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# Gazes in dispute: visual representations of the built environment in Ankara postcards

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Developing the argument that representations of urban space generate visual identifications, this paper discusses the co-existence of conflicting representations of Ankara in the early republican period. Whilst the earliest photographic images were dominated by Orientalist imagery depicting the alleged backwardness of the Orient, the visual representations of Ankara produced by the nation state were charged with new ideological meanings, since the process in which the city was made into the capital of the Turkish Republic was perceived as a reflection of the nation-building process. After the 1930s, various government publications proudly published images of Ankara under construction and the city's new architecture. These images of the nation's capital introduced a frame through which the city as the symbol of the republic should be seen and identified with.

What complicated this process of identification were the photographs of Ankara which were produced by local photographers and circulated in the form of real photographic postcards, so-called because they were individually printed in small numbers. These postcards were naïve in subject matter and insignificant in artistic value. Yet, precisely for the same reasons, they were much more powerful than mass-produced postcards in allowing consumers to identify with the images. Although the subjects of such postcards were similar to the photographs in government publications, they presented subtle deviations in terms of the representation of the built environment. They disrupted the gaze of the state, allowing the appropriation of the image of the city. It is shown throughout the paper that these postcards opened up the possibility of an active agency in terms of choosing, sending or collecting such representations. In this regard, real photographic postcards present a significant case of resistance to the state-controlled visual representation of the capital.

Let me begin with an image: a postcard showing the ruins of the Temple of Augustus in Ankara (Fig. 1). The two-thousand-year-old walls of the temple are shown with stone fragments in the foreground so as to emphasise the endurance of the structure through the centuries, whilst a non-photographic element—the handwritten caption inscribed on the

negative—indicates that what we see is an 'ancient monument'. The depth created by the narrow vista through the gate hints at the actual environment of traditional mud-brick houses with pitched roofs. The irregular stone wall enclosing the courtyard of the house in the background creates a stark contrast with the precision of the cut stone walls of the

Figure 1. Anonymous postcard showing the Temple of Augustus (VEKAM Archive).



temple. But the most curious element in the photograph is the middle-aged man in a suit standing by the walls. Leaning slightly on his cane, his face is obscured by the shadow of his hat. His posture, though, gives the impression that he is aware of the fact that he is standing before a significant artefact. His presence provides scale to the structure, emphasising its grandeur; but at the same time he offers a social context, with his apparel suggesting certain codes historicising the setting, the image as well as the commodity, that is the postcard, itself. Moreover, this individual standing by the historical ruin complicates which of these—the man or the

structure—should be identified as the subject of the photograph and hence the postcard. Leaving these questions aside for a moment, however, I shall focus on the postcard as the main object of my present analysis.

Although it has a history of one-and-a-half centuries, the postcard has been an object of detailed scrutiny only in the past three decades due to the emergence of a number of scholarly trends in various disciplines.<sup>1</sup> Having emerged as a cheap means of communication, the picture postcard turned into a significant medium connecting distant places and affecting geographical

imagination. Born into the world-historical context of colonialism, it is not surprising to see the postcard becoming particularly functional in reproducing Orientalist representations. While studies analysing the role of postcards as tools visualising the 'fiction of the Orient'<sup>2</sup> have interrogated various themes, here I am particularly interested in the function of the postcard in representing urban space. In this context, the postcard has a role as an effective means of generating visual identification with a particular urban space, whose representation may then constitute a discursive component of power relationships. In making these claims I draw on two major arguments regarding visual representation, urban space and subjectivity. First, following Lefebvre, I argue that visual representations of space are a major component of our experience of space.<sup>3</sup> Second, I consider such representations to be significant elements in subject formation through visual identification. Here, visual identification includes identification with the image presented—that is, the urban space represented through photography, as well as identification with the gaze of the photographer—expressly, with the way of looking at these urban spaces.

Being an image intended to be utilised as a means of communication, the postcard tells the receiver about the environment it represents, as well as the sender herself, who is then identified with that particular environment. That is, the purchasing of the postcard attaches the buyer to the urban space twice. First, she is the observer of the photograph, identifying with the gaze of the photographer, absorbing 'his' (all of the photographers we will discuss are male professionals) representation of

the environment. In other words, the buyer of the postcard/commodity possesses the image of the urban space and is at the same time possessed by it. Secondly, by choosing to send that particular image and not another one as the means of a personal communication, she accepts being represented by that commodity-image in a different place and time, that of the receiver.

It is crucial to note that the first postcard reproduced here is actually a 'real' photographic postcard. This description is used in the field of photography to refer not to the 'realness' of the image but to the photographic production process. Copies of these postcards were not produced by printing but were developed one-by-one on sepia-toned cards in the darkroom. Compared to lithographic postcards, the real photographic postcards were locally produced in smaller numbers and were ephemeral items, focusing on fairly particular subjects of interest only to smaller audiences.<sup>4</sup> Whilst commercial postcards produced on a lithographic press are significant in terms of their relationship to mass consumption and popular culture, real photographic postcards provide more unusual cases with regard to who chose to make a postcard out of a particular image, and who chose to buy it, send or save it, and why.

Although they were among the favourite articles of popular culture in the first quarter of the twentieth century, real photographic postcards did not become a significant research topic.<sup>5</sup> For traditional art history this was because of the local, particular and vernacular aspects of the photographic postcard that lacked the 'artistic' qualities of the 'timeless art' of photography.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, their seeming

particularity and randomness regarding themes and framings excluded them from the contemporary debates about visual culture that focused on the discursive effects of photography as well. Nevertheless, real photographic postcards provide us with 'cultural texts' that function as visual instruments whilst at the same time reflecting and constructing the popular perception of the urban environment, in particular for historical contexts.<sup>7</sup> In contrast to the mass-produced print postcards, which are components of popular culture directed by market forces, real photographic postcards embody possibilities of deviation with respect to conventions of representation.

In this article, I shall discuss this potential through the examples of real photographic postcards produced in Ankara during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Ankara was a small Ottoman town at the turn of the century, and it remained so until it became the headquarters of the nationalists during the War of Independence following the First World War. After that, it was declared the capital of the young Turkish Republic in 1923 and became the focus of the nation-building project pursued by the republican cadres. The transformation of the small town into a modern capital was a showcase for the government, illustrating the nation's will to modernise. Within this context, local photographers were interested in making postcards of the city in transformation. The first illustration is an example of hundreds of real photographic postcards produced in this period. Moreover, it is part of a larger body of photographic work depicting the Ankara of the early republican years, including postcards produced by state agencies.

As I shall argue later, state-sponsored representation of the capital rested on the perception of the building of 'new Ankara' as a reflection of the nation-building process. Various government publications proudly published images of Ankara under construction and reproduced images of the city's architecture in the 1930s. These images of the nation's capital not only documented the transformation of the old town into a modern capital, but also introduced a frame through which the city as the symbol of the republic should be seen and identified with. The visual representations of the built environment were intended as instruments in generating a sense of association with the new capital, and hence with the nation-state. This process of identifying with the photographic eye of the state, however, was not a simple one. As I have mentioned, the city had been the object of photographic representations through photographic postcards from when photography arrived in the city. Therefore, the photographic eye of the state, first of all, had to displace the Orientalist imaginary, which had been the dominant mode of viewing the city. Moreover, photography also came to be practised by local photographers producing postcards, which were similar to the photographs in government publications regarding their subjects, yet presented subtle deviations in terms of the representations of the built environment and complicated the process of identification with the paternal gaze of the state.

In order to draw out these complexities, I will begin with a discussion of photography and postcard production in Ankara at the turn of the century, a production which was dominated by Orientalist imaginings. After this, I will discuss the

making of the gaze of the nation-state. This gaze on the one hand aimed to displace Orientalist representations, and on the other aimed to discipline the domestic production of visual representations of Ankara. Analysing the visual representations of urban space in the works of local photographers and in government publications, I will compare their effects in terms of visual identification and subject formation. For this analysis, I will use examples of used postcards from the archives of the Vehbi Koç and Ankara Research Centre (VEKAM).

### **The Orientalist imaginary and beyond**

Photography arrived in Ankara in the late nineteenth century, being initially associated with foreign travelers. It was only in the final years of the century that the first photography studios were established in Ankara.<sup>8</sup> According to the trade yearbooks, up until 1920 the only two studios that functioned regularly were those established by the Moughamian Brothers and Antranik G. Djivahirdjian, who were Armenians. The Moughamian Brothers were the first to produce picture postcards with images of Ankara, since there is no indication that Djivahirdjian produced postcards.<sup>9</sup> The number of postcards produced before 1920 is estimated at around thirty, while the number of photographs shot in studio during the same period is no more than twenty.<sup>10</sup> These figures give us a clear idea about the (un)popularity of the postcard among the local population of Ankara. This finding is also supported by the personal accounts of the period. For instance, Vehbi Koç, who would become one of the wealthiest industrialists in republican history, mentions in

his memoirs that his earliest photographs were taken only in the late 1910s at the age of 15-16.<sup>11</sup>

In the meantime, postcards were already a favourite commodity in Istanbul.<sup>12</sup> Between 1890 and 1920, postcard editors based in Istanbul also produced a limited number of postcards featuring Ankara. The most important Istanbul-based source of Ankara postcards was Jean Weinberg, who produced over one hundred between 1920 and 1932. The postcards from these editors were printed as lithographs in Germany or in Istanbul. Those produced by the local photographers of Ankara, on the other hand, were real photographic postcards produced in studios. They were only available in black and white, although some of them were hand-tinted after being printed.<sup>13</sup>

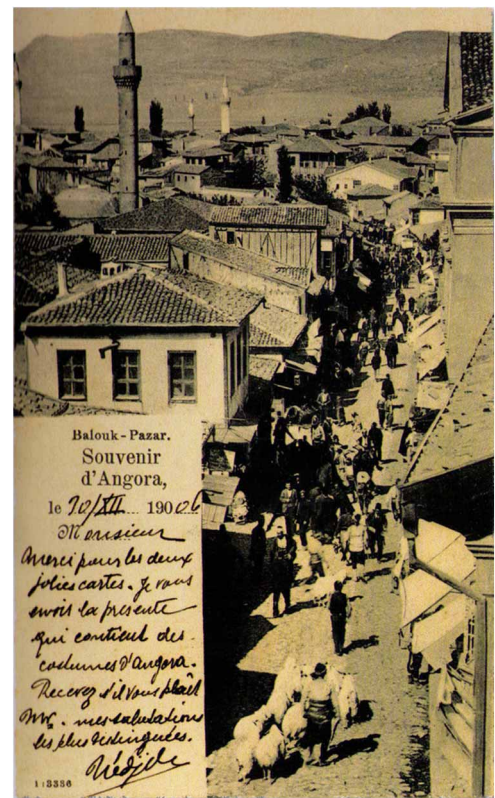
The early picture postcards of Ankara from before the 1920s clearly reproduce an Orientalist viewpoint of urban space as well as the urban population and its everyday life. They represented the oriental subject as both an object of scrutiny and of fascination, fixing them in time and place through the camera.<sup>14</sup> This particular framing connects the representations of social and physical environments, and constructs a coherent image of the city and its inhabitants, signifying backwardness. As illustrated by the small number of examples printed and distributed by the Moughamian Brothers, the Orientalist view depicts the cityscape as lacking the dynamism of urban life. Within this framework, the photographs serve as proof of the alleged backwardness of the Orient. The depiction of everyday life fails to show work and production; even if the subject matter is a working environment, the clearly constructed nature of the scene would convince the

Figure 2. Postcard by Moughamian Brothers from the turn of the century (VEKAM Archive).

observer that such modes of production cannot be taken seriously. In the images of urban environments, the minaret is always present as a sign of cultural otherness; moreover, generally there is a visible effort to include more than one minaret within the frame. Mules, camels and sheep walking through the streets indicate a lack of urban culture in these postcards.

The popularity of such views is evident in the availability of several postmarked copies of a particular postcard (Fig. 2). This image, produced by the Moughamian Brothers, is an excellent representation of Ankara in an Orientalist framework: an irregular street view is seen within a narrow vista; the distance of the camera from its subject and the use of a vertical layout also enhance the feeling of being confined to a narrow street. Even within this narrow vista, four minarets are clearly distinguishable amongst the tiled roofs. The closest figure in the street is a shepherd in traditional dresses walking down the street with his sheep. But the most significant aspect of the image is its point of view: high above the ground, presenting the (European) observer with a god-like view over the Orient. It is distant enough to grasp the irregular totality of the city's morphology (as witnessed by the pattern of the roofs), yet close enough to detect the details of everyday life signifying backwardness. Interestingly, the copy we see was chosen by the sender precisely because it 'presents the customs of Ankara', as the handwritten comment in French informs us.

Weinberg, who had produced the largest number of postcards of Ankara, deserves closer examination. He was a Romanian Jew who named his studio 'Foto



Français'. Although his studio was in Istanbul, he was successful in becoming a preferred photographer of the republican elite in the late 1920s. Nevertheless, he was forced to close down his business due to the 1932 Act prohibiting the performance of photography (along with other arts and crafts) by foreigners.<sup>15</sup> Weinberg began making postcards of Ankara in the early 1920s. His initial postcards





Figure 3. Postcard by Weinberg showing a caravan arriving in Ankara (VEKAM Archive).

depicted the town for a foreign audience located in Istanbul. Camel caravans, mules and horses in the narrow streets were favourite themes in these postcards (Fig. 3). The cracks in the walls of the buildings and the broken pavements in the streets bore witness to the city's ruinous conditions. Even the views of marketplaces lacked any kind of dynamism and people were seen almost motionless alongside animals. The minaret was again a constant reminder of the Oriental character of the context. Here, following Nochlin, we should consider what is absent from these images aside from what is present. Significantly, at the exact same moment when

these photographs were taken, the city was going through unprecedented upheaval with opening of the Grand National Assembly and the ongoing War of Independence. Both these processes and the phenomena (people, vehicles, apparel, etc.) they introduced to Ankara were absent in Weinberg's early postcards.

Interestingly, being a talented photographer and a successful businessman, Weinberg began producing non-Orientalist postcards targeting the republican audience as early as 1925. Now, his street views included modern buildings and minarets, mules and automobiles side by side. These photographs were



Figure 4. Weinberg's  
postcards used in  
*Servet-i Fünun* (issue:  
1528, 26/11/1925).



used in the weekly *Servet-i Fünun* when reporting developments in Ankara (Fig. 4). Hence, in Weinberg's case, it is clear that the visual representation of the city was consciously articulated to reflect the photographer's judgement of market requirements. Soon, the typical Orientalist compositions depicting demolished environments and inactive figures in traditional costume disappeared from Weinberg's work and were replaced with a distinct imagery, to which I will return below.

After 1920, the interest in the postcard grew rapidly in Ankara. This was due to newcomers:

first, nationalists arriving from Istanbul, next, civil servants together with the *corps diplomatique* (after 1923), finally, workers from Anatolian towns as well as abroad. This last category was employed in the construction sector since there was a serious shortage of housing. The 1927 census shows that more than half of the male population in the city was single, which is significant, considering the effects of the war years that had reduced the male population across the country. Hence, the 1920s saw a boom in the production as well as consumption of picture postcards in Ankara.

While the 1921 Yearbook indicates the only working studio as that of Djivahirdjian, more were soon to be opened—especially by ethnically Turkish photographers,<sup>16</sup> totalling nine in 1931<sup>17</sup>—and advertised in daily newspapers as early as 1921.<sup>18</sup> Photography was gradually embraced as a component of everyday life in the following years. Newspapers contained advertisements targeting female customers, emphasising the availability of female staff.<sup>19</sup> In addition to photography studios, the increasing demand for postcards encouraged stationers to enter the market. They commissioned photographers who did not own studios (mostly civil servants) to take photographs, and undertook the printing and distribution of these photographic postcards.

Ankara photographers' real photographic postcards adopted certain conventions for imagery created by editorial companies based in Istanbul and by then of considerable size and market influence: for instance, the photographic panorama, which had its roots in the engravings of early travellers, was brought to Ankara from Istanbul and quickly adopted by the locals.<sup>20</sup> Yet, they also presented differences in terms of themes and representational strategies. In contrast to those operating from Istanbul, some local photographers also viewed the city from within: in other words, they did not look at the city as external observers but gave visual form to the urban life that they themselves experienced.

Here, a comparison between Orientalist representations of the city and those produced in the postcards of Foto Enver, based in Ankara from the mid-1920s, may be fruitful. Whilst in the former



Figure 5. Postcard by Foto Enver showing Karacaoğlan (later Anafartalar) Street, c. 1923 (VEKAM Archive).

the common elements coded as signifiers of backwardness are always present, the latter seems indifferent to such codes (Fig. 5). In Enver's images, the minarets are truncated by the framing of the picture and the people in the street are in motion. The crowd displays the ordinary chaos of everyday life; we see horse carriages and handcarts together with pedestrians who are also found in different

Figure 6. Postcard by Moughamian Brothers from the turn of the century showing a street in Hisarönü (VEKAM Archive).

types of apparel. Traditional clothes and head-dresses feature side by side with the suits and calpacs of nationalists. In these postcards, people do actual work, albeit in technologically simple modes. Hence, the representation of everyday life is complicated; the selectivity of the photographs produces different effects even when they depict the same urban environment. The Orientalist view requires a particular distance between the photographer and the urban environment, the latter perceived as an external (even alien) entity. When the same urban setting is perceived as the photographer's own habitat, the Orientalist codes of visual representation disappear.

It is crucial to note that images produced by outsiders are not necessarily Orientalist in nature nor are local photographers' products inevitably free from Orientalist viewpoints. First, not all Orientalist postcards were made by photographers from Istanbul, as exemplified by the Ankara-based Moughamian Brothers who produced numerous examples (see [Figure 2](#) above). Secondly, it is not possible to speak of one particular Orientalist view in the case of Ankara, an emerging modern city, challenging western assumptions about the Orient.<sup>21</sup> We can find an example of such ambiguity in a postcard sent by a Turkish woman to a friend in Milan in 1906 ([Fig. 6](#)). The photograph shows a street façade with vernacular houses. The sender, writing in French, explains apologetically that she chose that particular 'street view since there are no squares in the city' and points out that one of the houses belonged to her. What is operational here is self-Orientalisation: the sender perceives the lack of a 'proper' public square as inferiority, whereas



the outsider's gaze would not see the lack of a square in a street view.

The transformation of Ankara also triggered new ways of viewing and representing the city. The social environment was becoming more heterogeneous as newcomers introduced new practices. Political events and ceremonies in particular became a component of urban life first as spectacle (performed by the elite and watched only by locals), then as an integral part of everyday culture. A telling

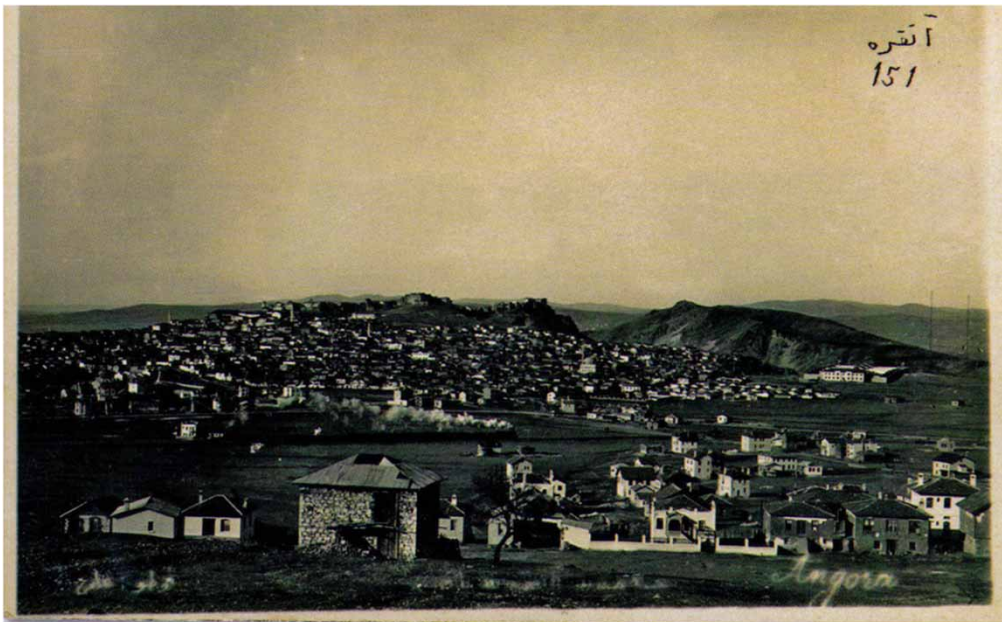


Figure 7. Postcard by  
Foto Hilmi, c. 1928  
(VEKAM Archive).

example of the emergence of new ways of viewing urban space is the transformation of the representation of the railway. In the late 1920s, the railway and the train specifically became subject matter of postcards. The engine with steam coming out of its chimney emerged as a visual symbol of modernity for the first time, three decades after its arrival in Ankara (Fig. 7). With the expansion of the city towards the southern plains, the railway abandoned its function as the boundary of the city and became an urban element that cut through the urban fabric. Within this transforming cityscape, the distance required to capture the train as an urban element within the picture frame meant minarets could not

be seen. In addition to the distance, the vantage point was also moved to the southern hills. As a result, the newly built villas and standardised neighbourhoods with spacious lawns appear in the foreground and create contrast with the chaotic pattern of the old town in the background. The contrast of the old and the new is a powerful representational paradigm in visualising modernisation.<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, ordinary street views also transformed. The street as photographed by local photographers gradually came to depict a crowded and dynamic environment in contrast to the earlier Orientalist postcards depicting idleness. The elements deliberately presenting a backward image of the



street, such as mules and camels, were now replaced with motor cars and minarets with new buildings. It is obvious that, especially in the old town, it was still common to come across carriages in the streets, but they no longer featured in postcards of the late 1920s. At this period, a motor car was almost always present in street views, despite the small numbers in the city. The street as an assemblage of new façades was also perceived as an entity worth being photographed, but individual buildings also became subjects of photographic postcards. It was not only the new architecture that was a subject of photographic postcards: old buildings, especially historic sites, were photographed frequently. Before analysing the role of architectural photography in postcards, however, I shall discuss the emergence of the state as an agent in photographic production.

### Constructing the state gaze

In 1933, the General Directorate of Press, part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until that date, was transferred to the Ministry of the Interior. The new director of the organisation, Vedat Nedim Tör, launched a campaign of propaganda to disseminate nationalist discourse and strengthen the ties between the nation state and its citizens. Moreover, he declared it a duty of the Directorate to inform the Western world about the achievements of the new regime in Turkey.<sup>23</sup> After 1934, the Directorate undertook an extensive project of publishing visual material about Turkey, a significant proportion of which was devoted to Ankara. Images of the capital were included in publications to be distributed abroad, but they were also circulated within the country by

means of postcards, stamps, calendars, banknotes, as well as photography exhibitions. They were intended to convince Westerners that Turkey was now a modern nation, an equal to the Europeans.<sup>24</sup> Foreign scholars and journalists were encouraged to write books on the 'new Turkey' and they were provided with photographs approved by the General Directorate of Press.<sup>25</sup> As for its domestic function, the image of Ankara was an ideological representation evoking a feeling of identification. Ankara was an emblem of modern Turkey to be proudly embraced and also proof that the arrival of the wave of modernisation in every corner of the country was only a matter of time.<sup>26</sup>

For this ambitious project, the Directorate needed a photographic archive of the country as well as the city of Ankara. The governors of the provinces were requested to send photographs of their regions. However, the pictures sent to Ankara were not deemed adequate; according to Tör, they were 'terribly ugly, tasteless and tedious'.<sup>27</sup> The only exception was an envelope sent from Istanbul, and Tör ordered the governor of Istanbul to 'find this man and send him to Ankara immediately'. The man was Othmar Pferschy, a young Austrian national, who had worked for Weinberg between 1926 and 1931, and was preparing to close down his new studio due to the 1932 Act. While Weinberg left for Egypt, Pferschy was hired by the Directorate as specialist photographer in 1935 and was assigned to travelling the country taking photographs.<sup>28</sup> The 16,000 photographs he shot in a two-year period would form the bulk of the archive of the Directorate and would be used in government publications for decades.<sup>29</sup>



Figure 8. Photograph by Othmar Pferschy showing the Grand National Assembly (VEKAM Archive): this photograph was published in the album *Fotoğrafla Türkiye* (Ankara, General Directorate of Press, 1936).

The publications using these photographs often allocated special sections to Ankara. The portrayal of the city in these images presented architecture as a metaphor of nation-building. Yet it was an architecture without social interaction. The newly built government buildings in Pferschy's photographs represent the Turkish state: perfectly shaped, yet distanced from the social environment (Fig. 8). This way of framing buildings is also a characteristic aspect of contemporary architectural photography, especially in terms of the visualisation

of modernist architecture. The architectural publications of the 1910s and 1920s contain numerous examples in which modernist buildings are reframed in photographs, removed from their contexts and their details erased.<sup>30</sup> Architectural periodicals in Turkey also followed this trend, presenting architectural photographs depicting new buildings as sterile objects.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, there is a significant distinction between seeing sterile architectural photographs in a professional publication and a state-sponsored one propagating nation building. While



Figure 9. Left: postcard by Weinberg showing the Ethnography Museum (VEKAM Archive); right: photograph by Pferschcy, published in *Fotoğrafla Türkiye* and later made into a postcard (VEKAM Archive).



the former fetishises the building to glorify architecture, the latter reifies it as a signifier of the nation state.

While Weinberg was the first to use singular examples of Ankara's new architecture in postcards, Pferschcy, who worked with him until 1931, further improved this imagery (Fig. 9). In addition to the lack of social life, Pferschcy's photographs contain certain representational strategies producing a particular effect, serving the making of a particular subject position in relation to the nation-state. The framing of these photographs almost always included a line of demarcation in the form of a pavement border, a green barrier or a fence. Such elements created distance between the building and the observer; the depth created by a spatial barrier functioned as a tool fixing the distance between the state and its subjects. The image of architecture as a free-standing entity represented the nation-state as firm and stable. Moreover, Pferschcy's photographs avoid a direct frontal view and show the buildings at an angle. The visibility

of more than one façade reinforces the perception of the buildings as free-standing objects. This angular vista denies a direct frontal view, thus prohibiting the possibility of communication between the building and the observer-subject. It is obvious that these images not merely depict the cityscape; they mediate the relationship between the nation-state and its subjects. The narrative of these photographs is the transformation of the small Ottoman town into a modern capital. Here, Ankara appears not as a habitable city but as a series of spaces of representation: an architecture to be looked at, rather than experienced.

### Disrupting the gaze of the state

For the General Directorate of Press at this time, photography was thus an ideological means to generate identification with the gaze of the nation-state. In the photographs of Ankara, urban imagery interpellated individuals as national subjects. How about the picture postcards produced by local photographers? What kinds of identification mechanisms

were operational in their circulation, especially between senders and receivers of these commodities? If we look at used postcards containing photographs as well as handwritten messages, it is possible to detect clues to how individuals linked themselves to the representations of the built environment they inhabited. First of all, most of these postcards were consciously chosen and they often showed the newly constructed parts of Ankara. Whilst the old town centre was the focus until the early 1930s, Atatürk Boulevard in Yenışehir became a favourite theme thereafter. The senders' choice sometimes depended on the occasion: the image of Hacıbayram Mosque, for instance, was preferred for religious holidays. Often, the identity of the receiver was a factor in the choice—one postcard sent to an official in the Ziraat (Agricultural) Bank in Istanbul contained the photograph of the headquarters of the Bank in Ankara (finished in 1929). Postcards sent to senior relatives often had photographs of monuments or public buildings such as the National Assembly as a gesture of respect. The image of the Assembly building was easily appropriated as a means to communicate national pride: one teacher sent a colleague in Niğde a Weinberg card with a very brief note in November, 1930: 'To you! The Ka'ba of Turkish existence'.

Numerous postcards contained verbal descriptions of the environment to support the image: '[This is] A view of Ankara from the [railway] station; the [National] Assembly is on one side and the [Ankara Palas] hotel is on the other. Taşhan is further behind.' Locals were impressed with the transformation around them and did not hesitate to use photographs of unfinished buildings. A son

sent his father a card showing the Assembly building under construction: 'From the construction [site] of Ankara's rebuilding.' Another street view from 1925, when Ankara Palas Hotel was still under construction, stated 'the most beautiful street of Ankara' (Fig. 10). This was almost the exact opposite of the apologetic postcard noting the lack of squares in the city I have discussed above; here, a messy street under construction was (almost proudly) seen in the light of what it would look like in the near future.

The attention to single buildings in these postcards is also noteworthy. One postcard with a night view of the Ziraat Bank illuminated for Republican Day celebrations commented on the building as if it were a person: 'How would a portrait of the Ziraat Bank look in its special gown on the night of the Republican Day?' The significance of the emergence of architectural photography as an element of popular culture is that it denoted awareness of the urban environment. Whilst buildings had previously been comprehended only as inhabited spaces, they assumed new representational powers as their photographs circulated. In other words, through photography, buildings became architecture. They were transformed from ordinary settings of urban life into cultural artefacts demanding recognition. However, in this period, a curious variation appeared: locals were not attracted by the sterile depiction of architecture. While Pferschy perfected the depiction of single buildings to represent of the state's efforts at modernisation, local photographers did the opposite by including details which disturbed architectural 'purity'. A pedestrian walking by, a street cleaner sweeping or a pile of rubble within the scene presented a subtle deviation, adul-

Figure 10. Anonymous  
postcard showing  
Station Street in 1925  
(VEKAM Archive).



terating the form of identification generated by Pferschy's photographs: buildings were losing the role of representing the nation-state.

The implications of the purity of architecture require a closer look. Significantly, literary works of the period did not fail to notice this issue and addressed it. While Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu related the sterile interiors of new villas with the alienation of the state elite from revolutionary ideals in his novel *Ankara*,<sup>32</sup> the well-known communist poet Nazım Hikmet saw the new architecture of the city as an expression of the arrogance of the bourgeois state:<sup>33</sup>

passing by the hippodrome  
a brand-new city lays ahead  
arrogant and victorious  
denying its own suburbs  
suddenly emerging in the middle of the plain  
at a reckless expense

The city's architecture, here, is viewed as an alien environment that negates the existing social life of the city. The sterile depiction of this architecture is significant; such purity is a representation of the distance between the lives of the people of Ankara and the modern practices of the newcomers. Comparing two postcards, both showing the Ankara Palas

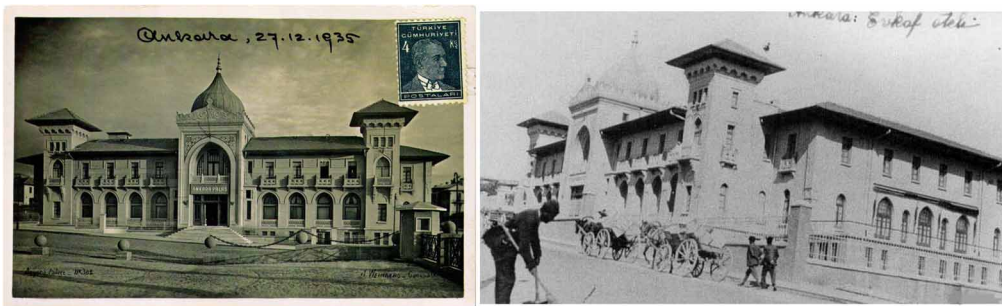


Figure 11. Postcards by Weinberg and an unidentified photographer showing the Ankara Palas Hotel (VEKAM Archive).

Hotel, a major venue for the republican elite, especially for balls and parties, reveals this deviation (Fig. 11). Whilst the postcard produced by Weinberg around 1932 pays particular attention to creating a clear image of the building, the second example does the opposite. Considering the building's location in Station Street, the busiest of the city centre and the foremost political space, with the National Assembly Building opposite the Ankara Palas, it is obvious that Weinberg had to put some effort into taking the photograph without people and that he must have waited for the afternoon light to achieve the shades and shadows on the façade.

The second postcard, by an unidentified photographer, pays attention to none of these issues, however. A sharp noon light bathes the façades of the Hotel and diminishes the visibility of details, even its famous onion dome. As well as a street cleaner sweeping, horse-drawn carriages and two men strolling undermine the image of the building as a symbol of authority: that is, the image presents everyday life in the street rather than the building itself. If one reason for locals' indifference to any

'imperfection' of the built environment in postcards was the very availability of such postcards, another was simply the irrelevance to them of the symbolic function of architecture to represent the state. This way of representing the city reversed the effect of Pferschy's photographs and turned architecture into mundane cityscape. The perception of the built environment as lived space rather than revered architecture did not conflict with the pride the senders took in the images of their cityscape. The senders' fondness for these images is a result of their excitement regarding both nation-building and urban modernisation. With these 'imperfect' images, nevertheless, representations of the built environment extended beyond the state's control, allowing possibilities of appropriation.

In order to understand the meanings produced by these postcards, one has to examine how the Ankara Palas was viewed by locals. Station Street, where the hotel was situated, was a stage for official display where locals watched the state elite with curiosity. Karaosmanoğlu depicted such a scene as follows:

For the crowd of local people gathered in the street, who were watching these people as if it was a slow-

motion filmstrip, the so-called ball began and ended here, at the entrance of the [Ankara Palas] building. Because the crowd was no longer able to see these people after they got out of their cars, climbed up the stairs and entered inside ...

After this, it was all imagination and fantasy.<sup>34</sup>

The new architecture of the city was characterized by spaces with limited or no access for locals. For instance, a postcard sent on 11<sup>th</sup> May, 1929, showed a building façade, which was marked with an 'x' by the sender:

My dearest Galib, The room I have marked with X belongs to our uncle Enis Bey. This is the building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The width of this street is (25) metres. I couldn't find you a postcard with the Vakıf Flat; there isn't any building in Istanbul as big as this one.

The transformation of the town into the new capital introduced a network of institutions which were materialised through the new buildings in the city. Whilst these buildings created curiosity as to what they contained, a new method to appropriate them emerged through postcards. The sender chose a postcard with the general view of the town, best expressed in the vista from the railway station. She would then inscribe the photograph with handwritten names of the newly built individual buildings. This way of mapping the new buildings was a way of deciphering the network of the new institutions that made the city into a capital.

Moreover, in some cases, we see people posing by these buildings in the postcards, thus obscuring what should be the subject of the postcard. Since the postcard is an anonymous commodity and not a personal photograph, such people are only details; the subjects

of the postcards are still the buildings. Yet, the figures cannot really be seen as minor details that can be ignored since they are not captured in casual everyday movements. Here the issue of identification becomes more complex. When the photograph presents an object such as the new architecture of Ankara, the viewer can identify with both the object (the symbol representing the state) and the gaze itself, which presents a particular way to see and experience the urban environment. However, when there is a person posing in front of a building, a third option becomes possible. The posing person acknowledges the authority of the building in the frame, yet destroys the representative effect of architecture. The dominance of the state through architecture is weakened by the distraction caused by the human figure which opens up space for imagining a way to represent urban space that stems from his/her bodily experience in everyday life. Hence, the person in the photograph becomes the means of appropriating both the gaze of the camera and the social space represented.

Let us take the example of a postcard (Fig. 12) produced by the same photographer responsible for the first postcard illustrated (see Figure 1 above). It is very likely that the same man appears in both postcards and may be the photographer himself. He poses in front of the National Assembly building, which is also the subject of Othmar's photograph (see Figure 8 above). The image in this postcard is slightly older, evident from the organisation of the courtyard wall and fence. Othmar's image supports the authoritarian effect of (state) architecture with cars on two sides of the entrance as well as a soldier standing guard. In this way, it distances the building from the observer and leaves no space within the



Figure 12. Anonymous postcard showing the Grand National Assembly (VEKAM Archive).

picture frame that could be occupied by an ordinary passerby. The area in front of the building is still the controlled territory of the building watched by guards. The postcard now illustrated, on the other hand, does the exact opposite. The depth between the fence and the building's façade is flattened and the space is opened in the foreground for the person in the street. That is, although the person in the photograph looks like a tourist posing in front of a significant site, he in fact creates scope for the observer to envisage occupying the scene as an ordinary city dweller. From the point of view of the recipient, whilst a photograph without

people would only represent the buildings, the human figure in the picture presents the building in terms of its relationship to locals (including the sender herself).

It is important to note that such figures do not appear in a day-to-day mode; they are supplemental to the urban spaces represented. Even their apparel indicates this: they are men mostly seen wearing suits. While the suit could be seen as complementary to the modern architecture, for locals it would signify awareness of self and environment. The person in the photograph symbolises an individual who embraces a modern urban experience and values



Figure 13. A photograph from a tourist guide published by the General Directorate of Press—see, E. Mamboury, *Ankara: Guide Touristique* (Ankara, Turkish Ministry of the Interior, 1933)—and a local postcard, both showing the Atatürk Monument in Zafer (Victory) Square (VEKAM Archive).



the environment as made up of objects that have meanings beyond their role in daily routines. If we return to the very first postcard illustrated (see Figure 1 above), the man standing by the walls of the temple in his suit brings together the experience of the space that had been there for centuries and its recently acquired meaning as cultural heritage. In contrast, the nation-state construes the ruins as possessions of the state, whose objectifying gaze excludes human existence: in the publications of the General Directorate of Press, the Temple of Augustus never contains human figures.

There are also postcards with human figures appearing in front of newly erected monuments. In these postcards, which were very common, the existence of such figures troubles the authority of the monument and the coherence of the image which is supposed to concentrate on the monument (Fig. 13). There are even postcards showing monuments under construction, with building equipment or workers on and around them (Fig. 14). Such images, although unintentionally, present the monuments almost in a mocking way, which is inter-

esting since they imply city dwellers' perception of these authoritarian monuments. If we remember that the postcard is a commodity produced in large quantities, the posing person becomes an anonymous signifier through which every observer connects to the monument (or architecture). In other words, the human figure provides space in the real photographic postcards with which local consumers may identify. It opens the possibility of a different urban subjectivity appropriating the real and imaginary spaces of the city. The photographic postcard as a commodity, then, is not an alternative representation of the space to be consumed passively, but an apparatus for appropriating the image of the city opening possibilities for intervention.

One form of such intervention is evidenced by the individuals posing for the camera. An interesting example of this mode can be found in postcards showing youthful bodies at leisure. In tune with European trends of the inter-war period, the disciplining of young bodies was a major undertaking for republicans.<sup>35</sup> Hence, state publications often included photographs of Turkish youth displaying their



healthy bodies. However, there are also local postcards from the newly created recreational areas (such as the Marmara Pool in the Atatürk Forestry Farm) showing local youth exhibiting their own bodies (Fig. 15). The difference between these two representations is remarkable. While the former represents the young body as the modern product of sports activities, the latter displays the body presumptuously, almost in an exhibitionistic way.

Another mode of intervening in the representation of urban space can be found in a postcard by Tark Edip from the second half of the 1930s, showing the Ministry of Defence (Fig. 16). Here, we see the building as we would in government publications, but with a slight difference: a young boy stands in front of the camera and looks at the building, matching the gaze of the camera. Intentional or not, the repetition of the photographic eye, particularly with the boy's gesture with his hands on his hips, creates irony which subverts the dominant representation.<sup>36</sup> The photograph 'echoes' the images of the building which were already widespread by the time of its production. Hence, the subject of the postcard is not the building but the way of looking at the building.

The subversive meanings generated by the local postcards cannot be regarded as conscious attempts at resisting the state-sponsored imagery of Ankara. Nevertheless, they troubled the state's efforts in framing the capital in a particular way. This is best illustrated by the endeavours of the Director-General, V. N. Tör, to control the images of the country as well as its capital in circulation at home and abroad. With the establishment of the Directorate's archive, foreign authors and journalists were provided with images from this archive instead of postcards, formerly the most convenient material to use. Moreover, at Tör's suggestion, two government decrees (1935 and 1937) regulated the printing of picture postcards by the Postal Administration.<sup>37</sup> Whilst these measures were aimed at controlling the images seen abroad, Tör was also determined to reform photographic production. The People's Houses, designed as local centres for spreading national consciousness and a

Figure 14. Postcard by Foto Hilmi from 1927, showing the equestrian statue of Atatürk just prior to its erection in front of the Ethnography Museum (VEKAM Archive).

Figure 15. Left: photograph by Pferschy showing the Karadeniz Pool in the Atatürk Forestry Farm; this image was published in the Directorate's Journal, *La Turquie Kemaliste* (issue: 32, p. 68; VEKAM Archive); right: an anonymous postcard showing local youths at the Marmara Pool in the Atatürk Forestry Farm (VEKAM Archive).



Figure 16. Postcard by Tarık Edip from the mid-1930s (VEKAM Archive).



modern way of life, were ordered to pursue photographic activities. The 'Ankara People's House Photography Exhibition Specifications', penned by Tör himself, defined the objectives of these activities: to enable youth 'better to see their environment, look for (artistic) beauty, and know their country better'.<sup>38</sup> The intention was clearly to replace 'terribly ugly, tasteless and tedious' photographs with those produced through the perspective of the state.

## Conclusion

Postcards are powerful tools for representing urban space. They are instruments that at the same time reflect and construct popular perceptions of the urban environment. In this regard, they generate identification with the urban spaces depicted. The gazes of the photographer as well as the observer create relationships with the space displayed in the postcard. There are also more subjects involved in the totality of the postcard's circulation. Even if we leave aside possible intermediaries involved in postcard production, the sender and the receiver of the postcard imply different observer positions. As an image intended to be utilised as a means of communication, the postcard tells the receiver about the environment it represents as well as the sender herself, who is then identified with that particular environment.

While postcards in general are under the influence of wider trends in photographic convention, taste, etc., real photographic postcards reflect compositions which are relatively free of such constraints. With their particularity in terms of subjects and their smaller audiences, they allow for unusual representations of urban spaces. Moreover, at the time when Ankara was being turned into the

capital of the young Turkish republic, the deviant representations in real photographic postcards assumed a political character. This was because the Turkish state undertook a project of utilising the image of the new capital as a tool for creating national pride. Within this context, the postcards disrupted this mode of representation and the intended identification with state's gaze. Moreover, the postcard as commodity opened up the possibility of an active agency in terms of choosing, sending or collecting such representations. In this regard, real photographic postcards should be understood as a domain of resistance to the state-controlled visual representation of the capital.

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## Notes and references

1. The first of these trends was the emergence of a view questioning the role of photography as a neutral tool accurately re-presenting the world. Following the work of Foucault, and understanding photography as a medium embedded in power relationships that generate discursive effects, this approach explored the

social functions of photography. The second trend was the emergence of micro-history as a research area. Within this domain, photography and the postcard as a form for mass consumption emerged as cultural subjects in micro-historical analyses. The third trend developed in the field of post-colonial studies influenced by the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York, Pantheon Books, 1978): the postcard was a significant cultural artefact producing and disseminating visual forms of Orientalist representations of colonised peoples in various parts of the world. Hence, it quickly became an object of study in this context: see, M. Alloula, *The Colonial Harem* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1986); R. Corbey, 'Alterity: the colonial nude', *Critique of Anthropology*, 8/3 (1989), pp. 75–92; D. Prochaska, 'Fantasia of the Phototheque: French Postcard views of Colonial Senegal', *African Arts*, 24 (1991), pp. 40–47; A. Moors, S. Wachlin, 'Dealing with the Past, Creating a Presence: Picture Postcards of Palestine', in, A. Moors, et. al., eds, *Discourse and Palestine: Power, Text and Context* (Hingham, Martinus Nijhoff International, 1995), pp. 11–26; P. Goldsworthy, 'Images, ideologies, and commodities: the French colonial postcard industry in Morocco', *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 8/2 (2010), pp. 147–167. Some recent studies analyse the similar discursive effects of postcards within the context of modern tourism: E. Edwards, 'Postcards: greetings from another world', in, T. Selwyn, ed., *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism* (Chichester, John Wiley, 1996), pp. 197–222; C. J. Mamiya, 'Greetings from paradise: the representation of Hawaiian culture in postcards', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 16 (1992), pp. 86–101; M. Markwick, 'Postcards from Malta: Image, consumption, context', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28 (2001), pp. 417–138; G. Waitt, L. Head, 'Postcards and frontier mythologies: sustaining views of the Kimberley as time-

less', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 20 (2002), pp. 319–344).

2. E. Said, *Orientalism*, op. cit.
3. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London and New York, Routledge, 1991).
4. While the usual print run of real photographic postcards was around one hundred, the print postcards were produced in thousands: see B. Evren, 'Anadolu Fotoğrafçılığı ve Fotokart Estetiği', *Toplumsal Tarih*, 61 (1999), p. 24.
5. Although there are a number of introductory books on real photographic postcards, they do not involve scholarly analyses: see R. Bogdan, T. Weseloh, *Real Photo Postcard Guide: The People's Photography* (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 2006). There are studies that focus on picture postcards in general as well as real photographic postcards in particular, in the context of North America: see H. Morgan, A. Brown, *Prairie Fires and Paper Moons: The American Photographic Postcard, 1900–1920* (Boston, David R. Godine, 1981); D. Ryan, *Picture Postcards in the United States, 1893–1918* (New York, Clarkson Potter, 1982); J. Reys, *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America* (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1984); J. Ruby, 'Images of Rural America: View Photographs and Picture Postcards', *History of Photography*, 12 (1988), pp. 327–343; A. F. Davis, *Postcards from Vermont: A Social History, 1905–1945* (Hanover, University Press of New England, 2002); R. B. Vaule, *As We Were: American Photographic Postcards 1905–1930* (Boston, David R. Godine, 2004); L. Sante, *Folk Photography: The American Real-Photo Postcard 1905–1930* (Portland, Verse Chorus Press, 2009)).
6. T. Alden, 'And We Lived Where Dusk had Meaning', in, L. Wolff, ed., *Real Photo Postcards: Unbelievable Images from the Collection of Henry Tulcensky* (New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), p. 6.
7. C. E. Rubin, 'Image and Memory: Photographers Mathias O. Bue and Walter T. Oxley', *Minnesota History*, 59/3 (2004), p. 118.

8. Meanwhile, it was already very popular in Istanbul due to the interest of European tourists. Soon photography also entered the everyday lives of Muslim Ottomans: see, S. Faruqi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London, I.B. Tauris, 2000), pp. 258–9. For the earliest Ottoman photographers: see, B. Öztuncay, *Vassilaki Kargopoulo: Photographer to His Majesty the Sultan* (Istanbul, Birleşik Oksijen Sanayi A. Ş., 2000); E. Özendes, *Abullah Frères: Ottoman Court Photographers* (Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998) and *From Sébah & Joaillier to Foto Sabah: Orientalism in Photography* (Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999).
9. Nevertheless, Djivahirdjian's Ankara photographs found their way into the Yıldız Palace Albums: see U. Kavas, *Yıldız Albümleri'nde Ankara Fotoğrafları* (Ankara, General Directorate of Press and Publications, 2014). The Yıldız Palace Albums comprise 911 albums containing around 40,000 photographs taken by order of Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876–1909).
10. Although there are no studies analysing Ankara postcards or the photographers who made them, they have been brought together in recent albums: see, *Ankara Posta Kartları ve Belge Fotoğrafları Arşivi* (Ankara, Ankara Greater Municipality, 1994); A. Cangır, *Cumhuriyetin Başkenti* (Ankara, Ankara University, 2007). These volumes also testify to the political significance of the photographic images of the city since they were published at a moment of crisis when the Turkish state sought to utilise the image of Ankara as a nationalist symbol in the face of the rising power of political Islam: see, B. Batuman, 'Photography at Arms: "Early Republican Ankara" from Nation-building to Politics of Nostalgia', *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 25/2 (2008), pp. 99–117. Similarly, it is not a coincidence that the Ankara photographs in the Yıldız Palace Albums were recently published by the General Directorate of Press and Information during the government of the Islamist Justice and Development Party: see, U. Kavas, *Yıldız Albümleri'nde Ankara Fotoğrafları*, *op. cit.*
11. V. Koç, *Hayat Hikayem* (Istanbul, APA, 1973), p. 186.
12. B. Üstdiken, 'Beyoğlu'nda Resimli Kartpostal Yayımcıları', *Tarih ve Toplum*, 100 (1992), pp. 27–34; M. Sandalcı, *Max Fruchtermann Kartpostalları* (Istanbul, Koçbank, 2000).
13. B. Evren, 'Anadolu Fotoğrafçılığı ve Fotokart Estetiği', *op. cit.*
14. L. Nochlin, 'The Imaginary Orient', *Art In America*, 71 (1983), pp. 118–187.
15. The Act gave a one-year period for foreigners to close down their businesses, later extended to 1935. Nevertheless, Weinberg moved to Egypt in 1932, where he rapidly became one of the most prominent photographers: see, L. Lagnado, *The Man in the White Sharkskin Suit: A Jewish Family's Exodus from Old Cairo to the New World* (New York, Harper Perennial, 2008), pp. 8–9.
16. *Annuaire Oriental*, 1921. After 1915, Armenian artisans especially had difficulty in maintaining their businesses even when they were not forced to migrate: see, F. DüNDAR, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi* (Istanbul, İletişim, 2008), pp. 298–300.
17. *Annuaire Oriental*, 1931.
18. *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 12/07/1921; *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 04/12/1921.
19. G. M. Yavuztürk, 'Ankaralı Bir Fotoğraf Ustası: Rıdvan Kırmacı (Foto Rıdvan)', *Kebikeç*, 16 (2003), pp. 301–308.
20. For a discussion of the adoption of the bird's-eye view of panoramic lithographs by photographers in the case of nineteenth-century San Francisco, see: P. B. Hales, *Silver Cities: The Photography of American Urbanization, 1839–1915* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1984), pp. 32–50.
21. D. Deriu, 'Picturing modern Ankara: New Turkey in Western imagination', *The Journal of Architecture*, 18/4 (2013), pp. 497–527.



22. The visual strategy of contrasting the old and the new was extensively used in government publications of the 1930s: for a discussion, see, S. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building* (Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 2001), pp. 62–79.
23. For a further discussion of the role of the Directorate in establishing a visual ideology utilising the image of the new capital, see, B. Batuman, 'City, Image, Nation: Ankara: the heart of Turkey and the making of national subjects', in, J. Halam, R. Koeck, R. Kronenburg, L. Roberts, eds, *Cities in Film: Architecture, Urban Space and the Moving Image* (Liverpool, University of Liverpool and Arts & Humanities Research Council, 2008), pp. 7–15.
24. This strategy was not an invention of the republicans but had previously been utilised by the Ottoman state in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1867, panoramic views of Istanbul were exhibited in the Paris Universal Exposition and in 1873 a book of regional costumes was shown in the Vienna World Exposition. See, E. Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul, İletişim, 1995), pp. 25–38. Similarly, Abdulhamid II sent albums to the National Library of the United States (The Library of Congress) and the British Library in 1893 and 1894, respectively. See, M. I. Waley, 'IV. The Albums in the British Library', *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 12 (1988), pp. 31–32 and W. Allen, 'Analyses of Abdul-Hamid's Gift-Albums', *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 12 (1988), pp. 33–35.
25. For a discussion on this remarkable body of work, see D. Deriu, 'Picturing modern Ankara', *op. cit.*
26. B. Batuman, 'City, Image, Nation', *op. cit.*, p. 13.
27. V. N. Tör, *Yıllar Böyle Geçti* (Istanbul, Milliyet Yayınları, 1976), p. 23.
28. Weinberg and Pferschy travelled to Egypt together in 1932 to examine the potential for moving their businesses there. Pferschy returned to Istanbul and continued his studio since the implementation of the Law was postponed until 1935.
29. Z. O. Targaç, 'Othmar Pferschy', *Fotoğraf*, 30 (2000), pp. 84–88; S. A. Ak, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Fotoğrafı* (Istanbul, Remzi, 2001), pp. 220–229.
30. B. Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge and London, The MIT Press, 1994), pp. 101–118.
31. For examples in the Turkish architectural journal *Arkitekt*, see, M. İzzet, 'Ankara'da Bir Ev', *Arkitekt*, 55–56 (1935), pp. 199–200 and B. İhsan, 'Ankara'da Bir Ev', *Arkitekt*, 72 (1936), pp. 328–329.
32. Y. K. Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (Istanbul, İletişim, 1999 [1934]).
33. Hikmet's impressions belonged to his arrival in Ankara as a prisoner in 1938. The verses are from *Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları*, which was begun in 1939 and finished in the mid-1940s. It was published, posthumously, only in 1966. See, N. Hikmet, *Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları* (Istanbul, Adam, 1996).
34. Y. K. Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–7.
35. A. Alemdaroğlu, 'Politics of the Body and Eugenic Discourse in Early Republican Turkey', *Body & Society*, 11/3 (2005), pp. 61–76.
36. B. Scott, 'Picturing Irony: the Subversive Power of Photography', *Visual Communication*, 3/1 (2004), pp. 31–59.
37. Governmental Decree 36072, 26/11/1935, 'Production of picture postcards with stamps', Archive of Prime Minister's office, file 166–50, Fon code: 30.18.1.2, location: 59.90.13; Governmental Decree 60282, 15/02/1937, 'Printing of postcards by the Postal Administration', Archive of Prime Minister's office, file 166–60, Fon code: 30..18.1.2, location: 72.12..14.
38. V. N. Tör, 'Ankara People's House Photography Competition Specifications', in, *Amateur Painting and Photography Exhibition* (Ankara, Republican People's Party, 1941).