



The Exhibition House in Ankara: building (up) the 'national' and the 'modern'

Elvan Altan Ergut

To cite this article: Elvan Altan Ergut (2011) The Exhibition House in Ankara: building (up) the 'national' and the 'modern', The Journal of Architecture, 16:6, 855-884, DOI: [10.1080/13602365.2011.636992](https://doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2011.636992)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2011.636992>



Published online: 09 Dec 2011.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 338



View related articles [↗](#)



Citing articles: 1 View citing articles [↗](#)

The Exhibition House in Ankara: building (up) the 'national' and the 'modern'

Elvan Altan Ergut

*Graduate Program in Architectural History, Middle
East Technical University, Üniversiteler Mah.
Dumlupınar Blv. No: 1, 06800 Çankaya—Ankara,
Turkey*

Introduction

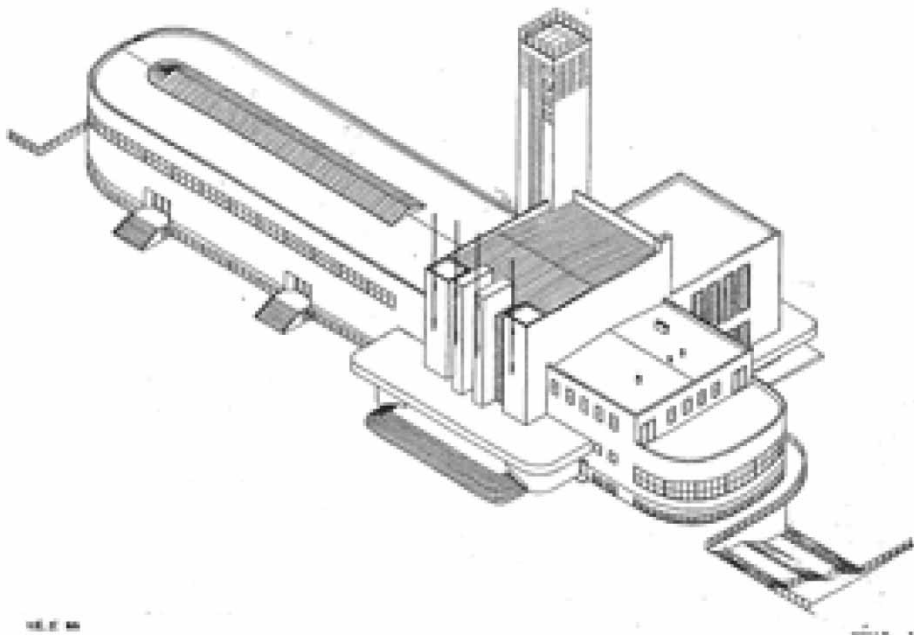
The classification of architectural production according to 'national' categories provides ample evidence that architectural thought also accepts as valid the idea of a 'nationally' divided world. The basic assumption in such conceptualisations is that there is a fundamental relationship between architecture and a 'nation'. Hence, the following argument is proposed:

It is certain that each country has its specific characteristics. Therefore, it is also natural that it will have an architecture specific to itself. As it is possible to differentiate a Chinese from a Frenchman, a German from a Turk, it should also be possible to differentiate architecture in Vienna from that in İstanbul, French architecture from Russian architecture.¹

The idea of a 'national architecture' could be understood with reference to those theories of nationalism that attribute a unified identity to the 'nation', which is then taken as represented by its architecture. Studies in recent decades, however, have emphasised that nationalism is a process of constructing 'nations' through the mechanisms of the state.² This critique has been effective in calling into question whether 'national architecture' has a unitary and stable meaning; it has instead proposed a critical analysis of the specific context in which architecture is invested and that meanings are produced through the process of 'nation'-building.

This essay examines the Exhibition House in early 1930s' Turkey as an exemplar of the role an architectural product could take on in constituting images to represent, and in creating built environments to house, the institutions and organisations of the 'nation'-state (Fig.1). Further, the fact that the design of the Exhibition House is accepted in conventional architectural historiography as one of the most important examples of the so-called International Style of the 1930s³ provides the opportunity to discuss national production in Turkey in relation to the modern international context. The study evaluates the Exhibition House as exemplary of the search for a 'modern national' architecture through the simultaneous modernisation and 'nation'-building processes in early republican Turkey, and does so by analysing the multiple 'national' and 'modern' meanings of the social roles given to it by the state's display, and the architectural characteristics given to it by the architects' design. The aim is to understand the formation of the built environment as the product of 'overlapping territories' and 'intertwined histories'⁴ in between and/or beyond the 'fixed forms'⁵ on the two sides of the seemingly dichotomous identity constructs contained not only in the polar concepts 'national/international', but also in 'local/foreign', 'old/new', 'traditional/modern' and 'Turkey/Europe'.

Figure 1. Şevki Balmumcu, axonometric view, competition entry for the Exhibition House, Ankara, 1934: published in *Mimar*, 5 (1933), p. 133.



Displaying the 'national'

Schinkel, the architect of the Altes Museum in Berlin, defined the museum as 'at once an object of innate beauty *and* an ornament to the city'.⁶ Similarly, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, the newspaper published from Ankara as the propaganda organ of the new Turkish Republic, announced in 1934 the construction of an exhibition house in the capital city, praising the new building as 'an artistic jewel, of not only Ankara but also all the world, which deserves to be called beautiful'.⁷ As with other significant buildings of display constructed in major

urban centres since the beginning of the nineteenth century,⁸ the Exhibition House in Ankara was one of the most exemplary and effective products of both the new capital city of Ankara and the new state at large.

When the Exhibition House was opened, Turkey had recently celebrated its tenth anniversary in 1933, and was still in the process of consolidating the new regime formed after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, by changing the entire social and spatial organisation of the country. The most important strategic decision witnessing Turkey's intention

in this regard was the move of the capital city from Istanbul to Ankara; and with the choice of that modest Anatolian town as the seat of the national government, the construction of the 'nation'-state was literally put in motion by the construction of its capital. The initial planning attempts in the city started in the mid-1920s, when the German architect Carl Christoph Lörcher⁹ designed a project for the transformation of the old town as well as the development of a new administrative centre.¹⁰ In 1928, an international competition was held for the provision of a more comprehensive plan from which to construct the new capital city.¹¹ With the winning project selected—that of the German architect Hermann Jansen¹²—Ankara began to change and grow rapidly with the construction of various buildings mainly to house the government, administrative, legal and economic facilities, as well as the increasing number of people who began to populate the new capital.¹³ The consequent transformation of the city was therefore in formal and spatial as well as functional terms. The overall architectural and spatial appearance of the city was organised anew to construct the capital city as an ideal settlement to act as a model for the other parts of the country.

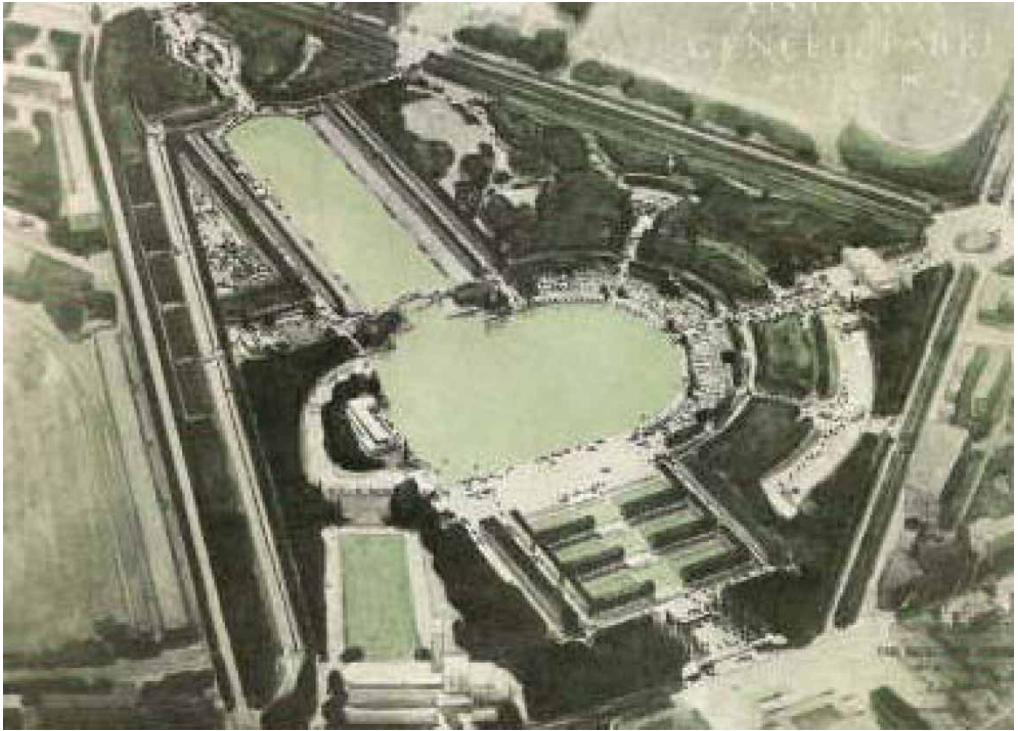
Jansen's plan suggested the growth of the city towards the south; and the main urban element to define this growth was *Atatürk Bulvarı* (boulevard), which ran along the north–south axis. Starting from the old city in the north, the newly developed parts of the city lay on and around this boulevard. While the way of life remained more or less the same in the old city, the newly built environment, with wide streets, parks, shops, theatres and restau-

rants, provided a new and enlivened social life for the growing population.

An exhibition space had already been defined within the developing parts of the city according to the earliest plan of Ankara by Lörcher, who suggested a city park together with an exhibition garden.¹⁴ The final position of the Exhibition House was similarly chosen as adjacent to the open place on the boulevard that would be designed as *Gençlik Parkı* (Youth Park) in the coming years by the French architect Theodore Leveau according to the initial project by Jansen (Fig.2). Tony Bennett, commenting on museums, states that they are 'typically located at the centre of cities, where they stood as embodiments, both material and symbolic, of a power to "show and tell" which, in being deployed in a newly constituted open and public space, sought rhetorically to incorporate the people within the processes of the state.'¹⁵ Similarly, the Exhibition House was strategically situated at a significant junction on *Atatürk Bulvarı* in the newly developing centre of the growing capital (figs 3, 4). Placed at the very corner of the road that connected the boulevard to the railway station, ie, the contemporary 'gate' to the city, the building was one of the most expressive symbols of the new national capital.

Alongside its central location in the city, the public function of the Exhibition House was equally strategic in making it a national symbol of the early Republican state. The building was constructed by the National Economy and Savings Society of the Turkish Republic, which opened a competition for its design in 1931. The competition programme required that the building would be suitable for

Figure 2. Theodore Leveau, Youth Park with the Exhibition House at its lower left corner, Ankara, 1936: published in *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi*, 1 (1938), cover page.



'the display of industrial and agricultural products, livestock and artistic works in national and international exhibitions as well as for displays of books or on topics such as child raising or fighting infectious diseases to be exhibited for national purposes.'¹⁶ As a newly founded state still fighting to provide stability in economic, political and social terms, the world economic depression during the early 1930s had seriously affected Turkey; the National Economy and Savings Society had there-

fore been established in 1929 to support the national economy. Organising exhibitions was a result of such an aim; and the Exhibition House in Ankara was planned to be the most effective in that endeavour.¹⁷

Exemplifying the principal economic function of the place, the Exhibition House was opened on the eleventh anniversary of the Republic in 1934 to celebrate the newly accepted Five-Year Industrial Plan with an exhibition that was devoted to the



Figure 3. Şevki Balmumcu, exterior view, Exhibition House, Ankara, 1934: published in *Ankara Posta Kartları ve Belge Fotoğrafları Arşivi* (1994), p. 155.

display of national products, in which 116 firms participated.¹⁸ Economic considerations were natural parts of the discursive as well as the practical processes of contemporary state formation. Hence, a journalist wrote: 'The Turkish exhibition claims an idea. It is not just a simple place to sell or to show off. The Turkish exhibition will accomplish the task of not only introducing and selling our products, but also of making the people follow the development and cause of our national economy, and love this cause and consider it their own.'¹⁹ The exhibition was praised for showing that the Turkish Republic had developed so fast, in such a short period of

time, that it could now hold an exhibition of products from national factories as 'an accomplishment that could not have been imagined during the time of the Ottoman Empire'.²⁰

That is why, although the exhibition concentrated primarily on economic achievements, its effect for propaganda purposes was clearly acknowledged and in the entrance hall attention was also given to the general development of the country during the eleven years of the Republic. This part of the exhibition, where posters, graphics and figures were used to explain the degree of development, was especially appreciated in terms of the education

Figure 4. Şevki Balmumcu, exterior view, Exhibition House, Ankara, 1934: published in *Ankara'dan Yükselen Işık. Othmar Pferschy Fotoğrafları* (2007), p. 51.



it provided for the general public.²¹ A journalist thus commented: 'This building came out of necessity. For a nation that was aware of the fact that exhibitions were the most effective means of inspiration and knowledge, it was not possible not to have an exhibition building. ... We hope that this building will be the liveliest centre of inspiration, education and culture for great masses of people.'²²

The idea of building an exhibition house emerged in the context of 1930s' Turkey as part of the attempts to inculcate the ideology of the new

state in its population. Following the initial consolidation period of the regime, the late 1920s and the early 1930s seem to have been decisive in shaping subsequent developments on this front. It was then that the state attempted to ground its radical reforms by formulating and disseminating its ideological principles. Concern with cultural matters appears to have been crucial for this period because of the need to secure the allegiance of the people to the new regime.²³ Thus, the Minister of National Education stated in 1945 that the aim

was to 'make Turkey a great museum itself', and continued: 'Cultural unity cannot be created when [it] is confined only to schools. It is hard to believe in the power of culture [provided] in schools in a city without libraries, museums and theatres. That is why I count museums as schools in themselves.'²⁴ In line with this approach, various exhibitions—both national and international—were held at the Exhibition House throughout the 1930s until the mid-1940s, covering fields from politics and economy to art and architecture (figs 5, 6, 7).²⁵

Education of the public through places of display such as museums is common state practice. Exhibitions are 'collective rituals ... the messages of [which] are intended to connect those producing them and those receiving them'.²⁶ The formation and maintenance of the 'nation'-state—that is, the success of its 'nation'-building process—depends on an alliance with the people in accepting the messages of the state. Exhibitions aim at the self-education of people in terms of the 'acceptable norms and forms' of the state in order to transform them into 'the active bearers and practitioners' of national culture.²⁷ Organising exhibitions as 'vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power throughout society'²⁸ is an attempt on the part of those in power to provide such an alliance.

The practice of exhibiting in Turkey has its origin in the experience of the Ottoman Empire in the museum field during the late nineteenth century;²⁹ and the development of museums was accepted as crucial for the transformation of social and cultural life following the founding of the new Turkish state. In his book *World of Fairs*, Robert W. Rydell explains how, in the aftermath of the

First World War, fairs provided the means to buttress the authority of their traditional promoters – ie, government officials, industrial leaders and leading intellectuals. Fairs also provided the medium '[to] give ordinary citizens direction through the turbulent seas of the post-war period'.³⁰ Similar aims grounded the importance given to museums in establishing the new state in Turkey in the 1920s, as represented by the existence, from the very beginning of the Republican era, of a directorate to deal with museum practices as part of the Ministry of National Education.³¹

In the early years, exhibiting practice in Turkey was mainly confined to the collection and classification of historical works. As early as 1922—ie, even before the foundation of the Republic was announced in 1923—Atatürk ordered that regulations be published for collecting cultural works of an archaeological and ethnographic character, and that museums be founded to exhibit them all over the country. The republican period hence witnessed an increase in the founding of museums. In line with the transformation of the earlier systems of government and religion, the republican state turned the Ottoman palaces into museums and transferred to museums the belongings of abolished religious sites such as dervish lodges and tombs, or established them as museums.³²

Exhibitions in museums as well as in other places of display provided the most appropriate medium to generate 'nation'-building during this early republican period. Exhibitions, which were opened in schools³³ and in the newly established institution of the People's Houses,³⁴ played the most important role in disseminating the ideology of the state

Figure 5. Exhibition on
Health, Exhibition
House, 1935; published
in *La Turquie Kemaliste*,
11 (1936), p. 6.



throughout society, especially as they were spread quite widely across the towns and cities of Turkey. Moreover, there were also attempts on the part of the state to extend the area affected, as exemplified by the 'Travelling Education Exhibition' organised by the Ministry of Education in 1933. A train travelled to four cities and many towns in between in the relatively less developed eastern part of the country,

carrying an exhibition that was composed of two parts: exhibition coaches that aimed at showing, by graphics and photographs, the level of progress achieved since the founding of the Republic; and education coaches in which seminars were held about the old and new modes of education and the aims of the Ministry of Education in Turkey (Fig. 8).³⁵



Figure 6. Coal Exhibition, Exhibition House, 1937: published in *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 19 (1937), p. 13.

Such practices of display were not limited to the country itself, but were also taken abroad. A 'nation'-state can only exist upon the basis of an international system and relationships: hence, being/becoming a 'nation' is dependent on international recognition. 'National' identity thus coincides with 'international' identity, and 'the goal [then becomes] identity in the eyes of an international audience'.³⁶ Similarly, the new Turkish state tried to play an active role in the international field. As stated in a publication by the Republican People's Party, '[t]he practice of the Republican government in the international scene [had] not [been] limited to politics

and economics, as it participated in many organizations of governmental, social, scientific and other fields',³⁷ including exhibitions.

During this period the Turkish Republic held, or participated in, exhibitions in various foreign countries, signifying the intention of the new Turkish state to take its place in the international system of 'nation'-states. These include both international exhibitions (World Fairs) as well as others on specific, various subjects.³⁸ As early as 1926, a 'Floating Exhibition' was also organised in the ship, the *Black Sea*, which visited cities including Marseille, Barcelona, Amsterdam,

Figure 7. Public Works
Exhibition, Exhibition
House, 1944 (courtesy
of Haluk Zelef Private
Archive.)



Copenhagen and London. The exhibition was to undertake the 'national and sacred duty' of introducing to the European audience the natural resources and products of Turkey, as well as its architectural and institutional developments (Fig. 9).³⁹

The wide diversity of the themes and contents of state exhibitions confirms the fact that the idea and practice of display were not limited merely to an economic agenda, but were oriented in accordance

with the wider political and cultural aims of the new regime during the early republican period.⁴⁰ When both museums and other types of exhibiting practices in the country and abroad are seen in their entirety, it becomes clear that the idea of exhibiting was fully accepted as part of the state apparatus. Exhibiting functioned in the newly founded Turkish state to secure national bonds while at the same time broadcasting its national presence on the international scene.



Figure 8. Travelling Education Exhibition, 1933: Catalogue of the Exhibition, cover page.

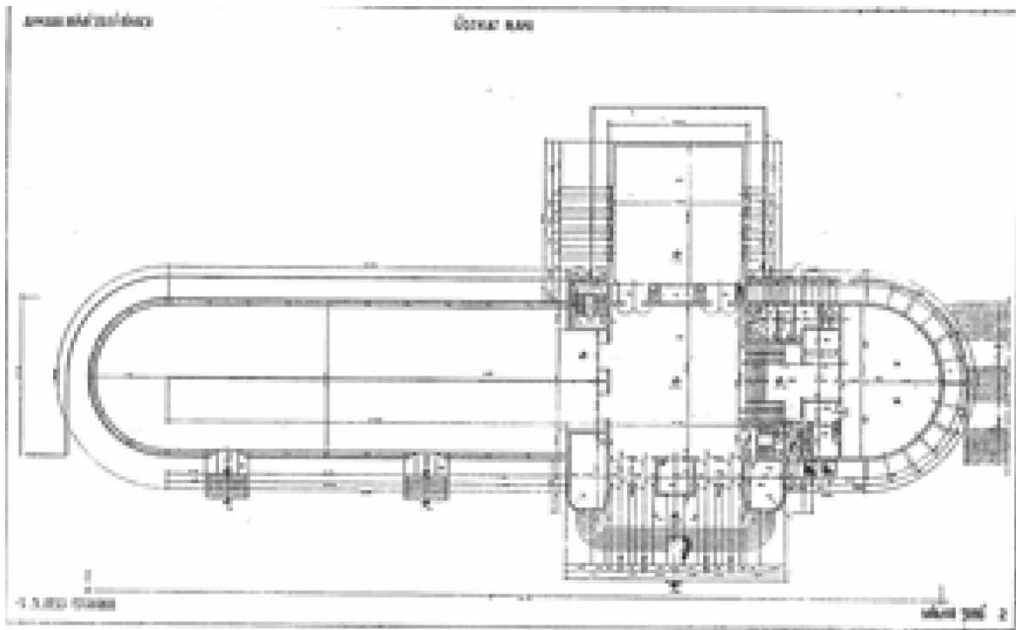
Figure 9. Floating Exhibition, 1926: published in G. Akçura, *Türkiye Sergicilik ve Fuarçılık Tarihi* (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı ve TÜYAP, 2009), p. 185.

Designing the 'modern'

In the field of architecture, as in most other fields, the 'international' scene was defined with reference to the contemporary mode of production in European countries, from where many foreign architects were invited from the late 1920s onwards to work as practitioners, teachers at universities and advisors in state offices in Turkey.⁴¹ Local architects were critical of this practice, arguing that architectural

commissions should not be given to foreigners because they did not 'try to understand what the art of Turkey actually was, or indeed, what it could be'.⁴² In the face of a general critique of the presence of foreign architects in architectural practice, the fact that an international competition was opened in 1931 for the design of the Exhibition House in Ankara was warmly welcomed in the country, as it provided an opportunity for local architects to get commissions.

Figure 10. Şevki Balmumcu, plan, Exhibition House, Ankara, 1934: published in *Mimar*, 5 (1933), p. 135.



From a total of twenty-six entries, including ten projects by foreign architects, the winning design was by a Turkish architect (Fig.10), although the first prize was shared with the submission by the Italian architect Paolo Vietti-Viola.⁴³ Şevki Balmumcu, the architect of the winning design, had graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul in 1928 as one of the second generation of architects educated in the Republic.⁴⁴ The fact that a young Turkish architect won the competition was particularly appreciated by his local colleagues, who saw such events as opportunities to prove that they were equal to foreigners in professional

competence.⁴⁵ The accounts of one architect, Maruf Önal, regarding his childhood memories of the construction of the Exhibition House and its designer tell much about the value of the architect in the eyes of the contemporary public. Önal remembers how he learned about the construction of an exhibition house, and that its architect was Turkish. He continues:

Until I heard about Şevki Balmumcu, I hadn't known any other architect but Sinan. ... I was very curious about him. As the construction continued by the setting up of the scaffoldings, the furnishing of the irons and concrete, the Exhibi-

tion House was rising, as did the architect himself in my eyes. . . . [When I met him in person one day, I asked myself:] Could such a young person be an architect? Yes, he could, and he could construct buildings, too.⁴⁶

Arkitekt (earlier *Mimar*), the only architectural journal in 1930s' Turkey, published a comprehensive article to introduce the competition, including detailed information about the jury⁴⁷ and the competition programme. The two winning projects by Balmumcu and Vietti-Violi were published, together with projects by some other architects who were all well-known names of the contemporary Turkish architectural community.⁴⁸ The journal announced the results with an emphasis on the positive effects of the competition:

The architectural community is grateful to the National Economy and Savings Society because, unlike some other institutions, it did not commission the project of the exhibition building to a foreign architect, but instead it acted cleverly and opened a competition that provided architecture of the country the ground to rival the foreigners.⁴⁹

The famous journalist Falih Rifkî Atay also praised the building along these lines, arguing that 'Turkish architects [now] proved the success of the revolution in the international arena'.⁵⁰

Within the field of architecture, Turkey's international relations were mostly defined by, albeit not confined to, the work of foreign architects in Turkey. Turkish architects were also travelling abroad to be introduced to architectural culture in European countries: some architects went to Europe to be educated in schools or to work at

the offices of well-known architects; others travelled for shorter periods to observe different architectural practices. One such account was published in the journal *Arkitekt* by Balmumcu, the architect of the Exhibition House. He had visited European cities shortly before the opening of the building in 1934 in order to observe contemporary architectural activities with a special emphasis on exhibitions there and wrote an account of his impressions in the article 'Little Journey'.⁵¹

Balmumcu's trip lasted several weeks and included stays in Rome, Sofia, Belgrade, Budapest, Vienna, Munich, Brindisi and Venice. In the article he presented short notes on architecture in these cities, especially commenting on contemporary developments. Despite his admiration for the exhibition there, Balmumcu found Rome slow in responding to new artistic movements and he also criticised Sofia, Belgrade, and Budapest for the 'poor quality' of their new architecture. On the other hand, he praised Vienna for its 'strong and honest new architecture', singling out the Karl Marx-Hoff housing complex.⁵²

Balmumcu's search for the 'new' exemplified the contemporary approach in architectural practice and discourse in Turkey. The creation of architecture was then based on the perception of a duality between the 'new' and the 'old': 'We need an artistic mobilization, for a new architecture, for the new Turkish architecture, like new letters, new language, and new history', two architects wrote, reminding their readers of the changes brought about in other cultural fields with the foundation of the new state.⁵³ The 'new' architecture in Turkey should follow Europe—for which read the

'West'—in order to be internationally recognised because, as even the architect of the Exhibition House stated, the newly founded country was accepted as 'in need of western guidance in the field of architecture still for some more time'.⁵⁴

In this context, the architectural journal *Arkitekt* introduced local architects to contemporary developments in 'modern architecture', especially in European countries such as Germany, Belgium, Poland, Sweden, Holland and France, as well as in Russia and the United States. Together with the recent projects of local architects, pictures of buildings by prominent European architects of the period such as Le Corbusier, W. Dudok, W. Gropius, G. Rietveld, J. J. P. Oud, E. May and M. van der Rohe were published in the journal as representative of the 'new' in architecture. Moreover, a book entitled *Yeni Mimari* ('The New Architecture') was published in 1931 which promoted contemporary architectural movements in Europe and argued for the development of architecture in Turkey on such a basis.⁵⁵ Through this book and the architectural journal, architects in Turkey became more familiarised with the so-called International Style of 'modern' architecture with reference to its elements such as flat roofs, pilotis, ribbon windows, colours, rounded corners, corner windows and towers, and its construction techniques such as the use of reinforced concrete. The 'new' architecture in Turkey was thus conceptualised in connection with the 'international', ie, 'modern' architecture as developed mainly in Europe.⁵⁶

In fact, what was significant in the competition programme for the Exhibition House was that it

required the building to be in the 'modern style of architecture'.⁵⁷ The design of the Exhibition House clearly reflects what was understood by 'modern' in terms of architectural style at that time in Turkey: ie, 'simplicity' and 'functionalism' of a design that is also free from 'unnecessary' decorations.⁵⁸ The asymmetrical arrangement of simple geometric forms, both for the interior and exterior, characterised the design of the Exhibition House (figs 11, 12). It did not have any exclusively decorative elements and thus, as a contemporary account stated, 'the formal richness of the building [was] achieved by the proportional and harmonious arrangement of volumes'.⁵⁹ This created a composition of horizontal and vertical masses and lines that formed an asymmetrical balance.⁶⁰ Rounded forms were also defining in this style: the entrance and the main hall of the Exhibition House were shaped by the use of rounded corners and cylindrical masses. Such formal attributes of the style, called 'cubic' in Turkey, also had a functional role: the competition programme required that the halls of the Exhibition House would be connected to each other in such a way that a visitor entering the building would move around automatically, seeing all the areas before leaving. Balmumcu's use of rounded forms naturally guided the flowing movement inside the building from the entrance to the smaller rooms and the main hall (Fig. 13).⁶¹

The Exhibition House also conformed to the structural principles of the 'modern' understanding of design. The competition programme required that the building would be a reinforced concrete construction, and that the inner and outer walls would be plastered while the ground would be

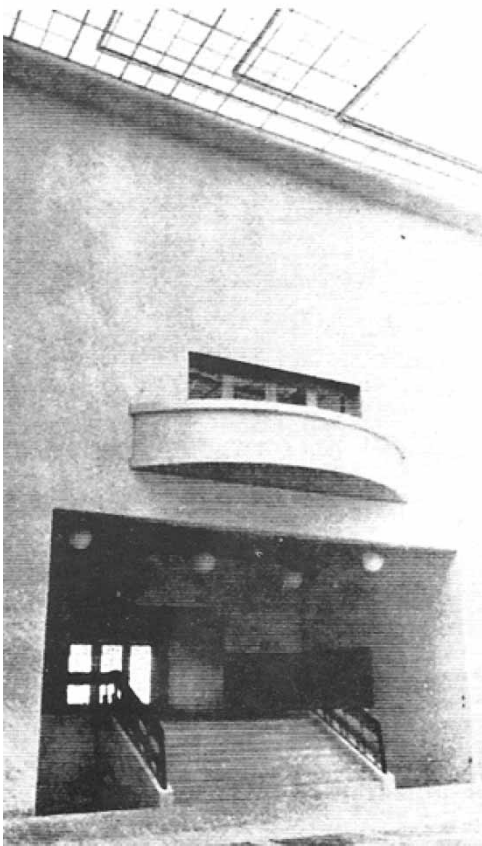


Figure 11. Şevki Balmumcu, interior view, Exhibition House, Ankara, 1934: published in *Arkitekt*, 4 (1935), p. 106.

large glazed ceilings that created naturally illuminated inner spaces (Fig. 14).

The design of the Exhibition House also took economic factors into consideration. A contemporary account praised the building for not having been constructed 'by various expensive materials wasted by foreign architects in other buildings in Ankara'.⁶² Indeed, Balmumcu's project was chosen instead of Vietti-Violi's because calculations showed that the latter could not be realised within the limited budget of 250,000 Turkish Liras reserved for the construction, and Balmumcu's project was 'preferred because of its architectural value as well as the fact that it was the most appropriate for the existing conditions'.⁶³

Arguably, Balmumcu's design better presented the modernist approach of its time when compared with the other projects of the competition published in the journal. The co-winner of the competition, Vietti-Violi's project, for example, resembled Balmumcu's, with its tower that emphasised the entrance in its verticality and its horizontal mass, as well as with the rounded entrance, situated in this case at the back of the building. Still, the plan of the building seems to be the result of a classical design approach with reference to its decisive symmetry and emphasis on the centrally located entrance (figs 15, 16). In line with the requirement of the competition programme for the use of the 'modern style', none of the projects used decorative elements as references to traditional/historical architecture. Nonetheless, almost all of the other projects had symmetrical plans like Vietti-Violi's, while some also had colonnaded entrances or a general monumental massing, witnessing the

covered with 'Ankara stone', a local type of andesit stone which had been widely used as a covering material especially in the public buildings in Ankara. The building thus utilised the 'modern' construction technique of reinforced concrete, as well as materials such as steel and glass, providing

Figure 12. Şevki Balmumcu, front entrance, Exhibition House, Ankara, 1934: published in *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 12 (1936), p. 19.



increasing effect of the neo-classical approach also in Turkey towards the mid-1930s.

In a contemporary newspaper, the Exhibition House was defined as follows: 'You can find in [this building] an aesthetic movement walking forward and upward, and a modern meaning'.⁶⁴ In its 'modern' style, the building was indeed a display itself, taken as a 'national symbol' of the new Turkish Republic.⁶⁵ As a matter of fact, it was literally displayed in the exhibition of the Second Congress on History in 1937 as one of the examples of republican architecture, confirming that the Exhi-

bition House was accepted as representative of the modernising efforts of the new 'nation'-state.⁶⁶

The emphasis here on the meanings attached to architecture in the case of the Exhibition House in relation to the strategies of the 'nation'-state is not ungrounded: the national aspirations were shared by most people at the time, including architects. Hence, among all the places he visited during his aforementioned journey to Europe, Balmumcu was especially interested in the Fascist Exhibition in Rome and emphasised its nationalist overtones.

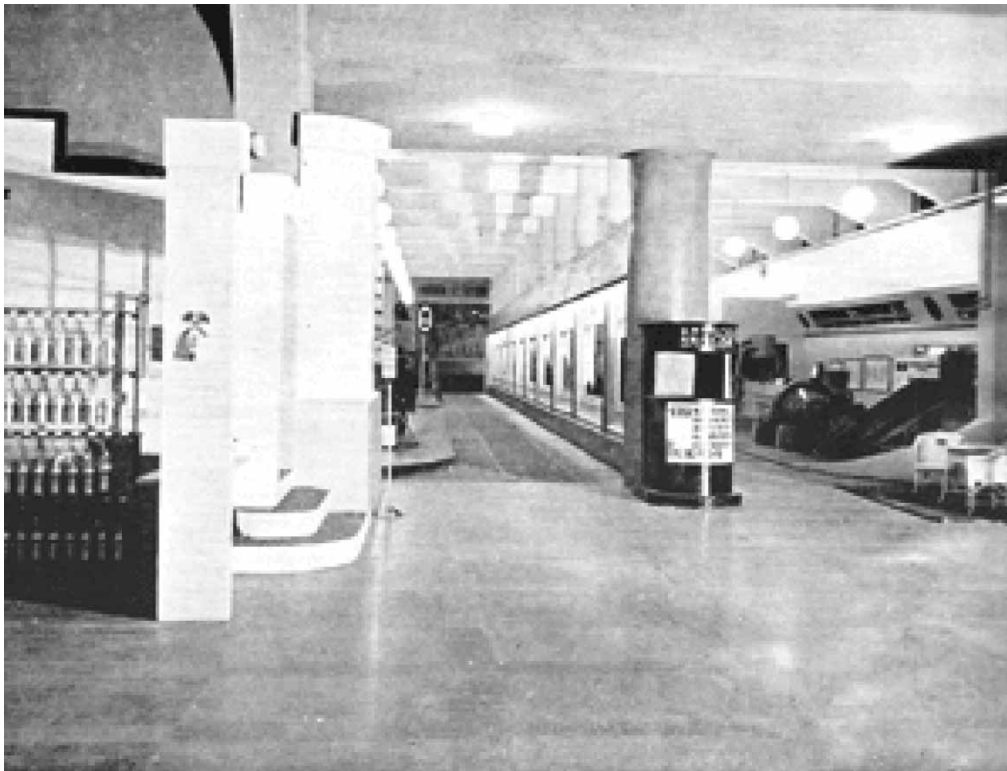


Figure 13. Şevki Balmumcu, interior view, Exhibition House, Ankara, 1934: published in *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 19 (1937), p. 15.

Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista had been opened in 1932 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Fascism in Italy. In the short article about his tour in Europe, Balmumcu informed the readers that the Fascist Exhibition was taking place on the most important avenue of Rome in an older exhibition building, whose façade was renovated by a 'mask', which he defined as a 'fascist shirt'. The original building was Pio Piacentini's Palazzo delle Esposizioni on via

Nazionale, opened in 1883; and a temporary structure was designed for its façade by Adalberto Libera and Mario De Renzi.⁶⁷

Apart from the redesign of the façade, Balmumcu was especially affected by the interior organisation of the exhibition, stating that 'the interior architecture, composed of twenty-four or twenty-five rooms, [was] wonderful'. Balmumcu's definition of the interior space followed:

Figure 14. Şevki Balmumcu, main hall, Exhibition House, Ankara, 1934: published in *La Turquie Kemaliste*, 12 (1936), p. 18.



Colours are combining with spaces, creating a second force; lights are cuddling with colours, providing an increasing force. ... The halls are very impressive. You pass through a flattened corridor, like walking through the dark ways of a skull. A blank, hard wall says 'stop!'; and you stop. A sculpture says 'turn right!'; and you turn. Now you are faced with the smiling face of the space. It tells, tells, tells.

I salute the Italian interior architect, decorator, sculptor and painter in this architectural value

and power of faith. By this faith, indeed, this work has become the biggest architectural manifestation of Italy today.⁶⁸

Balmumcu was naturally highly influenced by his experience there as the exhibition was indeed arranged to provide the visitor with

a calibrated sequence of events ... [whereby] the visitor's progress through the exhibit was carefully choreographed, and also the designers systematically ruptured the staid rooms of the neoclassical Palazzo. They used a range of graphic techniques,

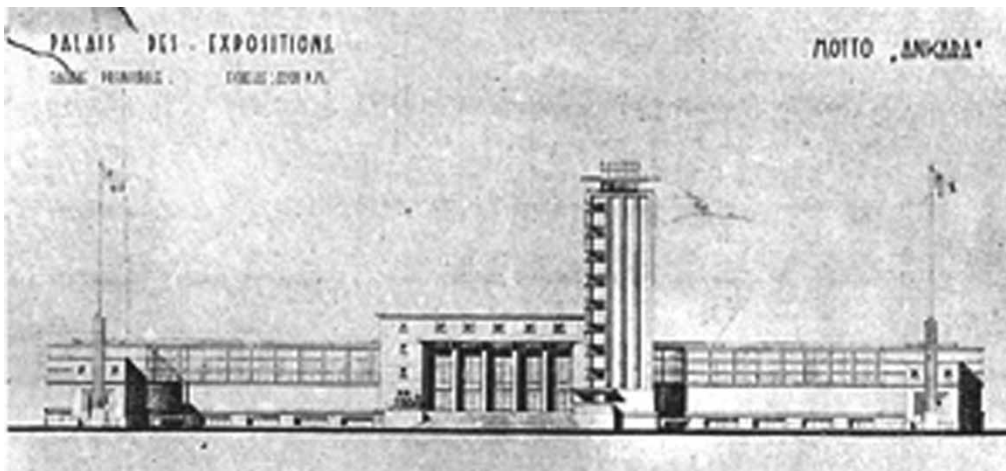


Figure 15. Paolo Vietti-Viola, front elevation, competition entry for the Exhibition House, Ankara, 1934: published in *Mimar*, 5 (1933), p. 138.

from photomontage to oversized words to rupturing, penetrating, and jutting out walls, ceilings, and floors and exploding them into the space of the rooms.⁶⁹

As described so enthusiastically by Balmumcu, the interior design of the exhibition suggested a ritual structure that 'was evidently intended to emphasize the sacred character of the exhibition as a cult object—indeed, as the principal site of Fascist worship around the world.'⁷⁰ Balmumcu was especially influenced by the relationship he saw between the 'fascist revolution' and this exhibition; and at the end of his article he directly addressed architects in Turkey:

You are the most special son of the man who has realized the revolution [Atatürk]. And he who will tell about him can be nobody but you.

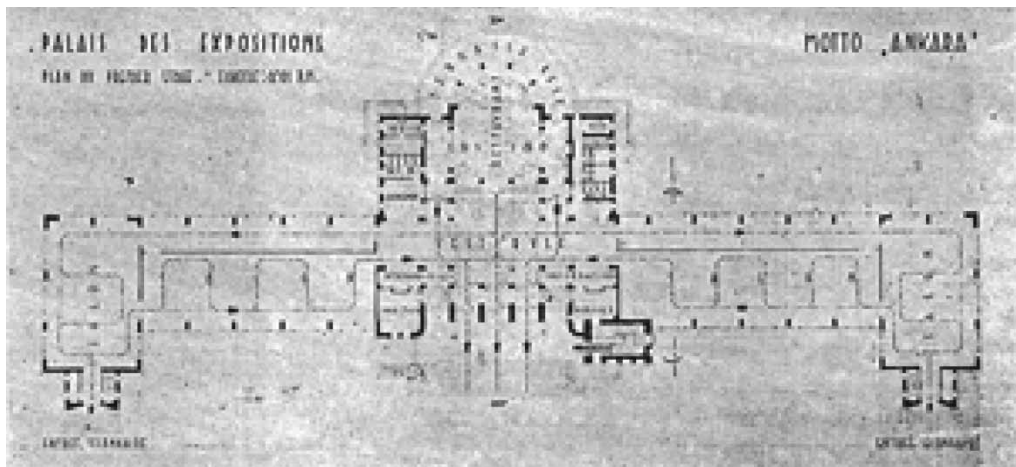
There is no doubt that our greatest duty and value will be telling about the revolution. If he [Atatürk]

has not ordered this yet, he will do so tomorrow. We have to be prepared.⁷¹

In another article, Balmumcu again stated that 'the clear and harmonious sound, springing up from the bosom of the revolutionary preacher [Atatürk] who rebelled from the pulpit of the Grand National Assembly, [described], at the same time, Turkish architecture.'⁷² Balmumcu was not alone in expressing such nationalist feelings and thoughts about architecture. In line with the common approach of the early Republican period, the articles published in *Arkitekt* during the 1930s confirm contemporary architects' belief in the ideals of the new state and their desire to fulfil its aspirations in terms of architecture.

The 'national' was taken as a decisive identity to be created in architecture, as in all other fields of the newly founded Turkish state. Balmumcu always emphasised this in his articles, and on the

Figure 16. Paolo Vietti-Violi, plan, competition entry for the Exhibition House, Ankara, 1934: published in *Mimar*, 5 (1933), p. 139.



drawings he submitted in the competition for the Exhibition House he even engraved the title 'Turk' on the tower of the building (Fig. 17). Still, in line with the new state's strategies of 'nation'-building and modernisation, the 'national' was defined with reference to the 'modern' in cultural terms, whereby modern architecture, as developed in Europe, became a reference point for architectural production in Turkey.

The relationship, and the tension, between the 'national' and the 'modern' attributes in architecture surfaced more radically towards the turn of the 1930s. The change of stylistic preferences from the 1930s to the 1940s is well represented in the later history of the Exhibition House, which was transformed into a theatre and opera house at the end of the Second World War.⁷³

What is of particular interest in this transformation was that not only a functional but also a stylistic change was desired.⁷⁴ A foreign architect, the German Paul Bonatz,⁷⁵ was commissioned in 1946 to redesign the building for its new use.⁷⁶ Besides alterations in the interior design necessitated by functional change, he also redesigned the mass and façade of the building, giving it a more massive appearance. The 'modern style' of the building was totally changed by the addition of an inclined roof, colonnades, and interior and exterior decorations. As a result, the Theatre and Opera House⁷⁷ took on the appearance of a traditional building in a 'monumental', 'neo-classical' and 'revivalist' style (figs. 18, 19).

What was given priority in the design of the building was a – specifically defined – relationship

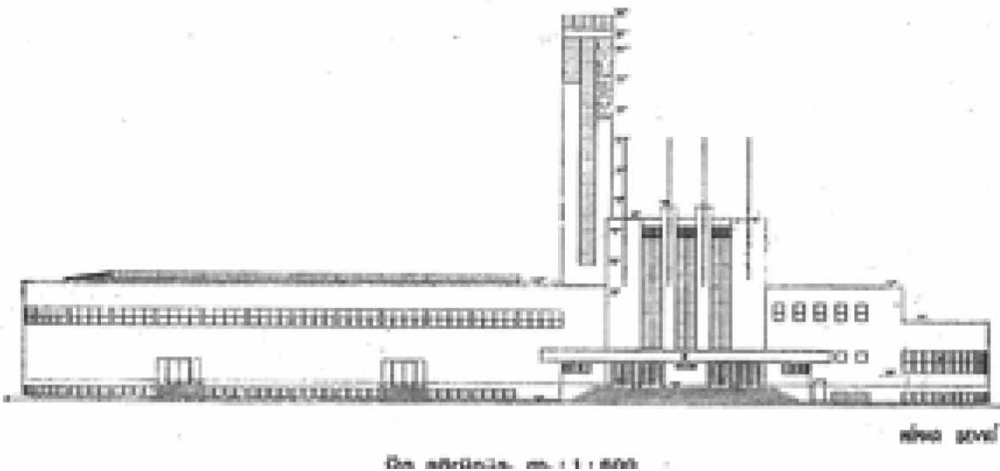


Figure 17. Şevki Balmumcu, front elevation, Exhibition House, Ankara, 1934: published in *Mimar*, 5 (1933), p. 133.

to history. Its importance in terms of architectural historiography is that it represents the change from a modernist to a traditionalist/historicist stylistic approach at the turn of the 1930s, mainly as a result of German and Italian influences on architecture in Turkey. Seen in conventional historiography as an example of the 'National Style' in Turkey, the characteristics of the Theatre and Opera House show how the 'national' in architecture began to be defined in terms of a search for 'cultural/traditional/historical' roots at that time, which may be related to the effects of war.⁷⁸

The transformation of the Exhibition House was justified with reference to the need of a place for artistic performances in Ankara.⁷⁹ The logic behind converting the building into a theatre was, however, still explained by means of the requirements of the national modernisation process. The

then Minister of National Education stated that '[he] accept[ed] the performing arts like theatre and opera as an issue of civilization'.⁸⁰ Similarly, a contemporary journalist argued: 'We have a national cause: The child of Turkey should prove himself also in art that is comparable to that of the civilized countries.'⁸¹ Another journalist wrote that '[t]he stage [was] one of the prominent institutions of education', and referred to the words of an American journalist who, having been to the Opera in Ankara, was surprised how Turkey was developing and had 'moved away from Oriental backwardness'.⁸² In the case of the Theatre and Opera House, the modernity of the new state was interpreted principally in terms of the social and political meanings attached to the performing arts.⁸³

Exemplifying the relationship and the tension between 'national' and 'modern' attributes in archi-

Figure 18. Paul Bonatz,
exterior view, Opera
House, Ankara, 1946:
[http://www.goethe.de/
ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/
res/ope/trindex.htm](http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/res/ope/trindex.htm)



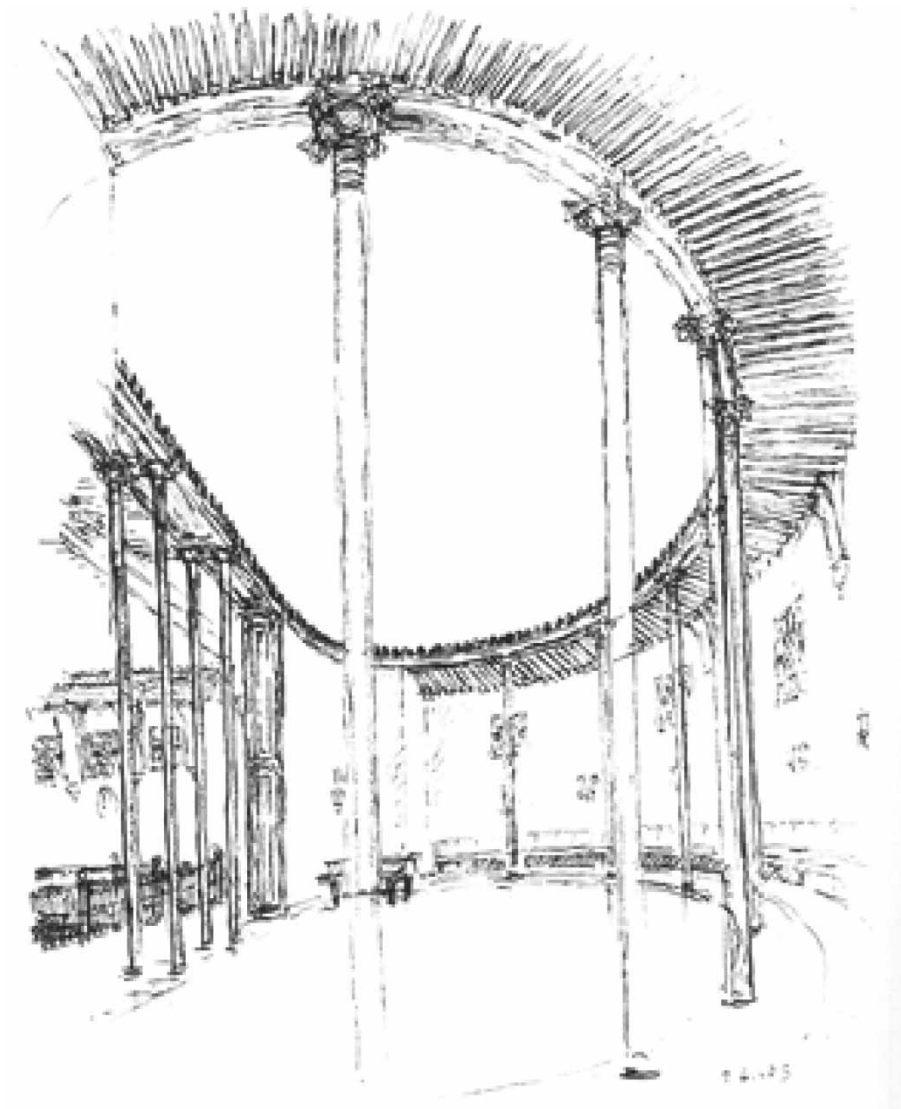


Figure 19. Paul Bonatz, sketch of the foyer, Opera House, Ankara, 1946: published in 'Die neue Oper in Ankara. Architekt: Professor Paul Bonatz', *Baumeister*, 47 (1950), pp. 2–16.

ture, the style of the building changed from the 'modern' to the 'national' in the changing contexts of the 1930s and the 1940s. Still, the Exhibition House and the Theatre and Opera House were both taken as essential for a 'modern' city like Ankara, although 'modern' was variously defined in each case.

The search for a 'modern national' architecture

Bonatz wrote in his memoirs that he was afraid when asked to redesign the Exhibition House – and he defined it as having been designed 'in the international style that [had been] the fashion' of the early 1930s. When offered the commission by the Minister of National Education, he replied: 'You want me to marry quite an ugly woman'. Later, when the Minister asked him about 'that ugly woman', he replied that he was learning to love her and that she would not be ugly anymore.⁸⁴

The fact that the Exhibition House, having been seen earlier as 'the most beautiful building in Ankara',⁸⁵ began to be defined as 'ugly', exemplifies the change in meanings that can be invested in forms of architecture in different contexts. However, as Preziosi argues, '[d]esign features as such, apart from the very specific historical contexts in which they are articulated, may convey limited meanings'.⁸⁶ The symbolic potency of architecture is not limited to formal features, but exists even more effectively in the material existence of buildings in the everyday life of the public, whereby they acquire certain social roles.

Through a formal analysis, the Exhibition House and the Theatre and Opera House could be

defined as falling, respectively, within the so-called 'modern' and 'national' styles of the early republican decades in Turkey. On the other hand, a comprehensive analysis made in relation to their different contexts of production could provide further understanding of the underlying factors instrumental in the change of styles with reference to the multiple meanings of the social roles as well as the architectural characteristics of the building.⁸⁷

The building of an exhibition house in the capital city of Ankara and its transformation into a place for artistic performances were both decided by public institutions, which accepted them as necessary for the modernisation efforts of the new state, and as representative of national aspirations as channelled through the contemporary state formation process. As exemplified in its history, the building is situated squarely within the play of dual constructs such as 'national/international', or, relatedly, 'local/foreign', 'old/new', 'traditional/modern', and 'Turkey/Europe', whose seemingly dichotomous characteristics were challenged in the discourses and practices of early Republican Turkey in its search for a reconciliation, ie, a 'modern national' architecture that united, evaded or transcended such binary constructs.⁸⁸

To provide an historiographical account of architectural products that similarly conceptualises them without referring to such opposing poles requires an examination of when, where, why and how a building was produced, and by whom: ie, an understanding of the historical context of their production, as exemplified in the analysis of the Exhibition House and its later transformation. The 'national modern' architecture of the Exhibition

House in Ankara was designed in the pursuit of and displayed the interconnected relationships among seemingly discrete, even opposing attributes, while still providing the possibility to think about its very difference in a comparative perspective.

Acknowledgements

I have been thinking about the Exhibition House since my early postgraduate years, and it was an important case in my doctoral dissertation. Earlier and shorter versions of this study were presented at conferences and published in Turkish. I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers and Belgin Turan Özkaya for their valuable comments and suggestions, which helped improve the final form of this essay.

Notes and references

1. Behçet and Bedrettin, 'Türk İnkılap Mimarisi', *Mimar*, 9–10 (1933), p. 266.
2. Among the pioneering and most influential works in this expanding field of study are B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York, Verso, 1983); E. J. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983); and E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990). For the role of the state in social control, see James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1998).
3. See, for example, İ. Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı* (Ankara, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği, 1980), p. 42.
4. Said argues that cultural forms are hybrid, mixed, and impure: E. W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, Vintage Books, 1993), pp. 4–14.
5. Investigating how 'Baalbek had no fixed form', Upton argues for 'the unbounded fluidity and porosity of architecture' that necessitates writing its history as 'a story of webs and flows': D. Upton, 'Starting from Baalbek: Noah, Solomon, Saladin, and the Fluidity of Architectural History', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 68, 4 (2009), pp. 457–465.
6. M. Giebelhausen, 'Introduction: The Architecture of the Museum: Symbolic Structures, Urban Contexts', in, M. Giebelhausen, ed., *Architecture of the Museum* (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 4.
7. 'İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyetinin İlk Sergievi İnşaatı Bu Ay Bitiyor', *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 7 (Temmuz [July], 1934), p. 4.
8. For a critical evaluation of the museum as 'exhibitionary complex', see Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (London and New York, Routledge, 1995).
9. C. C. Lörcher (1884–1966) worked in Turkey during the very early years of the Turkish Republic.
10. A. Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924–25 Lörcher Planı: Kentsel Mekan Özellikleri. 1932 Jansen Planına ve Bugüne Katkıları, Etki ve Kalıntıları* (Ankara, Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı ve Arkadaş Yayıncılık Ltd, 2004).
11. G. Tankut, *Bir Başkent'in İmarı* (İstanbul, Anahtar Kitaplar, 1993).
12. H. Jansen (1869–1945) worked in Turkey during the 1930s having won the competition for the plan of Ankara in the late 1920s.
13. In a contemporary Belgian newspaper article on the development of Ankara, it was stated that 3,500 new buildings had been constructed in ten years following the foundation of the Republic: quoted in B. Şimşir, *Ankara ... Ankara. Bir Başkent'in Doğuşu* (Ankara, Bilgi Yayınevi, 1988), p. 398.

14. A. Cengizkan, *Ankara'nın ...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–63.
15. Tony Bennett, *The Birth ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
16. 'Sergi Binası Müsabakası', *Mimar*, 5 (1933), pp. 131–153.
17. The aims at the foundation of the Society were 'a) to make people fight against wasteful expenditure, and economize and save; b) to make national products known, loved and used; c) to try to increase national production, to make national products compatible with foreign ones ..., and to lower their prices; d) to provide a good living for the people by circulating national products effectively.' These aims would be fulfilled by 'a) increasing membership; b) publications and conferences; c) encouraging the institutions that produce and consume national products; d) opening exhibitions and department stores.' *Millî İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi* (Ankara, I. S. Matbaası, 1929).
18. 'Sergievi', *Ankara Haftası*, 1 (Senteşrin [November], 1934), p. 1.
19. F. R. Atay, 'Son Sergi', *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, (12th Eylül [September], 1934), p. 98.
20. 'Seyyar Sergi', *Ankara Haftası*, 8 (Senteşrin [November], 1934), p. 3.
21. 'Sergievi', *op. cit.*, p. 1.
22. 'İktisat ve Tasarruf ...', *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
23. For an analysis of the relationship between nation-state and cultural processes as exemplified in the case of architecture in Turkey, see E. Altan Ergut, 'Making a National Architecture: Architecture and the Nation-State in Early Republican Turkey' (PhD Dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1998).
24. Hasan Ali Yücel, *Millî Eğitimle İlgili Söylev ve Demeçler* (Ankara, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993), pp. 268–69.
25. Referring to *Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları* ('Decisions of the Ministerial Board'), we may count among these the Exhibition of National Products (1934), Turkey before and after the Lausanne Treaty (1934), Soviet Painting (1934), Turkish Painters (1935), Health (1935), Agriculture (1935), Turkey: Land of History, Beauty, and Work (1936), Handcrafts (1936), Photography in Turkey (1936), Coal (1937), Institutes for Girls and Schools of Arts and Crafts (1938), Savings (1938), Turkish Publishing (1938), State Painting and Sculpture (1939–43), Books in English (1941), New German Architecture (1943), Sümerbank (1944), Republican Public Works (1944) and Turkish-English Trade and Industry (1945). See also G. Akçura, *Türkiye Sergicilik ve Fuarçılık Tarihi* (İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı ve TÜYAP, 2009), pp. 123–157.
26. F. E. S. Kaplan, 'Exhibitions as Communicative Media', in, E. Hooper-Greenhill, ed., *Museum, Media, Message* (London and New York, Routledge, 1995), p. 38.
27. Tony Bennett, *The Birth ...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24.
28. Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', in, R. Greenberg, B.W. Ferguson, S. Nairne, eds, *Thinking about Exhibitions* (London and New York, Routledge, 1996), p. 82.
29. The Imperial Museum in İstanbul was founded in the late Ottoman period by the efforts of Osman Hamdi who was appointed as the chief of the museum in 1881. As a firm supporter of the then-prevalent belief in the need to 'civilise' the Empire in 'Western' terms, he struggled hard to establish modern museum practices in the Ottoman Empire. It was also during his time in office that a building was constructed in 1891 exclusively to house the museum. See W. M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed. Museums, Archaeology and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2003).

30. R. W. Rydell, *World of Fairs. The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993).
31. S. Kantarcıoğlu, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümet Programlarında Kültür* (Ankara, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1987).
32. The Museum of Islamic and Byzantine Works of Art was established in the Topkapı Palace in İstanbul in 1924 and the Museum of Paintings and Sculpture was formed in the Dolmabahçe Palace in 1937. The belongings of religious places that were deemed to have historical, artistic or ethnographic value were transferred to existing museums in 1925, or, as with the construction of the Ethnography Museum in Ankara in 1926, a new museum was established to house them. See Z. Kezer, 'Familiar Things in Strange Places: Ankara's Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey', in: Sally Ann McMurry and Annmarie Adams, eds, *People, Power, Places* (Knoxville, TN, University of Tennessee Press, 2000). The Mevlana convent in Konya was turned into a museum in Konya in 1926. Similarly, Hagia Sophia, which had been a mosque since the Ottomans conquered İstanbul in 1453, was opened to public as a 'monument-museum' in 1934. See E. Altan Ergut, '(Re)forming the Collective Memory: The Modern Museum in Early Republican Turkey', *2nd Mediterranean Congress of Aesthetics* (2003); M. Önder, 'Atatürk ve Müzeler', *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, III (1989), p. 1840.
33. It was required by the Ministry of Culture that schools would hold exhibitions each year to display the works accomplished during the year: see *On Beşinci Yıl Kitabı* (Ankara, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Yayını, 1938).
34. N. Gurallar Yeşilkaya, *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*, (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1999).
35. *Seyyar Terbiye Sergisi* (Ankara, T.C. Maarif Vekaleti, 1933).
36. L. J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992).
37. *On Beşinci Yıl Kitabı*, op. cit., p. 115.
38. Referring to *Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları* ('Decisions of the Ministerial Board') we see that, between 1926 and 1937, Turkey participated in exhibitions as varied as the Exhibition on Roads (1926) in Milan, Aircraft (1926) in Poland, Publications (1928) in Cologne, Iranian Works of Art (1930) in London, Travel (1930) in New York, Byzantine Industry (1931) in Paris, Chinese Art (1935) in London, Animals (1936) in Pest, and Turkish Painting and Publication (1937) in Belgrade.
39. G. Akçura, *Türkiye...*, op. cit.; *Karadeniz. Seyri Türkiye*, documentary film (Garanti Bankası, 2006).
40. *Ibid.*, G. Akçura, *Türkiye...*
41. A. Nasır, *Türk Mimarlığında Yabancı Mimarlar* (PhD Dissertation, İTÜ, 1993). Most of these European architects were from German-speaking countries: see B. Nicolai, *Moderne und Exil: Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei, 1925–1955* (Berlin, Verlag für Bauwesen, 1998); B. Doğramacı, *Kulturtransfer und nationale Identität. Deutschsprachige Architekten, Stadtplaner und Bildhauer in der Türkei nach 1927* (Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2008).
42. Ş. Balmumcu, 'I...', *Mimar*, 1 (1931), p. 12.
43. The Italian architect Paolo Vietti-Violi (1882–1965) worked in Turkey during the 1930s, especially designing sports halls, which was his field of expertise. See İ. Aslanoğlu, 'The Italian Contribution to 20th-Century Turkish Architecture', *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 5 (1990), pp. 158–160.
44. Şevki Balmumcu (1905–1982): see M. Önal, 'Şevki Balmumcu ve Yaşamı', *Mimarlık*, 179–180 (1982), pp. 3–4 and S. Sunay Özdemir, '20. Yüzyıl Mimarlık Mirası; Ankara Opera Binası ve 1923–1950 Yılları arası Türk Mimarlığında Yüksek Mimar Şevki Balmumcu

- cu'nun Yeri' (unpublished Master's Thesis, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2001).
45. Behçet and Bedrettin, 'Türk İnkılap Mimarisi', *op. cit.*, pp. 265–266.
 46. M. Önal, 'Anılarda Mimarlık', *Anılarda Mimarlık* (İstanbul, YEM, 1995), pp. 48–58.
 47. The jury of the competition mostly consisted of officials, with only three of the total ten members being architects. The jury members were the Head of the National Economy and Savings Society, the General Manager of Agriculture, the General Manager of the Economy, the Representative to the Director of Reconstruction, the Technical Counsellor to the Ministry of Economy, the Secretary-General for the National Economy and Savings Society, the Head of the Construction Department of the National Railways, the Head of the Architects' Association of Ankara, one architect from the Ministry of National Education and one foreign architect. 'Sergievi Binası Müsabakası', *Mimar*, 5 (1933; *Arkitekt* from 1935), pp. 131–153.
 48. *Ibid.*: besides the winning projects, the entries by the Turkish architects Sedat Hakki, Hüsnü, Abdullah Ziya, Nizamettin Hüsnü and Seyfettin Nasih were also published in the journal.
 49. *Ibid.*
 50. K. Emiroğlu, 'Devrimin Aynası La Turquie Kemaliste'te Devrimin Vitrini Ankara', www.boyut.com.tr/.../kudret%20emiroglu%20-%20devrimin%20vitrini%20ankara.doc (retrieved 14.04.11).
 51. Ş. Balmumcu, 'Küçük Seyahat', *Mimar*, 3 (1934), pp. 92–95.
 52. *Ibid.*
 53. Behçet and Bedrettin, 'Mimarlıkta İnkılap', *Mimar*, 8 (1933), p. 247.
 54. Ş. Balmumcu, 'I...', *op. cit.*, p. 12.
 55. Celal Esad [Arseven], *Yeni Mimari* (İstanbul, Agah-Sabri Kitaphanesi, 1931). Celal Esad stated in the book that it was based on Andre Lurçat's *Architecture* of 1929. In its review, the book was praised as worthy of recommendation as it would help overcome the general unfamiliarity in the country with contemporary architectural movements. Still, it was also criticised as it did not include projects by Turkish architects as exemplary of the new trends in architecture. 'Yeni Mimari', *Mimar*, 11-12 (1931), p. 381. See also E. Altan Ergut, 'Celal Esad Arseven's History of Architecture between the Past and the Present', *Aesthetics Bridging Cultures, International Congress of Aesthetics, Proceedings* (Ankara, 2007).
 56. For a critical analysis of architecture during the early Republican period in Turkey, see S. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2001).
 57. 'Sergievi Binası Müsabakası', *op. cit.*, pp. 131–153. The ruling elites are said to have favoured the 'modern' in architecture at the time. Zeki Sayar, editor-in-chief of *Arkitekt*, recalls that the founding president Atatürk himself did not appreciate 'old classical architecture' and preferred 'modern architecture' instead: Z. Sayar, 'Anılarda Mimarlık', *Anılarda Mimarlık* (İstanbul, YEM, 1995), p. 104.
 58. 'The congruence of curatorial demands for utility and the modernist aesthetics of the International Style did produce a new museum paradigm in the 1930s', for which the Exhibition House provided an example: A. McClellan, *The Art Museum from Boullée to Bilbao* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 2008), p. 75.
 59. 'Ankara Sergievi', *Arkitekt*, 4 (1935), p. 97.
 60. İ. Aslanoğlu, 'Sergievi', *Mimarlık*, 9 (1985), p. 38.
 61. Balmumcu explained his choice of forms for the Exhibition House as follows: 'While seeing an exhibition people do not turn in 90 degrees. That is why I made the halls circular.'; quoted in <http://www.kenthaber.com/Haber/Genel/Kose/yilmaz-erguv>

- enc/yikim-hastaligimiz-yine-mi-nuksetti_/e134300d-07fc-4f19-bcb9-d6c515b2f3c0 (retrieved 13.04.11).
62. 'Ankara Sergievi', *op. cit.*, p. 97.
 63. 'Sergi Binası Müsabakası', *op. cit.*, p. 131.
 64. 'Güzel Bir Mimari Eseri, Ankara Sergievi, Bitmiş Gibidir', *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 3 (Eylül[September], 1934), p. 5.
 65. İ. Aslanoğlu, 'Sergievi', *op. cit.*, pp. 37–39.
 66. The other building was the Presidential House designed by an Austrian, C. Holzmeister: see Ü. Alsaç, *Türkiye'de Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi* (Trabzon, KTÜ Baskı Atelyesi, 1976), p. 54.
 67. D. Ghirardo, 'Architects, Exhibitions, and the Politics of Culture in Fascist Italy', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 45/2 (February, 1992), pp. 67–75. See also the other articles in the same issue of the Journal: L. Andreotti, 'The Aesthetics of War: The exhibition of the Fascist Revolution', pp. 76–86; J. T. Schnapp, 'Fascism's Museum in Motion', pp. 87–97; B. McLaren, 'Under the Sign of the Reproduction', pp. 98–106. See also M. Stone, 'Staging Fascism: The Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 28 (1993), pp. 215–243.
 68. Ş. Balmumcu, 'Küçük Seyahat', *op. cit.*
 69. D. Ghirardo, 'Architects...', *op. cit.*
 70. L. Andreotti, 'The Aesthetics...', *op. cit.*, p. 77.
 71. Ş. Balmumcu, 'Küçük Seyahat', *op. cit.*
 72. Ş. Balmumcu, 'I. . .', *op. cit.*, p. 12.
 73. For the agreement between the Ministry of National Education and the Emlak Bank for the transformation of the building, see 'Ankara Sergievi Binasının Devlet Tiyatro ve Opera Binası haline ifrağı için Milli eğitim Bakanlığı ile Bankamız arasında akd ve imza edilen Sözleşme', in, Murat Güvenç, Oğuz Işık, eds, *Emlak Bankası 1926–1998* (İstanbul, Emlak Bankası, 1999), pp. 125–128.
 74. For a detailed discussion of the transformation process, see E. Altan Ergut, 'Sergievi'nden Opera'ya: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modernleşme ve Mimarlık', 60. Yıl (Ankara, Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdürlüğü, 2008), pp. 14–27; E. Altan Ergut, 'Sergievi'nden Opera'ya: Bir Dönüşüm Üzerine Notlar', *Doxa* (2006); E. Altan Ergut, 'Building to Exhibit (for) the Nation: The Exhibition Building in Ankara', in, M. Ghandour, et al., eds, *Sites of Recovery, Architecture's (Inter)disciplinary Role. Proceedings, 4th International Other Connections Conference* (Beirut, 1999), pp. 115–124.
 75. Paul Bonatz (1877–1956) worked in Turkey during the 1940s and 1950s. See E. Altan Ergut, ed., 'Profil 1–2. Paul Bonatz ve Türkiye, 1943–1954', *Arredamento Mimarlık* (Mayıs, Haziran [May, June], 2011).
 76. The contemporary architectural press severely criticised the commissioning of a foreign architect for the transformation of the building although the architect of the original design of the building was still alive: see, for example, A. Kuruyazıcı, 'Ankara'da Tiyatro Binası İhtiyacımız ve Sergievi', *Mimarlık*, 3-4 (1946), pp. 14–15.
 77. The building is currently named *Büyük Tiyatro ve Opera Binası* ['Grand Theatre and Opera Building'], and is used for state theatre, ballet and opera performances.
 78. 'That the florescence of the Second National Movement was intimately tied to the pressures of war is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that the style, and its concomitant rhetoric, disappeared with the coming of peace.': Ü. Alsaç, 'The Second Period of Turkish National Architecture', in, R. Holod, A. Evin, eds, *Modern Turkish Architecture* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), p. 95.
 79. Musical, theatrical and opera performances took place in the hall of the Ankara People's House during the 1930s. In 1940, the then Minister of National Education stated the need for a separate stage. The solution found was to convert a conference hall into one for artistic performances although the intention

- to construct a separate building remained intact. H. A. Yücel, *Millî Eğitimle...*, *op. cit.*
80. H. A. Yücel, 'Devlet Konservatuvarı İlk Mezunlarını Verirken', *Güzel Sanatlar*, 3 (1941).
 81. K. Z. Gençosman, 'Tabiatla ve Sanatta Opera', *Güzel Sanatlar*, 3 (1941).
 82. F. R. Atay, 'Yoktan Kurduk, Kurtaralım', *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (7th Mayıs [May], 1946).
 83. It is not certain why a new building was not constructed instead of transforming the Exhibition House. The practical reason behind this decision seems to have been economic, especially when the severe financial difficulties experienced in the country during the Second World War are taken into consideration: 60. *Yıl*, *op. cit.* The reason might also have been ideological, in that the need to exhibit and promote the success of the regime was no longer as strong as it had been during the early years of the Republic. The new exhibition spaces constructed from the late 1940s onwards emphasised more exclusively the economic role of exhibitions in the growing connections of Turkey with the world capitalist economy in the post-war period, as exemplified in the Sports and Exhibition Palace in İstanbul whose project was prepared in 1948 when the Theatre and Opera House in Ankara was opened. The exhibition building in İstanbul was designed by the Turkish architects Şinasi Şahingiray and Fazıl Aysu. For more information on the İstanbul Exhibitions, see G. Akçura, *Türkiye...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 156–179; for the historical background of the planning of the site since the plan of İstanbul by the French architect H. Prost (1874–1959), see P. Pinon, C. Bilsel, İ. Akpınar, eds, *İmparatorluk Başkentinden Cumhuriyet'in Modern Kentine: Henri Prost'un İstanbul Planlaması (1936–1951)* (İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010).
 84. P. Bonatz, *Leben und Bauen* (Stuttgart, Engelhornverlag Adolf Spemann, 1950), p. 253.
 85. 'Ankara Sergievi', *op. cit.*, p. 97.
 86. Donald Preziosi, 'Introduction: Power, Structure, and Architectural Function', in, I. A. Bierman, R.A. Abou-El-Haj, D. Preziosi, eds, *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order* (New Rochelle, New York, Aristide D. Caratzas, 1991), pp. 103–104.
 87. For the architecture of museum spaces, S. MacLeod similarly argues for a 'site-specific' history that looks beyond the 'aesthetic outcome' by analysing their production and use: 'Rethinking Museum Architecture. Towards a Site-Specific History of Production and Use', in, S. MacLeod, ed., *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions* (New York, Routledge, 2005), pp. 9–25.
 88. The problem with such constructs 'is that they are generally [taken as] binary constructs as if there were no categories before, between and after': A. D. King, 'Architecture, Capital and the Globalization of Culture', in, M. Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture. Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity* (London, Sage Publications, 1990), pp. 408–409.