 94).

65. (AKB, BTS 01-273, 21/01/1938, 94).

66. Taut, B. (1938a, 270).

67. "Mit Celal 2. Prinzip für Altertumsstudien: Kopieren verboten!" *Istanbul Journal* (AKB, BTS 01-273, 21/01/1938, 95). Most probably the second principle, Taut here refers to, has to be put in relation with the set of restoration's principles defined during the first International Restoration Congress held in Athens in 1931. Short after with the publication of Athens' Restoration Chart, this set of principles was established in order to address restoration works on international level.

68. According to a similar attitude he carried on his first interventions in the German churches at the end of tens. In that case Taut concentrate on the recovery of both traditional elements and regional characters of the place especially focusing on the chromatic value of those spaces. Speidel (1992, 127-9).

69. "Gesichtspunkte für Gutachten: Keine Bäumchen in Vorplätzen pflanzen. Zement verbieten, alle Kitschbemalungen weiss überstreichen, bei Selimige alte Bemalung hervorholen, wenn möglich, spezielle Feinheit Mauer Yildirim cami schonen, Vorsicht bei Steinwahl (Kapitele Vorhof Selimiye), Karawanserei bes. erhaltenswert." *Istanbul Journal* (AKB, BTS 01-273, 22/01/1938, 95).

70. ESKİ ESERLERİ SEVENLER KURUMU (1941, 3-9).

71. ESKİ ESERLERİ SEVENLER KURUMU (1941, 4-5).

Even if this episode, unlike the previous one, is not directly connected with effective restoration works, the personal comments and observations Taut recorded in his diary offer the opportunity to understand his way of studying historical buildings. Taut never approached them with an amateur gaze. On the contrary, he possessed quite a critical focus on the subject. It is possible to argue that for Taut historical buildings were not simply monuments to admire but a sort of evidence in constructed forms of an ancient wisdom with the power to point out a compositional procedure still topical. In this way, these buildings were animate elements proper both to establish interesting connections with more recent ideas (as in the case of *Selimiye* in which he perceives a *Stadtkrone* trend) and to grasp fruitful cues for design approaches (as in the case of the axis deviation in the Complex of Beyazit II).

Nevertheless, at the end of the Edirne visit, talking with Celal Esad, Taut expressed his theoretical position in relation to restoration as follows:

"With Celal the second principle for studies on Antiquity: it is forbidden to copy!" (67)

Principally, Taut always kept away from imitative interventions, avoiding the pretense of reproducing both ancient techniques and materials. According to him, these attitudes fell unavoidably into kitsch manifestations because it was impossible to imitate ancient craftwork skill with modern technical means. In any case, new interventions had to be pointed out and kept distinct from original old features (68).

On the way back to İstanbul, Taut recorded some ideas for the report he was asked to draw up. These short but precise annotations testify to Taut's sensitivity in relation to the study of antiquities:

"Important points for report: no planting little trees in open spaces in front of the buildings, avoiding use of concrete, covering all the kitsch colours with white paint, in *Selimiye* showing up old tint, if it's possible preserve the special refinements of *Yildirim Cami's* wall, paying attention in choosing stones for capitals of *Selimiye's* atrium, and this is particularly important for the *Karavansaray*." (69)

Part of the works of the monuments Taut visited in February 1938 were then begun and completed in 1940. A complete account of these interventions is included in the report that the local branch of the ministerial committee, under the direction of the General Kazim Dirik, published in 1941 (70). Together with some minor repairing interventions, real restoration works were also carried out, especially the *Caravansarai* and the *Ruștem Paşa Han* (71). In spite of the small character of these interventions and of the local/peripheral nature of the context, the results of the activity of the committee in Edirne and the Thrace Region stand as one of the best examples among the works in the agenda of the Ministerial Program for the Protection of Monument, at least as for the number and the quality of buildings involved. In line with the priorities set by a ministerial report edited in 1935, the Edirne local committee's report also gives particular emphasis to the urgency of publishing books and other material concerning these realized works, in the attempt to generate an immediate public diffusion of a local heritage finally rescued from the state of neglect and re-edited in the form of a national heritage.



Figure 9. Yeşil Türbe, Bursa (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, n: 29, 1939).

72. *İstanbul Journal* (AKB, BTS 01-273, 17-18/09/1938, 140). Evidences on this episode are included also in: Kural (1944, 89-96).

73. *Bericht über die Renovierung der Yeşil Türbe in Bursa* (ISA, Iw 45, 1938, 1-8). With this report Taut gives a quite detailed analysis of the monument's main features, by organizing text in six paragraphs focused on a specific issue each: *Türbe in city's context*, *Sample of tiles external coating*, *What have to be done*, *Precautions in concrete's use*, *The Garden*, *The Interior*.

Figure 10. Yeşil Türbe, Bursa, drawing by Leon Parvillée (Parvillée, 1864).

Figure 11. Yeşil Türbe, Bursa, image at the time of the 1904 restoration (Kural, 1944).



## TAUT ON RESTORATION: PRINCIPLES AND IDEAS FROM *BERICHT ÜBER DIE RENOVIERUNG DER YEŞİL TÜRBE IN BURSA*

On 17 September 1938, nearly two years after his arrival in Turkey and only a few months before his unexpected death, Taut visited Bursa (72) on behalf of the Minister of Culture Saffet Arıkan, together with his colleague Hillinger to express his expert opinion and to write a report on the restoration works of the *Yeşil Türbe*. Taut accomplished this assignment completing an eight-page document under the title: *Report on the Restoration of Yeşil Türbe* (*Bericht über die Renovierung der Yeşil Türbe*) (73).

In 1935 Macit Rüştü Kural, head of the Committee for Antiquities' Protection, drew up a list of buildings in need of immediate interventions including 35 monuments from Central Anatolia. Among these the *Yeşil Türbe* of Bursa was catalogued as an urgent work. The restoration of the *Yeşil Türbe* inside the agenda of the Ministerial Program for Protection of Historical Heritage emerged as one of the most symbolic and crucial interventions in portraying the roots of Turkish identity (Figure 9).

Macit Rüştü Kural then undertook the appointment of directing this restoration work. As he stated in the complete account published about the restoration (74), this mausoleum had lost much of its original magnificence because of water penetration that had endangered the amazing coating of green-blue glazed ceramic tiles (75). In particular, the monument was losing its effect based on the characteristic turquoise colour of its external coating because, in most of the damaged areas where original tiles came off, new tiles had been used with the aim of emulating the matchless qualities of original ones. These new interventions were the result of previous restoration works carried out at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century (Figure 10, 11) (76). From 1937, during preliminary studies, it clearly appeared that the most controversial matter of the whole restoration was to answer the problem posed both by the protection of the original ceramic tiles' glaze conditions, in order to save them from further damage, and the use of coherent solutions in those areas that had lost their coating. Due to this impasse, the presence of a foreign expert to evaluate the situation turned out to be necessary (77).



74. Kural (1944, 50-102).

75. The original tiles had been produced in İznik during the XIIIth century. At the time in which Taut visited the Türbe there was no atelier in the whole Turkey still able to produce tiles of the same quality. Even today it is impossible to imitate both the tone and the consistence of their glaze coating.

**Figure 12.** Yeşil Türbe, Bursa, panoramic view (Kural, 1944).



76. This first restoration intervention on the Türbe was carried on after the big earthquake that leveled Bursa in 1853. On that occasion tiles produced in Kutahya ateliers were used. French architect Leon Parvillée was assigned to complete this restoration in 1863 by the Ottoman Government. The works were carried on under the supervision of the Imperial Commissary Ahmed Vefik Efendi. Parvillée (1864, 4). A second restoration work was carried on in 1904 by Asım Kömürçüoğlu at the time a training architect in the office of Kemalettin Bey. Kural (1944, 71).

77. The report the Committee for Antiquities' Protection (Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu) submitted to the Ministry in 1935 referred expressly to the possibility to involve foreign experts either in report drawing or in site visits. The same report included a financial program providing for a money supply kept to cover these experts' travel expenses. Madran (2002, 108).

78. Medina Lasansky focused on this specific issue exploring the Nationalistic aim of restoration works in Italy during Fascist Regime. Lasansky (2004, 322-3).

79. "Die Yeşil Türbe unterscheidet sich insofern von den meisten türkischen Türben, als sie das Stadtbild der Stadt Bursa weithin beherrscht. Sie steht oberhalb der Yeşil Cami, ihr Baukörper ist höher und ausserdem wie ein Turm von allen Seiten zu sehen. Diese Wirkung der Yeşil Türbe wird durch die sehr starke Farbgebung mit blauen Kacheln betont. ... Das grüne Bursa bekommt durch diese leuchtend blau-grüne Türbe eine Note, die nicht wegzudenken ist." Bericht über die Renovierung der Yeşil Türbe in Bursa (ISA, Iw 45, 1938, 1).

80. (ISA, Iw 45, 1938, 3).

81. "Bei der Renovierung der Yeşil Türbe muss man an 2 Gesichtspunkte denken, und zwar 1.) an den Besucher der Türbe selbst, der in der Nähe ihre Architektur studiert und 2.) an die Wirkung, die die Türbe im Landschafts und Stadtbild ausüben muss. Für alle, die in Bursa leben und Bursa besuchen, ist die stark grün-blaue Farbe eine Selbstverständlichkeit. Infolgedessen muss dieser Eindruck erhalten bleiben." (ISA, Iw 45, 1938, 5).

Hence, Taut's involvement acquires a precise ideological value. His advocacy of the country's vernacular tradition in order to justify the project of modernity in a local context should have especially performed quite an authoritative reference, allowing his discourse to be used as an ideological base in the Ministerial Program of Preservation. Having Taut write a report on the restoration's topics assured the Commission's works an international emphasis that, from the beginning, had shaped the construction of the new Turkish identity together with the forces of nationalism.

Bruno Taut constructed his report around one crucial issue: the visualization of the past resulting from its construction as a heritage that is necessary to safeguard. This process of visualization of both the past and tradition became the perfect tool to turn monuments into national icons for public consumption (78). At the beginning of the report, Taut seems to deal with this aim of shaping a collective past, stressing the importance of the monument in the context of the city and in relation to its visual perception:

"This *türbe* (mausoleum) stands out from the major part of Turkish tombs, as far as it overlooks even from a distance the image of the city of Bursa... Its construction is like a tower; it may be seen from all sides. This impression is emphasized by its wall's vivid colour due to turquoise tiles... Green Bursa achieves [being green] thanks to this turquoise *türbe's* unique distinguishing mark that is impossible to give up." (79)

The starting point for Taut's considerations is the visual impact of the monument within the urban environment of Bursa (Figure 12). Although he states that it is impossible to achieve the same handicraft glaze tiles after 500 years and to position them with the same endurance of past times (80), he still stresses the necessity to safeguard the general impression of the monument, re-establishing its image more than its material features. He discusses the problem from two different angles: on the one hand dwelling on the close gaze of the tourist visiting the monument, and on the other hand focusing on the larger picture of the panoramic view (81). For both kinds of gaze, the tone of the turquoise colour is a fact generating a unique emotion that for Taut is worth preserving. Here, he refers to two kinds of public represented by the couple visitor/observer that includes both tourists and Bursa's citizens. This approach fits with the aim of re-fashioning the historical image of both the building and the site as symbols for the Turkish nation. In fact, the promotion of cultural sites, as an integral element in the process of visualization of monuments, displayed the prime

goal to accentuate the “Turkish” character of the towns throughout the whole country. The “Turkish” character of Bursa is symbolically recalled by the *Türbe*’s turquoise outline that stands out from the landscape and at the same time is stored in the cladding of the original İznik tiles.

Taut recognizes that the mausoleum has a strong iconic value, which is able to turn it into a landmark. Beyond its function as a tomb, as a monument built to keep the deceased’s memory, Taut’s reading privileges a more abstract symbolic role: the building becomes the sanctuary of the collective memory of the country. This shift from the classical idea of the monument to the unconventional interpretation of the building as a structure functional to the display of the İznik tile coating’s fragments allows the *Türbe* to be a sort of pavilion to exhibit the past. It does not seem so rash to imagine that in the *Yeşil Türbe* Taut detected some echoes of the idea of “fantastic architecture” that sprung from his *Glashaus* built at the 1914 Cologne Werkbund Exposition. The outline itself of the *Glashaus* somehow revealed an oriental taste, which does not appear so strange considering the emphasis Paul Scheerbart has for orient and oriental mysticism in his *Glasmarchitektur*, the text he dedicated to Bruno Taut. Furthermore, a similar astonishing effect, due to a space emerging out of the interplay of light and colour (82), seems indeed to occur in the feature of the *Türbe*: it is possible to recognize a similar tension between the striking outline of the construction and the multi-sensory experience offered by the specific features of its glaze tiles. In the central part of the report Taut provides a set of advice to keep and to protect the two ends of such a tension:

“First of all, the new and incongruous ceramic tiles must be removed. The old ones must be stabilized by the use of hydraulic lime and the walls that lost their tiles must be plastered. This concerns a major part of the walls, the whole south, south-east and south-west sides. In order to preserve the Tomb’s present appearance, for its both close and distant impressions, it could be possible to achieve a good result by employing a modern metallic paint instead of using new ceramic tiles, which are badly reproducing old ones. Taking into account that tiles’ old glazed surfaces were opaque, as for me with “Keim mineral paints” it is possible to successfully reproduce this impression of opacity from a distance. In order to enhance the *Türbe*’s general architectonic impression, I advise to put ash colour clay where rich frame tiles were once in order to ensure the Tomb’s architectonic general impression. It is unquestionably difficult to have the same old colour by using plaster; in order to have required strength on the other hand, his price would increase. Nevertheless, in relation to the perception of the building from a distance, it is possible to achieve a better result than before if colours are tested and their shades are carefully determined. The sightseer, going through the garden, will notice, of course, the difference between old tiles and additional coloured plaster. But, in this way the building’s reality will be manifested as much as the old has not been touched and the new points out itself just as it is.” (83)

Taut here suggests a bold and sophisticated alternative to the editing of the monument according to imitative criteria that had distinguished the previous phases of restoration. In that case, restorers looked at the original tiles as the authentic element worth to be imitated in order to ground the identity of the monument both with a material and symbolic point of view. Taut’s interpretation of the authenticity of the monument instead focuses on a specific element of those original tiles: the turquoise colour of their glaze. Actually, this blue-green colour is precisely the distinguishing mark of the monument (*Yeşil Türbe* = Green Tomb) and of the city itself (“Green Bursa”). But at the same time this particular colour becomes the suitable

82. Conrads and Sperlich (1962, 44-5).

83. “Zunächst werden von den Mauern alle Kacheln entfernt, die nicht alt sind. Die übrigbleibenden alten Kacheln muss man durch hydraulischen kalk besser befestigen. Sodann verputzt man alle Flächen, die keinen kachelbelag haben. Es wird das die Mehrzahl aller Flächen sein, und zwar vollständig die Flächen nach Süden, Südosten und Südwesten. Um für die allgemeine grosse Wirkung der Türbe und für ihre Fernwirkung den bisherigen Eindruck zu erhalten, würde man mit einem der modernen Mineralanstriche weiterkommen als mit der Nachahmung der alten Kacheln. Da die alte Glasur matt war, so halte ich es für durchaus möglich, beispielsweise mit den Keim’schen Mineralfarben genau denselben Eindruck der Fernwirkung zu erreichen, wie ihn die alten Kacheln bieten. Da, wor früher die reichen Frieskacheln waren, würde ich einen entsprechenden grauen Ton empfehlen, damit der allgemeine architektonische Eindruck der Türbe sichergestellt ist.” Bruno Taut, Bericht über die Renovierung der Yeşil Türbe in Bursa (ISA, Iw 45, 1938, 5-6).



symbolic element to recall the ancient origins of Turkish identity, since it was the result of the 15th century Ottoman fritware technology that artisans of İznik inherited from the thirteenth century Seljuk tradition (84).

What Taut proposed in this case was the recovery of this colour, in the attempt to re-establish the expressive features of its turquoise tone. The aim was to give the colour an autonomous function inside an architectonic body, as he had already done for the restoration of the Nieden Church (85). In those early years, Taut was interested in the possibility of what could be achieved with colour variations of refracted light, as understood from his attempt to “make colour in architecture a theme of its own” (86). In one of his Crystal Chain Letters, Taut wrote:

“The colours that we put on the walls (even if the walls are not made from glass) are its issue, our discourse with the depth from whence it comes ...” (87)

The peculiar goal of Taut in this case was to move the concept of authenticity from the fetishistic relation with the materiality of the original object to the abstract relation with the qualities of its colour avoiding both banal and simplified interpretations. Finally, the metaphorical process that drove Taut’s proposal for this restoration leads the *türbe* to turn into an iconic monument of the Early Ottoman Architecture without the risk of falling unavoidably into kitsch manifestations.

The idea to use a mineral paint instead of new fake tiles meant to privilege the visual impression more than the tactile one. But, it was also a question of coherence: since it was impossible to produce tiles of the same quality as the old ones, it was then both useless and illogical to try to achieve the original effect with fake materials. Taut was able to figure out a quite reasonable arrangement to preserve the monument’s general appearance. His indications display a modern vision on the topic of restoration and denote a bold mind able to defend such a drastic decision in relation both to traditional and historical questions. The reference to “Keim mineral paint” must especially be taken into consideration because it is a demonstration that Taut was quite well-informed on restoration issues not only from the theoretical point of view but also from the practical and operative ones (88). Such a deep knowledge of these kind of colours dated back to his former partnership with Franz Mutzenbecker (89).

The drawing up of this Yeşil Türbe Report marked the final act of Taut’s professional routes as State Architect in Turkey while also unexpectedly allowing a connection with first steps of his activity in Germany. It is not surprising to find a passage of the report where Taut mentions those two early churches restoration to support his point of view on the subject. This part of the report especially reveals Taut’s attempt to prove a theoretical training in the field of restoration field which enables a justification for his involvement:

“One side is of the opinion that it is both possible and necessary to reconstruct an old building as it had been built in ancient times. Supporters of this side belong to restoration’s academic school. They are not full trusted, because all the restorations from Viollet-le-Duc’s time onwards were completely unsuccessful. In Germany we have a sensational example, that of the reconstruction of the Heidelberg Castle. Once it was reconstructed, without doubt accurately, in its original appearance, it has lost all the artistic values it possessed as a ruin. Similar considerations can be stated in relation to other ancient monuments whose precious features vanished after an over eager restorations. Another restoration trend, with which I agree and for the

84. Much of fifteenth century Turkish tile production was represented by tiles with monochrome glaze of a turquoise-green colour produced by a lead-alkali-silica composition of the glaze. Henderson and Raby (1989, 124).

85. With the restoration of Unterriexingen church especially Taut for the first time designed a colourful interior allowing the colour of the architecture to become autonomous. Speidel (1992, 127).

86. Speidel (1992, 129).

87. Bruno Taut (Glas) “Kosmische Farbenliebe”, quoted in White. (1985, 117).

88. Keim Mineral Paints was founded in 1878 by A. W. Keim in Bavaria and it is still today a renowned firm of silicate paint systems. Mineral paints comprise a water borne potassium silicate paint binder with mineral fillers, such as feldspar and naturally occurring inorganic earth oxide colour pigments. When applied onto a mineral substrate the binder soaks into it and forms a microcrystalline bond to it. Microcrystalline structure maintains the vapour permeability of the substrate but prevents the ingress of driven rain. These type of paints are really suitable to provide long-term protective and decorative finishes for renders subject to harsh climate conditions. In the specific case of Bursa they would have been effective to oppose water filterings and would have allowed to obtain both the right shade of green colour thanks to their mineral composition.

89. They started to co-operate since 1905 working together in Fisher’s office. Mutzenbecker was a decorator very skilled especially in wall painting and a talented graphic designer. In architectural field he worked as colour adviser proposing a series of decorative paintings and colours to different architectural offices among them Taut and Hoffmann’s one. Maasberg (2002, 214).

90. "Die einen stehen auf dem Standpunkt, dass man ein altes Gebäude genau so wiederherstellen könne und müsse, wie es in alten Zeiten gebaut war. Die Anhänger dieser Richtung vertreten die akademische Schule der Konservatoren. Sie haben insofern nicht viel Vertrauen auf ihrer Seite, als alle Restaurierungen seit Viollet-le duc bis in die letzten Jahre hinein mit einem Fiasko geendet haben. In Deutschland war ein sensationeller Fall derjenige des Otto-Heinrichbau vom Heidelberger Schloss. Nachdem es, wie der leitende Architekt glaubte, in seinen ursprünglichen Formen durchaus getreu wieder aufgebaut worden war, hat es alle die künstlerischen Forte verloren, die es als Ruine besass. Ähnliches gilt von vielen anderen alten Baudenkmälern, deren wertvolle Formen durch Übereifrige Restaurierung verloren gegangen sind.

Die andere Richtung der Konservatoren, su der ich mich selbst bekenne, nach deren Prinzip ich bei 4 Kirchenrenovierungen gehandelt habe, steht auf folgenden Standpunkt: Es wird grundsätzlich keine alte Form nachgemacht. Die alten Reste werden nur vor weiterem Zerfall geschützt, sonst aber bleiben sie unangetastet.

Mir scheint es richtig, wenn man nach diesen Grundsatz auch bei der Yeşil Türbe verfährt." Bericht über die Renovierung der Yeşil Türbe in Bursa (ISA, Iw 45, 1938, 3-4).

91. Fischer at that time was involved in such restoration works too. In 1906-07 he worked on the restoration of Katharinenkirche in Eglshheim, in 1906-09 on the restoration of Johanniskirche in Brackenheim. Winfried Nerdinger (1988).

92. Fischer (1903, 298).

93. Fischer (1903, 299).

restoration of two churches I drew my inspiration from, can be summarized in the following statement: In conclusion no ancient form must be copied. Ancient ruins must be just protected from further deterioration, for all the rest nothing has to be done. I think it is also a good choice to follow this principle in the case of the *Yeşil Türbe*." (90)

This passage also suggests how Taut's conception of restoration, according to the dualism that frames basic intervention theories, was obviously closer to Ruskin's *conservation* principle than to Viollet-le-Duc's approaches towards a *restoration* aiming to create something that never actually existed in the past. Furthermore, there is no question that such a theoretical position was the legacy of his first apprenticeship years and especially of the ideas of his master Theodor Fischer (91). Fisher's approach to restoration was characterized by a critical attitude towards *Heimatschutz* ideals' followers who in their desire of defending motherland values actually ended up proposing a set of abstract values. On the contrary, Fischer was interested in recovering regional and local features. Restoration from this point of view becomes the suitable means to both protect and keep, through a selection of those features, the cultural memory of a region, a territory, an ethnic group. Taut's ideas for the *Yeşil Türbe* quite match such a theoretical approach aiming to keep alive the cultural memory of the Turkish people embodied in the monument's features.

The reference itself to the Heidelberg Castle, which at first could appear as a generic case study, was carefully pointed out by Taut in line with his debt to Fischer's education. This same restoration project had been blamed in a likewise radical way by Theodor Fischer. In 1902, in fact, in an essay on Restoration issue Fischer complained about the uneasy feeling of doubt that one had in relation to the concept of authenticity in nearly all restored buildings (92). In particular he stated that:

"If the reconstruction of a damaged building is not verified through [original] plans or remains, so that the fantasy of the practicing artist has to contribute to the process, just as in the case of the Heidelberger Castle, the restoration work is not right. How is it possible to get out of this? We don't really believe in taking seriously to work with the spirit of old time, which could create a deception." (93)

Fisher points at the restoration of Heilderberg Castle as an example of an approach that aims to re-edit the image of the past but ends with the result of spoiling its values and original features. Likewise, Taut was against such tendencies, which is why he therefore keeps on insisting on a specific point already surfaced in the previous two episodes of Ankara and Edirne: the refusal of any attempts to copy. Alongside this refusal, these evidences also manifest his fascination for ruins which he proposed to protect without either additions or transformations that could endanger the original features of those monuments. In particular, the aim of protecting ruins involves the recovery of the original features of the building and at the same time the emphasis for the identity values that they keep inside. In this way, the indications of Taut's report for the restoration of *Yeşil Türbe* are quite meaningful. Even when Taut proposed a new intervention, his concern was to avoid any attempts of imitation. Sticking to Fischer's line, Taut also considered the pretension of carrying out work in the same spirit of the past as deceptive. A bad copy would have immediately given rise to a false and kitsch result only.

Thirty years later, in a totally different context and facing an unexpected assignment, Taut justifies his considerations of the *Yeşil Türbe* by not

94. Actually Kural, the director of restoration works, blamed Taut's report considering his advice not up to the task; Kural (1944, 96-7). As a result of Kural's complaining then Albert Gabriel was asked to visit the monument to provide another opinion. Gabriel's approach to the topic sounds rather dissimilar from Taut's one, as it is possible to notice from some excerpts of the French archaeologist's report included in Kural's account. Whereas Taut deals with aesthetic and formal issue, Gabriel's considerations are definitely more practical and are addressed to specific technical issues; Kural (1944, 97-100).

only providing evidence from his early curriculum but also advancing an approach towards restoration in line with his old master's principles re-fashioned according to more contemporary trends. The above-mentioned passage from his *Bericht* is not only a declaration of intent, but also discloses Taut's aim of introducing himself with a respectable profile fitting the Ministry of Education's expectations (94).

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**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni; Yeşil Türbe; restorasyon; milli kimlik; anıtlar; milli semboller; Maarif Vekaleti, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı; Bruno Taut.

### BRUNO TAUT VE TÜRKİYEDEKİ ANITLARIN KORUNMASI PROGRAMI'NDA ÜÇ ÇALIŞMA (1937-38): ANKARA, EDİRNE VE BURSA

1933 yılında Maarif Vekaleti (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı) tarafından, ülkede bilimsel ve sistematik bir biçimde gerçekleştirilen restorasyon çalışmalarının başlangıcına işaret eden, Türk anıtlarının korunması için bir program oluşturuldu. Programın yürürlüğe konma aşamasında Alman mimar Bruno Taut üç farklı konuda profesyonel görüşünü sunmak üzere Bakanlık tarafından resmi olarak davet edildi: Ankara'daki *Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni* restorasyonu, Edirne'deki bazı anıtların durumunun değerlendirilme sürecinin incelenmesi, Bursa'daki *Yeşil Türbe*'nin restorasyonu.

Bu çalışma, yukarıda sözedilen üç konunun kronolojik olarak gelişme süreçlerini ve içeriklerinin tarihi arka planını yeniden düzenlemek için girişimde bulunmanın yanı sıra, önemli belgesel kaynakları temel alan değerlendirmeye yönelik yorumlarını sunmaktadır. Taut'un Türkiye'deki profesyonel gündeminin önemli başlıklarını kaydettiği *İstanbul Günlüğü* (*İstanbul Journal*) çalışmanın referans kabul ettiği en önemli belgedir. Bu birincil kaynakla beraber, diğer kanıtlar özellikle Anıtları Koruma Komisyonu'nun 1935 yılında yayınladığı raporu da içeren çeşitli Türkçe yayınlardan oluşan ikincil kaynaklardan gelmektedir. Bursa'daki *Yeşil Türbe* restorasyonu konusunda, Taut'un anıtı analiz ettiği yayınlanmamış çalışması olan "Bericht Über Die Renovierung Der Yeşil Türbe"ye referans gösterme fırsatı bulunmuştur. Bu belge Taut'a verilen görevin resmi boyutunu yansıtanın ötesinde, Taut ile restorasyon prensipleri arasındaki ilişkiyi ve özellikle onun Bakanlıktaki profesyonel statüsünün yeniden düzenlenmesinin incelenmesi açısından çok önemli bir kaynağı temsil etmektedir.

Taut'un Ankara, Edirne ve Bursa'daki söz konusu çalışmaları; Bakanlığın, tarihi miras üzerinde yeni devletin kimliğini inşa etmek amacıyla bir ulusal proje olarak, restorasyon programını kurma çabalarını değerlendirmeyi mümkün kılan yeni bakış açıları önermektedir. Bakanlığın konuyu ele alışında en önemli strateji olarak görülen, anıtları "milli" semboller olarak düzenleme düşüncesi, aslında bu makale kapsamında seçilen üç konunun çalışma gündemini karakterize etmekte ve aynı zamanda Bakanlığın yabancı uzman görüşünden faydalanma nedenini açıklığa kavuşturmaktadır.

Bugüne kadar pek üzerinde durulmayan, Taut'un Türkiye'deki profesyonel etkinliklerine bu açıdan bakılması, onun devlet ideolojisi yararına anıtların yeniden analiz edilmesindeki rolü ve Türkiye'de restorasyon kültürünün kurulması sırasında katkılarını değerlendirmek için önem göstermektedir.

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