

BUILT HERITAGE, CULTURE AND NATION:

ALİ SAİM ÜLGEN (1913 – 1963)

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BUILT HERITAGE, CULTURE AND NATION:

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Built Heritage, Culture and Nation: Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963)

This thesis examines the construction of the conceptions of heritage, culture and nation during the Early Republican period through the archive of Ali Saim Ülgen in SALT Research. Ali Saim Ülgen, as an architect, conservation and restoration theorist, writer and academician, made important studies in the fields of architectural history writing and preserving monuments and antiquities. The socio-political dynamics of the period when he did his scholarly studies are remarkable in terms of the cultural policies in the Early Republican Period, so his studies are inseparably from the nationalist ideology and heritage. Ülgen's lecture notes and published and unpublished works contain remarkable expressions in the historiographical discourse about the characteristics of Turkish art and architecture. In addition to his nationalist, anti-orientalist and occasionally conservative views in architectural historiography, Ülgen's literary, institutional and practical studies in the field of preservation and restoration reflect his view regarding historical heritage through monuments.

ÖZET

İnşa Edilmiş Miras, Kültür ve Millet: Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963)

Bu çalışma temelde Erken Cumhuriyet dönemindeki miras, kültür ve millet inşasını SALT’da oluşturulmuş Ali Saim Ülgen arşivi üzerinden incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ali Saim Ülgen bir mimar, koruma ve restorasyon teorisyeni, yazar ve akademisyen olarak mimarlık tarihi yazımı ve eski eserlerin korunması alanlarında önemli çalışmalar yapmıştır. Çalışmalar yaptığı dönemin sosyo-politik dinamikleri, milliyetçi ideolojiye ve mirasın farklı algılarına ayrılmaz bir biçimde bağlı şekilde, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi kültür politikaları hakkında birçok dikkat çekici dinamiğe sahiptir. Türk sanatı ve mimarisinin karakteristik özelliklerinin sorgulandığı tarih yazımı söyleminde, Ülgen’in ders notları ve yayınlanmış veya yayınlanamamış çalışmaları dikkate değer ifadeler barındırmaktadır. Ülgen’in milliyetçi, anti-oryantalist ve zaman zaman muhafazakar bakış açıları içeren mimari tarih yazımı söyleminin yanında, koruma ve restorasyon alanında yaptığı yazınsal, kurumsal ve uygulamalı çalışmaları kendisinin miras kavramına bakış açısını anıtlar üzerinden yansıtmaktadır.

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*In loving memory of my grandmother,
Çiçek Yaykırık*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Thesis statement

The aim of this thesis is to enrich the debates within the historiography of Turkish architecture through the discourse of Ali Saim Ülgen. The historiography of early Republican Turkish art and architecture mostly includes studies carried out within the framework of nationalism. Various discourses of both foreign and Turkish art historians on Turkish art and architecture have been examined frequently through their published works. In this thesis, Ülgen's discourse on the historiography of Turkish architecture is revealed through a deep archive research, especially on his unpublished lecture notes, curricula, articles and book drafts.

Ülgen's narrative concerning the historiographical statements on Turkish art and architecture has a multi-layered structure. The first layer of his discourse is the use of a nationalist and an anti-orientalist genre. Second, Ülgen's discourse is in a comparative structure that includes foreign and local art historians and archeologists' thoughts on this subject. Third, Ülgen has a global perspective in which another comparative viewpoint emerges, one that is a reflection of his struggle to reveal the different characteristics of Turkish architecture by comparing the productions of Turkish art and architecture with the artistic and architectural productions of different civilizations from Asia to Europe.

The first question to be examined in such a large Turkish architectural history writing discourse is how Ülgen describes the characteristics of Turkish architecture. Ülgen bases his studies on Turkish architecture on Central Asia, while continuing to Anatolia through the Seljuks and the Ottomans. While claiming that Turkish

architecture has its own unique characteristics, he asserts that distinct and original aspects of Turkish architecture can be seen by comparing it with Chinese and Iranian architecture in Asia, and with other Islamic art productions after they accepted Islam, and with Greek and especially Byzantine architecture in Anatolia. In the light of these comparisons, his point of view concerning interaction and exchange is close to the idea that Turkish architecture has preserved its distinctiveness from a synthesist approach but at the same time there may inevitably be small influences which cannot change its original features. Another characteristic of Ülgen's point of view is that secular and modern attributions to Turkish art and architecture imposed in the Republican period are not emphasized in the West. Ülgen points out that, while Islam has an improving and non-contradictory influence on Turkish art and architecture, he also suggests that these influences have not changed the essence and characteristics of Turkish art and architecture. According to Ülgen, Turkish art and architecture are totally different from other Islamic arts in terms of simplicity, rationality and functionality, but this difference is not related to the orientation of Turkish art to the West, because these characteristics were already in Turkish art and architecture since its presence in Central Asia.

The second important question of this thesis is how Ülgen handled Ottoman art and architecture. Ülgen considers Ottoman architecture as a period or phase of Turkish architecture. He adds that the continuation of the tradition of the Seljuks and Beyliks can be observed during the foundation period of the Empire. Ülgen's narrative on Ottoman architecture includes the beginning of new quests during the periods of Murat II and Fatih and reaches a peak with Mimar Sinan in the sixteenth century with the development of some styles as a result of these quests. In this point, his anti-orientalist rhetoric about Ottoman architecture continues over the Hagia

Sophia debates. One of his book reviews, which was written for Diez's *Türk Sanatı* on the subject of interaction and imitation due to the influence of the Hagia Sophia, is also examined in detail in the thesis.

Ülgen was not only a scholar of the historiography of Turkish art and architecture, but also an important architect and restorer, who worked on the preservation and maintenance of monuments. Another question that needs to be answered in this thesis is that what kind of works Ülgen did in the field of preservation and what kind of thoughts he suggested to match the importance of monuments with the notion of heritage. Ülgen had a versatile personality in this regard. The most basic emphasis of Ülgen was that these architectural and artistic works should not be considered for historical research only; he wanted to build some theories through identity and culture because they are the reflection of a total past of this nation. Therefore, he suggests that both institutional and applied preservation and restoration works should be initiated promptly and consciously. Another question in this regard is whether Ülgen examined applications in the West. He studied in detail the European preservation and restoration institutions, theories and practices as one who had already been educated and taken part in the restoration activities in Germany and France. By comparing the situation in Turkey by the way of these studies, he tried to find the answers to questions of what kind of deficiencies there were in Turkey, and he shared these answers with government institutions with long reports. While I was studying his works in institutions, article drafts and reports that he wrote on this subject, I tried to answer what he put forward in his *Preservation and Restoration of Monuments*, the first book written in this field.

I aim to reveal that this archive made up of numerous written and visual documents belonging to a sophisticated and documentary-loving person like Ülgen

has a great potential to contribute to the writing on Turkish architecture and art history. Apart from the questions that I have asked and the answers I have tried to reveal, the material in the archive has an incredible richness that will provide a visual and written source to answers concerning architectural historiography and more technical issues on preservation and restoration. I believe that Ülgen's insights on history writing and on the fields of preservation and restoration considered by this thesis will provide important contributions to the studies concerning Turkish architecture because of their multilayered meanings.

Even though I have evaluated Ülgen's academic, scholarly and professional contributions in two parts (historiographical discourse for Turkish art and architecture and his perception of heritage), Ülgen did not separate his studies and works with such a distinction because his conception of heritage is related to his historiographical perspective. He was interested in the history writing of architecture in order to constitute an accumulation of historical knowledge about monuments to be left for future generations. The same aim can be observed in his emphasis on the importance of survey drawings and sketches of the monuments for preservation and restoration in order to leave both historical and physical knowledge about the heritage to the future generations. His holistic approach to monuments in both history writing and activities of preservation and restoration makes him unique.

1.2 Literature review

The literature review of this thesis consists of two parts. The first part is mainly related to the historiography of Turkish architecture, and the second part is about the Turkish history of preservation and restoration.

Turkish architecture has been studied since the establishment of Turkish Republic under the name “Turkish” because of the nationalist structure of the state. These studies aimed to reveal the unique and original characteristic of Turkish architecture as including the architectural productions of in Central Asia, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia and to collect them under a single term, Turkish architecture, consisting not only of Seljuk and Ottoman but also Early Anatolian and Mesopotamian architecture.

Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani is the first study which tried to reveal the distinct characteristic of Ottoman art and architecture. Until the studies of Celal Esad Arseven, foreign art historians mostly were on the stage with their studies investigating different periods of Turkish architecture with different claims. Josef Strzygowski is considered the first art historian who claimed that there are distinct features in Turkish architecture that comes from their nomadic roots in Central Asia.¹ Heinrich Glück², Ernst Diez³, and Albert Gabriel⁴ studied Turkish art and architecture and influenced scholars in Turkey. Celal Esad Arseven was the first to write a book that collected different kinds of arts in one volume.⁵ Sedat Hakkı Eldem⁶, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi⁷, Sedat Çetintaş⁸, Behçet Ünsal⁹ and Suut Kemal Yetkin¹⁰ also produced remarkable descriptive studies rather than writing about

¹ Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom: Beitrage zur Geschichte der spatantiken and fruhchristlichen Kunst; Altai-Iran und Volkerwanderung: Ziergeschichtliche Untersuchungen uber den Eintritt der Wander- und Nordvölker in die Treibhduser geistigen Lebens*; “Türkler ve Orta Asya San’atı Meselesi.”

² Glück, *Türkische Kunst*; “Die Kunst der Seldschuken in Kleinasien und Armenien”; “Türk San’atının Dünyadaki Mevkii”; *Die Kunst der Osmanen*.

³ Diez, *Türk Sanatı: Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar* (trans. Oktay Aslanapa);

⁴ Gabriel, *Les antiquités Turques D’anatolie; Une capitale turque: Brousse, Bursa*.

⁵ Arseven, *İstanbul; Türk Sanatı; Les arts décoratifs Turcs*.

⁶ Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi; Türk Mimari Eserleri; Yapı*. (As related works)

⁷ Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri Mimari Eserleri; İlk 250 Senenin Osmanlı Mimarisi; Türk Mimarisi ve Dünya*.

⁸ Çetintaş, *Türk Mimari Anıtları Osmanlı Devri: Bursa’da İlk Eserler*; “Cumhuriyet Yapıcılığı Millî Geleneklere Dayanmalıdır”; “İnkılâp Mimarisi İsteriz.”

⁹ Ünsal, *Mimari Tarihi*; “İstanbul’un İmarı ve Eski Eser Kaybı”; *Turkish Islamic Architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman Times, 1071-1923*.

¹⁰ Yetkin, *Türk Mimarisi*

historiographical debates. Oktay Aslanapa¹¹ is another important name in Turkish art and architecture. Doğan Kuban¹² studies mainly Anatolian-Turkish and Ottoman architecture.

Apart from these earlier historiographical and descriptive studies, recent publications help illustrate different dimensions of the debate on the characteristics of Turkish art and architecture. Sibel Bozdoğan mostly studies Turkish architecture from the perspectives of modernism and nationalism.¹³ Gülru Necipoğlu's studies play a key role to understand different interpretations about Ottoman art and architecture and especially the period of Mimar Sinan.¹⁴ Tomris Elvan Ergut mostly focuses on the Early Republican Turkish architecture and its historiography.¹⁵ Ahmet Ersoy's studies reveal important issues such as identity and representation through architecture in the Late Ottoman and the Early Republican periods.¹⁶ Gül Cephaneçigil studies the relationship between nationalism and architectural historiography of both the periods of late Ottoman and early Republic.¹⁷ In

¹¹ Aslanapa, *Anadolu İlk Türk Mimarisi: başlangıcı ve gelişmesi; Fatih Devri Abideleri; Osmanlı Mimarisi; Osmanlı devri mimarisi : Orhan Gaziden başlayarak sonuna kadar padişahlara göre gelişmesi; Türk Sanatı* (trans.).

¹² Kuban, *Anadolu-Türk Mimarisi Tarihi; Batıya göçün sanatsal evreleri: Anadoludan önce Türklerin sanat ortaklıkları; Osmanlı Mimarisi; İstanbul: Bir Kent Tarihi*.

¹³ Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*; Bozdoğan and Kasaba, *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*; Bozdoğan and Necipoğlu, "Entangled Discourses: Scrutinizing Orientalist and Nationalist Legacies in the Architectural Historiography of the 'Lands of Rum'."

¹⁴ Necipoğlu, *The age of Sinan: architectural culture in the Ottoman Empire; The Topkapı scroll : geometry and ornament in Islamic architecture : Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956*; "Creation Of A National Genius: Sinan And The Historiography Of Classical Otoman Architecture."

¹⁵ Ergut, "Making a National Architecture: Architecture and the Nation State in Early Republican Turkey (Ph.D Thesis); "The Forming of the National in Architecture"; "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: Tanımlar, Sınırlar, Olanaklar"; Arnold, Ergut, and Turan (eds), *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*; "Önsöz: Cumhuriyet Mimarlığı Tarihyazımında Yeni Çalışmalar."

¹⁶ Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period"; Ersoy, Kechriotis and Gorny (eds), *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeastern Europe (1775-1945): Texts and Commentaries, vol. III / I, vol. III / II, and vol. IV; Architecture and the late Ottoman historical imaginary: reconfiguring the architectural past in a modernizing empire*; "XIX. Yüzyıl'da Osmanlı Mimarlık Tarihi ve Kuramsal Söylemin İnşası"; "The *Usul-i Mi'mari-i 'Osmani*: A Source of Revival in Ottoman Architecture."

¹⁷ Cephaneçigil, "Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemlerinde Mimarlık Tarihi İlgisi ve Türk Eksenli Milliyetçilik (1873-1930) (Ph.D Thesis); "Türk Mimarlığını Avrupa'ya Sunmak: Reşid

particular, Oya Pancaroğlu's study points out the importance of formalism and the Viennese school in Turkish architectural historiography.¹⁸ Zeynep Kuban, who studies mostly archeology and architecture, tries to define the nineteenth century Ottoman architecture.¹⁹

The studies on preservation and restoration in Turkey do not have a long history. It is appropriate to refer Ali Saim Ülgen as the first local name who wrote a comparative book in the fields of preservation and restoration.²⁰ Albert Gabriel is an important name who influenced Ülgen and other scholars in Turkey with his studies on the preservation of monuments. Aziz Oğan's study focuses mostly on the restoration of monuments.²¹ Emre Madran's studies revealed the history of preservation and restoration activities and institutional attempts in the Late Ottoman and Republican period.²² More recent scholars, Can Binan²³, Demet Binan²⁴, Nur Altınyıldız²⁵, İpek Durukan²⁶, and Burcu Selcen Coşkun,²⁷ study restoration,

Safvet [Atabinen] ve Türk Mimarisinin Karakteristikleri"; "Osmanlı Mimarlığı, Rasyonalite ve Milliyetçilik"

¹⁸ Pancaroğlu, "Formalism And The Academic Foundation Of Turkish Art In The Early Twentieth Century."

¹⁹ Kuban, "Considerations on the Definition of Ottoman Architecture in the nineteenth Century"

²⁰ Ülgen, *Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması*.

²¹ Oğan, *Tarihi ve Mimari Abidelerimiz ve Restorasyon*.

²² Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kültür varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler; Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Klasik Çağlarında Onarım Alanının örgütlenmesi; "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920-1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi –I"; "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920-1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi –II"; "Kültürel Varlıkların Korunması ve Onarılması"*

²³ Binan, "Yıldız Sarayı Yanmış Hususi Daire ve Çevresi Mekansal Oluşumunun Süreci ve Restorasyon Sorunları"

²⁴ Binan, D., "Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Koruma ve Onarım Süreçlerine İstanbul'daki Anıtsal Yapılar Üzerinden Bir Bakış"; "Defining, Preserving and Sustaining Traces of Mimar Sinan within the Framework of Turkish, İslamic and World Heritage."

²⁵ Altınyıldız, "Tarihsel Çevreyi Korumanın Türkiye'ye Özgü Koşulları (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis)"; *Arzu mimarlığı: mimarlığı düşünmek ve düşlemek*;

²⁶ Durukan, "Türkiye'de Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu Sonrası Kültür Mirası Korumasının Gelişimi ve Uygulama Sorunları (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis)";

²⁷ Coşkun, "İstanbul'daki Anıtsal Yapıların Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Koruma ve Onarım Süreçleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma (Ph.D Thesis)"; Coşkun and Binan, "Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Koruma ve Onarım Süreçlerine İstanbul'daki Anıtsal Yapılar Üzerinden Bir Bakış"

preservation and conservation methods, theories and historical developments in Turkey.

As a result of the first steps of the Ali Saim Ülgen Archive project in SALT, the first and only academic study about Ali Saim Ülgen was written as a master's thesis by Hilal Aktur at Istanbul Technical University in 2010. Aktur examines the restoration and preservation projects of the Early Republican Era based on the example of the Malatya Great Mosque by benefitting from the archive materials such as official correspondence, photographs, and drawings as surveys of the monuments. She also presents a well-constructed biography of Ali Saim Ülgen, using various personal and official documents in the archive.

The archive was first classified by the Architecture Foundation and a team under the leadership of Ahmet Ersoy, and then it was transferred to SALT Research in 2012. A quite striking exhibition under the name “Modern Turkey’s Discovery of the Ottoman Heritage: Ali Saim Ülgen Archive” was opened in 2013. This archive is considered a historical repertory in terms of its wealth, size, the value of the documents and the hints of Ali Saim Ülgen’s life and personality, and Ottoman Heritage. The archive — which includes his manuscripts in Ottoman Turkish, Modern Turkish, English, French and German, photos, survey drafts and drawings, maps, brochures, official correspondences, city plans, notes, letters, business and visiting cards, and other kinds of documents both personal and formal — affords the opportunity to make different readings, conduct research and to see different perspectives. It also gives significant details about Seljuk, Ottoman and Republican monuments. In particular, reports, photographs, drafts, sketches, and surveys that belong to structures in Istanbul, Anatolia and a few old Ottoman lands in Arab peninsula in which he was personally interested and paid attention to during his

working years in some institutions about preservation and restoration of historical architectural works such as General Management of Foundations and General Management of Historical Works play an important role in realizing his contributions to this area.

Another significant aspect of the archive that is important for this thesis is that, among the academic documents, the lecture notes for the Architectural History class in the Fine Arts Academy and Ankara University written by Ali Saim Ülgen himself have a remarkable place to see his struggle to re-construct Turkish history through a history of architecture. He builds a progressive history from the Middle Ages. His struggle supports the claim of a progressing Turkish art and architecture from Central Asia and opposing to a generic expression of Islamic Art. In this period, building a new national history and architecture as a part of a process which is the construction of a national identity and cultural environment went together, and we can see his tendency from an anti-orientalist perspective towards this trend. On the other hand, in the scope of the Early Republican Era, this archive is very substantial, allowing one to look at conservation and restoration efforts in Turkey before the 1960s from the perspective of cultural heritage.

Actually, this project is a successful example to construct the cultural memory of a state and its society and also a personal history at the micro level. It can be said that after looking at the archive materials, evaluating Ali Saim Ülgen as a hidden treasure to understand his role within the framework of Early Republican Turkish architectural historiography and conservation practices is a quite literal interpretation.

In relation to the archive project, Ülgen's studies in different areas were discussed at the conference on *Ali Saim Ülgen and After: Restoration, Preservation*

and Architectural Historiography in Turkey in the SALT Galata Auditorium in Istanbul in 2013.²⁸ Ahmet Ersoy, Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, Can Binan and Emre Madran contributed to the conference with their speeches.

Additionally, Emre Madran is one of few who directly mentions Ülgen's practical and academic works in terms of conservation, protection, and restoration in his articles²⁹. Madran and Yenişehirlioğlu prepared a book in 1989 that consists of Ülgen's drawings of Mimar Sinan's works.³⁰ Zeynep Ahunbay wrote an article about Ülgen's preservation and restoration activities in 2013³¹.

Master Architect Burcu Selcen Coşkun, in her PhD thesis completed in Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in 2012, gives a place to Ülgen by including his biographical information and his restoration studies and his projects in the Süleymaniye Mosque and Topkapı Palace in details³². Furthermore, she emphasizes the importance of Ülgen in preservation institutions, mentioning both his pragmatic and theoretical knowledge; she also refers to Ülgen's publications. Finally, Coşkun draws attention to the wealthy content of the archive for later studies.

In one of articles about preservation presented at the first symposium of "Tarihi Eserlerin Güçlendirilmesi ve Geleceğe Güvenle Devredilmesi" (Strengthening Antiquities and Safely Transferring to the Future) in Ankara in 2007, reference is made to Ülgen's institutional activities.³³

²⁸ See for more information: <http://saltonline.org/tr/480/>

²⁹ Madran, "Kültürel Varlıkların Korunması ve Onarılması," 271-291. Madran, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920-1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi," 75-97.

³⁰ Madran and Yenişehirlioğlu, *Mimar Sinan yapıları*.

³¹ Ahunbay, "Genç Cumhuriyetin Koruma Alanındaki Öncülerinden Y. Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963)," 3-20.

³² Coşkun, "İstanbul'daki Anıtsal Yapıların Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Koruma ve Onarım Süreçleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma."

³³ Kahya, Şen, Sarı, Özgen, Zorlu and Sağsöz, "Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Koruma Kavramının Gelişimi," 171-174.

Except from these few academic studies, there are articles which were published as a short memorial by Ergezen³⁴, Meriç³⁵, Eyice³⁶, Yücel³⁷, Karakaya³⁸ and Kazmaoğlu³⁹ in magazines, newspapers, and publications after his death; these too had a role in completing the missing parts about his life and to look at his adventure during the rough way he walked, tirelessly and undauntedly.

This thesis aims to contribute to the historiography of art and architecture and conservation in Turkey through the archive materials of Ali Saim Ülgen. On the subject of historiography, I consider the characteristic of Turkish art and architecture from Ali Saim Ülgen's perspective. Moreover, I questioned how Ülgen as a restorer and a person who worked in the management of various institutions for preservation and restoration could be evaluated with his approach to the concepts of monument and heritage in this study. In particular, thanks to numerous documents of correspondences and reports of Ülgen about preservation and restoration activities in ASÜA (Ali Saim Ülgen Archive) this study aims to fill a gap about what kinds of attempts he wanted to make. This study has benefitted from a unique and original body of archive sources such as manuscripts, lecture notes, course syllabi, draft surveys like drawings and sketches, and various correspondence and reports of Ülgen. I have built my approach first by giving preference to his lecture notes, course syllabi and book and article manuscripts for the historiography of Turkish art and architecture, and secondly by investigating some detailed reports prepared by Ülgen with the aim of establishing some principles in the field of preservation and

³⁴ Ergezen, "Yüksek Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen."

³⁵ Meriç, "Kaybettiğimiz Ali Saim Ülgen."

³⁶ Eyice, "Ali Saim Ülgen"

³⁷ Yücel, "XX. Yüzyılda Klasik Türk Mimarisi Üzerine Eğilmiş Türk Mimarları: Ali Saim Ülgen"; "Cumhuriyetten Günümüze Restoratör Mimarlar."

³⁸ Karakaya, "Ülgen, Ali Saim."

³⁹ Kazmaoğlu, "Ülgen, Ali Saim"

restoration activities in order to reveal his noteworthy approaches about these fields. In fact, the strength of this study is not only about the revolutionary and original nature of Ülgen scholarly insights, but it is unique in that I have the wealth of material with which to trace how an art historian works, synthesises his studies, and uses the data for his teaching goals. His deep research and meticulousness can be seen in the numerous drafts of his works. Therefore, the greatest importance of this study comes from the primary sources in the archive, which open a new door to a scholar's world. Apart from that, this thesis is the first study which considers Ülgen in detail through his discourse in the historiography of Turkish art and architecture rather than his works in the field of conservation.

1.3 Biography of Ali Saim Ülgen

Ali Saim Ülgen was born in Istanbul on 28.10.1913 as the son of Doctor Tevfik Bey and Rebia Advıye Hanım (Fig.1). There is little information about his childhood. Some information concerning his childhood years can be found in Hasan Rıza Ergezen's writing that was published after Ülgen's death. Ergezen states that his interest in historical works had started his childhood period.⁴⁰

A 4-year-old child is insistently crying, and begging to walk around the dome of Hagia Sophia near their house. At the end of his continual persistence he was walked around the eaves by climbing fearlessly and tirelessly to that majestic dome with permission and accompaniment of soldiers. When he was 9 or 10 and in Edirne, he often used to disappear and walk around the ruins of relics. That was a different game which was not interesting for a child of that ages. This flood of emotions was always dragging him to the immortal structures of the antiquities.

⁴⁰ Ergezen, 87.

Ali Saim Ülgen completed his primary school education in 1923, and secondary school education in 1929.⁴¹ Ülgen, who had been researching historical art works and architecture since his high school years, published his article Turkish Architecture and Art Works on 01.12.1930 in *Mektepli Mecmuası*, which was a review published by the ninth-grade class students of İzmir High School. Another article, “Büyük Sinan’ın Açtığı Çığır ve Sanat Harikaları” (A New Epoch the Great Sinan Marked and His Artistic Wonders), was published in 1932 in the journal of the Istanbul High School. Moreover, while he was at Istanbul High School, he was a member of the Child Voice Club and the Turkey Anti-Drinking Youth Society [this school shows his conservative tendencies] in 1932. Then, he graduated from the Istanbul High School Science Branch with a “good” degree in 12.09.1933, and started the Fine Arts Academy Architecture Department in 1934 (Fig. 2).

During his student days in the Fine Arts Academy, his many articles regarding architecture were published. “Mimar Sinan (Great Artist)” was published in 1934 in the newspaper of İçki Düşmanı (Drink Hater). Then, “The Characteristics of Great Sinan in His Artistic Life” was published in the date of 09.06.1935 in newspaper supplement called *Mimar Sinan* in the *Zaman* (Time) newspaper. At the same period (1934), a National Architecture Seminar supported efforts to keep Traditional Turkish Architecture alive with studies about domestic architecture.⁴²

Ülgen, as an enthusiastic architecture student, made a booklet in Ottoman Turkish entitled *Turkish Architecture: A Detailed Investigation about Architectural Works Before and After Islam* in the Early Republican Period when the location of Turkish architecture was defined in Islamic architecture by orientalist scholars. Celal Esad Arseven and Behçet Ünsal, important art historians in that period, maintained

⁴¹ Anonymous, (1963), 787–788.

⁴² Ödekan, *Yazıları ve Rölöveleriyle Sedat Çetintaş*, 47-48

that Turkish Art has a “unique”, “strong” and “rational” characteristic in Islamic Art⁴³, Ülgen, as their student, followed their path and studied to reveal the distinct characteristic of Turkish architecture despite Islamic influence.

Albert Gabriel,⁴⁴ a French art historian, is another important name for Ülgen. He played a key role as an intermediary for Ülgen to go to France to study architecture. Reşit Saffet Atabinen (1963) narrated the beginning of the acquaintance between Ülgen and Albert Gabriel with these words: “When Prof. Albert Gabriel wanted a young assistant for his research from us, the first name that came to mind was Ali Saim Ülgen.” A letter by Gabriel on 01.07.1937 began as follows (Fig. 3):

Dear Chancellor,
I recommend a student from Fine Arts Academy’s architecture department, Ali Saim Ülgen. This young man is about to finish his education and has a deep knowledge in his field. He proved this quality with a series of reliefs concerning Vezirköprü. I think that Mr. Saim Ülgen has all the appropriate skills to be appointed to Historical Monuments Service, with his attention and rigor as added to his real designer ability. He can actively attend to studies which have already been running regarding Architect Sinan’s life and works. He will provide us documents and reliefs, which will include a strong scientific basis for the study assumed and in which we will establish our results. Dear Minister, in that case I request you to help this young architect to allow him fulfill his duty freely. I offer my deepest respect, hoping that you answer my demand with your generosity.

In the additional part of this letter, the studies which Ali Saim Ülgen would do in France, which was the location suggested for his education, are listed. It was foreseen that he would first enter the central management and stay there for one or two months, and then he would be sent to a district for a building site (for example Reims, and then to the south for a big restoration), and would be entrusted to the chef architect there. It is also stated that he would attend the course on Architects of Historical Monuments as an education program in winter, and he would be stated

⁴³ Ibid, 47-48.

⁴⁴ For more information about Albert Gabriel, see: Erdur, *Albert Gabriel, 1883-1972: Mimar, arkeolog, ressam, gezgin*. Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

with a history course on the History of Eastern Civilization (Fig. 4). In the last page of the letter, the following is written under the heading of “Notes for Mr. Saim” (Fig. 5):

Notes for Mr. Saim;

1. Selecting an Art History and Archeology course and confining with certain notions concerning great periods of Western Antiquity and Middle Age.
2. Focusing much more on the Near East- Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iran for the antiquity, and acquiring new notions about the Far East and India.
3. Following a course about the antiquity of Central Asia if there is. Constructing a personal documentation by visiting various collections and museums which include Le Coq’s different publications.
4. Following profoundly the courses related to archeology of Islamic societies. The main effort should focus on this point. Taking notes by visiting carefully the museums and collections. P.S.: These points have been given for a general beginning. When you come to Istanbul this summer, we can consider a detailed education program about different questions that you started to study about.

Furthermore, Ülgen, who was assigned as assistant to Gabriel, examined the third volume of *Monuments Turcs d’Anatolia* and *Bursa* with Gabriel. Ülgen worked together Gabriel for long years, carrying out Gabriel’s studies in Turkey and providing his communication with the Turkish government when he was in France.

Semavi Eyice mentions Ülgen’s book *İstanbul ve Eski Eserleri* (Istanbul and Its Antiquities) (1933), which was written and published with his own efforts when he was in high school. Eyice stated that this book had a different value because it was the first book in Turkish after the alphabet reform, among many works in Western languages concerning Istanbul written by an enthusiastic high school student. Its value originated from these features rather than its scientific value.⁴⁵ Ülgen sent Atatürk this work, which clearly showed his interest in Turkish history,

⁴⁵ Eyice, “Ülgen, Âli Saim”, 336.

culture and architecture. This work was appreciated by Atatürk.⁴⁶ After a while, he was invited to work for the Istanbul Archeological Museum. He started to study relics within Istanbul Museums General Directorate in 1936 (Fig. 6). He prepared the reliefs of many structures such as plan drawings of excavations of the Second Garden of Topkapı Palace (1937) (Fig. 7) and held the position of clerk of the Relief Bureau/Office until 1939.

Ülgen studied Mimar Sinan and his works starting from his first years in the Fine Arts Academy. Related to this, he went to Samsun in August 1936 to examine Mimar Sinan's works when he was a student. He sent to the *Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti* a summary of his studies about Mimar Sinan in the beginning of 1936, and these studies were evaluated. After that he was assigned to make plans and reliefs of some monuments by Turkish Historical Society in 1937 (Fig. 8). At the same year he was asked to study on behalf of Turkish Historical Society about Mimar Sinan's works, correspondingly he was charged in order to research works of Mimar Sinan around Gebze, İzmit, Sapanca and İzmit in summer months (Fig. 9). Also, it is asked for providing Ali Saim Ülgen with required convenience in the studies that Ülgen would do on behalf of Turkish Historical Society by Istanbul General Directorate of Pious Foundations (Fig. 10).

In his last year in the Fine Arts Academy (1938) he prepared The Book and Map of Istanbul by benefiting from documents of Pious Foundations, Fatih Endowments, and some other certain local and foreign sources. This study was analyzed by Prof. Fuat Köprülü and Tefik Yalın Erle and was published by the General Directorate of Pious Foundations (Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü) in 1939. Moreover, Ülgen prepared surveys for the gallery at the İzmir Fuarı Vakıflar

⁴⁶ Ergezen, 87.

Pavyonu (The Pious Foundations Pavilion of Izmir Fair) and the building of General Directorate of Pious Foundations, and his works were published in the *Vakıflar Dergisi*. Apart from his academic and scholarly studies, Ülgen took part in activities of Kadıköy Halkevi as a member since 1934 (Fig. 11). The Halkevleri (People's Houses or Community Center) was one of the most important foundations which transmitted the Republic and its implications to the public.

While he was studying in the Fine Arts Academy, he attended the archeology courses of Prof. Arif Müfid Mansel in the Faculty of Literature.⁴⁷ As a result of all these efforts, Ülgen graduated from the Fine Arts Academy as a master architect with diploma number of 551 (Fig. 12). Ülgen, who worked for restorations of old buildings during his architecture education, successfully passed an exam of the Ministry of Culture and was one of two students selected among the graduates of Academy's Master Architecture to Germany for education as an architect-archeologist (Fig. 13). In respect to this, Albert Gabriel sent his colleague Prof. Kühnel a letter about Ülgen's architectural accumulation and studies in 26.11.1938 (Fig. 14):

I appreciatively and sincerely recommend you a young architect, Ali Saim Ülgen, who was sent to Germany by his government to complete his education. He will mostly study the archeology and history of Medieval Art because his desire is to become an architect of antiquities. Even if some of Seljuk and Ottoman structures will be restored, you know well that there are many things in this area to do in Turkey.

Saim Ülgen is a very serious and hardworking young man who comprehends the job well and already has an important accumulation of knowledge on this subject. He has done a great number of building surveys in both Istanbul and the provinces. He is also a profoundly honest and well-behaved man. I believe that he will completely satisfy your expectations in every respect. He will also learn many things from your lectures and recommendations...

⁴⁷ Atabinen (1963).

Ali Saim Ülgen resigned from his position at the Survey Office of General Directorate of Museums in February 1939 and went to Germany in March 1939. As a result of negotiations between Maarif Vekaleti Yüksek Öğretim Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of Board of Education) and the Fine Arts Academy Directorate, he was considered appropriate to be trained by Prof. Kranker, Andree and Waezolt and to work actively for restoration in order to compensate the important need in this field. However, due to the commitment of Prof. Gabriel in the issue of Ülgen's education in France and Assembly of Academic Teacher's preference, it was agreed to send Ali Saim Ülgen to France (Fig. 15):

Mr. Avni Başman as the Inspector General of Western Europe Turkish Students has demanded you to be informed about the methods of restoration of historical monuments in France from the Fine Arts Management.

If you come to my office in Valois Street 3rd, Paris 1 at 15:00 p.m. next Thursday before you go to the present building sites in Paris and the provinces, we will look over the conditions of internship in administrative services that you will do.

...

Mr. Ali Saim Ülgen

Architect

10, Beauséjour Street Laplace Park – Arcueil (Seine)

Ali Saim Ülgen received certificates for his work in the French Fine Arts General Management from French Republic Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts General Management (Fig. 16): "...The General Manager of the Fine Arts has approved Mr. Ali Saim Ülgen of taking part in research studies, library and archives of the Historical Monuments Committee and working for analysis of the ancient monuments of France..."

These successful academic and professional works of Ali Saim Ülgen in France made significant contributions to his career. After the beginning of the Second World War, he returned to Turkey in 24 September 1939. Since he did not break connections with the Fine Arts Academy when he was in France, he was

appointed as Architectural Workshop Instructor in this institution on 2 November 1939. At the same time, he took a class in the History of Architecture and Urbanism as the assistant of Celal Esad Arseven in this institution. Additionally, he was assigned to study Waqf monuments within the Pious Foundation General Directorate in December 1939.

Another remarkable recommendation about Ülgen was given by Arseven. When Arseven went to Konya for reconstruction regulation, he stated in his letter dated 25 April 1940 that the Ulu Mosque and the Kızıl Minaret which belongs to the Beyliks period had lost their original form after restoration. In this letter, he recommended Ali Saim Ülgen to work for restorations which would be carried out by the General Directorate of Foundations (Fig. 17):

I am worried about restoration of this building by a person who is not very competent on the subject due to the lack of art historians and architects who can restore and rebuild the buildings in proportion to their original condition and style. On this issue, as you know, I recommend Ali Saim Ülgen, who has written a very useful study about the restoration of monuments, to restore these buildings, and I offer my respects.

As Aktur points out that, while this letter is informing us about the restoration activities of the Republican period, it remarks on Ali Saim Ülgen's role and importance in the field of restoration.⁴⁸

Ülgen resigned from his job in the Fine Arts Academy on 15 May 1940 in order to continue his education in France, but he could not go to France because of the political events of that period (World War II), so he was re-appointed to his position in the Academy on 05 June 1940. In addition to his duties there, he had started to work as "architect candidate (mimar namzeti)" in the Istanbul Archeological Museums starting 30 November 1940. He participated in several

⁴⁸ Aktur, "Ali Saim Ülgen Arşivi Üzerinden Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nin Türk Mimarisine Bakışı: Malatya Ulu Camisi Örneği", 35.

studies of excavation and exploration, and also undertook preparing surveys and plans of old buildings while working as the architect of the Istanbul Archeological Museums.⁴⁹ Later, he left all of his jobs in order to serve as a reserve officer on 01 May 1941, and he did his military service in Maraş between 1941 and 1943. He had an opportunity to “...make studies on the unique civic architecture...” of Maraş and its environment.⁵⁰ Although he was doing his military service, he was assigned to work in the name of the Directorate of Antiquities and Museums in 1941 for survey drawings. After he had returned from the military service and continued his duty in the Academy, he was assigned to teach the History of Architecture courses on 30 September 1943 because the professor of History of Architecture in the Fine Arts Academy, Celal Esad Arseven, had been elected as the deputy of Istanbul from the Republican People’s Party.⁵¹ *Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması* (Preservation and Restoration of Monuments), the product of his research about restoration and his Europe experience, was published in the same year.⁵² This study was the first book which included important principles of preserving and restoring historical structures in Turkey. The book, which was prepared for the purpose of correlating the Western restoration principles with the historical structures in Turkey, has some evaluations and comparisons of previous restorations with visual examples.⁵³ Furthermore, he was assigned as an “officer to examine Mimar Sinan’s works” by the Turkish Historical Institution on 24 March 1944 (Fig. 18).

With regard to his career, Ali Saim Ülgen accepted the job offered by the General Directorate of the Ancient Monuments and Museums, Directorate of

⁴⁹ Eyice, 336.

⁵⁰ Ergezen, 87-88.

⁵¹ Arkitekt, 1943: 237

⁵² Aktur, 36.

⁵³ Eyice, 336.

Monuments Department.⁵⁴ He started to reconstruct this branch as the director on 1 September 1944 after he was moved from the Fine Arts Academy (Fig. 19). According to Ergezen, an important factor in Ülgen's accepting this offer was that he wanted to settle down in Ankara for family reasons after he lost his sibling.⁵⁵ Ülgen had been working in the Monuments Department dealing with every documentation and construction staff for ten years, and because of lack of staff, he also worked as controlling architect in many restorations. Ergezen points out that Ülgen started to work with his first rational steps on the ancient structures, and made beneficial collaborations with his colleagues in that period.⁵⁶ In fact, these are not enough to understand his versatile and active character in his career because in addition to all these dynamic duties, he was also assigned to restore waqf monuments and charity buildings within the General Directorate of Pious Foundations, Construction Directorate while already working in the General Directorate of the Ancient Monuments and Museums as the manager of the Monuments Department (Fig. 20). He was also a member of some important foundations for restoration, such as the Istanbul Committee on Preservation of the Antiquities and the Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (Fig. 21).⁵⁷

Apart from his research, restoration and consultancy on old buildings, Ülgen entered various architectural project competitions. Some of these competitions were the Karabük Mosque and the Zonguldak Mosque project competitions (as uncompleted); the competition of the Yenişehir Mosque to be built in Ankara by the Ankara Municipality in 1947 resulted in Ülgen's taking the second prize with Orhan Alnar, and the first honorable mention with Bedri Kökten for Seyhan Düziçi

⁵⁴ Aktur, 36.

⁵⁵ Ergezen, 87-88.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 87-88

⁵⁷ Aktur, 37.

(Haruniye) Village Institute (Köy Enstitüsü) Project Competition. Haruniye was not the only project to build village institutes. Ülgen made other projects for the Çifteler (Eskişehir), Pazarköyü and Pazarören (Kayseri), Arifiye (Kocaeli) village institutes (ASÜA). Ülgen was assigned the additional duty of Master Architect of Directorate of Construction Vocational and Technical Training (Mesleki ve Teknik Öğretim Yapı İşleri Müdürlüğü) on 11.08.1952 while continuing as the director of General Directorate of Ancient Arts and Museums in the Directorate of Monuments Branch (Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü Anıtlar Şubesi Müdürlüğü). He left his work in the Directorate of Monuments Branch on 18.06.1953, and on the same date he was re-assigned as Master Architect in Directorate of Construction Vocational and Technical Training. After he left this institution on 30.11.1954, he started to work in the General Directorate for Foundations as master architect, where he had already been working as a volunteer during his working years in General Directorate of Ancient Arts and Museums. However, he carried out his studies for the General Directorate of Ancient Arts and Museums as a member of the high commission.⁵⁸ Later, he was assigned as architect of the Construction Management of General Directorate for Foundations on 21.06.1956, and he continued as specialist consultant for the Directorate of Monuments and Construction in the same institution starting from 25.09.1956.

Another institution where he carried out his academic studies was Ankara University. He was appointed to the Ankara University Language and History-Geography Faculty with an additional duty of teaching Art History courses on 30.06.1953. In addition to the academic side of his career, he did not give up being in the field and continued to make scientific examinations in the museums and

⁵⁸ Anonymous, 1963: 787–788.

monuments, and to document these structures with photographs and survey drawings for his studies on art and architectural history.⁵⁹

According to Eyice, Ülgen dedicated his whole life and studies to finding, analyzing, and restoring monuments, especially Turkish and Islamic structures.⁶⁰ In particular, in order to see his nationalist tendency, one needs to look at his contact with the Turkish Historical Society. Ali Saim Ülgen had worked within Turkish Historical Society since he was student. Ülgen, who was appointed as an “officer to make plans and surveys of some monuments” by the Turkish Historical Society on 26.02.1937 (Fig. 22), was invited to the Second Turkish Historical Congress (Fig. 23).

Ülgen’s personal works were supported by Atatürk. For example, he was assigned to prepare a monograph of the Architect Sinan.⁶¹ Since 1936 when he was a student in the Fine Arts Academy, he had studied Architect Sinan, researching his life and works, and drew his works’ surveys. The survey drawings of Sinan’s works drawn by Ülgen and Sedat Çetintaş, who was another architect studying Architect Sinan, were exhibited in Ankara and Istanbul in 1951 (Fig. 24). Ülgen’s surveys, which had been prepared with a great effort were mentioned in the article titled Building a Survey Exhibition of Sinan’s Works and published in the magazine *Architecture*.⁶² This magazine, which started to be published in 1944, became very influential in announcing building surveys of antiquities and restoration works.⁶³ Another periodical, which had an important role in the period of popularizing of Turkish culture and raising awareness among the public, was *Arkitekt*, which was

⁵⁹ Aktur, 38.

⁶⁰ Eyice, 336.

⁶¹ Ergezen, 88.

⁶² Anonymous, 1951: 38.

⁶³ Madran, “Cumhuriyet’in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920–1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi–II”, 78.

published under the name of *Mimar* between 1931 and 1936, and then started to be published with the name of *Arkitekt*.⁶⁴

Another institutional and programmed step was the Nationwide Tours (Yurt Gezileri), which informed Turkish artists and republican intellectuals about Turkish people and Turkey by going to every corner of the country in order to identify and take inventories of the antiquities in the Early Republican period, and to introduce these to the people. This idea emerged with these words of Atatürk in 1919:

Why don't they just bother to come to Anatolia and fight with it? However, they should travel around the country, see the people and be able to communicate with them in order to recognize and express their own shortcomings. That is how they should take care of the nation. Otherwise, discourses lead to nothing but chattering.⁶⁵

The General Directorate of the Antiquities and the Museums of the Ministry of Education invited all chambers and institutions to help with these studies, which led the field, and stated that examinations would be held in Anatolia, and these studies would be started with strong teams consisting of a prehistorian, an ethnographer, an epigraphist, an architect, a historian, geological geologists, a geographer, a mapper, a sound and cinema expert, a designer, a painter, and photographers in the report related to investigative tours in Anatolia (ASÜA) (Fig. 25). Concerning all these developments, the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP), the single and the ruling party in the Early Republican period (1923-1946), became the most important supporter and practitioner of the government's cultural policy. For a more concrete example, the CHP organized an architectural trip to Erzurum in 1944 (ASÜA). In this thesis, these and other institutions in which Ülgen participated will be considered.

⁶⁴ Konuk, *Arkitekt 1931–2003 Kaynakça*, VII.

⁶⁵ Erbay, *Cumhuriyet dönemi (1923-1938) Atatürk'ün sanat politikası*, 84.

As the final part of his personal story, he fell from a construction scaffold during the restoration of the Yeni Cami. He hurt his arm and stayed in the hospital for a time.⁶⁶ However, it is understood from a letter sent to Ülgen by the ambassador of Libya that he continued his work at home and abroad during his treatment (Ankara, 29.09.1959). Ülgen's connection with Libya is remarkable because it is known that he worked for the restoration of the Turgut Reis Monument as well.⁶⁷ In ASÜA there is also some of Ülgen's correspondence with the government of Libya in French and Arabic.⁶⁸ After four years, he had a heart attack at his home in Ankara and passed away in 1963.

1.4 Chapter outline

The first part of this thesis tackles historiography. In this framework, Chapter 2 covers the question of the characteristic of Turkish architecture by its association with the myth of Central Asia and the influence of Islam that Ali Saim Ülgen argues in his course surveys and lecture notes at the Fine Arts Academy. Before Ülgen's statements, a historical background about the anti-orientalist aspect of Turkish nationalism and the Historiography of Turkish art are questioned. Later, the historiographical question about the characteristics of Turkish art and architecture is discussed in relation to ideas of scholars such as Strzygowski, Glück, Diez, Gabriel and Arseven as compared to Ülgen's ideas. While considering Ülgen's and these aforesaid scholars' ideas about the question of the characteristics of Turkish architecture, I reveal how the issues of interaction, cultural encounter, symbiosis are

⁶⁶ Anonymous, 1959: 1

⁶⁷ For a detailed information, see: "Libya Trablusgarp Turgut Reis Mimari Manzumesi Dosya Mühteviyatı" (ASÜA: TASUDOC0669).

⁶⁸ For a detailed information, see: "Libya Hükümeti ile yazışmalar" (ASÜA: TASUDOC0523).

examined by them. Moreover, the matter of ornamentation and Turkish decorative art is discussed under a separate subheading because of Ülgen's emphasis in his lectures.

Chapter 3 focuses on the question of Ottoman architecture that Ülgen considered as a part of his discourse of Turkish architecture. Before his accounts, a historical background for the architectural historiography in the Late Ottoman Empire with *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* is provided. While considering the Ottoman architecture again from his nationalist approach and with his critiques of orientalism in his scholarly works, his teaching materials are also used to a lesser extent. Since Ülgen's discourse on Ottoman architecture is strongly connected to the periods of the Byzantine, Seljuks, and Beyliks because of a continual development line that he drew for Turkish architecture, the matters of continuity and exchange are evaluated in relation to his statements. Related to the issues of exchange, symbiosis and distinctiveness, Ülgen's review for Diez's book *Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art) is also handled by addressing Diez's approach to Turkish art.

In the second part of this thesis, which evaluates the concept of heritage from the perspective of Ülgen regarding the subjects of preservation and restoration, Chapter 4 deals with Ülgen's institutional and practical initiatives to preserve and restore the monuments in the 1940s and 1950s. In order to make a clear analysis, the historical background of the institutions and practices for preservation and restoration in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Republican period is provided. This chapter reveals Ülgen's serious institutional attempts — by way of his reports and correspondences with administrative and governmental institutions — which are known less than his practical contributions with building surveys and restoration projects.

Chapter 5 considers his written contributions to the fields of preservation and restoration by the way of articles and reports to reveal his ideas about heritage through monuments from a more personal perspective rather than institutional demands. Furthermore, his famous book *Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması* (Preservation and Restoration of Monuments) is analyzed through the important agendas of the book in which Ülgen comparatively evaluated the history, methods and practices in the fields of preservation and restoration in both Europe and Turkey under a separate subheading. Although the book is mostly known as the first book written in this field in Turkey and with Ülgen's methodological approaches, this chapter aims to reveal the deficiencies of Turkey in the restoration and preservation, and Ülgen's ideals that led to his deep investigations about the conditions in Europe.

Chapter 6 is a conclusion of all my attempts to draw a revised portrait of Ali Saim Ülgen, not only as an architect, but as an academician and scholar in the field of architectural history, a restoration theoretician, and one of the pioneers of conservation with nationalist, anti-orientalist and conservative viewpoints. Through his all studies that I have used for this thesis, the approach to heritage is questioned in the periods of the Early Republic and the beginnings of the rule of the Democrat Party by means of historiography, preservation and restoration in Turkey.

CHAPTER 2

THE TEACHING MATERIALS OF ÜLGEN

This chapter elaborates Ülgen's teaching materials including lecture notes and syllabi for the courses of Architectural History, Art History, and Turkish Architecture in the Fine Arts Academy. The main focus of this chapter is how Ali Saim Ülgen dealt with the question of Turkish art and defined its elemental characteristics that contribute to the writing of a linear, continuous narrative of Turkish art history. According to Ülgen, Turkish art is unique and distinct, both when it was in Central Asia in the pre-Islamic period and also after the encounter with Islam, especially in Anatolia. The teaching materials are quite appropriate tools for exploring Ülgen's architectural historiography, which consists of nationalist and anti-orientalist discourses.

Moreover, it is possible to reach a world history in focus of architectural productions of various states or civilizations written by Ülgen because thanks to the broad scope of the content of his courses. it enables us to grasp his global historical perspective on art and architecture. Whether revealing similar, different, common or particular features of their architectural accumulation and their connections with Turkish art, it is important to see which attributes are emphasized most by him. Additionally, the place where he put Turkish history in this narrative offers us another interesting approach because it gives us an opportunity to see the central place of Turkish architecture within his historiography.

There are many unpublished articles, presentation texts, book drafts in the archive of Ali Saim Ülgen. Some of his lecture notes were also designed in the format of book, as Ülgen thought that they would be published later. Most of his unpublished works do not have a date on them; they are in draft form. Ülgen's published and unpublished works have been listed under the title of "Bibliography of

Ali Saim Ülgen” which was prepared for the Mimarlık Vakfı (The Foundation of Architecture) by Prof. Ersoy in 2008.⁶⁹ Among these documents, these sources from the archive of Ali Saim Ülgen are investigated:

1. A syllabus for the course of *Mimari Tarihi* (Architectural History) in The Fine Arts Academy.⁷⁰ It was prepared for the third and fourth classes. There are six pages scanned in the folder.⁷¹ The documents are typewritten on paper. There are also some handwritten notes of Ülgen. Unfortunately, the year they were prepared and used is unknown.

2. Ülgen’s syllabus of the four-semester *Sanat Tarihi* (Art History) course, which includes pre-determined lectures for each semester from 1956 to 1958.⁷² It was prepared for the periods of 1956-1957 Winter (Fall), 1957-1958 Fall and 1958 Spring. There are 390 scanned pages in the folder.⁷³ The original documents are typewritten or handwritten in pencil or pen. There are also some handwritten notes of Ülgen. In the archive, the date and the scope has been determined 05.03.1962.

3. Ülgen’s various lecture notes:⁷⁴ There are lecture notes for the course of Architectural History in the Fine Arts Academy. There are 270 pages scanned in the folder.⁷⁵ The documents are typewritten or handwritten in pencil in Ottoman Turkish and Turkish. There are also some handwritten notes, lists, drawings of Ülgen. Unfortunately, the exact date when they were prepared and used is unknown.

⁶⁹ For Ülgen’s unpublished works in the bibliography, see Appendix B.

⁷⁰ The title in the archive: “Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Mimari Şubesi Mimari tarihi dersi müfredat programı”

⁷¹ The number of the folder in the digital archive: TASUDOCA0115.

⁷² The title in the archive: “Ali Saim Ülgen’in Sanat Tarihi Dersleri için 4 Sömestirlik Programı”

⁷³ The number of the folder in the digital archive: TASUDOCA0042.

⁷⁴ The title in the archive: “Muhtelif ders notları”

⁷⁵ The number of the folder in the digital archive: TASUDOCA0110

4. Ülgen's lecture notes for the course of *Türk Mimarisi* (Turkish Architecture for the period of 1957-1958):⁷⁶ There are sixty-two pages scanned in the folder.⁷⁷ The documents are typewritten on paper in Turkish. These notes were prepared for a textbook which was not completed and published.⁷⁸

5. Ülgen's lecture notes for the course of *Türk Mimarisi* (Turkish Architecture) for the period of 1958-1959):⁷⁹ This document is related to Ottoman architecture, so it is discussed in Chapter 2. There are 93 pages scanned in the folder.⁸⁰ The documents are typewritten on paper in Turkish.

6. Ülgen's lecture notes entitled "Concerning Architecture":⁸¹ It was also designed as a book because list of the chapters is given among the pages. There are 261 pages scanned in the folder.⁸² The documents are both typewritten or handwritten on paper in Ottoman Turkish or Turkish.

Among the academic documents, especially the lecture notes for the Architectural History class in the Fine Arts Academy written by Ali Saim Ülgen himself have a remarkable place to see his struggle to re-construct Turkish history through the history of architecture. As it is mentioned in the following historiography, chapter while doing this, he buildt a progressive history from the Middle Ages up to the contemporary period. For this reason, it can be said that his interest in the Turkish nation is not irrelevant to the constructed trends on Turkish History Thesis of the time, and textbooks of history classes in primary and secondary

⁷⁶ The title in the archive: "1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı"

⁷⁷ The number of the folder in the digital archive: TASUDOCA0076

⁷⁸ The title of the first page of the document: "Kitabımızda kullandığımız yeni terimler hakkında bir kaç söz" (A few words about the terms that we used in our book)

⁷⁹ The title in the archive: "1958-1959 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı"

⁸⁰ The number of the folder in the digital archive: TASUDOCA0077

⁸¹ The title in the archive: "Mimariye Dair"

⁸² The number of the folder in the digital archive: TASUDOCA0333

schools of the Ministry of Education or with the writings of Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura. While moving through this path, the ideas of Albert Gabriel, Joseph Strzygowski, Heinrich Glück, and Celal Esad Arseven in particular became a route for him and nourished his ideas for both Turkish and global viewpoints on art history. His struggle supports the claim of a progressive Turkish art and architecture from Central Asia and opposes a generic expression of Islamic Art. He ignored the role of Turkish art within Islamic art. As part of the process of national identity and cultural environment formation in this period, architecture has advanced with the construction of a new national history. And we see that the anti-Orientalist point of view of Ülgen has developed in this direction. Furthermore, in particular regard to Islamic influence on Turkish art being considered positively by Ülgen despite his Kemalist tendencies, it is also important to evaluate the socio-political conditions and the changing nationalism trend in the 1950s with the Democrat Party rule. In addition to architectural historiography, the issue of ornamentation is also considered in a separate title as a complementary agent of the claim about the distinctiveness of Turkish art.

2.1 Anti-orientalist aspect of Turkish nationalism

It is not possible to consider Turkish nationalism without its anti-orientalist perspective, for which reason Turkish nationalism from the last periods of Ottoman Empire to the Early Republican period for construction of a solid identity is mentioned in both political and architectural historiographic accounts, by both local and foreign scholars.

Nationalism created certain disengagements such as Serbian and Greek uprisings in the nineteenth century in Ottoman Empire because of its multiethnic

structure, and these movements ended up with independence and became pioneers for the other ethnic uprisings. On the other hand, nationalism in the form of Turkism was taken as a way to save the empire from this crisis, in addition to other ways, including Islamism and Modernism, as asserted by Ziya Gökalp (1875-1924). Turkism emerged as a strong counter-ideology against other nationalist movements with the Young Turks movement during the period of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Ottoman Empire. Among these intellectuals who started and then continued this movement, Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akçura played an important role in the direction of Turkish nationalism during the transition period to a modern Turkish nation-state. Ziya Gökalp, who is an important representative of the idea that the bases of civilization in the world are largely based on the Turks and that the Turkish states have maintained their existence in continuous development since their emergence, played an important role in the formation of the Republic's official ideology. In his book, *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (The Principals of Turkism), he emphasizes that the Turks are the main players in the history of Eurasia and brings the concept of national culture to the agenda.⁸³ Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935), who studies to propose the role of Turks on the basis of civilization throughout the history influenced by Cahun, is one of the main actors of the new history writing that was formed in the first years of the Republic. Akçura led a narrative of Turkish-Tatar integration, which was based on race and language partnership.⁸⁴ In addition, Gökalp and Akçura formed the context of the reforms after the foundation of the Turkish nation-state. Gökalp developed a synthesizing approach among three different ideologies — Turkism, Islamism and Modernism — because he wanted to maintain

⁸³ Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, 30-45.

⁸⁴ Copeaux, *Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*, 25-26; Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Yusuf Akçura 1876-1935*, 82.

the unification of the state, the Ottoman Empire. In his perspective, these ideologies were not opposite; on the contrary, they were integrated with each other. There are two important points, civilization and culture (*hars*), that are needed to understand Gökbalp's nationalism. He thinks that culture belongs to nations, but civilization can have international features. Akçura had a different perspective from Gökbalp. He did not think about combining these three ideas but rather choosing one which would be the most beneficial for the state. His preference was Turkism as the most reasonable ideology. For this reason, he is called the father of Pan-Turkism by most historians.⁸⁵ To compare them in terms of their ideological differences, Gökbalp considers Islam as a bond to keep Turkish people together, but Akçura has a more secular viewpoint about nationalism. Another difference is that Gökbalp's Turkism is more cultural, which emphasizes the importance of a common culture, language, history and religion based on a nation. Later, he combined his three principles to form the basis of Turkism. In his book *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (The Principles of Turkism), Gökbalp suggested a Turkism which was determinant in art, morality, religious life, economics, politics and philosophy. However, Akçura's Turkism was defined by race, which was not related to Islamic ideology because, he claimed, Turkish people should not be defined by Islam. Thus he gave more importance to blood relations than to culture.

In the context of the legitimacy of the newly established Republic, the official history discourse is based on the fiction of Turkish lineage rooted in Central Asia that created great civilizations. Another discourse associates the roots of the Turks with Anatolia, and claims that the oldest civilizations in this territory belong to the Turks, that the Hittites are an ancient Turkish tribe who migrated from Central Asia

⁸⁵ Zenkovsky, *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia*, 332.

to Anatolia, and that Greek culture emerged by interacting with 'ancient Turks' in Anatolia.⁸⁶

As a source of these nationalist tendencies, the influence of Turkology studies should not be forgotten. Kushner states that, for the New Ottomans/Turks, these studies were a source of inspiration.⁸⁷ There were some historical and linguistic studies carried out by European Orientalists such as J. de Guignes,⁸⁸ A. L. Davids,⁸⁹ and L. Cahun.⁹⁰ The Ottoman government sent some students to European countries so that they could investigate these studies and translate them after they returned.

Another important factor which prepared Turkish nationalism was the immigration of Turkish intellectuals from Russia to the Ottoman Empire because of Russian suppression. Like Akçura, Ahmet Ağaoğlu,⁹¹ who was among these, formed a modern educational-based ideology. He considered the Western type of education as a way to increase Turks' national feelings. He advocated in his articles that Western civilization must be adopted in order to develop Turkish nationalism because this was the only way to do this.⁹²

To sum up, it can be said that the Turkish nation or a nationalist movement had been already created before the Republic, and then the new state tried to shape the Turkish nation by benefitting from the agendas of these intellectuals according to the new state's ideology.

⁸⁶ Üstel, "Türk Milliyetçiliğinde Anadolu Metaforu", 51-55; Tachau, "The Search for National Identity Among the Turks", 165-176.

⁸⁷ Kushner, *The Turkish Nationalism*, 9

⁸⁸ Guignes, *Histoire générale des huns, des turcs, des mogols, et des autres tartares occidentaux*.

⁸⁹ Davids, *A Grammar of the Turkish Language: with a Preliminary Discourse on the Language and Literature of the Turkish Nations*.

⁹⁰ Cahun, *Introduction a l'histoire de l'asie : Turcs et Mongols des origines à 1405*.

⁹¹ Ağaoğlu, *Üç Medeniyet*.

⁹² Karakaş, 145.

During the Republican period, *Turkish History Thesis* had become one of the most significant components of the main ideology of Atatürk's period and had had the characteristics of a cultural revolution in the single party period (1923-1946).⁹³ Turkish History Thesis, as a part of official state ideology at that period, claims a "monogenetic glorification of the Turkish race as the source of all human civilization".⁹⁴ That means it asserts that the ancestors of the Turks had established the first civilizations when there had been no civilization in the West in order to present Turks as civilized as Westerners,⁹⁵ and also this thesis looked for the origin of a Turkish identity in the history of Hittites, who are referred to as the most ancient Turks of Anatolia and Central Asia, while asserting that the origin of the Roman culture had risen from Turkish civilization through the Greeks and even the Etruscans.⁹⁶ This claim is completely against an orientalist perspective, which considers Turks as devoid of civilization because of their nomadic characteristic when they were in Central Asia. Therefore, *The History Thesis* against the Western orientalist claims about the inferiority and non-Aryan status of the Turkish race was quite dominant in this period and it affected cultural policies as well. As a part of orientalist discourse, being civilized is associated with the West; on the other hand, the East is introverted against the world, so it is therefore considered underdeveloped and non-civilized. This dualism reflected a conflict and became one of the most considered subjects of literal and historical productions in the last period of the Ottoman Empire and in the Early Republican period. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901-1962) is a remarkable expert on this subject with his two essays East and West and

⁹³ Ersanlı, 103-104.

⁹⁴ Ersoy, A., Górný, Kechriotis, V., *Modernism: Representations of National Culture: Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe 1770–1945*, 54.

⁹⁵ Öndin, 56-58.

⁹⁶ Copeaux, 56-57.

The Real Source. He evaluates the dichotomy between the East and the West through the concepts of tradition and progress because he considers that Turkish modernization is a step toward progress and an acquired victory against orientalist categories.⁹⁷ Therefore, it is possible to see a link between this thought and the architectural discourses of *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani*, Celal Esad Arseven and Ali Saim Ülgen, who separate Turkish architecture from Islamic tradition in terms of modernized features such as simplicity and rationalism. A more detailed analysis is presented in the following sections of this chapter.

The Turkish History Research Committee was established on the behest of Atatürk in 1931 to research the Turkish past and Turkish civilization.⁹⁸ The Turkish History Congress, which was first organized in 1932, came into play to accelerate the scanning, research, investigation and excavation.⁹⁹ Its name was changed to the Turkish History Society in 1935, and it has maintained that there are some cultural treasures which should be known, embraced, preserved, and improved by all individuals of a nation, such as language and literature.¹⁰⁰ In this case, these cultural treasures can each be evaluated as a component of heritage, as a reflection of the valuable accumulation of the past, and we can thus attach history, all kinds of art, and architecture to this structure.

The History Thesis has become the only source of history education and history textbooks. Education is an inevitable part of instilling an ideology. For this reason, this chapter uses Ülgen's teaching materials in the University of Fine Arts as a source to see how this nationalist ideology was given at the university level over the

⁹⁷ Ersoy, "Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar: On East and West", 135.

⁹⁸ Erbay, 98.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 98.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 98.

history of art and architecture. In high schools, it is possible to see a strong parallelism with the content of the history courses, which were mainly concentrated on Turkish history, and partly global history, but establishing the hegemony of the Turks over the all world in terms of civilization, culture, art, architecture and so on.

According to Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, there were two faulty views in the understanding of history of Atatürk's generation and in the history taught in schools. First, there was only the history of the Ottoman Empire. The founders of the Ottoman Empire were also a community consisted of a small group of people who lived in 300 tents, which settled in the Söğüt barracks and the Domanic highlands. The second erroneous opinion was the idea that in history it was based on the assumption of the absence of a Turkish civilization. There was no such thing as Turkish civilization written in the textbooks. Central Asia, which was described with words of praise, was the homeland of the Timurids and Cenghis Khan. According to the official books, there was no Turkish lineage anyway. There were either Muslims or Ottomans without any Turkish identity. While the Arabs, Kurds and Albanians in the Ottoman society were always praised, the Turks were left on the edge as a worthless and lonely community. The connection with the Turkish ancestors of the sultan and the dynasty was interrupted for centuries. Both Atatürk and his generation grew up in such an atmosphere. Since the Tanzimat period, the civilization and its sources have always been attributed to the West. As a consequence of this mood, a widespread and settled sense of oppression and inferiority was prevailed, especially among the intelligentsia.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Aydemir, 427-428.

The subject of nationalization of history and civic education was considered in the book, *History IV: The History of the Republic of Turkey*, which was published in 1934 as a textbook and was taught in the high schools, under the unit titled “Maarif ve Terbiyede İnkılap ve Islahât Cereyanları” (The Circulations of Reform and Revolution in Education). While the contribution of the Turkish Revolution in history was described here, the following evaluations were made on the nature of history education given in the schools before the Republic: The national history in the Ottoman Empire was not only neglected, but denied and distorted. Civics had entered into the schools very late, but only towards the last years of the reign as 'Malûmât-ı Vataniye' in the form of a sultanate of education. It was customary for our schools to start Turkish national history from Osmanoğulları. The existence of Turkishness before Islamism was almost never mentioned in the books. Ottomans and the Caliphate wanted to establish that Turkishness reached civilization, power and nobility when they accepted Islam and consecrated Osmanoğulları. It was hoped that if Turkishness was reflected in that way, it would cling to this family line as source of these blessings and be connected to it until the end. Despite the Turkism movement, which started in the Constitutional monarchy, even Turkish history could not find its real favor, not even in schoolbooks.¹⁰²

The Turks took a considerable place in history writing and teaching, but only with the Republic. The desire to abandon the ideological structure of the Ottoman Empire based on the understanding of the ummah and to make a governance form based on a national and secular basis instead of the Ottoman ruling made an obligation of changing the programs and textbooks reflecting the Ottoman political and social understanding. History, history programs and history textbooks played the

¹⁰² History IV, Turkish Republic, 1934, 262.

most important role in the social transformation and the reconstruction of historical consciousness that was to be achieved through the whole education system. For this reason, the contents of the history programs and textbooks have been rearranged.¹⁰³ However, these arrangements initially remained limited and were implemented as urgent measures to be taken until the end of the work for fundamental changes in accordance with the basic principles of the Republic.

The concepts such as reign, Ottoman Dynasty, and the Caliphate were removed from the curricula and textbooks in the first program of the Republican period. In the 1924 curriculum of primary schools, these issues were replaced by the history of Turkish Independence War, the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the Treaties of Sevres and Lausanne, the Proclamation of the Republic, and the abolition of the Caliphate.¹⁰⁴ In the curriculum, the program of the fourth grade consisted primarily of the history of civilizations such as the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Keldanis, Assyrians, Persians, Hittites, Turks, Greeks, and Romans. Another unit was the history of the Arabs. The other unit was Turkish History: Oghuz Turks and the Seljuks, the Turks in Anatolia, the Mongol Invasion, the Foundation of the Ottoman Empire, the Timurid Period, the Renewal of the Ottoman Empire, the Conquest of Constantinople, the Turkish civilization in the Middle Ages and its comparison to Western civilization.¹⁰⁵

Apart from primary schools, while a Europe-centered teaching of history remained in high schools, there was more emphasis on the history of antiquity, the world history and the history of Europe than on Turkish history.¹⁰⁶ In the first term of

¹⁰³ Aslan, "History Teaching in Ataturk's Era- I: The Period Prior to the "Turkish History Thesis" (1923-1931)", 295.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 295.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 336.

¹⁰⁶ Çapa, 80, 84.

the high schools, which were secondary schools at that time, the issues that were assumed to be included in history class were the oldest civilizations and the role of the Turks among them from Central Asia to the foundation of the Ottoman Empire as a whole. In addition, the history of Islam and the position of Turks in Islamic history were added.

Parallel to the studies on the *Turkish History Thesis*, *Outline of Turkish History*, is a 605-page book edited by Afet İnan under the initiation of the Committee for the Study of Turkish History. She also wrote the preface to the book entitled as “Prolegomena to an Outline of Turkish History”. This book became the official narrative of the national past of Turks, and it started being used as a sourcebook for elementary and high school history textbooks.¹⁰⁸ Apart from these schools, it was used for scholarship on the artistic and architectural history at the university level. Ankara University’s Faculty of Letters, History and Geography, for example, was established in 1935 to produce supportive scientific studies for the History Thesis.¹⁰⁹

The main argument of the History Thesis is that the Turks who migrated from their original homeland in Central Asia because of climatic reasons are the ancestors of Indo-Aryan societies, and they spread their perfect abilities and culture to various parts of the world, kindling the ancient civilizations of China, India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Aegean and Asia Minor. In ASÜA, there is a map of Central Asia which includes Ülgen’s marking on Central Asia as parallel to the asserted homelands of the Turks (Fig. 26) We do not know where he used this map, but it shows some routes of migration that are narrated in Turkish nationalist history. The same ideology about history can be seen in the field of language in the Sun Language

¹⁰⁸ Ersoy et al., 56.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 58.

Theory, which defined Turkish as the oldest language in the world. Ersoy interprets *Outline* as the founding document of the Kemalist ideology because it reveals a cultural agenda which comprises dilemmas related to early the Republican politics of national identity as being “locally defined, ethnocentric and integrated with Western civilization to become European.”¹¹⁰

Furthermore, the anti-orientalist part of the History Thesis and of the Outline shows itself as against the domination of European history in the narration of world history. The initiation is by producing “the image of proto-Turks as prime movers in the founding of great ancient civilizations” against “the Eurocentric biases and the pro-Hellenic exclusivism of the standard narrative on the origins of world history”.¹¹¹

Here one needs to elaborate on the definition and explanation of orientalism and anti-orientalism. It is also necessary to reveal the relationship between Turkish nationalism and its anti-orientalist aspect. The most dominant argument of this aspect is that the Turkish nation is a civilized society, so they have many contributions to art, culture, politics, and so on. Accordingly, even though they accepted Islam and became a Muslim society, they were not assimilated into Islam nor did they lose their original culture and traditions. They have such a defensive perception because of the otherized and contemptuous perception of the West about the East.

Orientalism can be defined as an academic accumulation of knowledge about the way the West views the East. This definition was used in its positive meaning until a certain period, after which it started to be criticized because of its interaction with colonialist ideas. Said¹¹² adds important notions to this duality by asserting its

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 57.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 57.

¹¹² Said, *Orientalism*, 10.

ambivalent structure consists of the “civilized” West and the “non-civilized” East.¹¹³ In addition, according to Said, the core of orientalism rests on the indestructible relationship between the supremacy of the West and the secession of the East in the background.¹¹⁴ Said says that orientalism “expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies, and colonial styles.”¹¹⁵ However, apart from its reflection in colonial societies, Orientalism has been perceived and criticized, and anti-orientalism as a response developed in various societies from different perspectives. Art as an important cultural component is one of these perspectives, and Turkish art historiography has created an anti-orientalist discourse against the hegemony of the Western art by the way of nationalism. Kadioğlu states:

Despite the fact that Turkey was not a colony, a similar contradictoriness and insolubility results from the adoption of a Westernization project while at the same time clinging on to distinctive cultural traits. The paradox of Turkish nationalism which resulted in both a hostility towards and an imitation of Western ways has accompanied the modernization process since the turn of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, it is quite obvious that Turkish nationalism was not the awakening of Turks to national consciousness. It was rather a project undertaken by intellectuals whose discourse was laden with the dilemma of a choice between imitation and identity stemming from the aforementioned paradox.¹¹⁶

As opposed to orientalism, we can talk about the anti-orientalist attitude as a defensive reflection in order to break the duality and otherization of this perspective. The anti-orientalist strand developed in different forms in Ottoman and Turkish nationalism, and this strand is reflected in art history discussions and other fields. In Ottoman nationalist art historiography, *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* (the Fundamentals

¹¹³ Swanson, “Said’s Orientalism and The Study of Christian Missions”, 107.

¹¹⁴ Kim, M., Chung, A. “Consuming Orientalism: Images of Asian/American Women in Multicultural Advertising”, 73.

¹¹⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 10

¹¹⁶ Kadioğlu, “The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity”, 185.

of Ottoman Architecture or L'Architecture Ottoman, 1873), which will be mentioned under the next sub-heading, is a remarkable example of the reflection of the anti-orientalist attitude to art historiographic scholarship.

The anti-orientalist attitude or discourse shows itself as embracing and aggrandizing everything which is local, especially in terms of culture in the Early Republican period. Before the Republic, important intellectuals such as Namık Kemal,¹¹⁷ Ahmet Mithat Efendi¹¹⁸ and Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi¹¹⁹ showed their opposition to the orientalist viewpoint, which sees Islam only as a religion, not a civilization. They wrote articles and books to reply to orientalist studies by Ernest Renan, W.J. Draper, and Reinhardt Dozy. They defended the social and cultural contributions of Islam to life. The reply to Renan by Renan Defense, for example, is a challenging attempt to manifest Namık Kemal's stance against orientalist views on behalf of other Ottoman intellectuals. The main claim of the orientalist view of Islam is that Islam is against science and progress, and therefore, Islamic societies will be always backward. In fact, Renan¹²⁰ says the same thing in his book *L'Avenir de la Science*, and claims that there is no true sense of philosophy in Islam, so there is no separation of science from religion due to the non-secular nature of Islam. Kemal writes his defense in order to deny Renan's statements about Islam and to claim that there is no prohibition in Islam against sciences.¹²¹ Therefore, Kemal writes, "The verses and hadiths I have undertaken to state prove the degree of

¹¹⁷ Apart from his literary personality, Namık Kemal is a prominent figure of the movement of Ottomanism and his studies can be read with an anti-orientalist perspective. His relevant works: Kemal, *Ottoman History*; Kemal, *Reply to Renan*.

¹¹⁸ In addition to his literal works, Ahmed Midhat Efendi translated the work of Draper, "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science" and wrote a detailed critique: *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Dîn*.

¹¹⁹ Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi (1865-1914) is another remarkable name who studies the history of Islam from an anti-orientalist perspective. His publications: Şehbenderzade, *Tarih-i İslam*.

¹²⁰ Renan, *L'Avenir de la Science*. This book was translated to Turkish by Ziya İshan in 1965: "Bilimin Geleceği."

¹²¹ See more: Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, 324-326.

the patronage and the tutelary which Islam has submitted to wisdom and education.”¹²²

Trying to reveal a rooted and original Turkish art and architecture based on Central Asia, and to present the distinct features of Turkish art and architecture in the body of Islamic art with academic studies can be seen as a reflection of the anti-orientalist discourse of that period. Another potential source of reactionary attitudes of Turkish art historians like Arseven is that the idea of the superiority of Iranian art within Islamic art, and the great influence of the Byzantine architecture on Seljuk and Ottoman architectural productions. These issues are argued in the statements of Ülgen and of several prominent scholars as an inspiration for him in section [2.3].

However, it can be said that in the Early Republican period there were differences between the ideologies of Atatürk and İnönü in terms of the theory of culture as inward- or outward-oriented.¹²³ Öndin points out that the cultural theory of Atatürk’s period that originated from Ziya Gökalp used to be pure and monolithic. On the other hand, in İnönü’s period, monolithic cultural theory lost its influence and was replaced with a more Western-oriented understanding.¹²⁴ If it is necessary to open a parenthesis at this point, the core of the mainstream cultural theory of İnönü’s period was based on humanism, which is an understanding focusing on the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations rather than only Anatolian and Mesopotamian civilizations. The most important pioneer of the this understanding in that period was Hasan Ali Yücel, who was the Minister of Education of the period and who took important steps in architecture and preservation with Ali Saim Ülgen. Ülgen

¹²² Kemal, *Reply to Renan*, 3.

¹²³ Aktur, “Ali Saim Ülgen Arşivi Üzerinden Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi’nin Türk Mimarisine Bakışı: Malatya Ulu Camisi Örneği”, 15.

¹²⁴ Öndin, *Cumhuriyet’in Kültür Politikası ve Sanat 1923–1950*, 56.

participated in many organizations and institutions during the ministry of Yücel. They collaborated in the project of the village institutes to form an educated and nationalist generation, and Ülgen prepared several architectural projects for these institutes. As a specific point, Yücel transformed the name of humanism into “Turkish humanism” in order to create a more European/modern viewpoint based on national values as well.¹²⁵ The influences of both these periods can be observed in Ülgen’s studies because, while mainly writing about Turkish architecture, he also did research on world history and architecture from a broader scanning.

In addition, the period of the Democrat Party after İnönü’s period is very significant for both Turkish nationalism and the understanding of the dynamics of cultural policies in the 1950s. In particular, the second half of the 1950s played a key role in figuring Ülgen’s conservative approach, which argues the positive effects of Islam on Turkish art. The material that I have used in this chapter consists mostly of his course surveys and lecture notes. After 1950, the idea of Turkish nationalism, which tended to regain its Islamic roots and characterized nationalism in a religious context, is characterized by a weakening of the influence of racist-Turanian tendencies. The main line that reflects the dominant qualities of Turkish nationalism is sometimes mentioned along with the definition of conservative after this date.¹²⁶ Thus, conservative nationalism, rooted in this period, reached its peak in the 1960s. Uzer explains this conservative nationalism in this period, while cyclically dividing Turkish nationalism into three categories: Kemalist, ethnic, and conservative.¹²⁷ According to him, conservative nationalism emphasizes the role of Islam in Turkish

¹²⁵ Karaaslan-Şanlı, *Hasan Ali Yücel konuşmaları: ulusal kimlik inşası ve politik retorik.*; Coşkun, *Hasan Ali Yücel: Aydınlanma devrimcisi.*; Yıldırım, “Erken Cumhuriyet yılları milli kimlik tartışmaları: Hasan Ali Yücel ve Türkiye’de hümanizma arayışları”, 745-763.

¹²⁶ Bora, *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasî Düşünce: Milliyetçilik.*

¹²⁷ Uzer, *An Intellectual History of Turkish Nationalism: Between Turkish Ethnicity and Islamic Identity*, 3.

identity and also offers a more traditional way for nationalism with patriarchal structures and Islamic heritage, apart from the radical part of secularism. After the 1950s, conservative nationalists started to express a preference for the period before Westernization, and Tanzimat related to the Ottoman past. It is impossible to say that Ülgen was never affected by the socio-political conditions of this period because despite his strong nationalist side, he also asserted that Turks represent Islam very well in the field of art, and Islam had brought Turkish art important components as well.

2.2 Anti-orientalist discourse in Turkish art historiography

In her book, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Bozdoğan states that the emergence of new viewpoints in the historiography of art and architecture were the most important result of this nationalist climate in the Republican period. The nationalists tended architectural arguments of that period that were against the view that degraded Turkish architecture as a branch of Islamic architecture. This understanding can take us to the Ottoman period, because the roots of anti-orientalism can be found in the Ottoman history of writing, with the example of *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani*. It can be considered a real building block in the Ottoman writing of history, especially in the area of art and architecture because it offers first a historical and theoretical accumulation of knowledge and then tries to define Ottoman architectural tradition again, together with modern art-historical scholarship, and more importantly, he responds to the mainstream Orientalist categorizations of Islamic art and architecture.¹²⁸ Ersoy

¹²⁸ Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire*.

clearly states that the main purpose of *Usul* was “to define and represent Ottoman architecture as a distinctive, monolithic, and historically rooted stylistic entity that, as a system of building, also displayed a capacity to fulfil the requirements of the modern age.”¹²⁹ It can be understood that the claim about the distinctive characteristic of Ottoman architecture was meant to criticize the prominence of Arab/Persian civilization and to externalize the influences of their artistic traditions on Ottoman art. That’s why *Usul*’s critique of orientalism is very important in analyzing the historical and artistic context of anti-orientalism, and to establish a continual tie of this discourse in the Republican period as well. In the Early Republican period, the same strand changed only its actors: Turkish art and architecture were evaluated as distinct from the influence of Turkish nationalism and cultural policies of the newly established state.

As is mentioned in section [2.1] this anti-orientalist notion did not emerge in the Early Republican period; it goes back to the Ottoman period, with local and foreign scholars’ studies. In the Early Republican period it has also continued with more than one argument. One of these arguments is that Turkish art should be evaluated by researching and evaluating its Central Asian origin to understand and show its distinct nature. The second argument is that Turkish art and architecture after the acceptance of Islam preserved its unique character as distinct from other orientalist and Islamic arts, and that this unique feature has been overlooked by orientalist European scholars.¹³⁰ For this reason, first of all, Turkish art has been transformed into a problem of a Central Asian origin, which was shaped around a pre-Islamic Turkish identity. Just like geography, history, language, and nation itself,

¹²⁹ Ibid, 122.

¹³⁰ Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, 244

Turkish art has been also consecrated. At the same time, it has been connected to an eternal and ancient history and symbolized. The first approach tends to look at the Central Asian origin of Turkish art as its real source to show that Turkish art already had its own distinct characteristics before Islam. Therefore, many foreign and local scholars were interested in this approach and studied this period.

Denis Sinor indicates that the region he calls "Inner Asia" is a cultural unity, not a geographical one, but he emphasizes the concepts of "nomadism" and "barbarism" while defining this cultural unity as "the antithesis of the civilized world".¹³¹ The term "barbarian," first used by the Greeks in the sense of a foreigner who does not speak the Hellenic language, was used in the Middle Ages as an attribution to non-Christian peoples; in the Western sources, this terminology came to be associated with the Turks and Mongols, especially since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The interest in Asian geography and culture in the West was revived in the work of Orientalists in the mid-eighteenth century. The book of Joseph de Guignes (1721-1800), *Histoire generale des Huns, des Mongoles, des Turcs et des autres Tartares occidentaux*, refers to the awakening of interest in Turkish culture before Islam in the West. V. Barthold¹³² (1869-1930), one of the forerunners of the Russian and Western orientalism in general, considers Turkish history as a part of the history of Islamic civilization. He emphasizes that analyzing Eastern history is a precondition to understanding the West and that one of the most important components of Eastern history is Turkish history. He evaluates world history through a holistic approach. Barthold, who proposed to look at the history of the East from the perspective of Western methodology, deeply influenced the Turkish scientific

¹³¹ Sinor, *Erken İç Asya Tarihi*, 9-32.

¹³² Barthold, *History of Islamic Civilization*. The book was translated to Turkish by M. Fuat Köprülü, who also adds an explanatory preface and makes corrections, in 1940: *İslam Medeniyeti Tarihi*.

circles; Fuad Köprülü (1890-1966), who was one of the first to study Turkish cultural history took Barthold as a broad reference and established close relations with him. In this context, Barthold was invited to Istanbul in 1926 to give a series of lectures on Turkish history as part of the activities of the Turkic Institute. The texts of these conferences were published in 1927 under the name of *Lessons about Central Asian Turkish History*.

Turks begin to be interested in their own far-flung past in Asia, with the influences of nationalist movements in Europe and the influence of Western orientalism in the nineteenth century. Turkish intellectuals tried to enlighten the Asian dimension of Turkish history by acting from the language studies, which they saw as the fundamental element of “national culture.” From the middle of the nineteenth century, historians began to associate Ottoman history with ancient Turkish history in Central Asia. Ahmed Cevdet Pasha (1822-1895), who emphasized the place of Turks and Ottoman Turkishness in the history of Islam in his book *Tarih-i Cevdet*, is one of the leading figures of this tendency. In textbooks published since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Central Asian peoples were referred to as the ancestors of the Ottomans, and reference was also made to the civilizations they had built before the birth of Islam.¹³³

One of the studies that forms a basis for Turkish nationalism which rose among Ottoman intellectuals was *Les Turcs anciens et modernes* (1870) by Mustafa Celaleddin Pasha. In this study, he claims that Turks are related to the Europeans rather than the Mongols in terms of race, and he bases the origins of Latin civilization on the Turks by the way of linguistic parallels. These assumptions were

¹³³ Kushner, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Doğuşu*, 62-66.

one of the main starting points for the sun-language theory and the theory of Proto-Turkish cultures, which created a wide domain of influence in the first years of the Republic, beyond being inspirational for many generations to come.¹³⁴

At this point, it is also worth mentioning the role of the *İkdam* newspaper, which was published between 1894 and 1928 and remained close to the Turkism movement from the beginning. Art history studies with an Asia focus were formed in such an environment and were influenced by historical and linguistic studies. The expression of Turkish art, which was used in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century for the first time, emerged from the Orientalist cultural context and reflected a nationalist or an ethnocentric artistic view in a continual line, including the Republican period.

After historicizing the roots of anti-orientalist discourse from the Ottoman times, it should be mentioned that scholars were a source of inspiration for Ülgen to complete this art history framework and provide a strong background for Ülgen's ideas.

2.3 Ali Saim Ülgen and art history

2.3.1 Scholars who inspired Ali Saim Ülgen

Before evaluating Ülgen's questioning of the characteristic of Turkish art from a global perspective in his lectures, one must consider some scholars' ideas and works which were an inspiration for him. Of course, in addition to substantial parallels between their claims and Ülgen's ideas, there are points where they had different perspectives.

¹³⁴ Copeaux, 16-18.

Albert Gabriel (1883-1972), for example, was one of the most prominent names mentioned Turkish art; he studied the Medieval Islamic architectural works in Anatolia in the 1930s. However, the nationalist discourse on Turkish art was set forth at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Vienna Ecole, which consisted of Joseph Strzygowski (1862-1941), Heinrich Glück (1889-1930), and Ernst Diez (1878-1961). These scholars, starting from the Hegelian view, saw a national essence at the origin of the works and attributed racial meanings to the structural and decorative elements in the style. This generation of European researchers was very influential in the establishment of this discourse in Turkey and in the education of academicians in Turkey. Pancaroğlu, in her article, draws a parallel between formalism, which includes the Viennese Ecole and the academic foundation of Turkish art.¹³⁵

Indeed, this understanding has shown itself in the writings of Celal Esad Arseven (1876-1971) from 1928 and this has been transferred from generation to generation in the Department of Art History of Istanbul University, whose establishment Ernst Diez personally contributed to. The legacy of Ernst Diez, on the other hand, was widely spread through the lessons and writings of Oktay Aslanapa (1914-2013), who was one of the founders of a true art history school and the assistant of Diez.

The first researcher who studied the development of art in Central Asia since the earliest periods and whose works have been echoed in Turkey was Josef Strzygowski. In *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spätantiken und Frühchristlichen Kunst*, one of the earliest works against European-based art history

¹³⁵ Pancaroğlu, "Formalism and the Academic Foundation of Turkish Art In the Early Twentieth Century."

writing, he largely bases the origins of the early Medieval European architecture on the East.¹³⁶ His approach emphasizes the importance of Eastern sources to interpret European history and art is revolutionary in his period. He intended to reveal the value of Eastern sources in art history. It is also qualified to undermine the foundations of the ongoing Western-oriented history since the Renaissance. With his book, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*, published in 1917, he drew attention to the art of nomadic Turks and suggested that, during the course of history, the Turks had made a significant contribution to the process of the formation and development of various styles of art, and that an art historiography that does not include Turkish art cannot be written.¹³⁷ This viewpoint is quite similar to the anti-orientalist claims of Ülgen, which emphasized the Central Asian roots of Turkish art as a contributor to its originality. Furthermore, he criticized the historiography of Turkish art as based on Seljuk art and suggested that Turkish art, whose roots were in the distant past, preserved its unique identity throughout history, unaffected by other cultural circles *Türkler ve Orta Asya Sanatı Meselesi*, published in the magazine of *Türkiyat*.¹³⁸ In addition, his critical position regarding the Humanist-Renaissance-based roots of mainstream Western art history is striking. His stance against the Hellenist biases of art history for promoting Nordic and Germanic origins of world art history is extensively discussed in Marchand's book. She states that Strzygowski is one of the first to emphasize the importance of oriental, Slavic, and Germanic artistic values against the dominant imposition of the Eurocentrism and effectness of Renaissance humanism.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spätantiken und Frühchristlichen Kunst*.

¹³⁷ Josef Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung: ziergeschichtliche Untersuchungen über den Eintritt der Wander- und Nordvölker in die Treibhäuser geistigen Lebens*.

¹³⁸ Strzygowski, "Türkler ve Orta Asya Sanatı Meselesi."

¹³⁹ Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*.

Various western art historians were invited to Turkey for research on Turkish art with the establishment of the Republic. In general, all these scholars focused on Turkish art in the geography of Turkey and emphasized that it had a distinct place in the art of Islam, so they generated great interest. The main reason these studies were so interested in the early Republican period was that the Early Republic tried to prove scientifically the existence of a Turkish art defined within the borders of Turkey.¹⁴⁰

In his book *Altai Iran*, published in 1910, Josef Strzygowski dealt with the relationship between art history and geography in depth. According to him, art should have been sought in the geography of Germans, and the existence of the Turkish tribes in these lands had a great importance. In this work Strzygowski refers to the existence of artistic pure forms such as Armenian, Turkish, Aryan and so on, but claims that these forms of art have been ruined by religion and Hellenism. In addition to controversial theories, Strzygowski stressed in this work, where he remapped artistic relations of Europe that the Turks, who were referred to as barbarians, that the Turks were the carriers of artistic forms of Aryans spreading westward through the migration routes. The vast geographical area of this Pan-Germanic perspective encompasses Eurasia and has raised the Turks to the position of intermediary of artistic forms between the West and the East. With the idea which reveals the importance of artistic synthesis catalyzed by the migration routes of the Turks, Strzygowski stressed that Germans played a role in Europe similar to the role of Turks in Asia.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Becker, "The Institutionalisation of Art Education and Its Implications for the Conceptualisation of Art and the Artistic Profession in the Early Turkish Republic", 48.

¹⁴¹ Pancaroğlu, 71.

The idea of homeland arose first in Ottoman patriotism and later in the discourse of Turkism. The idea of a homeland emerged, and this was discussed in the nationalist context despite the ambiguity about where the homeland would be. As a result, writings about the concept of Turkish art was gradually published, and, in a sense, art history became a basis for proving Turkishness with scientific data. Josef Strzygowski suggested that Turkish art possesses an assimilating power and has always succeeded in protecting its origin. Thus, thanks to this approach, the imposed connection between the Ottoman and Byzantine heritage was rejected and the Turks reached their own art history. I will mention Celal Esad Arseven who went on the path of Strzygowski and conducted extensive studies on Turkish art history with nationalist claims. With reference to the mythical past of the Turks and their roots in Central Asia, he wrote the founding texts of a Turkish art history in the borders of the Republic of Turkey. In the early Republican period, when the motherland was first imagined, and the art later, Turkish art history provided the necessary content and contributed to the construction of geography as a homeland.¹⁴²

These thoughts soon made an impact on the Early Republican Turkey. On the invitation of Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, Strzygowski published a paper entitled "Turks and the Concept of Central Asia Art" in the newspaper of *Türkiyat*. In his article, he published his ideas against European-based art historiography and discussed how Turkish art should be handled.¹⁴³ After systematizing his methodology, he explained how it would be applied to Turkish art. After categorizing the works of art in various ways, he counted the art works which did not belong to Turks but are supposed to be theirs in the categorization which he

¹⁴² Fırat, "Türk Sanat Tarihinin Coğrafi Sınırları: Josef Strzygowski ve Celal Esad Arseven", 414.

¹⁴³ Necipoğlu, "Creation of a National Genius: Sinan and the Historiography of Classical Otoman Architecture", 170.

defined as the big gaps. All these ideas are based on the Altai-Iran work of Strzygowski.

Strzygowski presented the geography of Turkish art as Western Asia, the Near East, Egypt and Europe. According to him, in these lands, Turks were involved in various artistic activities and returned to their original main dwellings, Asia and Siberia:

All that we have mentioned so far belong to the Western Asia, Near East, Egypt and Europe where Turks evolve; however, the main regions of the Turks are the Upper Asia and the plain of Siberia. However, there has been no artwork which is generally accepted as belonging to the Turks in this area. This big gap, which I have mentioned in Altay-Iran, can be filled anyhow.¹⁴⁴

In this second anti-orientalist part of Turkish art historiography, which is interested in the role of Turkish art within Islamic art, there are remarkable questions considered by different scholars: Was there any unique artistic understanding of Turks which had a feel of Central Asia after Islam? Was Turkish art kept in the background of Islamic art? Was Iranian art considered outstanding in Islamic art? How much strong was the Turkish impact on Seljuk art? All of these questions were asked and scholars tried to answer them from different perspectives.

According to Strzygowski, Turks in particular were neglected in the art of Islam, which consist of Arab, Iranian and Turkish products. The most important point that he objected to in the Eurocentric art historiography was the idea that Turkish art started with the Seljuks and developed with the contributions of non-Turks. However, Turkish art has a more distant and deeply rooted past, has preserved

¹⁴⁴ Strzygowski, "Türkler ve Orta Asya San'atı Meselesi", 14.

its characteristic, and has not broken its real nature with foreign actors like Iran, Iraq, Byzantium and so on:

Turkish art does not start with the Seljuks; however, some consider the period of Keykubad as the beginning of Turkish art. They would like to say that this art has formed under the influence of Byzantium, by demanding architects and workers from the neighboring states as much as possible. The beginning of the Turkish art, which is always characterized by its original strength, goes back a very distant past. Neither Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, nor Byzantium could change the true nature of this Turkish art.¹⁴⁵

Another name, Heinrich Glück (1889-1930), a student and later assistant of Strzygowski, had similar ideas to those of his professor. However, there are some differences between their views on these points: One of them is that Glück was more inclusive in terms of cultural encounters and interactions than his teacher. The second is that his concentration area was mainly on Seljuks rather than an emphasis of Central Asia. In the book called *Türkische Kunst*, he wrote that in 1917 with the establishment of a Hungarian Institute in Istanbul, the role of Turkish art in art history is emphasized and the influence of old Turkish art traditions in the formation of Islamic art is explained.¹⁴⁶

Accordingly, Glück states that the Turks, while migrating to the central Islamic lands, brought their cultural features to Abbasid Samarra and Tulunid Cairo in the 9th century, where it can be observed in the decorative character of stucco wall revetments. In the following centuries, Glück addressed the integrity of the Turkish artistic heritage that manifested itself in an inclination toward some architectural components such as domes and portals. These forms may have been borrowed from other traditions in the close surroundings but were combined and spread according to

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 5.

¹⁴⁶ Glück, *Türkische Kunst*.

a Turkish national spirit.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, his position is more embracing for the effects of cultural interactions than Strzygowski rather than emphasizing a solid and distinct characteristic of Turkish art.

In an article by Glück entitled *Türk Sanatının Dünyadaki Mevkii* published in the same volume of the magazine of *Türkiyat*, universality and continuity of Turkish art was emphasized by examining the relations with other arts, specifically, Turkish, Muslim or non-Muslim. European-centric art history was also criticized in this way.¹⁴⁸ However, his perspective tended to appreciate synthesis of different traditions and styles in Anatolia, although he recognized an original character in Seljuk art.¹⁴⁹ In this article, he concentrated on Turkish elements more than on the various influences present in Seljuk architecture.¹⁵⁰

As opposed to Strzygowski and his followers such as Heinrich Glück and Arseven, Friedrich Sarre (1865-1945), well known for his role in the excavations of the Abbasid palaces of Samarra (Iraq) from 1911-13, had a different viewpoint especially on the issue of Seljuk art and architecture. He basically did not consider Seljuk art a reflection of Turkish culture, so he offered another narrative about Islamic art in general and Seljuk art in particular.

Pancaroglu states that Sarre aimed to understand delineative features that would help forming Seljuk art as a distinct category within Islamic art, which was then only in its first stages as an academic discipline.¹⁵¹ Moreover, he considers Seljuk art and architecture as a combination of the Byzantine and Hellenistic heritage

¹⁴⁷ Pancaroglu, 69.

¹⁴⁸ Glück, "Türk San'atının Dünyadaki Mevkii", 119-128.

¹⁴⁹ Glück, "Die Kunst der Seldschuken in Kleinasien und Armenien."

¹⁵⁰ Pancaroglu, 68-73.

¹⁵¹ Pancaroglu, "A Fin-de-Siècle Reconnaissance", p. 399

of Anatolia with Persian art, which was imported by the Seljuk conquerors from Iran in the eleventh century.¹⁵² According to Blessing, in this point Sarre produced a stylistic unity for the study of Seljuk art and architecture, with features that he certainly attributed to either Byzantine or Persian influence.¹⁵³

The ethnic and national categories which emerged in in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have played an important role in the studies of Islamic art and architecture. At this point, the significance of Orientalist scholarship came to the stage with racial considerations.¹⁵⁴ According to many scholars, there was a perception of hierarchy among Islamic cultures, and Persian art was mostly superior to the others, and even Ottoman art was re-marked as ‘Persian’ or ‘Turco-Persian’ to promote it to a higher category.¹⁵⁵

By contrast, Sarre considered Iranian art the source of the artistic and architectural development of Anatolia. For this reason, Sarre asserted that the basis of Seljuk architecture was Persian. In addition, he pointed out the importance of Armenian influences but also accepted the influences that the presence of late antique and Byzantine architecture must have had on the builders of Islamic architecture in the region.¹⁵⁶ However, another scholar, Strzygowski, had different ideas about the origin of Turkish art discussed above. During the Early Republican period, Strzygowsk, in one of his studies, tried to reveal an original Turkish essence, which created a big impact when it was translated into Turkish. On the other hand,

¹⁵² Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 68-70.

¹⁵³ Blessing, “Friedrich Sarre and the Discovery of Seljuk Anatolia”, 9.

¹⁵⁴ Necipoğlu, “The Concept of Islamic Art”, 4.

¹⁵⁵ Vernoit, “Islamic Art and Architecture: An Overview of Scholarship and Collecting, c. 1850 – c. 1950”, 6-7, 19; Necipoğlu, ‘The Concept of Islamic Art’, 6.

¹⁵⁶ Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konia*, 36.

Sarre was ignored because of his ideas against the ideology and narrative of the new state.

As another student of Strzygowski and collaborator of Sarre in Berlin Museum, Ernst Diez (1878-1962), an Austrian art historian, established the Department of Art History in Istanbul University. He made great contributions to bringing Turkey to a comparative understanding of art history. He wrote several works related to Persian, Indian and Islamic art. Most importantly, he wrote the book *Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art), which created a great sensation. He then faced different reactions from various environments. Ülgen was among the scholars who wrote a review of his book, which will be mentioned in the second chapter in details.

From the local side, Celal Esat Arseven (1875-1971), who was a professor of Ülgen in the Fine Arts Academy, became a great contributor to the formation of the content of the Turkish art concept.¹⁵⁷ The book *Türk Sanatı*, published in 1928, was the first Turkish work to treat Turkish art products since their earlier examples in Central Asia in an integrated manner.¹⁵⁸ According to him, Turkish art, which had spread over a vast area extending from Asia to Anatolia over a thousand years, was followed in a chronological sequence based on dynasties since the pre-Islamic period, when it was first processed in a historical unity. This initiative of Celal Esat can be interpreted as an attempt to emphasize the continuity of Turkish dynasties and to put forward a pedigree by following the route of artistic productions. It can be said that this work attaches a special value to early Turkish art in terms of the interpretation of pre-Islamic Turkish art and the sections devoted to Asian art in general are limited, and in the context that the origins of the various components

¹⁵⁷ Kuban, “Celal Esat Arseven ve Türk Sanatı Kavramı”, 18.

¹⁵⁸ Arseven, *Türk Sanatı*.

forming the Ottoman artistic identity are based on prototypes in Asia and that Seljuk art carries an intermediary role that transfers these “Turkish” elements to the Ottoman. In the lectures he gave at the Faculty of Fine Arts between 1920 and 1941, Arseven’s published articles about Ottoman art in *İkdam* newspaper and books were developed and constituted the basic arguments of the book of Turkish art which would be published in 1928. *Türk Sanatı* was the first work that traced the Asian origins of Turkish art and deals with it within the boundaries of the newly established Republic of Turkey.¹⁵⁹ The main purpose of all of Arseven's works was to reveal the national and particular character of Turkish art and he always regarded it as a duty. He was showing how Turkish art spread through migration from Central Asia with a map. He considered that the role of Byzantine and Armenian art that European historians described was exaggerated and described the development of Turkish art in three phases. He used the adjectives “simplicity” and “beauty” for Ottoman architecture and in a sense he filtered foreign elements. This purity and simplicity underlined by Arseven resembles the obsession of nationalism that underlined the ethnic national purity at the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.¹⁶⁰

Arseven formulated the idea that Turkish Art is a continuous creation process from Central Asia and “an art that retains its character since its origin.” In order to establish an art chain that started from the old Turkish tribes and continued, it was first necessary to show that nomadic art in Asia had ethnic characteristics specific to Turks and then these features continued in the countries where the Turks had

¹⁵⁹ Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, 205.

¹⁶⁰ Necipoğlu, “Creation of a National Genius: Sinan and the Historiography of Classical Ottoman Architecture”, 171.

political dominance and then came to Anatolia. Arseven believed that the research material that they had was “inadequate to write a perfect Turkish art” but he had tried it.¹⁶¹ He believed that the material could be evaluated positively for Turkish art but only by “archaeologists who could see Central Asia with Turkish eyes.” Arseven called the big region surrounded by the Caspian Sea, Manchuria in the East, Siberia in the north and Tibet in the south as Central Asia. He unquestionably accepted that the white-skinned, brachycephalic people living here were Turks and that all the artifacts belonging to them were theirs.¹⁶² Arseven was the first Turkish art historian to attach importance to the relationship between nomadic art and later Turkish and Islamic decoration. Arseven's assumptions were quite broad in terms of influences of the civilizations of Central and Near Asia to the later Turkish art except the nomadic art. He considered Sumerian art as a product of the oldest known civilizations of Pre-Asia to be related to the following civilizations:

The Sumerians came from Central Asia to Mesopotamia. The evidence is that the forms and techniques found in Sumerian art are also found in Central Asia. For example, Sumerian house was similar to Turkish tent.¹⁶³ Thus, in the sense that the concept of Turkish art and the wide geographical dimensions should be taken into consideration, and patriots and borders of Turkish art were announced to the readers in Turkey in a sense.¹⁶⁴

The theories of Josef Strzygowski were behind Arseven's ideas. The Austrian art historian argued that behind the known art forms of the Ancient world, there could be a world of forms particular to the tent community and the wood construction techniques of the nomads, which affected the emergence of forms that were once seen but no longer exist today because they were made from weak

¹⁶¹ Arseven, 8.

¹⁶² Ibid, 10.

¹⁶³ Arseven, 31.

¹⁶⁴ Kuban, “Celal Esad Arseven ve Türk Sanatı Kavramı”, 20.

material, and he also showed Turks as bearers of such an art. The first studies on the effects of this nomadic art and an established artistry after the First World War were Central Asian art and architecture, introduced to the world as a result of Le Coq's research.¹⁶⁵ Arseven agreed with Strzygowski's ideas, which assert that nomadic art had a big impact on the rock graves in the region where the Uighurs were located later and their decoration. Strzygowski and his followers focused on the relationship between the art of tent and architecture. These ideas were adopted by Turkish art historians and Arseven with examples in a wide geography in his works.¹⁶⁶

The tendency to establish racial links with the ancient Near Eastern civilizations and to strengthen the *History Thesis* with these connections is striking while emphasizing on the universality of Turkish art. He defends the idea that the racial unity that shapes Turkish art is strong enough to melt all foreign elements in their own power.¹⁶⁷ Arseven put forward that Turks were not merely a nation that had achieved great military success, but that they were also making great contributions to civilization through art. His emphasis was a typical example of the Early Republican ideology, which sought a ground of legitimacy for itself.

Apart from the emphasis on the Central Asian root of Turkish art, Arseven also evaluated Turkish art after it encountered Islam and its distinct place within the large body of Islamic art. He stressed that it would be a mistake to evaluate Turkish architectural elements under the main title of "Islamic art," and he emphasizes "Turkish" notion, stating that Turkish art has its own features that are distinct from other Islamic arts. In this respect, the book of *Türk Sanatı* can be considered an

¹⁶⁵ Fırat, 411.

¹⁶⁶ Kuban, "Celal Esad Arseven ve Türk Sanatı Kavramı", 19.

¹⁶⁷ Glück, *Türkische Kunst*, 127-128.

initiative that supports and favors the historical thesis of Fuad Köprülü, which links the origins and foundation of the Ottoman civilization to Asia, in terms of art history.¹⁶⁸

In the introduction part of the book of *Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art), in the French edition of the book *Istanbul*, published in 1909, he writes that the concept of Turkish art was responded to negatively by Western writers and publishing house owners. Arseven considered that the concept of Turkish art could not be found for a long time as a consequence of Western hostility towards the Turks and the attribution of goods made by the Turks to the Arabs, Persians and Byzantines:

Turkish art is completely separated from the arts of the others (Arabs, Persians and Byzantines) with its simplicity in its composition, its exaltation from exaggeration, the harmony and rationality of its forms. After the emergence of Islam, Turkish art became the greatest reason for the changes in the arts of Muslim nations. With this being so, it is a great mistake to regard Turkish art as a small branch among the Islamic arts by foreigners. Just as it is in the history of civilization, Turks have not been remunerated in the history of art.¹⁶⁹

Therefore, Arseven's priority showed the features of the Turkish art as distinct from those of Islamic art. In this regard, he began to show differences in terms of form by comparing minaret forms or decorative surfaces. According to him, some decorative motifs common in Islam, such as muqarnas, curvilinear, pointed arches, geometric weaving and animal stylization, made it hard for Western art historians to notice the differences between Turkish, Byzantine, Arabic and Iranian arts, and this is also a result of "watching the whole of the East with a romantic eye."¹⁷⁰ Whereas there were great differentiations that could be observed in the

¹⁶⁸ Bozdoğan, "Reading Ottoman Architecture through Modernist Lenses: Nationalist Historiography and the 'New Architecture' in the Early Republic", 202-203.

¹⁶⁹ Arseven, 7.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 8.

Islamic arts in this region. According to him, it could not be "the same aesthetic pleasure." In Turkish art there was "simplicity, exaltedness, exuberance and formality of forms"; on the other hand there was "an ornamental taste of excellence in the Arabs", "fantasy of art in Iranian works", "mysticism and confusion in India."¹⁷¹ Just as dichotomies such as rational sensory and decorative functional point to the West and East, Arseven distinguishes Turkish art from Arab, Iranian and other examples with its difference and superiority, which he emphasized by its rationalization that Turkish art represents the Western side of dualism. This difference also emphasizes a hierarchical difference. The desire to reconcile the uniqueness of Turkishness with Western artistic forms such as rationality deeply penetrated Arseven's analysis of Turkish art and architecture.¹⁷² In fact, although Arseven had an anti-orientalist attitude toward generalizations related to Turkish art and its small presence in Islamic art, he also orientalizes the other Islamic arts with these labels such as "rational, simple and exalted". Another point is that this viewpoint of Arseven is almost the same as the main point of *Usul-i Mimari*, which emphasizes the distinctiveness of Ottoman art. Of course, these definitions, while being biased, were an important step towards revealing the differences at that time. But according to him, these differentiations could only be considered regional variations if they were within the borders of Islamic civilization. Therefore, it was necessary to descend to their pre-Islamic roots and to show that these differences were founded on the forms created by the Turks.

It was a common practice to explain the origin and continuity of Turkish art based on the theories put forward by the art historians of the West during the period

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 12.

¹⁷² Bozdoğan, 205.

when research on Turkish art was just beginning. At that time, studies on Turkish history and Turkish language were being carried on in a similar way. According to Arseven, the Tulunids period, as a reflection of Samarra, could be connected with the Turkish art because Samarra was generated by the artists that came from Turkistan. Mamluk art in Egypt, Seljuk and Mongol arts in Iran, Timurid art, and Indian Islamic art were considered to be branches of Turkish art. Even the Iranian architecture of the Shah Abbas era was created by artisans from Turkistan.¹⁷³

2.3.2 Art history discourse of Ali Saim Ülgen

Teaching materials such as lecture notes and curricula, which are unfortunately not in the form of printed publications or books, of Ali Saim Ülgen for the Fine Arts Academy's Architectural History class can fill a remarkable gap to learn about history education in the level of universities. As can be seen from the materials that we have in the curricula of primary schools, high schools and universities have parallels in terms of scope and content. Before starting to discuss Ülgen's art history discourses, which are nationalist, anti-orientalist and conservative, I would like to draw a general outline of the content of his curricula. For example, Ülgen's syllabus for the course of *Mimari Tarihi* (Architectural History) (Fig. 27), which was taught two hours a week, for the third class in The Fine Arts Academy, includes the architecture of the prehistoric and the ancient times: Sumerians, Hittites, Elamites, Assyrians, Ancient Egypt, Ancient Syria, and Ancient Iran. Moreover, the syllabus of the fourth class (Fig. 28) consists of the architecture of the medieval and recent

¹⁷³ Arseven, 21.

periods: Islamic societies, Islamic Iran, Inner Asia and Asia Turks, Turkish Beyliks Period, and the Turkish-Ottoman Architectural period.

Another lesson that was taught by Ülgen was Art History. He prepared a syllabus (Fig. 29) for four semesters, which included pre-determined lectures for each semester from 1956 to 1958 (Fig. 30). As an example from a detail, as it is understood from his note on the curriculum, the subject of “Anatolian Beylik Art” would be continued in the 1956-1957 winter (fall) term. He would teach the architecture of the Osmanoğulları period, Bursa Style and Its Schools (Ecoles), İznik, Edirne, Rumeli and Anatolian Province Schools in the 1957-58 fall term. In the 1958 spring period he gave lectures on the Classical Style-Classical element, the schools of Architect Hayrettin, Architect Ali, some elements that prepared the Sinan school, Sinan’s School and Turkish Architecture.

He gave lectures not only about Turkish art but also Western art, for example Greek civilization, Etruscan civilization, Italian art, Christian art, Byzantine art, Gothic art, Renaissance, Aegean and Mediterranean architecture are the subjects in his lecture notes. As it is seen from these materials, there is a parallel between the content of history classes in primary/high schools and universities because they are all products of the same ideological matters.

Ülgen’s lecture notes are not only about architectural history, but also historiographical subjects such as the aim of teaching history and classification of time in history. He tended to make both historical and historiographical statements while teaching architecture. Ülgen explains the importance of teaching architecture for history in his lecture notes entitled “Various lecture notes” in ASÜA:

Architectural works on the world constitute the prominent tool which determines the history of civilization. We have been learning lifestyle, taste,

and construction techniques by the way of these works. People have benefited from the civilizations of the past and taken them as an example, and rather tried to take them much further. We are going to recognize the architectural works of the people who lived before us in order to be able to grow up as an architect. We will deliberately get inspiration from the old while creating new works.¹⁷⁴

Ülgen constituted his peculiar discourse, which is nationalist, anti-orientalist and conservative, in art and architectural historiography with some certain main points by the way of the influences of the scholars mentioned above. The first point is Ülgen's emphasis on Central Asia as the real source of Turkish civilization, together with art and architecture. This attitude of Ülgen is related to his and the period's nationalist tendencies to reveal the glorified ethnic roots and history of the Turks on the one hand, and on the other, its connection with a famous orientalist argument which sees Turks as an uncivilized and artless society because of their nomadic lifestyles in Central Asia. For this reason, Ülgen researched the history of the Turks in Central Asia before they came to Anatolia. He tried to emphasize the importance of geography in Turkish history, so in his lecture notes for the course "Architectural History" in the period of 1957-1958, he mentioned Central Asia by looking at the period when Turks lived there:

The recent research reveals that Central Asia was the most convenient territory for human life in the oldest times¹⁷⁵. It became clear that there had been a civilization in that region that goes until eleven thousand years B.C., and that is older than the all civilizations of the world. The cultural flow which started in the district of Altay and Tien-Shan predates from the other dates.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ The original text: "Dünya üzerinde mimari eserler insanlık medeniyet tarihinin tespiti yarayan vesikaların başlıcasını teşkil eder. Bu mimari eserlerden insanların tarih boyunca yaşayış şekillerini, zevklerini ve inşaat tekniklerini öğreniyoruz. İnsanlar geçmişteki medeniyetlerden istifade etmişler, onları örnek almışlar ve daha ziyade ileri götürmeye çalışmışlardır. Biz de mimar olarak yetişebilmek için bizden evvel yaşamış olan insanların mimari eserlerini iyice tanıyacağız, yeni eserler meydana getirirken eskilerden bilerek ilham alacağız." (Muhtelif ders notları, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0110)."

¹⁷⁵ Ülgen refers to Pumpelly, *Exploration in Turkistan*.

¹⁷⁶ The original text: "Son yapılan araştırmalar, en eski zamanlarda Orta Asya'nın arz üzerinde beşer hayatına en elverişli şartlara haiz bir kıta olduğunu meydana çıkarmıştır. Oralarda milattan on bir bin sene evvel zamanlara kadar çıkan ve bütün dünya medeniyetlerinden eski olan bir medeniyet mevcut

In this Central Asia emphasis, he considered this place as the starting point of all civilizations, including Turkish civilization. Even though he accepted that their knowledge was actually insufficient to assert big claims, he followed the path of the Turkish History Thesis, for which reason it is possible to see a parallel between his statements and the myth of Central Asia, which is the common mainstay to show the long-established history of Turkish civilization as capable of creating great artistic and architectural works. In the same lecture notes he writes:

If there is something that we have just understood, it needs to be searched not only the sources of our civilization but also of the whole world in the Central and Inner Asia. For this reason, it requires to search the origin of Turkish art and the original forms of our decorations there, that means around the regions of Altay and Pamir, and both the Eastern and Western Turkistan to -the prehistoric periods of these places. It is estimated that Yenisey basin is one of the biggest centers of the prehistoric Turkish civilization around Baikal. However, unfortunately our knowledge of the prehistoric ages of these countries is still very insufficient.¹⁷⁷

For the art history lectures, he prepared a curriculum which extended over four semesters. In this curriculum, there are some lectures notes about Turkish history and about the presence of Turks in Central Asia. He again preferred to give geographical information and he emphasized the importance of geography to understand other conditions:

Before starting Turkish art in Central Asia, it is necessary to know the geography of this region with general lines. The geographers call Central Asia and Europe connected to Central Asia as Eurasia. It is necessary to recognize the characteristics of these two interconnected and complementary regions. According to Chinese sources Turkish art starts from the day when the name of the Turks passed in history. But the period that prepares this art is not so close. And it goes into the limits of an enormous development of

olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Tien-Şan ve Altay havalisinde başlayan kültür cerayını bütün tarihlerden önce gelmektedir.”(1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076)

¹⁷⁷ The original text: “Bugün artık anladığımız bir şey varsa o da sade bizim değil bütün dünya medeniyetinin kaynaklarını Orta ve İç Asya’da aramak lazım gelmiştir. Bundan dolayıdır ki Türk sanatının menşelerini ve bezemelerimizin esas şekillerini de oralarda yani Altay ve Pamir civarları ile Şarki ve Garbi Türkistan’da aramak ve buraların tarih öncesi devirlerine kadar çıkmak icab eder. Tarihten önceki Türk medeniyetinin en büyük merkezlerinden biri de Baykal civarında Yenisey havzası olduğu tahmin edilmektedir. Fakat ne yazık ki bu ülkelerin tarih öncesi devirlerine ait bilgimiz henüz pek azdır.” (1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

civilization for centuries. In this respect, the lifestyles of the tribes living in various regions of Central Asia is related to our national history. The southern regions of Russia, both coasts of the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasian regions are closely related to this date. After the Christ which goes to the 3rd, 4th, 5th or even 6th century there are people who spread to the plains of the Macedonian territories, and among them there are Huns of Attila, Pechenegs, Khazars and even Bulgarians, there is no doubt that they are Turkish. We can see that these have the same lifestyles, and the documents in the archaeological result that we have presented today clearly express it. The place where the Turks still lived is argued.¹⁷⁸

With regard to Central Asia as a geographical and historical phenomenon in both Turkish political and art historiography, some regions have more important roles, such as the region of Altai. Ülgen considers this region a source of a certain style, and he claims that the influences of Altaic artistic productions reached not only the East but also the West, Europe.

In his global art history perspective, Ülgen, in his lecture notes for the course “Mimari Tarihi” (“Architectural History”) in the period of 1957-1958, also linked Central Asia to Mesopotamia. The first civilization of Mesopotamia that comes to mind is of course the Sumerians. Thus, Ülgen claimed a similarity between the artefacts of Central Asia in the Bronze Age and of the Sumerians, and also of

¹⁷⁸ The original text: “Orta Asya’daki Türk sanatına girmeden evvel umumi hatları ile bu bölgenin coğrafyasını bilmek lazımdır. Orta Asya’ya ve Orta Asya’ya bağlı olan Avrupa’ya coğrafyacılar Asya Avrupa manasına gelen Avrasya derler. Bu iki birbirine bağlı ve birbirini tamamlayan bölgenin hususiyetlerini tanımak lazım. Türk sanatı Çin kaynaklarına göre Türklerin isminin tarihte geçtiği günden itibaren başlıyor. Fakat bu sanatı hazırlayan devre o kadar yakın bir devre değildir. Ve asırlara sığan muazzam bir medeniyet inkişafının hudutları içine girer. Bu bakımdan Orta Asya’nın muhtelif bölgelerinde yaşayan kavimlerin yaşam tarzları yaşayış tarzları milli tarihimize yakinen ilgilidir. Rusya’nın cenup bölgesi, Hazar Denizi’nin her iki sahili Kafkasya bölgeleri bu tarihle çok yakinen ilgilidir. Milattan sonraki çağlarda 3, 4, 5, hatta 6. yy kadar giden ve Macaristan ovalarına kadar yayılan ve Türk olduklarından zerre kadar şüphemiz bulunmayan kavimlerin ki bunlar içinde Atilla’nın Hunları, Peçenekler, Hazarlar, hatta Volgarlar mevcuttur. Bunların da aynı yaşayış tarzlarına haiz olduklarını yakinen görmekteyiz ki bugün elmize geçen arkeolojik neticedeki dökümanlar bunu sarih şekilde ifade etmektedir. Hala Türklerin doğduğu yaşadığı yer yeryüzünde münakaşa edilir.” (Ali Saim Ülgen’in Sanat Tarihi Dersleri için 4 Sömestirlik Programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0042)

Chinese. He also asserted an architectural similarity between the Sumerian temples and the role of the mountains for the Turks; he finds a connection between them:

Many graves belonging to the Neolithic age have been discovered in various parts of Central Asia until now. The bones found in these oldest graves, and the decorations and forms of bronze wares have a strong characteristic. The examination of the decoration on these primitive findings reveals that a strong relationship of these artefacts with the Ancient and Classical Chinese and Sumerian arts.¹⁷⁹ (...) The artistic and architectural works found in the capital city of Sumerians, the city of Ur, open us new horizons. A relationship between their temples in the form of a high mountain and the holy mountains of ancient Turks can be seen.¹⁸⁰

Because of the geographical encounter, it is important to evaluate Turkish art in Central Asia with its surrounding environment, so the influence of Chinese art or any possible interaction between Turkish and Chinese was considered by Ülgen. In the same lecture notes, while considering basic principles of the philosophy of Turks which directly reflects to their arts, Ülgen mentions the relationship and similarities between the ancient Turkish and Chinese art. He grounds these similarities on the parallel between their worldviews. Then, he tries to give much more detail about the relationship between them and political and cultural reasons, too:

Turks always see a duality in nature and they think that these two forces have established a balance against each other. One of these forces is white which means light, and the other is black which means darkness. Chinese people called it Yin and Yang, which was deemed as one female and one male. (...)

A unity of an artistic taste and an aesthetic uniqueness on Turkish decorations, which have been formed from the previous periods to the present, draw the attention quite obviously. As a matter of fact, a knife

¹⁷⁹ Ülgen refers to these sources: Woolley, *Les Sumerians.*; d'Ardenne de Tizac, *L'Art Chinois Classique*; Kondakof, *Antiquites de la Russi Meridionale*.

¹⁸⁰ The original text: “Şimdiye kadar Orta Asya'nın muhtelif yerlerinde Cilalı Taş devrine ait birçok mezarlar keşf olunmuştur. Tunç Devri'ne ait en eski mezarlar içinde bulunan kemik ve tunç eşyada şekil ve tezeyinat itibariyle kuvvetli bir şahsiyet görülür. Bu iptidai eşyalar üzerindeki tezeyinatın etkisi o sanat unsurlarının eski klasik Çin sanatı ve Sümer sanatı ile olan sıkı rabitalarının meydana çıkarmaktadır. (...) Sümerlerin baş şehri olan Ur şehrinde son zamanlarda keşf olunan mimari ve sanat eserleri bize yepyeni ufuklar açmıştır. Bunların yüksek bir dağ şeklindeki mabetleri ile eski Türklerin mukaddes saydıkları yüksek dağlar arasında da bir münasebet görülmektedir.” (1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076)

belonging to the Bronze Age in Yenisey is exactly similar to a sword called as Yatağan used by the Zeibeks of İzmir. There is also a great affinity between the primitive Turkish artworks and the classical Chinese artifacts. Today it has been known that the founders of Chinese civilization are the Turks who emigrated to China. The Chinese, who were at a very low level of civilization at the time, rose up thanks to the wisdom that they received from the Turks, who came from a higher civilization and sanctity than themselves, and created a Chinese art with inspiration from Turkish art. The influence of Turkish art on this classical Chinese art has been very strong, especially in the era of the Han dynasty, that is, the third century B.C. It is seen that the style of the oldest Chinese pottery works comes from the Turkish countries. Although Turkish art has received many elements from the Chinese, these elements are not entirely foreign to it. There has always been a kinship between these two arts. (...)

The paintings and architects of the ancient Turks have a close relationship with the Chinese artifacts. Chinese architecture depended on several social traditions and some rules assigned by the astrologers. The structure which tends to build barriers and upward fringes of this architecture have also passed to the Turks. Turks, who have dominated Iran a few times, have transferred artistic influences of Chinese to Iran because of business that they did between China and Iran. And they became a means of art exchange between the two countries.¹⁸¹

In fact, this quotation includes extremely important points: One of them is that Ülgen considered the Turks who emigrated to China the founders of Chinese civilization. It is a sensational statement, in fact, but according to the nationalist trend

¹⁸¹ The original text: “Türkler tabiatda daima ikilik görürler ve bu iki kuvvetin birbirlerine karşı muvazenet tesis ettikleri kanaatinde bulunurlardı ki kuvvetten biri ziya diğeri zulmet mânâsına ak ve kara idi. Buna Çinliler Yang ve Yin demişlerdir ki bir erkek biri dişi prensip addolunmuştur. (...) Tarihten önceki devirlerden bugüne kadar vücuda getirilmiş olan Türk süslemeleri üzerinde gayet bariz olarak bir sanat zevki birliği ve bir bedii vahdet göze çarpar. Nitekim Yenisey’de bulunan ve Tunç Devri’ne ait olan bir bıçak İzmir zeybekler nin kullandıkları Yatağan’a şekilde tamamıyla benzer. İptidai Türk sanat eserleri ile klasik Çin sanat eserleri arasında da büyük bir akrabalık görülür. Bugün artık bilinmektedir ki Çin medeniyetinin esasını kuranlar Çin’e hicret eden türklere dir. O zamanları medeniyetçe çok aşağı bir derecede olan Çinliler kendilerinden daha yüksek bir medeniyet ve sanata sahip olarak gelen Türklere aldıkları irfan sayesinde yükselmişler ve Türk sanatından aldıkları ilhamlarla bir Çin sanatı yaratmışlardır. Bu klasik Çin sanatı üzerine Türk sanatının tesiri bilhassa Han sülalesi devrinde yani milattan önce üçüncü asırda çok kuvvetli olmuştur. En eski Çin çanak çömlek işlerinin üslubu Türk memleketlerinden gelen bir üslup olduğu görülmektedir. Her ne kadar Türk sanatı Çinlilerden de birçok unsurları almışsa da bu unsurlar kendisine büsbütün yabancı değildir. Bu iki sanat arasında daima bir akrabalık devam etmiştir. (...) Eski Türklerin resimleri ve mimarilerinde de Çin eserleriyle büyük bir yakınlık vardır. Çin mimarisi bir takım içtimai geleneklere ve müneccimlerin tayin ettikleri kanunlara tabi bir mimariydi. Bu mimarinin sedli inşaat ve yukarıya doğru kalkan saçakları da Türklere geçmiştir. Bir kaç defa İran’a hakim olan Türkler, Çin ile İran arasında yaptıkları ticaret dolayısıyla Çin’in sanat tesirlerini İran’a da nakletmişlerdir. Ve her iki memleket arasında sanat alışverişine vasıta olmuşlardır.” (1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

of the period, this kind of statement existed. The second point is that the intermediary role of Turks in terms of art and culture between China and Iran was due to its geographical location.

There is another striking point about the interaction between Chinese and Turkish arts, Ülgen also mentioned Iranian art separately, and he claimed a great influence of the Turks on Iran. In the same lecture notes he asserts that Turks were like an intermediary between Iran and China in their artistic interaction:

“Already, for the Iranians are not a completely separate state from the Turks, they have been with the Turks since ancient times, so there is a great role of the Turks in Iranian civilization and art. Iran got to know Chinese civilization through the Turks.”¹⁸²

To sum up, the problem of the Central Asian origin of the Turks is related not only to political attributions of the period for identity-making via nationalism but also to writing an autonomous art and architectural historiography as being safe from Eurocentric and Orientalist discourses. Putting forward artistic patterns such as animal figures and architectural concepts such as the tent as an inspiration for the future constructions is the aim of certain scholars who dealt with Turkish art.

The second anti-orientalist part of Turkish art historiography is the idea which is based on the unique character of Turkish art which has been maintained after they accepted Islam, and its distinctive features from the other Muslim nations’ arts. For this reason, the nationalist discourse has also developed with the influence of

¹⁸² The original text: “Zaten İraniiler Türklere büsbütün ayrı bir devlet olmadıkları ve eski zamanlardan beri Türklere karışık oldukları cihetle İran medeniyeti ve sanatında Türklere de büyük hissesi vardır. İran, Çin’in medeniyetini Türklere vasıtasıyla tanımıştır.” (1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASUA: TASUDOCA0076).

Kemalist cultural context, and even it has sometimes evolved to the Turanian approaches. In this context, even though the Tolunoğulları Mosque, which was built in the 9th century in Cairo, comes from the Abbasids in Samarra, or “Arab” tradition, it is known as an outstanding example of Turkish art because it was built by a Turkish origin Abbasid governor.

In fact, Ülgen gives the same ideas in his lecture notes because it is known that he was influenced very much by Strzygowski, and he frequently refers to him on the subject of Turkish art. Ülgen asserts almost the same claims, that is, that Turkish art has been neglected among the studies about Islamic art because of the dominant emphasis on Arabic and Iranian artistic styles. One of the most important reasons for this situation is the presence of a reductive and narrow minded Orientalist viewpoint. The other reason is the inadequacy of research on Turkish history and the artistic productions in the period when the Turks were in Central Asia. In the same lecture notes for the course of Architecture History in the period of 1957-1958:

Turkish decoration, which is the source of many arts of the Eastern and Islamic worlds and has the highest level of beauty and harmony among them was skipped very shortly, and attributed especially to Arabs and Iranians. The reason for this: The European art historians have been interested in Arabic and Persian arts rather than Turkish art until recently, and they think that these arts are a source for all Muslim arts. Even, there are many people who claim that Turkish art starts with the Seljuks and that this art has taken its principles from the cities of the Western Turkestan side, where the forces of Sogdians occupied in the Inner Asia, and in this way they have attributed the sources of this art to Iran. But today, the presence of Turks before the Seljuks in the Inner Asia and Anatolia has long been recognized and the emergence of the effects that they have made in art are correcting these mistakes. Furthermore, the arts of the Turks, who enlightened the whole artistic world of the East, were skipped by a few lines or pages in the books of Islamic arts, even though each arts of the ancient nations were mentioned separately in certain art history literatures. Even in these books and albums, an artistic decoration style, which is Turkish in all its meaning and spread to the other

nations from Turks, is called “arabesque”, which means Arabic, and this idea has circulated all over the world.¹⁸³

With regard to this issue, he continues with some evaluations of different scholars that he both agrees and disagrees with in the same lecture notes:

Pretextat Le Comte,¹⁸⁴ who was in Turkey many times and studied Turkish arts and crafts, writes that Arabic art is the source of all oriental arts, and it spread from Egypt to the rest of the world, but this is a mistake that is not worth discussing.¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, Heinrich Glück, who was among the professors of the University of Vienna, states that Turkish art has a separate characteristic and it has made important impacts on the European arts in his study related to the Eastern arts.^{186 187}

Ülgen also mentions different stylistic features within a whole body of Islamic artistic and architectural productions in the same lecture notes under the title of Sanat ve İslamiyet (Art and Islam):

¹⁸³ The original text: “Şark ve İslam dünyasının bir çok sanatlarına kaynak olan ve onlar arasında güzellik ve ahenk bakımından en yüksek bir yer tutan Türk tezyinatı bu kitaplarda çok kısa geçilmiş ve ekseriya Arap ve İran’a mal edilmiştir. Bunun sebebi şudur: Avrupa sanat tarihçileri yakın vakitlere kadar Türk sanatından ziyade Arap ve İran sanatları ile meşgul olmuşlar ve bu sanatların bütün Müslüman milletlerin sanatlarına kaynak olduğu fikrinde bulunmuşlardır. Hatta Türk sanatının ancak Selçuklular ile başladığını ve bu sanatın esaslarını İç Asya’da Söğütlerin işgal ettiği garbi Türkistan taraflarındaki şehirlerden aldıklarını söyleyerek, bu sanatın kaynaklarını İran’a mal edenler ve bu suretle bir çok eski Türk eserlerini İran sanatı çerçevesine alanlar da çoktur. Fakat bugün artık İç Asya ve Anadolu’da Selçuklulardan çok evvel Türklerin mevcudiyeti anlaşılmakta ve bunların sanat sahasında yaptığı tesirlerin meydana çıkmakta olması bu yanlışları düzeltmektedir. Bununla beraber bir çok belli başlı sanat tarihlerinde eski milletlerin sanatları ayrı ayrı birer bahis teşkil ettiği halde, bütün Şark’ın sanat alemini aydınlatan Türklerin sanatları İslam sanatı bahsi içinde birkaç satır veya sayfa ile geçilmiştir. Hatta bu kitaplar ve albümlerde, bütün manasıyla Türk olan ve diğer milletlere Türklerden geçen bir bezeme (ornament) tarzına bile Arabkari mânâsına (arabesque) gelen arabesk denilmiş ve bu fikir dünyaya yayılıp gitmiştir.” (1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

¹⁸⁴ Pretextat Le Comte is a French art historian who lived in the nineteenth century. He was invited to Istanbul to decorate and restore some artworks. His book "Les Arts et Metiers en Orient" was translated to Turkish "Türkiye’de Sanatlar ve Zeneatler" and published by Tercüman Publishing.

¹⁸⁵ Ülgen refers: Lecompte, *Les Arts et Metiers en Turquie*.

¹⁸⁶ Ülgen refers: Glück, *Kunst und Künstler an den Höfen des 16–18 Jahs*.

¹⁸⁷ The original text: “Bir çok zaman Türkiye’de bulunmuş ve Türk sanat ve zanaatlerini tetkik etmiş olan Pretextat Lecomte yazmış olduğu eserde şunları söylemektedir. Lecomte bir makalede bütün Şark sanatlarının menşeeine Arap sanatını atfederek bunun Mısır’dan dünyaya yayıldığını yazmaktadır. Bu ise münakaşaya değmez bir hatadır. Diğer cihetten Viyana Üniversitesi profesörlerinden Heinrich Glück, Şark sanatlarına dair yazdığı eserde Türk sanatının müstakil şahsiyete haiz bir sanat olduğunu ve bu sanatın Avrupa sanatları üzerine mühim tesirler yaptığını söylemektedir.” (1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

Islam has changed the indigenous arts which have continued for a long time of the countries by making a great impact on them, and has originated a revolution in the field of social domain and of art as well. It is for this reason that many art historians regarded these arts as a single art by evaluating their common qualities and called it the Muslim Art (Art Musulman). However, there are so many indigenous differences in this virtual unity and likeness that it is impossible to think of them as a single art.¹⁸⁸

He explains why it is wrong to generalize the artistic productions of all Islamic societies by attributing just a few concepts as peculiar to them.

Ülgen argues that Islam did not make a big change which will be able to assimilate Turkish art and eliminate its distinct features come from Central Asia, on the contrary Turkish art has developed itself with the influence of Islamic culture. This approach of Ülgen explains why I have used the term of “conservative” for Ülgen’s art history discourse, apart from his nationalist and anti-orientalist views, because he is not opposed to Islamic influences on Turkish art with an extremely secular approach. Rather, he is very open to every encounter or interaction in art and architecture. In another lecture note titled “Concerning Architecture,” he writes about the role of interaction in art:

The changes, which emerge on the condition that the reciprocal effects of the arts are taken into consideration, bring a national style to every country. We call all the elements and reasons that make changes in the architecture as character. There are two kinds of effects that give the characters of a building. The first is with the eye and the second is with the spirit. An architectural temperament forms as a result of the character unity that comes from the combination of both spiritual and sensational influences that is called as genre or style. The styles change over time because the society is alive and in a continuous development.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ The original text: “İslamiyet girdiği memleketlerin öteden beri devam eden yerli sanatları üzerine büyük bir tesir yaparak onları hayli değiştirmiş ve içtimai sahada olduğu gibi sanat sahasında da büyük bir inkılap vücuda getirmiştir. İşte bundan dolayıdır ki birçok sanat tarihçileri bunlardaki müşterek vasıflara bakarak bu sanatları tek bi sanat gibi görmüşler ve ona Müslüman Sanatı (Art Musulman) ismini vermişlerdir. Fakat bu zahiri birlik ve benzeyişler içinde o kadar yerli farklar vardır ki, bunları tek bir sanat olarak telakki etmeğe imkan yoktur.” (1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

¹⁸⁹ The original text: “Sanatların birbirlerine olan karşılıklı tesirlerini göz önünde tutmak şartıyla husule gelen değişikliklerin her memlekette bir milli üslup vücuda getirdiğini görmekteyiz. Mimaride değişiklikleri doğuran eleman ve amillerin cümlesine birden seciye, yani karakter diyoruz. Bir binanın karakterlerini veren tesirler iki türdür. Birincisi gözle ikincisi ruhla olandır. Gerek ruha gerek göze

Although the aforementioned scholars and Ülgen had similar historiographical discourses related to art and architecture, his conservative side makes him different from them. He synthesizes nationalist and conservative ideas in his history writing of architecture, and he never ignored or denied the influence of Islam in Turkish art. Moreover, he evaluated this Islamic influence as a contribution to the stylistic tradition of Turkish art and architecture. He even writes that Islam had an enlightening influence on Turkish art and architecture. These fields developed in a way that was different from that of the other Muslim nations' artistic and architectural productions:

“The religion of Islam has had an illuminating effect on the Turkish people, providing answers to all their fundamental questions. This was a faith that appealed to reason, and urged one to think right. For this reason, it has been our fundamental conception and philosophy throughout our entire history of art to produce works that correspond to necessities and needs; hence the emergence of our functionalist and rational character.

(...) While Turkish art rapidly achieved a unity in terms of architectural plans and masses, a comparable evolution is not witnessed among other Muslim nations. The notion of centrality has remained exclusive to the Turks. In places where no Turkish influence exists in terms of decorative and constructive technique, [architecture] was not able to turn towards purity and gain a rational character.

(...) Characteristics delineating Turkish art's path of progress are not encountered in the arts of [other] Muslim nations. These can be enumerated as such:

1. Purity
2. Rational and constructive approach
3. Noble gravity

Searching for these qualities in the other artistic traditions of the world, one realizes that it is impossible to find a comparable example that brings these three aspects together.¹⁹⁰”

yapılan tesirlerin bir araya gelmesinden doğan karakter bilriği sonunda bir mimari mizaç vücut bulur ki buna üslup yani style denir. Üsluplar zamanla değişir çünkü cemiyet canlı ve devamlı bir gelişme halindedir.” (Mimariye Dair, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0333)

¹⁹⁰ The original text: “İslâm dini Türk halkının kafasındaki bütün neden, ne içinleri açıklayan bir ışık olmuştur. Çünkü akla hitap eden, doğruyu düşündüren bir dindi. bundan dolayı bütün sanat tarihimizde lüzum ve ihtiyaca tekabül eden şeyin vücuda getirilmesi esas düşünce ve felsefemiz olmuş; rasyonel ve fonksiyonel karakterimiz vuzuh kazanmıştır. (...)

2.4 The issue of ornament (*tezyinat*) in Turkish art

The matter of ornamentation (*tezyinat* in Ottoman Turkish) is frequently discussed in Ottoman and Turkish art historiography by different art historians. In fact, on the one hand, this issue belongs to the research interest of Turkish decorative art in terms of technical and methodological concerns of the patterns, their formation and usages; on the other hand, it is possible to encounter the same claim related to a distinct characteristic of Turkish art in focusing on ornamentation. Since the ornament is a complementary component of an architectural structure, it defines, describes, qualifies and enriches the structure, for which reason this issue has been separately evaluated as a single body of art. In fact, the question of ornamentation is a main issue in the agenda of orientalist art history, particularly as it relates to Islam. The reason is that the orientalist discourse assumes that ornamentation was the only considerable component in the tradition of Islamic art, apart from architecture.

When Celal Esad Arseven wrote his book *Les Arts Decoratifs Turcs (Türk Süsleme Sanatları)*,¹⁹¹ the distinctiveness of the floral and animal motifs of Turkish ornamentation and the presence of arabesque style in Turkish decoration due to Islamic influence was discussed among art historians like Strzygowski, Glück, Diez and Arseven. Arseven asserts that only geometrical patterns can be evaluated as arabesque and that floral and animal patterns can be considered peculiar to Turks.

(...) Türk sanatı Mimarlık eserlerinde plân ve kitle itibarıyla süratle bir vahdete ulaşırken diğer müslüman milletler de bir tekâmül görülmemiştir. Merkeziyet fikri yalnızca Türklere münhasır kalmıştır. Dekorlama ve yapı tekniği Türk tesiri girmeyen yerlerde sadeliğe yönelmemiş ve rasyonel bir karakter kazanamamıştır. (...)

(...) Müslüman milletlerin sanatlarında bulunmayan ve fakat Türk sanatının üzerinde yöneldiği yolu gösteren karakteristikleri şöyle sıralayabiliriz:

- 1- Sadelik
- 2- Rasyonel ve konstrüktif oluş
- 3- Asil ciddiyet

Bu vasıflar diğer Dünya sanatlarında da arandığı takdirde üç vasfın bir arada toplandığı görülemez.” (Türk Sanatının Karakteristiği (Unpublished article), ASÜA: TASUDOCA0337)

¹⁹¹ Arseven, *Les Arts Décoratifs Turcs*.

This idea was first asserted by Strzygowski in his article, *Türkler ve Orta Asya Sanatı Meselesi* (The Problem of Turks and the Art of Central Asia):

The ones who bring Islamic art the arabesque are not Arabs, they are Turks. The problem of the origin of arabesque and geometrical ornament should be completely solved reversely. Most probably, the starting point of this must be animal symbolism in especially Siberians and Turkish people. Turks have not taken this from either the West or Islam.¹⁹²

These ideas are quite important to see the context of discussions at that period.

In the nineteenth and twentieth century, European scholars tended to question ornamentation in Islamic art, but according to Necipoğlu, they created false categories because of their orientalist viewpoints. For example, according to orientalist discourse, the only reason behind the geometrical patterns in Islamic ornamentation is that Islam prohibits figural representations; therefore, Islamic societies went towards geometrical shapes. As another example in the debate of ornamentation in Islamic art, Necipoğlu points out that Owen Jones, who mostly used ethno-racial categories, and other designers or theorists “distorted the multiethnic culture of most pre-modern Islamic dynasties, whose rule had unified several geographic regions with mixed populations and religious minorities.”¹⁹³ Therefore, it is questioned the attribution of arabesque, which mostly includes geometrical patterns, to Arabs by Strzygowski, Arseven and Ülgen as well.

Ülgen also made research on the subject of ornamentation for his lecture surveys and articles. One of these lecture notes for the course of *Türk Mimarisi* (Turkish Architecture in the period of 1957-1958), which he considers an issue of Central Asia, Ülgen mentions a small booklet that he was going to write as a trial because of the lack of a complementary, comprehensive and comparative study on

¹⁹² Strzygowski, “Türkler ve Orta Asya Sanatı Meselesi”, 38-40.

¹⁹³ Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı scroll : geometry and ornament in Islamic architecture*, 63.

Turkish decorative art. It is quite interesting that he gives contextual details about the book in the notes; maybe he wanted to use his research for the book for his lectures as well. In the introduction part, he starts with the origin and the first periods of Turkish decorative art (Fig. 31):

These decorations are remarkable ties as much as language and history for the nations. I took courage to write this small and first book, which is on a trial basis to draw the ideas to this point and prepare a program for it, until a work that collects all of the artefacts together by showing places and dates is formed. Our book is mainly divided into three parts:

The first part: The decoration patterns, namely ornamentation motifs that Turks used, their origin, evolution, history, and classification of their kinds,

The second part: The principles in the formation and composition of decorations,

The third part: Decorative forms which will be applied to the things according to their materials and structures, history and techniques of various decorative arts.¹⁹⁴

Apart from this periodization, one of the main themes that Ülgen has discussed is the origin of animal motifs. He asserts that these animal motifs were being used on Kurgans and tents in Central Asia. These animal motifs in particular, which visualized their struggles and attacks could be seen in different arts such as Chinese and Iranians, but their origin is Central Asia, according to him. He asserts that Turks created an artistic decoration pattern which includes stylistic animal forms, and it spread to various places in the world due to migration and socio-political relations. He gives references to a few historians while considering this

¹⁹⁴ The original part: “Milletler için bu bezemeler de dil ve tarih kadar büyük bir bağıdır. Bunların hepsini yerleri ve tarihleri gösterilmek suretiyle bir arada toplayan bir eser vücuda getirilene kadar fikirleri bu noktaya çekmek ve o esere bir program hazırlayabilmek düşüncesiyle deneme mahiyetinde olan şu küçük ve ilk kitabı yazmak cesaretinde bulundum. Kitabımız başlıca üç kısma ayrılmıştır. Birincisi Türklerin süslemede kullandıkları bezeme örgüleri yani ornament motifleri ve bunların menşei ve tekamülleriyle, tarihleri, nevelerinin tasnifi; ikincisi bezemelerin teşkil ve terkiplerindeki esaslar; üçüncüsü de süslenecek şeylerin madde ve bünyelerine göre üzerlerine uygulanacak bezeme şekilleri ve muhtelif süsleme sanatlarının tarih ve teknikleridir.” (1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

issue. In his lecture notes for the course of Turkish Architecture in the semester between 1957 and 1958 under the title of “The Origin of Turkish Decorative Arts and the First Periods,” he writes:

The influences of Altay have been clearly observed in the arts of the first tribes that moved from Asia to Europe. The forms of the tent [The tent is an essential element in Strzygowski’s theory about Turkish architecture.], the decorative weaving art and the stylized animal forms are seen on the old hardware found in the Kurgans. These animal forms are the most distinctive motifs of the decoration that the ancient Turks applied on the wares of the Iron Age.¹⁹⁵ (...)

M. Tallgren¹⁹⁶ sees a great similarity between the artefacts found in Minusinsk in the Bronze Age and Scythian artefacts. On the other hand, M. Farmakovski¹⁹⁷ finds especially Greek motifs in Scythian artefacts. Even though these issues have not been solved yet, the influence of Altai has been clearly observed in the artefacts of the first peoples who moved from Asia to Europe in any case. (...)

In ancient Turks, the most common thing that was used in the paintings and decorative motifs is the struggle of animals and the attack of one or more animals on another animal. We see the same animal struggles in the Assyrians and Chinese as well, so there is no doubt that their origin is Central Asia. (...)

Iranians have used these Archaic animal struggles in carpets and miniatures very much, but also, such an animal struggle is seen on an archaic Byzantine relief.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Ülgen refers to Woolley, *Les Sumeriens*.

¹⁹⁶ A. M. Tallgren (1885-1945) is a Finnish archeologist who especially studies for systemization of the Ural-Altai Bronze Age with his colleagues from the early twentieth century until the 1930s. He made several trips to Russia in different years in order to research new excavations. As a result of his collaboration with different scholars, he states in his publications that the common forms of the artworks common to Russia in Europe and Siberia developed out from concerted Scythian prototypes and did not have any genetic relationship with each other. So, cultural influences had moved along from the West to the East. It can be said that he is so open to cultural encounters and interactions, and does not want to give the cultures national labels. His publications: Tallgren, “Ural-altailaisesta pronssikaudesta. Historiallinen Aikakauskirja”, 148–165; Tallgren, “Die Kupfer- und Bronzezeit in Nord- und Ostrussland. I. Die Kupfer- und Bronzezeit in Nordwestrussland”, 1–24, 94–95.

¹⁹⁷ B. V. Farmakovskiy (1870–1928) is a Russian archeologist. He takes parts in many excavations and archeological commissions. He is the curator of antiquities at the Hermitage from 1924-1928. He also gives lectures in St. Petersburg University. His studies on the formation of Scythian art, archeological data on Minoan culture.

¹⁹⁸ The original text: “Asya’dan Avrupa’ya geçen ilk kavimlerin sanatlarında Altay tefsirleri bariz olarak müşahede edilmektedir. Kurganlarda bulunan eski madeni eşya üzerinde çadır ve dokuma sanatının tezmini şekilleri ve uslublanmış hayvan şekilleri görülmektedir. Eski Türklerin ve Demir Devri eşyaları üzerine tatbik ettikleri tezyinatın en farikavi motifleri bu üsluplanmış hayvan şekilleridir. (...) M. Tallgren Minusinsk’de bulunan Tunç Devri eserleri ile İskit eserleri arasında büyük bir benzerlik görmektedir. M. Farmakovski ise İskitlerin işlerinde ekseriyetle Yunan motifleri bulmaktadır. Bu meseleler henüz halledilmemişse de her halde Asya’dan Avrupa’ya geçen ilk kavimlerin sanatlarında Altay tesirleri bariz olarak müşahede edilmektedir. (...) Eski Türklerde resim

Related to these motifs and their presence in Iranian artworks Ülgen gives reference to M. I. Rostovtzeff¹⁹⁹ and Ardenne de Tizac²⁰⁰ against a claim about the origin of these animal patterns as Iran. Like these scholars, Ülgen emphasizes in the same lecture notes that the origin of these patterns is Central Asia because the ancient Turks symbolized their origin with a she-wolf cult, and were already using animal figures in their calendar as well:

Professor Rostofçef declares that the zoomorphic figures which mean animal motifs in Chinese and Caucasian arts are from the same origin that it is necessary to look for the origin of this in Central Asia. Ardenne de Tizac thinks that this art was been formed in Iran but by the Scythians and Sarmats in Turan.²⁰¹ This writer states that attributing this art to Iran is not correct due to two reasons. One of them is that the oldest origin of this art is Mesopotamia, and the second is that Scythians and Sarmats in Iran depended on Mongol Turans in terms of their morals, customs, wisdom, and dates. A mistake of description such as attributing a fixed art that belongs to a certain group of people to another group can make this matter very confusing and incomprehensible. Again he writes in this book: “The relationship between the decorative art of ancient China and the artistic style of the Scythians is not something that has been found today. Reincke declared that 30 years ago. However, his idea about the presence of Chinese influence on the Eastern Russia is incorrect. On the contrary, this influence has moved from the West to the East, and from Central Asia to China. After the fact has been understood, the only necessary thing is making an examination on the details (...).”

Some animal forms used to be considered as sacred and like-icon in the ancient Turks, and every tribe had a distinctive icon (tapuğ), namely totem. Tukyu Turks,²⁰² for example believed that they came from a she-wolf, and they carried a golden wolf figure on their flags. Related to these issue, the other respected animal figures were deer, eagle, vulture, mountain goat, and

mevzuları ve tezyinat motiflerinde en çok kullanılan şey hayvanların mücadelesi ve bir veya birkaç hayvanın diğer bir hayvan üzerine hücumu gibi mevzulardır. Aynı hayvan mücadelelerini Asuriler ve Çinlilerde de görürüz ki bunların menşinin Orta Asya olduğuna şüphe yoktur. (...) İranlılar halılar ve minyatürlerde bu arkaik hayvan mücadele mevzularını çok kullanmışlardır. Yine arkaik bir Bizans kabartması üzerinde de böyle bir hayvan mücadelesi görülmektedir.” (1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

¹⁹⁹ M. I. Rostovtzeff (1870-1952) is a Russian historian studies on mostly ancient Roman and Greek history, and takes part in archeological activities. His publications: Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia.*; Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosporus.*; Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World: Volume I The Orient and Greece.*

²⁰⁰ Henri d'Ardenne de Tizac (1877-1932). His publications: d'Ardenne de Tizac, *La Sculpture Chinoise.* One of his articles “Is There a Turanian Art?” was translated to Turkish by Remzi Oğuz in 1929: “Bir Turan Sanatı Var mıdır?”, 17-29.

²⁰¹ Ülgen gives this reference: D'Ardenne de Tizac, *L'Art Chinois Classique*, 17

²⁰² Gokturks were called as Tukyu in Chinese Sources.

wild boar. The Ancient Turks divided the time into twelve periods, and gave an animal name to each of these periods.^{203 204}

In the same lecture notes, under the title of “Art and Islam” the second point regarding Turkish decorative arts that Ülgen discussed is the usage of decoration in architecture. At this point, Ülgen made a comparison between Arabs and Turks, and said that Turks had managed to preserve their own style of ornamentation in architecture despite Islamic influence. They applied it quite differently from other Islamic societies, especially Arabs; in Turkish ornamentation there is a moderation:

The ornamentation made inside and outside of the buildings brings the sensation called ornamental effect on the general shape. The most characteristic aspect of national arts in particular is the original ornaments. In this respect, Turks have been acted very carefully and meticulously, and they have applied the decoration on the appropriate and necessary places. Some nations have done otherwise in so many times, for example Arabs liked filling every architectural work and the surface with ornamentation. This interest in decoration has become ugly and harmful when it breaks the building program, and goes out of the logical shapes.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Ülgen gives references to Chavannes, *Le Cycle Turc des 12 animaux*.

²⁰⁴ The original text: “Profesör Rostofçef Çin ve Kafkas sanatlarındaki zoomorfik yani hayvani şekillerdeki motiflerin aynı menşeden olduklarını ve bu menşei Orta Asya ve İran’da aramak lazım geldiğini beyan etmektedir. Ardenne de Tizac, bu sanatın İran’da değil fakat İskit ve Sarmatlar tarafından Turan’da vücuda getirildiği fikrinde bulunmaktadır. Bu müellif diyor ki bu sanatı İran’a addetmek iki sebepten dolayı doğru değildir. Birincisi, bu sanatın en eski menşei Mezopotamya olması, ikincisi de İran’daki İskit ve Sarmatların gerek ahlak ve adet ve gerekse irfan ve tarihleri itibarıyla Moğol Turan’ına bağlı bulunmalarındır. Bir kavme ait olduğu sabit olan bir sanatı, diğer bir kavme atfetmek gibi bir tarif hatası bu meseleyi çok karıştırır ve içinden çıkılmaz bir hale getirebilir. Yine bu kitabın bir yerinde diyor ki: ‘Eski Çin tezyini sanatıyla İskitlerin sanat üslubu arasında müşahebet bugün bulunmuş bir şey değildir. 30 sene evvel Reincke bunu beyan etmiştir. Fakat onun Şimali Rusya’daki sanat üzerinde Çin tesiri olduğunu düşünmesi yanlıştır. Keyfiyet aksinedir, yani bu tefsir garpten şarka ve Orta Asya’dan Çin’e gitmiştir. Esas anlaşıldıktan sonra iş teferruat üzerinde tetkikat yapmaya kalır.’ (...) Eski Türklerde bazı hayvan şekilleri mukaddes ve tapuğ sayılırdı. Kabilenin kendine mahsus bir tapuğu yani totemi vardı. Mesela Tukyu Türkleri kendilerinin bir dişi kurttan geldiklerine itikat eder ve sancaklarında altından bir kurt sureti taşırlardı. Bu hususta en çok iyi itibar edilen hayvanlar geyik, kartal, akbaba, dağ keçisi, yaban domuzu gibi hayvanlardı. Eski Türkler zamanı 12 devreye ayırmışlardır. Bu devrelerin her birine bir hayvan ismi verirlerdi.” (1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

²⁰⁵ The original text: “Binalarımızın gerek haricinde gerek dahilinde yapılan süsleme, umumi heyetin üzerinde süs tesiri adı verilen hissi meydana getirir. Bilhassa milli sanatların en karakteristik bir cephesi orijinal süslerdir. Bu hususta Türkler çok dikkatli ve titiz davranmışlar ve süslemeyi muayyen ve lüzumlu yerleri hasretmişlerdir. Bazı milletler de çok kere bunun aksini yapmışlardır. Mesela Araplar her mimari eseri ve sathı süsleme ile doldurmaktan hoşlanmışlardır. Bu bezeme merakı bina programını bozduğu ve mantığı şekillerin dışına çıktığı anda çirkin ve zararlı olmuştur.” (1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

In making this statement, Ülgen was against one part of orientalist discourse which considered the artistic productions of all Islamic societies repetitive, but at the same time he used an orientalist discourse against Arabs and Persians in differentiating Turks and their arts. We can see the same attitude in Arseven because he associated Turkish art with simplicity and rationalism with the aim of attributing a Western and modern meaning to Turkish art. Rather than the Westernized attributions related to rationality and simplicity of Arseven, Ülgen agreed with the presence of these qualities in Turkish art. Nevertheless, he associated these features with the influence of Islam because Ülgen thought that Turks had a perfect match with Islam. But Islam is not the only factor that creates these points because the most important thing is the perceptive ability of Turks. He writes in the same lecture notes:

The decoration art among Turks has gone further than other plastic arts after architecture. One of the reasons for this is undoubtedly Islam. The ban that the religion introduced for paintings and sculptures to try to describe God, prompted the artists to seek another field to reveal their aesthetic feelings, and forced them to make progress in decoration. All these works of art go towards this field and the beauty is sought only in the form of decoration, that's why this taste has been able to rise. However, it is not correct to attribute this development to the influence of religion because it needs to consider great artistic sense and ability of Turkish nation in this field. This truth appears more clearly in comparison with the works of Turkish Muslims and other Muslim nations. Even though the religion has had the same effect in those arts, they could not reach the level of Turkish art, and this is undoubtedly a consequence of the difference between their abilities. Turks, who are very respectful to the religion, have formed a new art by the way of characterizing symbolic and animal figures in an absolute and decorated way after they accepted Islam, and have devoted their aesthetic feelings to this field. They merely seek the beauty in the harmony of forms and colors, and especially in simplicity without unnecessarily exaggerating in decoration like the other oriental nations. Moreover, Turks have been very careful to choose the decoration patterns that match the shape, materials and processing technique of the things to decorate. Here in Turkish works the principle is gathered on the following points: Simplicity, harmony, conformance with form, material and processing technique. Therefore, there are quite several differences

between the ornaments that decorates a marble and a cloth or a ceramic in Turkish embellishments.²⁰⁶

Apart from this anti-orientalist discourse of Ülgen, since he had a global art history perspective which can be seen especially his lecture notes “Concerning Architecture”, he even made a comparison between Turkish and Egyptian art in terms of the colors that they used for decoration. As a small example of his comparative attitude follows:

The material used in the construction of the buildings and the decoration that is made must have a color. This color changes according to the pleasures of the nations. Certainly, the abundance of these colors affects the common harmony of the building and makes it ugly. In the works of architecture, Turks always used dark blue, yellow and red ochre paint appropriately. These three colors hold an important position in Turkish decoration. In Egyptian architecture, black, yellow and red colors were a characteristic symbol of Pharaohs period.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ The original text: “Süsleme sanatı Türklerde mimariden sonra diğer oylum sanatlarından (arts plastiques) hepsinden ileriye gitmiş bir sanattır. Bunun sebeplerinden biri hiç şüphesiz ki İslamiyettir. Dinin, ilah resim ve heykellerine karşı koyduğu yasa, sanatkarları, bedii hislerini ortaya koymak için başka bir saha aramaya sevk etmiş ve onları tezyinat yolunda yürümeye mecbur kılmıştır. Bütün bu sanat çalışmalarının bu sahaya intisar etmesi ve güzelliğin sırf tezyini şekillerde aranması bu husustaki zevkin yükselmesine amil olmuştur. Fakat bu gelişmeyi sadece dinin tesirine atfetmek doğru olmaz. Bunda Türk milletinin büyük sanat duygusunu ve istidadını da hesaba katmak lazım gelir. Türk eserlerinin diğer Müslüman milletlerin eserleri ile mukayesesinde de bu hakikat daha açık olarak belirir. O sanatlarda da dinin aynı tesiri olduğu halde Türklerin sanatı derecesine çıkamamaları hiç şüphesiz ki istidat ve kabiliyet farkından doğan bir neticedir. Dine çok hürmetkar olan Türkler İslam olduktan sonra öteden beri devam eden sanatlarındaki remzi ve hayvani şekillere manadan mücerret ve sırf tezyini bir mahiyet vermek suretiyle yeni bir sanat meydana koymuş ve bedii duygularını bu sahaya hasretmişler ve süslemede de diğer Şark milletleri gibi fazla şatafata ve lüzumsuz mübalağalara düşmeyerek güzelliği yalnız şekil ve renklerin ahenginde ve bilhassa sadelikte aramışlardır. Bundan başka Türkler süsleyecekleri şeylerin şekli, maddesi ve işleme tekniğine uyan bezeme şekillerini seçmeğe de çok dikkat etmişlerdir. İşte Türk eserlerinde esas (prensi) şu noktalar üzerinde toplanmıştır: Sadelik, ahenk, şekle, maddeye ve işleniş tekniğine uyarlıdır. Onun içindir ki Türk süslemelerinde bir mermeri tezyin eden bezemelerle bir kumaş veya bir çiniyi süsleyen öğeler arasında epeyce farklar vardır.” (1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

²⁰⁷ The original text: “Binaların inşaatında kullanılan malzemenin ve gerek yapılan süslemenin muhakkak bir rengi vardır. Bu renk milletlerin zevklerine göre değişir. Tabiidir ki bu renklerin fazlası binanın umumi ahengine tesir eder ve çirkinleştirir. Mimarlık eserlerinde Türkler koyu mavi, sarı ve aşı boyasını daima yerinde kullanmışlardır. Türk süslemelerinde bu üç renk mühim bir mevki tutmaktadır. Mısır mimarlığında siyah, sarı ve kırmızı renkler Firavunlar devrinin karakteristik bir sembolü idi.” (Mimariye Dair, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0333)

2.5 Comparison of Ülgen's and aforementioned art historians' discourses

The teaching materials of Ülgen have given us a wide perspective to see the role and place of Turkish art and architecture in the Late Ottoman and Early Republican art historiography, constituted by both foreign and local scholars who focus on discussions such as the origin of Turkish art, the distinct features of Turkish art before Islam, the continuity or discontinuity of those distinct features after Islam, the influences of the surrounding civilizations' artistic accumulation, natural or exaggerated interactions between Turks and the others-Chinese, Arab, Persian, Byzantine arts. These teaching materials also illustrate a continual and progressive history of the Turks, which shows a common artistic understanding from Central Asia to Anatolia, that is, from the Uighurs to the Ottomans. Moreover, apart from Turkish art and architecture, Ülgen's lecture notes are a resource for history and the historiography of the various civilizations, including Egypt, Mesopotamia, Near Asia, Europe, and different time periods such as prehistoric times, the Hellenistic period and the Renaissance. These accounts can be evaluated from two perspectives: how the history of these civilizations was being taught in the universities in terms of the content, and the nature of the viewpoint of Ülgen as a master architect, who was an extremely interesting figure.

The lecture notes, of course, were formed as a result of a certain program which was determined by the professor, but these also reflect the viewpoint of the professor, which can be seen in the whole academic, literal, and scholarly productions of that person. For this reason, it is possible to understand Ülgen's main arguments, the ideas that he was opposed to or that he agreed with. Nevertheless, while looking at the scholars that Ülgen used as a reference in his lecture notes, it is possible to understand how his world of thought was formed. Thus, comparing his ideas with the

other scholars' thoughts is very beneficial in terms of opening new horizons on this issue.

We clearly know that Ülgen was influenced by Strzygowski's studies and arguments because he gave many references to him in his lecture notes. Strzygowski emphasized that there was a remarkable contribution of Turks to various artistic and architectural styles. Ülgen thought so as well, and he tried to reveal the animal forms, their transformation with Islam to different patterns and the concept of tent as the contributions of Turks in particular. Another similarity between their viewpoint is that Strzygowki considered Turks as the carriers of some artistic forms to the Europe by the way of migrations, therefore a European art historiography cannot be considered without Turks. Ülgen also touches upon the importance of these Turkish migrations because of the interactions that they created in every territory they conquered. He asserted that Turks carried some artistic forms to Europe through Anatolia and to China through Iran. In addition, Strzygowski proposed that a Turkish museum should be established to collect and exhibit the whole artistic accumulation of the Turks as a civilized society. Likewise, Ülgen offered a national art institution to conduct much more research about the history and development of Turkish art through archeological and scientific studies.

Arseven was the teacher of Ülgen in the Fine Arts Academy, so it is sure that Ülgen agreed with almost all arguments of Arseven about Turkish art, with only a few exceptions. The emphasis on Mesopotamian culture is very dominant in Arseven's studies because he thought that they came to Mesopotamia from Central Asia, so their origin was probably Turkish. Ülgen also drew connections between Sumerian and Turkish artistic productions and some monuments in Central Asia. Another point is that Ülgen put Turkish art forward with some features such as

simplicity and rationality, but he took these notions as an example of the modern side of Turkish art as a Western attribution. However, even though Ülgen placed emphasis on these features, he did not address any Western notion because he interpreted the formation of these characteristics as a result of how Turks perceived Islam. Furthermore, with regard to the issue of Iranian art, Arseven asserted that the relationship between Iranian and Turkish art is quite intricate because they lived with each other during the Seljuk period. On the other hand, Ülgen made clear distinctions and maintained his general attitude to differentiate Turkish art from the others, and claimed that Turkish art influenced Iranian art as well. Lastly, the most interesting point is that Ülgen claimed that any kind of study which analyzes origins, variations, and forms taken in different periods of Turkish decoration by classifying them had not yet been written in Europe, or in Turkey in his lecture notes belonging the years 1957 and 1958. However, it is known that Arseven wrote his book, *Turkish Art*, which touches upon the Turks' different artistic forms and styles, their formation, and their expansion in 1928. Also, there is another book which was written on decoration, *Les arts decoratifs Turcs*. This situation raises these questions in my mind: Why did Ülgen use such a sentence? Why did he not refer to this book among his lecture notes? What kind of a study did he mean? In my opinion, this issue should be investigated much more deeply.

Sarre is like the contrarian character of this period, unlike the other scholars who wanted to highlight the distinct features of Turkish architecture, because while investigating Seljuk art, he did not address the influence of Turkish art. He considered Seljuk art and architecture as a combination of the Byzantine and Hellenistic heritage of Anatolia, with Persian components. Therefore, it is not possible to see any parallelism between his ideas and Ülgen's studies.

Glück argues that the old Turkish art traditions influenced the formation of Islamic art, especially on the domes and portals in terms of architecture. According to him, these forms may have been borrowed from other traditions in nearby areas but were combined and spread according to a Turkish national spirit. Actually, it is a more objective viewpoint than assuming Turks as the origin of the dome structure. For this reason, although Glück and Ülgen did not share the same idea about the level of interaction, they agreed with each other on the issue of Turkish national spirit as a necessary component in the expansion of Turkish art. Ülgen claimed that some stylistic examples as Rumi and Hatayi were formed and combined with Turkish artistic perception, and they spread over a large territory.

As a conclusion of this comparative section, some parallels and differences between the aforementioned scholars and Ülgen have been tackled again to see the important discussions of these periods and their contributions to Turkish art and architectural historiography. Above all, it can be said that one of the main purposes of Ülgen was to rescue Turkish art from orientalist accounts, as he told his students in his lecture:

Introducing Turkish art to the world and even to ourselves is a duty that falls to the Turks before foreigners. Pretextat Lecomte says about this issue: "Turks have an important place in the art world. If this is not known in Europe, this is the main reason why this nation has not introduced itself at the necessary level." The writer is very right in his words because we have neglected Turkish art and Turkish literature as well, we have not written the works which will introduce itself to the world, and we have not had a perfect art history yet. It is a very deep and long standing work to determine the dates of all the artworks belonging to the Turks remained from the past, to copy them with their shapes and colors, and to investigate the motifs and the processing techniques of the materials applied to them. One would wish that we had a Turkish Art Institution like Turkish History and Language Society that we have established recently and it did this work which is creating a big album by making our ceilings, chins, engravings, fabrics, carpets, embroideries and weapons, and in short all decorative patterns on all kinds of furniture identically copy, and take colorful photographs from their original ones by the expert painters. All of the advanced nations, who gave

importance to their own culture, did this. For the nations, these ornaments are as important as language and history.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ The original text: “Türk Sanatı’nı dünyaya ve hatta kendi kendimize tanıtmak tabii ki yabancılardan önce biz Türklere düşen bir görevdir. Bu hususta Pretextat Lecomte diyor ki: ‘Sanat aleminde Türklerin mühim bir yeri vardır. Eğer Avrupaca bu bilinmiyorsa bunun başlıca sebebi bu milletin kendisini lazım geldiği derecede tanıtmamış olmasıdır.’ Yazar bu sözlerinde çok haklıdır. Çünkü bizler birkaç asırdan beri Türk sanatının kendisi gibi edebiyatını da ihmal etmiş, onu dünyaya tanıtacak eserler yazmamışız ve henüz elimizde mükemmel bir sanat tarihimiz yoktur. Türklere ait eskiden kalma ne kadar sanat eseri varsa, onları şekil ve renkleriyle kopya etmek tarihlerini tespit etmek motif ve üzerlerine tatbik olunan maddelerin işleme teknikleri hakkında araştırmalar yapmak çok derin ve uzun çalışmalara muhtaç bir iştir. Gönül isterdi ki şu son zamanlarda kurduğumuz Türk Tarih ve Dil Kurumları gibi bir de Türk Sanat kurumumuz olsun ve bu işi o kurumumuz yapsın. Uzman resamlara tavanlarımız, çinilerimiz, oymalarımız, kumaşlarımız, halılarımız, işlemelerimiz ve silahlarımız velhasıl her türlü eşyamız üzerindeki bezeme örgelerini aynen kopya ettirmek ve asıllarından renkli fotoğraflar aldırarak suretiyle büyük bir albüm oluşturulsun. Kendi kültürlerine ehemmiyet veren ileri milletlerin hepsi bunu yapmışlardır. Çünkü milletler için bu bezemeler de dil ve tarih kadar mühim bir bağıdır (Ülgen, 1957-1958 Syllabus of Turkish Architecture, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

CHAPTER 3

THE SCHOLARLY WORKS OF ÜLGEN

This chapter indicates Ülgen's perspective on the Ottoman past in terms of architecture in his scholarly works, such as articles and book drafts; his teaching materials are also used as supportive arguments. The Ottoman past is another complementary part of Ülgen's discourse on Turkish architecture, so Chapter 3 is designed to reveal Ülgen's narrative on Ottoman architecture after having questioned the characteristic of Turkish architecture in Central Asia in Chapter 2. Ülgen constructed his narrative in an evolving continuum. According to him, Ottoman architecture is a phase of Turkish architecture. He discussed Ottoman architecture by questioning its connections with the architectural productions of the previous civilizations such as Byzantine, Anatolian Seljuk and Beyliks, but he sometimes continued to give some links from Central Asia. On the other hand, he regarded Seljuk architecture as a part of Turkish architecture. With regard to Byzantine art, while analyzing similarities and interactions among all kinds of monuments and decorative arts, he preserved his claim about the distinctiveness of Turkish art and architecture. Moreover, he pointed out that, in this phase, Turkish architecture developed and created great productions with Mimar Sinan in particular. He also considered that it was possible to see preparatory developments in architecture in terms of construction techniques, and the perception of size and mass of the structures in the period of Fatih for the architectural productions in Sinan's period. As another important scholarly work of Ülgen, his well-known book review of Diez's *Türk Sanatı*, was evaluated to see his anti-orientalist criticism in a modest but impressive tone. Before addressing all these issues, one needs to evaluate the

Ottoman architectural historiography vis-à-vis *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* to provide a theoretical and interpretational background.

3.1 Ottoman architecture in *Usul-i mimari-i Osmani*

Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani, which consists of four chapters, is a historical summary of Ottoman architecture, a theoretical framework of the main principles of Ottoman architecture, monographies belonging to prominent structures, and a summary of Ottoman ornamentation types. It is the earliest example considering Ottoman architecture on a broad scale. Its historical narrative on architecture is quite remarkable in its perception of the period of Ottoman architecture. Cephaneçigil narrates the first chapter of *Usul*, which offers a historical summary of architecture: “The constructions built during the time of Osman and Orhan Bey are simple, massive and heavy structures that are not associated with any school, and do not offer any architectonic character. Those built until the end of the Çelebi Mehmet period are sometimes expressed as pure, occasional Ottoman pleasures of Saracen (Eastern/Oriental) architecture. A new era began with Bayazid II and would continue until Murat IV. The decisive name of this period is Sinan. The period of the five sultans from Murat IV to Ahmet III is considered a loss in terms of architecture because of riots and so on. With the period of Ahmet III, buildings and the gardens were made with delicate tasteful layouts. However, the artists, sculptors and decorators who came with the engineers and architects brought from France started to transform Ottoman architecture in a short period of time and to give products in a perverted pleasure. Instead of Sinan's school, the architect Rafael and the school of the Armenian master-builders became dominant. However, it seems as if the Ottoman architecture had the last word and it seems to have finished the process.

Some buildings built during the Sultan Abdülaziz period reveal healthy trends with their decorations, though not with their construction. While these works make it possible to talk about a neo-Turkish school, they give hope that the Ottoman architectural renaissance takes place during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz.”²⁰⁹

Cephanecigil interprets this summary as the history of the reconstruction activities of many sultans — and in part the viziers. At first sight, rather than architecture, also provides a development line for architecture.²¹⁰ According to this summary and interpretation, it can be said that *Usul* parallels the traditional political historiography of the Ottoman Empire because it also starts with a modest beginning, then rises with the conquest of Constantinople, the continuation of this growth during Süleyman, then a slow stagnation and decline.²¹¹ Tanzimat and Western dominance were efforts to cover up the decline of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, Arseven as a scholar who used the statements of *Usul*, and Ülgen as his student considered the history of Ottoman architecture in a similar vein. As it will be explained under the next subtitle in detail, both of them paid much more attention to the periods of Mehmed II and Mimar Sinan, and they discuss the early periods of Ottoman architecture with a simple but positive approach. They do not praise the influence of foreign architects in Ottoman architecture.

Taking Ottoman architecture out of Islamic art and locate it in the narrative of European architecture is one of the aims of *Usul*. The other important aim is to develop an anti-orientalist discourse, as it is mentioned in Chapter 2. According to Cephanecigil, after *Usul*, not only descriptive and historical texts related to

²⁰⁹ Cephanecigil, “Geç Osmanlı Ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemlerinde Mimarlık Tarihi İlgisi Ve Türk Eksenli Milliyetçilik (1873-1930)”, 78-79.

²¹⁰ Ibid, 79.

²¹¹ See more discussion: Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*.

architectural productions but also an architectural historiography can be written by discussing characteristics of Ottoman architecture. However, this transition from descriptive texts about architectural productions to historiographical texts attributing specific features to the Ottoman architecture to define it well and to be against orientalist discourse did not spread quickly, and only Arseven produced in this direction for a long time.²¹²

After *Usul*, national societies such as the Türk Derneği (Turkish Association) (1908), Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni (The Committee of Ottoman History) (1909), Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti (The Community of Turkish Homeland) (1911), Türk Ocağı (Turkish Organization) (1912), Halka Doğru (Towards the People) (1912, 1917), Bilgi Derneği (The Association of Knowledge) (1914), were established to bring scholars together and to provide them with a place to present their historical and cultural studies by way of congresses. Arseven was one of the members of Türk Ocağı and of the Turkism department of the Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni.²¹³

Apart from *Usul*, there are other approaches related to architectural historiography to reconsider within the framework of Ottoman architecture. It is appropriate to start with the Western canon which brings periodization from rise to decline, the architectural actors of the periods and their masterpieces.²¹⁴ Although it has been criticized for its orientalist and Eurocentric viewpoint, it was dominant in discussions of Ottoman architecture. When this kind of periodization is applied to the Ottoman architecture, it is possible to see a parallel in terms of the direction periodic movement from the foundation period to the decline. The sixteenth century is

²¹² Cephaneçigil, 79.

²¹³ Cephaneçigil and Akın, “Geç Osmanlı ve Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiyesinde Milliyetçilik ve Mimarlık Tarihi”, 32-33

²¹⁴ Bozdoğan and Necipoğlu, “Entangled Discourses: Scrutinizing Orientalist and Nationalist Legacies in the Architectural History of ‘Lands of Rum’”, 1-6.

referred to as the classical period of Ottoman architecture, and its hero, Mimar Sinan, appeared in this scheme. Another approach which was brought by periodization is the debate on “style” because style was considered a litmus paper to categorize architectural productions. Fletcher offers a “tree of architecture” as a model for periodization and categorization of architectural works in terms of style.²¹⁵ When we say “classical,” it actually refers a style rather than a period. After the cult of the Ottoman classical style and Sinan, Ottoman architecture started to encounter the Westernization and the paradigm of decline as being intertwined and opposite each other in the nineteenth century. According to Kuban, the Ottoman architecture in the nineteenth century can be defined as European-imported architecture because it was controlled mainly by foreign non-Muslim architects.²¹⁶ From the same perspective, Aslanapa interprets the nineteenth century architectural productions as “poor” and “worthless” because their styles are not familiar to the classical Turkish taste.²¹⁷ Conformably, while Arseven praised the classical Ottoman architecture, and Sinan criticized the nineteenth century architectural productions for being “without a style, tasteless and rough.”²¹⁸ Among these questions of debate, Ülgen, as the student of Arseven, drew a linear line of development for Ottoman architecture considering during the periods of Fatih and Sinan. However, he did not mention the issue of nineteenth century architectural productions with either a criticism or a compliment. His distinct stand shows itself with his interpretations related to interaction, distinctiveness, and continuity.

²¹⁵ Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*.

²¹⁶ Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 605-606.

²¹⁷ Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, 236-237.

²¹⁸ Arseven, *Türk Sanatı*, 180.

3.2 Similar approaches to Ülgen's discourse

Istanbul, with its Byzantine heritage and Ottoman identity, was one of the most debated issues in Ottoman architectural historiography. Related to studies to about Istanbul's Byzantine past and the Byzantine influence on Ottoman art in Turkish art historiography, Arseven did much work on the authenticity and Turkishness of Ottoman art. Between 1907 and 1909, he wrote an article series on Ottoman art in the *İkdam* newspaper whose aim was to prove that Ottoman art is an original art.

Therefore, he suggested that it should be shown how different the Ottoman art was, having been associated with Arab, Persian and Byzantine arts until that day. One of the books of Arseven, *Istanbul*, published in 1909, is the earliest book on Byzantine and Ottoman architecture in the capital of the empire. The aim of Arseven was to determine the constant character of Turkish art and to produce an argument to counter the Western evaluation of Turkish art under the name of Iranian, Arabic and Byzantine arts. The content of the book reflects Arseven's critical view regarding Orientalist imagery of the Western audience because he also gives place to some written and visual representations of Istanbul in Orientalist sources.²¹⁹ As a specific example, Arseven refers the use of Byzantine dwellings after the conquest, and related this to his argument, which asserts a possible link between the overhangs (cumbas) of Istanbul houses and the projecting bays of Byzantine buildings.²²⁰

With regard to interest in Istanbul after a local example, Arseven believed a foreign example could complement this framework. Karoly Kós (1883-1977), a Hungarian architect, wrote *The Streets of Istanbul* in 1918 as a broader architectural

²¹⁹ Sezer, "The Perception of Traditional Ottoman Domestic Architecture as a Category of Historic Heritage and a Source of Inspiration for Architectural Practice (1909-1931)", 38.

²²⁰ *Ibid*, 39-40.

history of Istanbul.²²¹ The book aims to develop a Turkish national idiom in the domestic architecture in particular.²²² Kós, as a Hungarian Turanist,²²³ came to Istanbul to do research under the directorate of Konstantinápolyi Magyar Tudományos Inézet (Hungarian Institute for Sciences in Constantinople). His research area included Turkish-Hungarian relationships, Byzantine-Hungarian relationships, and Byzantine and Islamic arts.²²⁴ In his book, Kós criticizes the Eurocentric art history research and argues that the root of the central dome plan is based on the Ural-Altai tribes and that Turkish architecture developed towards this plan, so this assumption was parallel to the Turan ideal of the age creates a contradiction to one of the main orientalist ideas that Turks did not have distinct architectural features.²²⁵

Another theme is the role of the periods of the Seljuks and Beyliks as precursors to Ottoman architecture in the architectural historiography of the Ottoman Empire. This linear narrative was proposed by Arseven in his book *Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art) before Ülgen. Arseven's best-known book, *Türk Sanatı* is a study which explains how Turkish art spread across empires, states and a vast geography over centuries has preserved its essence.²²⁶ He maintains his descriptive approach to Turkish art. It is the art of the Ottoman Turks, which he defined as Ottoman art, and it is evaluated a stage of Turkish art like the art of the Ghaznavids or the Seljuk Turks. However, Arseven does not mention Central Asia in his articles published in this period because the emphasis on Central Asia would be part of a book of Turkish

²²¹ See Karoly Kos, *İstanbul: Şehir Tarihi ve Mimarisi*.

²²² Sezer, 55.

²²³ For more information see: Demirkan, *Macar Turancıları*.

²²⁴ Sezer, 55.

²²⁵ Gümüş, "A Turkish Architect at the Technical University of Budapest: Semih Rüstem", 40.

²²⁶ Bozdoğan, "Reading Ottoman Architecture Through Modernist Lenses: Nationalist Historiography and the New Architecture In the Early Republic", 204.

art published in 1928, after the Republic was established.²²⁷ He started from Turkish art in Inner Asia and pre-Islamic times, continues with the Great Seljuks and Timurids, and then mentions Seljuk architecture in Anatolia. In this linear narrative, Ottoman art is a phase of this national art history.²²⁸

Trying to explain a development extending from prehistory to Ottoman art based on theories and archeological excavations in such a wide geography as Anatolia was a typical statement of the Turkish Republic. It sought a new identity at the same time. According to Fırat, Arseven's thoughts reveal a methodologic problem in art history studies in Turkey. This method is an idea which considered a perfect match between Turkish political history and Turkish art.²²⁹ Generally, the art of every country where the Turks were politically dominant is accepted as a branch of Turkish art.²³⁰ Therefore, Arseven claimed that the periods of the Seljuks, Ghaznavids, Tulunids and the Ottomans were each a continuation of the other because the same spirit was carried on by the Turkish ruling elite, despite the different geographies.

While the Ottoman age was considered in a linear atmosphere, the Classical age and Sinan's works were the most commonly mentioned themes, especially by local scholars such as Arseven and Aslanapa because they aimed to put forward the magnificence of Turkish art and the success of Turkish architects in the Ottoman Empire.

²²⁷ Arseven, *Türk Sanatı*, 19.

²²⁸ Sezer, 73.

²²⁹ Fırat, "Türk Sanat Tarihinin Coğrafi Sınırları: Josef Strzygowski ve Celal Esad Arseven", 412.

²³⁰ Kuban, "Celal Esad Arseven ve Türk Sanatı Kavramı", 20.

3.3 Ali Saim Ülgen's discourse on Ottoman art/architecture

One of the main themes of Ülgen's discourse on Ottoman art is connected with the Byzantines. Ülgen evaluated Byzantine architecture, particularly Hagia Sophia (the asserted influence of Hagia Sophia in the construction techniques of Ottoman mosque) while tackling Ottoman architecture. Apart from this, he mentions the matter of interaction a few times while evaluating the small role of Byzantine architects and local materials. He considers not only Byzantine, but also Roman and Renaissance architectures in dealing with Ottoman architecture in terms of style. However, unfortunately, Ülgen did not emphasize his thoughts about Byzantine art and architecture in his articles, for which reason we have few resources on this issue in the archive. Apart from a few folders in ASÜA (The photographs of Byzantine Architecture,²³¹ the Drawings of Byzantine Architecture,²³² and the Report about Byzantine monuments in Istanbul²³³), there is just an extremely interesting statement of Ülgen in a folder of lecture notes entitled "Various lecture notes." In the quotation where Ülgen interestingly considers Byzantine art as a part of Islamic art, he must have aimed to mention Islamic influence on Byzantine art and architecture, which is reasonable but the idea of considering Byzantine art in Islamic art arouses curiosity about what Ülgen intended. He also compares it with Roman art, which is a quite feasible approach because of their historical connection. He praises Hagia Sophia in terms of its architectural structure and decoration:

Byzantine art is considered as in Islamic art. It is also a part of the Eastern Rome. On one side, it has mixed with Greco-Roman art, on the other side with Asiatic art. It has been under the influence of the art of Hellenism. The highest style of Byzantine art is Hagia Sophia. Hagia Sophia with today's shaped was the masterpiece of that time. Besides being a type architecture,

²³¹ The original title of the document: "Bizans Mimarisi Fotoğraflar" (ASÜA: TASUDOCA0040)

²³² The original title of the document: "Bizans Mimarisi Çizimleri" (ASÜA: TASUDOCA0038)

²³³ The original title of the document: "İstanbul'daki Bizans Eserleri Hakkında rapor" (ASÜA: TASUDOC1323)

there is a marvelous decoration system. The stone workmanship has reached the last stage. It was made with very different plans and bold calculations. The paint harmony is very beautiful. It was built with a different plan and daring calculation. There is a formal magnificence away from its day. After the 9th century, the Byzantine art had a hesitation period. The reason in this hesitation is history. It had been shaken as a result of many wars. (...) Byzantine art is under the influence of the East and the West because of its geographic location. (...) In Venice there is a style mixed with the Eastern and Western Roman art.²³⁴

After he mentions Byzantine art and its center, Istanbul, he considers the Western Christian art together with Rome. Interestingly, Ülgen established a connection between the metalwork of Roman art and Turkish art. In fact, this connection is similar to Strzygowsky's vision of the Nordic influence on Roman art:²³⁵

It was formed in Rome and its around. After the barbarous invasion of Rome, the art there was silent and the Eastern Christian art continued. All the arts in the East have influenced the art of Rome. In this art there was a very beautiful metal art which is Turkish metalwork.²³⁶

Ülgen did not only aim to focus on Turkish architecture, but he also looked from a global perspective and evaluated different periods of world history — the Renaissance, for example. He evaluates the Renaissance not by defining it but by analyzing and making comparisons. He mentions some interactions between

²³⁴ The original text: “Bizans sanatı İslam sanatının içinde sayılır. Şarki Roma sanatının da bir parçasıdır. Bir taraftan Grekoromen diğer taraftan da Asyayi sanatla karışmıştır. Helenistik sanatının bir tesiri altında kalmıştır. Bizans sanatının en yüksek üslubu Ayasofya’dır. Bugünkü şekliyle Ayasofya o zamanın şaheseriydi. Tip mimarisi olmakla birlikte fevkalade bir tezyinat sistemi vardır. Taş işçiliği orada son merhalesine varmıştır. Çok başka planla ve cüretkar hesaplarla yapılmıştır. Boya imtiazı çok güzeldir. Günden uzak tamamıyla şekli bir ihtişamı vardır. Dokuzuncu asırdan sonra Bizans sanatı bir tereddüt devri geçirir. Buna sebep tarihtir. Bir çok harpler neticesinde sarsılmıştır. (...) Bizans sanatı coğrafi mevki dolayısıyla şark ve garbın tesiri altındadır. (...) Venedik’de Şarki ve Garbi Roma sanatının karışmış bir üslubu vardır.” (“Muhtelif ders notları”, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0110).

²³⁵ Strzygowski, “Orient oder Rom.”

²³⁶ The original text: “Roma ve civarında teşekkül etmiştir. Roma’nın barbar istilasından sonra oradaki sanat sükut etmiş, Şarki Hristiyan sanatı devam etmiştir. Şark’daki bütün sanatlar Roma sanatı üzerine tesir etmiştir. Bu sanat içinde Türk madenciliği gibi çok güzel bir madencilik sanatı vardı.” (“Muhtelif ders notları”, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0110).

different cultures by the way of the Renaissance. He emphasizes the influence of the Renaissance and Italian style in Topkapı Palace:

Renaissance does not mean being reborn. It is the entrance of the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations to the Christian world. The color composition of the Renaissance comes out of Venice. The main action is in Florence. In the sixteenth century, a little but obvious British influence was seen in Italy. Renaissance is seen in the palace of Fatih. So, the Italian Renaissance has affected us as well. The role of religious art is enormous in the Renaissance and great architectural styles can be seen. In particular, there are obvious gothic styles in church architecture.²³⁷

The second theme of Ülgen's discourse on Ottoman architecture is connected to the periods of the Seljuk and the Beyliks and the close relationship between these civilizations and the foundational phase of the Ottoman Empire. With regard to Ottoman architecture, Ülgen started his narrative with the first stage of the Ottoman Empire. He did not separate his architectural discourse from the political conditions of the period. In his article Anadolu'da Türk Mimarlığı (Turkish Architecture in Anatolia) he writes:

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Ottoman Principality used old building materials and local masters in the buildings because it was poor and small. Artifacts built in Iznik and Edirne by the Ottomans, who have strengthened by passing to Trakya in less than half a century and by bringing the Turkish people together in Anatolia, were the property of architects from Nigde and Konya who were molded with Anatolian Turkish culture raised in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The monuments that decorate Edirne and every traveler is amazed and appreciated can be regarded as primitive architectural works compared to the Turkish classical architecture.²³⁸

²³⁷ The original text: "Rönesans yeni(den) doğmak demek değildir. Hristiyan alemine eski Yunan ve Roma medeniyetinin girmesidir. Venedik'ten Rönesans'ın renk kompozisyonu çıkar. Esas hareket Florans'tadır. 16. asırda İtalya'da biraz fakat bariz İngiliz tesiri görülür. Fatih'in sarayında Rönesans'ın tesiri görülür. Demek ki İtalyan Rönesansı bize kadar tesir etmiştir. Rönesans'ta dini sanatın rolü çok büyüktür ve büyük mimari tarzları görülür. Bilhassa kilise mimarisinde bariz gotik usuller görülür. Bilhassa sivil mimaride büyük değişiklikler gösterir." ("Muhtelif ders notları", ASÜA: TASUDOCA0110).

²³⁸ The original text: "Osmanlı Beyliği 14. asrın başında kurulma çağında fakir ve ufak olduğundan vücuda getirdiği binalarda da eski yapı malzemesi ve yerli ustalar kullanılmıştır. Yarım asırdan kısa bir zaman içinde bir taraftan Trakya'ya geçerek diğer taraftan Anadolu'daki Türk halkını bir araya toplayıp kuvvetlenen Osmanlıların, Bursa, İznik ve Edirne'de inşa ettirdikleri eserler 14. ve 15. asırda teveküm eden Anadolu Türk kültürüyle yoğrulmuş Niğdeli ve Konyalı Türk mimarların malıdır. Her seyyahın hayret ve takdirde seyrettiği ve Edirne'yi süsleyen abideler hep bu devrin Türk klasik mimarisine nazaran yine primitif sayılacak mimarlık eserleridir" (ASÜA: TASUDOCA0086007).

As it is understood from this quotation he wanted to emphasize a dominance of Anatolian culture in Western cities such as Edirne, Bursa, and İznik, all of which had a great amount of Byzantine heritage, for which reason he mentions cities such as Niğde and Konya, from where Turkish architects came to build monuments.

In the same article he gives the number of the monuments that Turks built despite difficult political conditions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The reason for his looking backward through these centuries was to establish a continual line between the periods of the Seljuks, then the Beyliks and the Ottoman Empire:

The amount of the architectural works, which built by the Turkish governments and encountered within the borders of today's Turkey, go beyond thousands even in a period as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when they were exposed to the attacks of the east and the west. And if the works that were ruined in the continuous struggles and cannot be reached today are joined, the abundance of the products that the Turks settled is better understood. The İlhanlılar State, which annihilated the Anatolian Seljuks and other beyliks from the middle, did not lag behind from the zoning activities. Besides the architects of the local Turkish beyliks which later took place, constituted a gateway to the period of Ottoman Turkish architecture with considerable specialties.²³⁹

According to Ülgen, this “gateway” takes Ottoman architecture to the Turkish classicism, which is the highest point of Ottoman architectural development:

In Anatolia, we witness that the scale of art has evolved more every day, and a progress towards mass architecture from the façade architecture has been recorded, as a result of the examination of the works belonging to the periods of Selçuk, Karaman, Ertema, Ak and Kara Koyunlu, Aydın, Menteşe, İsfendiyaroğulları and such beyliks. This evolution reaches to the Ottoman Turkish classicism of the sixteenth century and the most valuable monuments are built by Mimar Sinan in this century.²⁴⁰

²³⁹ The original text: “Bugünkü Türkiye'nin sınırları içinde rastlanan 12. ve 13. yüzyıllar gibi doğu ve batıdan taaruzlara maruz kalmış bir devrede dahi Türk hükümetlerinin inşa ettikleri mimari eserlerin miktarı binleri geçmektedir. Bir de mütemadi mücadelelerde mahvolup bugüne erişemeyen eserler hesaba katılırsa, Türklerin kurdukları mamurelerin bolluğu o zaman daha iyi anlaşılır. Anadolu Selçuklularını ve diğer beylikleri ortadan kaldıran İlhanlılar Devleti de imar faaliyetinden geri kalmamış daha sonra meydana çıkan mahalli Türk beyliklerinin mimarileri ise dikkate değer hususiyetlerle Osmanlı Türk mimarisi devrine bir geçit teşkil etmiştir” (ASÜA, TASUDOCA0086007).

²⁴⁰ The original text: “Anadolu'da Selçuki, Karaman, Ertema, Ak ve Kara Koyunlu, Aydın, Menteşe, İsfendiyaroğulları ve emsali beylikleri devrine ait eserleri tetkik neticesinde ortaya sanat ölçülerinin her gün biraz daha tekamül ettiğine, cephe mimarisinden kitle mimarisine doğru terakkiler

Here, Ülgen probably means a transition from a more medieval decorative tradition to a more rational, space- and volume-oriented approach in the sixteenth century with classical style and Sinan's contributions. This opinion was also asserted to emphasize the rise of technical development in Ottoman architecture.

Ülgen continues his aforementioned article with the issue of decoration. He writes:

Turkish architects have never spent any decorative and architectural elements unnecessarily so that the building looks beautiful. For this reason, it is seen among the arts of all Islamic societies that in Turkish architecture there is an art which has the least ornamentation and is free from tiring details, and which has the dominancy of necessary architectural and decorative components.²⁴¹

Parallel to Arseven's claim about simplicity and *Usul*'s attributions to Turkish art, Ülgen also emphasizes the distinct feature of Ottoman/Turkish art with a simple and modest view of the monuments. It is possible to see the same claim of Ülgen in his lecture notes, as mentioned in Chapter 2.

In Ülgen's opinion, while Turkish architecture was simple and modest, it also kept and preserved different components from previous cultures on a building, so this situation shows its open-mindedness. However, according to him, Europeans considered the Turkish understanding of art as narrow-minded, so Ülgen made his anti-orientalist criticism again here:

For a long time, Europeans have claimed that the Turks did not have the arts and artists, and that the Turks are the enemy of painting, sculpture, or everything related to culture. Whereas, the Turks have not needed to remove the beautiful columns of the ancient or Christian eras, or even the crosses, and used them in the mosque or the tombs that they built with a great pleasure. Seljuk Turks have given remarkable examples in open-mindedness when

kaydedildiğine şahit oluruz. Bu tekamül 16. asrın Osmanlı Türk klasizmine kadar ulaşır ve en değerli abidelerini de bu yüzyılda Mimar Sinan eliyle verir" (ASÜA, TASUDOCA0086007).

²⁴¹ The original text: "Türk mimarları güzel görünsün diye hiçbir tezyini ve mimari unsuru Lüzumsuz yere harcamamışlardır. Bu sebeple İslam milletlerinin Sanatları içinde her tarafı en az tezyinatı ve insanı yoran teferruata kurtulmuşa Türk mimarisinde bir sanatta ancak ihtiyacı tekabül eden mimari ve tezyini unsurların hakim olduğu görülür" (ASÜA: TASUDOCA0086007).

religions scared people with the darkest bigotry and before the emergence of more humanistic currents in Italy²⁴².

In another article, 13. yüzyılda Anadolu Selçuklu Mimari Üslubu (The Architectural style of the Anatolian Seljuks in the thirteenth century), he claims that the Seljuks successfully developed and used the architectural components of the Turks when they were in Central Asia, and these components established a foundational base for the classical period of Ottoman architecture:

In the thirteenth century Anatolian Seljuk style of architecture, we encounter some constructions that show new moves with Central Asian characters. Nobody can deny that these are new movements for architectural ability, which has been placed in Anatolia since two centuries and has begun to be classicalized. This revolution which began with a decoration system that conforms to the artistic conceptions of the tribes living in Central Asia and Eurasia and it was a farther preparative for the Turkish Ottoman classical architecture as it constituted a source for Turkish ornamentation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁴³

In another article, Niğde Ak Medrese, before analyzing the structure in terms of architectural matters, he starts again with the same historical narrative from the periods of the Seljuks, the Beyliks and the Ottomans:

While the Seljuk style, one of the most important era of Turkish architecture, was closing down, the Anatolian principalities became acquainted with this art and tried to produce some artefacts as much as they could do in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the most depressing moment of Asia Minor. In the works of art made in this century, Turkish art is considered to have acquired some new features in terms of construction and architecture, as

²⁴² The original text: “zaman Avrupalılar Türklerin sanatları ve sanatkarları bulunmadığı, resmin, heykeltraşının, hülasa kültürle ilgili her şeyin düşmanı olduklarını iddia etmişlerdir. Halbuki, Türkler büyük bir zevkle inşa ettikleri cami, türbe gibi binalarında, antik veya Hristiyanlık çağlarının güzel sütun başlıklarını, hatta üzerindeki haçları dahi silmeye lüzüm görmeyerek-kullanan türk sanatkarları eksik değildir. Dinlerin en koyu taassuplarla insanları korkuttuğu devirlerde, İtalya’da daha hümanist cereyanlar uyanmadan, açık fikirlilik ve taassupsuzlukta dikkate değer örnekler veren yine Selçuk Türkleridir” (ASÜA: TASUDOCA0086007).

²⁴³ The original text: “13.yy’ın Anadolu Selçuklu mimari üslubunda Orta Asyalı karakterlerle yeni hamleler yapıldığını gösteren yapılara rastlıyoruz. Bunları iki asırdan beri Anadolu’da yer ederek durulmuş ve klasikleşmeye başlamış mimarlık vahdeti için de yeni bir hareket olduğunu kimse inkar edemez. Milattan önce Orta Asya’da ve Avrasya’da yaşayan kavimlerin sanat anlayışına tevafık eden bir süsleme sistemi ile başlayan bu inkilap 14. ve 15. yüzyılların Türk bezeme anlayışına bir mebde teşkil ettiği gibi Türk Osmanlı klasik mimarisinin çok uzak bir hazırlayıcısı da olmuştur” (ASÜA, TASUDOCA0025).

the unity of source, the spirit and pleasure which were present in Seljuk art remain over.²⁴⁴

He emphasizes Seljuk art which preserved its specific style but acquired new developments preparing a cornerstone for Ottoman art:

This difference [he means new features] has increased over time, and eventually it has become an entity that will be a base for the classical rules of the Ottoman Turks. Ak Medrese, one of the monuments built in this period, is one of the forerunners of the new style. But it is certain that this development was so sudden and not so obvious as to be noticed at first sight from Seljuk style. The fact that the architects of Üç Şerefeli Mosque, which has an important position among the first buildings of the Ottoman Turks, and of our other monuments are from Karaman and Niğde, can easily be proved not only by the historical documents but also by their closeness and stylistic relations with the Ak Medrese in Niğde and some buildings in Karaman.²⁴⁵

Ülgen traces these continuities in terms of structure and style, from a madrasa to a mosque, for example. Despite their different functions, they belong to the same perception of structure and style to demonstrate the political dominancy over architectural productions.

I discovered in my research at ASÜA for this thesis that there is no article of Ülgen entitled “Ottoman art/architecture.” It can be understood from one side because his professional career life started after the foundation of the Republic and the emphasis of its only identity, Turkishness. Therefore, he considered Ottoman architecture under the heading of Turkish architecture. However, in the lecture notes

²⁴⁴ The original text: “Türk mimarisinin en mühim inkişaf devirlerinden biri olan Selçuk uslubü kapanırken Anadolu beylikleri, bu sanatın muakkibi olmuşlar, Küçük Asya'nın en buhranlı anı olan 13. ve 14. üncü asırlar arasında kudretleri nispetinde eser vermeye çalışmışlardır. Bu asırda yapılan sanat eserlerinde Selçuk mimarisinde mevcut menşe' birliği ruh ve zevk baki kalmakla beraber, Türk sanatının inşai ve mimari bazı yeni hususiyetler kazandığı müşahade edilir” (ASÜA, TASUDOCA0095036).

²⁴⁵ The original text: “Bu fark zamanla artmış, nihayet Osmanlı Türklerinin klasik nizamlarının temeli olacak bir varlık göstermiştir. İşte bu devirde inşa edilen abidelerden biri olan Ak Medrese yeni üslubun müjdecilerinden biridir. Fakat bu inkişafın o kadar ani ve Selçuk uslubundan ilk bakışta farkedilebilecek kadar bariz olmadığı da muhakkaktır. Osmanlı Türklerinin ilk binaları arasında mühim bir mevki ihraz etmiş olan Üç Şerefeli ile diğer abidelerimizin mimarlarının Karamanlı ve Niğdeli oldukları yalnız, tarihi vesikalara istinaden değil bu eserlerin Niğde'deki Ak Medrese ile ve Karaman'daki binalarla olan yakınlıkları ve üslub münasebetleri ile de kolayca ispat edilebilir” (Ülgen, *Niğde Ak Medrese*, ASÜA, TASUDOCA0095036).

belonging to the course on Turkish Architecture in 1958-1959,²⁴⁶ Ülgen mainly evaluates Ottoman art and architecture in different periods as a historical phenomenon of Turkish history. Of course, he started with the foundation period, namely, the period of Osman Gazi, and he moved until the period of Süleyman the Magnificent. While evaluating these periods, he gives differentiating styles and innovations in the field of architecture. He gives detailed information about the ground-breaking monuments of each period on a linear line of architectural development. Of course, he gives more attention to the periods of Mehmed II and Süleyman the Magnificent due to the richness of architectural works. With regard to the period of Kanuni, he considers Mimar Sinan as an ecole, and then he continues with Mimar Sinan's different works, asserting that each of his works has different features and plans.

He says that before presenting an architectural historiography, it can be beneficial to give information about its political history:

The Ottoman period has filled the brightest pages of the history of Turkish civilization. We find the most beautiful examples for a rise and fall of a reign that continues for 600 years at the end of this epic. For this reason, a small history would be useful for this lesson, which will give the most interesting examples of Turkish architecture.²⁴⁷

He makes reference to Aşıkpaşa's accounts and some chronicles of Byzantine towns which were captured by Osman Gazi. He makes a quite political introduction, like a history professor. Then, he associates these political relations with architectural influences between Ottomans and Byzantines. He says:

Although it developed later among the other principalities, we see that the Ottoman Principality had a significant place in terms of making a new move

²⁴⁶ Ülgen, "Lecture notes of Architectural History course of 1958-1959" (ASÜA: TASUDOCA0077).

²⁴⁷ The original text: "Türk medeniyet tarihinin en parlak sayfalarını doldurmaktadır. 600 sene devam eden bir saltanatın yükselme ve düşmesine en güzel misilleri bu devrin sonunda buluruz. Bu bakımdan Türk mimarisinin en enteresan örneklerini verecek olan bu derse ufak bir tarihçe faydalı olur" (Ülgen, "Lecture notes of Architectural History course of 1958-1959", ASÜA: TASUDOCA0077).

in Turkish art. The reason is that it had a new territory except from Seljuk lands because the other principalities were not able to make new things by throwing away the historical traditions that have been coming since the third century. On the other hand, Ottoman Turks brought the inspiration of only Turkish art to the region of Söğüt, Bilecik and Bursa, and they looked for possibilities to work with new materials that they captured. In this respect, it should also be noted that in the first years the Ottoman Turkish architecture influenced from the development of Byzantine constructions.²⁴⁸

He continues with the Orhan Ghazi period in terms of architectural evaluations by considering dome structure and arches. He asserts that there is no relationship between the proportions of Byzantine and Ottoman dome pulleys:

In Orhan Gazi era, the domes are very small and their tops are covered with tile. Dome pulleys and wall hangings are quite deaf. However, the dome pulleys seen in this period are not similar to the dome pulleys of Byzantine architectural works. There is no relation of this era's domes with the Byzantine dome pulleys in terms of proportion, either angular or rounded. Even in the time of Orhan Gazi it is seen that there are always pointed Turkish arches in places which effect the whole body of the building despite the presence of rounded arches.²⁴⁹

Then, he continues with the periods of Murad I and Bayezid I. Ülgen mentions that it is possible to see Timurid influences after the encounter with them in the beginning of the fifteenth century:

In the beginning of the fifteenth century some art works, which remind Samarkand style in terms of the composition of either color or floral patterns,

²⁴⁸ The original text: "Diğer beylikler arasında daha geç inkişaf etmiş olmasına rağmen Osmanlı Beyliği'nin Türk sanatında yeni bir hamle yapma bakımından ehemmiyetli bir mevkinin bulunduğunu görmekteyiz. Bunun sebebi Selçuk arazisi dışında yepyeni bir muhite sahip olmuş oluşudur. Çünkü diğer beylikler, 3. asırdan beri gelmekte olan tarihi gelenekleri bir tarafa atarak yepyeni şeyler yapmaya muktedir olmamışlardır. Halbuki Osmanlı Türkleri Söğüt, Bilecik, Bursa havalisine yalnız Türk sanatının ilhamını getirmişlerdir ve ele geçirdikleri yeni malzeme ile çalışma imkanları aramışlardır. Bu bakımdan Osmanlı Türk mimarisinin ilk yıllarında Bizans terakkilerinin de konstrüksiyonun tesirlerinden müteessir olduklarını da belirtmek gerekir" (Ülgen, "Lecture notes of Architectural History course of 1958-1959", ASÜA: TASUDOCA0077).

²⁴⁹ The original text: "Orhan Gazi devrinde kubbeler oldukça küçük ve üstleri kiremitle örtülüdür. Kubbe kasnakları ve duvar aksamı ziyadesiyle sağırdır. Yalnız bu devirde görülen kubbe kasnakları Bizans mimari eserlerindeki kubbe kasnaklarına benzemez. Gerek köşeli gerek yuvarlak olsun persorsiyon bakımından Bizans devri kubbe kasnakları ile hiçbir münasebeti yoktur. Orhan Gazi devrinde dahi sivri Türk kemerinin kullanıldığını ve yuvarlak kemerler binada bulunsa dahi göze batan ve binanın umumi heyetinde tesir eden yerlerde daima sivri Türk kemerlerinin bulunduğu görülmektedir" (Ülgen, "Lecture notes of Architectural History course of 1958-1959", ASÜA: TASUDOCA0077).

show that the artists in the Timurid army highly influenced the Ottoman art at that period.²⁵⁰

He evaluates the period of Murad II as a forerunner of the Turkish Classical period, and he gives examples from the features of the Üç Şerefeli Mosque. He mentions the issue of duality between the old traditions and new innovations in architecture:

The period of Murat II heralded Turkish classical period. The works built in this period, especially Üç Şerefeli Mosque in Edirne, bring a great move with the new research into the art of Turkish architecture. Two artistic viewpoint match in this period. One is the continuation of the old tradition and the other is the speed which new discoveries provide. A new invention to the type of grand mosque is added with Üç Şerefeli Mosque. With this move, the desire to build temples in accordance with the needs of the empire that has been enriched and rapidly developed following the conquest of Istanbul has been a great source of excitement for the Turkish architects. Thus, the power of the great craftsmen of the period of Murat II especially prepared the sixteenth century.²⁵¹

Discussing the sixteenth century, Ülgen makes a broader comparison about architectural understanding in the urban context by addressing Süleymaniye and Selimiye mosques in his article Anadolu'da Türk Mimarlığı (Turkish Architecture in Anatolia):²⁵²

Although the Greek and Roman architectural give importance to horizontal, gothic architectural values vertical scales, Turkish architecture has tried to produce artifacts according to both horizontal and vertical measures and has given the most mature monuments in Ottoman period in the sixteenth century. (...) Süleymaniye in Istanbul, Selimiye in Edirne and the similar monuments

²⁵⁰ The original text: “15. yüzyıl başındaki Semerkant üslubunu hatırlatan sanat eserleri gerek renk gerek çiçeklerinin kompozisyonu bakımından Timur ordusundaki sanatkarların o devir Osmanlı Türk sanatına ziyadesiyle tesir ettiğini gösterir” (Ülgen, “Lecture notes of Architectural History course of 1958-1959”, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0077).

²⁵¹ The original text: “İkinci Murat Devri, Türk Klasik Devri'nin müjdecisi olmuştur. Bu devirde yapılmış eserler bilhassa Edirne'deki Üç Şerefeli Cami Türk mimarlık sanatına yeni araştırmalar ile büyük bir hamle getirir. Bu devirde 2 sanat telakkisi atbaşı devam eder. Biri eski ananın devamıdır, diğeri de yeni buluşların vermiş olduğu hızdır. Üç Şerefeli Cami ile ulu cami tipine yeni bir buluş ilave edilmiştir. Bu hamleyle İstanbul'un fethini müteakip zenginleşen ve süratle gelişen imparatorluğun ihtiyaçlarına uygun mabetler yapmak arzusu Türk mimarları için büyük bir heyecan kaynağı olmuş, böylece 16. yüzyılı hazırlayan bilhassa ikinci Murat Devri'nin büyük sanatkarlarının kudreti sebep teşkil etmiştir” (Ülgen, “Lecture notes of Architectural History course of 1958-1959”, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0077).

²⁵² Ülgen, *Anadolu'da Türk Mimarlığı* (ASÜA: TASUDOCA0086007).

are examples of architectural and urbanism issues which have been resolved with a modern mindset.²⁵³

Then he continues his interpretations chronologically to the end of the nineteenth century with criticism which fit in the standard decline paradigm in architectural history established from *Usul* onwards:

Turkish architecture, which started to lose its vitality from the beginning of the seventeenth century, has suffered from a decline in the influence of the empire, and finally a new era has been opened by the penetration of the European styles such as Baroque, Rococo and Imperial. At the end of the nineteenth century, an architectural school similar to the old national and classical style starts to take the place of these intricate and foreign styles, which created a reaction in the Turkish spirit. But since the scientific method was not prioritized and the main traditions and purpose of Turkish architecture were not studied in this movement, an irrational and emulative period was opened, and it left its place to modern technique as not living much.²⁵⁴

3.3.1 Fatih Mosque vs Hagia Sophia

Ülgen considers the era of Fatih as a period which includes innovative movements in terms of architecture. He again refuses any kind of staggering influence of Byzantine artistic tradition on the Ottoman productions:

In Anatolia and Rumelia, during the period of Mehmed II which developed the Ottoman Empire, it is seen that Turkish art makes a new move in terms of architecture. This move of course influences the mass of the building. Thus the type of great mosque with the central plan is gradually formed. We have found the first great move in Fatih Mosque was built by Mehmed II in Istanbul. Some buildings belonging to this period were destroyed and changed their form due to earthquake. The most important of these was the

²⁵³ The original text: “Yunan ve Roma mimarileri ufki, Gotik mimarisi sakuli ölçü kıymetlerine ehemmiyet vermiş olduğu halde, Türk mimarisi hem ufki hem de şakuli ölçülere göre eserler koymaya çalışmış ve en olgun abidelerini Osmanlı devrinde 16. asırda vermiştir. (...) İstanbul'daki Süleymaniye, Edirne'deki Selimiye ve emsali abideler hem mimarlık hem şehircilik meselelerinin sanki modern zihniyetle halledilmiş örnekleridir.” (Ülgen, *Anadolu'da Türk Mimarlığı*, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0086007).

²⁵⁴ The original text: “17. yüzyılın başından itibaren hayatini kaybetmeye başlayan Türk mimarisi imparatorluğun nüfuzunu azaldığı nisbette zaafa uğramış ve nihayet Barok, Rokoko, Ampir gibi Avrupa üslupları bu sanata tefsir ederek yeni bir devir açılmıştır. On dokuzuncu asrın sonunda Türk ruhunda aksülamel yaratan bu girift ve yabancı üslupların yerini eski milli ve klasik üsluba benzeyen bir mimari mektebi yer almaya başlar. Fakat bu harekette ilmi metot ön planda tutulmadığı ve Türk mimarisinin esas ananeleriyle gayesi etüt edilmediği için rasyonel olmayan kopyacı bir devre açılmış, bu da çok yaşamayarak yerini modern tekniğe bırakmıştır” (Ülgen, *Anadolu'da Türk Mimarlığı*, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0086007).

Fatih Mosque, which was built after the capture of Istanbul by the Turks. Unfortunately, this work was destroyed in the eighteenth century by the great earthquake in the period of Mustafa III, and the architects of that period changed the old forms and brought out the building of Fatih Mosque which we see today. It is obvious that unexperienced and poor graded workers in the new construction areas, which was established with people and artists came from Anatolia and the Eastern regions would not be able to build this magnificent work because they are deprive of the experience which is more than half a century. The artists and the people who come to Istanbul for settlement and population density in Istanbul have a new power. These new buildings are the constructions of the period of Fatih and the next periods. According to this situation, they benefited from only the Byzantine artisans for manual labor. It is obvious that the Byzantine craftsmen who are the weaker group do not influence the Ottoman art.²⁵⁵

His lectures for this course continued with mosque types, certain architectural works like palaces, bathhouses and tombs, and also urban compositions of the Fatih period. Apart from religious and civil architecture, military construction is one of the important parts of this period's architecture. For this reason, Ülgen mentions Rumeli Fortress and considers the concept of castle in Turkish architecture, and he compares it with that of other civilizations:

Among Turks, the castle is never a real defensive power. The castles have been always established as a preparation site for attack. For this reason, the fortified works that Turks have built throughout history are not like the Byzantine, Roman and Arabic sites because attack is fundamental among Turks.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ The original text: "Anadolu'da ve Rumeli'de Osmanlı Devleti'ni geliştiren Fatih çağında Türk sanatının mimaride plan bakımından yeni bir hamle yaptığını görürüz. Bu hamle bittabi binanın kütlelerine tesir eder. Böylece merkezi planlı ulu cami tipi yavaş yavaş teşekkül etmektedir. İlk büyük hamleyi İstanbul'da Fatih'in yaptırmış olduğu Fatih Camii'nde bulmaktayız. Bu devreye ait bazı binalar zelzeleler yüzünden tahribe uğramış ve şekillerini değiştirmişlerdir. Bunlardan en mühimi de Türklerin İstanbul'un zaptını müteakip inşa edilmiş olan Fatih Camii'dir. Maalesef bu eser 18. yüzyılda III. Mustafa zamanındaki büyük zelzelede harap olmuş ve devrin mimarları eski şekillerini değiştirerek bugün görmüş olduğumuz Fatih Camii binasını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Fatih ve onu takip eden hükümdarlarla daima Şark ile temasta, bu durum karşısında Anadolu ve Doğu bölgelerinden gelen ahali ve sanatkarlarla kurulan yeni şantiyelerde vücuda getirilen yeni eserler üzerine yarım asırdan fazla inşaat yaparak tecrübe sahibi olmaktan çıkmış düşük kaliteli işçi zümresinin bu kadar mükemmel bir eser yapmayacağı aşikar. Gelen sanatkarlar İstanbul'da iskanla halkla beraber nüfus kesafeti için gelenler yepyeni bir kuvvete sahiptir. Bu yeni inşaatlar Fatih Devri ve sonraki devirdeki inşaatlardır. Bu vaziyete göre ancak amelelikte Bizanslı sanatkarlardan istifade etmişlerdir. Zayıf zümre olan Bizanslı sanatkarların Osmanlı sanatına tesir etmedikleri aşikârdır." (Ülgen, "Lecture notes of Architectural History course of 1957-1958", ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

²⁵⁶ The original text: "Türklerde kale hiçbir zaman hakiki müdafaa tesiri değildir. Kaleler daima taarruza hazırlık mevki olarak tesis edilmişlerdir. Bu sebeple tarih boyunca Türklerin inşa ettikleri müstahkem mevkiiler gerek Bizans, Roma ve gerek Arap tesislerine benzemez. Zira Türklerde taarruz esastır." (Ülgen, "Lecture notes of Architectural History course of 1957-1958", ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076)."

Ülgen also puts the Mehmed II period in a different place concerning its transitional role in Ottoman architecture as different from the influence of the Hagia Sophia.

Many Turkish art historians consider Hagia Sophia with an appreciation but also they are proud of Selimiye Mosque because of its larger dome diameter. Therefore, they defend the greatness of Turkish architecture with Selimiye against Hagia Sophia.

Arseven is among these historians. He explains his thoughts about Hagia Sophia as follows:

After the conquest of Istanbul, the only building that attracted the attention of Turkish architects was Hagia Sophia. This building, which constitutes a rough mass externally, but which is covered by a large central hall with half-domes internally, has given a new idea to the Turkish architects, and inspired them to build mosques in a larger scale. Turkish architects have succeeded in correcting its construction and aesthetic mistakes, and in the creation of a whole new form by building it in a new plan as suitable for Islamic worship without imitating it completely.²⁵⁷

As it can be understood from the ideas of Arseven, he considered Hagia Sophia an only inspirational example for the Turkish architect to build great and impressive mosques such as the Süleymaniye and Selimiye mosques. However, Ülgen had a different approach to this issue. He claimed that if the old Fatih mosque had not been damaged by the earthquake, many scholars would have considered this structure as archetypal because it reflected and symbolized the Ottoman monumental architectural style which Hagia Sophia did not. However, he also admitted that some interactions in small scale in terms of the styles of the local artisans or local materials:

While investigating the history of Turkish art, scholars claimed that Turks created a new architecture under the influence of Hagia Sophia as soon as they conquered Istanbul because these scholars were not able to examine the old Fatih Mosque. However, the old Fatih Mosque, which has a central dome and a half-dome on the side of the mihrab, represents a different artistic concept from Hagia Sophia as the largest and oldest Turkish artifact built

²⁵⁷ Arseven, *Türk Sanatı*, 34.

following the capture of Istanbul. In fact, there is no art that is not influenced by the other one. The nations, especially those who made the former empire lands into a new homeland with the invasion of the countries, of course benefited from the artisans of those regions and used the local materials. For this reason, we should not find strange them if we encounter working styles and knowledge of the local workers, and the form of the material that they used in the works.²⁵⁸

As seen from these quotations, according to Ülgen, the Fatih Mosque played an important transitional role in the establishment of the unique Ottoman style, and he used this statement as a prime case in his argument against the possibility of Byzantine influence.

It can be quite beneficial to zoom in on Ülgen's ideas about mosques in Turkish architecture at this juncture. His article *Türk Camisi* (The Turkish Mosque)²⁵⁹ includes remarkable comparative points. He starts his article by considering the concept of dome, and then of course he points out the success of Hagia Sophia:

The construction of the dome was then evolved in Rome until its last level, and the shape has become enormous. The dome, has found its freest and most spectacular evolution, and its record in the distance in Istanbul, not in Rome. Hagia Sophia leaves all the samples made up to that point behind with its large and daring dome. (...) Its glory is so high. This magnificence has saved itself from the Greek antiquity and shows a lot of freshness. However, the imperialist aim that has been accrued in the construction by way of record gives a cool character or even a kind of pedanticism as an art.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ The original text: "Türk sanat tarihini tetkik ederken ilim adamları eski Fatih Camii'ni tetkik etmeye muktedir olmadıkları için İstanbul'u alır almaz Ayasofya'nın tesiri altında kalarak yeni bir mimari yarattıklarını iddia etmişlerdir. Halbuki bir merkezi kubbesi ve mihrap tarafında bir yarım kubbesi bulunan eski Fatih camii İstanbul'un zaptını takip eden inşaa edilen en büyük ve eski bir Türk eseri olarak Ayasofya'dan başka bir sanat anlayışını ifade ediyor. Filhakika hiçbir sanat yoktur ki bir diğerinden müstefit olmasın. Hele bilhassa memleketleri istila ile eski imparatorluk topraklarını yeni bir vatan haline getiren milletler bittabi o mıntukaların sanatkarlarından istifade etmişler ve malzemesini kullanmışlardır. Bu sebeple yapılan eserlerde gerek bu işçilerin itiat edindikleri bu çalışma tarzına ve onların bilgisine kullandıkları malzemenin şekilne rastlarsak bunları yadırgamamız gerekir" (Ülgen, "Lecture notes of Architectural History course of 1958-1959", ASÜA: TASUDOCA0077).

²⁵⁹ Ülgen, "Türk Camisi", (ASÜA, TASUDOCA0133).

²⁶⁰ The original text: "Kubbe inşaatı o zamanlar Roma da son haddine kadar tekamül ettirilmiş ve şekli de muazzam bir hale gelmiştir. Kubbe, en serbest ve en muhteşem tekamülünü ve mesned açıklığında ki rekorunu Roma'da değil İstanbul'da buldu. Geniş ve cürettakarane yapılmış kubbesiyle Ayasofya o ana kadar ki yapılan tüm örneklerini gölgede bırakmaktadır ... İhtişamı pek yüksektir. Bu ihtişam Yunan antiğinden kendini kurtarmış olup bir çok tazelik gösterir. Fakat rekot mahiyetteki bir inşaatta

Then, he claims that Turkish architects never aimed to go beyond the scale of the Hagia Sophia because if they had demanded this, they would not have waited for a thousand years until the construction of the Selimiye mosque. We can see his strong nationalist tendency in this quotation as well:

Turkish architects have been left out of the aspiration of breaking the record of Hagia Sophia. The truth proves it to us. The Hagia Sophia was built between 532 and 537. Süleymaniye Mosque which is the biggest mosque of Istanbul was built between 1550 and 1557, namely after more than a thousand years. Although there has always been a development in the construction of the dome within the last thousand years, there was no curiosity about breaking the size record of Hagia Sophia.²⁶¹

In the same article, he makes a well-known anti-orientalist criticism of Turkish mosques. While being opposed to orientalist generalization about Islamic art productions, he uses the same genre against other Islamic societies such as Arabs, Iranians and Indians:

The mosque in Turkish architecture has no relation to other mosques in other Islamic nations in Arabia, Iran or India. However, there are certain bases in all because of praying. All of them have minarets, a dome, a courtyard, a porch, an arch, a minbar and a mihrab. However, it is certain that neither the aesthetic condition nor the architectural elements or the elements of construction are the same.²⁶²

Türk Sanat Tarihi (Turkish Art History),²⁶³ another article of Ülgen, consists of interesting points about Hagia Sopia, again under the title of “Bizans Mimarisinin İlk

tahakkuk ettirilmiş olan emperyalist gaye bu esere sanat itibari ile soğuk bir karakter hatta bir nevi bilgiçlik ifadesi vermektedir” (Ülgen, “Türk Camisi”, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0133).

²⁶¹ The original text: “Türk mimarları, Ayasofya’nın rekorunu kırmak gibi bir hevese kapılmaktan uzak kalmışlardır. Bunu bize hakikat ispat ediyor. Ayasofya 532-537 seneleri arasında yapılmıştır. İstanbul’un en büyük camisi olan Süleymaniye 1550-1557 senelerinde yani 1000 (bin) seneden fazla bir süreden sonra inşaa edilmiştir. Arada geçen bin sene içinde kubbe inşaatında her halde tekamül olmuş bulunmasına rağmen Ayasofya’nın ebat rekorunu kırmak hususunda bir merak gösterilmemiştir” (Ülgen, “Türk Camisi”, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0133).

²⁶² The original text: “Türk mimarlığındaki caminin diğer İslam milletlerindeki mesela Arabistan, Acemistan veya Hindistan’daki cami ile sanat görüşü bakımından münasebeti yoktur. Filhakika cümlesinde namaz kılındığı için muayyen kaideler mevcuttur. Hepsinde minare, kubbe, avlu, revak, kemer, minber ve mihrap vardır. Fakat ne estetik mevkiin ne mimari unsurların ne de inşaa unsurlarının aynı olmadığı da muhakkaktır” (Ülgen, “Türk Camisi”, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0133).

²⁶³ Ülgen, “Türk Sanat Tarihi”, (ASÜA: TASUDOC1501).

Abideleri” (“The First Monuments of Byzantine Architecture”). This quotation is also important, as it shows the Ottoman and Republican mentality to preserve the Hagia Sophia as a historical and cultural heritage:

Hagia Sophia: It is the most interesting work of Byzantine architecture. It is not completely a reflection of the ancient art. The characteristics of the East are also dominant. We see the long basilica type in Ayasofya. The dome lasted seven years and finally collapsed. (...) If Hagia Sophia survives today, it is thanks to the efforts of Turkish architects. It benefitted from the artefacts in many parts of Anatolia to repair the ruined parts. Hagia Sophia was completed from the pieces brought from these artefacts.²⁶⁴

In another article, Anadolu’da Türk Mimarlığı (Turkish Architecture in Anatolia),²⁶⁵ he tries to refute the argument about the influence of the Hagia Sophia on Turkish architecture by addressing structures of previous periods such as the Üç Şerefeli Mosque:

Some art historians have claimed that Byzantine architecture, and especially Hagia Sophia, is a major influence on the Classical Turkish style. But those who put forward these claims do not recognize the central domed, large Turkish madrasas whose origin dates back to the very early age and whose main examples are in the 11th, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and are incapable to follow the tradition of this plan. This plan has acquired new faces in Bursa and later Edirne thanks to the change that was undergone by Ottoman Turks. The plan type of Üç Şerefeli Mosque in Edirne, which even the Byzantine craftsmen did not know and use, as having the mosque shape suitable for the Muslim dogma, reached a level further than the plan of Hagia Sophia valued the length of the shafts, was preceded before the recognition of Hagia Sophia by the Turkish craftsmen.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ The original text: “Ayasofya: Bizans mimari sanatının en enteresan eseridir. Antik sanat telakkisinin tamamen neticesi değildir. Şarkın karakteristik hususiyetleri de hakimdir. (...) Ayasofya’da tam bazilika tipini görmekteyiz. Kubbesi yedi yıl dayanmış nihayet çökmüştü. (...) Ayasofya’nın bugün ayakta durabilmesi Türk mimarlarının gayretleri sayesinde. Harab olan yerlerini tamir için Anadolu’nun birçok yerlerindeki tarihi eserlerden faydalanılmıştır. Bu eserlerden getirilen parçalardan tamamlanmıştır” (Ülgen, “Türk Sanat Tarihi”, ASÜA: TASUDOC1501).

²⁶⁵ Ülgen, “Anadolu’da Türk Mimarlığı”, (ASÜA: TASUDOCA0086007).

²⁶⁶ The original text: “Bazı sanat tarihçileri tarafından Bizans mimarisinin ve bilhassa Ayasofya’nın Klasik Türk üslubuna büyük tesiri olduğu iddia edilmiştir. Fakat bu iddiaları ortaya atanlar menşei çok daha eskiye uzanan ve başlıca örnekleri 11. 12. 13. asırlar vermiş olan merkezi kubbeli, büyük Türk medreselerini tanımayanlar ve bu planın tradisyonunu takibe muktedir olmayanlardır. Bu plan, Osmanlı Türklerin eline geçirdiği tahavvül sayesinde Bursa, daha sonra Edirne abidelerinde yeni çehreler iktisap etmiştir. Hatta Bizanslı sanatkarların hiç tanımadığı ve kullanmadığı, Müslüman akidesine uygun cami şekli olarak, şafların uzunluğuna kıymet veren Ayasofya planından daha ileri bir gayeye ulaşan Edirne Üç Şerefeli Camii planı, Türk sanatkarlarının Ayasofya’yı tanımalarından daha önceki devreye rastlar. Edirne Selimiye Camii planı ise merkeziyet ve vahdet ifadesine sahip olan tipin en ileri adımı sayılabilir” (Ülgen, “Anadolu’da Türk Mimarlığı”, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0086007).

This quotation is really interesting because Ülgen took the development of aforesaid plan type back from the period of Fatih to the period of Murad II.

3.3.2 Ülgen's narrative of Mimar Sinan

Mimar Sinan became a historiographic issue in Ottoman writing of history in the nineteenth century, with the biographies published by Ahmet Cevdet in *İkdam*.²⁶⁷

This interest interestingly continued in the Early Republican period, and while claiming his identity as Turk, Mimar Sinan was put forward as an important architectural actor of Turkish architectural historiography. Ahmet Refik wrote a booklet about the life of Mimar Sinan in 1931.²⁶⁸ Historian Afet İnan also wrote a book which gives us an opportunity to see how Sinan became popular in the Republican period.²⁶⁹

Mimar Sinan was another important theme in Ülgen's discourse of Ottoman architecture. Apart from his drawings on Mimar Sinan's works, Ülgen considered Mimar Sinan with his architectural contributions. Almost every article of Ülgen about Ottoman architecture addresses Mimar Sinan and the architectural developments in his period. While approaching Mimar Sinan and his works as an *ecole*, Ülgen emphasizes the grandness of his period and different features of his great works:

Sinan is not a person who is considered as a great being on his own but is the grandness of the period which grew him up. (...) Mimar Sinan built various works. It is possible to compare that if we take the mosques of Süleymaniye, Şehzade, and Selimiye among his works, we can understand that they are not similar, and their plans are different. (...) Sinan comes up to such a period which is the golden and the most expensive period of Turkish history. It is a period when the best workers and materials came together. In every corner of the empire, hundreds of architects are around Sinan with his one single sign. Hundreds of artists who are interested in ceramics, woodworking or stonemasonry can gather, and they can be in the same construction area. If a

²⁶⁷ Sai Mustafa Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'l-bünyân*.

²⁶⁸ Ahmet Refik, *Mimar Sinan*.

²⁶⁹ İnan, *Mimar Koca Sinan*.

period is great, everything of that period is great. If a period is insignificant, everything of that period is insignificant. The period which created Süleyman has created Sinan and Sokollu.²⁷⁰

Ülgen considers the great success of Mimar Sinan in the construction of mosque with a comparative approach in his article *Türk Camisi (The Turkish Mosque)*:²⁷¹

The sixteenth century Turkish mosque eliminated the old construction dullness which was totally rational in the presence of the great architect Sinan. He made the dome a figure element from indoors and outdoors. (...) The concept of Turkish mosque has found the highest classical evolution in Istanbul.²⁷²

The nationalist emphasis of the period showed itself in identity politics. According to the nationalist ideology, Mimar Sinan, as the greatest architecture of Turkish architecture, of course, was Turkish. However, it is a historical truth that he was recruited through the system of devshirmeh, which means he was born as a non-Muslim and probably was ethnically non-Turkish. Many scholars have asserted different claims about his ethnic identity, and Ülgen was among them. He claims that Mimar Sinan was a Turk:

Mimar Sinan's grandfather's name was registered as Doğan Yusuf Agha. He was an officer who kept official registers in Kayseri. (...) There were two Christian communities in Anatolia during the Ottoman period. The first is local people as Greeks, Armenians or Christian Turks who came before. The second is Karaoguzs working in the Byzantine army that serve Alparslan during his period. These people are Turks who came from Rumelia to

²⁷⁰ The original text: "Sinan tek başına büyük bir varlık olarak mütalaa edilen bir insan olmayıp onu yetiştiren o devrin azametidir. (...) Mimar Sinan çeşitli eserler yaptı. Mukayese imkan verir ki onun eserleri arasında Süleymaniye, Şehzade, Selimiye'yi alalım. Bunların birbirine benzemeyen ve planlarının da ayrı olduğunu anlarız. (...) Mimar Sinan öyle bir devreye tesadüf eder ki Türk tarihinin altın ve sanatının en pahalı devrdir. En iyi işçi ve malzemenin bir araya geldiği devirdir. İmparatorluğun her tarafında Sinan'ın bir işareti ile yüzlerce mimar etrafında ve mahiyetindedir. Çini, ahşap ve taş işçiliği yapan yüzlerce sanatkar bir araya gelebilir. 900 işçi ve sanatkar bir şantiyede bulunabilir. Bir devir büyüktür, o devrin her şeyi büyüktür. Bir devir küçüktür, o devrin her şeyi küçüktür. Kanuni'yi yaratan devir Sinan'ı, Sokullu'yu yaratmıştır."

²⁷¹ Ülgen, "Türk Camisi", (ASÜA: TASUDOCA0133).

²⁷² The original text: "16. asrın Türk camisi başta büyük Mimar Sinan bulunduğu halde tamamen rasyonel olan eski inşaatın donukluğunu gidermiştir. Kubbeyi içerden ve dışarıdan sanatkarane bir şekil unsuru yapmıştır. (...) Türk camisinin konseptiyonu İstanbul'da en yüksek klasik tekamülünü bulmuştur" (Ülgen, "Türk Camisi", ASÜA: TASUDOCA0133).

Byzantium and became Christian, and their names are Central Asian Turkic names like the word of “Doğan.” It shows that the origin of Mimar Sinan is Turkish.²⁷³

3.4 Ülgen’s review of Ernst Diez’s *Türk Sanatı*

Ernst Diez was an Austrian art historian and belonged to the Vienna School, which was mainly under the influence of Strzygowski. He was a student of Strzygowski and Gurlitt. In the 1940s, the nationalist narrative preserved its dominancy and tried to maintain itself through written productions such as textbooks. Ernst Diez, who gave lectures at Istanbul University, was asked to prepare a university textbook related to Turkish art and architecture, whereupon he wrote *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art from Its Origins Until Today). The first edition of the book was criticized severely because of its synthesis discourse and its strong emphasis on Byzantine and Armenian influence on Turkish art, which conflicted with the architectural historiography of the Turkish nationalist model.²⁷⁴ Because of the criticism, a second edition was prepared by his assistant, Oktay Aslanapa, who removed those criticized parts which were mostly related to synthesis tendencies, and then this new version was used as a textbook in Turkish universities.

Ülgen was also among the local scholars who wrote a review for the book much later than publication of the book. This review was also published in the magazine *Vakıflar* in 1957.²⁷⁵ It made a remarkable impact at that time. Diez’s

²⁷³ The original text: “Mimar Sinan’ın dedesinin adı Doğan Yusuf Ağa olarak kayıtlıdır. Doğan Yusuf Ağa Kayseri’de defter tutan bir memurdur. (...) Osmanlı çağında Anadolu’da iki cümle Hristiyan vardı. Bir, yerli ahali Rum Ermeni olarak veya daha evvel gelen Hristiyan Türkler. İki, Alparslan zamanında ona hizmet eden Bizans ordusunda çalışan Karaoğuzlar var ki, bunlar Rumeli’den gelip Bizans’a geçip Hristiyan olmuş Türklerdir. Adları da Orta Asyalı Türk isimleridir, Doğan kelimesi gibi. Mimar Sinan’ın menşeinin Türk olduğunu gösterir.”

²⁷⁴ Dogramaci, “Kulturtransfer und nationale Identität: deutschsprachige Architekten, Stadtplaner und Bildhauer in der Türkei nach 1927”, 334-340. On Diez’s work in Turkey, see: Blessing, “Recording the Transformation of Urban Landscapes in Turkey: The Diaries of Kurt Erdmann and Ernst Diez”, *Studies in Travel Writing*, 415-418.

²⁷⁵ In ASÜA: TASUDOCA0082071

synthesisist approach in this book created a big discussion and a lot of harsh criticism from Tahsin Öz, Sedat Çetintaş, and other scholars. In the archive, there is a letter to Ülgen from Diez to send a copy of the book (Fig. 32). In this letter, Diez acknowledges some mistakes in the book and asks Ülgen for a more merciful criticism. In 1953, Ülgen wrote a gentle review of this book after all the harsh criticism went away. Therefore, it is calmer and not in a polemical tone.

For this review, he must have worked hard and spent much time because there are many notes as drafts in the archive (Fig. 33).²⁷⁶ His review is divided into 59 articles and a conclusion. Ülgen determined Diez's mistakes and relatively wrong viewpoints and made corrections.

Ülgen complaint that Diez did not mention the origin of Turkish art and its Central Asian roots enough and did not establish a clear relationship between the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods of the Turks. Moreover, Ülgen rejected Diez's claim about a disunion in Turkish architecture between their nomadic and settled times, and this disunion was represented mostly in religious monuments.

On this point, Ülgen says:

In our opinion, there is no dichotomy in Turkish art. As the national spirit and the proportion retain their old character, since the new demands are compiled with varying climatic conditions and the necessities of the material, such changes especially opens of the architect's horizon.²⁷⁷

Another issue debated by Ülgen and Diez was the influence of Georgians, Armenians and Persians on Turkish architecture. Diez asserts that the Turks benefitted from the masters and workers in the territories that they occupied, for example, they made use of the Greeks and Armenians in Anatolia and of the Persians

²⁷⁶ In ASÜA: TASUDOCA0082009

²⁷⁷ The original text: "Kanaatımızca Türk Sanatı'nda bir ikilik yoktur. Milli ruh ve proporsiyon eski karakterini muhafaza ettikçe, yeni istekler değişen iklim şartlarının ve malzemenin zaruriyetleriyle telif edilmiş olduğundan, bu gibi değişiklikler, bilhassa mimarinin ufkunu açar. (Ülgen, Book Review on Diez's *Türk Sanatı*, 266.)"

in Iran. As evidence, he offers Seljuk's structures that were built in Persian style.²⁷⁸

Ülgen rejects the dominance of foreign influences on Seljuk art with these sentences:

In our opinion, if we compare these Georgian and Armenian influences, which the professor tried to highlight in various places in his book, with the works of the aforementioned art and be neutral in this issue, I think we prefer to be more cautious and virtuous. (...) At that time, many artisans came to Anatolia from Syria and Iraq, even from Iran. While we find normal that the materials and elements that are used as a result of the influence and taste of these craftsmen, we never regret them too. We also find it inconvenient for the professor to pay attention to this situation, which is very subsidiary in the boundaries of the main art. (...) We remind the professor that the Armenian and Georgian architectural works have finally a life time, and that they have not been repaired with the style of their turn when they were about to be a ruin, but that their shape has always changed by the influence of the century they were repaired. In the 11th and twelfth centuries, the Armenian region was within the borders of the Seljuk Empire. Armenians may have worked in mosque built in Ani, the structures are built and repaired in the same period in Turkey depend on Turkish art concept as much as this work is Turkish with its dome stalactites and plans style.²⁷⁹

This statement of Ülgen can be associated with the common idea of Turkish nationalists, which asserted that the art and architecture of a nation are reflections of the political dominance and sovereignty of this nation; therefore, the artistic and architectural productions are mainly considered as the monuments and heritage of societies. According to Derrida, there is an inevitable relationship between heritage and architecture, which organizes a space connected to a collective identity such as a nation.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ According to Ülgen, this statement of Diez on page 6 of *Türk Sanatı*.

²⁷⁹ The original text: "Kanaatimizce, profesörün kitabının muhtelif yerlerinde tebarüz ettirmeye çalıştığı bu Gürcü ve Ermeni tesirlerini bahis konusu sanatların eserleriyle kıyaslar ve bu işte bitaraf olursak, daha ihtiyatkar ve faziletkar olmayı tercih ederiz zannındayım. ... O tarihlerde islam dünyasında sanatkar mübadelesi gayetle tabi sayıldığı cihetle, Anadolu'ya Suriye ve Irak'tan, hatta İran'dan pek çok sanatkar gelmiştir. Bu sanatkarların tesiriyle ve zevklerine tabi olarak kullanılan malzeme ve unsurları biz gayet tabi karşılamakta olduğumuz cihette, bunları asla yadırgamıyor ve esas sanatın hudutları içinde, çok tali olan bu halin profesörün dikkat nazarını çekmesini de yersiz görüyoruz. ... Ermeni ve Gürcü mimarlık eserlerinin de nihayet bir ömrü olduğunu ve harabiyete yüz tuttuklarında devirlerindeki üsluplarıyla onarılmaya imkan bulunmadığı ve ancak tamir olundukları asrın tesiriyle şekillerinin daima değiştiklerini sayın profesöre hatırlatırız. XI. ve XII. yüzyıllarda Ermeni bölgesi, Selçuk imparatorluğunun sınırları içindeydi. Ani'de yapılan cami inşasında Ermeniler çalışmış olabilirler, kubbe istalaktitleri ve plan tarzıyla bu eser ne kadar Türkse aynı devirde inşa ve tamir edilen binalar da o kadar Türk sanat konsepsiyonuna bağlıdır." (Ülgen, Book Review on Diez's *Türk Sanatı*, 268).

²⁸⁰ Derrida, "Maintenant L'Architecture", 65-75.

Another issue that Ülgen criticizes is the influence of the Hagia Sophia on Turkish mosques. Diez points out that the Turks took the Hagia Sophia, which was the biggest construction in terms of space in their territory at the time, as a model for their mosque construction. Therefore, there is no pure Turkish art, it is the art of Ottoman state in which Greeks, Persians, and mostly Islamic traditions played a role for its foundation and development in Diez's opinion.²⁸¹ Ülgen argues against this view in his article Turkish Mosque, and he writes:

Professor Diez took only the lines which overrule his principles from the article of Ağaoğlu Mehmed Bey who proves the building conception of and the evolution of Turkish mosques which Diez regard as a copy of Hagia Sophia, and he avoids from discussing the main ideas of the aforesaid article. In addition, although he has my article which points the research that I have made in this area- I also visited him in the first months of his coming to Turkey and offered my publications- it is understood from the fifth term of our article [Ülgen means this review].²⁸²

Mehmet Ağaoğlu, an art historian who worked on Ottoman architecture, asserts that Turkish architecture experienced in three hundred years a development and maturation phase step by step from the madrasas of the Seljuks to Sinan's works. In this continuity, he also emphasizes the transitional role of the Fatih Mosque in Ottoman mosque construction against claims which highlight the influence of the Hagia Sophia on Ottoman mosques by referring the paintings made by Evliya Çelebi and foreign travelers.²⁸³

²⁸¹ According to Ülgen, this statement of Diez in the page of 6 of *Türk Sanatı*.

²⁸² The original text: "Prof. Diez, Ayasofya'nın hemen bir kopyası telakki ettiği Türk camilerinin inşaa konsepsiyonunu ve geçirdikleri tekamülü ispat eden Ağaoğlu Mehmet Bey'in makalesinden yalnız prensiplerini cerheylemeyen satırları almış ve mezkur makalenin esas fikirlerinin münakaşadan kaçınmıştır. Ayrıca benim bu sahada yaptığım tetkikatı belirten makaleme de sahip olan- Türkiye'ye geldiği ilk aylarda kendisini ziyaret etmiş ve neşriyatımı sunmuştum- müellifin tenakuza düştüğü, beşinci maddemizdeki mütalaamızdan da anlaşılır." (Ülgen, Book Review on Diez's *Türk Sanatı*, 271).

²⁸³ Akurgal, "Sanat Tarihi Bakımından Sinan", 373-374.

With regard to the same subject, in the fifth paragraph of the review, Ülgen makes reference to Strzygowski because Strzygowski claimed a differentiation of artistic understanding between Byzantine and Turkish art in his article *Türkler ve Orta Asya*.

Ülgen is also against the interaction and similarity between Byzantine and Turkish art because of their different characteristics. Ülgen also mentioned the art of the Renaissance because of its emphasis on Roman heritage as its connection with Byzantine style. Diez asserts that in the Ottoman architectural genre, the style of ancient columns, which became dominant in the countries of the Near East and the Mediterranean region since the period of Roman state art, has continued its dependence on arches. Ülgen writes against these sentences of Diez:

Professor Diez is trying to combine two different cultures by being deceived by the observations of beauty and measurement systems in classical order. But it is not right to combine the Turkish architecture based on a rational basis and the art of the Renaissance which is inspired the ancient period and which is even an imitator.²⁸⁴

In addition to many articles related to different issues such as ornamentation, decorative art, tombs, fountains, and so on, Ülgen concludes his review with these striking but gentle sentences:

I do not regard Diez as a great mugger who insulted Turkishness as some critics have said, nor do I see him as a person who created innovation in our scholarly lives by bringing a perfect work of art. In this essay, in particular, I tried to make my observations irrelevant to the paragraphs of the book in order to be able to get away from back and forth polemics. All my wish is to be able to see that the new works of art history are perfect and to provide usefulness for anyone.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ The original text: “Prof. Diez klasik nizamlarda güzellik ve ölçü sistemlerinin müşahabetlerine aldanarak, iki ayrı kültürü birleştirmeye çalışmaktadır. Fakat rasyonel bir temele dayanan Türk mimarisiyle Rönesans’ın antik devirden mülhem ve hatta taklitçi sanatını birleştirmek doğru olmasa gerektir.” (Ülgen, *Book Review on Diez’s Türk Sanatı*, 277)

²⁸⁵ The original text: “Ben bazı münekkitlerin dediği gibi Diez’i ne Türklüğe hakaret etmiş büyük bir mücrim sayıyor, ne de mükemmel bir eser vücuda getirerek ilim hayatımızda yenilik yaratmış bir kimse olarak takdire layık görmüyorum. Bilhassa bu makalemden, ileri geri yapılan polemiklerden uzak kalabilmek için mütalaalarımı kitabın paragraflarına hiç el sürmeden nakiller yaparak tebarüz ettirmeye çalıştım. Bütün temennim sanat tarihimize katılan yeni eserlerin mükemmel olduğunu

During this period, the main trend was to create a unique and original national basis, and the construction of a modern national architectural identity was one of the concrete building blocks of this purpose. However, Diez's perspective tended to see cultural encounters, for example, Seljuk and Ottoman interactions with neighboring cultures. Diez mentions in particular the influence of Greek, Armenian and Georgian architectural components in Anatolia and Persian impacts on Seljuk architecture. He considered cultural interaction as a prerequisite for creativity and development instead of ignoring or refusing the distinctive features of cultures. Also, Diez approached the Hagia Sophia as an inspiration source for Ottoman mosques, and found several similarities between them. Instead of looking at ties based on race and ethnicity, he asserted that evaluating regional and cultural encounters was more appropriate. While all of these ideas were considered as an attack on Turkish art, Ülgen criticized it from an academic perspective by citing mistakes about photographs, chronology, and the architects of the buildings. On the other hand, Ülgen says some critical things as being parallel to his nationalist discourse. Ülgen completely rejected the similarity between Ottoman mosques and the Hagia Sophia by giving reference to Albert Gabriel and Stryzowski. Also, Ülgen strongly emphasized the importance of the tent and its circular plan as a source of the dome concept. This opinion of Ülgen was discussed in Chapter 2 in considering the question of the characteristics of Turkish art by referring the main hypothesis of Stryzowski on the conception of the tent.

Unlike Diez, Ülgen determined that rational-based Turkish art is quite different from Renaissance art, which imitated the art of the ancient periods, and different

görebilmek ve bunlardan herkesin istifadesini temin edebilmektir.” (Ülgen, Book Review on Diez's *Türk Sanatı*, 281).

from Roman art, which is extremely naturalistic. In some cases, Ülgen's statements are quite important in determining what kind of mistakes Diez's book contains. However, while Ülgen refused any kind of impact of other cultures on Turkish architecture but accepted the influence of Turkish architecture on neighbor cultures, he fell into a contradiction because it is not rational to think that Turkish architecture affected surrounding cultures but was not influenced by the architectural and artistic traditions of the other cultures. This idea has parallels with the Turkish Historical Thesis, which claims Turks were a source of a real and rooted culture that affected other civilizations. However, even this contradictory idea of Ülgen is beneficial in understanding his nationalist sensibilities and the dominant perspective of the period.

The interaction that Diez refers to is a more powerful thing which can create remarkable changes on conventional rules or styles. However, Ülgen's idea on this subject is different from that of Diez because the former asserts that Turks of course used local materials or application techniques, but these were not capable of making any change in their original style. In fact, Ülgen struggled to emphasize a rooted and pure Turkish art and architecture in his studies, like his professor, Arseven. Of course, this nationalist tendency includes the dominant ideology of the Republic, but his aim was to prove a continuity within Turkish art and architecture from Central Asia to Anatolia throughout the centuries. Because of this nationalist tendency, Ülgen does not mention the possibility of any external influence as a source of main inspiration or a convertor in Turkish architecture, for which reason he believed that when the Seljukids came to Anatolia, they encountered Greek and Byzantine artistic traditions, but that these traditions did not change the essence of Turkish art and architecture:

It is natural that like every art Turkish art is not such an art which was not completely affected by external influences. However, these influences have never

been a reason to make its main qualities lose. When Seljuks had come to Anatolia, they had encountered art traditions remaining from Hittites, Greeks, and Byzantines. These arts whose origins were already Central Asia do not have a nature which would make a big impact on or to change qualities of Turkish art coming from the same origin.²⁸⁶

In this quotation, there is a quite striking point where Ülgen claims that the origins of the Hittite, Greek, and Byzantine arts had already come from Central Asia, for which reason they had the same origin as Turkish art. This understanding must have been formed under the influence of the Turkish Historical Thesis, which consecrates the Turkish past in Central Asia and tries to prove that the Turks were members of a race leading the civilization of all the people of the world, including Western civilization. Here, it is possible to see the emphasis of political sovereignty as a source of every cultural activity. It can be said that a completely artistic and cultural dominance over a territory shows political dominance and determines the borders of this territory. According to a nationalist stand, this artistic dominance of a nation is so powerful that all other interactive features, foreign workmen, and exchange of materials can be evaluated as just instrumental elements which were not able to affect the distinct characteristic and style of Turkish architecture, as Ülgen emphasizes.

Another important point is that Ülgen treated all cultural exchange as a local harmonious engagement. He saw Anatolia and Mesopotamia as a single cultural body because he considered Hittites, Classical Greeks, and Byzantines as already Turkish in origin, based on the *Turkish History Thesis*, and for this reason, the small and unimportant amount of exchange or interaction with these traditions could not be

²⁸⁶ The original text: “Tabiidir ki her sanat gibi Türk sanatıda dış tesirlerden tamamıyla etkilenmemiş bir sanat değildir. Fakat bu tesirler onun ana vasıflarını kaybetmesine hiçbir zaman amil olmamıştır. Selçuklular Anadolu’ya geldikleri vakit burada Hititler, Yunanlılar ve Bizanslılardan kalma sanat gelenekleriyle karşılaşmışlardır. Zaten menşeleri Orta Asya olan bu sanatlar yine aynı kaynaklardan gelen Türk sanatına büyük bir tesir yapacak ve onun evsafını değiştirecek mahiyette değildirler.” (Ülgen, Lecture notes for Architectural History course of 1957-1958, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076).

considered “foreign” influence. They came from the same origin, so they created similar styles.

To sum up, Ülgen’s statements about Ottoman architecture is a part of his discourse on Turkish architecture. He maintained the same claim about the distinct origin of Turkish architecture while drawing it on a continual line from Central Asia, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia in terms of the spatial and historical development of architectural productions. The construction of his narrative on Ottoman architecture was dependent on the same nationalist and anti-orientalist tendencies. On the one hand, his nationalist stand can be seen his emphasis on the role of the periods of the Seljuks and the Beyliks in Turkish architecture before the Ottoman age. On the other hand, while highlighting the importance of the period of Fatih for Mimar Sinan and the classical and imperial architectural style of Turkish architecture, he objected to an orientalist claim about the dominant influence of Hagia Sophia on Turkish religious architecture. Moreover, he interpreted all civilizations of Anatolia and Mesopotamia as if they had come from the same origin, which is Turkish, under the strong influence of the Turkish History Thesis, and thanks to this nationalist claim, he refuted the thesis about foreign influences on Turkish architecture. His articles about the Ottoman phase of Turkish architecture show an ideological parallelism with his lecture notes.

CHAPTER 4

IN THE WAKE OF HERITAGE

Heritage is a way of communicating with the past. It is a tie between the past and the present. It describes, reveals, and re-determines the inheritor's identity. It is possible to see different roots and perceptions of heritage in the Early Republican period of Turkish history such as the Turkish, Islamic, Anatolian, Seljuk and Ottoman heritages which were adopted separately or together by different and sometimes the same subjects in this period. These adoptions took shape under certain political, ideological, cultural and social conditions which played key roles in making powerful changes such as modernization and nationalism.

Laurajane Smith defines heritage as "a process of engagement, an act of communication and an act of making meaning — indeed as an experience — in and for the present," not only material things about the past.²⁸⁷ This definition is quite striking when one considers how heritage was used to create a way with the past and to constitute a certain meaning through it in the present during the Republican period and the subsequent decades by different ideologies.

In the issue of the relationship between heritage and its conservation that Smith interprets that the management and preservation/conservation process of heritage is a constitutive cultural process and that this process reflects contemporary cultural and social values, debates, and aspirations.²⁸⁸ Therefore, it can be said that the management and preservation/conservation process of heritage has many dynamics which have important meanings about time, place and the actors who take part in it. Namely, it should be understood that there are some questions that need to

²⁸⁷ Smith, *Uses of heritage*, 1.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 3.

be considered, for example, why a certain thing is considered as heritage, what it represents, and why it has been chosen to preserve and conserve.

Apart from defining heritage as a process, Smith also defines it as a performance. Specifically, she puts an interpretation on heritage as a multilayered performance which involves acts such as visiting, managing, interpretation or conservation which demonstrate remembrance and commemoration. It is for this reason that I would like to refer to her definition of heritage, that is, due to the parallelism between her approach and Ülgen's perception towards heritage. It is a dynamic process, and at the same time, these acts negotiate and construct a sense of place, belonging and understanding in the present, apart from the past.²⁸⁹

Additionally, she makes a more concrete and clear analysis on its function in the present that heritage is a promotion of a consensus version of history by state-sanctioned cultural institutions and elites to regulate cultural and social tensions in its current period.²⁹⁰ When one thinks about these kinds of cultural institutions in the Republican period of Turkey, the Turkish History and Language Societies, the General Directorate of Pious Foundations, and museums can be counted as part of the process of promotion and regulation of a common ideology by the state. From another point of view, she considers heritage as a resource, and it provides an opportunity to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups. Therefore, heritage does not give a stable understanding; it promotes cultural change by reworking the meanings of the past in terms of society and politics.²⁹¹ Furthermore, classification of groups to create a perception by the way of heritage is important because the subject of identity can easily show itself

²⁸⁹ Ibid, 3.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, 4.

²⁹¹ Ibid, 4.

through the dominance of the adopted past as heritage and the inferiority of an excluded past.

In addition to the idea of heritage, it needs to look at the heritage literature which offers certain criteria to evaluate what can be considered heritage and what cannot. On this point, according to Smith, this literature supports that heritage is a symbolic representation of identity.²⁹² Material or tangible heritage as one of the main classifications of heritage, for example, gives a physical representation of a sense of place, a sense of self, of belonging and community.²⁹³ It is quite important on which heritage nations lay a claim to represent their identities. The answer of the question about the reason for emphasis on Anatolia, together with the Republic, can be understood clearly immediately because Anatolia and all kinds of heritage on it gives Turks an opportunity to represent their belongings physically with concrete borders.

The historical part of this kind of representation developed in Turkey in this way. The Society for the Study of Turkish History was established in 1931 by order of Atatürk to research the history of the Turks and to examine Turkish civilization. The Turkish History Congress contributed to the acceleration of compilation, browsing, research, examination and excavation.²⁹⁴ The name of the community was changed to The Turkish Historical Foundation in 1935, and it claimed that history, which is a cultural treasure in the same was as language and literature, should be known, adopted, preserved, and improved by all the individuals of the nation.²⁹⁵

²⁹² Ibid, 30.

²⁹³ Ibid, 30.

²⁹⁴ Erbay, *Cumhuriyet dönemi (1923-1938) Atatürk'ün sanat politikası*, 98.

²⁹⁵ Ibid, 98.

The preservation and restoration of all kinds of historical documents, materials and monuments were some of national and scientific activities on the agenda of the Turkish Historical Society.²⁹⁶ Creating unity by way of establishing ties between nation and history by considering history as an indispensable part of “liberal education” was the intention.²⁹⁷ In order to achieve these aims, archeological activities²⁹⁸ and studies on the antiquities (tangible and intangible cultural assets) were considered as “the most usable concrete and educative material” were initiated,²⁹⁹ and reports and journals were published.³⁰⁰

It can be said that there is a contradiction between the theory and performance of heritage in the Early Republican period and Ülgen’s activities. According to the theory of heritage, the preservation and restoration activities of the state should have been more inclusive with respect to monuments. However, according to the performance, the nationalist tendency is more inclined to choose monuments as a part of Turkish heritage. As a reflection of this situation, this duality can be observed in the activities in which Ülgen took part, but the main reason may be related to the institutional ideologies concerning monuments.

4.1 The perception of heritage, preservation, and restoration in the Early Republican period

This section narrates the history of preservation and restoration in Turkey over the political-economic/social-spatial transformations of the country from the perspective of heritage. Apart from the Early Republican period, interpreting the years of 1923,

²⁹⁶ Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye’de “Resmî Tarih” Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*, 203.

²⁹⁷ Erbay, 98.

²⁹⁸ Erbay, *Cumhuriyet’in Kültür Politikası ve Sanat 1923–1950*, 58.; Ersanlı, 202.

²⁹⁹ Madran, “Cumhuriyet’in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920–1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi-I”, 74.

³⁰⁰ Erbay, 98.

1950, 1960, 1980 and 2000 as important turning points can help draw an overall historical problem.³⁰¹

In this era, when we face different problems in the field of preservation, trying to look at Turkish preservation history in a systematic framework is important in terms of determining the future directions of this field. The studies on the history of the field of protection generally proceed in two ways: The first path examines this history in parallel with the change in legislation and the organization of preservation in the country, which we see mostly in the articles of Madran. The other path is to treat the history of preservation as a process of development-success or complaints-struggles over the institutions and organizations, which we see in the book and unpublished articles of Ülgen. Trying to examine preservation and restoration history with a method that seeks a coherent background and objectivity by saving it from the narrow boundaries of the debates can show different ways of development by providing an insight.

Similar proposals about the turning points of Turkey's political-economic / social-spatial history come to the fore in the research carried out in different disciplines. Among these turning points, one needs to evaluate the periods of the early Republic and the Democrat Party as being parallel to Ülgen's lifetime. In the field of planning, Tekeli, who sees the subject as a problem of modernization, relates it to the urban development orientations of the country and mentions five stages of development. The first period starts in the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire integrated with world capitalism with the declaration of the Republic. It is defined by the concept of "shy modernization." The second period, from the beginning of the Republic to the end of World War II when the rate of urbanization

³⁰¹ Kayın, "The Breaks in the Preservation History of Turkey."

in the single-party regime was low and a new institutional framework for urban development was formed, is described as radical modernization.” In the third period, from the World War II in the 1960s, a "populist modernization project" was implemented.³⁰²

In the field of architecture, Sözen, in his study on the architecture of the country between 1923 and 1983, establishes stages based on the First and Second National Architecture periods and their intervals. The First National Architecture period is defined as a process of the Second Constitutional Period, which had its origins in itself, until the Early Republican period lasting until 1930s when new interpretations of the Seljuk-Ottoman architecture were searched with the concern of "construction of national identity." The period between 1930 and 1940 is described as a period of integration with developments around the world and a period of intense international pursuits in architecture in parallel to the presence of foreign architects, but a period which did not see a similar development in the area of construction.³⁰³

The view of Sözen on the architecture of the period 1940-1950 says that new nationalist searches emerged as a result of nationalist thoughts and reactions to foreign architects which increased during the war; the Second National Architecture movement was inspired by historical civic architecture, as opposed to the First National Architecture movement, which was based on the monumental architecture of the past. Pointing to the tendency to separate 1950-1960 and the post-1960s, Sözen argued that the second half of the twentieth century could be seen as a single period, since 1950 constituted a real turning point.³⁰⁴ In addition to these, Madran, in

³⁰² Tekeli, "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması", 1-2.

³⁰³ Sözen, *Cumhuriyet dönemi Türk mimarlığı, 1923-1983*, 27-178.

³⁰⁴ Sözen, 243-285.

his study where he examined the period of 1800-1950 in terms of legal background and organization of the protection field, determines two fundamental periods within the parameters of Westernization: Ottoman and Republican.³⁰⁵

The nineteenth century witnessed a process in which the Ottoman Empire emulated the West and tried to modernize itself in a centralized-hierarchical way. The characteristics of modernization of the period are defined as the opening of the economy to capitalist relations and the modernizing reforms of the ruling elites. The preservation paradigm, which can be considered a high culture element for the period in this process, was also imported from the West in its modern form and entered the process of institutionalization within the local dynamics.³⁰⁶

In the nineteenth century, because of an increased interest in history, the preservationist attitude followed a disciplinary line with the efforts to determine principle-method and to set legal-organizational basis. While topics such as the regulation of archaeological excavations, the identification of monument documentation methods, and the style association-addition-renewal in restoration were discussed primarily in Italy, France and England. The International Madrid Congress in 1904 saw attempts to the form universal principles.³⁰⁷ In the Ottoman Empire, instead of integrating with the the debate on principles and methods of preservation depending on institutions in the West, attempts were made to establish a new legal ground in 1869 with Asar-i Atika Nizamnameleri (Regulations) and some other regulations.³⁰⁸ Madran emphasizes that there was a repair system before the

³⁰⁵ Madran, “Tanzimat’tan Günümüze Cumhuriyet’e Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler: 1800-1950”, 1-16

³⁰⁶ Tekeli, 2.

³⁰⁷ Erder, *Tarihi çevre bilinci: Tarihi yapılar ve çevrelerinin değerlendirilmesi gelişiminde örnekleme*, 62-88, 132-176, 208-234.

³⁰⁸ For a detailed study on Ottoman regulations see: Bahrani, Çelik and Eldem, *Scramble for the past: A story of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1733-1914*.

Westernization period but that many regulations that formed the foundation of contemporary laws on reconstruction and preservation were connected to the Tanzimat era. In addition to the new organizations in the foundation and construction-repair fields, there were 42 legal-administrative arrangements between 1848 and 1917 relating directly or indirectly to monuments and preservation.³⁰⁹ Kayın interprets these historical developments in the first half of the nineteenth century, together with the existence of various laws indirectly relating to the preservation field or arrangements for the rehabilitation of the foundation institution; the establishment of a direct legal ground for this field and a modern understanding of it took place in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Legal regulations inherited from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic were used by the Republican governments for a long time, and many new regulations were prepared by using the old ones as a basis.³¹⁰ Kuran explains the understanding of preservation and restoration in the Ottoman Empire:³¹¹

Preservation in terms of maintaining an old structure in a healthy condition by the way of restoration is a familiar thing for Ottoman society. Restoring immovable properties so that they can maintain their functions forever is among the prominent duties of Foundation Institution, for this reason there were special rules in endowments. However, the concept of preservation inspired from Europe was related to the antiquities, not to Turkish-Islamic monuments. Few Ottoman intellectuals who educated in Europe and witnessed the developments in the West were interested in preservation. They cared archeological sites and findings, but did not care the environment and structures located in the center of population. Among Ottoman society the aim of waqfs or people was providing functional maintenance of the structures rather than preserving their characters of antiquity.

In this period, the preservation field was mostly oriented towards monumental structures and archaeological artefacts. The interest in archaeology in Europe

³⁰⁹ Madran, "Tanzimat'tan Günümüze Cumhuriyet'e Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler: 1800-1950", 6-15.

³¹⁰ Madran, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920-1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi-I", 62.

³¹¹ Kuran, "Türkiye'de Korumanın Dünü ve Bugünü." [Translation was made by me.]

contributed to an increase in excavations in the Ottoman Empire and the development of museums. However, that the excavations were monopolized by strangers led to question marks. The Asar-i Atika Regulation is considered a defense of the state against European-based cultural pillage.³¹² Kayın maintained that although the foundation system had problems, it continued to be effective in preserving monumental structures.

Kayın summarizes this period, saying that even though the preservation field in the period extending from the second half of the nineteenth century to the declaration of the Republic was evident by its organizational and legal structures, it could not transform into a strong field of action and the matter how the relations with history that would be shaped could not be built on a strong basis. Preservation remained on the borders of an elite group, as in most other Western-centered reforms; it could not reach the public with its elitist structure and was applied in a largely formalist way. When the preservation and restoration developments in Ali Saim Ülgen's period and his actions in this field are considered, this interpretation can be validated.

With the Republican era, the modernization project modelled after the West began to be implemented within a single-centered political structure and nation-state fiction. Tekeli states that the modernization project, transformed by a radical modernization approach, can be explained by the expression of "westernization despite the West."³¹³ Preservation in this period was also adapted and developed as a modern paradigm with a centralized approach. According to Kayın, while legal-organizational structures were regulated, historical consciousness was being formed

³¹² Madran, "Tanzimat'tan Günümüze Cumhuriyet'e Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler: 1800-1950", 19.

³¹³ Tekeli, 4.

and investment was made in excavation, museums, and repair; the dilemma of being modern or traditional and compelling memories of the recent past created a partially implicit tension.

At this stage, in the West, the efforts to establish principles, laws, regulations continued, subjects such as the preservation of historical monuments, natural beauties with the building environments and international co-operation were addressed. To go back to previous Western preservation and restoration theories and methods, it is appropriate to start with nineteenth century France because of the influence of Viollet-le-Duc in this field. He offers stylistic unity or stylistic re-composition as the main axis of architectural preservation. Many scholars called his method reconstruction because he preferred to reconstruct not only ruined structures but also all decorations, sculptures and furniture in his restoration works.³¹⁴ Riegl's contribution to this embracing attitude about towards the monument is quite remarkable. While considering the characteristics of monuments, he states that a monument has not only a historical value, but also an artistic, use, and age value.³¹⁵ According to these different values of the monument, one can question which one should receive the most attention to preserve the monument itself, and this value-based preservation can easily show its aim through different ideologies.

Mazlum asserts that architectural reconstruction is a rarely applied technique before World War II. The international protection agenda was set by the 1931 Athens Charter, focusing on legal measures, ethics, restoration issues and international co-operation. The Carta del Restauro of 1931, embodying restoration principles in Italy, and the 1933 Athens Agreement defined cultural, public, environmental causes and

³¹⁴ Jokilehto, "A History of Architectural Conservation", 154.

³¹⁵ Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin."

principles of protection.³¹⁶ The Carta del Restauro, also known as the Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments, is the first document about preservation and restoration of architectural heritage prepared by the Supreme Council of Antiquities and Fine Arts in Italy and agreed at the Athens Conference in 1931.

In Athens Charter as a proclamation of the Athens Congress of 1931, there is no mention of reconstruction, and total (in-toto) restorations are discouraged. The principles of architectural restoration were intensively argued in the period following World War II caused severe losses of the monuments. It was mentioned that restoration should not only consider documentary and historical meanings of a structure, but also aesthetic, creative and abstract values.

After the war, the views of Cesare Brandi (1906-1988), an Italian theoretician of conservation and restoration, started to gain importance. In particular, his book *Teoria del Restauro* (Theory of Restoration) published in 1963 questions the recognition of a piece of artwork with the concern of material. Brandi established the Institute of Central Restoration (*Instituto Centrale per il Restauro*) in 1939, and he directed this institution until 1961. One of the activities targeting the Mediterranean region that the institution carried out was the restoration of the bronze gates of the Hagia Sophia.³¹⁷ Therefore, a link can be established between the Italian ecole of restoration and restoration activities in Turkey in the 1950s. According to Brandi, architectural reconstruction is important because, if a material is used in a structure, it becomes historical as a result of human labor. Taking the same marble from the same quarry twice means that this material is the same in terms of chemical features, but both of these marbles have different historical meanings and appearances. For this reason, it is not possible to assume that reconstruction has the same meaning as

³¹⁶ Erder, 88, 181, 232-234, 277-289.

³¹⁷ Dirimtekin, "Ayasofya'nın Bronz Kapıları", 10-14.

the authentic one. On the contrary, every reconstruction is apocrypha from the perspective of both history and aesthetics.”³¹⁸ His views about restoration are respected as a reference for the Venice Charter, which is the leader among influential texts in the field of restoration. When it was published with its sixteen articles in 1964, it transformed into a document which summarized the negotiation of all previous theoretical arguments. The ninth article of the charter states that “the aim of restoration is preserving and revealing aesthetical and historical value of the structure.”³¹⁹

In the Turkish case, the contribution of historical monuments to Turkish identity — what the nation-state cared about, and how the nation-state treated the heritage of the past, what the nation-state wanted to split with or embrace — were among the sensitive issues of the time. Especially, one needs to question the attitude of the Republic towards the Ottoman past in terms of heritage. While increasingly emphasizing Turkishness and Anatolian civilizations by asserting their Turkish origins in the 1930s, the imperial identity of this heritage was not mentioned much.

The identity problem affected the protection field as well as the search for national architecture. In 1931, the Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarihini Tetkik Cemiyeti) was established, new excavation areas such as Alacahöyük, Çankırıkapı and Karatepe were opened, and it was decided to take an inventory on the epitaphs of the Turkish-Islamic period.³²⁰ Although the searches inspired by the Seljuk-Ottoman forms for the new architecture increased the interest in historical buildings, this reflected more on the monumental architecture. However, Kayın states that the

³¹⁸ Jokilehto, 230.

³¹⁹ Ahunbay, *Tarihi Çevre Koruma ve Restorasyon*, 150-151.

³²⁰ Madran, *Tanzimat'tan Günümüze Cumhuriyet'e Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler: 1800-1950*, 120-122.

modern houses shaped by the search for integration with international modern style, which developed after 1930s, accelerated the loss of status and abandonment of historical houses.

While the Ottoman monumental heritage was of concern to a certain extent, the dilemmas of the issue were excluded from open debate. There are also views that Ottoman monuments were neglected.³²¹ However, numerous Ottoman monuments such as the Sultanahmet, Selimiye, Süleymaniye and the New mosques were restored, and others such as the Topkapı Palace, the Hagia Sophia Museum, the Süleymaniye Complex (Kulliye Imareti), and the Manisa Muradiye Mosque Madrasa were made into museums during this period.³²² The transformation of these historical monuments into museums is another form of preservation and owning them as historical and cultural heritage rather than their functions. Nevertheless, it can be said that, as in the ideals of building modern cities, the new government paid attention to Anatolia. The Seljuk artefacts and archaeological structures in Anatolia created an alternative space to escape from tension and reveal implicit readings. Atatürk, in a telegram he sent during his long travels in Anatolia in 1930, emphasized the need for specialists to protect the legacy of the Seljuks and archaeological artefacts.³²³ The support for Anatolian archaeology and museology constituted a defense against foreign pressures and an element to create social self-confidence. The government, which was trying to establish a modern country on the ruins of war, pushed its limits, although it could transfer only limited resources to the preservation field. Moreover, although the Western way was emulated in terms of the protection paradigm and technical import, no real external integration could be

³²¹ Altınyıldız, "The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation", 181-183.

³²² Madran, 123-124.

³²³ Ibid, 106.

realized. The protection field, like the whole development process of the nation-state, was also shaped by a relatively introverted approach and administrative preferences.

During World War II, the Second National Architecture movement, which developed in the years 1940-1950, depended on historical civil architecture and focused more on patterns and initiated an orientation extending from Istanbul to Anatolia in order to document and understand construction typologies and historical towns. In terms of preservation, the results of this movement would become more apparent in later periods. Kayın summarizes the period between 1923 and 1950, when preservation was carried out with a content that would support the state-centered and Republican ideology, but as it was in the process of Ottoman modernization, it stayed within the boundaries of the elite circles and was not welcome by the masses. Profound relationships could not be established with the emulated the Western world. It can be said that the preservation field in this period tried to find its way through dilemmas.

The Early Republic's definition of Turkish cultural heritage covers all antiquities that represent Turkish culture, not only in Anatolia but also from Central Asia to the Balkans. This can be understood from the circulars that Turkish President, İnönü sent to the cities in 1935 and 1936 to draw officers' attention to the antiquities.³²⁴ In the same circular, it is emphasized that preserving the antiquities/relics should be "a national mission," and any reason to neglect the antiquities would not be seen as an excuse.³²⁵ The reason behind these letters was that some antiquities had been demolished illegally by some mayors, instead of preserving and restoring them.³²⁶ The Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Danışma Kurulu (The

³²⁴ Ülgen, *Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması*, IX–XII.

³²⁵ *Ibid*, XI.

³²⁶ Madran, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920–1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi–II", 77

Advisory Committee of the Antiquities and Museums) was gathered in 1945 under the chairmanship of Hasan Ali Yücel, then-Minister of Education, to discuss the current condition of the antiquities and museums. One of the members of the committee was Ülgen, who served as the Branch Manager of the General Directorate of the Antiquities and Museums. The other members were Faik Reşit Unat, Hamit Zübeyir Koşay, Aziz Ogan, Tahsin Öz, Nurettin Can (Gülekli), Dr. Cahit Kınay, Remzi Oğuz Arık, Sedat Çetintaş, and Macit Kural. Hasan Ali Yücel, who is known for his ideas and studies for combining humanism and Turkish modernism as the Minister of Education of the period, made these statements about preservation in the opening speech:³²⁷

- “1. All monuments on the country scale should be located on the maps,
2. Restoration priorities should be given to the highest valued constructions with the highest risk of collapse,
3. A new function must be given to the repaired structures.”

Even these three terms reveal important points about the sensibility of this cadre to taking useful steps for restoration and preservation. Mapping all the monuments in the country was a serious effort for documentation. Moreover, giving the top priority to restoration to constructions with the highest risk of collapse showed a rescuer and preservationist aim against the danger of losing them. Additionally, giving a new function to the repaired structures was a quite modern approach to preserving and maintaining them, not only as a symbol of architecture or history, but also giving them a new meaning related to today’s conditions. One of the people involved in the preparation of maps showing the location of the antiquities for an inventory was Ali Saim Ülgen.³²⁸ In the opening meeting, they decided that the draft law on antiquities which had 80 articles prepared by the General Directorate of the Antiquities and

³²⁷ Ibid, 76.

³²⁸ In ASÜA there is no document about these inventory maps.

Museums would be examined by a commission and qualified lawyers.³²⁹ This law had two main approaches. One of them was preserving the antiquities which were concrete evidence of the nations' cultural developments and revealing the unknown ones. The second approach was preserving the atmosphere of the cities by conserving the antiquities.³³⁰ One of the members who would examine the draft was Ülgen. The others were Reşit Unat, Aziz Ogan, Tahsis Öz, Nurettin Can Gülekli, Cahit Kınay, and Macit Kural.³³¹

Durukan states that the most important activity in the 1950s was the establishment of the Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu (The High Committee of Immovable Antiquities and Museums) with law no. 5805 as a result of Ülgen's efforts.³³² It is the first institution that puts both principles and decisions into practice and was created by law.³³³ This institution provides an opportunity for its members who are in charge of life to decide completely in terms of their opinions, knowledge and experience.³³⁴ In ASÜA, there are documents about the correspondence and regulations and copies of the decisions of the Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu (The High Committee of Immovable Antiquities and Museums).³³⁵ All these documents provide an opportunity for a detailed study about the structure, organization and activities of this committee regarding preservation and restoration.

Since the middle of the twentieth century, a multi-party regime transformed the structure and orientation of politics, affecting relations in all fields. With the

³²⁹ Ibid, 76.

³³⁰ Ibid, 80.

³³¹ Ibid, 76.

³³² Durukan, 50; Madran, 77; Tanyeli, 114.

³³³ Madran and Özgönül, *Kültürel ve doğal değerlerin korunması*, 4.

³³⁴ Ibid, 4-5.

³³⁵ For more information see: "Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu Talimatnamesi" (ASÜA: TASUDOCA0060); "Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu yazışmaları" (ASÜA: TASUDOC0095); "Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu karar suretleri" (ASÜA: TASUDOC0655).

Democrat Party coming to power, a process where all dynamics were directed by the state was replaced by a fiction developing with the desire to integrate with the outside world. It is reported that the radical modernity project and its approach "for the people, despite the people," ended in this period, and modernity was adapted to populist tendencies.³³⁶ The mentioned development also affected the preservation field, and this field, which continued its activities despite the public, was postponed because of the populist urbanization approaches and suffered damage. Kayın made an interesting statement to the effect that, while the conservative-based power identified its goal for the location as growth and development, civic structures that were part of cultural heritage were seen as obstacles to urban development. At this point, it can be said that the understanding of heritage in that period made a distinction between civic and monumental structures. In addition, factors such as poverty and the need for housing in the aftermath of World War II made it difficult to focus on cultural issues that were an upper narrative for society.

The field of preservation progressed in this period in the West through ongoing international agreements as well as the establishment of new agreements that would guide the future. The European Cultural Convention, adopted by the Council of Europe in 1954, focuses on the idea of preserving the common cultural heritage of Europe.³³⁷ Attempts at establishing new legal ground were made in Turkey. In 1951, with the Law 5805, the Anıtlar ve Eski Eserler Yüksek Kurulu (the Supreme Board of Antiquities and Monuments), attached to the Ministry of National Education, was established. This committee was tasked with determining the principles and programs to be observed in the preservation, maintenance, repair and

³³⁶ Tekeli, 2.

³³⁷ Kanadöre, *Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Hukuku*, 648.

restoration works of architectural and historical monuments and monitoring and inspection of the works.³³⁸ This period is closely related to Ali Saim Ülgen's initiatives on preservation and restoration. Among the important steps in this period are various laws to monitor the development of cities, the establishment of institutions such as the Ministry of Development and Housing, the Provincial Bank and, in 1954, the Turkish Chambers of Engineers and Architects, which would foster the idea of protection among its many campaigns in the cities.

Nevertheless, in this period, the substructure of the demolition evident in the cities, especially after the 1960s, was laid and some serious demolitions were realized. One of the most powerful examples in this area is the damage on the urban fabric created by street-building efforts to reconstruct Istanbul and uncover historic monuments, which started as a government project in 1956 and stopped only after the end of the Democrat Party rule. The developments of this period lay at the heart of the relationship of the preservation field with politics transforming into a long-lasting opposition. According to the narration of Kayın about this period, while the preservation field was attempting to find a way between 1950 and 1960 with new legal ground, various institutional supports and the interest of scientists and intellectuals, it faced the pressure of populist urbanization approaches and adopted the attitude of making the public embrace the paradigm and of maintaining the relations with the political sphere cautiously. However, in this context, a sound holistic strategy could not be developed, and an experimental intuitive path was followed. The protection field was pulled into a contentious environment in an income-based structure which was imposed by the transforming political-economic landscape.

³³⁸ Akozan, *Türkiye'de Tarihi Anıtları Koruma Teşkilatı ve Kanunlar*, 45-46.

4.2 The institutional initiatives of Ali Saim Ülgen for preservation

Apart from his scholarly studies, Ali Saim Ülgen took part in many organizations related to preservation and restoration. He started in the Istanbul Archeological Museums as an architect on 30.11.1940. He held positions in many excavations and took over preparing plans and building surveys of monuments.³³⁹ Although he was in the military service, he was appointed as the Director of Antiquities and Museums in 1941. He continued his job in the Academy after he returned from the army. He was appointed as an employee to examine Mimar Sinan's works by the Turkish Historical Society in 1944. In the same year, Ülgen accepted the position of director of the Anıtlar Şubesi (Monuments Branch) in the Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of the Antiquities and Museums). He was transferred from the Fine Arts Academy and started to organize Monuments Branch as its manager in 1944. In addition, he was assigned as director responsible for restorations of monuments and charity buildings within Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (Construction Management in the General Directorate of Foundations.) Moreover, the İstanbul Eski Eserler Koruma Encümeni (The City Council of Preservation of Monuments) was established under the chairmanship of Hamit Koni, who was the general director of the Antiquities and Museums at that time, under the direction of Ali Saim Ülgen, and with the help of technical staff and specialists in order to count and register the monuments of Istanbul in 1945. Another institution where Ülgen was a member was the Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Kurulu (The Board of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments), established in 1949 as a result of his individual struggles so as to take care of every kind of monument and

³³⁹ Eyice, "Ülgen, Ali Saim", 336.

relic in Turkey with Law 5805. He actively continued his duty there until 1963. While he was continuing to work in the Management of Monuments Branch, he was additionally assigned as master architect in the Mesleki ve Teknik while he was continuing to wor (Vocational and Technical Education Construction Directorate) connected to the Ministry of Education in 1952. When he left the work in the Vocational and Technical Education Construction Directorate in 1954, he started to work as master architect in the Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of Foundations), where he had previously worked as a volunteer. Later, he became the architect of Construction Management in the same institution in 1956, and he continued to work as a specialist consultant in the Abide ve Yapı İşleri Dairesi (The Department of Monuments and Building Works), part of the General Directorate of Foundations in 1956.³⁴⁰

Another institution where he carried out academic research is Ankara University. He was additionally assigned to give Art History lectures in the Faculty of Language, History and Geography in 1953. It can be understood from Ülgen's lecture notes that, during his lectures, as he had done in the Fine Arts Academy, he talked about the notion of heritage and the importance of preserving it by emphasizing the value of the monuments as an agent to bring the past to the present and to maintain a certain or various identities.

The Early Republican governments emphasized that it first needed to identify the monuments which reflected Turkish culture in order to preserve and restore them. It is possible to see how the inventory works for monuments covered ground to determine and identify them in the reports belong to the years when Ülgen worked in

³⁴⁰ Aktur, "Ali Saim Ülgen Arşivi Üzerinden Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nin Türk Mimarisine Bakışı: Malatya Ulu Camisi Örneği", 37.

the Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums) and the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of Foundations). After Ülgen accepted to take part in this initiative, he worked enthusiastically to identify the monuments in every corner of Anatolia, to take their inventories, and to preserve and restore them.

Emre Madran talked about the organization of some institutions in which Ali Saim Ülgen had served for long years of service, such as the Directorate of Antiquities and Museums, and the Supreme Council for Real Estates Historical Works and Monuments. Madran, who served in these institutions for a long time, talked about various projects on budget and items and technical services and academic organizations; he underlined the fact that protection policies could not be fully institutionalized in Turkey.

Ülgen was appointed to the management of the Anıtlar Şubesi (Branch of Monuments) in the Ankara Antiquities and Museums General Directorate at the request of the Ministry of Education in 1944. In this way, he found an opportunity to make practical studies on historical monuments in rational and scientific forms.³⁴¹ The year of 1944 was very important for Ülgen, in fact, because while he was studying to document Mimar Sinan's structures, he moved to the capital city in order to work in the team of Hasan Ali Yücel under the umbrella of the Ministry of Education and, according to Ahunbay, working with Hasan Ali Yücel encouraged him to undertake new tasks.³⁴²

³⁴¹ Ahunbay, "Genç Cumhuriyetin Koruma Alanındaki Öncülerinden Yüksek Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963)", SALT Online.

³⁴² Ahunbay, "Genç Cumhuriyetin Koruma Alanındaki Öncülerinden Yüksek Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963)." SALT Online.

Ülgen established the Monuments Department connected to the Antiquities and Museums General Directorate during his studies in the Ministry of Education, and then he started to be interested in the preparation of restoration programs as the manager of this department.³⁴³ Sedat Çetintaş was also the director of the Antiquities and Building Surveys Bureau in the Ministry of Education at the same period.³⁴⁴ Çetintaş not only drew the surveys of the Ottoman monuments in Bursa in the 1930s, but he also told Atatürk about deficiencies in this field and the importance of historical monuments' documentation, so as to take his support. Finally, he established the Building Survey Bureau in the Ministry of Education. Ahunbay states that it can be understood that there was a close relationship between these two architects because Ülgen addressed him as "my brother" in his book published in 1943.³⁴⁵

When historical artefacts of Turkey were examined in the 1940s, it was clear that they were neglected and desolate, so there were so many things to do for preservation of the cultural heritage. As a devoted official and intellectual of the Early Republican period, Ülgen examined many ruined structures in Anatolia, wrote reports about them, and supported their restoration. Madran talked about this historical period in the workshop on Ali Saim Ülgen Archive in SALT, explaining that Ülgen had travelled all over the country and worked in Anatolia to document the current situation of the structures in the hard conditions of the 1940s. He was trying to calculate the necessary time and cost of the restoration of broken-down structures on his own in order to establish certain principles.

³⁴³ Meriç, "Kaybettiğimiz Ali Saim Ülgen", 787.

³⁴⁴ Yücel, "Çetintaş, Sedat", 397.

³⁴⁵ Ahunbay, "Genç Cumhuriyetin Koruma Alanındaki Öncülerinden Yüksek Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963)." SALT Online.

In 1947, Ülgen wrote by hand a report entitled “Report on the insufficiency of the laws made in 1947 about preservation of the monuments and antiquities” in order to show that the current laws were not sufficient to provide a systematic field for preservation and restoration of the antiquities and monuments.³⁴⁶ This report was really significant for the history of preservation in Turkey because, thanks to the terms that he wrote as determination of the monuments’ situation and the solutions he offered, we can enlighten many points in the dark. He starts the report by emphasizing the importance of Turkey’s monuments because of its geopolitical position, and some deficiencies in the institutional structure of preservation:

Since Turkey is a passageway of the world culture and possesses a tremendous heritage of civilization, this issue is not only national but also interests the whole world. For this reason, the measures to be taken should be taken into consideration in such a wide range. I have thought that the services ordered by the law have not been done thoroughly because a detailed program of this issue could not be prepared and implemented. The administration of the Turkish monuments is really hard because these monuments have been in eight different branches, and their control is impossible because of today’s staff [Ülgen mentions these branches in the document entitled “The Owners and Distribution Conditions of Our Monuments”³⁴⁷]. If we also add that the monument restoration is not an ordinary building work, Anıtlar Şubesi (the Branch of Monuments) will not be able to do its duty in the form of national culture with its current condition.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁶ The original name “1947 yılında yazılmış mevcut kanunların, eski eser ve abidelerin korunması konusundaki yetersizliğine dair rapor” (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486) Unfortunately, there is no information to whom Ülgen wrote this report in the document.

³⁴⁷ These branches are the Ministry of Public Works, municipalities, the Special Administration, the Pious foundations and trustees, the Finance Ministry, the Ministry of Education the General Directorate of the Antiquities, the Directorate of National Palaces, and the Ministry of Defence. (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486024).

³⁴⁸ The original text: “Türkiye dünya kültürünün bir geçit noktası olduğuna ve muazzam bir medeniyet mirasına sahip bulunduğuna göre, bu mesele milli olduğu kadar bütün dünyayı da ilgilendirecek şumulu haizdir. Bunun için de düşünülecek tedbirlerin böyle geniş bir zaviyeden mütalağa edilmesi icap ediyor. Kanunun emrettiği hizmetlerin bugüne kadar layıkıyla yapılamamış olması sebebinin, bu konuya ait detaylı bir programın hazırlanıp uygulanamamış olmasında buluyorum. Türkiye anıtları bugün sekiz muhtelif elde bulunduğu cihetle idaresi hakikaten güç, kontrolü ise bugünkü kadroya göre imkansız bir durumdadır. Buna bir de anıt onarma işinin lanettayin bir inşa işi olmadığını ilave edersek, Anıtlar Şubesi bugünkü haliyle üzerine düşen görevi milli kültür vazifesi halinde yapmaya imkan bulamayacaktır.” (“1947 yılında yazılmış mevcut kanunların, eski eser ve abidelerin korunması konusundaki yetersizliğine dair rapor”, ASÜA: TASUDOC0486)

In order to evaluate the current situation and its problems and to find reasonable solutions, he offers 22 articles in this report and he regards many points as essential.³⁴⁹ He points out that a proper research for identification of the monuments, and then a systematic registration are prerequisites for preservation and restoration activities. Then he continues with the importance of making survey sketches and drawings before the restoration activity. He offers that an archive about all these documents related to the monuments should be established. During the restoration activities, the implications should be regularly checked by the responsible officers. More interestingly, he proposes that dissemination of preservation and restoration activities should start with exhibitions, galleries and publications for the public as well. It can be said that using these media to create an awareness about restoration and preservation was a reformist idea for that period. In addition, Ülgen emphasized in the report the importance of laws and legal regulations for these fields. Apart from the monuments, he considers natural beauties as heritage, so he proposes that they be preserved with the same care.

According to above-mentioned principles of Ülgen, most importantly he points to the necessity of a serious documentation attempt, which includes reports, drawings, surveys, plans and projects for the monuments. Through these documents, he offered a rich archive which would bring light to future studies and projects by providing a historical background about the monuments. The target audience was not only the authorities; he also wanted to make society more conscious about various publications on the importance of our monuments and necessary implementations to preserve and restore them. Another striking issue is that he looked at the issue of

³⁴⁹ “1947 yılında yazılmış mevcut kanunların, eski eser ve abidelerin korunması konusundaki yetersizliğine dair rapor” (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486). For English translation of the document, see: Appendix C, 1.

monuments from a pragmatic side too. He considered them a touristic value as well. Maybe his purpose was to attract the attention of state institutions to the monuments by showing their commercial potential.

In the same document, there is another part that consists of 21 articles where Ülgen wrote precautions that had to be taken immediately.³⁵⁰ He started with a statement about the number of monuments in Turkey as 12,000. He complained about the wrong research on this number, and he advised a proper registration work immediately after a re-identification of the monuments. He also stated that almost 90% of the restoration activities were made without a survey or project. According to him, this situation had to be changed urgently, and the institutions had to focus on well-programmed surveys. With regard to institutions and commissions, he made a comparison between Turkey and Europe, and he pointed out that Turkey should take example from their institutional structures and practices. Another point that he mentioned is education. He complained about the lack of a qualified education program in the universities about architecture and restoration, and he offered to design an education program in these fields, with not only technical concerns but also artistic and aesthetic matters by establishing archives and galleries for students. Another important point is that he determined seven centers in Turkey for archeological excavations and restoration activities. These were in Ankara, Istanbul, İzmir, Konya, Sivas, Erzurum, Diyarbakır. These centers also included the surrounding cities for archeological research and restoration activities.

Of course, this long report consists of much more articles on important measures that should be taken immediately, according to Ülgen, but the most

³⁵⁰ “1947 yılında yazılmış mevcut kanunların, eski eser ve abidelerin korunması konusundaki yetersizliğine dair rapor” (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486), For English translation of the document, see: Appendix C, 2.

important and innovative ones have been chosen. Time tells us that he was extremely right about this issue because if he had not written these kinds of reports and attempted to raise awareness in the institutions, today's restoration and preservation activities and institutions could be missing, in my opinion. If Ülgen's statements and suggestions are read closely, the main problems and deficiencies of that period — preservation, restoration and maintenance of the monuments — can be apprehended even better. As a summary, he complaint about the lack of a suitable division of labor, a real program structure, an interest in documentation and registration of the monuments, archeological and architectural maps, and a well-planned survey institution. Following this insufficient number of surveys sheets was a lack of a preliminary project for restoration activities, a lack of a scientific archive and accumulation of academic knowledge, and the absence of a high quality technical education in the practical part of restoration. Ülgen also complaint that there was no systemized allowance operation for restoration projects because of its dispersed structure. Related to that point, Ülgen added that a big amount of money was not necessary for restorations and there was not any demand in this respect. However, giving priority to a proper and well-planned restoration is much better than a cursory repair activity.

An interesting point is that, while mentioning his ideal about a museum and gallery of architecture for architecture students at first and then for the public, he suggested that this museum and gallery could include Byzantine monuments due to the large number of Byzantine structures in Istanbul. It is a really embracing idea like creating a city museum with all its historical assets, without excluding non-Turkish or Ottoman ones. In fact, this idea of Ülgen can be associated with Hasan Ali Yücel's humanist ideas to embrace all the historical and artistic assets within the borders of

the country because they are this nation's past and heritage in a sense as well. Therefore, it is noteworthy that Ülgen had such an inclusive vision as regards Istanbul's urban past.

Apart from these remarkable detail, in ASÜA, there are some other documents about restoration and the conditions of the monuments such as "The notes showing the situation of the monuments and the Branch of Monuments to the Minister (includes 12 articles),"³⁵¹ "The Owners and Distribution Conditions of Our Monuments,"³⁵² "Turkish Monuments and Their Terrible Situations Today,"³⁵³ and "The Draft of the Program to Inform the Public about Monuments and Antiquities."³⁵⁴ These documents also point out remarkable points regarding the conditions of the monuments at that time. Ülgen also determines some principles in the document entitled "The Main Principles of Preservation of the Antiquities," including ten items:

1. Registration has started. Registration of Istanbul is about to end.
2. The building surveys of the monuments have been made. Their benefits are collecting the architectural documents of Turkish culture and determining the Turkish architectural bases through analysis
3. Preparation for repair
4. Training a team of experts to restore the antiquities (Evkaf was sustaining this tradition). We have to train a specialist team again.
5. Giving new duties to the old buildings which lost their functions (Such as museum, library, mother-infant center, dispenser, student dormitory)
6. Repairing old works is sometimes as hard as making them. (Dying arts such as tilemaking, bookbinding, illuminating, plasterwork, wood carving, pearlwork need to be preserved.)
7. We want to establish the state museums according to historical and geographical regions, and also the specialization (in the form of regional museums).

³⁵¹ "Sayın Bakan'a Anıtların ve Anıtlar Şubesi'nin Durumunu Gösterir Not: 12 Madde" (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486022-23)

³⁵² "Anıtlarımızın Sahipleri ve Dağılışı Durumları" (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486024)

³⁵³ "Türkiye Anıtları ve Bugünkü Feci Durumları" (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486025)

³⁵⁴ "Anıt ve Eski Eserler Hakkında Halkı Bilinçlendirmek İçin Program Taslağı" (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486029)

8. We want the local museums that are assisted by the state and in private administrations to be an exact mirror of the neighborhood.
9. We consider excavation sites as open museums and want them to meet touristic needs.
10. We want the museums to be a school of folk demeanor with their interiors animating the old life, not just a warehouse.³⁵⁵

Among these principles, Ülgen gives reference to Evkaf-ı Hümayun (The Directorate of Pious Foundations) about training an expert staff, and this organization became an inspiration for him to make great contributions to the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of Pious Foundations), which was established in 1924, and then to the Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu (High Council of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments) in 1951.³⁵⁶

There is another report in the archive in the form of summary which mentions concrete and material determinations with the title of “Summary of the Report – the Current Condition of Turkish Monuments.” In this report he writes:

According to estimations I have made, there are between 30 and 35 thousand immovable old buildings in our country, almost 10 thousand of this amount should be regarded as monument. In the last 30 - 40 years, a considerable part of the ancient artifacts to be preserved notably the tombs and fountains have been destroyed in such a way, and this destruction is 25% in Istanbul. Turkey is among the countries whose monuments are in the most devastated

³⁵⁵ “Eski Eserlerin Korunmasında Ana Prensipler” (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486030).

The original text: “ 1. Tescil işine başlanmıştır. İstanbul tescili bitmek üzeredir.

2. Anıtların rölöveleri yapılmaktadır. Faydaları Türk kültürünün mimari belgelerini toplamak ve Türk mimarlık kaidelerini tahlil yoluyla tespit

3. Onarım için hazırlık

4. Eski eserleri onaran uzman ekip yetiştirme (Evkaf bu geleneği yaşıyordu). Yeniden uzman ekip yetiştirmek zorundayız.

5. Fonksiyonunu kaybeden eski binalara yeni ödev verme (müze, kütüphane, süt damlası, dispanser, talebe yurdu gibi)

6. Eski eserleri onarmak bazen onları yapmak kadar güçtür. (Ölen sanatlar; çinicilik, ciltçilik, müzehhiplik, alçı işçiliği, ahşap oyma işçiliği, sedefçilik korunmaya muhtaçtır.)

7. Devlet müzelerini tarihi ve coğrafi bölgelere göre (bölge müzesi halinde) ve ihtisasa göre kurmak istiyoruz.

8. Özel idarelerde ve devletten yardım gören mahalli müzelerin ise muhitin tam aynası olmasını istiyoruz.

9. Kazı yerlerini birer açık müze telakki ediyor ve turistik ihtiyaçları karşılamasını istiyoruz.

10. Müzeleri yalnız bir depo değil, eski hayatı canlandıran enteryörleri ile halk terbiyesine halim bir okul olmasını istiyoruz.”

³⁵⁶ Madran, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutumlar ve Düzenlemeler: 1800-1950*.

conditions. And the reason for this destruction is not only the lack of money.³⁵⁷

In the rest of this document, Ülgen did not mention the other factors that cause destruction of monuments but it can be said that he meant that if the only reason was lack of money, this situation could be tolerated. Apart from financial problems, the lack of awareness and care was another important factor, according to Ülgen. He stated the current conditions of the monuments in 15 articles. It is quite striking to see their condition and position at that time in the same document. He concludes the report with these sentences:

It is imperative that the Branch of Monuments must be separated from the Museum Organization in order to be more useful. Because the Branch of Monuments that have been connected to the Museum Office for 25 years have lost opportunities for material and spiritual development because of the calm mentality of the institution.³⁵⁸

This comment of Ülgen is very interesting, in my opinion, because he offers an organizational suggestion to create a Branch of Monuments; for this reason, it can be inferred that the Museum Organization had some serious glitches that prevented the Branch of Monuments from being improved.

In addition to reports and correspondence, there is a law draft about the High Commission of Historical Monuments in the archive. According to this draft, this commission, which consisted of 12 permanent members and depended on the General Directorate of Pious Foundations, aimed to propose laws and regulations to identify structures, to determine whether they have monumental qualities, to preserve

³⁵⁷ “Rapor Özeti: Türkiye Anıtlarının Bugünkü Durumu” (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486037)

The original text: “Yaptığım tahminlere göre yurdumuzda 30 – 35 bin arasında taşınmaz eski eser bulunmakta ve bu miktarın ortalama 10 bin adedinin anıt sayılması gerekmektedir. Son 30 – 40 yıl içinde başta mezarlar ve çeşmeler gelmek üzere korunacak eski eserlerin önemli bir kısmı muhafazaları mümkün olmayacak şekilde tahrip edilmişler ve bu yıkım nispeti İstanbul’da yüzde 25’i bulmuştur. Türkiye anıtları en harap olan memleketlerin başında gelmektedir. Ve bu harabiyetin sebepleri ise yalnız parasızlık değildir.”

³⁵⁸ The original text: “Anıtlar Şubesi’nin daha faydalı olabilmesi için müzeler teşkilatından ayrılması zaruridir. Çünkü müzeler dairesine 25 yıldan beri bağlı bulunan Anıtlar Teşkilatı maddeten ve manen gelişme imkanlarını içinde bulunduğu müessesenin sakin zihniyeti neticesinde kaybetmiştir.”

and restore them, to examine their projects, to make the necessary inspections, and to deal with all kinds of "scientific" matters related to the monuments (Fig. 34 and 35).

There is also another short report related to “The Monuments, Archaeological Sites and the Branch of Monuments in Turkey”³⁵⁹. The statements illustrate the conditions of these at that time. Ülgen first states the main problems related to material, personnel, legal, administrative and technical concerns, lack of a doctrine, program, and specialization, and then he offers solutions in 16 items to improve the situation of the Branch of Monuments (Fig. 36-42).

There is also another report titled “The Cadre of Salaried Officers in the Monuments Preservation Regional Bureau” (Fig. 43 and 44).³⁶⁰ It is a very remarkable document that provides information about the grades, varieties, numbers, and the net annual salaries of the officers in this bureau. This institutional data can be compared to evaluate how the working conditions were at that time and later. The office staff consisted of chief architects, architects, archeologists, epigraphists, scribes and accountants, officers, topographers, designers, photographers, typists, and guards. It is quite interesting that there was no historian or art historian to do research or to give information about the monuments, nor were there any chemists in the cadre to examine the materials which were to be applied on the monument for restoration or preservation. Therefore, it can be said that the main aim of that period was evaluating the preservation or restoration only as a construction activity rather than one having historical, aesthetic or artistic concerns. However, Ülgen emphasized in almost all his reports or proposals that the activities of preservation and restoration require not only technical information, but also a historical and

³⁵⁹ “Türkiye’deki Anıtlar, Ören Yerlerine Anıtlar Şubesi Hakkında Kısa Rapor” (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486041)

³⁶⁰ “Anıtları Koruma Bölge Büroları Maaşlı Memurlar Kadrosu” (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486056)

aesthetic background about the monument because of its historical and artistic values rather than the use value, as Riegl states as well. Therefore, it can be said that the practice and the reality were different from the ideal of Ülgen.

There is another short report about the desired general expenditures of the Branch of Monuments (Fig. 45).³⁶¹ Ülgen also wrote a letter to the Chief of the Department for Construction and Monuments regarding his policy on restorations in December, 1960 (Fig. 46). He writes:

I submit respectively that the whole artists, aestheticians and historians who are related to this issue, which I have already presented the list in the chapters from the page of 41 to 81 in my book about the Conservation and Restoration of the Monuments, should gather in a congress, and the program of 1961 should be practiced after making necessary decisions by examining everything about our monumental restoration until even the most unimportant matters, and this issue should be announced to the General Directorate according to the importance of the subject.³⁶²

This letter is quite significant to show Ülgen's awareness towards the necessity of a committee which would consist of artists, aestheticians and historians under the General Directorate to discuss every point about restoration. If this ideal structure in the department had been provided, much better results could have been achieved in the preservation and restoration activities at that time.

Ülgen was dealing with the restoration activities of the General Directorate of the Foundations in the meantime, and then he transferred to this institution and took charge in the Department of Monuments and Construction Works in the Directorate of Pious Foundations. According to Ahunbay, restorations were being carried out by

³⁶¹ "Temenni edilen şekil: Anıtlar Genel Giderleri" (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486031)

³⁶² "Ali Saim Ülgen'in restorasyon politikasını anlatan mektubu" (ASÜA: TASUDOC0061)

The original text: "Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması hakkındaki kitabımın 41. sahifesinden başlayarak 81. sahifesinden devam eden fasıllarında tebarüz ettirdiğim hususların tahakkukuyla birlikte, listesini evvelce sunmuş olduğum, bu konuya uzak veya yakın ilgili bilcümle sanatçı ve estetik tarihçilerin bir kongre halinde toplanması ve abide tamirciliğimizin en hurda meselelerine kadar her şeyin incelettirilerek lüzumlu kararlara varılmasından sonra 1961 yılı programının tatbikine girişilmesinin lüzumunu ve konunun önemine binaen Genel Müdürlük makamına da duyurulmasını saygıyla arz ederim."

architects, who were able to stop by the construction areas once a month at most, and restoration activities were being started without drawing any project which included a layout plan about the structure, techniques to be applied, or material analysis. This situation shows that there was no well-organized structure in the restoration projects, so it can be said that most of the restoration activities of the 1950s and the 1960s were not carried out properly because of the lack of a plan or project before the process and frequent controls. Moreover, financial and technical resources were limited. For example, Ülgen criticized a restoration attempt on the roof of a masterpiece like the Divriği Ulu Mosque.³⁶³ It is known only that there were two technical personnel but their qualifications or the time that they spent on this project is not known. As provided in the Carta del Restauro, there was an attempt to constitute a scientific committee for all restoration activities in the country so that it would be possible to consult a board of experts and use scientific principles.³⁶⁴ Ülgen also studied on the Carta del Restauro and prepared a report to evaluate its terms, together with restoration conditions in Turkey (Fig. 47-51). He writes in this report:

We would like to remind the people of our country who are interested in Carta del Restauro once more and introduce them to those who do not know the full text of it which is based on the decisions made in this congress held a quarter of a century ago, while looking at the practice of the restoration activities, which are far from scientific and technical criteria despite all good intentions, and which have been carrying out on a very large scale since the years in our country. (...)

Over 30 years have passed since the Athens Conference. The restoration activities carried out with the nineteenth century criteria still constitute a majority in our country and neither a specialist nor an administrative man has a clear idea about the preservation and restoration of the antiquities. This strange activity in the form of the destruction of national wealth and cultural treasures will continue unless the bases determined and enforced to apply in this respect and the restoration is based on an ordinary repairs and renovations and hurry-up discoveries. Carta del Restauro is a document for us to think about the cost of the practice criteria in our country. The majority of these principles, which continue to be a reality today, should

³⁶³ Ülgen, "Divriği Ulu Camii ve Darüşşifası", 98.

³⁶⁴ Ahunbay, *Tarihi Çevre Koruma ve Restorasyon*.

be regarded as minimum standards for a sound restoration policy. The discussion of the ideas of renowned architects and restorers like Ambrogio Annoni, who reassure restoration as a science and art, or the ideas of contemporary restorers who set more daring criteria, will come after the adoption and acceptance the principals of Carta del Restauro and their similar, and restoration not as a policy, but as a cultural discipline.³⁶⁵

Ülgen was among the few who really wondered and wanted to know what was happening outside Turkey in terms of architecture, architectural historiography, restoration and the preservation of architectural assets. For this reason, he carefully evaluated the content and context of the Carta del Restauro and thought about how they could practice at least some of its principles to solve certain problems in this field. Most importantly, he emphasized cultural importance of restoration rather than its political or practical implementations. This approach was extremely innovative and ahead of its time, and even today we unfortunately see some restoration activities which disregard technical requisites and the cultural and historical importance of preservation and restoration of the monuments completely in Turkey.

³⁶⁵ “Restorasyon Kriterleri ve Carta del Restauro” (ASÜA: TASUDOCA0002)

The original text: “Memleketimizde senelerden beri, oldukça geniş ölçüde, yürütülegelmekte olan restorasyon faaliyetlerinin, bütün iyi niyetlere rağmen, çok kere ilmi ve teknik kriterlerden uzak tatbikatına bakarak, bir çeyrek asır önce yapılmış olan bu kongrede alınmış olan kararların ve bunlar üzerine kurulmuş olan Carte del Restauro’nun tam metnini, memleketimizdeki ilgililere bir kere daha hatırlatmak ve bilmeyenlere de tanıtmak istiyoruz. (...) Atina Konferansı’nın üzerinden 30 yıl geçmiştir. Memleketimizde hala 19. asır kriterleriyle yürütülen restorasyon faaliyetleri büyük bir çoğunluk teşkil etmekte, ne ihtisas ne de idare adamlarında eski eserlerin muhafazası ve restorasyonu hakkında sarıh bir fikir tebellür etmiş bulunmaktadır. Bu konuda tesbit edilmiş ve uygulanmak mecburiyetinde olan kaideler tayin edilmedikçe, restorasyon alelade bir tamir ve yenileme mahiyetinde kalıp ayaküstü yapılmış keşiflere dayandıkça, milli servetin heba edilmesi ve kültür hazinelerinin yok edilmesi mahiyetindeki bu garip faaliyet devam edecektir. Carta del Restauro memleketimizdeki tatbikat kriterlerinin maliyeti hakkında bizleri düşündürecek bir vesikadır. Ekserisi, bugün için de bir gerçek olmakta devam eden bu prensipler, sağlam bir restorasyon politikası için, asgari standartlar olarak kabul edilmelidir. Restorasyonu bir ilim ve sanat olarak telakki eden meşhur mimar ve restoratör Ambrogio Annoni gibi ustalar veya daha cüretkarane kriterler ortaya atan günümüz restoratörlerinin fikirlerinin tartışılması Carta del Restauro’daki prensiplerin ve benzerlerinin benimsemesi ve restorasyonun bir politika değil fakat kültürel bir disiplin olarak kabulünden sonra gelecektir.”

In the same document, Ülgen also gives the full text of the charter, which has eleven items, but the most important explanations about its background are written as follows:

The Supreme Council for Antiquities and Fine Arts has considered the norms that should be dominant in the issue of the restoration of monuments, which is a major national problem in Italy, and believes the necessity to preserve and develop the leadership of our country in this area which science and art have collaborated. It has seen that every restoration (with or without excavation) has a multidirectional and heavy responsibility in terms of ensuring the stability of the ruined elements, protecting the artistic function of the monuments, or making it functional, taking possession of artistic and historical documents entitled to the stone, as important as those in the museums and archives, and allowing for anatomical studies to bring new results. In restoration work, even some of the various criteria cannot be set aside. All are considered together. Historical reasons have demanded not removing the various periods that have created the monument in time, not distorting the monuments with additions that can make the scholars surprised, and the architectural imaginations want to connect the construction to an art function and to reconcile it an expression integrity (not to be confused with the style integrity or stylistic unity). There are criteria which depend on the city-dwellers' feelings, the boundaries and memories of the city, and which arise from the results of administrative necessities that depend on practical usage and necessary means. The works that have been done in this area since more than 30 years have generally given extraordinary results. From them, an informative and instructive set of information can be extracted. And it must be extracted. This information can then be assessed and a restoration theory can be established that will be constantly followed up in decisions of the High Committee and, if necessary, in the works of the monuments and art consultants. The main principles of such a theory as verified by practical activities. (...) The Board considers that in each case it is necessary to re-discuss these principles and to be completed by examining, in such a difficult and complicated case that each single monument and each stage of restoration can exhibit its own characteristics. Therefore, every year in Rome, a friendly meeting must be organized [Ülgen adds: "The minutes of this meeting can be published in the Bolletino d'Arte issued by the Ministry of Education."].³⁶⁶

³⁶⁶ The original text: "Eski Eserler ve Güzel Sanatlar Yüksek Kurulu, İtalya'da önemli bir ulusal problem olan abidelerin restorasyonu konusunda hakim olması gereken normları mütalaa etmiş, memleketimizin ilim ve sanatın el ele verdiği bu alanda söz götürmez öncülüğünü muhafaza etmek ve geliştirmek lüzumuna inanmıştır. Her restorasyonun (kazı ile beraber olsun olmasın), harap olmuş elemanların stabilitesini temin etmek, abidenin sanat fonksiyonunu korumak, veya onu o fonksiyonu görecekle hale getirmek, müze ve arşivlerde muhafaza edenler kadar önemli olan, taşta hakedilmiş sanat ve tarih vesikalarına el koymak konstrüksiyon ve sanat bakımından yeni neticelere götürecekle anatomik çalışmalara imkan vermek bakımından çok taraflı ve ağır mesuliyeti mucip olduğunı görmüştür. Restorasyon çalışmalarıında, değişik menşeli kriterlerden kısmen dahi sarfınazar edilemez. Hepsi bir arada mütalaa edilir. Tarihi sebepler, abideyi zaman içinde meydana getiren çeşitli devirlerin ortadan kaldırılmamasını, ilim adamlarını şaşırabilecek ilavelerle tahrif edilmemesini; analitik çalışmaların ortaya çıkardığı malzemelerin oraya buraya dağılmamasını, mimari tasavvurlar, yapıyı bir sanat fonksiyonuna bağlamayı ve kabil olduğun zaman bir ifade bütünlüğüne (stil bütünlüğü ile

As seen above, paying attention to artistic function and the historical features of the monuments during restoration process is emphasized. This approach is completely what Ülgen took an example and wanted to apply in Turkey.

Another institution that Ülgen supported was the High Commission of Monuments. According to the first article of Law number 5805, the High Commissions of Monuments, connected to the Ministry of Education, was established in 1949 in order to supervise the principles that were to be obeyed in the works of restoration, preservation, maintenance and repair, and to sustain the necessary programs for these activities.³⁶⁷ That was an important positive step toward organizing a better preservation and determining scientific principles, and Ülgen thus made great contributions in this commission as senior consultant.³⁶⁸ During the same years, he both gave art history lectures in the Faculty of Language, History and Geography in Ankara and published various articles in the magazine *Vakıflar (Foundations)* but these activities of Ülgen will be mentioned in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

Ülgen was interested in a large number of Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman structures which were under the protection of the General Directorate of

karıştırılmamak şartıyla) kavuşturmayı isterler. Şehirlinin hislerine, şehrin hatıra ve tahassüslerine bağlı kriterler, pratik kullanma ve gerekli vasıtalara bağlı idari zaruretlerin neticesi ortaya çıkan kriterler vardır. 30 yıldan fazla zamandan beri bu alanda yapılan çalışmalar, genel olarak fevkalade neticeler vermiştir. Bunlardan, müşahhas ve öğretici bir bilgi bütünü çıkarılabilir. Ve çıkarılmalıdır. Bu bilgiler kıymetlendirilerek, bundan böyle gerek yüksek kurulun kararlarında ve gerekse abideler ve sanat müşavirlikleri çalışmalarında, devamlı olarak esas itihaz edilecek bir restorasyon teorisi tesbit edilebilir. Pratik faaliyetlerle tahkik edilmiş böyle bir teorinin başlıca prensipleri şunlardır. (...) Kurul her münferit abidenin ve restorasyonun her safhasının kendine has özellikler gösterebileceği bu kadar zor ve karışık bir meselede her özel halde bu prensiplerin yeniden tartışılmasının ve gözden geçirilerek tamamlanmasını gerekli görmektedir. Bu sebeple: (...)

b. Roma'da her sene dostça bir toplantı tertip edilmeli (ki bu toplantının zabıtları, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı tarafından çıkarılan bolletino d'Arte'de neşredilebilir)."

³⁶⁷ Akozan, 45-46.

³⁶⁸ Ahunbay, "Genç Cumhuriyetin Koruma Alanındaki Öncülerinden Yüksek Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963)." SALT Online.

Foundations, and it was asserted by Ergezen in his article published in the magazine *Arkitekt* that he had restored 150 buildings.³⁶⁹ According to Ahunbay, this number can be related to a total number of the buildings that he consulted on. It is necessary to clarify in which buildings he was interested on his own, and how he made contributions to the process of decision-making.

The documents, which had characteristics of a project, about the restored structures in his forties and fifties are very limited. The drawings of building surveys, restitution, restoration and damage analyses, which are so common today, were rarely prepared at that time. The proposed restorations were generally being submitted to the High Commission without any project, and some directive decisions for implementation were described in order to get permission. Ahunbay states that it is supposed that the restoration of the Zeyrek Mosque was executed in the period when he was the senior consultant at the General Directorate of Foundations, and this project was an ambitious attempt in terms of “stylistic restitution” because it tried to return the structure to its former design as a church.³⁷⁰ Ahunbay establishes a bond between the approaches of Ülgen and Eugene Viollet-le-Duc, who was a representative of the school of stylistic unity or stylistic re-composition, which asserts the method of creating historic replication.³⁷¹ Since Ülgen became familiar with Eugene Viollet-le-Duc’s work while studying in France, he knew about him and his theories well; he described Eugene Viollet-le-Duc as a great restoration architect.³⁷² In terms of stylistic unity in that Ülgen was affected by Eugene Viollet-

³⁶⁹ Ergezen, 88.

³⁷⁰ Ahunbay, “Genç Cumhuriyetin Koruma Alanındaki Öncülerinden Yüksek Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963).” SALT Online

³⁷¹ These publications especially are preliminary in order to understand his theory of stylistic unity: E. E. Viollet-le-Duc, *On Restoration.*; E. E. Viollet-le-Duc, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc: Readings and Commentary*, (ed. M. F. Hearn).

³⁷² Ülgen, *Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması-I*, 42.

le-Duc it can be beneficial the conditions at that time in Europe. There had not yet been any limitation on the usage of contemporary materials and techniques in preservation implementations in Europe when he was a student there. They could make injections of cement mortar into massive walls with the aim of consolidation, and use ferro-concrete girders and supports. After the Second World War, stylistic unity and reconstruction were evaluated argumentatively, and then they started to pay attention to the additions and the use original materials and techniques. Documentation before and after the implementation and publication of restoration reports were considered in the Venice Charter, which was signed in 1964. However, Ülgen died in 1963 and was therefore unable to witness postwar developments in the field of restoration.

As an example of the impact of Eugene Viollet-le-Duc's stylistic unity work on Ülgen, Ülgen believed that transforming the Western narthex of the Zeyrek Mosque to its original state by purifying late Ottoman intervention was a correct approach. For this reason, Ahunbay indicates that it will be beneficial to understand Ülgen's approach to preservation, to examine how he directed the implementation process and what kind of interpretation process he followed in order to be able to evaluate restoration activities in the Republican period in Turkey.

Another significant example that Ülgen was particularly interested in was the restoration of the Süleymaniye Complex in the 1950s. On the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of its construction, restoration of the mosque and other structures around it was started. The ruined condition of darülhadis is visible in old photographs. In this large-scale restoration activity, Ülgen had difficulties working

with the contractor because of their demands.³⁷³ Ülgen's attitude towards the decorations which were made in the late period in the mosque caused arguments during this restoration process. According to Ahunbay, he kept some part of the baroque decoration that was applied by Fossati on the main dome, and he covered rest of it. Moreover, he covered later decorations on the intrados in order to reveal the character of the sixteenth century. However, he could not find any decoration belonging to the sixteenth century.³⁷⁴ Thereupon, he divided the layers of decoration belonging to different periods by leaving some part of the nineteenth century decoration. Ahunbay interprets this implementation as a masterful approach. The condition of the dome after the restoration in the 1960s reflects the restoration understanding of the period, therefore it has a documental value. According to Ahunbay, this implementation should have been preserved as Ülgen's restoration. However, in the last restoration, Ülgen's design was changed and his trace was removed. In ASÜA, there are letters of Ülgen which explain his worries about the restoration of darülhadis because of limited visual resources. He talked to İsmail Hakkı Ayverdi and Sedat Hakkı Eldem and tried to take their ideas and supports. In the letter to Ayverdi, Ülgen writes (Fig. 52):

(...) As you know it can be understood from the dome pendants (of Süleymaniye darülhadis's madrasa) bearing gaps had been filled with rubble stone without building a bricky pendant, measurement system had been changed while the walls of the building were rising, the dome had been transferred into wooden. However, I am convinced that it is necessary to refer the documents and support these ideas with pictures or engravings. I am in need of documents that you have and I kindly request you to warn me on this subject. (...)

³⁷³ Ahunbay, "Genç Cumhuriyetin Koruma Alanındaki Öncülerinden Yüksek Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963)." SALT Online

³⁷⁴ Ahunbay, "Genç Cumhuriyetin Koruma Alanındaki Öncülerinden Yüksek Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963)." SALT Online.

Unfortunately, it is not known how these two experienced people helped on restoration problems in this project.

All these institutions for preservation, restoration, and making historical research are quite important for their own periods in terms of producing knowledge and some rules to predicate these fields on a basis. Ülgen inarguably made great contributions to these institutions with his written and practical studies. He even established new branches within the body of the various institutions in order to make more detailed studies. He put emphasis on being organized and coordinated for preservation and restoration activities because he believed that Turkey needed institutional and legal frameworks like those in European countries to preserve cultural and historical heritage.

4.3 The practical contributions of Ali Saim Ülgen to heritage

Ali Saim Ülgen was a restorer as well as an academic and architectural designer. He started his first practical studies on monuments. While working at the Istanbul Archeology Museums, he made plans and drawings of excavation drills, and in the meantime, he prepared the plans and sketches of the buildings related to the architectural documents which were of interest to the Commission on the Old Works of Istanbul in the Istanbul Archeology Museum.

Before this period, his restoration activities as observer or intern started when he was a student in the Fine Arts Academy. Albert Gabriel wrote a letter for him to be able to take part in the restoration of the Rennes Cathedral,³⁷⁵ and his offer was accepted (Fig. 52). Also, Ergezen states that he took in part in the restoration of the Notre Dame Cathedral in 1939 (Fig. 53). He received a letter regarding the training

³⁷⁵ Ergezen, 87.

about the restoration of the antiquities that he would take and the internship that he would take part in the Fine Arts General Directorate in 1939.

In addition, Ali Saim Ülgen received certificates for his studies in French Fine Arts General Management from the French Republic Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts General Management. These successful academic and professional studies of Ali Saim Ülgen in France made significant contributions to his career. After the beginning of the Second World War, he returned to Turkey on 24 September 1939.

Ülgen worked in the Monuments Department dealing with every documentation and construction for ten years. Moreover, he worked as controlling architect in many restorations because of lack of staff. Ergezen points out that Ülgen started to work with his first rational steps on the ancient structures, and made beneficial collaborations with his colleagues in that period.³⁷⁶ In fact, these are not enough to understand his versatile and active character in his career because in addition to all these dynamic duties, he was also assigned to “restore waqf monuments and charity buildings” within General Directorate of Pious Foundations, Construction Directorate while working in the General Directorate of the Ancient Monuments and Museums as the manager of the Monuments Department.

Ülgen dedicated all his life and studies to antiquities, specifically to identify, restore and maintain Turkish-Islamic artworks.³⁷⁷ His mission in the General Directorate of Foundations (Waqfs) was to investigate the many monuments all around Turkey, so he participated in the restoration of almost 150 buildings, and consulted for the restoration of over 300 buildings.³⁷⁸ His adoration of monuments

³⁷⁶ Ergezen, 87-88.

³⁷⁷ Eyice, 336.

³⁷⁸ Ibid, 336.

was not limited by Turkey's borders.³⁷⁹ He took part in important restoration and research activities belonging to Islamic architecture in the Middle East. He examined the Turgut Reis Tomb in Tripoli, and prepared its restoration projects; moreover, he went to Jerusalem in order to analyze Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock.³⁸⁰ He participated in the restoration of the Dome of the Rock and examined the Imam-ı Azam Tomb in Baghdad, and then presented his opinions to the authorities.³⁸¹ Furthermore, he inspected the Tomb of Hussein in Karbala. In addition, he was officially invited to restore monuments in Syria, Jordan, and Pakistan.³⁸²

His restoration activities in Turkey targeted various monuments, but the Süleymaniye Complex was the one of the most prominent ones. He started working on this monument when he was in the General Directorate of Foundations. The Prime Minister Adnan Menderes wanted him to clean the façade of the Süleymaniye Mosque during his restoration work. He prepared very detailed reports and building surveys for almost all components of the complex. In ASÜA, there is a folder that includes Ülgen's restoration diaries of the Süleymaniye Complex. The oldest document was written on 27 August 1958, and the latest was written on 13 October 1958. In every document of the diary, he took notes about number of workers and the works that were done. Most of them were addressed to Construction Site Chief, and some of them consisted of lists of required materials. In addition, there is a folder in ASÜA which includes hundreds of photographs of the Süleymaniye Complex taken by Ülgen before, during and after the restoration process. Ülgen documented obvious damages on the façades of the mosque walls, minarets, and the dome ceiling (Fig.

³⁷⁹ Keskinooğlu, "Yüksek Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen'i Kaybettik", 12.

³⁸⁰ Ibid, 12.

³⁸¹ Kunter, "Bir Dostun Arkasından", 2.

³⁸² Eyice, 336.

54-56). These photographs have an important role to understand which implementations were made for what reasons.

Apart from visual materials, there are numerous written sources about the restoration of the Süleymaniye Complex in ASÜA. The “Restoration Diaries of the Süleymaniye Complex” addressing the site manager are quite interesting in that they reveal what kinds of steps they took every day in which parts of the complex. The documents start on August 29th and finish on October 13th (Fig. 57 and 58) but the restoration process might have taken more time because of the greatness of the project. Ülgen indicated the number of workers and itemized practices such as “plasterwork on the dome.”

However, this restoration activity of Ülgen was very controversial and it was occasionally subjected to unjustified attacks and criticism. It was even prosecuted by the National Unity Committee. The criticism and polemical news in the newspapers about the methods he used during his restoration practice made him very tired and upset. In the archive, there are also legal documents concerning the accusations about the Süleymaniye restoration (Fig. 59). According to one document, Ülgen and his colleagues were accused of not doing sufficient research or a building survey before the restoration, but at the end, the case was dismissed because of an amnesty law.

Another restoration activity of Ülgen was on the New Mosque (Yeni Cami), a seventeenth-century mosque complex in Eminönü, Istanbul. Even during the restoration of the New Mosque Complex, he fell off the scaffold and injured his arm, for which he was treated at Gureba Hospital.³⁸³ As it can be understood from the letter from Libya Ambassador Aly Essad El-Jerbi to Ülgen (Ankara, 29.09.1959), he continued his works ceaselessly, both at home and abroad:

³⁸³ Anonim, 1959: “Yüksek Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen”, 1.

“I am very thankful to you for being involved in this work and for your kind interest, despite the fact that you are under a treatment...” This case clearly shows his enthusiasm and sense of responsibility to work on this subject. Moreover, it can be understood that he carried out restoration activities in Libya,³⁸⁴ and the monument of Turgut Reis is an important example of Ülgen’s restoration activity.³⁸⁵

Ülgen not only attended to the restoration activities of monuments but he also did research on these structures. He was conscious of the necessity to research the structures in the archives, to examine their foundation certificates and charters, and the documents about their previous restorations before the initiation. He also tried to raise awareness on this subject among his colleagues. He expressed in his reports and articles that surveys should be done before the restoration process because the structures might lose their originality as a consequence of various restorations and additions over the centuries.

Ülgen played a great role in the restoration of about 150 work,s especially in Istanbul, Thrace and Anatolia. He took over restorations of many structures such as the Süleymaniye Complex, the Mehmed Agha Mosque, the Divriği Great Mosque and Hospital, the Siirt Great Mosque, the Aksaray Sultan Khan, the Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli Complex, the Seyyit Battal Ghazi Complex, the Kayseri Huand Khatun Complex, the Alanya Sultan Khan, the Kiosk Madrasa Tombs, the Hacı Kılıç Mosque, the Konya Sırçalı Madrasa, and the Alaeddin Mosque.

Some of the monuments for which he drew building surveys and made restitutions disappeared for various reasons. Some of his works gained much more

³⁸⁴ For more information about Ülgen’s correspondences with Libya see: “Libya Hükümeti ile yazışmalar” (ASÜA: TASUDOC0523).

³⁸⁵ For more information about the monument of Turgut Reis see: “Libya Trablusgarp Turgut Reis Mimari Manzumesi Dosya Mühteviyatı” (ASÜA: TASUDOC0669); “Trablusgarp Turgut Reis Camii perspektif eskizleri” (ASÜA: TASUPA0237001)

importance to reach any kind of data about the structures such as the Beşiktaş Sinan Pasha Bathhouse, the Fındıklı Molla Çelebi Bathhouse, the Sapanca Rüstem Pasha Caravanserai and Imaret, the Lüleburgaz Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Caravanserai, the Istanbul Ebu'l Fazıl Efendi Mosque, the Kapıağası Cafer Agha Madrasa, the Fındıklı Kaptan Arap Ahmed Tomb, and the Hürrem Sultan Bathhouse.³⁸⁶

In addition, in 1958, he prepared reports for various churches, including their current conditions and what they required in terms of restoration. These buildings were the Balıklı Manastır Church, the Samatya Aya Mina (Hagia Mina) Church, the Belgrad Panayia (Panagia) Church, the Istanbul Aya Todori (Hagia Todori) Church in Langa, and the Üsküdar Propit Eliya (Prophitis Elias) Church in Bağlarbaşı (Fig. 60-63). Ülgen prepared the restoration report for the Propit Eliya Church for the Abide ve Yapı İşleri Şubesi (the Monuments and Construction Works Branch), but it is not known who the interlocutors of the other reports were. There is an interesting point here that all of these churches belong to the Greek community. No Armenian church was reported as restored in this report. It may be a coincidence in a low probability, but it can be also a conscious attitude of the Abide ve Yapı İşleri Şubesi (the Monuments and Construction Works Branch).

There is a short report about one of the restoration projects that Ülgen carried out — the Panagia Church in Belgradkapı, Istanbul, for example, and it has excellent details on the restoration policy of Ülgen (Fig. 64). As he says in every report or article, the necessary investigations related to the style of the monument and surveys were made, and then a decision was made about the steps of projects and the material that would be applied. As we see again and again, the most important thing is

³⁸⁶ Ahunbay, “Genç Cumhuriyetin Koruma Alanındaki Öncülerinden Yüksek Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen (1913-1963).” SALT Online.

preserving the historical and original character of the building by the materials they used and their application while restoring it:

The Belgrade Panagia Church and its outbuilding site have been investigated, the surveys and projects have been compared and it has been understood that it is wanted to make a change only on the facades. As it is unwarrantable to change the architectural character of this work, which has an Imperial style, it is reported that the project has been considered successful, provided that the exterior façades are built with stone jamb like the previous one instead of the brick arch.³⁸⁷

In ASÜA there are many restoration documents and reports for various religious and charity buildings, but it is unknown in which ones he personally took part. These structures are the Laleli Mosque, the Bilecik Sheikh Edebali and the Mal Khatun Tombs, the Manisalı Mehmed Pasha Tomb, the Ahi Şerafettin Tomb, and the Köprülü Mansion whose documents are quite detailed. The Alaca Tomb, the Yenkoğlu Tomb and the Döner Tomb in Kayseri, the Burmalı Masjid, the Mahmut Pasha Bazaar, the Azapkapı Fountain, the İzzi Efendi Dervish Lodge, the Kasaba Köy Mosque and the Ferhat Pasha Mosque in Kastamonu, the Göynük Süleyman Pasha Bathhouse, the Eskişehir Sivrihisar Great Mosque, the Çömlekçi Masjid and the Meciddin Masjid in Antalya; the Küçük Efendi Mosque, the Maraş Great Mosque, the Istanbul Haseki Darüşşifa (Hospital), the Edirncapı and Üsküdar Mihrimah Sultan Mosques, the Edirne Ali Pasha Bazaar, the Ramazan Pasha Mosque, the Karaman İbrahim Bey Imaret, the Kütahya Vahit Pasha Library, the Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Tomb, and the Bursa Yıldırım Madrasa.

³⁸⁷ “Rapor” (ASÜA: TASUDOC0001002)

The original text: “Belgrad, Panayia Kilisesi ve müştemilatı yerinde incelenip rölöve ve projeleri karşılaştırılmış ve yalnız cephelerde değişiklik yapılmak istendiği anlaşılmıştır. Ampir bir üsluba sahip olan bu eserin mimari karakterinin bozulması asla caiz görülemeyeceğinden, dış cephelerin tuğla kemer yerine eskisi gibi yine taş süğeli (söveli) yapılması şartı ile projenin muvafık bulunmuş olduğuna dair rapordur.”

In addition to these monumental structures, Ülgen took part in the restoration projects of small structures in terms of size, but he evaluated the architectural and artistic values of all the structures. While investigating the damages, determining the necessary processes, and calculating the cost of the project, he also emphasized the non-material damage in our architectural and historical wealth. The report concerning the restoration project of the Küçük Efendi Mosque in Fatih, Istanbul is the most appropriate example of Ülgen's approach to a monument (Fig. 65):

To the Head of the Monument and Construction Department,
Küçük Efendi (Fevziye) Mosque in the Hacı Evhat street of the Hacı Hamza neighborhood in Istanbul, which was burned last year, is a modest monument to the wooden types in the Imperial style of Turkish architecture, but it had a great monument of art value. The damage caused by the destruction of this work is not only material. It should be considered as a very important spiritual loss in terms of Turkish art. Although the mosque can be reconstructed according to the building surveys we had made in the past, it cannot cover this moral damage in terms of historical commemoration. According the current price, the value of damage for mosque which can be restored to (300) - (350) thousand liras will be determined only in terms of monetary sense, hereby this report has been prepared after the venue of fire was examined by me.³⁸⁸

In conclusion, the archive of Ali Saim Ülgen and his all institutional and practical contributions to preservation and restoration play a key role to see how the issue of heritage was dealt with especially in 1950s and the beginning of 1960s. His statements about the conditions of the monuments in result of his long research and his proposals for the necessary legal and institutional principles shed light on his perception of heritage. Moreover, although he was an architect, his emphasis on the

³⁸⁸ "Küçük Efendi Camii restorasyon raporu" (ASÜA: TASUDOC0012)

The original text: "Abide ve Yapı İşleri Dairesi Reisliğine, İstanbul'da Hacı Hamza mahallesinin Hacı Evhat caddesinde geçen yıl yanmış olan Küçük Efendi (Fevziye) Cami Türk mimarisinin ampir üslubunda ahşap tiplerine tek örnek mütevazı fakat sanat kıymeti büyük bir abide idi. Bu eserin tahribinden doğan zarar yalnız maddi değildir. Türk sanatı yönünden çok mühim bir manevi gaip olarak mütalaa edilmelidir. Cami vaktiyle yaptığımız rölevelere göre tekrar ihya edilebilirse de bittabi tarihi yadı bakımından yapılacak ihya bu manevi zararı izale edemez. Bu günkü rayice göre (300) – (350) bin liraya tekrar restore edilebilecek olan Cami için zarar kıymetini takdir ancak maddi cepheden olabileceğine dair işbu rapor yangın mahalli tarafından tetkik edildikten sonra düzenlendi."

importance of historians and art historians in the restoration and preservation activities clearly reveals his holistic approach to monuments.

CHAPTER 5

PUTTING HERITAGE ON PAPER

5.1 The written contributions of Ali Saim Ülgen to heritage

Ali Saim Ülgen was a quite significant actor in the restoration and conservation history of Turkey. He not only took part in restoration activities of antiquities, but also made research about these monuments. He was among the first names in Turkey to claim the need for surveys of buildings before starting the restoration process. Aware that the investigation of the documents about earlier reparations, foundation certificates and charters, and the history in the archives are required, he recognized that the structures could lose their originality as a result of restorative and other interventions over the centuries.³⁸⁹ The Early Republican governments, who realized that they could not transfer these cultural heritages to the future generations only with restorations, carried out various activities for the purpose of raising awareness in Turkey, including scholarly publications.³⁹⁰ Ülgen wrote hundreds of articles about Turkish art and architecture, but unfortunately, not all of them were published in his short lifetime.

Additionally, Ülgen was invited to take part in the commission which would be established to investigate the five-volume book about the Seljukids.³⁹¹ However, apart from a few articles which are in the form of small notes and untidy drafts, he probably was not able to prepare a loaded study with different volumes because, in the archive, there is no document.

³⁸⁹ Aktur, “Ali Saim Ülgen Arşivi Üzerinden Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi’nin Türk Mimarisine Bakışı: Malatya Ulu Camisi Örneği”, 58.

³⁹⁰ Ibid, 58.

³⁹¹ Ibid, 58.

Apart from these studies and his book *Preservation and Restoration of Monuments*, Ülgen conducted many academic and institutional studies on the restoration and preservation processes. His academic studies on this subject can be reached from his articles, book drafts, book reviews, projects. Institutional studies can also be followed through extensive formal correspondence with many important institutions of the period such as the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (the General Directorate of Pious Foundations) and the Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri ve Eski Eserler Genel Müdürlüğü (Directorate of Antiquities and Archeology Museums in Istanbul).

Many of Ülgen's articles related to art and architectural history, the profession of architecture and urbanism were published in various magazines such as *Vakıflar*, *Mimarlık*, *Arkitekt*, *Ülkü*, *TOK Belleteni*, *Millet*, *Yeni Adam*, *Gençlik*, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, and in different newspapers such as *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, *Zaman*, and *Ulus*. Apart from these, he was part of a group that established a quarterly magazine called *Türk Plastik Sanatları* (Turkish Plastic Arts), which was issued in Turkish and English with Prof. Suut Kemal Yetkin, Eşref Özen and Salâhaddin Özel. In ASÜA there is a folder entitled "Documents on *Turkish Plastic Arts* magazine," which shows Ülgen's responsibility in this magazine as one of the founders was to conduct public works and paperwork, to examine the text of the architectural technique and history, or to get them examined by people whom he approved.³⁹² However, any information about how long the journal was published could not be found. Moreover, many articles about the restoration and architectural history to be published in the *Vakıflar* magazine were checked by Ülgen as the publication was prepared. One of

³⁹² The original name in the archive: "Türk Plastik Sanatları Dergisi ile ilgili belgeler" (ASÜA: TASUDOC1017)

these studies is an article by Dogan Kuban, *Carta del Restauro*, about which Ülgen wrote a short report (Fig. 66).

More importantly Ülgen's extreme sensibility about restoration and preservation came from his perception of heritage. It is beneficial to look at his writings in order to understand his viewpoint about monuments. Reşit Saffet Atabinen (1884-1965), a diplomat, intellectual, and one of founding members of the Turkish Historical Society, worked for Turkish tourism by revealing the cultural heritage of the Turks,³⁹³ explaining that Ali Saim Ülgen was quite worried and sad about the monuments in the Anatolian Seljuk period:

While Ülgen was managing the Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Education, he could not attract his chiefs' attention to the masterpieces of our civil architecture in Rumelia and Anatolia. Especially, he would want to save the famous Sultan Han between Ankara and Aksaray. While only monasteries and churches were being built in the Western Christian countries in the Middle Ages, Seljuk Turks were building caravanserais for commercial and military purposes, and some civil architectural works such as hospitals and bathhouses, for this reason this fact is the most principal abutment and the most obvious document of our cultural claim against Europe. (...) He would assume it is a traitorism to disregard Turkish monuments which were wiped off the face of the earth every year.³⁹⁴

Ülgen focused on Turkish architecture in the period after Islam as well. He was interested not only in the art works in Istanbul and its surrounding area, but he also cared about the investigation, determination and restoration of old monuments

³⁹³ Altıntaş and Şahin, "Reşit Saffet Atabinen (1884-1965) ve Türk Turizmine Katkıları", 10-13.

³⁹⁴ Atabinen, "Kaybedilen eski anıtlar aşığı Y. Mimar A. S. Ülgen." The original text: "[Ülgen'in] üzüntülerinin başlıcası, Eğitim Bakanlığı Anıtlar Şubesini idare ederken, sivil mimarimizin Rumeli ve Anadolu'daki şaheserlerine âmirlerinin kâfi derecede ilgisini çekememiş olması idi. Bilhassa Ankara ile Aksaray arasındaki meşhur Sultan Han'ını kurtarmak isterdi. (...) Ortaçağ'da Hristiyan Garb memleketlerinde yalnız kilise ve manastırlar yapılırken, Selçuk Türklerinin Konya etrafından denizlere doğru, aynı zamanda ticarî ve askerî mahiyette Kervansaraylar, hastaneler, hamamlar gibi sivil, medenî mimarî eserleri meydana getirmiş olmaları, Avrupa'ya karşı kültür davamızın başlıca mesnetleri, en bariz vesikalarıdır. (...) Her sene yer üstünden Türk eserlerinin silinmesine göz yumulmasını vatan hainliği addederdi."

all over the country. He especially wanted to study the old monuments in Anatolia.

Ülgen explains:

I can say that I could immediately run for the work in Anatolia if I did not have a duty in the academy. I want to be responsible for artistic restorations around Istanbul and be helpful in this field for my ministry to be able to continue my lectures in the academy.³⁹⁵

Ülgen's wish came true after he had undertaken the duty of establishing the Monuments Branch and became its director in 1944. He also participated in identifying monuments and antiquities in every corner of Anatolia, taking inventories and preserving and restoring these works. He performed this duty with endless energy and desire, despite all difficulties³⁹⁶. He says that he obviously dedicated himself to running to 61 cities of Turkey by struggling against every misery and poverty; his health failed for this cause, and he suffered material and nonmaterial damages as well.³⁹⁷

Behind these local studies about monuments and their preservation and restoration, Ülgen researched and analyzed how European countries made decisions about these activities, what kind of institutions they had, and what their organizational scheme was like. Ülgen especially investigated the situation in England, France and America. It is possible to see from the document prepared by Ülgen that the institutional body of England (1924) had bureaus, archives, libraries, and laboratories to conduct all processes properly (Fig. 67). The French preservation organization (1939) had a much more branched structure and crowded staff, but it seemed more professional and systemized than the one in Turkey (Fig. 68). He made detailed studies of European law and institutions regarding preservation in order to

³⁹⁵ Aktur, 57 [Ali Saim Ülgen'in 18.04.1944 tarihli yazışması (ASÜA).]

³⁹⁶ Ibid, 57.

³⁹⁷ Ibid, 57.

offer a well-established example for Turkey; some institutions Turkey did not have a settled structure in that period.

Another document which is quite striking is a comparison between France and Turkey of monument preservation (Fig. 69). The data belongs to the years of 1939 for France, and of 1948 for Turkey. Of course, this nine-year difference was not enough for Turkey to achieve the high standards of France because there was a big gap between the number of organizations, of monument surveys and photos in the archive, and of qualified architects who specialized in either restoration or monuments. Apart from the graphic which gives important numerical data, there were 300 monument architects in France, whereas there were only five in Turkey. Another comparative part is at the bottom of the page which includes a more dramatic difference — for example, there were 80,000 photographs of different monuments in the archive of France, whereas there were none in Turkey.

There is another article about urban planning in America which gives some details related to certain organizations (Fig.70). Ülgen mentions that one of the most important of these is the National Resources Planning Board, established in 1934. There is no doubt that preservation and maintenance of monuments located in cities were completed with a well-programmed city planning. For this reason, Ülgen must have made a research and written an article about this issue with details on units, staff members, and methods of planning.

The last document that I would like to refer is Ali Saim Ülgen's letter about protecting monuments and an association in England focusing on the preservation of monuments (Fig.71). Unfortunately, we do not know to whom he sent this letter or when, but it is known that he was the director of the Branch of Monuments at the

time. He again emphasized the importance of preservation as a sign of being a developed state, and also wrote about the association:

Protecting the monuments is a matter related to the affairs of the state, and even the necessary expropriation measures taken by the states in the countries that has been developed in the administration of the people have been seen as contrary to the notion of democracy; so associations have begun to appear in order to respond to our desires and needs. The most proper and successful of these are in England. Even the Archaeological Society, which was founded in France in 1834 by Arcisse de Caumont and has been very useful since then by enlightening its citizens with the scientific congresses and teaching the values of the monuments, has not succeeded even more than the Association for the Preservation of the National Trust of England.

The Association for the Preservation of the National Trust was established in 1895. The founders were three British. These are a poet named Canon Rawnsley, a lawyer named Sir Robert Humler, a fellow who works on behalf of the people named Octavia Hill. These three British have been under the influence of Wordsworth's and Ruskin's natural affection. They set up their association when Britain stepped in the field of democracy and many beauties were in danger of deteriorating in this material and industrial hometown. This association today does not refrain to help state institutions by bringing the propaganda and organization which cannot be done by official institutions at the same time, providing the great benefits for the nation, which warns the state institution which is responsible of ancient works and beauties from time to time, and even struggles with it. I wish our association will be successful in its works and beneficial as much as the associations of French Archeology and British Preservation of National Trusts in a short time.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸ The original text: "Anıtları korumak bir devlet meselesi olmakla beraber, halk idaresinde ileri gitmiş memleketlerde devletlerin aldığı tedbirler yapılan zaruri istimlaklar(?) bile demokrasi mefhumuna aykırı görülmüş; bunun üzerine arzu ve ihtiyaçlarımıza cevap veren dernekler doğmaya başlamıştır. Bu derneklerin en muntazam (?) ve örnek alacak kadar muvaffak olmuşu İngiltere'dedir. Fransa'da 1834 yılında Arcisse de Caumont tarafından kurulmuş ve o zamandan beri ilmi kongrelerle vatandaşlarını aydınlatmakla ve anıtların kıymetlerini öğretmekle çok faydalı işler başarmış Arkeoloji Cemiyeti bile İngiltere'nin Milli Emanetleri Koruma Derneği'nden daha fazla muvaffak olamamıştır. İngiltere'nin Milli Emanetleri Koruma Derneği 1895 yılında kurulmuştur. Kurucuları üç İngilizdir. Bunlar Canon Rawnsley adlı şair, Sir Robert Humler namındaki avukat, Octavia Hill isminde halkın faydasına çalışan bir kadındır. Bu üç İngiliz, Wordsworth ve Ruskin'in tabiata hayranlıklarının tesiri altında kalmışlardır. İngiltere'nin demokrasi (?) alanında adım attığı ve pek çok güzelliğin bu malzeme ve endüstri memleketinde bozulma tehlikesi geçirdiği zamanda derneklerini kurmuşlardır. Bu dernek bugün bütün İngiltere'nin en çok bağlandığı ve eski eserler ve güzelliklerle görevli devlet teşkilatını zaman (zaman) ikaz eden, hatta mücadele ederek milletin lehine büyük faydalar sağlayan, aynı zamanda resmi müesseselerin yapamayacağı propaganda ve teşkilatı vücuda getirerek devlet müesseselerine yardımlarını esirgememişlerdir. Çok kısa bir zamanda derneğimizin de Fransız Arkeoloji ve İngiliz Milli Emanetleri Koruma dernekleri kadar yurdumuza faydalı olmasını ... (?) ve çalışmalarında başarılar dilerim.

Anıtlar Şube Müdürü,
Yüksek Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen"

To sum up, all of the research and analyses of Ülgen related to foreign institutions of preservation became examples of what needed to be done in Turkey at that time. In light of this information, Ülgen suggested taking European institutions and their organizational structures as an example to apply in Turkey. For this reason, he also dealt with different preservation institutions in Europe in detail in his book *The Preservation and Restoration of Monuments*.

5.2 In-depth analysis of his major work: Preservation and restoration of monuments

The Preservation and Restoration of Monuments, published by Maarif Matbaası (Ministry of Education Press) in 1943 as a result of what Ülgen learnt about restoration principles and implementation techniques in Europe between 1938 and 1940, is generally recognized as his most famous book because it was the first book on preservation and restoration in Republican Turkey. In fact, he planned to write this book in four volumes,³⁹⁹ but he was unable to achieve this aim. Ülgen is cited as the architect of Istanbul Archeological Museum and instructor of architectural history in the Fine Arts Academy on the cover of the book (Fig. 72). In the preface, Ülgen emphasizes that preservation practices should be executed according to certain principles: “Our country got a late start to implementing scientific methods in restoration activities. However, Republican education is trying to achieve it, and we are sure that these great efforts will soon be successful, with praiseworthy results.”⁴⁰⁰

This book was the first study on comparative theories about preservation and restoration of the monuments in Turkey, so it spurred both architects and historians to think more about restoration studies and practices. The book begins with a

³⁹⁹ Ülgen, *Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması*, XXVIII.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid*, XXIX.

quotation from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk emphasizing the importance of art works . Then, it continues with general instructions from İnönü about preservation and three articles by Hasan Ali Yücel, Albert Gabriel and Celal Esad Arseven. Hasan Ali Yücel's article is about the publications of the Antiquities and Museums, Gabriel's article is related to opinions on the classification and preservation of monuments and also his review about the book, and finally, Celal Esad Arseven writes his evaluations about the book. These three actors were quite important in Ülgen's academic and institutional studies during his career. Their support and interpretations in the preface of this book, which was very important for Ülgen as a reflection of his accumulation of knowledge on preservation and restoration issues, shows the quality of the book and their appreciation. The book consists of three chapters which deal with the issue of monument.

In the first chapter, Ülgen defines the concept of monument and asks why we protect them. He evaluates the issue of preservation in terms of organizations and legal bases in a comparative framework. He compares preservation organizations and their historical evolution in Turkey with those in France, England, Italy, Spain, Germany and Austria. In addition, he mentions legal regulations on preservation of monuments in France, England, Italy and Turkey. In the second chapter, he mentions the preservation of historical monuments and their restoration methods and technics. He makes a periodical evaluation based on eras for the classification of monuments in order to find and apply the most convenient preservation and restoration techniques. Also, he mentions that museums give an opportunity to increase the value of some artefacts and preserve them under an institutional roof.⁴⁰¹ For this reason, he emphasizes the importance of making a new arrangement in the

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, 68.

museums to exhibit artefacts and gives a detailed list about the museums in Turkey.⁴⁰² Ülgen proposes that if a well-lit and well-designed atmosphere is created in the museums to attract the attention of more visitors, it will benefit both museums and the artefacts.⁴⁰³

In the third part, he gives practical and application-oriented information about restoration. The chapter deals with required conditions for the restoration of monuments, differentiating between the work to be done at the office and work to be done at the construction site. He makes this differentiation about the place of restoration process in order to establish a systematization and categorization of required actions. While mentioning the necessary technical steps, he emphasizes the importance of office work such as collecting data about the history of monuments, previous restoration activities on the monuments, archiving all drawings, sketches, and projects which belong to the monument, and registering all implications that were made.⁴⁰⁴

In the introduction part of this important book, Ülgen conveyed a broad understanding of preservation and its theoretic approach in Europe. There are evaluations of the Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel, Prof. Albert Gabriel, and Celal Esad Arseven. Gabriel emphasizes the importance of restoration in his article, and states that the state should reorganize the restoration field by remarking that restorations in Turkey are not executed in a coordinated way. In fact, Gabriel, who contributes to introduce and examined Anatolian Turkish architecture with his comprehensive studies in the 1930s, suggests: “The Republican government, which takes a reasonable interest in everything about its history, should also take necessary

⁴⁰² Ibid, 24-27.

⁴⁰³ Ibid, 68-72.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid, 78-83.

precautions in this area.”⁴⁰⁵ He described Ülgen as “a young architect full of good feelings,” and describes Ülgen as having an ability to devote his professional life in order to preserve national and cultural heritage, and his book is an expression of his duty for the honorable past of the Turkish Republic.⁴⁰⁶

As another important name, the instructor of Architectural History at the Fine Arts Academy Prof. Celal Esad Arseven, writes in his short introduction for the book: “This book, which gives necessary information about preservation and restoration of monuments without damaging their historical and artistic values, fills a great blank in our art library.”⁴⁰⁷ In addition, Arseven states:

It is the matter to restore the monuments without breaking down their original features, it is even a great matter of science and art. Here Ülgen shows us what kinds of principles this restoration science is based on. It is certain that our architects, who are interested in restoration, will benefit from this book.⁴⁰⁸

According to Ahunbay, Arseven emphasizes the preservation of originality in restorations, and points to the architects who are interested in restoration as the audience for the book.

In his book, Ülgen took the lead in order to build preservation activities in Turkey on a solid ground by giving information about preservation laws and principles in European countries. In the introduction of the book, there are two general instructions which were sent by then-Prime Minister İsmet İnönü to the governors, ministers, and inspectors general in order to prevent uninformed and unauthorized people from demolishing historical artefacts.⁴⁰⁹ For example, the demolition of the İmaret of Mihrimah Sultan, which was built by Mimar Sinan in

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid, XXI-XXIV.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, XXI-XXIV.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, XXV.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid, XXV.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid, IX-XII.

Üsküdar, created anxiety despite the warning of the concerned authority. According to Ahunbay, it came out that public opinion and professionals needed to be informed in the field of preservation in a period when demolitions and changes were gathering speed because of modernization and the construction of new roads. However, Ahunbay thinks that the authorities did not seriously consider and maintain these attempts because Ülgen's book was not taught in the faculties of architecture or schools of art, and some basic knowledge about preservation of cultural assets and historical environment could not find a place in architecture education until the 1980s.

In the book, Ülgen explains that the Ministry of Education suggested that his book should have been the first publication in the series on the works which introduce the methods of restoration of the antiquities and preservation of the ancient monuments, for which reason Ülgen aimed to consider the techniques and methods which would provide the next generations with the transfer of monuments in four volumes.⁴¹⁰ Ülgen planned to discuss theoretical issues in the first volume, scientific and practical principles and implementations in the second volume, actualized examples in the third volume, and finally restoration principles of Turkish monuments in the fourth volume.⁴¹¹ The other volumes of the series could not be completed because of his busy program and resulting lack of time.

In his book, Ali Saim Ülgen describes existing historical structures in a more possessive fashion: "(...) Our reminiscent monuments which are filling every part of our country and most of them are about to be ruined." He gives a list of the restorations carried on by the Ministry of Education Museums Department and General Directorate of Istanbul Museums in the first years of the Republic. The list,

⁴¹⁰ Ibid, XXVIII.

⁴¹¹ Ibid, XXVIII.

contains various monuments but the main emphasis is on the Topkapı Palace, the Hagia Sophia, and various tombs (Fig. 73).

Some of the topics that Ali Saim Ülgen discussed in his publication continue to be relevant even today. Ülgen discussed both theoretical approaches and restoration methods for application in his book. Ülgen advised that the restoration should only strengthen the structure in cases where there are no documents, and that this intervention should be clearly noticeable. The reinforced concrete material that Ülgen had adhered to for consolidation was not used in the Early Republican period applications, but they started to be used frequently in the repairs by both the General Directorate of Pious Foundations and the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums since 1950.

In the preface of the book, Ülgen starts with the monumental wealth of our country, and the necessity to preserve them:

Every corner of our country is decorated and valued with a historical reminiscence. Historical memories of both our ancestors and the other nations who have lived in these territories have been presented to us from our grandfathers, and we are obliged to transfer them to the future generations. This is the most important and honorable duty of civilized mankind. In particular, it is a national obligation to protect historical works expressing the high ability of our nationality, and to ensure their maintenance. Because these monuments are the most accurate witness of the lives of our civilized and great relatives, the symbol of the high virtues, the manifestation of their genius.⁴¹²

He continues to explain the importance of preservation of monuments in terms of the history and culture of a society. He associates being civilized with

⁴¹² Ibid, XVII. The original text: “Yurdumuzun her köşesi bir tarih yadigarıyla süslenmiş ve kıymetlenmiştir. gerek atalarımızın gerek bu topraklarda yaşamış diğer milletlerin tarihi hatıraları, dedelerimizden nasıl bize hediye edilmiş ise, biz de yarınki nesillere aynen devretmeye mecburuz. Bu, medeni insanlığın en mühim ve şerefli bir vazifesidir. Bilhassa milletimizin yüksek kabiliyetini ifade eden tarihi eserleri korumak, onların idamesini temin etmek milli bir borçtur. çünkü bu abideler medeni ve büyük ceddlerimizin hayatlarının en doğru şahidi, yüksek faziletlerinin timsali, dehalarının birer tezahürüdür.”

preserving the monuments. It is a quite interesting and common attribution of that time:

The preservation and consideration of these monuments has a major role in that we can bring them to the body by taking strength and inspiration from our mighty resources of yesterday so that today's generations can look at tomorrow with faith. The preservation of the reminiscence of history is a matter to be taken into account also from the economic fronts not only to show a national and scientific presence in the civilized world. The monuments among the reminiscences of history which are one of the most highly valued subjects among the European nations have a great place.⁴¹³

He expresses his ideas and feelings modestly about his book, and then he emphasizes his aim to write such a book, and he defines what a monument is:

This book has earned the honor of being the first work written on this subject. I am very grateful for having this opportunity. But I also would like to explain that I do not think that this book, which deals with a serious position, is perfect. My aim is making a small service to science, history and the monuments of countryside. These great works which we are confident that our Republican government is trying to accomplish and that we will succeed in the thesis day are worthy of appreciation and praise. The monument is called architectural or sculptural work built with the aim of describing historical events to the generations of that day or future and referring to a great person or a minister in the future.⁴¹⁴

5.2.1 Comparison of Turkey and Europe

One of the main agendas of the book is that Turkey should take the Western organization structures regarding preservation and restoration as an example much

⁴¹³ Ibid, XVII. The original text: “Bugünün nesillerinin yarına imanla bakabilmesi için, dünkü kudretli kaynaklarımızdan kuvvet ve ilham alarak ibdalar vücuda getirebilmemiz için, bu abidelerin korunmasının ve göz önünde bulunmasının büyük bir rolü vardır. Tarih yadigarlarının muhafazası, medeni dünya muvacehesinde yalnız milli ve ilmi bir varlık göstermek için değil; iktisadi cephelerden de göz önünde tutulacak bir meseledir. Avrupa milletleri arasında pek kıymet verilen turizmin başlıca mevzularından biri olan tarih yadigarları içinde abideler büyük bir yer tutmaktadır.”

⁴¹⁴ Ibid, XXIX. The original text: “Bu kitap bu mevzu üzerinde yazılan ilk eser olmak şerefini kazanmıştır. Bu mazhariyete nail olmakla çok bahtiyarım. Ancak şunu da tebarüz ettirmek isterim ki ağır bir mevzuyu ele alan bu kitabın kusursuz olduğu iddiasında değilim. Maksadım ilme ve memleket abidelerine küçük bir hizmette bulunmaktadır. Restorasyon işlerinde ilmi methodlara dayanmak hususunda memleketimiz yakın maziye kadar geç kalmakla beraber, Cumhuriyet maarifimizin başarmaya çalıştığı ve tez günde muvaffak olacağından emin bulunduğumuz bu büyük işler takdir ve tebcele layıktır. Abide, büyük bir şahsın veya bir bakanın istikbalde anılması, yahut tarihe geçen hadiseleri o günün ve geleceğin nesillerine tasvir etmek maksadıyla yapılan mimari veya heykeltraşi eserlere denilir.”

more. It is possible to see the emphasis of this idea in every part of the book because he gives a detailed historical background about preservation and restoration attempts in France. Moreover, he mentions how preservation and restoration activities were supported by university education and legal regulations as well. The main reason for Ülgen's approach is that he studied and also worked for some restoration activities in France, so he regards Europe as only source to learn everything about preservation and restoration methods, principles and practices. The valid preservation ideology in the world in the years when Ülgen was in Europe for investigation and research was formed by the Athens Charter in 1931. This charter, which was published with the name Carta del Restauro in Italy, was a definitive document that set out the basic principles of restoration.⁴¹⁵ However, although Ülgen did not mention the Carta del Restauro in his book, he gave systematic information about preservation organizations, laws and implementations in France, Germany, Spain, England, and Italy and examined the valid preservation theories and techniques in Europe in the beginning of the 1940s. He evaluated the preservation practices that he saw in Turkey and abroad by explaining the development of conservation principles and applied restoration techniques in Europe with examples.

Ülgen makes important comparisons in the first part of the book entitled "What is the monument? Why do we preserve the monuments?" While investigating the conditions of monuments in different European countries and the measures taken to preserve them, he comes to the point of our monuments:

When we come to the situations of our monuments, a significant part of our historical artifacts remained intact thanks to the goodness of the materials and the excellence of the construction techniques. However, some buildings were either disfigured or destroyed by additions made in the style of later periods. The Seljuk monuments and the monuments belonging to the older periods are partly in ruins and partly prosperous. Every day, many small or large

⁴¹⁵ Ahunbay, *Tarihi Çevre Koruma ve Restorasyon*, 148-149.

artworks are ruined because our monuments are not classified and registered, their values are not appreciated. It is necessary to put the laws and ordinances, which are strong sanctions, in the field of application without delay in order to prevent these bad events.⁴¹⁶

After detailed statements about the institutional and organizational history of preservation and restoration in France, England, Spain, Italy, Germany and Austria, Ülgen criticizes some issues. With regard to the organization for preservation of monuments in Turkey, he says:

We do not have any difficulty in recognizing that the organization and the institutions that existed before the Republic remain very poor and unexplainable, when we examine the very important works that fill the European museums and are removed from our country. More than half of the Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic artifacts which are exhibited especially in Berlin museums, have been taken from within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire.⁴¹⁷

On another point, he is aware of the dominance of Islamic artworks on the subject of preservation and restoration during the Ottoman Empire:

When it comes to our Islamic works, these have been preserved until the last time the treasure of the Ottoman state has become impoverished, which shows that the Museum of Pious Foundations have played a major role in this work. But the fact that the periods of these restorations were subjected to the artistic styles of their periods caused us to encounter various periods of construction. The completely demolished Fatih Mosque has been rebuilt and in baroque style, as well as the obvious additions of baroque and imperial styles are seen in our many classical buildings.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁶ Ülgen, 7. The original text: “Abidelerimizin vaziyetine gelince; tarihi eserlerimizin mühim bir kısmı malzemelerinin iyiliği ve inşa tekniklerinin mükemmeliyetleri yüzünden sağlam kalmışlardır. Bir kısım binalar ise sonraki devirlerin üsluplarıyla yapılan eklerle ya çirkinleştirilmiş veya tahrip edilmiştir. Selçuk eserleriyle daha eski devirlere ait abideler kısmen harabe halinde kısmen mamur bir halde bulunmaktadır. Abidelerimizin tasnif ve tescili katiyetle yapılmamış ve kıymetleri takdir olunmamış bulunduğundan her gün küçük büyük bir çok eserler mahvolmaktadır. Bu acı hadiseleri önleyebilmek için kuvvetli müeyyideleri olan kanunların ve nizamların vakit geçirilmeksizin tatbik sahasına konulması gerekli bulunmaktadır.”

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, 19. The original text: “Cumhuriyet'ten önce mevcut olan teşkilatın ve müeyyidelerinin pek cılız ve neticesiz kaldığını, Avrupa müzelerini dolduran ve yurdumuzdan çıkarılmış çok mühim eserleri tetkik edersek anlamakta güçlük çekmeyiz. Bilhassa Berlin müzelerinde teşhir edilen Yunan, Roma, Bizans, Şark ve İslam eserlerinin yarısından fazlası Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun hudutları içerisinde götürülmüştür.”

⁴¹⁸ Ibid, 20. The original text: “İslami eserlerimize gelince, bunlar Osmanlı Devleti'nin hazinesinin fakirleştiği son asra kadar muhafaza edilmiştir ki Vakıflar Müzesi'nin bu işte büyük rolü olduğu görülmüyor. Fakat bu devirlerde yapılan tamirlerin devirlerinin sanat üsluplarına tabi bulunması eserlerimizde müteaddit inşa periyotlarına rastlamamıza sebep olmuştur. Tamamen yıkılan Fatih

In the issue of the institutional structure of Turkey, he considers lack of a single body to control the preservation and restoration activities of the monuments as an obstacle to systemized preservation activity:

The monuments have been distributed to the General Directorate of Pious Foundations, the Ministry of Education, the municipalities, the Public Works, the private circles, the National real estate, and individuals. We have already mentioned above that nothing can be done in France without the permission of the General Directorate of Fine Arts. Whereas in our case, before the circular of the Head Office, every department behaves as it wishes, and it would not have been necessary to get permission from the Board of Education. This is one of the reasons that our historical works, which have so diverse owners, are ruined.⁴¹⁹

Ülgen considers these points — organization, law, classification and registration — necessary for the protection of ancient works. In this point he recommends the European agenda:

We have no doubt that we will have many successful consequences, if we have adapted the principles that Europeans have been searching to preserve their buildings since the centuries appropriately to our own customs. For this, first we need to search our historical building systems and our regulations, to determine the type and quality of the materials, to investigate our construction logic, to digest them by perfect learning and then to obtain the most capable and economical methods through the evolution and new discoveries of today's technique.⁴²⁰

In second part of the book, which is about restoration techniques, he makes another comparison between the condition of the monuments in European countries

Camisi yeniden ve barok stilinde yapıldığı gibi nice klasik binalarımızın üstünde de barok ve ampir üsluplarının bariz ekleri görülmektedir.”

⁴¹⁹ Ibid, 35. The original text: “Bizde abideler; Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü’nün, Maarif Vekaleti’nin, belediyelerin, nafıyanın, hususi dairelerin, Milli emlakın ve şahısların eline dağıtılmıştır. Fransa’da Güzel Sanatlar Umum Müdürlüğü’nün müsaadesi olmadan abidelere hiçbir şey yapılamayacağını yukarıda söylemiştik. Halbuki bizde Baş Vekaletin tamiminden önce, her daire dilediği gibi hareket eder ve Maarif Vekaleti’nden izin almaya lüzum görmezdi. Bugün bu kadar çeşitli sahibi olan tarihi eserlerimizin harap olması sebeplerinden biri de budur.”

⁴²⁰ Ibid, 43. The original text: “Avrupalıların bir asırdan beri binalarını muhafaza için arayıp buldukları prensipleri kendi abidelerimizin bünyesine uygun bir surette adapte dahi etssek pek muvaffakiyetli neticeler alınacağına şüphemiz yoktur. Bunun için önce tarihi yapı sistemlerimize ve nizamlarımızı aramak, malzemenin cins ve evsafını tayin etmek, inşa mantığımızı tetkik etmek, bunları pek mükemmel öğrenerek hazmettikten sonra bugünkü tekniğin tekamülü ve yeni buluşları ile aşılıp en kabili istifade ve iktisadi usulleri elde etmek lazımdır.”

and Turkey, according to different ages and, at the end, he considers restoration work in Turkey to be cheaper due to the type of materials and techniques involved in the construction and restoration of local historic buildings:

In the result of our comparison above that our monuments, which have a small and easy material type to process and whose construction methods are less costly, can be saved by restoring in cheaper conditions, of course. For example, even though tons of copper and tons of relief lead ornamentation and details to cover the dome of Les Invalides Church in which the tomb of Napoleon are also present in many other works of Europe, it is not needed to make such an expense in our monuments because they all are the buildings that meet the rational needs. With the material and money used for the renovation and the decoration of the dome of a renaissance work, one of our great monuments can be repaired in a perfect way.⁴²¹

5.2.2 Technical concerns on preservation and restoration

The second agenda of the book is connected with more technical concerns on preservation and restoration activities. In the second chapter of the book, entitled The Preservation and Restoration Methods of Historical Monuments,⁴²² he argues that the use of old methods in restoration is preferred in Europe again rather than modern techniques:

The French, who have started to repair the monuments with scientific methods in Europe for hundreds of years, have set an example for all other nations. Since then, their principles and the technical methods and materials they have used in many restorations have not undergone major changes until today. (...) Even during the last years, more and more old construction methods have begun to be respected than previous repairs. The undertakings to modernize the old construction methods used in the restoration of the historical monuments did not provide much benefit in terms of appearance and durability, it also created a necessary to deal with a lot of mistakes, and for this reason, it was imperative to be abandoned very quickly.⁴²³

⁴²¹ Ibid, 45-46. The original text: “Yukarıda yaptığımız mukayese neticesinde malzeme cinsinin az ve işlenmesi kolay, inşa usullerinin daha az masraflı olduğunu gördüğümüz abidelerimiz muhakkak çok daha ucuz şartlar dahilinde tamir edilerek kurtarılabilir. Mesela Napolyon'un türbesi bulunan Les Invalides kilisesinin kubbesinin örtülmesine harcanan tonlarca bakır ile tonlarca kabartma kurşun tezyinat ve teferruat Avrupa'nın diğer bir çok eserlerinde de mevcut ise de bizim abidelerimizde böyle bir masrafa ihtiyaç hissedilmez. Çünkü cümlesi rasyonel ihtiyaçları karşılayan binalardır. Bir rönesans eserinin kubbesinin onarma ve tezyinine sarf edilen malzeme ve para ile bizim büyük bir abidemiz pek mükemmel bir suretle tamir olunabilir.”

⁴²² The original title: “Tarihi Abidelerin Muhafazası ve Tamir Usulleri”

⁴²³ Ülgen, 46. The original text: “Avrupa’da yüz yıldan beri ilmi metotlarla abidelerin tamirine başlamış olan Fransızlar, diğer bütün milletlere örnek olmuşlardır. O günden beri onların koydukları

Furthermore, Ülgen also argues the visibility of restoration practices on the monuments, and he defends that these executions should be observed in order to preserve the original characteristic of the monument in the second chapter of the book. He writes:

Once upon a time architects and archaeologists used to desire to do a loyal work that they thought that it was a good idea to leave the repairs visible. They even accepted that the date of their restoration would be entitled to the building. Today, everyone is allied in the idea that a restoration should not be noticed to be a really good job. This principle is observed with caution especially in the present restoration of French. (Fig. 37-41) [He gives visual examples from some monuments in France]. We also have to comply with these procedures to ensure that the beauty of our solid and used works is not damaged.⁴²⁴

However, he immediately mentions the injection of cement to rescue or strengthen the walls of monuments as a recent implication. He says that some applications have given good results, but he emphasizes that one needs to be very cautious about the execution.⁴²⁵ The main reason behind this approach of Ülgen is that cement became an essential element of the Republican period's restoration and it was used almost in every restoration activity.⁴²⁶ However, apart from the economic aspect of cement, it does not always fit well with the authentic material and historical fabric of the structure. Therefore, this account of Ülgen seems a bit contradictory because he

premiyer ve birçok restorasyonlarda kullandıkları teknik usuller ve malzeme, bugüne dek büyük deęişikliklere uğramamıştır. (...) Hatta son seneler zarfında, evvelce yapılan tamirlerden daha fazla eski inşa usullerine riayet edilmeğe başlanmıştır. Tarihi abidelerin tamirinde kullanılan eski inşa usullerini modernize etmek yolundaki teşebbüsler görünüş ve dayanıklılık bakımından büyük bir fayda temin etmediği gibi, bir çok hataların da işlenmesini mucib olmuş ve bu sebeple, pek çabuk terk edilmeğe mecburiyet hasıl olmuştur.”

⁴²⁴ Ibid, 47. The original text: “Bir zamanlar mimarlar ile arkeologlar o kadar sadıkane bir iş görmek arzusunda idiler ki, tamirleri göze görünür bir şekilde bırakmayı münasip görüyorlardı. Hatta tamir tarihlerinin binanın üzerine hakkedilmesini bile kabul etmişlerdi. Bugün ise herkes bir restorasyonun hakikaten iyi yapılmış olması için onun farkedilmemesi fikrinde mütefiktiler. Fransızların bilhassa şimdiki restorasyonlarında bu prensibe dikkatle uyulmaktadır. Bizim de sağlam ve kullanılan eserlerimizin güzelliğinin bozulmaması için bu usullere riayet etmemiz icab etmektedir.”

⁴²⁵ Ibid, 48.

⁴²⁶ Eskici, “Mimari Onarımlarda Malzeme Kullanımı Ve Yöntem Sorunları”, 273.

gives an example of a modern technique and material usage after he praises the use of old techniques in restoration to preserve originality.

In addition, another remarkable issue that Ülgen argues is preserving the original features of the monument. On this point, according to Binan, in fact, Ülgen mentions the approach of historical restoration but he has referred the name of the owner of this approach.⁴²⁷ Luca Beltrami (1854-1933), an Italian architect and art historian, suggests that every kind of restoration practice should be based on historical documents to preserve the original characteristic of the monument.⁴²⁸ In line with his approach, he reconstructed the Sforza Castle in Milan, using archival sources such as drawings or models between 1893 and 1905. According to Beltrami, restoration should not depend on imagination; it must be based on concrete data such as archival materials. Moreover, he suggests not only archeological and historical research on the monument itself but also documents and other analogous structures to conduct a correct examination for restoration activity.⁴²⁹ Ülgen agrees with this approach and he writes:

One hundred years ago, it was hardly thought to preserve the original state of the building. A new counterfort wall was being added to a wall fortification, one leg was being enlarged, the walls were being thickened, all construction elements seemed defective were being repaired, and some parts were being added. The attention that today's architect pays is much bigger. We are obliged to secure the building and ensure its survival by looking for remedies to maintain the imperfections in the building.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ For more information see: Can Binan's speech in the conference of SALT about Ali Saim Ülgen's archive: *"Türkiye Mimari Koruma Alanını Ali Saim Ülgen'in Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması (1943) Kitabı Üzerinden Okumak"* (*Reading Architectural Conservation in Turkey through the Book of Ali Saim Ülgen, Conservation and Restoration of Monuments (1943)*).

⁴²⁸ Mazlum, "Koruma Kuramının Mimari Rekonstrüksiyona Bakışı."

⁴²⁹ Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, 344.

⁴³⁰ Ülgen, 50. The original text: "Yüz sene evvel binanın ilk halini muhafaza etmek pek düşünülmüyordu. Bir duvarın tahkimi için yeni bir kontrfor ilave ediliyor, bir ayağın maktayı büyütülüyor, duvarlar kalınlaştırılıyor, kusurlu görünen her nevi inşaat unsuru tadil ve bazı kısımlar ilave olunabiliyordu. Bugünkü mimarın göstereceği takayyüt çok daha büyüktür. İnşasındaki kusurları muhafaza ederek binayı sağlamlaştırmak ve dayanmasını temin etmek çarelerini aramaya mecburuz."

He gives much more details about the method:

This restoration method was born from the idea that the flaws of a building were a living witness to the history of that building, and that they had a teaching nature like its merits. Modifying/repairing one of its smallest elements means to falsify or destroy a genuine document that may be witness to history and the past.⁴³¹

These ideas of Ülgen related to keeping the defects which give a historical sense on the structures were cutting-edge and revolutionary in the 1940s Turkish context.

Ülgen explains his ideas related to this method and embodies necessary steps. He also mentions the issue of material:

When a monument is attached to the care of the restorer architect, the architect first examines and identifies the original state of the building with soundings, surveys and investigations. It investigates and debates the ambivalence between the old and the new. Other buildings that are similar to this work are also one of the most sensible and enduring methods. As a result, it shows that the monument has undergone what changes; it can be understood from the whole summary that what this monument needs. If the building is indeed in need of repair, it is necessary to repair it, and in the more general case, the crucible of the disease is investigated, discovered and applied. That is, the material that has become obsolete or uncomfortable is added in order to avoid from an imbalance in the general structure. Otherwise, a fortification procedure appropriate to the nature of the monument is applied.⁴³²

He tries to explain what the necessary conditions to provide such an implementation:

In order to manage this kind of studies, deep technical knowledge is certainly essential. But at the same time, it is necessary to fully understand the archeology, history and especially the history of art, and to know all issues about them. If it is desired to beautify those monuments without destroying

⁴³¹ Ibid, 50. The original text: “Bu restorasyon usulü, bir binanın kusurlarının o binanın tarihinin canlı bir şahidi bulunduğunu ve meziyetleri gibi öğretici mahiyette olduğu fikrinden doğmuştur. Onun en küçük unsurlarından birini tadil etmek, tarihi ve maziye şahit olabilecek hakiki bir vesikayı tahrif veya imha etmek demektir.”

⁴³² Ibid, 41-42. The original text: “Bir abide, restoratör mimarın ihtimamına tevdi oldunduğu zaman, o mimar evvela binanın bünyesini sondajlar, tahliller ve araştırmalarla ilk (originel) halini tetkik ve tesbit eder. Eski ve yeni şekli arasındaki tahavvülü tahkik ve münakaşa eder. O eserin mümasili olan diğer binaların da tetkiki, en salim ve bitaraf usullerden biridir. Neticede o abidenin ne gibi değişikliklere uğradığı, eski halini muhafaza edip etmediği tezahür eder ki; bu son mücmel hülâsadan o eserin ne ihtiyaçları olduğu anlaşılır. Eğer o bina, hakikaten tamire muhtaç ise onarımı için lazım gelen vesait, daha umumi manada o hastalığın çaresi araştırılır, bulunur ve tatbik olunur. Yani, binanın heyeti umumiyesindeki muvazenenin kaybolmaması için eskimiş veya kafi gelmemeye başlamış malzeme ilave edilir. Yahut, o eserin tabiatının şartlarına uygun bir tahkim usul uygulanır.”

their values, the restorer must be not only a scientist and a technical man but also possess artistic qualifications.⁴³³

This quotation is very important to show the importance that he gave to the role of historians, archeologists and art historians in particular in a restoration activity.

According to Ülgen, technique alone is not sufficient for a successful restoration: an artistic and aesthetic perspective is also necessary. Related to the role of artistic viewpoint, Ülgen criticizes the last period of Ottoman Empire with these sentences:

“In the last century, since the borders of the empire were being shrunk, the monuments were rapidly ruined due to bad administration and abuse, and of course the artists left their profession because they were no longer in demand.”⁴³⁴

In practical terms, it is possible to consider the countless building surveys of Ülgen all over the country as evidence for his approach, which focuses on research and investigations of the previous and current condition of buildings. Since he considers building surveys the most essential thing before restoration, he emphasizes the importance of building survey sketches in his reports that were mentioned in Chapter 4. ASÜA is full of these survey drawings and sketches (Fig. 74, 75, 76).

Another significant detail of Ülgen’s restoration discourse is about the material in the second chapter of the book. He criticizes the use of ferro-concrete because it creates a disjointedness with the original material in time. While mentioning the debates on this topic in Europe, he also refers to the pioneer of

⁴³³ Ibid, 42. The original text: “Bu nevi çalışmaları idare etmek için, bittabi derin teknik bilgi elzemdir. Fakat aynı zamanda arkeolojiden, tarihten ve bilhassa sanat tarihinden gayet iyi anlamak, bunlara mütaallik mebahisi tamamiyle bilmek icab eder. Eğer o abidelerin kıymetlerini bozmadan güzelleştirilmek istenirse, tamiri yapan mütehasısın yalnız bir ilim ve teknik adamı değil, artistic evsafı da haiz olması lazımdır.”

⁴³⁴ Ibid, 42-43. The original text: “Yalnız son asırda imparatorluğun hudutlarının daralması, fena idare ve suistimaller, eserlerin süratle harabisini mucip olduğu ve bakılmalarında da tekasül gösterildiğinden, tabii, sanat erbabı da revaç bulmayan mesleklerini bırakmışlardır.”

reinforced-concrete construction Anatole de Baudot⁴³⁵ (1834-1915) with just his name. He writes: “The growing objection to the use of reinforced concrete for the consolidation of ancient artifacts is quite valid. This process imports foreign elements that are essentially rigid and likely to disrupt their counterparts into the monuments that have resilient structure.”⁴³⁶

For the restoration of unused and ruined monuments, he writes: “There is no need to make any addition in the restoration of the ruins. (...) Using mortar or any other materials may disrupt the aesthetic and constructive beauty of the structure.”⁴³⁷ In fact, this quotation from Ülgen is strongly related to Riegl’s categorization of monuments. Here, Ülgen wants to mean the importance of considering age and artistic value of the monuments in their restoration activities. Riegl defines this issue: “Its [the monument’s] incompleteness, its lack of wholeness, its tendency to dissolve form and color set the contrast between age value and the characteristics of new and modern artifacts.”⁴³⁸ If a monument looks like a ruin, it shows the age value of the monument. The monument loses its age value in case of making any addition with new materials to restore it.

Binan states, with reference to the book, that the fact that Ülgen brought the "expert architect" to the foreground in the field of restoration was a first in that period and he stressed that the author emphasized the unity of national integrity and monumental structure. “We see that Ülgen finds the additions of the different periods

⁴³⁵ Anatole de Baudot was a French architect who was interested in using new materials for both construction and restoration of buildings, and reinforced concrete is one of these materials. He followed the theories of le-Duc. For more information, see: Fazio, Moffett, and Wodehouse, *A world history of architecture*,

⁴³⁶ Ülgen, 51. The original text: “Eski eserlerin sağlamlaştırılması için betonarme kullanılmasına karşı yükselen itirazlar oldukça yerindedir. Bu ameliye, bünyeleri elastiki olan abidelerin içine, esasında sert ve onların muvazenelerini bozması muhtemel bulunan yabancı unsurları ithal etmektedir.”

⁴³⁷ Ibid, 61. The original text: “Harabelerin tamirinde hiçbir ilavenin yapılmaması lazım gelir. (...) Harç veya diğer başka bir malzeme kullanmak o heyetin bedii ve konstrüktif güzelliğini bozabilir.”

⁴³⁸ Riegl, “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin”, p.31

on the structure disruptive. We feel the effect of Eugene Viollet-le-Duc throughout the whole book,” says Binan, and adds that the book contained contradictions within itself. He said that, on the one hand, it was not appropriate to modernize the old methods of construction, and on the other hand, he expressed that the concrete systems, cement injections, had the role of savior. This idea of Ülgen might be in parallel with Riegl, who offers different kinds of intervention in particular measures for different types of buildings, considering their function/use value, symbolic charge/artistic value and historic value. This categorization of Riegl requires a detailed investigation of the structure as Ülgen proposes with survey sketches and examination of materials.

Ülgen clarified how one should approach problems in restoration planning in his book, and his notes and reports. His observations and evaluations of restoration practices in Turkey that he mentions in the book can help to explain his preservation and conservation understanding. Ülgen criticizes the usage of the Fatih Tabhane by the municipality as a gas and material store and for having opened a door to the north ceiling (Fig.77).⁴³⁹ He has pointed out that he did not support covering the domes of historical buildings with cement mortar instead of lead or pitching of domes both in color and in isolation.⁴⁴⁰ Moreover, he did not find the reconstruction of the ruined dome of the Bali Paşa mosque successful,⁴⁴¹ or the stonemasonry in the restoration of the Azapkapı Sokollu Mosque.⁴⁴² Related to this issue, he emphasized the importance of well-educated masters who perform traditional arts, and stated that good management of them would make a contribution to the success of the repair.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁹ Ülgen, XIII, (Fig. 23 in the book).

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid, XX.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid, 101.

⁴⁴² Ibid, XXVIII.

⁴⁴³ Ibid, XXVII.

Apart from all these arguments, he considers the situation of Turkey with a striking criticism:

We have some masters who are loyal to the old architectural traditions. We must appreciate the importance of the works they do. However, these precious staff are working ramblingly and without any instruction, and they are given to only a few old parts as samples (Fig. 42-45) [In these figures he gives examples from unsuccessful and successful restoration practices from Turkey] (...) On the other hand, it is necessary to utilize these artworks with a systematic study and to help them to create a more efficient and excellent body of works. Appreciating these masters and providing them with an opportunity to teach student are essential for the salvation of our monuments.⁴⁴⁴

5.2.3 Approach to the environment

The third agenda of the book is related to Ülgen's approach to the environment of the monuments. Binan also mentions in his speech that Ülgen had an idea of protecting the monuments along with their surroundings. It can be inferred that Ülgen regards not only the building as a monument but also its surroundings because the monument has such a physical and perceptual effect as a heritage of the past. During the construction of all monuments, their environment must have been taken into consideration in terms of scale, location, and view in Ülgen's opinion, so monuments should be preserved and restored by considering their surroundings. Ülgen writes:

“Restoration and conservation works include also a very important and striking issue, such as the examination and arrangement of the building's surroundings.”⁴⁴⁵ He

continues with a more descriptive explanation:

“The building's surroundings should include the following three elements:
1-The space between the building and the actual environment
2- The environment composed of decorative and necessary construction

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid, 49. The original text: “Bizde eski mimari ananemize sadık kalmış bazı ustalar yok değildir. Bunların yaptıkları işlerin ehemmiyetini takdirle yad etmek lazımdır. Fakat bu kıymetli elemanlar başları boş ve direktifsiz çalışmakta, onlara numune olarak yalnız birkaç eski parça verilmektedir (şekil 42-45). Halbuki, bu sanatlılardan sistematik bir çalışma ile istifade olunması ve çok daha verimli ve mükemmel eserler vücuda getirmelerine yardım edilmesi icab eder. Bu ustaların kadrinin bilinmesi ve onların talebe yetiştirmelerinin temini, abidelerimizin selameti bakımından elzemdir.”

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid, 64. The original text: “Restorasyon ve korumaya ait çalışmalara, binanın çevresinin tetkik ve tanzimi gibi çok mühim ve şayanı dikkat bir mesele de dahildir.”

3- The vicinity of the environment (public roads connecting the other parts of the city with the environment).”⁴⁴⁶

Apart from this classification, in this part of the book, he uses a more literal but frank language in describing the beauty that green areas and trees provide to the environment of a monument as a complementary component. He adds that if these beauties were lost, later artificial implementations do not make a sense: “With such artificial studies, there is no way to increase the value of a monument. In fact, these nasty implications [he means later artificial additions] reduce and can eliminate the pleasure to be felt from the beauty of that building.”⁴⁴⁷

Apart from the variety of his arguments, the sources he used for the book is also very rich. The bibliography of the book includes Gabriel’s article published in the first issue of the magazine of *Foundations*, as well as the writings of local art and architectural historians such as Celal Esad Arseven, Halil Edhem, Süheyl Ünver, Alaeddin Cemil, Köprülüzade Fuad, Mimar Celaleddin, Nureddin İbrahim, Halim Baki Kunter, and Salahattin Kandemir. In terms of foreign sources, he refers to many names but the most important ones are A. Riegl, L. Paul, M. Barrés, F. Baumgart, P. Gout, C. Gurlitt, and M. Dvorak. Among these names, Cornelius Gurlitt, a German art historian, is more interesting because, as an Orientalist art historian, he gives priority to Italian and Persian influences on Ottoman art in his book *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*.⁴⁴⁸ However, Ülgen did not mention this unrelated issue in his book, and he used Gurlitt’s book because of its visuals.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid, 64. The original text: ““Binanın çevresi şu üç unsuru ihtiva etmelidir:

1-Bina ile asıl çevre arasındaki boşluk

2-Dekoratif ve lüzumlu inşaattan tereküb eden çevre

3-Çevrenin civarı (Şehrin diğer kısımlarıyla çevreyi birbirine bağlayan umumi yollar).”

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid, 63. The original text: ““Bu gibi suni çalışmalarla bir abidenin kıymetlendirilmesine katiyen imkan yoktur. Hatta bu nevi çirkinlikler, o binadaki güzelliklerden duyulacak hazzı azaltır ve hiç indirebilir.”

⁴⁴⁸ Eyice, “Gurlitt, Cornelius”, 207.

In conclusion, the information contained in this chapter of the thesis is not enough to describe Ülgen's innumerable works in the field of conservation and restoration and his humanitarian endeavor. When looking at the restoration reports and projects in the archive, it is possible to find such important details among the small notes, which will be highly inspiring for future works. However, the intent of this chapter was to highlight the emphasis of heritage on his practical, institutional and literary works, which focus on conservation and restoration, particularly through the conceptualization of monument and his nationalistic sensitivities. His audience has included institutions such as ministeries, his colleagues and students, and more importantly, the public because he believed in the importance of raising a consciousness about heritage in society. For this reason, he used his artistic and architectural accumulation of knowledge in order to move the fields of restoration and preservation forward, together with the many institutions whose establishment he encouraged, and the many restoration activities he participated in, prepared projects, inspected or remotely observed and hundreds of articles, reports and most importantly, the first book written in this field.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Ali Saim Ülgen's discourse on the question of characteristics of Turkish architecture and his approach to heritage through preservation and restoration were two main focal points of this thesis. Thanks to the rich holdings of ASÜA, I acquired many historiographical texts in the form of articles, book drafts, lecture notes, syllabi, correspondences, reports, and various visuals such as survey sketches, drawings, building plans, restoration projects and photographs to construct my arguments. Like every archival research, it was hard to find and choose the correct material to address my questions but I decided to make a classification. By using his lecture notes for the architecture and art history courses in the Fine Arts Academy, I tried to show his academic character and studies. I wanted to reveal his scholarly works by analyzing some of his published or unpublished articles. The content of these materials was quite rich in terms of his historiographical discourse, not only from Turkish perspective but also from a global one. It is impossible to separate his great interest in heritage through art and architecture from his historiographical studies because they complement each other to exhibit the nationalist and anti-orientalist stance of Ülgen.

Ülgen's nationalist stance is one of the main constituents of his writing about architectural history. He asserts that the most important characteristics of Turkish architecture are its being unique, distinct and original. It is known that perceiving art and architecture as a tool to represent a national identity was one of the main cultural agendas of the Early Republican period. Attributing these features such as distinctiveness and originality to Turkish architecture was a powerful response to an orientalist statement which considered Turkish architecture as a branch of Islamic

Art. The nomadic past of the Turks in Central Asia and the strong influence of Islam on the Turks are underlying reasons for the statement which underestimates the artistic and architectural creativity and ability of the Turks. The nationalist discourse of the Republic was strengthened by opposing these claims by way of a contemplated cultural agenda which included archeological, historical and linguistic research with the great support of the state. The lecture notes of Ülgen show us the educational part of this agenda at the university level in the 1950s. In line with the *Turkish History Thesis*, it emphasized that the Turks are a great civilization that deserve much more historical research, especially the period when they lived in Central Asia because Turkish art and architecture never lost the features of that time, and they developed their artistic and architectural abilities throughout their history. Meanwhile, one needs to mention that, in addition to the state's promotion and cultural atmosphere, the studies of some anti-orientalist foreign scholars such as Strzygowski, Gabriel, Glück, and Diez played a key role in enriching this nationalist and anti-orientalist discourse for Ülgen.

Another important point about the distinct characteristic of Turkish art and architecture is Ülgen's attitude towards cultural interaction and exchange with the other cultures which they encountered such as the Chinese, Persians, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians and Byzantines. On this point, Ülgen's ideas are sometimes hyper-nationalist. For example, he claims Turks had a big impact on Iranian architecture and that they played an intermediary role between China and Iran by transferring artistic features.⁴⁴⁹ On the other hand, Ülgen made rational claims, admitting that there might have been some influence of foreign architects or masters. Also, with regard to local materials in constructions in new territories the Turks

⁴⁴⁹ 1957-1958 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076.

occupied and settled down, for example, he asserts that when the Turks came to Anatolia, they may have been affected by the Byzantine architectural tradition. However, he presented his nationalist stance immediately after, by emphasizing that these influences were not able to change the original essence of Turkish architecture.⁴⁵⁰

Apart from the matter of originality, Ülgen attributes some other features to Turkish art and architecture such as simplicity, rationality, and functionality to emphasize their differences from Arabic and Persian art in the same way as Celal Esad Arseven. Although this claim appeared in the Late Ottoman Empire with *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* because of an anti-orientalist stance, it continued in the Early Republican period, with criticism of orientalist discourses and associations of Turkish art and architecture with modern and Western notions. This aim shows itself by emphasizing modern rather than traditional, secular rather than Islamic, and national rather than imperial in the process of building a nation-state, by excluding the East. Ülgen also made these attributions to Turkish art and architecture, except for secularism. In my opinion his main aim was to reject orientalist discourses, which overlook the distinct features of Turkish art and architecture rather than emphasizing being modern or Western. Ülgen never praised modernity or Western architectural traditions in his articles. On the contrary, he asserted that the Turks continued to develop with Islam by acquiring new features without losing their essential characteristics.⁴⁵¹ Unfortunately, we do not know the date of this document ~~when it was written~~ or where Ülgen made this speech, but this conservative attitude of Ülgen can be linked with the changing dynamics and the increasing conservative tendencies that accompanied the rule of the Democrat Party. As I mentioned, in his biography,

⁴⁵⁰ 1958-1959 Türk Mimarisi Ders programı, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0076.

⁴⁵¹ A text of his speech about Turkish and Islamic architecture, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0028.

he was described as a conservative person because of his membership of clubs such as the “Drink Haters,” but again, it is important to evaluate the political conditions of his time in addition to the features of his character.

Ülgen’s discourse on Ottoman art and architecture is another remarkable issue to research: how did Ülgen locate Ottoman architecture in his historiographical narrative? The first point is that he emphasized Ottoman architecture with its Turkishness, like Arseven. Ülgen considered the Ottoman period an important phase of Turkish architecture, especially starting from Fatih’s period to Mimar Sinan’s period. He drew a progressing line from Central Asia to Anatolia, and he included the periods of Seljuks and Beyliks as other significant phases of Turkish architecture. This attitude is strongly related to the emphasis on Anatolia as the motherland of this national state. Therefore, he remarked that all the architectural structures built in Anatolia by Seljuks, Beyliks, Ottomans and even Hittites were productions of the same tradition, one which is originally Turkish.⁴⁵²

The second notable point of Ülgen about Ottoman architecture is the importance of Fatih’s period, and the role of Mimar Sinan. His admiration for Mimar Sinan can be evaluated as a reflection of his period’s common trend because praising Ottoman architecture with its Turkish characters and its great architect Sinan was a way to own the Ottoman past by showing it as a part of Turkish heritage. He was among the scholars who studied Mimar Sinan at that period. Of course, the most debated issue about Sinan is the comparison of his great mosques like Şehzade, Süleymaniye and Selimiye with the Hagia Sophia by orientalist scholars. Ülgen tried to refute the claim that the Ottomans and Mimar Sinan had always imitated the Hagia Sophia, and they dreamed of building a greater religious monument. He strongly

⁴⁵² 13. Yüzyılda Anadolu Selçuklu Mimari Üslubu, ASÜA: TASUDOCA0025.

opposed this idea and asserted that the mass development in Turkish architecture which had a different architectural style from Hagia Sophia. It started with the Üç Şerefeli Mosque, and it continued with the Fatih Mosque, which was destroyed by various earthquakes and built again later. Ülgen adds that since these structures had a different and original style, it is impossible to claim the Turks imitated Byzantine architecture and the Hagia Sophia in their religious architecture.⁴⁵³

All these historiographical statements of Ülgen deserved to be discussed in various studies from different perspectives while questioning the attributed characteristic features of Turkish art and architecture with the influence of nationalism and orientalist discourses. I aimed to give a place to some of his statements in a certain scope of this thesis, but I am sure that his discourse has various layers waiting to be discovered.

The second part of this thesis tried to reveal Ülgen's sensibility towards the preservation of monuments because he considered them as part of the heritage of the history and culture of the Turkish nation. As a result of my research, I realized that the only work by Ülgen that has been emphasized in the literature until now is his book *Preservation and Restoration of Monuments*. In this thesis I tried to analyze the main agendas of this book by searching for parallelisms in his reports. Moreover, his administrative activities in some institutions such as the Anıtlar Şubesi (the Branch of Monuments) or the Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Kurulu (The Board of Immovable Antiquities and Monuments) are mentioned slightly in the literature as his important contributions to the field of preservation and restoration. However, apart from revealing his presence in different institutions, I tried to determine exactly what Ülgen did in these institutions, what he wanted to change in the current

⁴⁵³ Lecture notes of Architectural History course of 1958-1959", ASÜA: TASUDOCA0077

conditions, what he criticized and what he offered as important measures that should be taken. Ülgen was not only a restorer who worked in projects all over the country, but also a theoretician and documentarist for preservation and restoration methods and activities. Therefore, I have believed that his detailed reports and correspondences can open up a horizon about the history of preservation and restoration in Turkey.

His reports and correspondences point out the deficiencies and misapplications in the restoration activities of monuments in Turkey. He was extremely aware of what should be done immediately because he had conducted broad comparative studies about European institutional structure and practices. His greatest emphasis was on the lack of building surveys for the monuments, for which reason he made thousands of survey drawings and sketches of various structures of monumental complexes such as Süleymaniye and small mosques such as the Küçük Efendi Mosque in a small neighborhood of Istanbul.

Another important point about Ülgen in the field of preservation and restoration is his theories related to methods and materials. Since he was influenced by European scholars such as Viollet-le-Duc, Beltrani and Riegl, he tried to explain their theories while adapting them to the conditions in Turkey. For example, he asserted that every restoration project should be made according to the historical features of the monuments, so each application should be observable on the monument without damaging its original features. These ideas were quite new discussions for Turkey at that time. Ülgen was among a few names who told something on this subject.

One of the most noteworthy ideas of Ülgen is his emphasis on the necessity of a historian and art historian in every restoration activity because, apart from the

value of the heritage of the monuments, it should be also questioned under which socio-political conditions they were attempted and what the value of their artistic value and importance was. Although he was an architect and related to technical issues as well, his stress on the artistic and historical values of the monuments is worthy of mention.

His understanding of heritage was quite comprehensive. Apart from his nationalist stance, he was also interested in Byzantine monuments in Istanbul. He prepared many restoration projects for different churches because he considered them as a part of the Anatolian heritage because of stylistic interactions. In one of his reports that I analyzed, he suggested establishing a city gallery which would include both Turkish and Byzantine artifacts.⁴⁵⁴ In fact, ideally, this idea should have been expanded in the thesis because of its importance related to Ülgen's understanding about urban heritage, but unfortunately, I was unable to find another document where he mentioned this gallery or the importance of Byzantine monuments within the framework of Turkish architecture.

With regard to his special characteristics, Ülgen's emphasis on the necessity of survey drawings of monuments may be related to the effort to give the future generations information about the the concept of heritage in particular. According to Ülgen, these drawings would be historical documents of the building for a possible protection or repair intervention in the future to inform, since this information shows both the current state of monuments, and the later protection and restoration activities which were carried out. He also emphasized the concept of inheritance in the texts of historiography and wanted to provide a historical background of the monuments for

⁴⁵⁴ 1947 yılında yazılmış mevcut kanunların, eski eser ve abidelerin korunması konusundaki yetersizliğine dair rapor (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486)


future generations. Therefore, his documentation of monuments, both in texts of historiography and in these figures, shows us his holistic approach.

I hope that after my humble study, new historiographical studies about Turkish art and architecture will refer to Ali Saim Ülgen's discourse alongside other well-known scholars. In addition, I hope the important role he played in the development of preservation and restoration attempts in Turkey will be revealed and discussed from different perspectives.

APPENDIX A

IMAGES

NÜFUS ÖRNEĞİ





Aile ismi yani lakap şöhreti	Ülgen
Adı	Ali Saim
Baba adı	Dr. Tefik
Ana adı	Rabia Advije
Doğum tarihi	15/8/1329 (1913)
Doğum yeri	İstanbul
Dini	İslâm
Mezhebi	Hanefi
Meslek ve içtimai vaziyeti	Y. Mimar
Medeni hali	Evlî
Boy	1,68
Göz	Siyahimsi - Kahve rengi
Renk	Beyaz
Vücutta sakatlığı - noksanlığı	Yok

Nüfus Kütüğüne yazılı olduğu yer

İli	İstanbul
İçesi	Eminönü
Bucak	"
Mahalle veya köy	Kabaağaçı
Sokağı	Türbe
Hane No.	17
Cilt No.	6
Sayfa No.	60
Ne suretle verildiği	Tebâilen

Bu Nüfus Cüzdanında adı hüviyeti yazılı olan **Ali Saim Ülgen**
Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı olarak nüfus kütüğüne kayıtlıdır.
Bu Cüzdan **Eminönü** Nüfus Dairesinden verilmiştir.
Aslının Aynısıdır

Figure 1. The identity card of Ali Saim Ülgen (ASÜA)

	ADI VE NUMARASI :	<i>Ali Saim Ülgen</i>
	BABASININ ADI :	<i>Tevfik Ülgen</i>
	DOĞDUĞU YER VE YIL :	<i>İstanbul 1913</i>
	VATANDAŞLIĞI :	<i>Türkiye Cumhuriyeti</i>
	ADRESİ :	<i>Beşiktaş Ağahamam 3üncü vakıf han No 3</i>
	TURASI :	<i>Ali Saim Ülgen</i>
	MEKTEBİN TURASI :	<i>YURATILMIŞ MİLLİYETİ TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ MİLLÎ MÜHÜR MİLLÎ MÜHÜR MİLLÎ MÜHÜR</i>

SENE	
1	<i>1934</i>
2	<i>1935</i>
3	<i>1936</i>
4	<i>1937</i> <i>B. İsmail</i>
5	

Figure 2. Fine Arts Academy, Department of Architecture, school identity card, 1934–1938 (ASÜA)

İSTANBUL, 1/7/1937

Monsieur le Ministre,

Je me permets de recommander à votre bienveillance Bay Saim Ülgen, élève architecte à l'Académie des Beaux-Arts de Stamboul. Ce jeune homme qui a presque terminé ses études est déjà en possession d'une connaissance approfondie de son art. Il en a donné la preuve en exécutant à Vezir Köprü une série de relevés dont j'ai pu apprécier les très réelles qualités. A beaucoup de soin et de scrupules, Bay Saim Ülgen joint un véritable talent de dessinateur et il me paraît tout particulièrement qualifié pour être attaché au Service des monuments historiques.

Dans le travail actuellement en cours et relatif à l'étude de la vie et des œuvres de l'architecte Sinan, Bay Saim Ülgen doit collaborer de manière active. Il nous fournira notamment les documents et relevés nécessaires pour appuyer nos conclusions et donner à l'ouvrage projeté une solide base scientifique.

Je viens donc vous prier, Monsieur le Ministre, de vouloir bien accorder au jeune architecte que je ^{vous} recommande, votre haut patronage de manière qu'il puisse, en toute liberté, accomplir la tâche importante qui lui a été attribuée.

En espérant que vous voudrez réserver un bienveillant accueil à cette demande, je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, l'expression de mes sentiments de très haute considération.

ADRESİ
FRANSIZ ARKEOLOJİ ENSTİTOSU
FRANSIZ SEFARET BAHÇESİNDE
BEYOĞLU

A. Gabriel

TELEFON : 43327

Figure 3. Albert Gabriel's letter dated 01.07.1937 (1) (ASÜA)

1. Sain ULGEN entrera d'abord à l'administration Centrale
et y restera un ou deux mois.

2. On prévoit qu'il sera envoyé en province sur un chantier
et confié à l'architecte en chef (par exemple Reims et ensuite
une grande restauration du midi).

3. Un programme d'enseignement pendant l'hiver:

Cours des architectes des Monuments Historiques.

4. J'indiquerai à Sain ULGEN un enseignement scientifique
historique (Histoire de la civilisation de l'Orient) à voir
à mon retour.

Figure 4. Albert Gabriel's letter dated 01.07.1937 (2) (ASÜA)

NOTE POUR SAIM BEY.

1) Choisir un enseignement général de l'archéologie et de l'histoire de l'art et se borner à des notions précises sur chacune des grandes époques de l'antiquité et du moyen âge occidental.

2) Pour l'antiquité s'attacher surtout au Proche Orient: Syrie, Mésopotamie, Iran. Acquérir des notions sur l'Inde et l'Extrême Orient.

3) Suivre un enseignement spécial s'il en existe un sur les antiquités de l'Asie centrale. Constituer sa propre documentation sur ce sujet dans les publications de Le Coq et par la visite des diverses collections et musées.

4) Suivre particulièrement à fond les enseignements relatifs à l'archéologie des peuples d'Is¹pan². C'est sur ce point que doit porter l'effort principal. Visiter soigneusement les collections et les musées et prendre des notes.

NOTA: Ces indications ne sont données qu'à titre général pour une période d'initiation. Lorsque vous reviendrez à Stamboul cet été nous pourrons reprendre en détail un programme d'études en abordant les différentes questions sur lesquelles vous aurez déjà un commencement d'expérience personnelle.



Figure 5. Albert Gabriel's letter dated 01.07.1937 (3) (ASÜA)

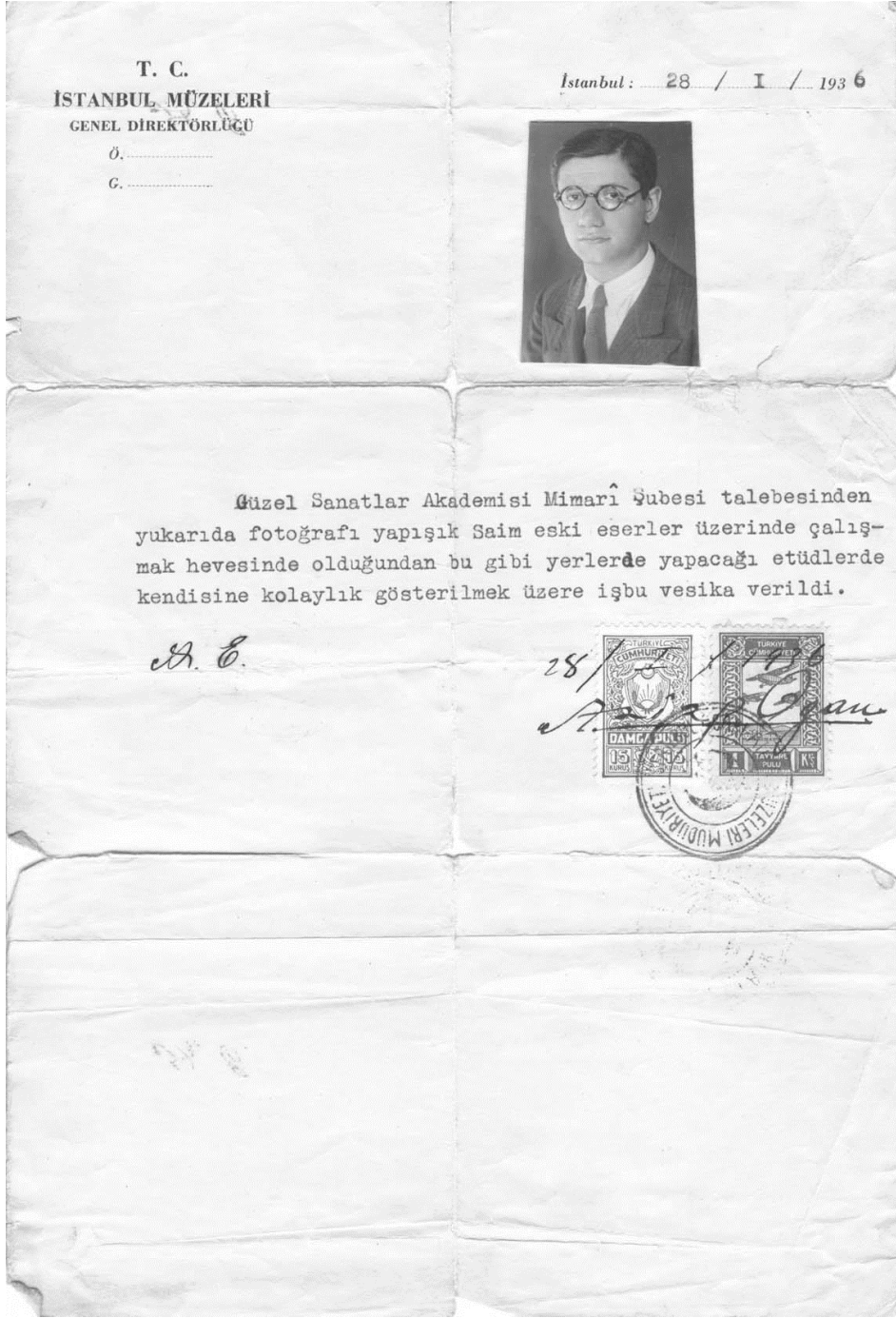


Figure 6. The document given to Ülgen to work on the antiquities by Istanbul Müzeler Genel Direktörlüğü (General Directorate of the Museums), 28.01.1936 (ASÜA)

T. C.
İSTANBUL MÜZELERİ
GENEL DİREKTÖRLÜĞÜ

Ö.
G.

Istanbul : 193

Özü :

1937 senesinde Topkapı Sarayı'nın ikinci
avluğunda yapılacak olan kafiye aidi
8 adet plânın mimar bey Saim'in
kusturilmesini dair işbu vesika ile
kelimede.

İzleni Yar. Direktörü
Arif

Figure 7. Plans of Topkapı Palace's second courtyard by Ülgen (ASÜA)

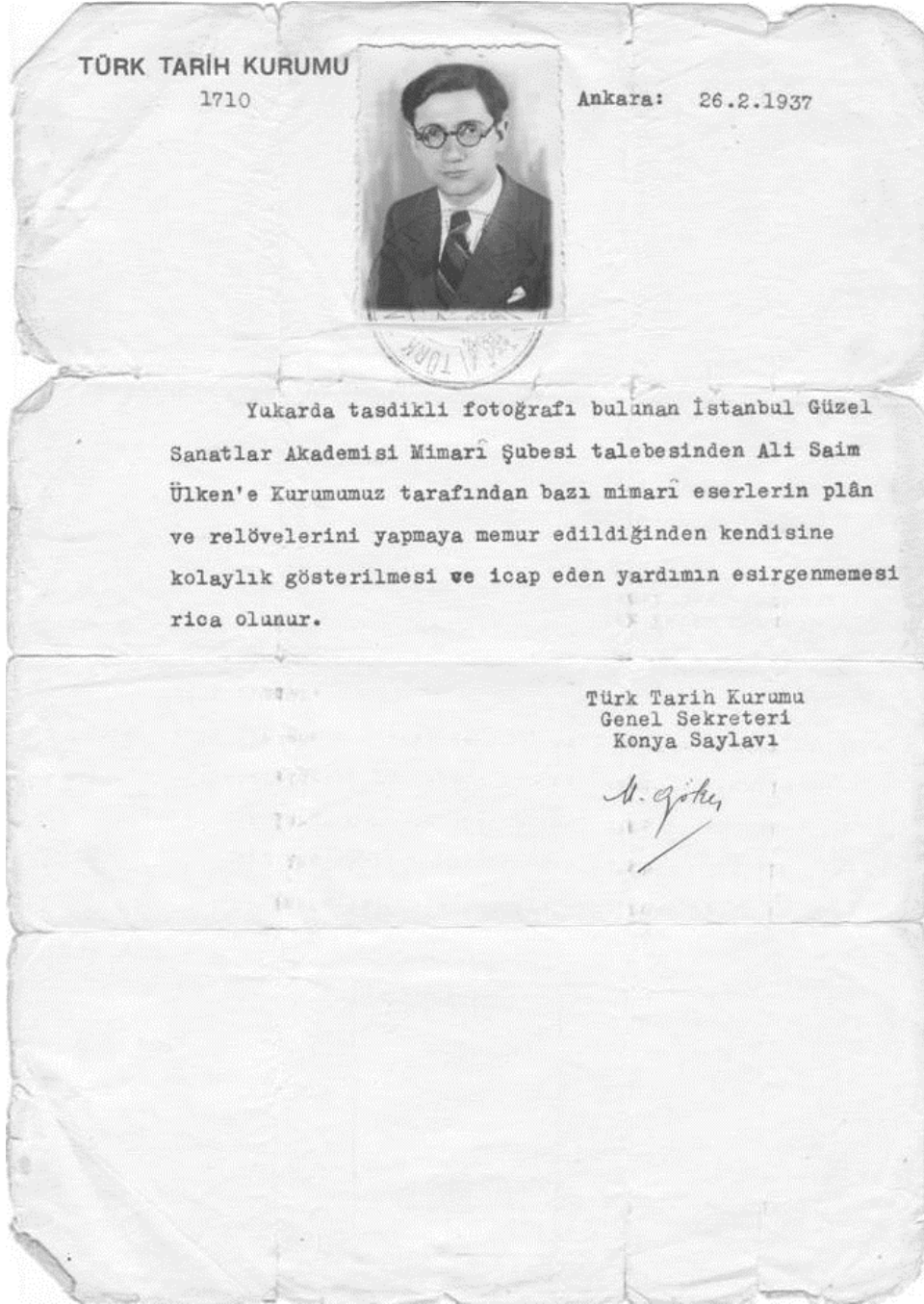


Figure 8. The document about Ülgen's tenancy to make plans and surveys of architectural structures on behalf of Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish Historical Society), 26.02.1937 (ASÜA)

TÜRK TARİH KURUMU

Dolmabahçe: 26.7.1937



Türk Tarih Kurumu namına Gebze, İzmit, Sapanca, İzmit ve havalisinde Mimar Sinan'a ait eserlerin araştırma ve tetkikine memur bulunan, fotoğrafı bu kâda ilişik Bay Ali Saim Ülgen'e alakalı makamlar tarafından her türlü yardım ve kolaylık gösterilmesi rica olunur.

27.

Türk Tarih Kurumu
Başkanı
Bolu Şaylavı

Hasan Cemil

Figure 9. The document about Ülgen's tenancy to make research and investigation the works of Mimar Sinan in Gebze, İzmit, Sapanca, and İzmit by Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish Historical Society), 26.07.1937 (ASÜA)

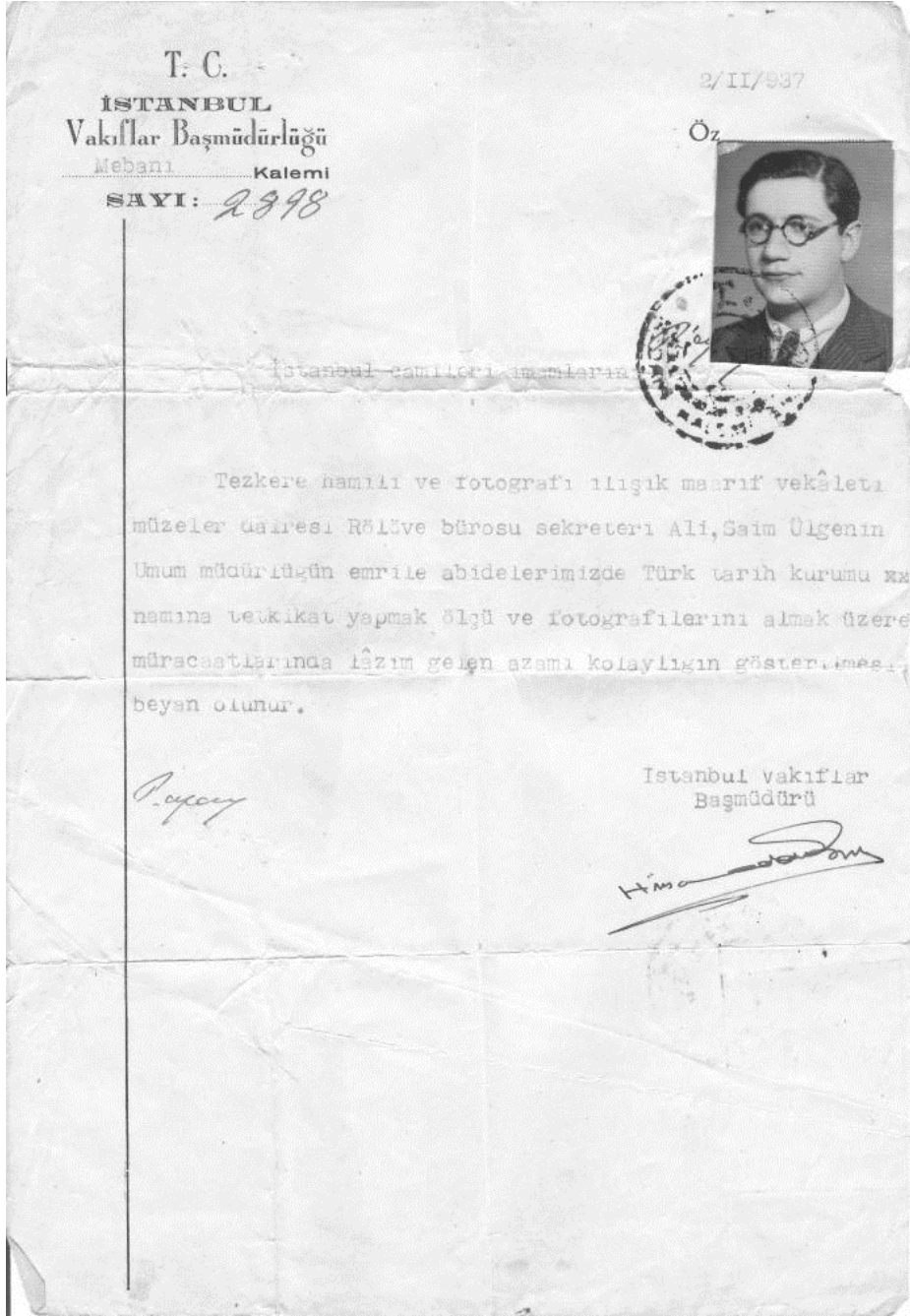


Figure 10. The document given to Ülgen to work on monuments on behalf of Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish Historical Society) by Istanbul Vakıflar Başmüdürlüğü (The General Directorate of Pious Foundations), 02.02.1937 (ASÜA)

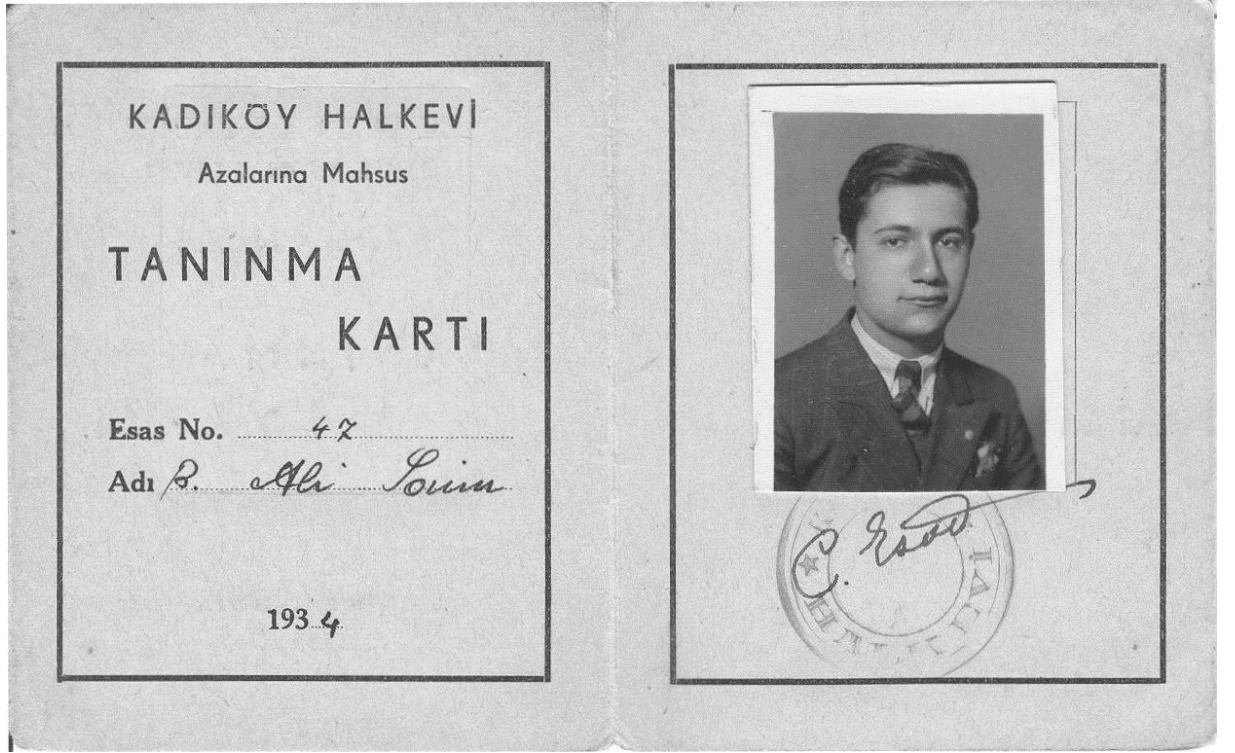


Figure 11. The identity card proper to the members of Kadıköy Halkevi (Kadıköy Public House), 1934 (ASÜA)

TÜRKİYE CÜMHURİYETİ
KÜLTÜR BAKANLIĞI

GÜZEL SANATLAR AKADEMİSİ

329 TARİHİNDE İSTANBULDA DOĞMUŞ OLAN
FOTOĞRAFI AŞAĞIDA YAPIŞIK SAİM ÜLGEN
GÜZEL SANATLAR AKADEMİSİ YÜKSEK MİMARİ
ŞUBESİNDE TAHSİLİNİ BİTİREK HUSUSİ TALİMA-
TINA GÖRE YAPILAN İMTİHANLARDA MUVAFFAK
OLMAKLA MEZKÜR İMTİHANLAR NETİCESİNDE
KENDİSİNE _____ DERECEDE

YÜKSEK MİMARLIK DİPLOMASI

VERİLMİŞTİR

1938

VERİLMİŞTİR

1938

DİPLOMA SAHİBİ

Asım Ülgün



DİPLOMA NUMARASI

551

KÜLTÜR BAKANI

S. Anıkhan

G.S.A. DİREKTÖRÜ

B. Toprak

JÜRİ HEYETİ

Haluk Sedat Karay
Ö. Ö.

Figure 12. The degree of Master of Architecture given by the Fine Arts Academy, 1938 (ASÜA)

TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ
KÜLTÜR BAKANLIĞI

Yüksek Öğretim Genel Direktörlüğü

Sayı: 4/4247

Saim Ülgen
Galatasaray, Yeni çarşı
Hayriye Caddesi Apelyan
Apart. No.7
İstanbul.

Ankara: 9. T.Sani 1938

Özet: Seçme sınavında
muvaffak olduğunuza dair:

Bakanlığımız hesabına Mimar-Arkeoloğluk öğrenmek üzere Almanya'ya gönderilecek iki talebe için açılan seçme sınavında muvaffak olduğunuz tespit edilmiştir.

Keyfiyeti tebliğ eder ve bu koldan Almanya'da tahsili kabul ettiğiniz takdirde muvafakatınızı bu yazıya karşılık olarak bildirmenizi ve sizden alınması gereken belgelere ait yapılacak iş için Akademi Direktörlüğüne başvurmanızı bildiririm.

Kültür Bakanı

MK.C. 2/11/1938
C.268

n.
C. İsmailoğlu

Figure 13. The document on Ülgen's entitlement to study "Architecture-Archeology" in Germany, 1938 (ASÜA)

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS
D'ARCHÉOLOGIE

ADRESSE POSTALE
AMBASSADE DE FRANCE
TEL. 422-27

STAMBOUL, le 26/11/1938

Mon cher Collègue,

Je me permets de vous présenter et de vous recommander très chaleureusement un jeune architecte turc, Saim Ülgen, envoyé par son Gouvernement en Allemagne où il doit parachever ses études. Il doit surtout étudier l'archéologie et l'histoire de l'art du moyen âge car son désir est de devenir architecte des monuments historiques. Et vous savez combien il y a à faire en Turquie ne serait-ce qu'à restaurer une partie des monuments seldjoukides ou ottomans.

Saim Ülgen est un jeune homme très sérieux, très travailleur, qui comprend bien son métier et qui a déjà un acquit important. Il a exécuté de nombreux relevés tant à Istanbul qu'en province et c'est en outre un garçon très honnête et très bien élevé. Je suis certain qu'il vous donnera à tous égards entière satisfaction. Et je suis persuadé d'autre part qu'il a tout à gagner à entendre vos leçons et à suivre les conseils que vous voudrez bien lui donner.

En espérant avoir le plaisir de vous revoir bientôt soit ici, soit à Paris, je vous prie d'agréer, mon cher Collègue, l'expression de mon meilleur souvenir et de mes sentiments bien cordiaux.

Monsieur le Professeur Kühnel,
BERLIN.



Figure 14. Albert Gabriel's letter dated 26.11.1938 (ASÜA)

5/ Ministère
de l'Éducation Nationale

Beaux-Arts

République Française

Palais Royal, le 20 JUIN 1933 1933

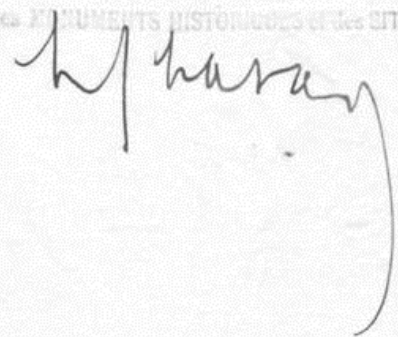
Monsieur,

M. Auni Başman, Inspecteur général des Etudiants turcs en Europe occidentale, a demandé à l'Administration des Beaux-Arts de vous initier aux méthodes de restauration des Monuments Historiques en France.

Si vous voulez bien vous présenter à mon bureau 3, rue de Valois, Paris Ier, jeudi prochain 29 juin à 15 heures, j'examinerai avec vous les conditions dans lesquelles vous pourrez faire un stage dans les Services administratifs avant de vous rendre sur les chantiers ouverts à Paris et en province.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

LE CHEF DU BUREAU
des MONUMENTS HISTORIQUES et des SITES



Monsieur Ali Saïm Ülgen
Architecte
10, rue Beauséjour
Parc Laplace - ARCUEIL (Seine)

Figure 15. The correspondence about Ülgen's internship in France (ASÜA)

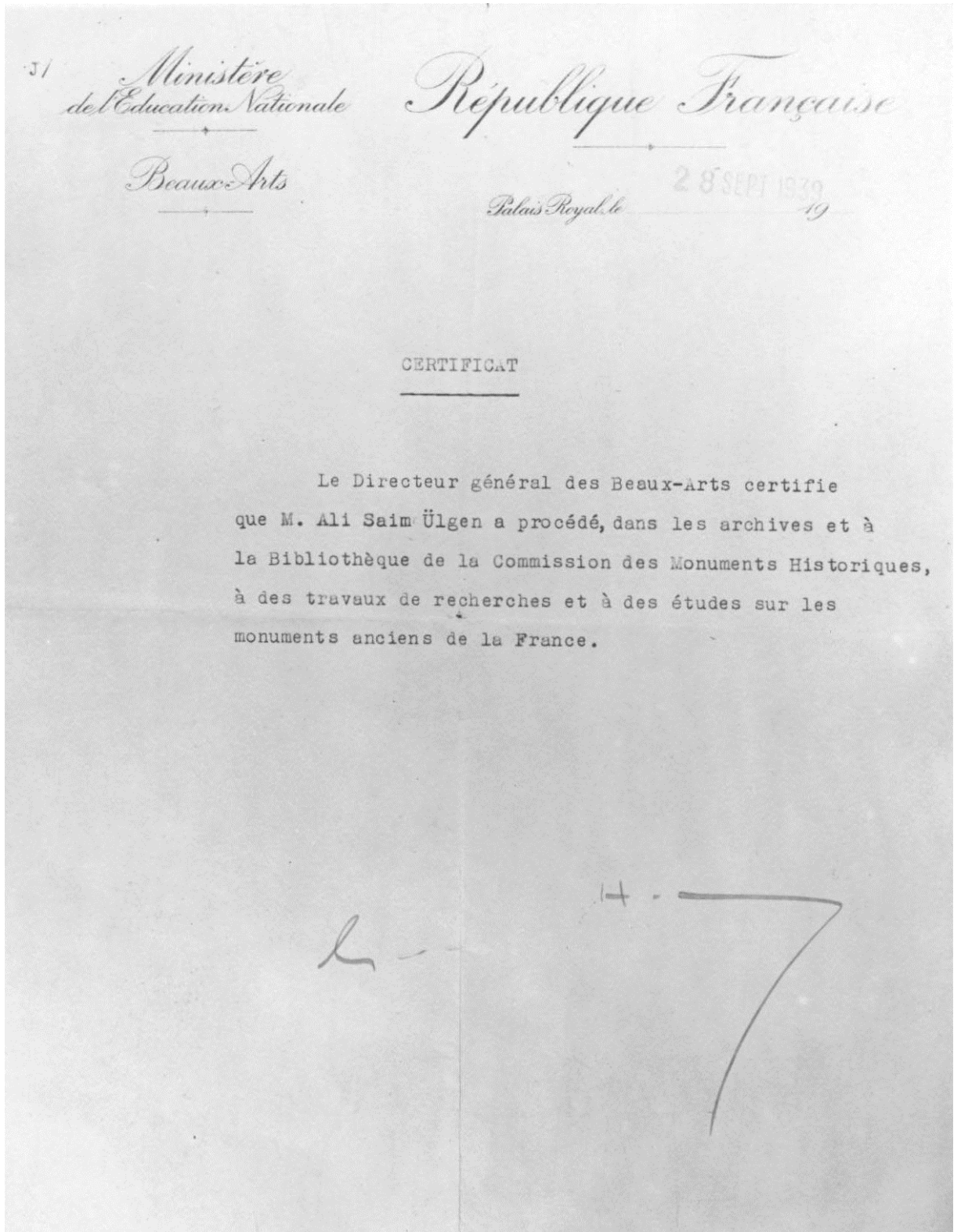


Figure 16. The certificate concerning Ülgen's studies in France, 28.09.1939 (ASÜA)

ŞEHİRCİLİK BÜROSU
CELAL ESAD ARSEVEN & SEYFİ ARKAN
BANKALAR CADDESİ BAHTİYAR HAN, 22
GALATA
TELEFON: 44569
TELGRAF ADRESİ: ŞEHİRCİLİK

İSTANBUL, 25/4/1940

SAYI:.....

Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü
Yüksek huzuruna

Konya Aksaray şehrinin imar planını tanzim etmek dolayısıyla mezkûr şehre vaki olan ziyaretlerinde orada Beylikler devrine ait olan Ulu camii ve Kızıl minareliyi görmüştüm. Ulu cami mimarî tarihimizde müntaz bir mevkiî olan bir abededir. Bunun bazı kısımları da sonradan yapılan tamirlerle eski şeklini gaib etmiştir. Bu camie yüksek idarenizce de ehemmiyet verilerek tamir edileceğini Belediye resisinden işittim. Tanzim ettiğim şehir planında en büyük ehemmiyeti bu camie vererek şimdiye kadar önünde kurulmakta olan ve orasına fena bir manzara veren buğday pazarını kaldırarak caminin mihreri üzerine ve önüne bir Cumhuriyet meydanı yaptık, ve bu da Hafia Vekâletince tasdik edildi. Bu vechile Aksaraya gelen her seyyah ilk önce bu Türk şah eserini görecektir. Caminin önünü kapayan manialar da kaldırılacağından bina bütün güzelliği ile meydana çıkacaktır. Fakat bizde henüz Türk mimarî eserlerini eski halile tamir edecek ve bozulmuş yerlerini kendi uslubuna göre düzeltecek sanat tamircilerimiz ve mimarlarımız bulunmadığından bu güzel binanın işe gayri vakıf bir mimar eline düşmesinden endişe etmekteyim. Bu hususta sizce de malûm olan ve bu defa abidelerin tamiri hakkında çok faydalı bir eser yazan mimar Saim Ali Ülgen'i tavsiye etmeği bir vazife bilir ve derin hürmetlerimi sunarım.

Celâl Esad Arseven

Figure 17. Celâl Esad Arseven's recommendation letter for Ali Saim Ülgen, 25.04.1940 (ASÜA)

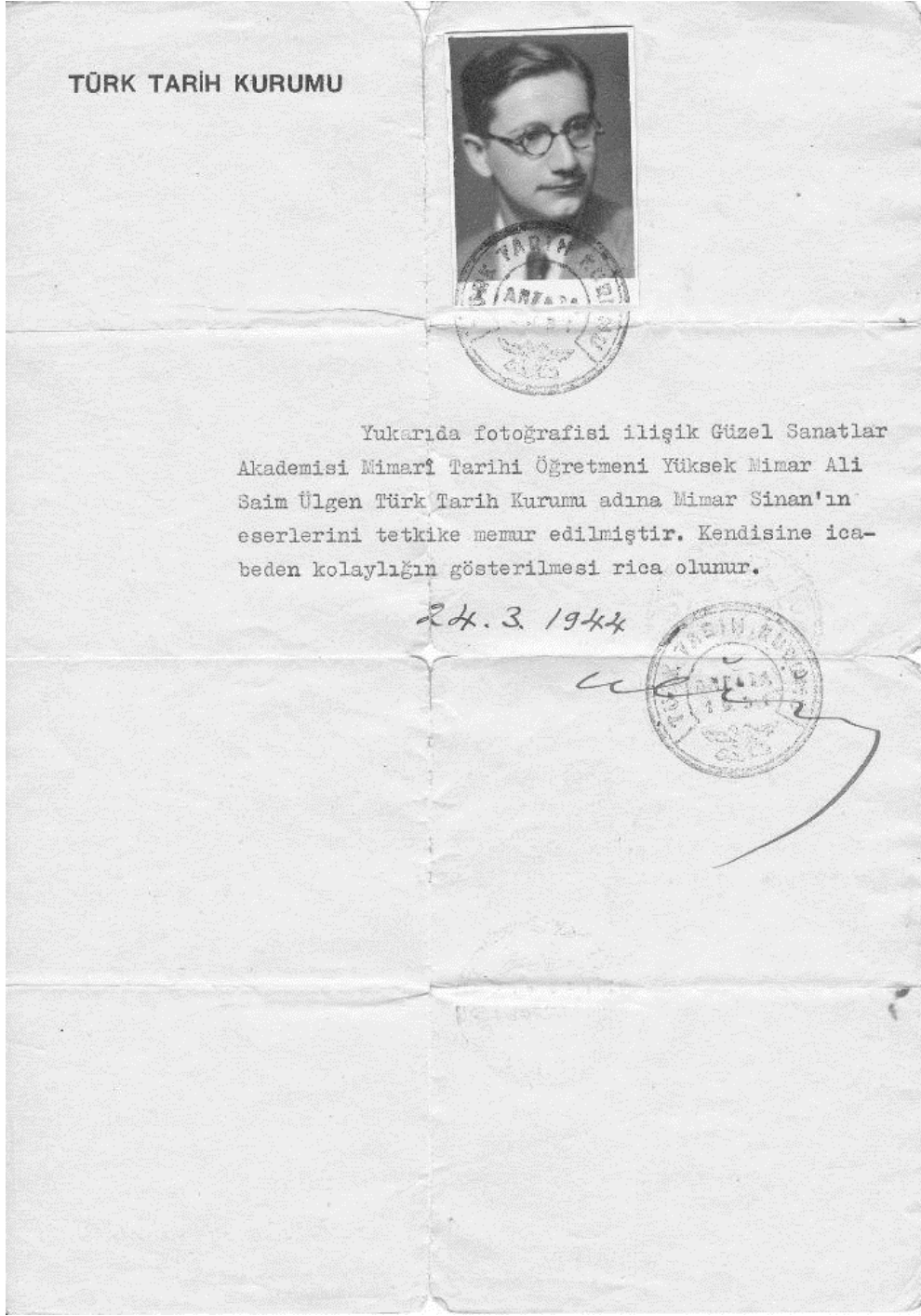


Figure 18. The document about the tenancy of Ülgen to investigate Mimar Sinan's works by Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish Historical Society), 24.03.1944 (ASÜA)

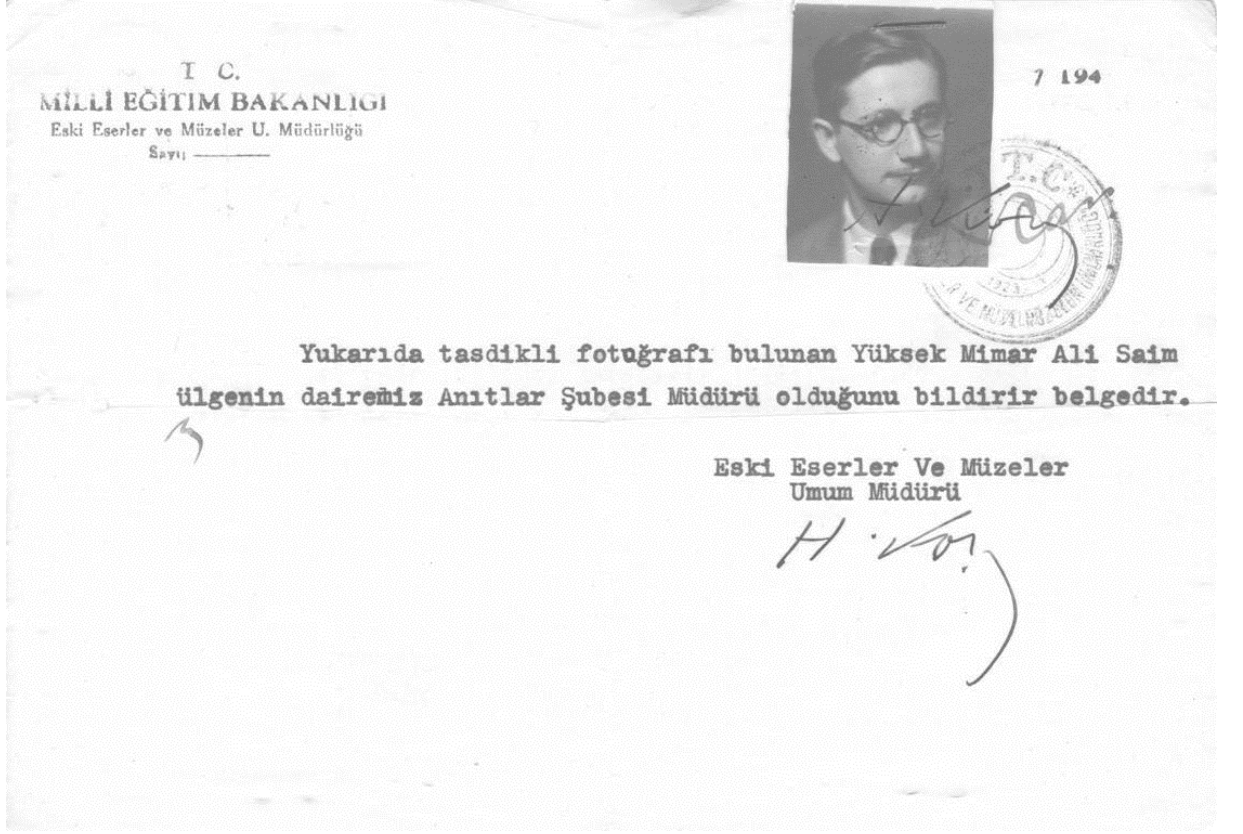


Figure 19. The document concerning Ülgen's directorate of Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Umum Müdürlüğü Anıtlar Şubesi Müdürü (The Branch of Monuments in the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums), 01.10.1944 (ASÜA)

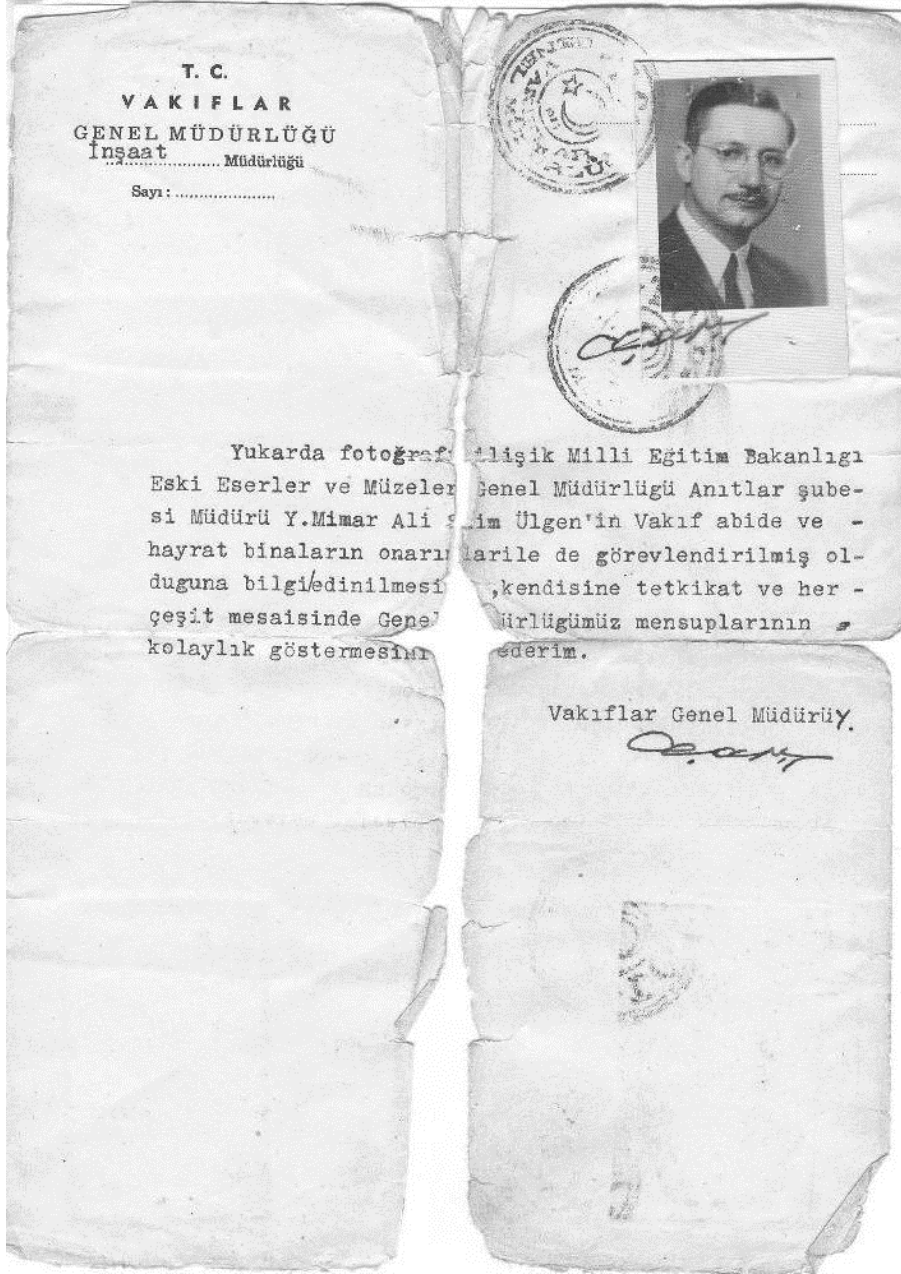


Figure 20. The document concerning Ülgen's tenancy to restore the waqf monuments by Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü İnşaat Müdürlüğü (The Management of Construction in the General Directorate of Pious Foundations) (ASÜA)

Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi
Müdürlüğüne

İstanbul anıtlarının sayım ve kütüğe geçirme işi Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Umum Müdürü Hamit Koşay'ın genel başkanlığında ve anıtlar Şubesi Müdürü Y.Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen'in idaresinde müzeler teşkilâtı teknik eleman ve uzmanlarının yardımıyla kurulacak ve mayıs ayında işe başlanılarak, kıymetli müzaheretiniz sayesinde en kısa bir zamanda bitirilecektir.

Bunun için:

1-Alay Köşkünün bu büronun çalışacağı şekilde (bir müdür odası, bir sayım kurulu çalışma salonu, bir resim atelyesi halinde) tanzim;

2-Çiniliköşk müzesi Müdürü Y.Mimar Mustafa Ayaşlıoğlunun sayım işlerine tanzimi;

3-Müzeniz memurlarından Şefik Aykay ve Hayrettin Afşar'ın kâtip olarak büro emrine verilmesini ve İstanbul Valiliğine yazılan ekli yazıda lüzum gösterilen malzeme ve elemanların temini hususunda şahsen de ilginizi rica eder, saygılarımı sunarım.

S.Ü.

Eski Eserler ve Müzeler
Umum Müdürü

H.Koşay

Aslı Gibidir.

Figure 21. The document concerning “inventory and registration of the monuments in Istanbul,” 04.04.1945 (ASÜA)

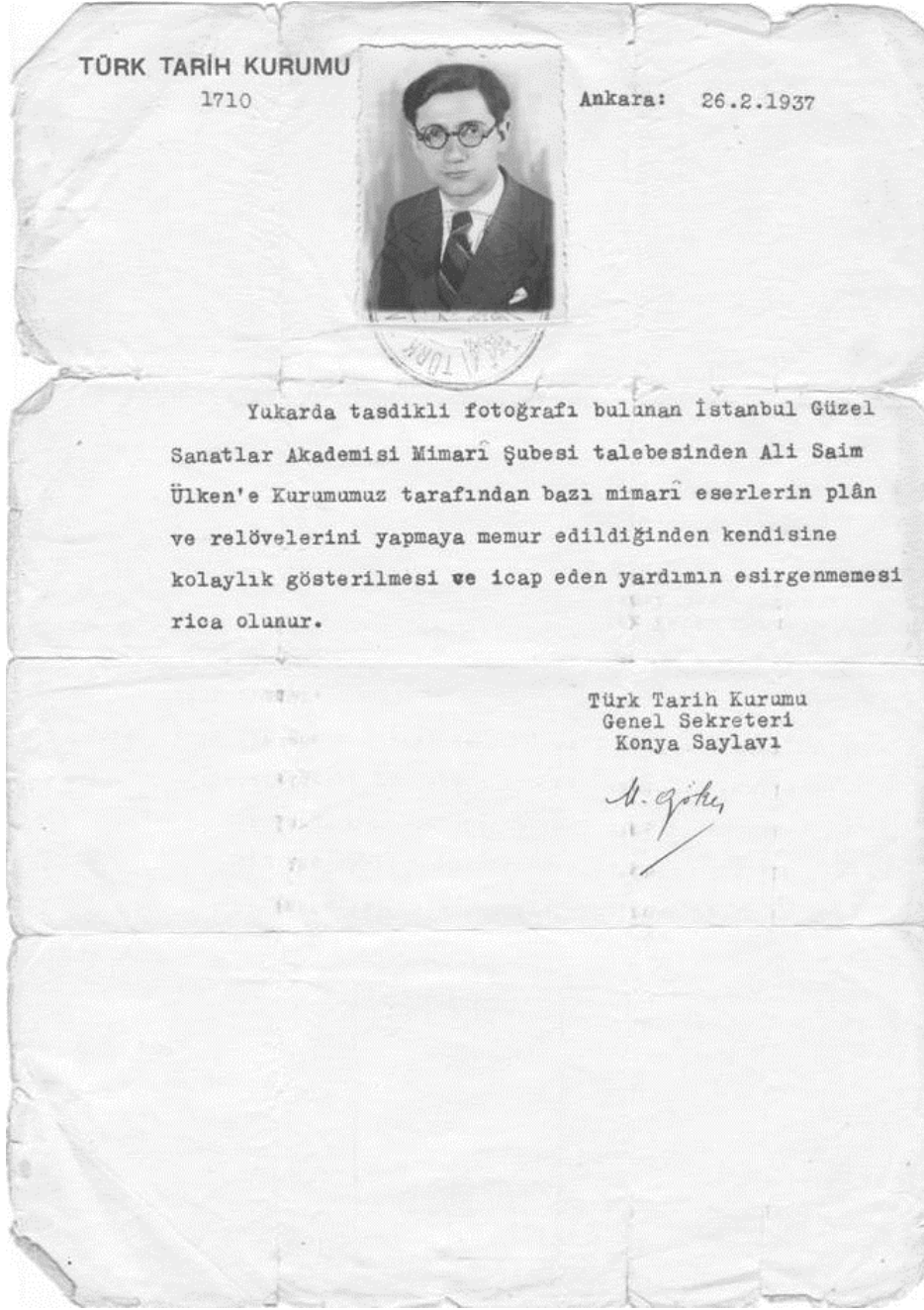


Figure 22. The document concerning Ülgen's tenancy to make surveys and plans of the monuments by Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish Historical Society), 26.02.1937 (ASÜA)



Figure 23. The invitation card to the Second Turkish History Congress, 20.09.1937 (ASÜA)

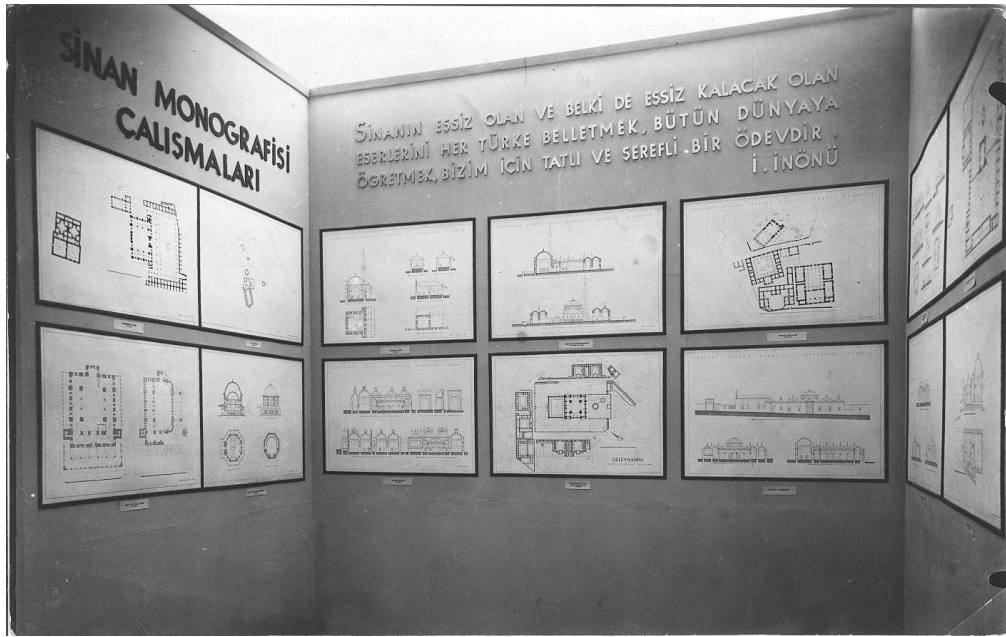


Figure 24. The works on “the Monography of Sinan” (ASÜA)

Yurtta yapılacak gezilerde incelenecek konular

- I - Tarihi Anıtlar:
- Uzman mimarlar tarafından detaylı rölevelerin çizilmesi.
 - Desinatörler tarafından tezyinat ve motiflerin tesbit ve tersimi.
 - Epigraflar tarafından kitabelerin okunması ve istampaı.
 - Fotoğraflarının detaylı olarak alınması.
 - Şehir ve kasabanın halihazır plânı üzerine, yerlerinin işlenmesi.
- II - Harabeler, Hüyükler:
- Arkeologlar tarafından yerlerinin tesbiti ve haritaya işlenmesi
 - Çanak-çömlek toplanması, imkân bulunursa küçük ölçüde sondaj yapılması
 - Fotoğraflarının, gerekirse plânlarının alınması.
- III - Kaya kabartmaları ve kitabeler:
- Yerlerinin tesbiti ve harita üzerine işlenmesi.
 - Fotoğraf, gerekirse desen ve plânlarının alınması.
 - İstampa yapılması.
 - Korunma imkân ve tedbirlerinin düşünülmesi.
- IV - Taşınabilir eski eserlerin tesbiti (Müzelik eserler):
- Kabartma, heykel, stel gibi nakli mümkün olan eserlerin tesbiti ve gerekirse taşınması.
- V - Tarihi incelemeler:
- Ötedenberi buralarda cereyan etmiş olan tarihi hadiselerle ait hatıralar, rivayetler ve kahramanlık menkıbeleri, harp alanları
- VI - Coğrafya incelemeleri : (Uzman bir coğrafyacı tarafından).
- VII - Etnoğrafya ve folklor incelemeleri:
- mahalli adetler, gelenekler, inanışlar, yaşama tarzı.
 - Halk edebiyatı: Destanlar, şairler, masallar ve atasözleri.
 - El işlemleri, tezyini motiflerin, desenlerin çizilmesi.
 - Konservatuvar uzmanları tarafından, mimik, melodi ve seslerin tesbiti, plâğa alınması.
 - Dekor, kıyafet, mahalli oyunlar, tabiat manzaralarının tesbit ve tersimi.
 - Hareketler, danslar, düğünler ve genel manzaraların filme alınması.
- VIII - Tabii görümler ve anıt peysajları : (Foto ve sinema uzmanları tarafından

Figure 25. The themes selected by Ülgen for investigation during his trips in Turkey (ASÜA)

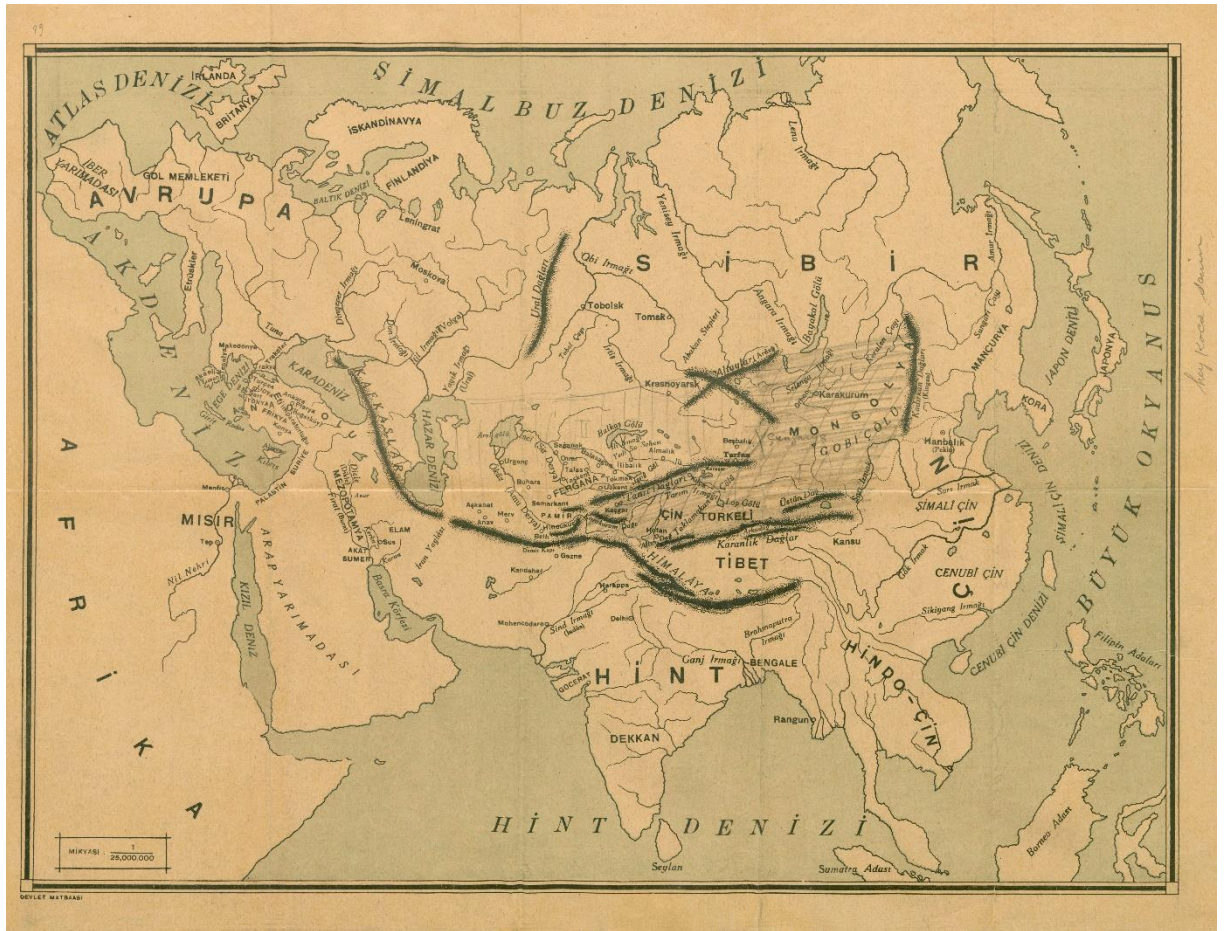


Figure 26. "Map of Middle Asien" (ASÜA)

Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Mimari Şubesi

Mimari tarihi (ve şekil bilgisi) dersi

müfredat programı

Sınıf III

(Haftada 2 saat)

Tarihten önce ve eski zamanlar mimarîleri.

Mimari tarihi hakkında malûmat. Tarihten önce zamanlar mimarîsi: Taş devri, cilâli taş devri, tunç devri; demir devri mimarîleri, ilk meskenler, mimari inkişaf merkezleri.

Sumer mimarîsi:

Coğrafi ve tarihi malûmat, dinî ve sivil mimari, sumer mimarisinin karakteri ve tanınmış abideleri, bu mimarinin tesir ettiği memleketler.

Eti mimarîsi:

Etiler hakkında coğrafi ve tarihi malûmat, mimari eserler ve karakteri, Eti mimarisile Sumer mimarîsi arasındaki münasebet, Anadoluda bıraktığı tesirler ve Bizans mimarisine olan tesiri.

Elam, Keldan ve Asur mimarîleri:

Coğrafi ve tarihi malûmat, dinî ve sivil mimari eserleri, mimari karakter, inşaat usulü, üzerine tesir ettiği mimarîler.

Eski Mısır mimarîsi:

Coğrafi ve tarihi malûmat, mimari devirler ve eserler, dinî mimari, (mabetler, mezarlar), sivil mimari (evler, saraylar) mimari karakter, başlıca mimari unsurlar, sütunlar ve tezyinat usulbları, inşa usulü; tesir ettiği ve münasebette bulunduğu mimarîler, Mezopotamya mimarîleriyle mukayesesi.

Eski Suriye mimarîleri: (Konan, Finike, Kıbrıs mimarîleri)

Mimari karakter, mimari eserler, Yahudi mimarîsi, Mabedi Süleyman, Eti ve Sumer mimarîleri münasebeti, Mısır mimarisile münasebeti ve tesirleri.

Eski İran mimarîsi:

Coğrafi ve tarihi malûmat
İslamiyete kadar İran ve mimari devirleri, Sasanî mimarîsi, İran te
ve eserleri karakter Sumer ve Keldan - Asur, eti mimarîsi.
Eski günden tesirleri: Dinî, sivil ve askerî mimari
inşa usulleri. Mimari ve tezmin unsurları.

Figure 27. Ülgen's syllabus for the course Mimari Tarihi (Architectural History) (The Third Class)

Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Mimari Şubesi
Mimarî tarihi dersi müfredat programı
Sınıf IV.
(Haftada 2 saat)

ORTA VE SON ZAMANLAR MİMARİLERİ

Müslüman milletler mimarîleri:

İslâmiyetin zuhuru ve müslüman mimarîleri üzerine tesiri, ilk islâm binaları, arap mimarîsi ve muhtelif mektepleri, Mısır, Suriye, Bağdad, Mağreb mektepleri ve bunlar üzerine orta Asya Türk mimarîsinin tesirleri.

Müslüman İran mimarîsi:

İslâmiyetin İran mimarîsi üzerine tesiri, Sasanî mimarîsinin tesirleri, ilk camiler ve medreseler, mimarî karakter, İran ve Selçuk Türkleri, Hindistan mimarîsile ihtilât, Anadolu mimarîsi üzerine tesirleri.

İç Asya ve Anadolu Selçuk Türkleri mimarîsi:

Coğrafi ve tarihî malûmat, Selçuk mimarîsinin menşei ve sahaları, küçük Asya Türk mimarîsi ve eserleri, Selçuk mimarîsinin karakteri, Çin, Mezopotamya, İran, Yunan ve Bizans mimarîleriyle münasebeti, camiler, medreseler, Türbeler, hanlar, evler, kaleler, mimarînin inkişafına sebep olan amiller, Türk mimarîsinin Müslüman milletler mimarîleri üzerine tesirleri, Avrupa mimarîlerine tesirleri.

Türk Beylik devri mimarîsi:

Selçuk hükûmetinin inkişafından sonra teşekkül eden beyliklerde mimarî, Karaman mimarîsi ve binaları, bu devir mimarîlerinin inkişafına sebep olan amiller, şimalî ve cenubî Anadolu'da mimarî karakter, iki devir arasında ki mimarî karakter farkı.

Türk Osmanlı devri mimarîsi:

Tarihî malûmat, Türk Osmanlı devletinin teşekkülünde mimarî, ilk Osmanlı Türk binaları ve mimarî karakteri, bunların Selçuk, Beylik devri ve

2
bu başa
girecek

IV
sınıf
1 saat
Türk
mimarî
tarihi

Figure 28. Ülgen's syllabus for the course Mimari Tarihi (Architectural History) (The Fourth Class)

Y. Mimar Ali Şâim Ülgen'in San'at tarihi
dersleri için 4 Sömertirlik
Programı==

1956 - 1957 kış sümestiri :

(Anadolu Beylikleri san'atına devam edilecektir.)

Candar - İsfendiyar Oğulları

Pervane oğulları

Kara koyunlular

Ak Koyunlular

Zülkadir Oğulları

Ramazân Oğulları

devrinde mimarî ve tezyini san'at

1957 yılı yaz sümestiri

Hamit Oğulları ve Alâiye beyliği

Menteşe oğulları

Germeyan Oğulları ve İadik beyliği - Şahip oğulları

Aydın Oğulları - İzmir beyliği

Saruhan Oğulları

Karesi oğulları

devrinde mimarî ve tezyini san'at

1957 - 1958 yılı kış sümestiri :

Osman oğulları devri mimarisi

Bursa Usulü ve Okulları

a) İznik Okulu ve Bursa Okulu

c) Edirne Okulu

d) Rumeli Vilâyet Okulu

e) Anadolu Vilâyet Okulu

Figure 29. Ülgen's Four Semesters Schedule for the course Sanat Tarihi (Art History) at the Fine Arts Academy (1)

1956 yılı yaz 3. semestiri :

Klasik Üslup

- a) İstanbul'un fethini müteakip görülen klâsikleşmiş elemanlar
 - b) Mimar Hayrettin Okulu
 - c) Mimar Ali Okulu ve Sinan okulunu hazırlayan unsurlar
 - d) Sinan okulu ve Türk Klasik mimarisi
-

Figure 30. Ülgen's Four Semesters Schedule for the course Sanat Tarihi (Art History) at the Fine Arts Academy (2)

Kitabımızda kullandığımız yeni terimler
hakkında bir kaç söz

Kitabımıza başlık olarak kullandığımız "Süsleme" tabiri ötedenberi alışılan bir söz olmakla beraber burada belki ona vermek istediğimiz yeni manayı hemen ifade edemeyecektir. Çünkü bu hususta şimdiye kadar kullanılan ta-
bir tezyinat'tır.

Aslı Arapça olan tezyinat kelimesinin Türkçe'deki karşılığı Süs ve Be-
zek tir. Bir şeyi tezyin etmek manasına süslemek ve bezemek deriz. Meselâ:
Güzel resimlerle tezyin olunmuş bir duvar dediğimiz gibi güzel resimlerle
süslenmiş bir duvar da diyebiliriz. Keza: Çiçeklerle müzeyen bir kumaş için
süslü bir kumaş da denilebilir. O halde tezyinat sözünü bu Türkçe kelimeler-
den biriyle ifade etmek mümkündür ve lâzımdır. Çünkü Fransızcadaki (décora-
tion)(ornement) ve (parure) gibi az çok farklı manaları olan tâbirlerin hep-
sine birden karşılık olarak kullanıma geldiğimiz tezyinat sözü sanat dilinde
lâzımgelen sarahati verememektedir. Meselâ: Bir odanın tezyinatı veya bir
çini üzerindeki tezyinat deyince ayrı ayrı şeyler düşündüğümüz halde bunla-
rı aynı sözle ifade ediyoruz. Halbuki Fransızcada evvelki için (décoration)
ve sonraki için (ornement) tabirleri kullanılır. Sanat dilinde bunlar ayrı
ayrı şeylerdir. Bir odanın tezyinatı duvarlara asılan resimler, yerlere se-
rilen halılar, mobilyalar ve sair eşyadan ibaret süsler olabilir. Halbuki
bir çininin tezyinatı sırf çizgi ve renklerden ibaret (ornement) lardır. Ne-
tekim bu iki mana farkını ayırmak ihtiyacıyledirki son zamanlarda tezyinatın
bu manasını, Türkçe de ifade eden bir terim bulunamadığından dolayı Fransız-
cadaki (ornement) sözü ile ifade etmek zorunda kalınmıştır.

Hiç şüphesizki (ornement) da aynı zamanda bir süs ve tezyinattır. Fakat
her tezyinat, yani (décoration) çok defa (ornement) olmayabilir. Meselâ: Bir
duvarın tezyinatı (ornement) dediğimiz şekillerden ibaret olabileceği gibi
bu tezyinat resim, kumaş, halı, kâğıt çini vesair şeylerle de yapılmış olabi-
lir. Bunlara ise sanat lisanında (ornement) denmez, (decoration) denir. O
halde bu iki ayrı manayı yalnız tezyinat sözü ile ifade etmek sarih olmaz.

Figure 31. Lecture notes for the course Türk Mimarisi 1957-1958

12

T. C.
Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı
Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü
Sayı :

Ankara 16 /XII/ 194 6

Özet

16/XII/1946 Perükâr çıkması, Beyoğlu

Çok muhterem bay Ülgen!

Okday, Türk sanatı üzerine yazdığım kitaptan istediğinizi bana bildirdi. Uzun zamandanberi size kitabımı göndermek istiyordum, bugün gönderiyorum. Siz muhakkakki kitabım hakkında hüküm verebilecek çok, pek çok az olan yerli sanat tarihçilerinden birisiniz.

Kitap hakkında bay Tahsin Öz tarafından yapılan kötü niyetli imaları her halde biliyorsunuz. Ben bu imalara pek şaşmadım, zira bu bey beni 1943 son baharında müzeye kendisini ilk defa ziyarete gittiğim zaman da birbirimizi daha önceden hiç görmemiş olmamıza rağmen pek soğuk karşılamıştı.

Kitap hakkında şunu tebarüz ettirmek isterimki, konturattım gereğince işe girdiğim tarihten 3 sene sonra talebeler için bir kitap yazmak ile mükelleftim, yoksa henüz böyle bir şey yapmaz ve kendime daha uzun bir zaman hasrederdim. Tecrübelerime göre kitap talebeler için bir öğrenim ve bir müracaat kitabı olarak kâfidir. Ben bilhassa öğretici ve tarihî tekâmülü gösteren meselelere ehemmiyet verdim. Elsanatları, tezyinat bahislerini bu işlerle uğraşanlara bıraktım, zaten müzenin bu kıymetleri bana gösterilmedi.

Kitap tabiatıyla kusurludur fakat bu benim kabahatim değildir. 165 Krş. içinde daha fazla bir şey istenemez. (Broşür)

İşte bunun için sizden kitabın zayıf ve eksik yerleri hakkında hüküm verirken öyle pek fazla sert davranmamızı rica ediyorum.

Derin saygılarımı sunarım
Hürmetkârınız Ernest Diez

P.S. Eğer tekrar İstanbul'a gelerseniz beni muhakkak haberdar ediniz

Mektubu Türkçeye çeviren:
Y. Mühendis
Oğuz Babaoğlu

S.Ç. 26/XII/1946

Figure 32. Diez's letter to Ülgen (26.12.1946)

Türk Sanatı Diez sf: 232 st: 16

Her ne kadar eserini yaratıcısı
mimar Mehmed ağa yine bir Sinan yapı
planını almış ve dış görünüşe de o zamana ka-
dar gelen ananelere göre şekil vermiş isede
Caminin içi, anıtsal yuvarlak payeleri,
yükseklere kadar çıkan çini kaplamaları
ve sayısız pencerelerden giren aydınlıkla
Sinan Camilerinin mistik loşluğundan tama-
mile ayrı bir tesir bırakıyor ve Celâl Es-
Arsevenin müşahade ettiği gibi camiden
çok bir sarayı andırıyor.

Figure 33. Ülgen's notes for book review of Diez's Türk Sanatı

Müdürlüğe
Sayı :

TARİHÎ ANITLAR YÜKSEK KOMİSYONU KANUNU TASLAKI

- Madde 1 - Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğünce korunması gerekli anıtlarla ilgili hizmetlere ait kanun tüzük ve yönetmelikleri düzenleyerek teklif etmek, anıt vasfını haiz eserleri tesbitle bu gibi eserlerin korunması, restorasyonu ile ilgili işlemleri yapmak, projelerini inceleyerek son kararları vermek ve gereklindenetlemeyi yapmak ve anıtlara ait her çeşit meseleleri hal etmek üzere Tarihî Anıtlar Yüksek Komisyonu kurulmuştur.
- Madde 2 - Tarihî Anıtlar Şurası (12) aslî üyeden mürekkep olup bu üyeler memlekette ilim, estetik, mimarlık ve san'at tarihî bakımından şöhret kazanmış ve anıtlarla ilgili etüdler yapmış kimseler arasından Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğünce seçilerek Başbakanlığa inha ve Bakanlar Kurulu kararıyla tayin olunurlar.
- Madde 3 - Bu komisyonun tabii başkanı Vakıflar Genel Müdürüdür. Genel Müdürlüğün anıtların korunmasıyla ilgili İnşaat Dairesi Müdürü ile aynı daireden raportör olarak görevlendirilen bir uzman mimar ile mimar müfettişleri komisyonun tabii üyeleridir. Üyelik daimidir. Ancak, sebepsiz 8 müteakip toplantı döneminde devamsızlık gösterenlerle istifa edenlerin yerlerine yenileri tayin olunur.
- Madde 4 - Anıtlar Yüksek Komisyonu her yıl Kasım ve Mart aylarında toplantı devresi (7) günden az olmamak üzere toplanır. Genel Müdürlükçe lüzum gösterildiği takdirde olağan üstü toplantılara da davet olunurlar. Toplantılar Ankara'da Genel Müdürlükde veya anıtların yerinde incelenmesi bahis konusu olduğu takdirde toplantılar mezkûr eserlerin bulunduğu şehirlerde yapılır.
- Madde 5 - Anıtlar Yüksek Komisyonu Genel Müdürün veya kendi arasından seçeceği bir üyenin Başkanlığında enaz aslî azadan yedisinin huzuriyle toplanır. Verilecek kararlar üçte iki çoğunlukla kabul olunur.

Figure 34. "The Law draft for the High Commission of Historical Monuments" (1)

Sayı :

- Madde 6 - Komisyonun toplu olmadığı zamanlarda görevi ile ilgili işlerle uğraşmak, yapılan restorasyonların usulüne göre *acele* yapıp yapılmadığını kontrol etmek üzere tabii üyeleri arasında olan Müfettiş Mimarlar selahiyet verir. Bu üyelerin talebi üzerine Vakıflar Genel Müdürü Hey'eti olağan üstü toplantıya çağırır.
- Madde 7 - Anıtlar Yüksek Komisyonu anıtların çoğunluk teşkil ettiği Marmara bölgesinde merkezi İstanbul olmak üzere en çok(5)üyeli bir Danışma Kurulu bulundurulabilir. Bu suretle adı geçen bölgedeki anıtların kontrolünü bu kurul vasıtasıyla veya bizzat yapar
- Madde 8 - Anıtlar Yüksek Komisyonu üyelerine toplantı zamanlarına mahsus olmak üzere bütçeden gösterilmiş miktar üzerinden bir huzur hakkı, toplantı yerine dışardan geleceklere yol ve oturma giderleri verilir.
- Madde 9 - Tarihî Anıtların korunması ile ilgili kurulların kuruluş ve çalışmalarını gösteren tüzük ve yönetmelikler Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğüince düzenlenir.
- Madde 10 - Tarihî Anıtlar Yüksek Komisyonunun aldığı kararların tatbikiyle Genel Müdürlük İnşaat dairesi görevlidir.

Figure 35. "The Law draft for the High Commission of Historical Monuments" (2)

**Türkiye'deki anıtlar, Üren yerleri ve Anıtlar
şubesi hakkında kısa rapor**

1 - Türkiye anıtlarının durumu:

Türkiye anıtları ve Üren yerleri hiç bir memlekette görül-
meyen bir kayıtsızlık içindedir. ve bundan dolayıda yalnız Avrupa
değil yakın şark memleketleri içindedir en geri durumda olanlar
arasında sayılabilir. Son yirmi beş yıl içinde anıtlar meselesi-
nin lâyıkıyla ele alınması yüzünden azim zararlar doğmuş ve bir-
birini naks eden bazı kanun maddeleri yüzünden anıtların sahiple-
ri çoğalmış ve bakım rejimi askariye imişdir. Bundan dolayı yalnız
İstanbul'da tuttuğumuz istatistiklere göre anıtlardan dörtte
biri zai olmuş ve bu gün ayakta duranlarda birer harabe ve soyul-
muş malzeme deposu haline gelmiştir. Bu tahriblerde en ehemaliet-
li unsur bu işlerle uğraşan dairelerin aczi ve işi hakiki bir ilim
doktrinini ile ele alması, pirenansız ve programsız günü kurtar-
maya çalışmış olmasında aranmalıdır. Bundan cesaret alarak istediği
tahribde bulunan ve ceza da görmeyen idarî ve askerî anıtlar ve
hasis menfaatlara bunları alet edenler durumu daha feci hale sok-
muştur.

Eski eserler kanununun bütün tazyikimize rağmen 12 yıldan
beri çıkartılmayı ve teşkilatta hususî maksatlarla ahensizlik
yaratılması abidelerimizin daha çok suretle mahve gitmesine sebep
olmuştur. Müessesesizlik içindeki şahısların dahi bir disiplin al-
tına girmeği bu tahriplere daha büyük bir anil olmuştur. Bu ci-
hette anıtlar meselesini bu güne kadar bir düzene girmemiş telâkki
ederek yeni baştan ele almak zarureti vardır.

2 - Anıtlar şubesinin durumu ve kadrosu:

1934 de itibaren ilk defa Hars dairesi adlıbüromun içinde
ve daha sonra 1933 yılında abideleri koruma kurulu ünvanıyla te-
sis edilen anıtlar teşkilatı, müzeler teşkilatın içinde gayet düzi
içinin, maksadının çok dümanda ve mevkinde kalmıştır. ve bu gün
de takriben 450 memur ve müşahadenlik bir kadro temsil eden bu da-
irede otuzda bir nisbetinde ve her gün özel maksatların kurbanı
olarak zayıflatılan bir durumda ve çalışma imkanları haddi askari-
ye indirilmiş vaziyettedir.

Büromuz her şeyden evvel ilim ve teknik bürosudur. ihtisas
mevki olması lazım gelen bu yerlerin en az ücrette ve en az alaka-
ya tabidir.

Şubemiz elemanlarının aldıkları maaş ve ücret hayat istandar
dının çok dümanda olduğundan ve Bayındırlık, Vakıflar ve Bankalar
daki bu cins ihtisas erbabına verilen kıyas edilemeyeceği gibi çok
daha yakında ve bakanlık teşkilatı içindeki teknik müstegarlığı
eleman kadrosuyla karşılaştırılacak kadar zayıftır. ve çok defa
yarı yarıya düşüktür.

Figure 36. "A short report about the Monuments, Archaeological Sites and the Branch of Monuments in Turkey" (1)

Bu hal karşısında hayatını bu mesleğe çalışıp bağlanacak ve mesleğinde devamlı ihtisas yapacak bir zümre yaratmak imkanı bulunmamıştır ve bulunamaz.

3 - Tahsisat durumu:

Yukarıda bahsedildiği gibi ilgi görmeyen bir mesleğin tahsisat durumunda o nisbette zayıf olmuştur. ve yalnız bakanlık alakasıyla bu miktar çoğalıp azalmıştır. İş hacmini programlayabilmek ve bir düzenle yapılacak işleri tesbit, önceden hesaplamak imkanı bulunmamıştır. Çünkü her yıl verilecek para mali yılbaşından aylarca sonra karar altına alınmış ve bir senenin daha evvelden tesbit ve ayarlanmasının faydaları takdir edilmemiştir ve verilen tahsisat da muhtelif ellerden ve kanallardan ayrıldığı cihetle işler parçakende ve gubumizin düzenleme imkanlarından uzak kalmıştır. Başka ellerden sarf olunan işlerin layıkıyla sahibi olmadığımızdan bir taraftan Bayındırlığın, bir taraftan bir ek-siltme meselesini dahi tekemmül ettiremeyen Millî Eğitim memurlarının elinden geçmediğimiz kalmamıştır. Bu ödenekler dahi kadrosuzluk, teşkilatsızlık yüzünden layıkıyla ve istenilen şekilde sarfedilememiş ve kısasen ziyan olmuştur.

Birleşmiş milletlerden eski eserlerin korunması için ameri-kan yardımlarına mashaer olanlar pek çok bulunmasına rağmen Türki-ye bundan da mahrum kalmıştır. Turizm meselesini ön plâna aldığımız bu günlerde bu yardımın salanması pek yerinde olacaktır.

Durumun islahı cereheleri:

I - Anıtlar teşkilatının kendine yeter hale getirilmesi:

a - Büromun çalışma yeri 1944 yılından beri yani anıtlar şubesinin kurulduğu tarihten itibaren her gün genişleyen iş hacmi nisbetinde çalışma yerine de ehliyet verilmesi gerekirken bu mahallin muhtelif taşınmalar neticesinde asgariye indirilmesi ve en fena şartlara tabi tutulması esefe değer bir hadisedir. 1944 de şube 3 oda bir şarbrnuar, iki kolidordan mürekkep bir iş yerin sahipken bu gün bir bodruma atılmış ışaksız, havasız, rutubetli ve gayet dar bir Beha içinde çalışmaya mecbur edilmiştir. Arşiv dolapları umumî kolidora koymak mecburiyeti hasıl olmuştur. ve bu gün lağım farelerinin tahribine maruzdur.

Foto atölyesi tahaffun içinde ve rahatça çalışacak durumu olmadığı gibi vantilasyon ve elektrik tesisatıda yoktur. Atelyenin rüprodüksiyon kısmı için yer ayrılmamıştır. Arşiv dolapları mimarların oturduğu dar yerin arkasına sıralanmış ve gayri kabili istimal hale gelmiştir.

Anıtlar Şubesi Müdürü başta olmak üzere foto şafide ve bütün arkadağlarda romatizma ve benzeri hastalıklar başlamış veya artmıştır. Hiç güneş görmediği cihetle memurlarımız daima hastalamakta ve işler sekteye uğramaktadır ve iki memurumuzun hastalığı aylardan beri devam etmektedir.

Figure 37. "A short report about the Monuments, Archaeological Sites and the Branch of Monuments in Turkey" (2)

eldeki elemanların rahatça oturup çalışmak imkanları bulunmadığından işler aksamakta arşiv geliştirilememektedir.

Buğün bu gün Millî Eğitim Bakanlığının hiç bir bürosunun duşar olmadığı gayri sahhi şartlar anıtlar gubesinin bürosunda mevcuttur. Bu hal idarede bulunan ve şahsi menfaat ve maksatlar güdenlerin arzusuyla vucutbulmuştur.

b - Malzeme meselesi:

Anıtlar gubesi 1944 de kurulduğu zaman abideleri koruma kurulu diye bir müvesi bulunduğunda halde İstanbul'daki rölöve bürosu müstesna hiç bir miktari malzemeye sahip değildi.

Foto atölyesi en mübren ve zaruri olan aletlerden mahrumdu. Arşiv senekrin biriktirilmiş olduğu birçok kağıttan bazı rüpedik-siyon ve dışardan gönderilmiş orijinali bulunmayan alelade fotoğraflardan mürekkepti.

Tescil arşivi denilen arşivde de ancak İstanbul enclümeninin göndermiş olduğu 300 fiş hariç ihtivaatı salih ilmi bir döküman mevcut değildir. Bunların bir kısmında fotoğrafları mevcut kartonların üzerinden sökülmiş ve alınmış olduğu görülmüştür. Bir kartonlar dolusu yarısını Paraların yeniş olduğu menkul müzeliğe eya fotoğrafları alakaları dolayısıyla kaza yayın ve Müzeler gubesine tevdi edildikten sonra yapılan ve iki sene süren tasnif neticesinde bu günkü muhabere dosyaları tanzim edilebildi. Bu dosyaların içindeki evrakda bazen muamelelerin keşidide ve bilhassa miktari raporların bir kısmının bulunmadığı görüldü. Bu intizamsızlığı önlemek için demir dolaplarda kilit altına alınan evrak ve dosyalar bu gün nizamlı ve işe yarar hale getirilmişti.

c - Eleman meselesi:

Anıtlar gubesinin bu gün faal ve gayri faal olmak üzere iki gurup eleman vardır. Faal gurup anıtlar gubesinin bu günkü faaliyetini temin etmekte ise de görüldür kadronun diğer gubelere hizmet edenlerle veya faal unsurlarla dolu oluğu Anıtlar gubesinin müzeler alelesi içinde otuzda bir kudrete sahip oluğunu dahi baltalamaktadır. Ankara'da bulunan anıtları koruma kurulu, müzeler ve kaza yayın gubelerinin bir nevi memur deposu vazifesini görmektedir.

Anıtları koruma Kurulunda görülmemesine rağmen arkeolog Mahmut Akok beş yıl içinde Anıtlar gubesine ancak bir iş teslim etmiştir. Bu kıymetli elemanın mevcudiyetinden gubemiz asla faydalanmamıştır. 370 lik bir kadro bu güne kadar faydalanmak imkanını bulmadığımız bir bayan memura tahsis edilmiştir. Aynı kadrolardan biri Hurdin'de müze müdürlüğü icad edilerek oraya gönderilmiştir.

Foto atölyesinde çalışan elemanlar anıtlara ayırdıkları zamanın aşgari iki mislini diğer gubelerin çok defa keyfi işlerine harcasmıştır. Kadrosunda bir teşkilatı olmayan mevciat etnoğrafya Bürosuyla Ankara Müzelerinin hizmetleri de buna eklensmiştir.

Figure 38. "A short report about the Monuments, Archaeological Sites and the Branch of Monuments in Turkey" (3)

eldeki elemanların rahatça oturup çalışmak imkanları bulunmadığından işler aksamakta arşiv geliştirilememektedir.

Hülâsa bu gün Millî Eğitim Bakanlığının hiç bir bürosunun dışarı olmadığı gayri sahhi şartlar anıtlar gubesisinin bürosunda mevcuttur. Bu hal idarede bulunan ve şahsi menfaat ve maksatlar güdenlerin arzusuyla vucutbulmuştur.

b - Malzeme meselesi:

Anıtlar gubesi 1944 de kurulduğu zaman abideleri koruma kurulu diye bir lüvesi bulunduğu halde İstanbul'daki rölöve bürosu müstesna hiç bir mısari malzemeye sahip değildi.

Foto atölyesi en mübren ve zaruri olan alottlerden mahrumdu. Arşiv senekrin biriktirmiş olduğu birçok kağıttan bazı rüpredikasyon ve dışardan gönderilmiş orijinali bulunmayan alelade fotoğraflardan mürekkepdi.

Tescil arşivi denilen arşivde de ancak İstanbul endümeninin göndermiş olduğu 300 fig hariç ihtisaca salih ilmi bir düşünün mevcut değildir. Bunların bir kısmında fotoğrafları mevcut kartonların üzerinden sökülmiş ve alınmış olduğu görülmüştür. Bir kartonlar dolusu yarısını Farelerin yemiş olduğu menkul müzeliğe aya fotoğrafları alakaları dolayısıyla kazı yayın ve Müzeler gubesine tevdi edildikten sonra yapılan ve iki sene süren tasnif neticesinde bu günkü mahabere dosyaları tanzim edilebildi. Bu dosyaların içindeki evrakda bazen muamelelerin kesildiği ve bilhassa mısari raporların bir kısmının bulunmadığı görüldü. Bu intizamsızlığı önlemek için demir dolaplarda kilit altına alınan evrak ve dosyalar bu gün nizamli ve işe yarar hale getirilmüştü.

c - Eleman meselesi:

Anıtlar gubesisinin bu gün faal ve gayri faal olmak üzere iki gurup eleman vardır. Faal gurup anıtlar gubesisinin bu günkü faaliyetini temin etmekte ise de görüldür kadronun diğer gubelere hizmet edenlerle veya Fasif unsurlarla dolu oluğu Anıtlar Gubesisinin müzeler ailesi içinde otuzda bir kudrete sahip oluğunu dahi baltalamaktadır. Ankara'da bulunan anıtları Koruma Kurulu, müzeler ve kazı yayın gubelerinin bir nevi semur deposu vazifesini görmektedir.

Anıtları koruma Kurulunda görülmese rağmen arkeolog Mahmut Akok beş yıl içinde Anıtlar gubesine ancak bir iş teslim etmiştir. Bu kıymetli elemanın mevcudiyetinden gubemiz asla faydalanmamıştır. 270 lik bir kadro bu güne kadar faydalanmak imkanını bulmadığımız bir bayan semura tahsis edilmiştir. Aynı kadrolardan biri Hurdin'de müze müdürlüğü icad edilerek oraya gönderilmiştir.

Foto atölyesinde çalışan elemanlar anıtlara ayırdıkları zamanın sagari iki mislini diğer gubelerin çok defa keyfi işlerine harcamıştır. Kadrosunda bir teşkilatı olmayan nevîat etnoğrafya Bürosuyla Ankara Müzelerinin hizmetleri de buna eklennmiştir.

Figure 39. "A short report about the Monuments, Archaeological Sites and the Branch of Monuments in Turkey" (4)

I - Anıtların tesbiti ve tescili:

Türkiye'de kaç gayrimenkul eski eser ve bunlardan kaçının anıt olduğunu bir devlet arşivi olan anıtlar gubesi arşivinden çıkartmak imkanı yoktur. Çünkü tescil ve tasnif meselesinin anıtların kurterilmesinde en ön planda lazım olduğu takdir edilmediği tir ve bu gün hala öyledir. Bu kayıtsızlık yüzünden anıtların sahipleri ve mesuliyetleri tesbit edilememiş ve bunlar başıboş bırakılmıştır. Bu sebeble abidelerin bu şikâli felaketli durumuna yol açılmıştır.

2 - Kanun, tüzük ve yönetmenlikler meselesi:

Eski eserler kanunu iyi bir teşkilat kanunu (yabancı memleketlerde 100 yıldan fazla bir zaman içinde yapılan tecrübelerden faydalanılarak) muhtelif meselelere ait zaruri olan tüzük ve yönetmenlikler ve bilhassa anıtların şahsi kapriyelere ve maksatlara kurban edilmesini önlemek ve şaxx aşırı telakkileri dizginlemek için tarihi ve tabii anıtlar komisyonunun kurulmasını temin edecek müayyedeler bu güne kadar mevki kış fiile konulmadığından abidelerin harabisinde ve insan eliyle tahribinde başlıca emâllerden biri olmuştur.

Bunların biran evvel çıkartılması ve uzun yılların tecrübelerini geçirilmiş olanlardan ibret alınması lazımdır. Bütçe formülünde mali imkânlar ve teşebbüleri desteklemesi lazımdır. Bu formülün yalnız müzelerin değil anıtlar ihtiyacını da karşılayacak duruma getirilmesi icap eder.

3 - Anıtların mülkiyeti meselesi:

Eski Eserler kanunu vucuda getirildiği takdirde bir çok meseleleri halletse bile 9 türlü ele dağılan ve abidelerin perişanlığına sebep olan mülkiyet meselesini ayrıca nazariyibere almak icap edecektir. Zamanıyla islâmi abidelerin cümlesi vakıflar idaresi kış elinde bulunduğundan ve mesul da bir müesseseye olduğundan iyi kış korumuyordu. Vakıflar elinden hukuk ve vecâhi ile diğer dairelere devredilmediğinden ayrıca vakfında gelir kaynakları muhtelif siyasi sebepler ve kanunlarla yok edildiğinden bu gün bunların çoğu birer malzeme deposu haline gelmiştir. ve her gün biraz daha yok olmaktadır. Bu sebeble mülkiyet meselesini halletmek ve yabancı memleketlerde benzerine göre en çok bunları elde toplamak faydalı olabilir.

4 - Malzeme ve teknik imkân meselesi:

Türkiye'de abide tanziminin ne demek olduğunu ve nasıl yapılacağını bilen insanlar mevcuttur fakat ilmi metotlarla bir tanzir rejimi tatbik etmek için mevcut mali şartlar, eleman ve teknik imkân hemen yok denecek kadar azdır. ve bugünkü eksiltme Usulü ve muhasebeyi umumiyeye kanunu gibi kanunlar eski eserlerin tanzir rejiminde kabili telif değildir.

Figure 40. "A short report about the Monuments, Archaeological Sites and the Branch of Monuments in Turkey" (5)

- 6 -

İyi işçi yetiştirmek ve bu elemanların devamlı surette el altında muhafaza etmek, eski eser tamirlerinde kullanılacak malzemenin kalite üstünlüğünü temin etmek ve bu işçilik ve malzemenin tamir rejimine intibak ettirmek zaruretleri mali formlerle kabili telif olmaması ve bu ihtiyaç anıtlar şubesinden üst makamlara duyurulmasıdır.

Netice: Yukarıda izahına çalışılan meselelerin hal çareleri kısaca şunlardır:

1 - Anıtlar şubesinin bürosunun bugünkü durumundan kurtarılması ve sıhhi şartları haiz kafi eb'ada yer temini.

2 - Foto atölyesinin, tescil bürosunun, mimari bürosunun, idari ve muamelat mekanizmasının işleyebilir ve randımanlı olabilir hale getirilmesi için anıtlar şubesi müdürlüğüne selahiyet verilmesi ve yaptığı programın tatbik mevkiine konulması.

3 - Kadrodaki pasif unsurların tasviyesi faal unsurların diğer büroların tesirinden kurtarılması anıtlar şubesinin mevcut kadrolarına tam şekilde tasarruf imkânının temini yani kadroda görülmeyen başka yerde çalışanların doğrudan doğruya şube emrine verilmesi.

4 - Eski listelerdeki yeni kadroların asgarisi olan bu yıl ki bütçe teklifinin tahakkuk ettirilmesi.

5 - Bilhassa teknik kadroların ihtisas mevki haline getirilmesi ve tahkik mütegarlığında olduğu gibi yüksek meşğul edilmesi imkânının temini.

6 - Teşkilat kanununda anıtlar şubesinin ihtiyacı kabul eden her bürosunun kurulmasının temini ve bu şekilde derne çatma kadrolardan kurtarılacak tarihi ve tabii anıtlar komisyonunun tavsiyeleriyle hareket eden bir bağa bağlanması, vazife ve mesuliyetlerin tam olarak tesbiti.

7 - Yıllık bütçelerde istikrarlı bir tahsisatın konulması ve bu tahsisat füzülünün müzelerden ayrılması.

8 - Eski eserlerin On yıllık bir programla tesbit, tescil, restorasyon ve vesairesi için teknik imkânların temini.

9 - Avrupa'da anıt tamircisi mimar, arşivist V.S gibi ihtisas erbabi yetiştirilmesi.

10 - Türkiye anıtlarının sahiplerinin asgari hatta indirilmesi.

11 - Restorasyon, onarım, bakım işleri için prensip kararlarına varılması her çeşit şartname ve talimatnamelerin hazırlanması.

12 - Anıtlar teşkilatını takviye eden bir teftiş heyetinin tayini.

Figure 41. "A short report about the Monuments, Archaeological Sites and the Branch of Monuments in Turkey" (6)

1526

T. C.
MILLÎ EĞİTİM BAKANLIĞI
Eski eserler ve Müzeler Genel
Müdürlüğü
Sayı:

Ankara: / /195

Özet:

- 7 -

- 13 - Eski eser tamirlerindeki mali zorlukların giderilmesi
- 14 - Eski eser sevgisini kucaklayacak bir propaganda imkanı-
nın temini.
- 15 - Anıtların emniyetini sağlayacak tedbirlerin alınması
(Kamulaştırma işleri, harar plânları, tapu kayıtları ve numaratağ
meselesi)
- 16 - Eski sanat eserlerinin tamirinde yetiştirilen elemanla-
rın terfii meselesinin halli.

H.B.

Figure 42. "A short report about the Monuments, Archaeological Sites and the Branch of Monuments in Turkey" (7)

17A03

Anıtları Koruma
Bölge Büroları Maaşlı Memurlar Kadrosu

<u>Derece</u>	<u>Memuriyetin nev'i</u>	<u>Adet</u>	<u>Asıl Maaş</u>	<u>Yıllık Tutarı</u>
3	Baş mimar	7	100	33.600
4	Mimar	7	90	25.200
5	Mimar	7	80	21.840
8	Arkeolog	7	50	11.760
7	Epigraf	7	60	14.280
8	Kalem Amiri ve muhasip	7	50	11.760
11	Memur	7	30	7.140
		Y e k ü n		125.580

Figure 43. "A Report about The Cadre of Salaried Officers in Monuments Preservation Regional Bureau" (1)

17A04

Anıtları Koruma
Bölge Büroları D. Cetveli Kadroları

<u>Memuriyetin nev'i</u>	<u>Adet</u>	<u>Ücret</u>	<u>Yıllık Tutarı</u>
Topoğraf	7	210	17.640
Desinatör	7	170	14.280
Fotoğrafçı	7	170	14.280
Daktilo	7	100	8.400
Bekçi	50	50	30.000
Bekçi	50	40	24.000
Bekçi	100	30	36.000
Y e k ü n			144.600

Figure 44. "A Report about The Cadre of Salaried Officers in Monuments Preservation Regional Bureau" (2)

T emenni edilen gekil

Anıtlar Genel Giderleri:

Yönetim gideri (Merkez ve Anıtları onarma ve rölüve büroları içinde) satın alınacak eski eserler karşılığı ve ikramiyesi, eski eser taşıma giderleri, kazılar, arkeolojik ve mimari araştırmaları kazı, taşıma ve onarımlara gönderilecek memurların yol-lukları ve gündelikleri, telefon kurma ve konuşma ücretleri, oda-cı ve bekçi elbisesi, ören yerlerinin ve anıtların eser katalog yayını, arkeolojik eserlerin basımı ve bunların telif hakları, uzmanlık kitaplarına satın alınacak kitap karşılığı, anıtları onarma ve rölüve büroları kira, fotoğraf ve gereci, anıtların onarma, kamulaştırma ve saklama giderleri, onarma için gerekli gereçlerin alınması, yurt dışında staja, bilimsel kongre ve kon-feranslara iştirak veya Türk anıtlarının bakım ve onarımına me-mur edilenlerin sanır dışı yoluk ve gündelik ve her çeşit ücret-leri, anıt tescil ekipleri için tasit alınması ve bunların her çeşit giderleri tescil ekiplerinde ve tarihi ve tabii anıtlar ko-misyonlarında gerektiği zaman bilicilerinden faydalanılacak kimselerle onarımlarda bulundurulacak sürveyanların ücreti olarak gün-delikle çalıştırılması, vukuf ehillerine verilmiş gündelikler, onarma ve tescille ilgili işler için rölüve, maket, fotoğraf, film ve her çeşit konuya vaktarılması serci, alia ve anıtları taşıma levhalarıyla anıtların numarataj masrafları, anıtlarla ilgili mü-sabaka ücreti.

H.B.

Figure 45. The report about the “desired” general expenditures of Monuments [Branch] (ASÜA)

Âbide ve Yapı İş. Dairesi Reisliğine

Türkiye'deki vakıf menseli âbidelerin onarımı ile görevli olan makamlarına âbide tamir rejimi üzerinde pek çok kere arzettiğim kanaatlerim ve ilim gözü ile de gerekli tedbirlerin alınması hususunda şifahi müracaatlarım yüksek malumlarıdır.

Bir âbide tamir müessesesinde tam bir randımanla çalışmaya mecbur olan âbide tescil, fotu ve rölöve bürolarının, kullanılmış ve kullanılması zarurî her çeşit malzemenin incelenmesiyle görevli laboratuvarların, çok sanatlı imalâtın yapılması için lüzumlu atölyelerin ve tarihî malzemenin depolanmasıyla ilgili depoların, teknik elemanların yetiştirilmesi için gerekli kurslar ve konferanslarının faaliyeti hakkındaki maruzatım senelerdenberi nazarı itibara alınmadığı cihetle Dairenizde bir Müşavir olarak yetişebildiğim vak'aların oğünkü özelliği ve âcil vaziyetlerine uygun tavsiyelerde bulunarak hizmet etmeğe çalıştığım mâlumunuzdur. Bugün bu yoklukların karşısında yapılan haklı ve haksız tenkitlerle karşılaşmış bulunmaktadır. Bu sebeble hayatlarında âbideleri ancak bir Turist gibi dolaşmış ve bu eserleri bir sinema şeridinde tetkik eder gibi görmüş olan bazı ilim ve sanat erbabının mütalaalarıyla hükme varmak veya her yeri ayrı ayrı teğrih edilerek kararlara bağlanması zarurî meselelerle dolu âbide tamirlerini bir kaç prensip cümlesiyle tamire almak için rapor hazırlattırılmasının istikbalde İdarenin teknik elemanlarına tahmil edeceği mes'uliyetlerin daha fecî neticeler yaratacağı bedihidir. Anıtların korunması ve onarılması hakkındaki kitabımın 41. ci sahifesinden başlayarak 51. ci sahifesine kadar devam eden fasıllarında tebarüz ettirdiğim hususların tahakkukuyla birlikte, listesini evvelce sunmuş olduğum, bu konuya uzak veya yakın ilgili bilcümle san'atçı ve estetik tarihçilerin bir kongre halinde toplanması ve âbide tamirciliğimizin en hurda meselelerine kadar her şeyinin incelettirilerek lüzumlu kararlara varılmasından sonra 1961 yılı programının tatbikine girişilmesinin lüzumunu ve konunun önemine binaen Genel Müdürlük makamına da duyurulmasını saygıyla arz ederim.

2/12/1960

Mühassis Müşavir
Y. Mimar
Ali Saim Ülgen

Figure 46. "Ülgen's letter to the Chief of Department for Construction and Monuments regarding his policy on restorations"

RESTORASYON KRİTERLERİ VE CARTA DEL RESTAURO

Vakıflar Dergisinin III.cü sayısında, Sayın Müfit Serav'ın İtalya'da Eski Eserler ve Güzel Sanatların korunması, adı altında tercüme ettiği, bu memleketteki kanunî imkânları anlatan faydalı bir yazısı intişar etmişti. İtalya'da tarihî ve artistik güzelliklerinin korunmasıyla ilgili kanun 1909 da çıkmış, fakat ancak 1922 de tatbik mevkiine konabilmiş ve 1939 da yeni bir kanunla tadil edilmiştir. Bu kanunlarla konulan metot esasları dışında, restorasyon tekniği bakımından asıl önemli vesika, İtalya'daki restorasyonlar günümüzde de yol gösteren, 1931 tarihli "Carta del Restauro" (Restorasyon Kuralları) dır. Bu belgedeki kurallar Eski Eserler ve Güzel Sanatlar Yüksek Kurulu tarafından hazırlanmıştı. Aslında buradaki prensipler, aynı sene Atina'da toplanmış olan beynelmilel konferansdaki esasların bazı ufak tefek değişikliklerle tekrarından ibarettir. Bundan 30 sene önce, bu konferans vesilesiyle toplanan mütehassıs ve Restoratörler, eski eserler için bir âfet haline gelmiş olan yeniden yapma, orijinale irca metotlarının zararlarını münakaşe etmişler ve bugün koruma ve değerlendirme dediğimiz daha mütakemil ve insani restorasyon anlayışının esaslarını atmışlardır.

Memleketimizde senelerdenberi, oldukça geniş ölçüde, yürütülmekte olan restorasyon faaliyetlerinin, bütün iyi niyetlere rağmen, çok kere ilmi ve teknik kriterlerden uzak tatbikatına bakarak, bir çeyrek asır önce yapılmış olan bu kongrede alınan kararların ve bunlar üzerine kurulmuş olan 'Carta del Restauro'nun tam metnini, memleketimizdeki ilgililere bir kere daha hatırlatmak ve bilimyenlere de tanıtmak istiyoruz.

Atina konferansının sonunda negredilen tebliğin esas noktaları şunlardı:

I- Bütün dünya memleketlerindeki âbideler, medeniyet, kültür ve insan kıymetlerinin en önemli ifadeleri olarak muhafaza edilmeli ve bu alanda bütün devletler işbirliği yapmalıdır. (X)

II- Birçok memleketlerde restorasyonu daha ziyade bir muhafaza şeklinde anlamak temayülü tesbit edilmiş (1931..) restorasyon gerektiren hallerde şu veya bu stilin tercih edilmesinin doğru olmadığı belirtilmiştir.

III- Abidelerin yaşayabilmesinin, kullanılmalarına bağlı olduğu neticesine ve korunabilmesi için, şahsi mülkiyet hakkının icabında ifade edilebileceği kanaatine varılmış, bu konuda hükümetlerin gerekli tedbirleri almaları istenmiştir.

IV- Ölmüş yapıların restorasyonlarda anastiloz yapılabileceği, kazıdan sonra tekrar gömülmesi ve Arkeoloğlarla mimarlar arasında sıkı bir işbirliğinin lüzumu belirtilmiştir.

V- Restorasyonlarda, gerektiği takdirde, modern malzemenin, bilhassa betonarmenin, kullanılabileceği kabul edilmiş ve her türlü ilmi çareye başvurulması tavsiye edilmiştir.

Figure 47. "Ülgen's report about Restoration Criterias and Carta del Restauro" (1)

(X) Millîlerarası işbirliğinin güzel bir örneği olarak, Asuan barajının inşası dolayısıyla, Mısır ve Sudan'da sular altında kalan bir çok abidenin kurtarılması uğrunda, doğu ve Batı bloklarına mensup bir çok memleketlerin ilim heyetlerinin ve âlimlerinin son zamanlardaki faaliyetlerini hatırlatmak isteriz.

V1- Konferansta âbide ile beraber çevre karakterinin muhafazası zarureti üzerinde de durulmuş, hattâ ağaçların bu karakterin teşekkülündeki rolü belirtilmiştir. Abidelerin etrafında telefon, telgraf, elektrik direkleri, ilân ve reklâmların kaldırılması, her memlekette eski eserlerin tescil edilmesi ve arşivler yapılması talep edilmiştir.

Bütün bunların hakikaten tesirli olabilmesinin, halkın bilgi ve terbiyesine bağlı olduğu bu hususta, hükümetlerin bu anlayışı yaratacak eğitim faaliyetinde bulunması istenmiştir.

Atina konferansının üstünden 30 yıl geçmiştir. Memleketimizde halâ 19 asır kriterleriyle yürütülen restorasyon faaliyetleri büyük bir çoğunluk teşkil etmekte, ne ihtisas ne de idare adamlarında eski eserlerin muhafazası ve restorasyonu hakkında sarih bir fikir tebellür etmiş bulunmaktadır. Bu konuda tesbit edilmiş ve uygulanmak mecburiyetinde olan kaideler tayin edilmedikçe, restorasyon alelâde bir tamir ve yenileme mahiyetinde kalıp ayak üstü yapılmış keşiflere dayanıkça, millî servetin heba edilmesi ve kültür hazinelerinin yok edilmesi mahiyetindeki bu garip faaliyet devam edecektir.

Bu kısa girişe ilâve edeceğimiz 'Carta del Restoüre' memleketimizdeki tatbikat kriterlerinin maliyeti hakkında bizleri düşündürcek bir vesikadır. Eski eserleri, bugün için de bir gerçek olmakta devam eden bu prensipler, sağlam bir restorasyon politikası için, esasî standartlar olarak kabul edilmelidir.

Restorasyonu bir ilim ve sanat olarak telakki eden meşhur mimar ve restoratör Ambrogio Annoni gibi ustalar veya daha üretkârane kriterler ortaya atan günümüz restoratörlerinin fikirlerinin tartışılması 'Carta del Restoüre' daki prensiplerin veya benzerlerinin benimsenmesi ve restorasyonun bir politika değil fakat bir kültürel disiplin olarak kabulünden sonra gelecektir.

'Carta del Restoüre' Restorasyon kuralları:

Eski Eserler ve Güzel sanatlar Yüksek Kurulu, İtalya'da önemli bir ulusal problem olan abidelerin restorasyonu konusunda hâkim olması gereken normları mü-talaa etmiş, memleketimizin, ilim ve sanatın el ele verdiği bu alanda söz götürmez öncülüğünü muhafaza etmek ve geliştirmek lüzumuna inanmıştır. Her restorasyonun (kazı ile birlikte olsun veya olmasın), harap olmuş elemanların stabilitesini temin etmek, abidenin sanat fonksiyonunu korumak veya onu, ve fonksiyonu görecekle hale getirmek, Müze ve arşivlerde muhafaza edenler kadar önemli olan, taş hakedilmiş sanat ve tarih vesikalarına el koymak, konstrüksiyon ve sanat tarihi bakımından yeni neticelere götürecektir anatomik çalışmalara imkân vermek bakımından

Figure 48. "Ülgen's report about Restoration Criterias and Carta del Restoüre" (2)

çok taraflı ve ağır mesuliyeti mucip olduğunu görmüştür. Dolayısıyla böyle bir meseleden acelelik bahanesi, pratik fayda veya şahsî kalite mülâhazalarıyla mükemmel olmayan, devamlı sarıh bir kontrol ile sarıh kriterlere sahip olmayan bir davranışa, hiçbir şekilde cevaz verilemeyeceğine kanî olmuş, ve bu prensipleri, özel şahıslar resmî makamlar ve eski eserlerin korunması ve tetkiki ile görevli makamlar tarafından yapılan restorasyonlar için açık bir hakikat olarak kabul etmiştir.

Restorasyon çalışmalarında, değişik menşeli kriterlerden, kısmen dahi sarfınazar edilemez. Hepsi bir arada mütalaa edilir. Tarihi sebepler, âbideyi zaman içinde meydana getiren çeşitli devirlerin ortadan kaldırılmamasını, ilim adamlarını şaşırtabilecek ilâvelerle tahrif edilmemesini; analitik çalışmaların ortaya çıkardığı malzemelerin oraya buraya dağılmasını, mimarî tasavvurlar, yapıyı bir sanat fonksiyonuna bağlamayı ve kabil olduğu zaman bir ifade bütünlüğüne (stil bütünlüğüyle karıştırılmamak şartıyla), kavuşturmayı isterler. Şehirlinin hislerine, şehrin hatıra ve tahassüslerine bağlı kriterler, pratik kullanma ve gerekli vasıtalarla bağlı idarî zaruretlerin neticesi ortaya çıkan kriterler vardır.

30 yıldan fazla bir zamandanberi bu alanda yapılan çalışmalar, genel olarak, fevkalâde neticeler vermiştir. Bunlardan, müşahhas ve öğretici bir bilgi bütünü çıkarılabilir. Ve çıkarılmalıdır. Bu bilgiler kıymetlendirilerek, bundan böyle, gerek yüksek kurulun kararlarında ve gerekse âbideler ve sanat Müşavirlikleri çalışmalarında, devamlı olarak esas ittihaz edilecek bir restorasyon teorisi tesbit edilebilir. Pratik faaliyetlerle tahkik edilmiş böyle bir teorinin başlıca prensipleri şunlardır:

1- İhmalden ve aşınmadan dolayı ömrü ve mukavemeti azalan âbidelerin sağlanlaştırılması ve devamlı bir bakım gayreti gösterilmesi ~~saxömmük~~ restorasyonun en önemli konusudur.

2- Tarihi kriterlerle bağlı kalmak şartıyla, sanat veya mimarî bütünlük yönünden bir âbidenin ele alınması, bir takım hipotezlere değil, fakat âbide bünyesinin verdiği bilgilere dayanır. Böyle bir faaliyet yeni tasavvur olunan elemanlara değil, fakat genel olarak, mevcut elemanlara dayanan mutlak veriler olduğu takdirde söz konusu olabilir.

3- Artık kullanılmayan ve geçmiş medeniyetlere ait âbidelerde, meselâ antik devir eserlerinde, her çeşit tamamlanmadan kaçmak icap eder. Böyle yapılar da ancak anazilloz, yani mevcut elemanların nötr malzeme ile, genel hatlarını meydana çıkarmak ve muhafazalarını sağlamak kastıyla tamamlanmaları söz konusu olabilir.

4- Yaşayan, yani kullanılan yapılar, orijinal gayelerinden uzak maksatlarla kullanılarak, karakterlerini bozacak değişikliklere uğramamalıdır.

Figure 49. "Ülgen's report about Restoration Criterias and Carta del Restauro" (3)

5- Tarihi veya Artistik kıymeti olan her eleman, hangi devre ait olursa olsun, stilistik bütünlük ve orijinale irca maksadıyla, bir başka elemana yerini terkedenmez. Fakat muhafaza edilmelidir. Ancak pencerelerin ve kolonların sonraki devirlerde yapılmış dolguları gibi, önemsiz ve manası olmayan lüzumsuz değişikliklere sebep olan kısımlar ortadan kaldırılabilir. Bununla beraber, bu şekilde sübjektif değerlendirmeler dahi, sıhhatli esaslara dayanmaz, herhangi bir restorasyon projesi müellifinin şahsi fikrine kalmamalıdır.

6- Âbide ve geçirdiği devirler kadar çevresi de önemlidir. Onu bu çevreden tecrit etmemek veya bu çevrenin karakterini, kütlesi, rengi, stili ile rahatsız eden yeni konstrüksiyonlarla bozmamağa gayret etmelidir.

7- Eğer bir âbideyi ayakta tutabilmek için tam veya kısmî bir tamamlanmağa gitmek veya herhangi bir pratik kullanım sebebile ilâveler yapmak gerekirse bunları, konstrüktif şemaların ifadesi olan çıplak ve sade bir karakterde ve kabil olduğu kadar az olmalıdır. Ve benzer stilde bir ilâve ancak yapının genel hatlarında, dekorasyon asla mevzubahis olmadığı zaman, kabul edilebilir.

8- Bu ilâveler gayet kesin ve aşıkâr olmalı, ^{ve} ~~ya~~ değişik malzeme kullanılarak veya kendilerini çeviren ve tamamen eşsiz bir çerçeve korniş kullanılarak veyahutta damga (veya epigrafiler) kullanılarak belirtilmelidir. Bir Restorasyon aslâ etüd edenleri şaşırtacak veya tarihi bir vesikayı tahrif edecek şekilde olmamalıdır.

9- Bir âbidenin zayıflamış strüktürünü kuvvetlendirmek veya kütlesini tamamlamak için eskiden kullanılan konstrüksiyon metotlarıyla gayeye ulaşamazsa en yeni metotların kullanılması uygun olabilir. Aynı şekilde artık yorulmuş strüktürleri ayakta tutabilmek için gerekli karışık ve hassas proplemlerin halinde çeşitli ilmi metotlardan istifade etmelidir. Bu alandaki ampirik davranışlar artık yerlerini, ilmi alanlara terketmelidirler.

10- Kazılarda veya benzer faaliyetlerde, topraktan çıkan elemanları ve eserleri derhal tanzim etmek ve (in situ) bırakılacak olanların korunmasını düşünmek gerekir.

11- Kazılarda olduğu gibi, âbidelerin restorasyonunda da, önemli şartlardan biri, çalışmalar esnasında, bir jurnal tutarak, desen ve fotoğraflarla sıhhatli bir dökümantasyon yapılmasıdır. Böylece âbidenin şeklinde ve strüktüründeki bütün elemanlar, rekonpozisyon, temizleme ve tamamlamanın bütün safhaları tesbit edilir. Bu jurnal bir vesika olarak saklanır.

Kurul her münferit âbidenin ve restorasyonun her safhasının kendinehas özellikler gösterebileceği bu kadar zor ve karışık bir meselede, her özel ^{halde} bu prensiplerin yeniden tartışılmasının ve gözden geçirilerek tamamlanmasını gerekli görmektedir. Bu sebeble,

Figure 50. "Ülgen's report about Restoration Criterias and Carta del Restauro" (4)

- a) İster restorasyonla ilgili daireler, ister ilgili makamlar, ister özel şahıslar elile olsun , bütün restorasyonların başlangıcında, Yüksek Kurulun fikri alınmalıdır.
- b) Roma'da her sene dostca bir toplantı tertip edilmeli, (ki bu toplantının zabıtları, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı tarafından çıkarılan bolletino d'Arte'de neşredilebilir.) ve orada, ilgililer, muhtelif vakaları, meslekdaşlarının ilgisine sunmalı ve hal çareleri ortaya atmalıdırlar.
- c) Yukarıda zikredildiği gibi restorasyon esnasında metodik olarak jurnal tutulması ve bunların muhafazası mecburî olmalı, ve bunlardan çıkacak neticeler ve bilgiler tıpkı kazı raporları gibi, ilmi şekilde neşredilmelidir.

Figure 51. "Ülgen's report about Restoration Criterias and Carta del Restauero" (5)

T. C.
KÜLTÜR BAKANLIĞI
GÜZEL SANATLAR
AKADEMİSİ

İSTANBUL 21 / 6 / 1939

Sayı 1632

ÖZÜ

Bay Saim Ülgen
Yüksek mimar

14/Haziran/1939 tarihli mektubunuzu aldım. Fransada çok istifade edeceğinize kani oldum. Profesör Gabriel ile yapacağımız müşterek program yakında size gönderilecektir. Bu aylarda,-tatil münasebetiyle- her hangi bir tahsil şekline girişmeniz mümkün olmayacaktır. Profesör Gabriel sizin Rens Katedrali'nde yapılan tamiratta faal bir vazife almanız için icab edenlere mektup yazmış ve bu teklifi kabul edilmiştir. Tatili böylece geçirebilirsiniz. Tosillon'ın Sorbonla alâkasını kesmesi üzerine lisansınızda bazı sertifikaları değiştirmeniz lâzım geldiği anlaşılmaktadır; fakat vakit vardır. Teşrinievvelde, lisansınızı hangi sertifikalardan yapacağınızı bildireceğiz. Gözlerinizden öperim.

Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi

Müdürü

B. Toprak

H.A.

Figure 52. The letter about Ülgen's studies in France, 21.06.1939 (ASÜA)

TÜRKİYE

TURİNG ve OTOMOBİL KURUMU

81, İSTİKLÂL CADDESİ, BEYOĞLU

TELEFON : 43166

Telgraf adresi : TURİNG-İSTANBUL

İstanbul 8 Ekim 1952

Sayı :

Y.M. Muhterem Saim Ülgen
Eski Eserler Umum Müdürlüğü
Abideler Şubesi Müdürü
Eğitim Bakanlığı İstasyon binası

A N K A R A

Sevgili Evladım,

Pariste N. Dame Kilisesinin tamiri hakkında leh
ve aleyhte yazılan iki Makalayı kıymetli alâkanıza takdim ile
hürmet ve muhabbetlerimi tekrarlarım kıymetli evladım.

T.T.O.K. BAŞKANI

Reşit Saffet

Reşit Saffet Atabinen

Figure 53. The document about the restoration of the Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, 08.11.1952 (ASÜA)

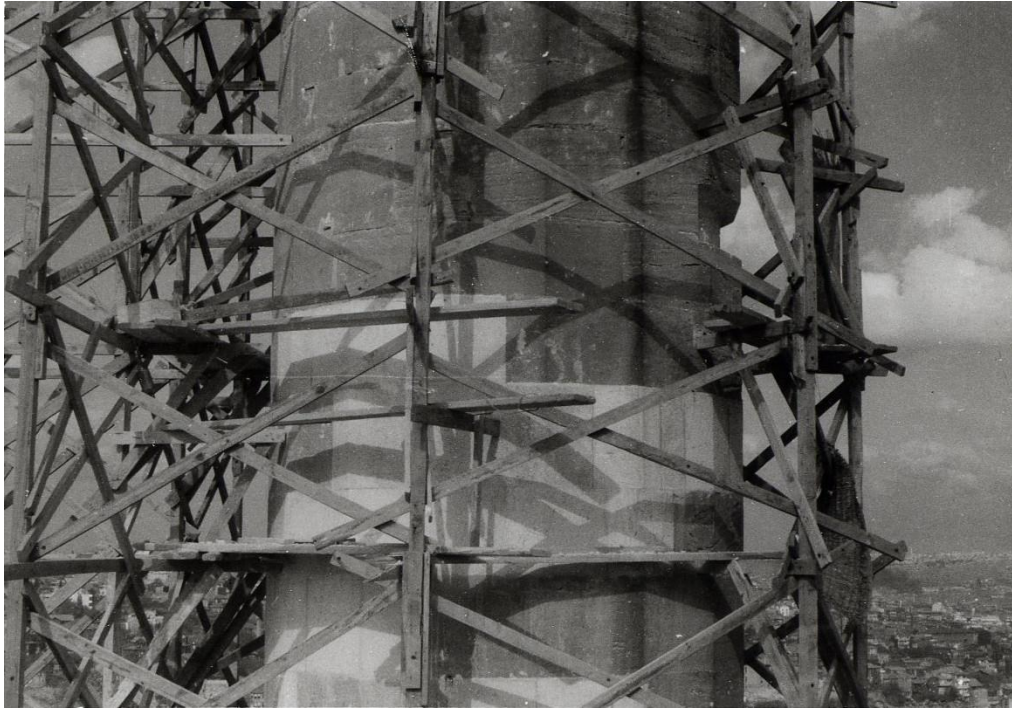


Figure 54. Photographs from the restoration of the Süleymaniye Complex (1)



Figure 55. Photographs from the restoration of the Süleymaniye Complex (2)



Figure 56. Photographs from the restoration of the Süleymaniye Complex (3)

29 Ağustos 1958

3

Süleymaniye Seftliğine

İşçi mevcudu: 8

Yapılacak işler.

- ① H.10 Kubbesinde raspa ile temizleme
- ② - P2 Motiflerini 1/2 küçültme
- ③ - H.501 Türbesi için motiflerini tespit

Teyizinde U.B.

Figure 57. "Restoration Diaries of the Süleymaniye Complex" (1)

13, Ekim 1956

3

Santiye Şefliğine

İşleri Mevcudu İZ

Yapılan İşler

- ① H5 Kubbe Malakatlarının yapılması
- ② H10 Kubbesinde Ahşap tamiri
- ③ M1, M2, M3 Kubbelerinde badana
- ④ S10 Kubbesinde orastimular.

Teyinat Üst

[Signature]

Figure 58. "Restoration Diaries of the Süleymaniye Complex" (2)

T.C. Başbakanlık 11 numaralı
Tahkik Heyeti Başkanlığına ,

25.III.1961 Tarih 25 sayılı yazınız karşılığıdır:

Süleymaniye külliyesi restorasyonu, yurdumuzda yapılan hemen bütün restorasyonlar gibi , hazırlıksız, programsız olarak ve yeterli olmayan bir kontrolla yürütülmüştür. 16.IX.1960 tarihli raporumuz bu restorasyonun ilmi ve artistik endişelerden uzak olan karakterini ifade etmiş bulunuyor . Yazınızda sorulmuş bulunan hususlar hakkındaki kanaatimizi bir kere daha arz ediyoruz:

1-Restorasyondaki hatalardan meydana gelen maddi zararın tesbiti komisyonumuzun tahkikat konusu olmamıştır. Bu bakımdan maddi zararın miktarını söylemek durumunda değiliz .

2-Tarihi yapıların gerçek değerlerini meydana getiren özellikler içinde konstrüktif ve dekoratif olanlar önemli bir yer işgal eder. Bazı mimari ve dekoratif elemanların kimliklerini tamamen kaybetmelerine yol açan tatbikat arasında , yerlerine yenileri konan sütun başlıkları, alçı pencere-ler , avlu revaklarında ve cami içinde hiç bir kâfi ilmi vesikaya dayanmadan yapılan ve yapılmak istenen yeni dekorasyon ; gerekmediği ve istemediği halde betonla değiştirilen ahşap saçaklar , kâfi vesikalara dayanmadan tamamlanan veya görünüşü değiştirilen darülkurra hesap çeşmesi gibi yapılar müteahhitlerin dikkatsizliği ve kontrol noksanı yüzünden karakterlerini kaybeden duvar yüzeyleri, veya Rabi ve Salis medreselerinde görülebileceği gibi , pencere ve kapılar vardır? Böylece külliyedeki yapıların restorasyondan önceki karakterini şüphesiz değiştirmiştir. Ve tarihi bir yapının elde yeterli vesikalar olmadan orijinal durumuna irca edilmesi zaten imkânsızdır. Hatta kabul olsa da , artık çok eskimiş bir zihniyetin ifadesidir.

3-Camin yan cephelerinde ahşap saçakların betonarme olarak değiştirilmesi , galeri kolonlarının aşikâr olarak , daha fazla yüklenmesine sebep olmuştur. Bunun çok veya az zararlı olduğunun tesbiti statik hesap yapmakla kabildir .

Minarelerde taşları bağlayan demir aksamin çıkarılmasına sebep olan taş çürütme faaliyeti , minare bünyesine zararlı olmuştur.

Genel olarak taş çürütmenin , hele büyük ölçüde yapıldığı zaman, duvar bünyesine zararlı olduğu raporumuzda belirtilmiştir. Bu zarar duvar mukavemetinin azalması demektir . Fakat bu azalmayı matematik olarak hesap etmek kabul değildir .

Figure 59. Legal Documents about the Restoration of the Süleymaniye Complex

4

RAPOR

Balıklı, Manastır Kilisesi müstemailatının çok tahribe uğramış olması göz önünde tutularak gerek plan gerek cephelerde ziyadesi ile tahrifat yapıldığı görüldüğünden bu binaların rölövelerinin ihtiva ettiği cephe karakterlerinin bozulmaması şartıyla planlarda bu günkü ihtiyaca uydurulacak şekilde ufak tefek tadilata müsaade edilebilirse de bilhassa absit dışına tesadüf eden mahalle helâ tesisatının yapılmasının asla caiz olmadığı; ancak bu günkü yerinde yarılmış binanın alt kısmına doğru genişletilmesinde mahzur bulunmadığına dair rapordur.

19. V. 1958

Y. Mimar

Ali Cemil Ülgen

Ali Cemil Ülgen

Figure 60. Restoration reports on several churches (1)

4A1

RAPOR

Samatyada Aya Mina Kilisesi ,yerinde incelenmiş ve binanın rölöve ve projeleri karşılaştırılmıştır. Bu projede binanın giriş kısmının muksbil tarafındaki ek parçanın kaldırılması ve cephelerin tuğla hatıllı hale getirilmeden ve moloz karakteri bozulmadan tamir ve etkiviyesi şartıyla muvafık olacağına dair rapordur. 19. II - 1958

Y. Mimar
Ali Saim Ülgen

Ali Saim Ülgen

Figure 61. Restoration reports on several churches (2)

413

RAPOR

Istanbul, Langa da Aya Todori Kilisesi ve mühtemilatına ait rölöve ve proje mahallinde incelendi:

Projeden , Kilise kısmının iç ve dışta yeni bir karakter ihraz edecek kadar modern bir çehre kazanacağı anlaşıldı. Halbuki bu, eserin mazisini ve hususiyetini ihlal edeceğinden , kanatımızca dış cephele- rin ve çatının eski vefını muhafaza etmek çartı ile dshilen eskisine nazaren daha sade ve bugünkü isteklere uygunluğu da mütalea edilmek üzere yeniden projenin tanzimine lüzum hasil olacağı kanaatine varıl- diğine dair işbu rapor tarafımdan düzenlendi.

Y. Mimar

Ali Sami Ülgen

Ali Sami Ülgen

Figure 62. Restoration reports on several churches (3)

9/4/958

4A4

Abide ve Yapı İşleri Şubesine

Üsküdar-Bağlarbaşı PROFİT ELİYA Kilisesi müstemilât binasının dört duvardan ibaret bakiyesi yerinde incelendi. Rölövede görülen eksiklerin Y.Mimar Ertuğrul Eğilmez tarafından tashih edildiği cihetle başkaca bir değişiklik bulunmadığı anlaşıldı.

Rölöveye göfe yapılmış proje esaslarından ayrılmamak şartıyla ve çatlak duvarların takviyesi suretiyle bu onarımın yapılmasında ve binanın ikmalinde bir mahsur bulunmadığını saygı ile arz ederim.

Umum Müdürlük Mütchassis Müşaviri
Y.Mimar Ali Saim Ülgen

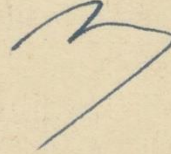


Figure 63. Restoration reports on several churches (4)

412

Rapor

Belgrad, Panayia Kilise ve müstamilatı yerinde incelenip rölöve ve projeleri karşılaştırılmış ve yalnız cephelerde değişiklik yapılmak istendiği anlaşılmıştır. Ampir bir usluba sahip olan bu eserin mimari karakterinin bozulması asla caiz görülemeyeceğinden, dış cephelerin tuğla kemer yerine eskisi gibi yine taş sügeli yapılması şartı ile proje muvafık bulunmuş olduğuna dair rapordur.

Y.Mimar
Ali Saia Ülgen

Ali Saia Ülgen

Figure 64. A report about the restoration project of the Panagia Church (ASÜA)

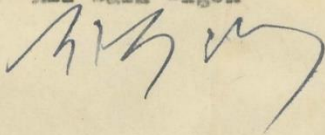
T. C. T.
Yükseköğretim Bakanlığı

Bina No	Yerleşim No	
XXXXXX		
Tarih	Durum	
		Âbide ve Yapı İşleri Dairesi
		Reisliğine

İstanbul'da Hacı Hanza mahallesinin Hacı Ewhat caddesinde geçen yıl yangın olan Küçük efendi (Fevziye) Camii Türk mimarisinin asir uslubunda ahşap tiplerine tek sıra mütevazi fakat sanat kıymeti büyük bir *âbide* idi. Bu eserin tahribinden doğan zarar yalnız maddî değildir. Türk sanatı yönünden çok mühim bir manevî gaip olarak mütalaa edilmelidir.

Cami vaktiyle yaptırtığımız rölövelere göre tekrar ihya edilebilirse de bittabi tarihî yadı bakımından yapılacak ihya bu manevî zararı izale edemez.

Bu günkü rayice göre (300) - (350) bin liraya tekrar restore edilebilecek olan Cami için zarar kıymetini takdir ancak maddî cepheden olabileceğine dair işbu rapor yangın mahalli tarafından tetkik edildikten sonra düzenlendi. 11/IX/1957

Mühassis Müşavir
Y. Mimar
Ali Saim Ülgen


F.B.

Figure 65. A report about the restoration project of the Küçük Efendi Mosque (ASÜA)

RESTORASYON KRİTERLERİ VE 'CARTA DEL RESTAURO
NAMINDAKİ MAKALE HAKKINDA
R A P O R

İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarî Fakültesi Mimarlık
tarihî Doçenti Doğan Kuban tarafından yazılmış olan bu makale
âbidelerin tamiri için zarurî prensipler hakkında İtalyan'ların
ne düşündüklerini belirtmek bakımından Türk Vakıflar Genel Mü-
dürlüğü neşriyatı aracında yayınlanması zarurî bir mevzuu orta-
ya çıkartmakta ve genel olarak mes'elenin izahı ve İtalyan'ların
restorasyon anlayışlarını tebarüz ettirmektedir.

Makale sahibi bir kelimecinin dahi değiştirilmesine razı
bulunmadığı cihetle bu makaledeki yabancı ve özel tahirlerin oku-
yucular tarafından anlaşılmağa çalısılması düşüncesiyle makalenin
Vakıflar dergisinde basılmasında faide mülahaza eylediğime dair
rapordur. 8/6/1961 8. V. 1961

Mütahassis Müşavir
Y. Mimar
Ali Saim Ülgen

3.3.7

Figure 66. Ülgen's report about Kuban's article on Carta del Restauro, 1961 (ASÜA)

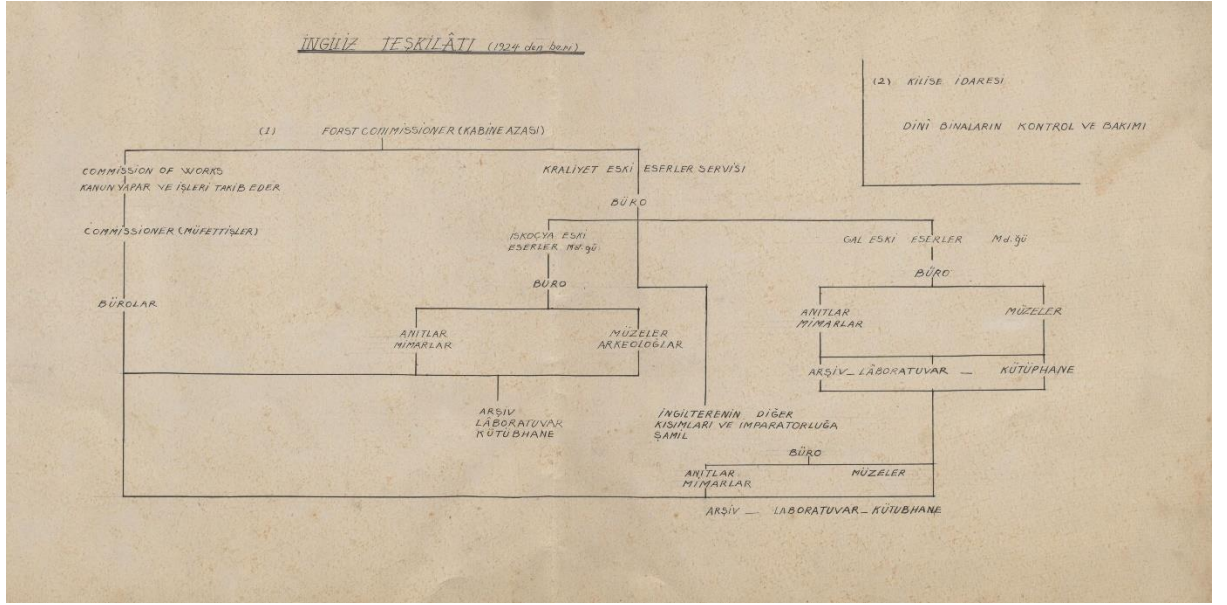


Figure 67. Institutional diagram of the English Preservation Institution (ASÜA)

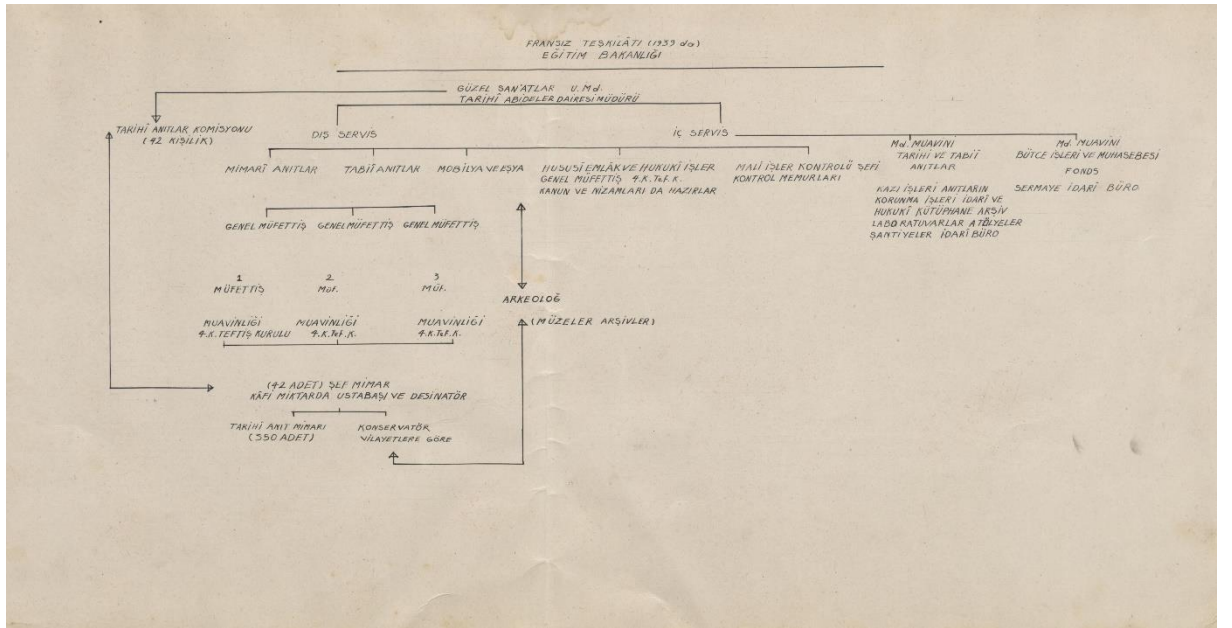


Figure 68. Institutional Diagram of the French Preservation Institution (ASÜA)

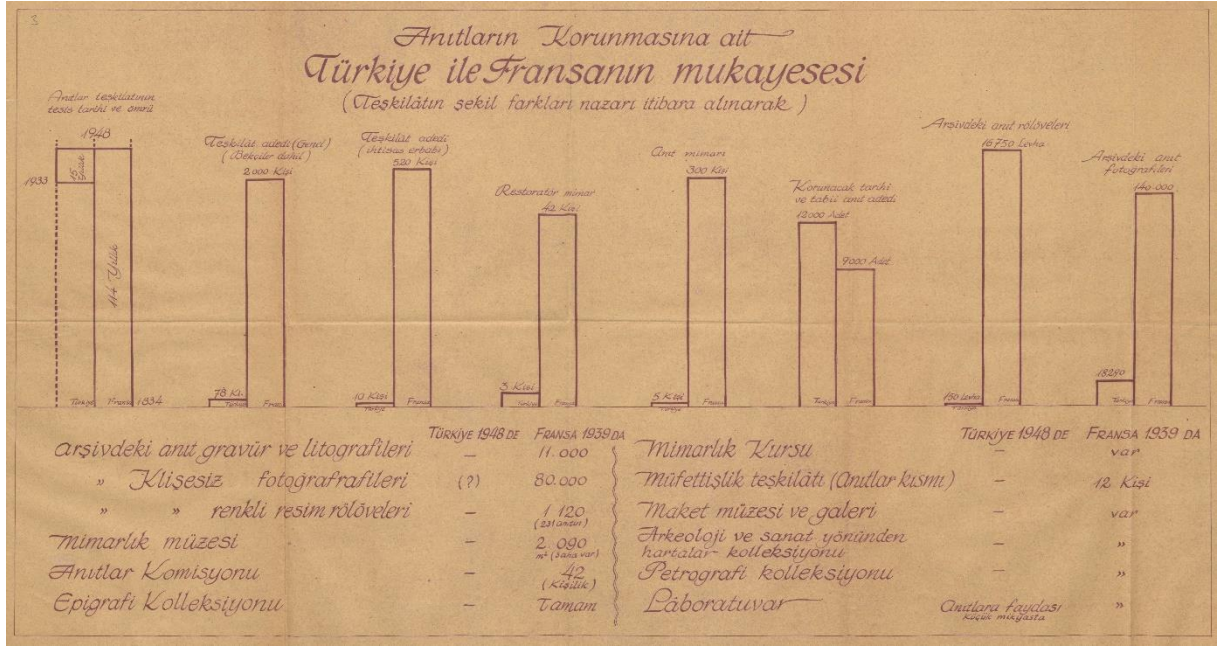


Figure 69. Comparison between Turkey and France regarding preservation of monuments (ASÜA)

Amerika'da Devlet Teşkilât ve
plânlama

Birleşik Amerika'nın Genel Devlet Teşkilâtı müteakip I numaralı şemada gösterilmektedir. II numaralı şema Ticaret III numaralı şema da Ziraat Bakanlıkları teşkilâtına aittir.

I numaralı şemada ve tavsihen IV numaralı şemada Reisi Cumhura bağlı olarak görülen müşavirler, Bütçe Bürosu, Millî kaynaklar emniyet konseyi Devlet Plânlama Teşkilâtının baş organlarıdır.

II numaralı Ticaret Bakanlığı şemasında Bakana bağlı olarak görülen program, plânlama kısmı, Standardlar Millî Bürosu, Ziraat Bakanlığında Bütçe ve Finans Ofisi Bakanlıklarda mevcut plânlama teşkilâtına birer nümune olarak gösterilmektedir. Diğer Bakanlıklarda da özelliklerine göre böyle bürolar mevcuttur.

Reisi Cumhura bağlı plânlama organlarının harp ve sulh zamanında vazifeleri aşağıda gösterilmiştir:

1. Hükümetin malî programının formüle edilmesinde ve bütçeyi hazırlamada Cumhur Başkanına yardım etmek,
2. Bütçe idaresini kontrol ve ona nezaret etmek,
3. İdare ilminde daha mütakâmil metodları vazetmede araştırmalar yapmak ve Hükümetin icraatçı daire ve mercilerini mükemmelleştirilmiş idarî organizasyon ve tatbikatından haberdar kılmak ve istişarelerde bulunmak,
4. Hükümet hizmetlerini daha rasyonel ve verimli bir şekilde idare için Cumhur Başkanına yardım etmek,
5. Teklif edilen kanunlar üzerinde Vekâletlerin fikrini alarak onları koordine etmek ve geçmiş tecrübeleri de göz önünde bulundurarak bu hususta Cumhur Başkanını tenvir etmek,
6. Lüzumu halinde icraî emirleri hazırlamak,
7. Federal veya diğer istatistik sevislerinin tekâmülünü, teşekkülünü ve koordinasyonunu sağlamak ve plânlamak,
8. Teklif edilen işler, başlanan ve bitirilen işler hakkında hükümet mercileri ile temasa geçerek bunlar hakkında Reisi Cumhura haber vermek; Hükümet mercileri arasında tevzi edilmiş bulunan işlerin tam zamanında yapılıp yapılmadığını takip etmek ve bu suretle devlet fonksiyonlarının en verimli

Figure 70. Article about urban planning in America (ASÜA)

29- I
Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı
Eski Eserler ve Müzeler U. Müdürlüğü
Sayı :
Ankara: / / 194
Özet

Anıtları korumak bir devlet meselesi olmakla beraber halk idaresinde ileri gitmiş memleketlerde devletlerin aldığı tedbirler, yapılan zaruri tedbirler bile demokrasi mefhumuna aykırı görülüyor, bunun üzerine milletin arzu ve ihtiyaclarına cevap veren dernekler doğmaya başlamıştır. Bu derneklerin en enbresson ve örnek olacak kadar muvaffak olmuşu İngiltere'dedir. Fransızda 1834 yılında Arcisse de Caumont tarafından kurulmuş ve o zamandan beri ilmi kongrelerle vatandaşların aydınlatılmakla ve anıtların kayıplarını Fransızlara öğretmekle çok faydalı işler başarmış, arkeoloji cemiyetleri İngiltere'nin "millî emanetleri koruma derneğinden" daha fazla muvaffak olmuştur.

İngilterenin "millî emanetleri koruma" teşkilatı 1895 yılında kurulmuştur.

Kurucuları üç İngilizdir. Bunlar Canon Rawnsley adlı sair, Sir Robert Hunter namındaki abukkat, Ocfordia Hill isiminde halkın faydasına çalışan bir kadındır. Bu üç İngiliz meşhur sair Wordsworth ve Ruskin'in şahsiyetleri hayranlıklarının tesiri altında ^{Kabul edilmiş} İngilterenin endüstri alanında adam alığı ve rek çok güzelliğinin bu makine ve endüstri memleketinde bozulma tehlikesi geçirdiği zamanda derneklerini kurmuşlardır. Bu derneğin dernek bu gün bütün İngilterenin en çok bağlandığı ve eski eserler ve tabii güzelliklerle görevli devlet teşkilatına iç işlerinde yardımcı olan zaman itaz eden, hatıra mücadele ederek milletini lehine büyük başarılar sağlayan

Figure 71. Ali Saim Ülgen's letter about protecting monuments and an association in England focusing on the preservation of monuments (ASÜA)

MAARİF VEKİLLİĞİ
Antikite ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü
Yayınlarından

Seri : IV
Sayı : 1

ANITLARIN KORUNMASI ve ONARILMASI

I

Y. Mimar Ali Saim ÜLGEN

Güzel Sanatlar Akademisinde öğretmen ve İstanbul
Arkeoloji Müzeleri Mimarı



ANKARA 1943 — MAARİF MATBAASI

Figure 72. The cover page of the Preservation and Restoration of Monuments (ASÜA)

Türkiye'deki tamirler hakkında birkaç söz:

Gerek Maarif Vekâleti ve gerekse Vakıflar müessesesi tarafından, fen heyetleri marifetiyle tamirleri yaptırılan eserlerin ehemmiyetlileri şunlardır:

Maarif Vekâleti Müzeler Dairesi ve İstanbul müzeleri umum müdürlüğü tarafından yaptırılan tamirler:

Adı	Yılı
Topkapı Sarayı kulesi	1933 (Şekil 78-79)
Ali Tusî türbesi, Tokat	1933
Kayseri türbelerinin tamiri	1933
Amasya'da bimarhane istimlâki ve Hilfet Gazi türbesi	1933
Efes, İsabey camii ve türbesinin islâhı	1933
Denizli, Akhan kervansarayının muhafazası	1933
Jüvien sütununun nakli	1933 (Şekil 109-110)
Ayasofya kubbeleri	1934
Hekimoğlu Alipaşa sebili	1934 (Şekil 82)
Ankara kalesinin onarımı	1934
Kayseri'de ufak tamirler	1934
Erzurum, Çifteminareler tamiri	1935 (Şekil 80, 81)
Bağdatköşkünün tamiri	1935
Ayasofya minaresi	1935
Karaman, Nefisehatun medresesi	1935
Niğde, Akmedrese	1935
Topkapı Sarayı mutfakları	1936 (Şekil 83, 84, 85)
Çinili köşkün tamiri	1936
Türbelerde tamirler	1937
Türbelerde tamirler	1938

Bu esnada, Konya'da, Erzurum'da ve diğer şehirlerde de bazı binaların onarıldığı öğrenilmiştir. (Şekil 86,87,88,89,90) Vakıflar müessesesi fen heyeti marifetiyle, İstanbul'da: Sülâymaniye, Sultan Selim, Mihrimah, Azapkapı, Ağa camii, Sinanpaşa, Molla Çelebi, Sultanahmet, Sokullu Mehmetpaşa, Eyüp, Şemsipaşa, Zal Mahmutpaşa, Yenicami, Atik Alipaşa, Mahmuppaşa, Mesih Mehmetpaşa, Okcu Musa, Bayezit; Ankara'da: Zincirli, Cenabi Ahmetpaşa, Hacıbayram;

Figure 73. List of restored buildings (from the Preservation and Restoration of Monuments) (ASÜA)

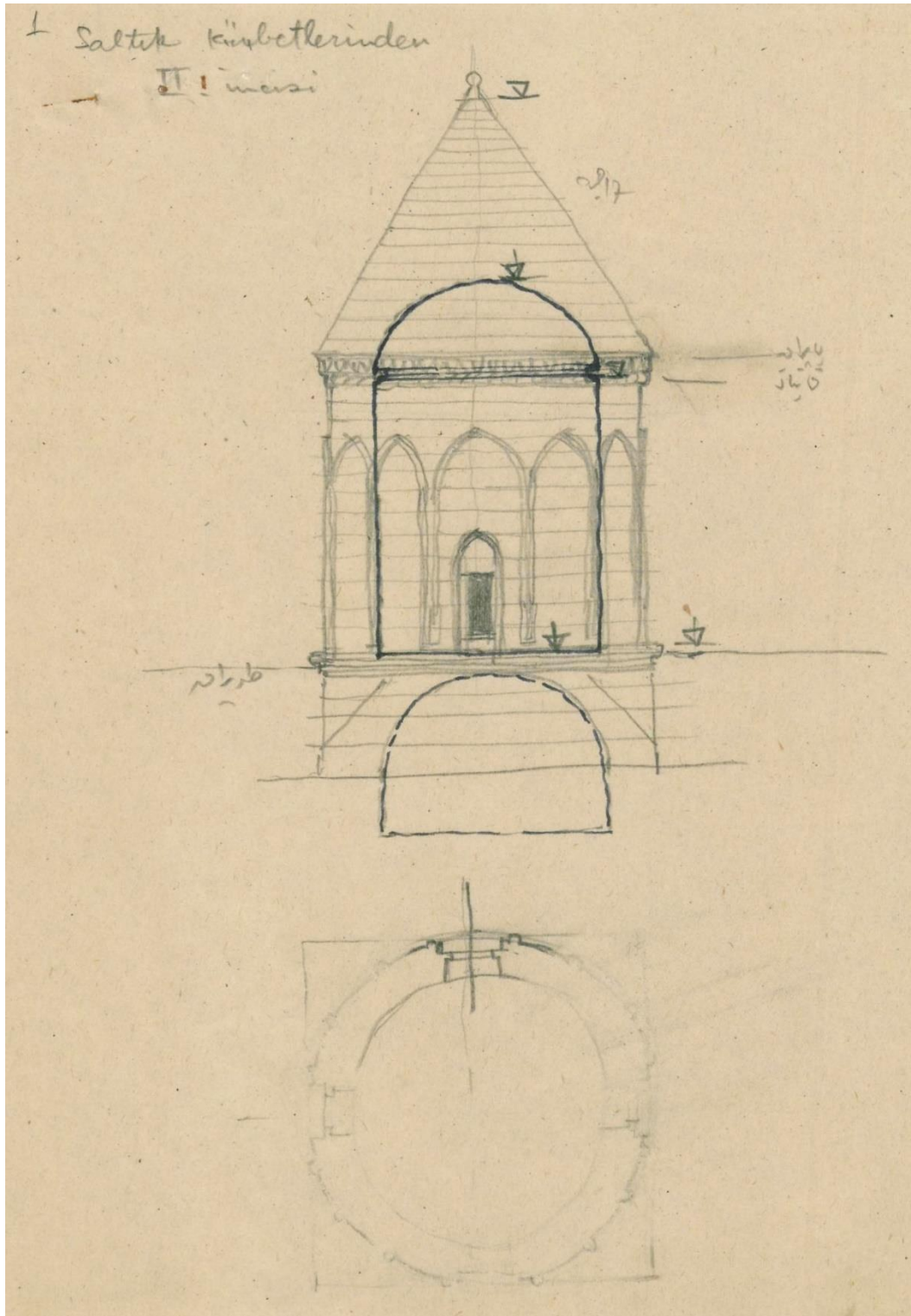


Figure 74. Survey drawing of Emir Saltuk Tomb in Erzurum (ASÜA)

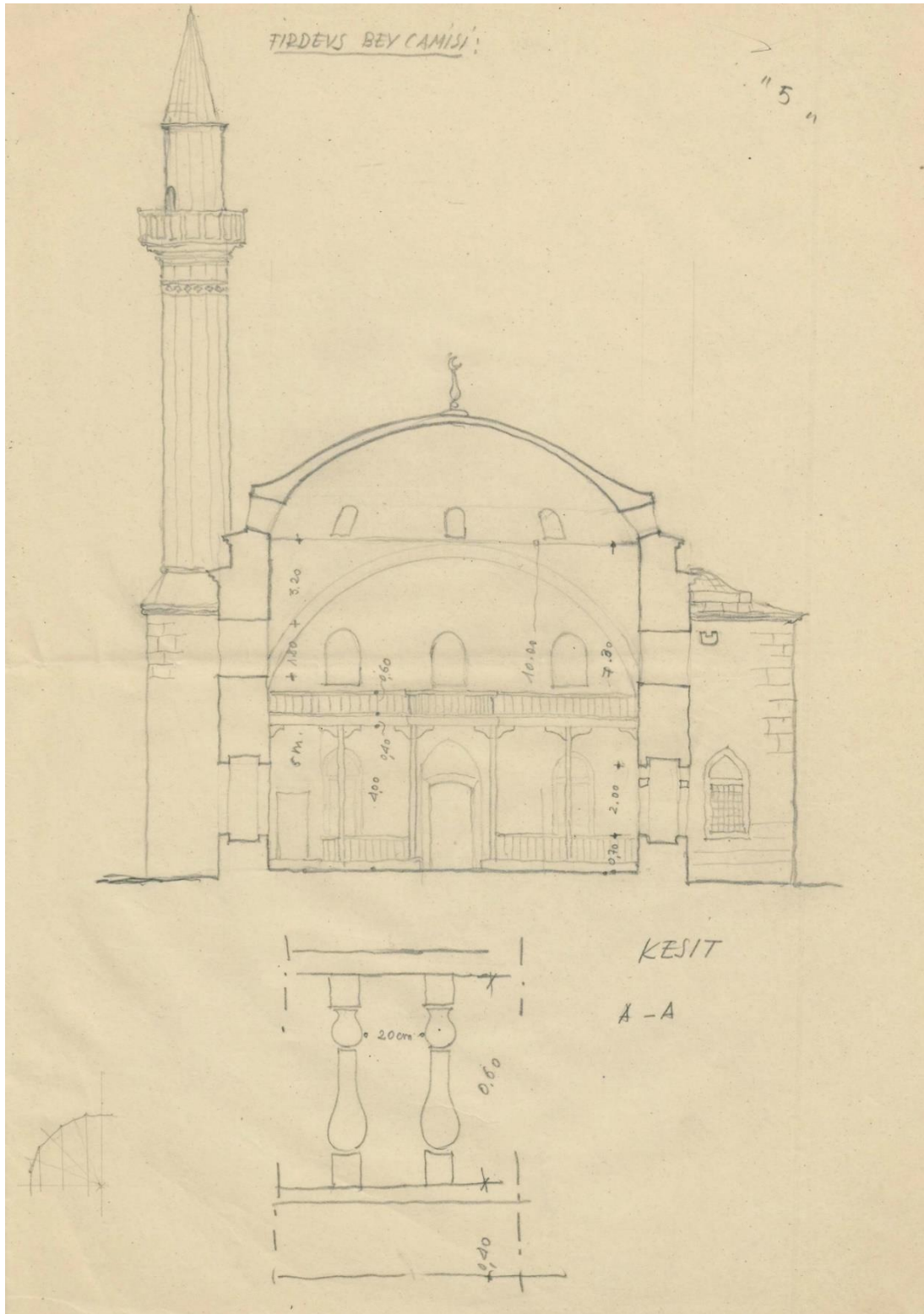


Figure 75. Survey sketch of Firdevs Bey Mosque in Isparta (ASÜA)

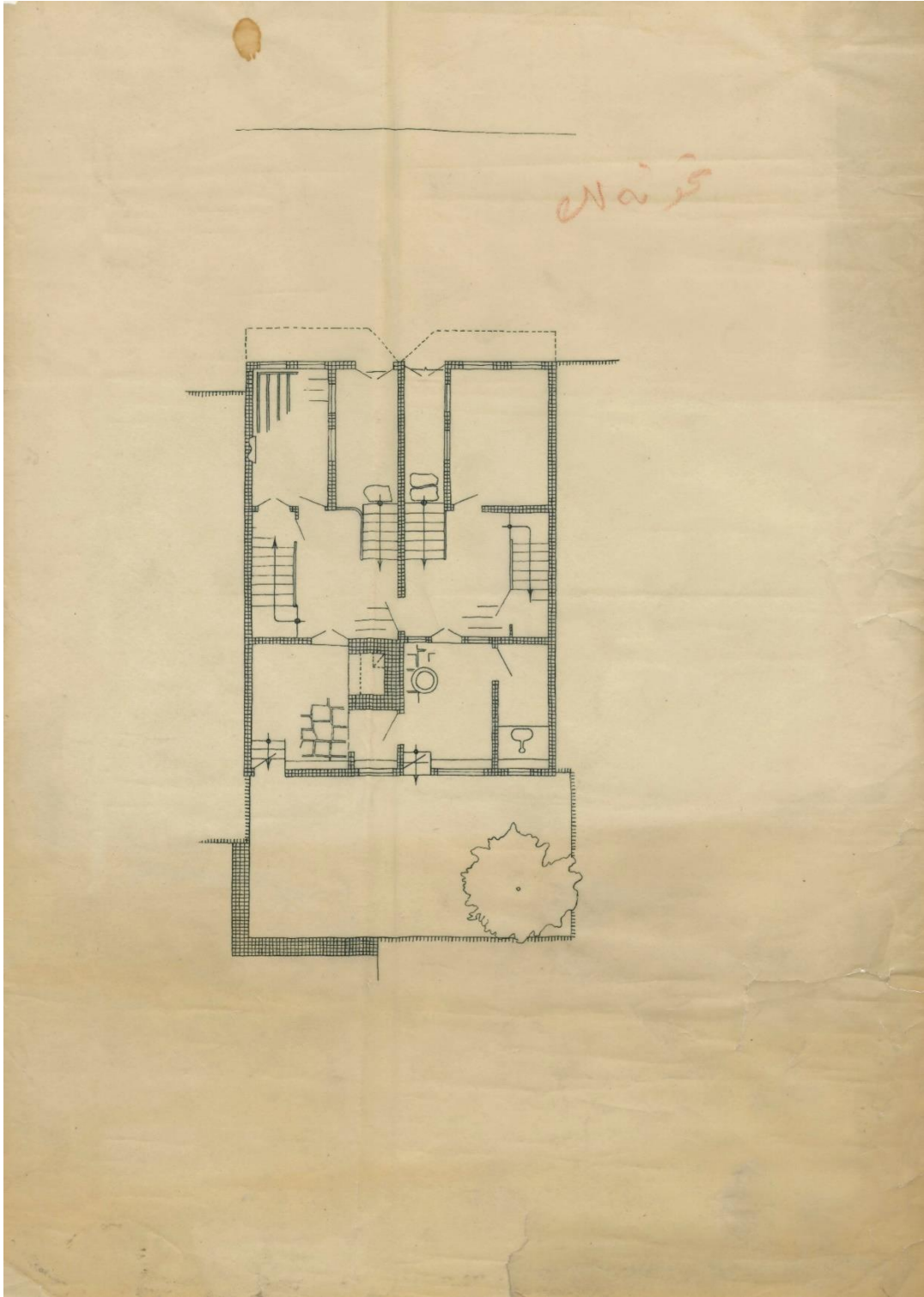


Figure 76. Surveys of various Ottoman houses (ASÜA)



Şekil: 22 — Sultanahmet camisi müstemilâtından ihata duvarı üzerindeki bir kapı ile fevkani odalar tapu ile hususi şahısların tasarrufuna geçmiş ve son mutasarrıfı tarafından da yıktırılmıştır.



Şekil: 23 — Fatih Tabhane medresesi belediye tarafından benzin ve malzeme deposu olarak kullanılmaktadır. Binaın yan cephe duvarına yeniden bir kapı açılmak suretiyle de duvar tahribedilmiştir.

Figure 77. The Photograph of Fatih Tabhane Medresesi in the Preservation and Restoration of Monuments (ASÜA)

APPENDIX B

LIST OF ALİ SAİM ÜLGEN'S UNPUBLISHED WORKS

Unpublished Article / Presentation:

“Yakın Tarihde Türk Mimarisi” (“Turkish Architecture in the Recent History”)

(Manuscript in Ottoman Turkish) unpublished article? (ASÜA)

“Türk Mimarisinin Beylikler Üslubunda Fatih Çağının Rolü Hakkında Düşünceler”

(“Thoughts on the Role of Fatih Age in the Beylics Style of Turkish Architecture”),

(typewritten) unpublished article? (ASÜA)

“Türk Mezar Anıtları,” (“Turkish Mausoleum Monuments”) Türk mezarları

Konferansı – tebliğ (ASÜA)

“Kilim” (“The Carpet”) (manuscript) unpublished article / presentation? (ASÜA)

“14. Asırda Anadolu’da Tasvirli Selçuklu Mezar Taşları,” (“Seljuk Tombstones

Depicted in Anatolia in the 14th Century”) (typewritten) unpublished article /

presentation? (ASÜA)

“La caractere philosophique et esthetique de l’architecture turque,” (“The

Philosophical and Aesthetic Character of Turkish Architecture”) unpublished article /

presentation? (typewritten) (ASÜA)

“Divrik Ulu Camii ve Darüşşifası,” (“The Great Mosque and Hospital of Divrigi”)

unpublished article / presentation? (typewritten) (ASÜA)

“Türkiye’de Çini Mihraplar,” (“Tile Mihraps in Turkey”) unpublished article /

presentation? (typewritten) (ASÜA)

“La décor interieur de l’architecture turque au XVIeme siècle,” (“The Interior Decoration of Turkish Architecture in the sixteenth Century”) unpublished article / presentation (typewritten) (ASÜA)

“16. Yüzyılda Türk Mimarisinin İç Dekorü Nasıl Vücut Buldu?” (“How did the interior Decoration of the Turkish Architecture in the sixteenth Century Come Into Existence?”) unpublished article / presentation (typewritten) (ASÜA)

Book review concerning Ekrem Ayverdi’s book *Fatih Devri Mimarisi* (1953) (typewritten) (ASÜA)

“Türkiye’de Abide Restorasyonlarındaki Doktrün ve Prensipler ve Son Yıllarda Yapılan Tamirlerden Bazı Örnekler” (“Doctrines and Principles in Restorations of Monuments in Turkey from Some Examples of Repairs Made in the Last Years”) unpublished article / presentation? (typewritten) (ASÜA)

“Karamanoğulları Konferansına verilen tebliğ” (“Edict Given to Karamanoğulları Conference”) (typewritten) (ASÜA)

“Afyon’da Fatih Devri Eserlerinden Gedik Ahmet Paşa Camii” (“Gedik Ahmet Pasha Mosque from Fatih Devri's Works in Afyon”) unpublished article / presentation (typewritten) (ASÜA)

“Karacabey Vakıf Abideleri” (“Foundation Monuments of Karacabey”) unpublished article / presentation? (typewritten) (ASÜA)

“Cami” (“The Mosque”) unpublished article / presentation? (manuscript) (ASÜA)

“Türk Mimarisi,” (“The Turkish Architecture”) yazı dizisi, *Gençlik* (newspaper) – 1938 (ASÜA)

“Mimarlık Tarihi – Mübahese” (“The History of the Architecture, Conversation”) unpublished article / presentation? (manuscript in Ottoman Turkish) (ASÜA)

“Büyük Sinan’ın Günü İçin” (“For The Day of The Great Sinan”) presentation (?) (manuscript in Ottoman Turkish) (ASÜA)

“Saadet Hakkındaki Etüdüm” (“My Survey on Happiness”) unpublished article / presentation? (manuscript) (ASÜA)

“Bir Türk Başşehri Bursa” (“Bursa, a Turkish Capital City”) presentation (typewritten) – 1949 Conference (ASÜA)

“Mimar Sinan” (“Sinan The Architect”) unpublished article / biographical presentation (?) (typewritten) [*Yeni Adam* 13 Nisan 1939?] (ASÜA)

“Alp Arslan’ın Hayatı ve İcraatı” (“The Life and The Executions of Alp Arslan”) unpublished article / presentation? (typewritten) (ASÜA)

“13. Yüzyıl Anadolu Selçuklu Sanatı Üzerine” (“On The Anatolian Seljuk Art”) (4 pages) (presentation?) (ASÜA)

“İstanbul Havariyun Kilisesi ve Fatih Camii” (“The Istanbul Havariyun Church and The Fatih Mosque”) unpublished article / presentation? (typewritten) (11 pages) (ASÜA)

“Sanat ve Din İlişkisine Dair - Başlangıç” (“On The Relationship Between Art and Religion – The Introduction”) (typewritten) (10 pages) (ASÜA)

“Tarihte Su Tesisleri” (“Water Facilities in History”) (typewritten) (3 pages) (ASÜA)

“Seyiygazi’de Türk Eserleri” (“Turkish Works in Seyitgazi”) unpublished article
(typewritten / manuscript in Ottoman Turkish) (ASÜA)

Unpublished Book:

Mimariye dair (Mimarlık Felsefesi ve tarihi Gelişimi), Concerning The Architecture
Chapter 1 and 2 (Chapter 3 is absent) (typewritten) Draft (57 pages) (ASÜA)

Sanatın Başlangıcı ve Tekamülündeki Esaslar, Fundamentals in the Beginning and
Evolution of Art (typewritten) Book draft (157 pages) (ASÜA)

Mimar Sinan, Sinan The Architect, book draft, (manuscript in Ottoman Turkish) (168
pages) (ASÜA)

Mimarlık Tarihi, History of The Architecture, (textbook) Volume 1 (typewritten)
(162 pages) (ASÜA)

Mimarlık Tarihi, History of The Architecture, (textbook) Volume 2 (manuscript in
Ottoman Turkish and typewritten) (ASÜA)

Barok ve Rokoko Üslubu Devrinde Mimari, Architecture in the Era of Baroque and
Rococo Style (typewritten) Book draft (For the book *Mimarlık Tarihi?*) (217 pages)
(ASÜA)

Rönesans – Uyanma Devri, Renaissance – The Era of Wakening (For the book
Mimarlık Tarihi?) Draft (typewritten and manuscript in Ottoman Turkish) (411
pages) (ASÜA)

İslam Mimari Tarihi, The History of Islamic Architecture Draft (typewritten and
manuscript in Ottoman Turkish) (ASÜA)

Mimariye Giriş, Introduction to Architecture (textbook) (typewritten and manuscript in Ottoman Turkish) (ASÜA)

Köprülü Konağı ve Türk Sivil Mimarisindeki Mevkii, The Mansion of Koprulu and It's Place in The Turkish Architecture (typewritten) Uncompleted book draft (1939) (ASÜA)

Eski Eserlerin Temizlenmesi ve Bakımı, The Cleaning and Maintenance of Old Works (typewritten) (40 pages) (ASÜA)

Sultan Mahmud'un Aşkı, The Love of Sultan Mahmud, Theater play (manuscript in Ottoman Turkish) Draft (ASÜA)

Works preparing to be published (From his own biographical documents):

Bursa Abideleri, The Monuments of Bursa, (French) with Albert Gabriel

Sinan ve Eserleri, Sinan and His Works, (Turkish and French) with Prof. Fuat Köprülü and Prof. Albert Gabriel

Unpublished Works (From his own biographical documents):

Mimarlık Tarihi, The History of Architecture, (3 Volumes)

Mimariye Giriş, Introduction to Architecture, (1 Volume)

Türk Mimarisi, The Turkish Architecture, (1 Volume)

Liseler İçin Sanat Tarihi, History of the Architecture for High Schools (1 Volume)

APPENDIX C
TRANSLATIONS

C.1 “1947 yılında yazılmış mevcut kanunların, eski eser ve abidelerin korunması konusundaki yetersizliğine dair rapor (ASÜA: TASUDOC0486)

The Report Regarding the Insufficiency of the Current Laws Made in 1947 in terms of the Preservation of the Antiquities and Monuments

1. Counting and identification of ancient works in Turkey, exact determination of their quantities and situations,
2. Registering the historical monuments in Turkey with an exact determination and terminating their numbers as soon as possible and declaring them to every relevant institution,
3. Making building surveys of historical monuments in Turkey
4. Making restoration projects or restitutions of historical monuments in Turkey
5. Achieving restorations and reinforcements as much as the state budget allocates but making repairs as all monuments remain standing
6. Assuring the continuous maintenance checks of the historical monuments of Turkey
7. Creating an archive of the historical monuments in Turkey
8. Making all kinds of propaganda, permanent galleries, mobile exhibitions, and a museum of architecture in order to prevent the destruction of historical and natural monuments in Turkey

9. Making appropriate publications for the education of the people in order to prevent damages and develop the science
10. Supplying historical building material as suitable for old repair regimes and the construction of the necessary construction storages in advance
11. Preparing all kinds of maps and plans that will prevent irrigation of archaeological sites with historical and natural monuments and show the details of protection borders
12. Training of expert architects, master heads, craftsmen and other necessary personnel for the protection and restoration of historical monuments in Turkey
13. As the best repair of historical monuments can be carried out safely, making necessary amendments to the relevant laws and establishing of the organization to manage the construction to be carried out safely, constituting the specialized areas designed according to the character of the works in certain areas of the area,
14. Preparation and enforcement of the regulation and the general law on the protection of historical monuments in Turkey
15. Expropriating for the purpose of suitable environments to preserve the monuments or if it is government property, taking necessary decisions as a remedy to prevent the individuals from obtaining them
16. Control of the implementation of the future status of monuments, designation and specification of their surroundings in city planning plans
17. Resurrecting the art branches that are needed for the restoration of our monuments and which are now dead, and the development of dying arts and the supporting our artists

18. Protecting historical materials from external and chemical influences, searching for remedies and conducting drills

19. Preserving the historical and natural beauty in Turkey and preventing their deterioration by artificial and ugly effects

20. Maintaining a continuous and close cooperation with our various owners of our monuments, and playing a key role for Eski Eserleri Sevenler Derneđi (the Association of Antiquity Lovers) which are being established in Turkey from place to place in order not to do wrong work

21. According to tourist attractions of the country, presenting the monuments to the local and foreigner traveler well, providing the facilities, and cooperating with the related institutions.

22. Paying full attention to the construction, repair, exhibition and arrangement works of all museum buildings that are being established and will be established in Turkey, are indispensable in my opinion.

The Original Text

1. Türkiye’deki eski eserlerin sayımı ve bu suretle tanınmaları, miktarlarının ve durumlarının tam olarak tespiti

2. Türkiye’deki tarihi anıtların hakiki şekilde tespitiyle kütüđe geçirilmesi ve numaratajlarının en kısa zamanda bitirilmesi ve bunların ilgili her müesseseye ilanı

3. Türkiye’deki tarihi anıtların rölövelerinin yapılması

4. Türkiye’deki tarihi anıtların restorasyon projelerinin veya restitüsyonlarının yapılması

5. Devletin bütçesinden ayırdığı ödenek kadar restorasyon ve takviyelerin başarılması fakat bütün anıtların ayakta durmalarını temin edecek onarımlar yapılması
6. Türkiye'deki tarihi anıtların cümlesinin devamlı bakım kontrollerinin temini
7. Türkiye'deki tarihi anıtların onarım işlerine ait bir arşiv vücuda getirilmesi
8. Türkiye'deki tarihi ve tabii anıtların tahrip olunmalarının önüne geçilmek üzere her nevi propaganda ve daimi bir galeri ve mimarlık müzesiyle seyyar sergiler yapılması
9. Gerek ilmin gelişmesi gerek tahriplerin önüne geçilmesi için halkın eğitimine uygun yayınlar yapılması
10. Eski onarım rejimlerine muvaffik surette tarihi inşa malzemesinin temini ve şimdiden gerekli inşaat depolarının kurulması
11. Tarihi ve tabii anıtlarla arkeolojik sahaların tahriplerini önleyecek ve koruma hudutlarını tafsilatıyla gösterecek her çeşit harita ve planların hazırlanması
12. Türkiye'deki tarihi anıtların korunmaları ve onarılması için uzman mimar, usta başı, usta ve diğer gerekli elemanla müteahhitlerin yetiştirilmesi
13. Tarihi anıtların en iyi şekilde onarımı emaneten yapılabileceği için ilgili kanunlarda gereken tadilatın yapılması ve emaneten yapılacak inşaatı idare edecek teşkilatın kurulması, yurdun muayyen bölgelerindeki eserlerin karakterine göre düşünülmüş olan ihtisas bölgelerinin teşkili

14. Türkiye’deki tarihi anıtların korunmasıyla ilgili kanun tüzük ve genelgenin hazırlanıp tatbik mevkiine konulması
15. Anıtları korumaya elverişli ölçüde çevrelerin temini için kamulaştırmalar yapılması veya devlet malı ise şahıs eline geçmemesi çarelerinin aranarak icap eden kararların alınması
16. Şehir imar planlarında anıtların gelecekteki durumu, çevrelerinin tanzimi ve hususiyetlerinin tayini ile tatbikatının kontrolü
17. Anıtlarımızın onarımı için gerekli görülen ve bugün ölmüş bulunan sanat şubelerinin diriltilmesi ve ölmek üzere olan sanatların kalkındırılması ve sanatçıların himayesi
18. Tarihi malzemelerin harici ve kimyasal tesirlerden korunması, çarelerinin aranması ve tatbikatının yapılması
19. Türkiye’deki tarihi ve tabii güzelliklerin korunması ve bunların suni ve çirkin tesirlerle bozulmaması
20. Anıtlarımızın çeşitli olan sahipleriyle devamlı ve sıkı bir iş birliği yapılması ve Türkiye’de yer yer kurulmakta olan eski eserleri sevenler derneklerinin yanlış iş yapmamaları için nazım bir rol oynaması
21. Yurdun turistik gayelerine göre anıtların iç ve dış gezgine iyi bir şekilde takdimi, imkanlarının temini ve bu işlerle meşgul müesseselerle el birliği edilmesi.
22. Türkiye’de kurulmakta olan ve kurulacak olan bütün müze binalarının inşa, onarım, teşhir ve tanzim işleriyle tam şekilde ilgilenilmesinin zaruri olduğuna kaniyim.”

C.2 Another Part from the Same Document

I have not claimed that we were not interested in the things shown above by getting into the details of this matter. Obligations have always forced this department to follow the above-mentioned points. Nevertheless, it is an effort that needs to be arranged according to the wishes and orders of the whole process in a certain division of labor and in a realistic program, not according to today's obligations. I have to accomplish my duty flawlessly to make Anıtlar Şubesi, which you commended me in the last months of 1944, complete and perfect how the law of organization and our national culture matter order my conscience. For this I offer again and in details the ways of salvation of our case and the precautions that I have to take for the monuments that we have to cover their wounds to your high authority:

1. The information I obtained at the end of the trips I have made for many years shows that there are at least 10-12 thousand monuments in Turkey. The missing or incorrect registration lists made up to 1945 are either hampering the zoning movements or are ruining our important works and natural beauties during the reconstruction works.
2. After the identification of ancient monuments in Turkey, the designation of monuments in them shall not be left to the desire and knowledge of a person. The registration of the monuments is made possible by a commission which will be established by the experts in art, aesthetic and science who will not be under any influence.
3. Although our architects who are responsible for the repair works and the office called Rölöve Bürosu (Building Survey Office) deal with the surveys of the historical monuments in Turkey, the surveys are subject only to the monuments being repaired or the understanding and dismissal of the survey chief. Until now, no

programmed survey work has been established, and the surveys collected in the general directorate's library within 20 years have not exceeded at most 150 plates.

4. There is no complete restoration project in 90% of the repairs done to date in Turkey. However, it is undeniable that these projects play a major role in the success of the restoration works.

5. It is not feasible to ask the state's budget to allocate enormous amounts of money for restorations and reinforcements because even the richest nations today cannot dare to restore the monument according to its exact form although they feel the need to do that like this. We have to take a policy decision for this. In my opinion, the principle should be like this:

a. If the restoration has the same amount of workload compared to the maintenance for the building that needs repair, and the money that would have to be spent to save the building is not too much money, then that monument should be restored.

b. Later additions, which are unseemly at the same time, made on the artworks, which are masterpieces, must be removed and repaired as they were before.

Repair of the monuments such as registration works and restoration projects must be under a strict control because they have a great importance all around our cultural history. Today, we do not have an institution like a high commission, everybody is acting according to their own opinions. Therefore, we are always criticized and criticize. The prevention of this anarchy would only be possible if we establish such institutions and commission of monuments with serious concern and affection like the commissioner countries such as France, Britain, Italy, and Spain. As it has been

explained from above, it is necessary to establish a science archive which will be produced from the necessary works and to be transferred to the future.

(...)

8. Although the Turkish nation has a very ancient architectural tradition and the richest historical ages of the world, it does not have a full-fledged art institute in our academy of fine arts and universities, nor does it have a rostrum to teach its own architecture and art. On the contrary, in other countries, art history teaching has entered into even high schools. Architects who will repair old works in foreign countries are grown with great care. Architectural museums and archives were set up for these architects. I consider the birth of such a museum in Turkey as my ideal. But since it's a work of long time and much money, we can always have the opportunity to build a tutorial gallery. This gallery may consist of surveys, photographs, statistics, monument models or plaster models thereof. It is also possible that the gallery can be confined to Turkish and Byzantine artifacts. There are many Byzantine works in Istanbul. A colleague whom we assigned to make pictures to be prepared for the Byzantine gallery was detained his work when I thought and offered to establish a gallery which consisted of these monuments' surveys and models in one of the buildings in the complex of Hagia Sophia.

9. Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü (The General Directorate of Ancient Monuments and the Museums) is obliged to appeal to the public for the protection of the monuments in Turkey. It is imperative that all necessary propaganda and publications must be made for it. Today's publications are not enough for this because the Corpus of the Monuments which has been recently published, as overlooked by the authorities, are filled with many mistakes.

11. Archeological and architectural maps about even the closest places are not available in Turkey, and the remote areas too. The foreigners have identified archaeological plans of Ankara and Istanbul better.

12. The architects who will work on the monument repairs of our country need to be educated to do scientific restorations. The aesthetic cannot be taught with a methodical and careful artistic history of architecture in neither the Technical University nor the Academy. However, after having received a degree from an academy or technical college in Europe, those who have successfully completed an examination can acquire the right to control the repairs themselves by working as an apprentice in the construction areas. At the academy, three of my students whom I teach the history of architecture could not refuse to work in Anıtlar Şubesi (The Department of Monuments) at a small fee for my sake

13. (...) At present, the allocations for the repairs of our monuments are creating some difficulties as their administration are divided into a few branches. The Ministry of Public Works administers the payments made from the General Construction and the National Property, this situation causes the interference of technical staff who are not professionally trained in monument repairs which needs specialization.

Based on my personal friendship, I have the control of our colleagues from the department [Ülgen means the Construction Department in the Ministry of Public Works] who are specializing in this field by describing the troubles of this issue to the administrators and colleagues of the Construction Department in the Ministry of Public Works. But since it is not an official nature, it will be an old tough situation if my friends and I leave this department. According to this situation, it is necessary to put the control work into a definite form and to solve the problems by giving the

allowances from a department. If we receive a grant under the name of the Ministry of National Education Allowance of Monuments, there will be no cause for dispute. Unfortunately, it needs to share all of our challenges in order to understand what we suffer from the hands of contractors or members of the Public Service Organization who do not understand the scientific and technical characteristics of the restoration by beginning to work with the simplest technical culture. Apart from this, we should also allow the birth of a community of contractors with an artistic attitude in front of the restorer's architect. When choosing contractors, the Ministry of National Education, the General Directorate of the Antiquities and the Museums are obliged to give qualifications that value the specialties. Indeed, we have begun to practice this thought. I am a person who has seen with the eyes how other nations are very meticulous in their simplest work and how they educate their architects, supervisors, masters and workers, and how they appreciate it on the other hand. I would like to make it clear that it should not underestimate the significance given to the entrepreneurs as an art man who has personally worked in the construction sites of French among these nations. We, the architects of ancient monuments, are the technical staff with the least salary and wages in our country today. I, who came to serve as the director of the Monuments Branch of the General Directorate, have been shouldering all the troubles of this branch for the defense of my profession even if just a bit. As a result of this situation, it is necessary to pay a clear charge of 600 liras to those who will have responsibilities of the chief architect, and 400 liras to more beginner architects, that means at least 550 liras. Since there are works of a certain style and character on all sides of Turkey, special zones for repairing archeology and monuments have been formed spontaneously. According to these specialist areas, the repair shop to be installed can take more active and efficient results under the control

of the center. The regions I envisaged to be established are shown in the attached maps and diagrams. Their centers are:

1. Ankara (Ankara - Eskişehir – Bolu – Zonguldak – Kastamonu – Çankırı – Çorum – Samsun – Sinop)
2. İstanbul (İstanbul - Kocaeli – Bursa – Bilecik – Balıkesir – Çanakkale – Edirne – Kırklareli – Tekirdağ)
3. İzmir (İzmir - Manisa – Denizli – Aydın - Muğla - Burdur – Isparta - Antalya - Kütahya)
4. Konya (Konya – Afyonkarahisar – İçel - Hatay - Gaziantep - Kırşehir - Niğde – Yozgat)
5. Sivas (Sivas – Kayseri – Tokat - Amasya – Ordu - Giresun – Malatya - Maraş - Elazığ)
6. Erzurum (Erzurum – Çoruh - Rize - Trabzon – Gümüşhane - Erzincan - Tunceli - Kars - Ağrı)
7. Diyarbakır (Diyarbakır - Urfa - Mardin - Bingöl – Muş – Bitlis - Siirt - Van - Çölemerik)

14. The laws about monuments are one of the most necessary sanctions of Turkey. Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi (The Regulation of the Antiquities) dated April 28, 1906 is still in force. Even though this charter is treated like a law, it can be argued that this sanction damages instead of utilizing. For this, a strong attempt is needed to make the Law of Antiquities as soon as possible. (...)

The material in which the monuments in Turkey are built, and that are not found in the market today must be made and stocked. It would be beneficial to encourage establishments that are eager to do this material, so that it is easier and more

affordable to obtain the necessary materials without having to establish factories and so on. Therefore, we can get rid of labor and business costs. (..)

Of course, the Turks, who had a great thrill of doing charity work, would need to preserve the remains of their ancestors and establish new charity institutions. As a matter of fact, the Association of Lovers of the Antiquities that are formed by this aim began to operate in various places of Turkey. Ensuring that these institutions can do monument repairs, which is a specialization task, according to the procedure and making good attempts beneficial requires that the Branch of Monuments plays a proper role.

(...)

21. Our monuments is one of the number one capitals for touristic aims in the country. From this respect, the amount of foreign currency that will enter into the country depends on the importance that we give to our monuments. It is our interest to save, preserve and advertise our monuments as well. Therefore, we must have a common work with the Tourism Office. Not only scientific but also commercial enterprises if they are necessary should be established, and by this way businesses should be created.

The Original Text

“Yukarıda gösterilen hususlarla hiç ilgimiz olmadığını, bu meselenin tahsilatına girmekle iddia etmiş değilim. Zaruretler bu daireyi daima yukarıda zikri geçen hususları takibe mecbur etmiştir. Fakat bugünün zaruretlerine göre değil, muayyen iş bölümünün ve hakiki bir programın içinde davanın istek ve emirlerine göre tanzim edilmesi icap eden bir iştir. 1944 yılının son aylarında itimat ederek bana tevdi etmiş olduğunuz anıtlar şubelerini tam ve mükemmel bir hale getirmek ve teşkilat kanunu ile

milli kültür davalarımızın vicdanıma emrettiği şekilde kusursuz olarak görevimi başarmak zorundayım. Bunun için yaralarını sarmaya mecbur olduğumuz anıtlar davamızın kurtuluş yollarını ve alınması lazım olduğuna kani bulunduğum tedbirleri yüksek makamınıza tekrar ve tafsilatıyla sunuyorum:

1. Uzun yıllar yaptığım seyahatler sonunda edindiğim bilgi bana Türkiye’de en az 10 bin-12 bin anıtın mevcut olduğunu göstermektedir. 1945’e kadar yapılan tescil listelerinin noksan veya yanlış oluşu ya imar hareketlerini aksatmakta veya imar hamleleri sırasında önemli eserlerimiz ve tabii güzellikler mahvolmaktadır.

2. Türkiye’deki eski eserlerin tespiti yapıldıktan sonra bunlar içinde anıt vasfına haiz olanların tayini bir kişinin arzu ve bilgisine terk edilmemelidir. Anıtların kütüğe geçirme ameliyeleri hiçbir tesirin altında kalmayacak olan sanat, estetik ve ilim erbabından kurulacak bir komisyonla mümkün olur.

3. Türkiye’deki tarihi anıtların rölövesiyle tamir işlerinin idare eden mimarlarımız ve Rölöve Bürosu adı verilen büro meşgul olmakta ise de yapılan rölöveler ancak onarılmakta olan anıtlarla ilgili veya röleve bürosu şefinin kendi anlayış ve arsuzuna tabiidir. Bugüne kadar programlı bir röleve mesaisi kurulmamış, genel müdürlük arşivinde 20 sene içinde toplanan röleveler ise en çok 150 levhayı tecavüz etmemiştir.

4. Türkiye’deki bugüne kadar yapılan onarımların %90’ında tam bir restorasyon projesi yoktur. Halbuki restorasyon ameliyelerinin muvaffakiyetinde bu projelerinin büyük rolü olduğu inkar edilemez.

5. Devletin bütçesinden restorasyonlar ve takviyeler için muazzam paralar ayrılmasını istemek aklımdan geçmez. Çünkü bugün en zengin milletler bile her

buldukları anıtı asli şekline göre restore etmek lüzumunu hissetseler bile cüret gösteremiyorlar. Bunun için bir prensip kararı almaya mecburuz. Kanattımce prensip şu olmalıdır:

a. Onarımı icap eden eserde yapılacak tamir işiyle restorasyon ameliyesi aynı miktara çıkar ve kurtarılması için sarfı icap edecek paradan fazla bir yekun tutmazsa o anıt restore edilmelidir.

b. Şaheser olan sanat eserlerinin çirkinlik ifade eden ve sonradan yapılmış bulunan ekleri kaldırılmalı ve bunlar eskiden yapıldığı gibi onarılmalıdır.

(...) Anıt onarımları yapılan tescil işleri ve restorasyon projeleri gibi kültür tarihimiz çapında bir önem taşıdığından sıkı bir kontrole tabi olması zarureti vardır. Bugün anıtlar yüksek komisyonu gibi müesseseye sahip olmadığımız cihetle herkes kendi içtihadına göre hareket ediyor. Bundan dolayı daima tenkitlere uğramakta ve tenkit etmekteyiz. Bu anarşinin önlenmesi ancak Fransa, İngiltere, İtalya, İspanya gibi bugün de teşkilatı tetkik edebilecek memleketlerde görülen müesseselerin ve anıtlar komisyonunun ciddi bir alaka ve hüsnüniyetle bizde de kurulması şartıyla mümkün olabilecektir.

Yukarıdan beri izah edildiği üzere yapımları gerekli olan işlerden doğacak bir bilim arşivi kurulması ve bunun geleceğe devredilmesi icap etmektedir.

8. Türk milletinin çok eski bir mimarlık ananesinin mevcut olmasına ve dünyaynın en zengin tarih çağlarına sahip bulunmasına rağmen güzel sanatlar akademisinde ve üniversitelerinde tam teşekküllü bir sanat enstitüsü kurulmadığı gibi kendi öz mimarlık ve sanatımızı öğretecek bir kürsü de yoktur. Buna mukabil diğer memleketlerde sanat tarihi öğretimi liselere kadar girmiştir. Yabancı memleketlerde

eski eserleri onaracak mimarlar büyük bir itina ile yetiştirilirler. Bu mimarların kurs görmeleri için mimarlık müzeleri ve arşivler kurulmuştur. Türkiye’de de böyle bir müzenin doğuşunu idealim sayıyorum. Ancak bu uzun zamanın ve paranın işi olduğu için biz öğretici bir galeri kurmak imkanına her zaman sahip olabiliriz. Bu galeri röleve, fotoğraf, istatistik, anıt maketleri veya bunların alçı modellerinden müteşekkil olabilir. Galerinin Türk ve Bizans eserlerine de hasr edilmesi mümkündür.

İstanbul’da pek çok Bizans eseri vardır. Bu anıtların rölevelerinden ve maketlerinden mürekkep bir galerinin Ayasofya camiası içindeki binalardan birinde tesisinin düşünüp teklif ettiğim halde Bizans galerisi için hazırlanacak resimleri yapmakla görevlendirdiğimiz bir meslektaş bu mesaisinden alıkonulmuştur.

9. Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, Türkiye’deki anıtların korunması için halka hitap etmeye mecburdur. Onun için gerekli propaganda ve yayının her türlüşününü yapılması zaruridir. Bugünkü yayınlarımız buna kafi değildir. Çünkü yakın zamanda ilgililerin dahi gözünden kaçırılarak bastırılan anıtlar korpusu bir çok hatalarla doludur.

11. Türkiye’de değil uzak bölgelerin en yakın muhitlerin dahi arkeolojik ve mimarlık haritaları mevcut değildir. Ankara’nın, İstanbul’un arkeoloji planlarını yabancılar daha iyi tespit etmişlerdir.

12. Memleketimizin anıt onarımlarında çalışacak mimarların ilmi restorasyonar yapacak şekilde yetiştirilmeleri lazımdır. Ne Teknik Üniversite, ne de Akademi’de metotlu ve dikkatli sanat mimarlık tarihiyle estetik okutulmaz. Halbuki Avrupa’da akademi veya teknik üniversitelerden diploma aldıktan sonra şantiyelerde bir müptedi gibi çalışan mimarlardan imtihanda muvaffak olanlar onarımları bizzat

control etme hakkını kazanırlar. Akademi’de bizzat mimarlık tarihi okuttuğum 3 talebem anıtlar şubesinde ufacak bir ücretle hatırım için reddedememiştir.

13. Halihazırda anıtlarımızın onarımları için verilen ödenekler bir kaç fasıldan ayrıldığından türlü güçlükler yaratmaktadır. Genel inşaat ve milli emlakta verilen ödenekleri bayındırlık bakanlığı idare eder ki bu ihtisas işi olan anıt onarımlarına meslekten yetişmemiş teknik elemanların karışmasına vesile oluyor. Şahsi dostluklara dayanarak bu meselenin aksaklığını Bayındırlık Bakanlığı’nın Yapı İşleri’ndeki idarecilerine ve meslektaşlarıma anlatmak suretiyle bu sahada ihtisas yapmakta olan dairemiz mimarlarının kontrollüğünü bulunuyorum. Fakat resmi mahiyette olmadığı için gerek yapı işlerindeki arkadaşların ve gerek benim bu daireden ayrılmam halinde yine eski müşkül duruma düşecektir. Bu hale göre control işini kati bir şekile sokmak ve ödekeleri bir bölümden vererek bu gibi pürüzleri halletmek lazımdır. Bizde de Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı anıtlar ödeneği adı altında bir ödenek sağlandığı takdirde münakaşayı mucip bir sebep kalmayacaktır. Maalesef restorasyonun ilmi ve teknik hususiyetlerini anlamayan çoğu basit bir teknik kültürle hayata atılmış müteahhitlerin veya bayındırlık teşkilatı mensuplarının elinden neler çektiğimizi anlayabilmek için bütün müşküllerimizi paylaşmak icap eder. (...)

Bundan başka restoratör mimarın karşısında sanat görgüsü bulunan bir müteahhit zümresinin doğmasına imkan vermeliyiz. Müteahhitleri seçerken Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, eski eserler ve müzeler genel müdürlüğünün ihtisaslara kıymet veren birer yeterlilik vermesi zaruridir. Nitekim bu düşüncenin tatbikine başlamış bulunuyoruz. Diğer milletlerin en basit bir işte dahi çok titiz davranarak gerek kendi mimarlarını gerek usta ve işçilerle sürveyanlarını nasıl yetiştirdiklerini ve buna mukabil de ne

kadar kıymet verdiklerini gözleriyle görmüş bir insanım. Bu milletlerden Fransızların bizzat şantiyelerinde çalışmış bir sanat adamı sıfatıyla antraprenörlere verilen ehemmiyeti de küçümsememek lazım geldiğini tebaruz ettirmek isterim. Eski eser mimarları olan bizler bugün memleketimizde en az maaş ve ücret alan teknik elemanlarız. Genel müdürlüğün anıtlar şubesi müdürü olarak hizmete gelmiş olan ben, biraz da mesleğimin müdafaası için bu şubenin bütün dertlerini omuzlamış bulunuyorum. Bu durum karşısında yeni yıldan itibaren şef mimarlık mesuliyetlerini yüklenenlere net olarak 600, daha müptedi mimarlara da net olarak 400 yani en az 550 liralık ücret vermek gerekmektedir. (...)

Türkiye'nin her tarafında muayyen üslup ve karakterde eserler mevcut olduğundan kendiliğinden arkeoloji ve anıtları onarım ihtisas bölgeleri teşekkül etmiştir. Bu ihtisas bölgelerine göre kurulacak olan onarım büroları merkezin kontrolü altında daha faal ve verimli neticeler alabilir. Kurulmasını tasavvur ettiğim bölgeler ekli harita ve şemalarda gösterilmiştir. Bunların merkezleri:

1. Ankara (Ankara - Eskişehir – Bolu – Zonguldak – Kastamonu – Çankırı – Çorum – Samsun – Sinop)
2. İstanbul (İstanbul - Kocaeli – Bursa – Bilecik – Balıkesir – Çanakkale – Edirne – Kırklareli – Tekirdağ)
3. İzmir (İzmir - Manisa – Denizli – Aydın - Muğla - Burdur – Isparta - Antalya - Kütahya)
4. Konya (Konya – Afyonkarahisar – İçel - Hatay - Gaziantep - Kırşehir - Niğde – Yozgat)

5. Sivas (Sivas – Kayseri – Tokat - Amasya – Ordu - Giresun – Malatya - Maraş - Elazığ)

6. Erzurum (Erzurum – Çoruh - Rize - Trabzon – Gümüşhane - Erzincan - Tunceli - Kars - Ağrı)

7. Diyarbakır (Diyarbakır -Urfa - Mardin - Bingöl – Muş – Bitlis - Siirt - Van - Çölemerik) olarak seçilebilir.

14. Anıtlarla ilgili kanunlar Türkiye'nin en çok muhtaç olduğu müeyyidelerden biridir. 28 Nisan 1906 tarihli Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi hala yürürlükte bu tüzük kanun gibi muamele görmekteyse de çok eskimiş bu müeyyidenin halen fayda yerine zarar verdiği iddia edilebilir. Bunun için eski eserler kanununu bir an önce çıkarmak için kuvvetli teşebbüse ihtiyaç vardır. (...)

Türkiye'deki anıtların inşa edildiği malzeme bugün piyasada bulunmayanlarını yaptırtmak ve stok etmek lazımdır. Bu malzemeyi yapmaya hevesli bulunan müesseseleri teşvik etmek ve böylece gerekli malzemeyi atölye fabrika vesaire kurmadan daha kolaylıkla ve özel teşebbüslerle elde etmek faydalı olacaktır. Böylelikle işçi ve işletme masraflarından kurtulabiliriz. (...)

Hayır yapmak gibi büyük bir hasrete sahip olan Türk'lerin atalarından kalan mirası korumak ve yeni iyilik müesseseleri kurmak ihtiyacı duyacakları tabii idi. Nitekim bu şiarı ile teşekkül eden eski eserleri sevenler dernekleri yurdun muhtelif yerlerinde faaliyet göstermeye başlamıştır. Bu müesseselerin tamamen bir ihtisas işi olan anıt tamirlerini usulüne göre yapabilmelerini temin etmek ve hayırlı teşebbüslerini faydalı hale getirmek bu konuda da anıtlar şubesinin nazım rol oynamasını gerektirmektedir. (...)

21. Yurdun turistik gayelere bir numaralı sermayesi de anıtlarımızdır. Bu ynden memlekete girecek dviz miktarı anıtlarımıza vereceđimiz ehemmiyetle mtenasıptır. Anıtlarımızın kurtarılması, korunması kadar reklamı da bizi ilgilendirir. Bu yzden turizm brosu ile de mşterek bir mesaimiz olmalıdır. Yalnız ilmi deđil icap ediyorsa ticari zihniyette messeseler kurarak iřletmeler vcuda getirmek lazımdır.

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