

Displaying abroad: Architecture and town planning exhibitions of Britain in Turkey in the mid- 1940s

Elvan Altan Ergut

Abstract

This paper focuses on two exhibitions of architecture and town planning held by Britain in Turkey in the mid-1940s. The use of these exhibitions for propaganda purposes, as well as their reception in the highly politicized context of World War II, requires the study to emphasize the political as well as the professional perspective of the contemporary architectural context. Analyzing why and how these exhibitions were held, and what they displayed as representative of British architecture and town planning, the paper discusses the characteristics of the contemporary discourses and practices of the profession with reference to the national dynamics of each country and their position in the international scene at the dawn of a new era in world history. The aim is to question the relations of power that are conventionally taken to define discursive and practical hierarchies of binary constructs, such as national/international or traditional/modern. Examining the case of the British exhibitions in Turkey, the paper emphasizes instead the necessity of a comparative analysis to evaluate the architectural products in-between or beyond dichotomies as produced in discrete yet interconnected contexts.

Keywords: Britain, early Republican Turkey, modern architecture, national architecture, exhibition, World War II.

Graduate Program in Architectural History, Middle East Technical University, Dumlupınar Bulvarı, 06531, Ankara, tomris@metu.edu.tr. This study was initially presented at the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain Annual Symposium in 2009. I undertook research in London on the topic between 2009 and 2011 as part of the "Ambivalent Geographies" project supported by the British Academy Middle East Capacity Sharing Initiative and made short presentations during the workshops of the project at METU in Ankara. I am thankful for the questions of the audiences after these presentations, and especially for the comments of the anonymous reviewers, which have guided me in developing the final form of this paper.

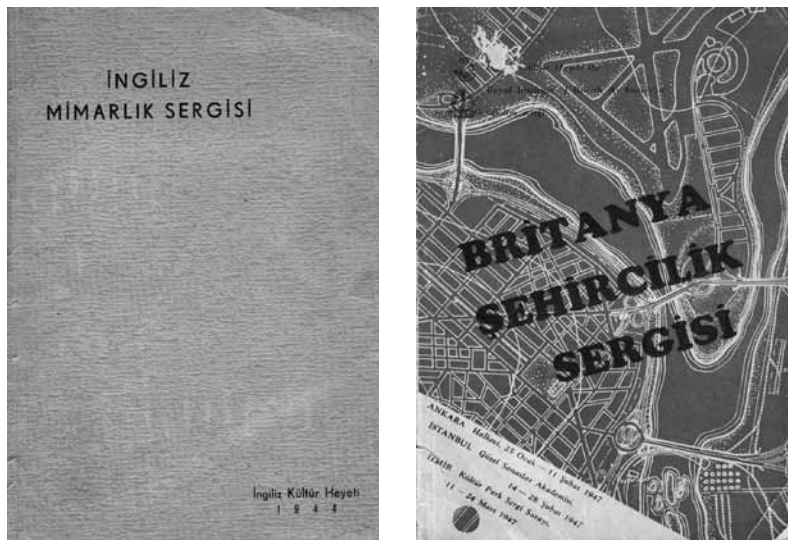
New Perspectives on Turkey, no. 50 (2014): 145-170.

The English writer Grace M. Ellison wrote in her memoirs of the early Republican years that, while the Turkish people did not perhaps hate the British, they were nevertheless afraid of them and did not trust them.¹ The inter-war period witnessed difficulties in Anglo-Turkish relations that had their roots in Ottoman times, dating from as far back as the sixteenth century, when England's commercial interests in Eastern countries developed in search of new markets. Close relations were established between the two states at the time, remaining valid and even intensifying throughout the nineteenth century, in the final decades of which the international positions of the Ottoman and British empires brought them into opposing camps, and they became enemies during World War I. The Ottoman Empire entered the war on the side of Germany, against the British, and, at the end of the war, the Ottoman capital İstanbul remained occupied by the British for a couple of years. When the Turkish Republic was founded in 1923 after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the World War I, it attempted to develop Turkish-British relations. Nevertheless, the British could never be as close to Turkey during the early Republican decades of the 1920s and the 1930s as former allies such as the Germans. While the two countries remained distant until the end of the 1930s, with the advent of World War II, the British wanted the Turks to join an alliance against Hitler. Despite the continuous efforts of the British government to this end, Turkey chose to remain neutral, trying to pursue good relations with both parties until the very end when, only in 1945, it entered the war against Germany and Japan.

This paper focuses on two exhibitions of architecture and town planning held by Britain in Turkey in the mid-1940s (figure 1), investigating contemporary architectural practices and discourses via the developing relations between the two countries during the war period. The use of these exhibitions for propaganda purposes, as well as their reception in the highly politicized context of the war, require an equal emphasis on both the political perspective and the professional perspective of the contemporary architectural context. Accounting for the relations between the two countries during World War II illuminates both contemporary national and international developments and the sociopolitical and architectural contexts in which these exhibitions were organized by Britain and held in Turkey. Analyzing why and how these exhibitions were held, and what they displayed as representative of British architecture and town planning, the paper aims to discuss the characteristics of

1 Grace M. Ellison, *Bir İngiliz Kadını Gözüyle Kuva-i Milliye Ankarası* (İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1973). I would like to thank Belgin Turan Özkaya who drew my attention to this source.

Figure 1: Catalogue covers, “English Architecture Exhibition” (1944) and “British Town Planning Exhibition” (1947) in Turkey.



Sources: *İngiliz Mimarlık Sergisi* (Ankara: Alaeddin Kırıl Basımevi, 1944); and *Britanya Şehircilik Sergisi* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947).

contemporary discourses and practices of the profession with reference to the national dynamics of each country and their relative positions in the international scene at the dawn of a new era in world history.

Britain abroad

In times of crisis and war, exhibitions have brought together culture and politics by playing a significant role in the attempts of all states to shore up support for their alliances and national causes.² The power of exhibitions “as a weapon in national defense” is well explained, for example, by the announcement of “the museum” as “the latest and strangest recruit in Uncle Sam’s defense line-up” in 1941.³ Wartime witnessed many more such exhibitions, with the intention:

- 2 The politics of practices of display has been a topic of interest in an extensive literature since the 1990s. See, for example, Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne, eds., *Thinking about Exhibitions* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996); Ivan Karp and Steven. D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures, the Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington DC: Smithsonian, 1991); Simon J. Knell et al. eds., *National Museums: New Studies from around the World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011).
- 3 Mary Anne Staniszewski, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 209-210. Staniszewski also quotes Nelson A. Rockefeller as claiming “I learned my politics at the Museum of Modern Art.”

to educate, inform, and entertain the public; [while] frequently these aims overlapped. Exhibitions were considered particularly suited to meeting all these needs, and often formed the focal point of wider campaigns using the press, radio broadcasts, posters, books, and film. Implicit in almost all, too, was an element of propaganda, particularly in those organized by government agencies.⁴

Indeed, as one contemporary observer noted, exhibitions had “proved an ideal instrument for mass propaganda.”⁵

Architecture also took part in such state propaganda. Cohen argues that “histories of twentieth century architecture [...] all omit the war years, or consider them only in the light of the reconstruction of destroyed cities.” Nonetheless, during wartime as well as in its immediate aftermath, architecture “was both actively drawn on, becoming a protagonist, and passively mobilized [as a result of the] “nationalization” in economic and intellectual spheres.”⁶ Architecture exhibitions were commonly organized to such ends, and had already become a tradition in England by the 1940s, with various institutions of art and architecture like the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Royal Academy of Arts or Architecture Club active in this endeavor.⁷ Exhibitions had been organized nationally since the nineteenth century mainly to publicize contemporary works among architects or to promote the profession of architecture to the public at large by emphasizing “good design [...] as the unique contribution which the architect alone could make.”⁸ On the other hand, organizing exhibitions abroad became a widespread practice especially in the war period as cultural propaganda became a necessity in international relations. Hence, it has been argued that “the greatest contribution to national culture by [the British] parliament during the period was to export it overseas.”⁹

4 Veronica Davies, “‘Steering a Progressive Course’? Exhibitions in Wartime and Postwar Britain,” (5 December 2008), Henry Moore Institute Online Papers and Proceedings, http://www.henry-moore.org/docs/file_1374591327512.pdf.

5 S. Kallmann, “The Wartime Exhibition,” *Architectural Review* (October 1943), 96.

6 Jean-Louis Cohen, *Architecture in Uniform Designing and Building for the Second World War* (Paris: Editions Hazan, 2011), 11-12.

7 William D. Bryant, *Building Exhibition: A Short History of Its Development since 1880* (London: n.p., 1947). The “Building Exhibition” was initially organized in 1880. It continued in the post-war period in 1947 after a short break in war time.

8 The RIBA attempted to organize the architecture exhibition even during war time, and decided to make a call to soldier architects as well for participation in the exhibition, but the event had to be postponed until 1946 because of the few submissions in war time. Minutes of the meeting of the RIBA Exhibition Sub-Committee, November 8, 1945. The minutes of the meetings of the RIBA committees are found at the RIBA Library.

9 Andrew Sinclair, *Arts and Cultures: The History of the 50 Years of the Arts Council of Great Britain* (Lon-

As in other countries, the “national” was also emphasized by the British government during World War II.¹⁰ Analyzing the “nationalization of culture” in Britain, Janet Minihan claims that:

In a very direct sense, war made possible the significant progress towards a national policy for art that occurred during the 1940s. [...] In a single decade, during and after the Second World War, the British Government did more to commit itself to supporting the arts than it had in the previous century and a half. The state’s responsibility to foster national culture was no longer subject to dispute.¹¹

The two exhibitions opened in Turkey on British architecture and town planning in 1944 and 1947 respectively were organized as part of such initiatives by the British during World War II. The use of architecture by states for propaganda purposes is dependent on their acceptance of the representative capacity of architecture. In these two exhibitions, architectural products literally became objects to be displayed for the representation of Britain abroad, and thus any analysis must account for the national as well as the international ambitions of the organizing states in these contentious times.

The main organizer of these exhibitions was the British Council, founded in 1935 with the political concern “to promote abroad a wider appreciation of British culture and civilization, [and] to encourage both cultural and educational interchanges between the United Kingdom and other countries.”¹² The British Council undertook the preparation of these architectural exhibitions because:

don: Sinclair Stevenson, 1995), 20.

- 10 For a comprehensive analysis on the relations between the state and the arts in Britain, see Nicholas M. Pearson, *The State and the Visual Arts: A Discussion of State Intervention in the Visual Arts in Britain, 1760–1981* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1982).
- 11 Janet Minihan, *The Nationalization of Culture: The Development of State Subsidies to the Arts in Great Britain* (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 215–16.
- 12 Frances Lonsdale Donaldson, *British Council: First Fifty Years* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1984), 91. Indeed, according to Philip Taylor, “the need to embark upon a policy of cultural relations overseas was only recognized as a direct result of the First World War. Before 1914, Britain’s prestige in the world was thought to have been so readily apparent that there was felt to be little, if any, need for a policy of self-glorification or national advertisement.” Philip M. Taylor, *The Projection of Britain: British Overseas Publicity and Propaganda, 1919–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 126–127. On the other hand, by the time the British Council was founded to promote the country’s international cultural relations, “there was nothing new in the idea that the language, literature, art, science and way of life of a nation might be spread abroad as a means of encouraging understanding and goodwill on the part of others. Indeed, Great Britain was almost alone among the leading European nations in not acting upon it. Both the French and the Germans had treated it as an important part of foreign policy since the latter half of the nineteenth century.” Donaldson, *British Council*, 91.

one of [its] most important missions should be to indulge in propaganda abroad in the sphere of the arts.[...] It would be difficult to deny that the impression made on the world by an exhibition of Fine Arts goes beyond the walls of the exhibition buildings themselves and enhances the respect and admiration felt for the country that produced such works.¹³

The British Council was one among several institutions related to art and public and foreign relations in Britain whose involvement with varying degrees of collaboration and rivalry in the preparation process of the exhibitions shaped the final products. As the documents of the Council show, other institutions such as the Ministry of Town and Country Planning or the Council for the Encouragement of Music and Arts were active in the preparation of architecture exhibitions to be taken abroad.¹⁴ Besides these state institutions, the professional body of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) seems to have aspired to play a significant role in this process. The RIBA founded a Foreign Relations Committee with this objective following the establishment of the British Council for Relations with Other Countries (BCROC).

There were several actors—institutions or people—involved in the organization of exhibitions, necessitating an understanding of their different roles and political or professional objectives, and an understanding of how the complex web of their relations affected the final products.¹⁵ Cultural propaganda emerged as an important issue in the war period, and the organization of exhibitions at home and abroad was an important endeavor by state institutions acting with political motivations.¹⁶ The RIBA, on the other hand, pursuing its professional goals, attempted to organize an “Annual Exhibition of Architecture” in the middle of the war, but this could only finally be held in 1946 because of the small response due to the dif-

13 Brandon Taylor, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1747–2001* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 176.

14 The preparation of the exhibition by the British Council in tandem with government offices can be followed from the correspondence over the details. National Archives: Ministry of Housing and Local Government, “British Council Planning Exhibition for Turkey,” HLC/52/1174, 1943–1944.

15 Davies mentions the Ministry of Information (MOI), the Army Bureau of Current Affairs (ABCA), the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) (which would become the Arts Council after the war), the British Institute for Adult Education (BIAE) and the Artists’ International Association (AIA) as the public bodies involved in the production and touring of exhibitions during the war period in Britain. Davies, “Exhibitions in War Time,” 1.

16 For example, “in 1942, the CEMA and the BIAE together organized over 300 exhibitions in towns throughout Great Britain, at factory canteens, workers’ hostels, and army camps. The exhibitions varied widely, from British landscapes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to original contemporary prints, from Breughel to design in the home. Public interest was keen.” Minihan, *The Nationalization of Culture*, 224.

difficult wartime conditions in the country.¹⁷ The RIBA also stated its collaborative role in foreign relations and emphasized it in professional terms. As explained by its Foreign Relations Committee itself:

The British Council in the words of their first manifesto published in "The Times" on March 20, 1935 "will not set up in rivalry with any existing societies or organizations, but will seek to coordinate and assist their activities in so far as their aim is to spread a wider knowledge of this country abroad." [...] The interests of the Council and the RIBA in all its foreign relations coincide and mutual benefit will come from the maintenance of close contacts. [...] The British Council should be approached and informed of the existence of the RIBA Committee and requested that the RIBA Committee should be regarded officially as the representative of architecture and the medium by which contacts may be established with allied activities. [...] With the assistance of the BCROC, exhibitions of British Architecture could be sent abroad. Almost the whole financial and moral burden of this is at present on the RIBA. The BCROC will probably be in a position soon to finance overseas exhibitions and to procure governmental privileges for travelling exhibitions.¹⁸

The discussions of various other committee meetings show that the RIBA "was painfully conscious that Architecture was too often forgotten." It had thus "taken the initiative of approaching the British Council" to suggest an active collaborative role for itself in the organization of "exhibitions [that it] cited as an outstanding example of sphere in which RIBA could make a positive contribution to the British Council work." The aim of the RIBA was to be accepted as an authority in the field of architecture exhibitions; hence the Institute "was offering to cooperate in the sincere belief that cooperation would be mutually advantageous to the work of the British Council, the RIBA, and the reputation abroad of British Architecture."¹⁹

17 Minutes of the Meetings of the RIBA Exhibition Sub-Committee, 1943–1949. In order to organize an all-encompassing exhibition, "it was suggested that an opportunity might [also] be given to architect prisoners of war to submit work for inclusion in the exhibition." Minutes of the Meeting of the RIBA Exhibition Sub-Committee, February 14, 1944. In August, only fifty nine applications were received: "This small response was due mainly to the difficult circumstances prevailing in London at the present time, which would affect the attendance at the Exhibition and would also make it dangerous to collect a large number of valuable drawings and photographs in one place. [...] The exhibition should [thus] be postponed until a more favorable time." Minutes of the Meeting of the RIBA Exhibition Sub-Committee, August 9, 1944.

18 Minutes of the first meeting of the RIBA Foreign Relations Committee, February 28, 1936.

19 Minutes of the second meeting of the RIBA Foreign Relations Committee, April 2, 1936.

The British exhibitions overseas, held in a wide perspective of political as well as professional interests—and hence including but not limited to architecture—were organized extensively in all parts of the world.²⁰ From the late 1930s onwards:

There was considerable discussion on the question of sending British exhibitions abroad, either unilaterally or on an exchange basis. It was recognized that since such exhibitions would be acceptable as British propaganda, the financial support of the British Council might be enlisted.²¹

Countries in the Middle East were among the destinations to send exhibitions,²² where the British Council was undertaking significant work:

The term Middle East covered Aden, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan and Turkey. In each of these countries the British Council had to function in a different way, and, whereas in most European countries cultural equality with the host country could be assumed, this was not so in the Middle East. [...] In these areas the British Council had not merely to work for smooth relationships during the war but to prepare for a situation after the war when [British] influences could no longer be maintained by military power.²³

In the face of Germany's eastward expansion as World War II progressed, the Middle Eastern countries became even more important sites of propaganda. In this context, the neutrality of the Turkish state became vital to the British. The intricate strategic moves of politics during the war years, including Churchill's visit to Turkey to meet President İnönü in January 1943, reveal Turkey's significance for Britain and hence explain the British efforts to ally themselves with the Turkish govern-

20 For example, by the MOI Exhibition Section, "Overseas Displays and Exhibitions [sic] have, during the last eighteen months, been prepared for the USA (at the request of various official and semi-official bodies), Latin America, USSR, China, Portugal, Sweden, the Middle East, French North Africa and Empire countries." Kallmann, "Wartime Exhibition," 97.

21 Minutes of the Meeting of the RIBA Joint-Sub-Committee of the Foreign Relations Committee and the Exhibition Committee, January 6, 1939.

22 "A letter from Major Jackson was read in which he suggested that an Architectural Exhibition (or combined Architectural and Art Exhibition) should tour the Middle East for the benefit of serving men in this area." Minutes of the Meeting of the RIBA Public Relations Committee, January 16, 1945.

23 Donaldson, *British Council*, 93.

ment.²⁴ Nonetheless, in especially independent countries like Turkey, while diplomatic battles were continuously undertaken by politicians, the “war” was simultaneously waged in everyday propaganda, mainly by a British Council “seen as less compromising than the Diplomatic or Armed Services.”²⁵

Displaying in Turkey

During the war years, there was heated rivalry between the two sides of the war in their efforts to gain Turkey’s support, mainly by using newspapers, radio shows, or film broadcasts to spread their propaganda in the country.²⁶ Moreover, cultural and artistic projects undertaken in Turkey also aimed to contribute in the realization of this purpose. Hence:

The biggest regional organization [of the British Council] apart from Egypt was in Turkey. [...] [Here] the work could be carried on only through *Halkevleri*, an institute for social, educational and cultural purposes, which had been founded by the People’s Party in all important towns and villages throughout the country. There was also a considerable demand for English classes, while the Council advised the Turkish Government on the choice of Englishmen to fill a number of professorships at the University of Istanbul, and English teachers were sent out to the schools.²⁷

Germany was similarly active in the cultural field in the country at the time, using the advantage of the good relations it had established with Turkey, especially since World War I. Most importantly, German academics had played significant roles in the transformation in Turkey from the foundation of the Republic in 1923 onwards. Many European architects had been working in the country since the 1920s, and among these the German-speakers were the most numerous and influential in terms of the work that they undertook.²⁸

24 On the details of Churchill’s meeting with İnönü, see İlhan Tekeli, *Dış Siyaseti ve Askeri Stratejileriyle İkinci Dünya Savaşı Türkiye’si* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013), 263-272.

25 Donaldson, *British Council*, 97.

26 Tekeli, *Dış Siyaseti ve Askeri Stratejileriyle*, 585-586.

27 Donaldson, *British Council*, 97. In November 1940, Michael Grant was appointed the British Council’s representative in Turkey.

28 There are several sources on the role of foreign architects in Turkey. For a comprehensive study, see, Ayşe Nasır, “Türk Mimarlığında Yabancı Mimarlar,” (PhD Dissertation, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 1991). Esra Akcan’s recent work on the relationship between German architects and architecture and the early Republican Turkish context questions the concept of cultural translation between the two countries in the case of residential architecture. Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

Some of the German-speaking architects, like Bruno Taut, had fled from the Nazi regime while some others were officially sent to Turkey to represent Hitler's Germany. The most important name among the second group was Paul Bonatz,²⁹ who came to Turkey in 1943 to give two lectures in connection with the "New German Architecture Exhibition" (figure 2).³⁰ This exhibition opened in Turkey after it had toured other countries and had been organized by Hitler's famous chief architect, Albert Speer, to display contemporary buildings in Germany designed by himself and other important architects of the Nazi period.³¹ The display included photographs and models of the buildings as well as some furniture, including Hitler's study desk and chair at the new Prime Ministry Building. The general aim seems to have been to present the glory of contemporary German architecture taken to represent the current political and social success of Germany.³² Contemporary German architecture appeared here as monumental and historicist, emphasizing the "national" characteristics of architecture understood to be represented in neo-classical design.

Accepted as the dominant approach in Nazi Germany, such a return to history and tradition had begun to be seen worldwide from the mid-1930s onwards, incorporating criticism of the international character of early-twentieth-century "modern" architecture, and this process intensified during the war, affecting the architectural context in Turkey as well. According to Sibel Bozdoğan, Bonatz's opening speech at the German exhibition "offered to Turkish architects one of the major attacks on avant-garde modernism in favor of a modern interpretation of the classical."³³ Hence, it could be argued that the "New German Architecture Exhibition" provided a model for contemporary historicist practice

29 Bonatz was initially invited to Turkey in 1941 to serve as a jury member in the competition for Atatürk's mausoleum project. He remained in the country until 1953, and served as jury member in other competitions, designed some public buildings, wrote a number of articles in Turkish architectural journals, was commissioned as the Consultant Architect for Technical Education in the Ministry of National Education, and taught at the Faculty of Architecture in İstanbul Technical University. Üstün Alsaç, *Türkiye'de Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi* (Trabzon: KTÜ Baskı Atelyesi, 1976), 222.

30 Abidin Mortaş, "Yeni Alman Mimarisi Sergisi," *Arkitekt* 3-4 (1943): 67-70. The exhibition at the Exhibition House in Ankara opened on January 31 and ran until February 15.

31 Architects represented at the exhibition included Ludwig Troost, Wilhelm Kreis, Hermann Giesler, Paul Bonatz, Friedrich Tamms, Herbert Rimpl, and Leonard Gail, among others. Gültekin Emre, "Nazi Mimarisi Sergisi," *Tarih ve Toplum* 76 (1990): 20-22.

32 Tekeli, *Dış Siyaseti ve Askeri Stratejileriyle*, 586-587. Referring to documents held at the Library of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (R2503/1016/44), Tekeli notes that the number of visitors to the exhibition was estimated to be 100,000.

33 Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 277.

Figure 2: “Neue Deutsche Baukunst,” introductory text to the catalogue, “New German Architecture Exhibition” (1943) in Turkey.



Source: Speer, Albert. *Yeni AlmanMimarisi/Neue Deutsche Baukunst* (Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1942).

by displaying Nazi designs for monumental and neo-classical public buildings.³⁴ In the early 1940s, a prominent journalist wrote that “the cubic construction, having been widely applied in all countries and having thus become commonplace, [was] criticized not only by [the Turks] but by the entire world.”³⁵ Similarly, the architect Adil Denктаş stated that “almost all nations were affected by an international art of construction, neglecting their own national architectures.” However, some of them, “having felt the mistakes and deficiencies” of this practice, were said to be beginning a search for a new way “which we should also follow by accepting it as the most important duty to construct our buildings in a national mode of architecture.”³⁶ The resultant emphasis was on “national” architecture which was searched for in history.

The “Republican Public Works Exhibition” of 1944 presents a case to analyze the contemporary emphasis on “national” architecture in Turkey. The exhibition honored the twentieth anniversary of the Republic,

34 Paul Bonatz’ transformation of Ankara’s modernist 1930s Exhibition House into the neo-classical Opera House in the 1940s is exemplary of not only this changing understanding of design in Turkey at the time but also the role of German architecture (and especially of Bonatz himself) in this process. See, Elvan Altan Ergut, “The Exhibition House in Ankara: Building (up) the ‘National’ and the ‘Modern,’” *Journal of Architecture* 16 (2011): 855-884.

35 Yunus Nadi, “Anıtkabir Müsabakası Üzerine,” *Yapı* 11 (1942): 11.

36 Adil Denктаş, “Milli Mimari Anketine Cevap,” *Mimarlık* 2 (1944): 3.

displaying comprehensively for the first time the public works realized in the country, such as railways, harbors, waterworks, highways, bridges, and electrification, as well as buildings and construction projects. Nonetheless, in the middle of the nationalist context of the war, architects still criticized the exhibition because it “lacked a guiding principle, which should have been the creation of a ‘national architecture’ and ‘national town planning,’” which required avoidance of the modern “cubist” and “internationalist” attitudes, and preference for the “classicist” approach instead.³⁷ As a result, according to M. Haluk Zelef, the approach already noticeable in the “New German Architecture Exhibition” of the previous was now discernible at this Republican event:

Symbolic state buildings shown in the exhibition, such as Atatürk’s Mausoleum, or the National Assembly [...] were hardly examples of the modernist architecture of abstract geometries, flat roofs, and large glass surfaces. They carried the influences of the neoclassical attitudes prevailing at the time, with rather symmetrical disposition of volumes, monumental facades and stone claddings.³⁸

Following the exhibition by the Germans in 1943, the “English Architecture Exhibition,” organized by the British Council, was opened in 1944 in Ankara, then in İstanbul,³⁹ and later toured other cities in Turkey.⁴⁰ Clarifying the role of such events in diplomacy, one architect thanked the British Council for an exhibition that had managed to develop the cultural relations between Turkey and Britain in the previous four years.⁴¹

The British exhibition was formed of two main sections displaying a total of 244 photographs of Britain’s historical architecture alongside its contemporary modern architecture. The historical section was quite

37 Zeki Sayar, “Nafia Sergisi Münasebetiyle,” *Arkitekt* 3-4 (1944): 51, 70.

38 M. Haluk Zelef, “Building, Constructing, and Exhibiting in Turkey: The Republican Public Works Exhibition,” in “Special Issue: Modern Architecture in the Middle East,” eds., Elvan Altan Ergut and Belgün Turan Özkaya, *Docomomo Journal* 35 (2006): 59.

39 “The exhibition opened in Ankara contains a couple of hundred photographs that present the important works produced from the oldest periods of English architecture until today. The exhibition will probably open also in İstanbul.” “İngiliz Mimari Sergisi,” *Arkitekt* 5-6 (1944): 143. See also “İngiliz Mimarlık Sergisi dolayısıyla İngiliz Mimarisi,” *Türk Yüksek Mühendisler Birliği Dergisi* 49 (1944): 8; and, especially, *İngiliz Mimarlık Sergisi* (Ankara: Alaeddin Kırıl Basımevi, 1944).

40 The “British Architecture Exhibition” was reported as opening in Adana, Antakya, Mersin, and Tarsus in 1947. The reports all include the number of attendees in each town, making a total of at least 12,000 visitors. National Archives: British Council Archives, BW61/5, 1946–1948, Reports from Turkey, Transfer No: 24083, Registry File: TUR/8/10.

41 “İstanbul’da Açılan İngiliz Mimarlık Sergisi Münasebetiyle,” *Mimarlık* 11-12 (1944): 260-261.

comprehensive and was divided into chronological sections of stylistic changes starting from the Roman architectural style, followed by the Gothic style, the residential architecture of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the architecture of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The part on contemporary architecture was divided into sections by type of buildings, i.e., residential architecture, libraries and schools, public buildings, hospitals, and other buildings for public service and industry. The very last section focused on “the most modern residential architecture,” showing contemporary examples of houses. The exhibition also provided information about important British architects of the past and the present,⁴² as well as their professional organization, the RIBA.

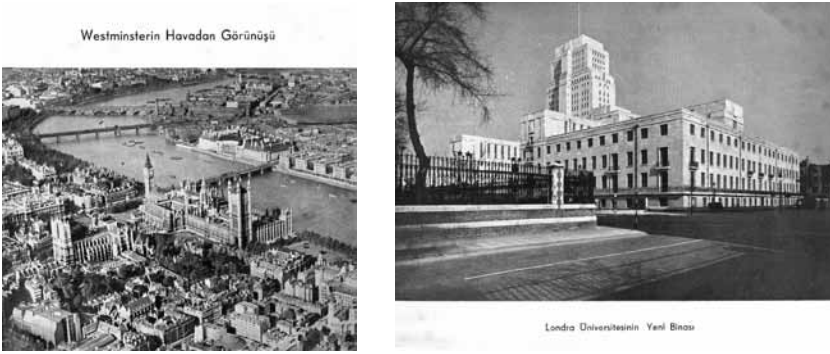
The exhibition catalogue was published in Turkish, and opens with an aerial view of the Palace of Westminster. The catalogue defined the houses of parliament as the most important national building, stating that Charles Barry designed it in the Gothic style which turned out to be so significant for British architecture, with later public buildings also designed in that style (figure 3).⁴³ Nonetheless, Westminster, designed in the historicist style of the nineteenth century, was coupled in the front pages of the catalogue with the photograph of the recently completed building of the London University, designed by Charles Holden in the 1930s. The photographs of other buildings in the catalogue follow the same approach: For example, the Peter Jones Department Store in London, designed in the modernist language of recent technology, was presented alongside a secondary school building in Middlesex-Southall constructed in brick like traditional houses and defined as a “typical example of [the] new schools” in the country (figure 4). Or else, the Thurso House in Cambridge, designed in a modernist style by George Checkley and defined as “a beautiful example of reinforced concrete construction” was presented alongside another house designed by Marshall Sisson in Madingley, Cambridge with walls of brick on reinforced concrete groundwork, defined as “an interesting example of houses with flat roofs constructed of bricks” (figure 5).⁴⁴ The use of brick as constructional or cladding material could be interpreted as typical of the contemporary attempt to bring the “traditional” into harmony with the “modern.” An-

42 The list of architects includes Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren, Nicholas Hawksmoor, James Gibbs, Sir John Vanbrugh, Robert Adam, John Nash, Sir Robert Smirke, Thomas Telford, Sir Charles Barry, Joseph Aloysius Hansomi, Sir Joseph Paxton, Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, Sir Edwyn Lutyens, Miss Elizabeth Scott, and Herbert Jones Rowse. *İngiliz Mimarlık Sergisi*, 11-16.

43 The other style followed was stated as the classical as seen in St Paul's Cathedral. *Ibid.*, 26.

44 *Ibid.*, 41.

Figure 3a & 3b: “English Architecture Exhibition:” Houses of Parliament (3a) and London University (3b).



Source: *İngiliz Mimarlık Sergisi* (Ankara: Alaeddin Kırıl Basımevi, 1944).

Figure 4a & 4b: “English Architecture Exhibition:” Peter Jones Department Store (4a) and a school in Middlesex (4b).



Source: *İngiliz Mimarlık Sergisi* (Ankara: Alaeddin Kırıl Basımevi, 1944).

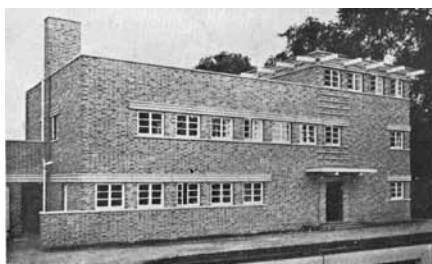
other house by Edwyn Lutyens was similarly praised in the catalogue as successful in “adapting the traditional architectural styles to modern requirements and aspirations.”⁴⁵

The local reception of the 1944 exhibition shows that Turkish architects seem to have sympathized with their British colleagues’ attempt to find methods beyond the modernist or ‘cubic’ approach of earlier decades. Thus, one of the reviewers stated approvingly that “the modern architectural movement that spread all over the world after World War I also influenced England; yet, the flippant style of this architecture called cub-

45 Ibid., 29.

Figure 5a & 5b: “English Architecture Exhibition:” Thurso House (5a) and a house in Cambridge (5b).

Cambridge’de -Thurso House-
Cenup cephesi ve teras ile evdeki başlıca
odaların bütün pencereleri görülüyor.



Cambridge’de Madingley sokagında bir ev

Source: *İngiliz Mimarlık Sergisi* (Ankara: Alaeddin Kırıl Basımevi, 1944).

ism could not have found full acceptance in this country.”⁴⁶Conventional historiography also observes a “lack of widespread popular acceptance of Modernism in Britain since its inception.”⁴⁷ For example, David Watkin comments that “the modern movement in architecture arrived in England in the later 1920s as a continental fashion imported from Germany and France” but “made little headway in England before the war.”⁴⁸This observation is even more valid for the period of World War II, as Nicholas Bullock asserts:

The certainties and simple forms of the 1930s were [then acknowledged as] part of the pre-war world that had been overtaken. By 1943, some of the best known advocates of modern architecture, like J. M. Richards, were arguing that it was necessary to rethink the very nature of the new architecture.⁴⁹

46 Nizamettin Doğu, “Nasıl Bir Ev Yaptırsam?” *Mimarlık* 4 (1948): 35.

47 Alan Powers, *Britain: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 7.

48 David Watkin, *English Architecture: A Concise History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 192.

49 Nicholas Bullock, *Building the Postwar World: Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 19.

Indeed, during World War II, the doctrines of early-twentieth-century modern architecture began to be questioned everywhere. The call by Jose Luis Sert, Fernand Leger, and Sigfried Giedion for “monumentality” in architecture, for example, was heard in the middle of the war;⁵⁰ and Bruno Zevi asserted at the end of it that, “after so many experiments, [...] modern architecture progressively lost ground.”⁵¹ The case of Germany of the late 1930s and the war years is significant in these terms, presenting an emphasis on the “national” character found in neo-classical architecture instead of the “international” modernist approach. Towards the end of the war period, on the other hand, the announced aim was more of a revision of modern architecture via, among other things, what Joan Ockman calls “a reconciliation and integration of functionalism with more humanist concepts, [and] a recovery of premodernist and antimodernist themes—above all, history, and with it, monumentality, the picturesque, popular culture, regional traditions, antirationalist tendencies, decoration, etc.”⁵² Referring to the same contemporary interest in the American context, Bullock has argued that there also emerged at the time in England a growing interest in “regional” rather than the “international” qualities by taking into consideration features like local materials, climate, and topography in order to “humanize modern architecture”⁵³—an aim that might be seen in the “British Architecture Exhibition” in Turkey.

The idea of reconciling the “modern” with the “traditional” and “regional” also framed the approach of the “British Town Planning Exhibition” held in Turkey in 1947.⁵⁴ Reconstruction appears as a keyword shaping the “new” postwar Europe, and this exhibition aimed to show in the international context the problems posed by and the solutions proposed for the reconstruction of British towns and cities.

50 Jose Luis Sert, Fernand Leger, and Sigfried Giedion, “Nine Points on Monumentality,” in *Architecture Culture, 1943–1968: A Documentary Anthology*, ed., Joan Ockman, (New York: Rizzoli, 1993): 27–30.

51 Bruno Zevi, “From Towards an Organic Architecture,” in *An Anthology from 1871–2005*, eds., Harry Francis Mallgrave and Christina Contandriopoulos, vol. 2 of *Architectural Theory* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 294.

52 Joan Ockman, “Introduction,” in *Architecture Culture 1943–1968*, 13.

53 Bullock, *Building the Postwar World*, 30, 32. For the American “influence,” see Murray Fraser and Joe Kerr, *Architecture and the Special Relationship: The American Influence on Postwar British Architecture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

54 Minutes of the RIBA Town and Country Planning and Housing Committees, February 4, 1946. At the meeting, it was agreed that the title of the exhibition should be “Replanning Britain.” However, the exhibition opened in Turkey under the title “British Town Planning Exhibition.” *Britanya Şehirçilik Sergisi* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947).

The exhibition was initially planned in 1945 to be sent to Sweden.⁵⁵ The Organization Committee met several times during 1945 and 1946 at the RIBA to get the exhibition ready. Ralph Lavers, the exhibition director in London, prepared the catalog with the help of E. J. Carter, and the illustrations were prepared by Hugh Casson,⁵⁶ who would soon become the director of architecture of the 1951 Festival of Britain. Following the display in Sweden, the exhibition apparently toured in Europe and visited several countries,⁵⁷ including Turkey.

The exhibition was first displayed in the Ankara People's House between January 25 and February 11, 1947, in İstanbul's Academy of Fine Arts between February 14 and 18, and in İzmir's International Fair Exhibition Hall between March 11 and 24.⁵⁸ At the end of the tour, a re-

55 "At their meeting on Thursday, October 4, the Town and Country Planning Committee appointed the following Sub-Committee to deal with the question of preparing an Exhibition of British Town Planning to be sent to Sweden in the Spring of 1946: A. W. Kenyon, R. H. Matthew, A. G. Ling, Charles Reilly, A. A. Longden (BC), representatives of Foreign Relations and Public Relations committees (A. M. Chitty)." Minutes of the RIBA Public Relations Committee on October 17, 1945. These people are listed as the Organization Committee in the front page of the exhibition catalogue published in Turkey together with E. J. Carter, Margaret McLeod (secretary) and Ralph Lavers (exhibition director in London). In the minutes of the meeting of the RIBA Town and Country Planning and Housing Committees, on November 8, 1945, "Major Longden stated that arrangements were being made to show the Exhibition at the following places—Stockholm, Goteborg, Copenhagen, Oslo. It was suggested that it might be extended to include Helsinki and Russia and Major Longden promised to consider if this could be made possible." The RIBA Journal also announced the opening of the exhibition in Stockholm. "Replanning of Britain: Exhibition in Stockholm of British Town Planning," *RIBA Journal* (June 1946): 352.

56 At one meeting, it was noted that "Mr. Lavers said that with the help of Mr. Carter he had nearly completed the catalogue. Hugh Casson was preparing about twelve illustrations, and these would be ready by next week." Minutes of the RIBA Town and Country Planning and Housing Committees on March 4, 1946.

57 "The Public Relations Officer reported that, as a result of an application for an exhibition to go to Italy, he and the Chairman would like to recommend that before making any decisions on sending any particular exhibition abroad, the Committee should first decide on a priority. It was agreed that the countries most suitable for exhibitions at the present time would be the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, America, France and Belgium or Holland." Minutes of the meeting of the RIBA Exhibition Sub-Committee, July 2, 1946. A contemporary journal in Britain announced the exhibition as follows: "[it] has already been shown in Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Holland, will open at Ankara on January 24, and will visit Istanbul and other centers later." Anon. "Exhibition in Turkey," *The Architect and Building* (January 10, 1947): 28.

58 The tour of the exhibition in Turkey was reported by the British Council in minute detail: "The Town Planning Exhibition ("Rebuilding Britain Exhibition") was opened at 6 p.m. on 25 January 1947 at the Ankara Halkevi by H. E. Cevdet Kerim Incedayi, Minister of Public Works, after a speech by H. E. Sir David Kelly, H. B. M. Ambassador. A cocktail party at 5 p.m. was attended by 134 of the principal guests, including the Prime Minister and several other Ministers. The Exhibition was opened to the public on Sunday, January 26, 1947, and from then until the end of the month, 7,924 visitors attended. Film shows were given several times a day of two architectural films.[...] The Town Planning Exhibition was closed on Sunday, February 9, with a private showing for the President of the Republic, İsmet İnönü and Mme. İnönü, who were received by the Chairman of the British Council, and shown around by Mr. A. M. Chitty, the visiting architect and town-planner from England. The exhibition, during its fourteen days of showing, was visited by 20,065 people, including (besides the President and the

port was prepared by the British Council, stating that “there is no doubt that this exhibition was a success in Turkey.” The report emphasized the interest in the exhibition by the politicians as well as the general public, and gave the total attendance as 46,400 visitors.⁵⁹ The English architect Anthony Chitty,⁶⁰ partner in the Tecton Architects firm, visited Turkey in connection with the exhibition and gave three lectures, which were all published in local architectural journals.⁶¹ Chitty also prepared a lengthy report for the British Council upon his return, mentioning about the general success of the exhibition, the difficulties experienced, the details of his lectures and the tours he conducted round the exhibition, and possible future means of relations with Turkey.⁶²

Prime Minister) the President of the Grand National Assembly, and the Leader of the Opposition, Democrat Party. In addition, many parties from the Ministry of Public works and other interested bodies were personally escorted round the exhibition by Mr. Chitty. On February 14, the Exhibition was opened at the Fine Arts Academy in İstanbul, by the Governor of İstanbul Province. It closed after 11 days showing, on February 25 [...] The Town Planning Exhibition completed its Turkish tour by a showing in the grounds of the İzmir International Fair, from March 11-24. It was opened by the Vali of İzmir in the Presence of representatives of the People’s Party, the armed forces, the architectural and engineering professions and foreign consuls. In its fourteen days, 21,792 people visited it, not only from İzmir, but also from the outlying towns where it was publicized by posters.” National Archives: British Council Archives, BW61/5, 1946–1948, Reports from Turkey, Transfer No: 24083, Registry File: TUR/8/10.

59 National Archives: British Council Archives, Extract of report received from Representative of Turkey to Production Division, dated April 19, 1947.

60 Alfred A. Longden, British Council Director of Fine Arts, reports the choice of the person to be sent to Turkey: “I have today seen Mr. A. M. Chitty and discussed the plan with him and on the whole I think he would be the most suitable person to invite. He has lectured extensively at the Architectural Association and was on our Committee for this exhibition. He has already seen the first exhibition, which is now in Scandinavia, and is, therefore, in a position to write a good many of his ideas round it. The other possible lecturer would have been Mr. Adrian Montague, who we almost sent out to take up the Chair of Architecture in Turkey, but, owing to the Turks turning down their promise to subscribe towards his salary, the appointment was never made. Montague speaks some Turkish which is an advantage but since Mr. Chitty has such a good running knowledge of this subject and is a professional lecturer I think I am inclined to favor him.” National Archives: British Council Archives, file Ref. TUR/28/42b.

61 The journal *Arkitekt* first announced that “the English architect Chitty is in Turkey and he gave a lecture on British town planning at the Academy of Fine Arts on February 19, 1947.” “Haberler,” *Arkitekt* 1-2 (1947): 54. All the three lectures were later published in the journal: Anthony Chitty, “1900 ila 1947’de Büyük Britanya’da Şehirçilik,” *Arkitekt* 3-4 (1947): 88-91, 100; “Mesken İnşaatı,” *Arkitekt* 5-6 (1947): 131-134; “İnşa Tekniği,” *Arkitekt* 7-8 (1947): 188-191. The RIBA journal reported that Chitty also went to Italy and lectured there as well: “At the request of the British Council, Mr. Anthony Chitty will visit Italy to open the exhibition [Replanning Britain] at Milan, [and] will also deliver lectures on the town planning and housing problems of Great Britain. Members will recollect that this exhibition was first shown in Sweden and since then has visited several other countries, including Turkey where Mr. Chitty attended and lectured on behalf of the British Council.” “Replanning Britain Exhibition,” *RIBA Journal* 55, no. 1 (1947): 28. The British Council report ended with a note by the representative, stating that he “should like to express [...] thanks once again to Mr. Chitty for his unstinted help, which was [of] a most varied nature.” National Archives: British Council Archives, Extract of report received from Representative of Turkey to Production Division, dated April 19, 1947.

62 National Archives: British Council Archives, “Replanning Britain,” Visit of the Exhibition to Turkey,

The topics of Chitty's lectures on town planning and housing in Britain as well as on construction techniques were not chosen arbitrarily, but related to discussion around the reconstruction of towns and cities after the war, which was also a relevant issue for contemporary Turkey. Chitty concluded his first lecture by arguing that Turkey had the means for appropriate, quality construction, and suggested that it could benefit from the lessons that it had cost the British so much to learn.⁶³ Although Turkey was not damaged in the war like the European countries, as a young state trying to (re)form its built environment, Turkey seems to have needed such guidance. Thus, at the opening speech of the exhibition, Ambassador David Kelly emphasized the success of Ankara in town planning, and the Turkish Minister of Public Works Cevdet Kerim İncedayı thanked him for the event, stating the need for Western technique in the construction of the country. A newspaper report of the opening described its aim as to provide guidance for the construction of Ankara,⁶⁴ and for the reconstruction of the country at large as it reoriented itself in the post-war context of a new world.

Despite having been "victorious" at the end of the war, Britain still needed "rebuilding" in not only political, cultural, and psychological terms, but especially in terms of physical infrastructure.⁶⁵ Starting with the "Britain Can Make It" exhibition of 1946,⁶⁶ and leading up to the 1951 "Festival of Britain" that aimed to revive the glory of the country at the 1851 Crystal Palace world fair,⁶⁷ peacetime propaganda for domestic policies was quickly put into practice in the immediate postwar period. In the field of architecture, the RIBA responded to this need by organizing the "Building Now" exhibition in 1946, aiming to show what the profession could "offer to the nation in the immediate task of rebuilding its homes, schools and social amenities."⁶⁸ As in the national

1947, Anthony M. Chitty, March 4, 1947.

63 Chitty, "Büyük Britanya'da Şehircilik," 100.

64 *Cumhuriyet*, 26 Ocak 1947. Quoted in *Açıklamalı Yönetim Zaman Dizini 1940–1949*, ed. Birgül Ayman Güler (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Kamu Yönetimi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi; 3; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İdare Tarihi Araştırması, 2008.)

65 Veronica Davies, "A Comparative Study of State Art Policies, Institutional Practices and Exhibition Organisation in Britain and Germany c. 1945–51," (PhD Dissertation, University of East London, 2005), 2.

66 Patrick J. Maguire and Jonathan M. Woodham, eds., *Design and Cultural Politics in Postwar Britain: 'The Britain Can Make It' of 1946* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1997).

67 The Festival of Britain was "a commercial and cultural showcase [...] recreated as an image of the future, a proud country which had much to offer to the store of human happiness." Barry Turner, *Beacon for Change: How the 1951 Festival of Britain Helped to Shape a New Age* (London: Aurum Press, 2011), 1.

68 "Building Now. The RIBA Exhibition for 1946 Described," *RIBA Journal* (April 1946): 224. The RIBA noted that, in the post-war years: "It may be worth pointing out that the large number of propaganda exhibitions sponsored by government departments during and immediately after the war has raised

Figure 6: "British Town Planning Exhibition:" "Historical Examples."



Source: *Britanya Şehircilik Sergisi* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947).

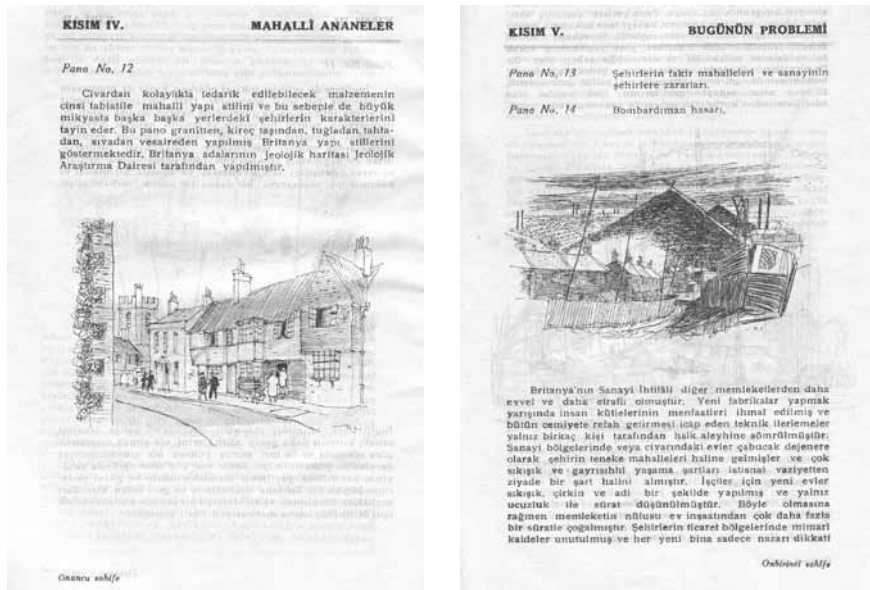
context, exhibitions in other counties also continued to be significant for Britain's role in the newly defined international relations.

The "British Town Planning Exhibition" was one such effort to display abroad the British approach to postwar reconstruction. It consisted of "photographs, maps, plans, and models illustrating British planning schemes, including those for London, Manchester, Coventry, Stevenage, etc."⁶⁹ Maps of Britain to inform the visitor about the country's economic resources through graphics of its population, industry, agriculture, trade, and topography were followed by historical examples of British town planning and a section on the development of the countryside (figure 6). The exhibition emphasized the regional traditions of building and town planning in contrast to the section on today's problem that was presented as related to industrial development and the destruction of bombardments (figure 7). Attempts to solve the contemporary urban problem were defined with reference to the administrative bodies of the central state, i.e., the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, and that of the localities, i.e., the regional planning offices,

the standard of exhibition presentation." "The Work of the RIBA: Exhibitions," *RIBA Journal* (October 1948): 531.

69 "British Architecture in Turkey," *RIBA Journal* (January 1947): 158.

Figure 7: “British Town Planning Exhibition:” “Regional Traditions” and “Today’s Problem.”



Source: *Britanya Şehircilik Sergisi* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947).

whose projects were exemplified in the following section. The provision of housing for the people was presented as the main goal, and explained in detail with photographs of historical and contemporary cases.

The final part of the exhibition included what the catalogue called the “propaganda panels,” which were prepared by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning to be displayed in local town planning exhibits to guide and encourage people in their attempts to plan the development of their sites. Here, the mechanism of a “good plan” was explained with reference to the overall analysis of the country’s problems by the ministry, and the local analysis of the region’s needs by the regional planning offices. In searching for the most appropriate ways to reconstruct towns and cities, the exhibition emphasized the importance of regional planning, which should first study local needs as well as the history and tradition of the region. Hence, as exemplary of the contemporary architectural approach of reconciliation between the “traditional” and the “modern,” the slogan proposed in the exhibition was “to know the best of the old, and to do the best of the new.”⁷⁰

70 *Britanya Şehircilik Sergisi*, 52.

National and international

The critique of the “modern” became dominant in the 1940s when the emphasis was on the “national” instead of the “international” character of architecture. Although the significant role of Germany in this approach needs to be recognized, the understanding became itself “international” as it was widely applied from the United States of America to the Soviet Union. For Turkey as well, German architecture presented a powerful model, as exemplified in the German exhibition of 1943, but was not the only influence in the country at the time: Turkey adjusted its foreign policy to accommodate the changes in international relations, and Turkish architects’ approach to the architectures of other countries was accordingly adjusted. The architectural products of not only Germany but also England and the United States of America were published in journals in Turkey during the war period; and the Turkish architect Zeki Sayar even argued that:

Although the approach in world architecture of the last 25 years has favored internationalism and cubism, the countries that have national architectures could have been protected from these movements. In England and America, public buildings have always been resistant to such cubist and internationalist architectural movements and applications.⁷¹

Indeed, from the mid-1940s onwards, and especially after the end of World War II, Turkey was rapidly reoriented away from Germany, with which it had developed close relations during the earlier decades, and towards the Anglo-Saxon world that gained a more significant global role in the post-war context. With the foundation of the United Nations in 1945, the post-war period witnessed the further political and economic association of the Western bloc, of which the United States of America emerged as the dominant power. Architectural historiography has evaluated the British exhibitions of the mid-1940s as symbolic of Turkey’s reorientation in the postwar context.⁷² Turkey apparently welcomed these exhibitions as guides towards a better world, in which it was aspiring for a place of its own.

Towards the end of the war, despite the prevalence of the emphasis on a “national” architecture rooted in historical references, aspirations were fast developing for a desirable future, and the aim to bring the “his-

71 Sayar, “Nafia Sergisi Münasebetiyle,” 51.

72 Alsaç, *Türkiye’de Mimarlık Düşüncesinin*, 41.

torical/traditional” together with the “contemporary/modern” became more and more pronounced. In this context, the “return to the old” was not announced as an escape from the present day, but meant an attempt to bring together historical identity with a contemporary one. As one Turkish architect phrased it, “the real art movement of the century is accepted as the architecture that will use the most advanced technology of its time but still be rooted in national presence.” The argument was that the “old” should be adapted to “new ways of living” and “new needs,” to “advanced technology,” and “modified social life.”⁷³

That the British exhibitions presented just such a pursuit of the “historical/traditional/regional” as an innate critique from within the modernist approach itself should remind us of the limits of writing architectural history with reference to dichotomous categories such as “traditional/modern” or “national/international.” The case of the British exhibitions in Turkey hence opens up a platform for interpretations that are not confined within such binary constructions, presenting instead the inherent complexities in seemingly clear and distinct positions.

Moreover, the case of the exhibitions emphasizes that such complex positions are constructed via relations of power. Hence, the analysis of these exhibitions provides a perspective that is critical of hierarchies in order to reach in-between and beyond dichotomies that define biased interpretations, in this case, those of Turkey by Britain. An exemplary critique of the exhibition belongs to Chitty, who stated that “an exhibition on planning for Turkey should have been specifically designed for that country [because] there is no doubt [...] that a Planning Exhibition suitable for Sweden is quite unsuitable for Turkey, a country whose technical appreciation and development is far behind that of Sweden.”⁷⁴ Such prejudice can similarly be noted in the response to the Turkish request to hold a reciprocal exhibition in Britain, when the RIBA voiced its deep suspicions about the likely quality of a Turkish exhibition.⁷⁵

Hence, the open rivalry between Germany and Britain in competing for Turkey’s attention during World War II⁷⁶ was indeed coupled

73 Asım Kömürçüoğlu, “Dünya Mimarisinde İnkılap ve Memleketimiz,” *Yapı* 17 (1942): 6.

74 British Council Archives, “Replanning Britain.”

75 The British concern over a possible Turkish exhibition in London requires further research beyond the limits of the present study: “The Public Relations Officer reported that he had received a request for a Turkish Exhibition to be held at the Institute. It was agreed that he should obtain further details so as to ensure that the quality of material available in Turkey would justify an exhibition.” Minutes of the meeting of the RIBA Public Relations Committee, June 19, 1947.

76 For example, in his report to the British Council, Chitty wrote: “There is no doubt that [the Town

with other contentions which can only be understood with reference to the similarities and differences in aims and outcomes resulting from the specific roles played by various actors in multiple and changing contexts. The story of these exhibitions recalls how in recent scholarship “canonical narratives which privilege Western modes of thinking and aesthetics are challenged and orientalist perspectives on other cultures are debunked.”⁷⁷ Along these lines, they remind us of the necessity of a comparative analysis that reflects upon discrete yet interconnected contexts, and that considers associations and collaborations as well as conflicts and oppositions among the different people and institutions playing key roles in the production of the built environment.

References

- Akcan, Esra. *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Alsaç, Üstün. *Türkiye’de Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi*. Trabzon: KTÜ Baskı Atelyesi, 1976.
- Altan Ergut, Elvan. “The Exhibition House in Ankara: Building (up) the ‘National’ and the ‘Modern.’” *Journal of Architecture* 16, no. 6 (2011): 855-884.
- Ayman Güler, Birgül, ed. *Açıklamalı Yönetim Zamanizini 1940–1949*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Kamu Yönetimi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi 3; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İdare Tarihi Araştırması (TİDATA), 2008.
- Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.
- Britanya Şehircilik Sergisi*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947.
- “British Architecture in Turkey.” *RIBA Journal* (January 1947): 158.
- Bryant, William D. *Building Exhibition: A Short History of Its Development since 1880*. London: N.p., 1947.
- “Building Now: The RIBA Exhibition for 1946 Described.” *RIBA Journal* (April 1946), 224-231.
- Bullock, Nicholas. *Building the Postwar World: Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Chitty, Anthony. “1900 ila 1947’de Büyük Britanya’da Şehircilik.” *Arkitekt* 3-4 (1947): 88-91, 100.
- . “Mesken İnşaatı.” *Arkitekt* 5-6 (1947): 131-134.
- . “İnşa Tekniği.” *Arkitekt* 7-8 (1947): 188-191.
- Cohen, Jean-Louis. *Architecture in Uniform. Designing and Building for the Second World War*. Paris: Editions Hazan, 2011.
- Davies, Veronica. “A Comparative Study of State Art Policies, Institutional Practices and Exhibition Organisation in Britain and Germany c.1945–51.” PhD Dissertation, University of East London, 2005.
- . “‘Steering a Progressive Course?’ Exhibitions in Wartime and Postwar Britain.” 5 December 2008, Henry Moore Institute Online Papers and Proceedings, http://www.henry-moore.org/docs/file_1374591327512.pdf.
- Denktaş, Adil. “Milli Mimari Anketine Cevap.” *Mimarlık* 2 (1944): 3.

Planning] exhibition suffered slightly by contrast with a brilliant exhibition [...] organized in Turkey by the Germans during the war. The latter was exactly what the Turks wanted.” British Council Archives, “Replanning Britain.”

77 Duanfang Lu, “Introduction: Architecture, Modernity and Identity in the Third World,” in *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development, Identity*, ed. Duanfang Lu, (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 1.

- Doğu, Nizamettin. "İngiliz Mimarlık Sergisi." *Mimarlık* 4 (1944): 20.
- . "Nasıl Bir Ev Yaptırısam?" *Mimarlık* 4 (1948): 35.
- Donaldson, Frances Lonsdale. *British Council: First Fifty Years*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1984.
- Ellison, Grace M. *Bir İngiliz Kadını Gözüyle Kuva-i Milliye Ankarası*. İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1973.
- Emre, Gültekin. "Nazi Mimarisi Sergisi." *Tarih ve Toplum* 76 (1990): 20-22.
- "Exhibition in Turkey." *The Architect and Building* (January 10, 1947): 28.
- Fraser, Murrayand Joe Kerr. *Architecture and the Special Relationship: The American Influence on Postwar British Architecture*. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Greenberg, Reesa, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne, eds. *Thinking about Exhibitions*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.
- "Haberler." *Arkitekt* 1-2 (1947): 54.
- İngiliz Mimarlık Sergisi*. Ankara: Alaeddin Kırıl Basımevi, 1944.
- "İngiliz Mimari Sergisi." *Arkitekt* 05-06 (1944): 143.
- "İstanbul'da Açılan İngiliz Mimarlık Sergisi Münasebetiyle." *Mimarlık* 11-12 (1944): 260-261.
- "İngiliz Mimarlık Sergisi dolayısıyla İngiliz Mimarisi." *Türk Yüksek Mühendisler Birliği Dergisi* 49 (1944): 8.
- Kallmann, S. "The Wartime Exhibition." *Architectural Review* (October 1943), 95-106.
- Karp, Ivan and Steven D. Lavine, eds. *Exhibiting Cultures, the Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington DC: Smithsonian, 1991.
- Knell, Simon J., et al. eds. *National Museums: New Studies from around the World*. London and New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Kömürcüoğlu, Asım. "Dünya Mimarisinde İnkılap ve Memleketimiz." *Yapı* 17 (1942): 6.
- Lu, Duanfang. "Introduction: Architecture, Modernity and Identity in the Third World." In *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity*, edited by Duanfang Lu, 1-28. London and New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Maguire, Patrick J. and Jonathan M. Woodham, eds. *Design and Cultural Politics in Postwar Britain: "The Britain Can Make It" of 1946*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1997.
- Minihan, Janet. *The Nationalization of Culture: The Development of State Subsidies to the Arts in Great Britain*. New York: New York University Press, 1977.
- Mortaş, Abidin. "Yeni Alman Mimarisi Sergisi." *Arkitekt* 3-4 (1943): 67-70.
- Nadi, Yunus. "Anıtkabir Müsabakası Üzerine." *Yapı* 11 (1942): 11.
- Nasır, Ayşe. "Türk Mimarlığında Yabancı Mimarlar." PhD Dissertation, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 1991.
- Ockman, Joan. "Introduction." In *Architecture Culture 1943-1968*, edited by Joan Ockman, 13-24. New York: Rizzoli, 1993.
- Pearson, Nicholas M. *The State and the Visual Arts: A Discussion of State Intervention in the Visual Arts in Britain, 1760-1981*. Milton Keynes: The Open University Press, 1982.
- Powers, Alan. *Britain: Modern Architectures in History*. London: Reaktion Books, 2007.
- "Replanning Britain Exhibition." *RIBA Journal* 55 (1947): 28.
- "Replanning of Britain. Exhibition in Stockholm of British Town Planning." *RIBA Journal* (June 1946): 352.
- Sayar, Zeki. "Nafia Sergisi Münasebetiyle." *Arkitekt* 3-4 (1944): 51, 70.
- Sert, Jose Luis, Fernand Leger, and Sigfried Giedion. "Nine Points on Monumentality." In *Architecture Culture, 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, edited by Joan Ockman, 27-30. New York: Rizzoli, 1993.
- Sinclair, Andrew. *Arts and Cultures: The History of the 50 Years of the Arts Council of Great Britain*. London: Sinclair Stevenson, 1995.
- Staniszewski, Mary Anne. *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1998.
- Taylor, Brandon. *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1747-2001*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Taylor, Philip M. *The Projection of Britain: British Overseas Publicity and Propaganda 1919-1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Tekeli, İlhan. *Dış Siyaseti ve Askeri Stratejileriyle İkinci Dünya Savaşı Türkiye'si*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2013.
- Turner, Barry. *Beacon for Change: How the 1951 Festival of Britain Helped to Shape a New Age*. London: Aurum Press, 2011.
- Watkin, David. *English Architecture: A Concise History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- "The Work of the RIBA: Exhibitions." *RIBA Journal* (October 1948): 531.
- Zelef, M. Haluk. "Building, Constructing, and Exhibiting in Turkey: The Republican Public Works

- Exhibition." *Docomomo Journal*, Special Issue: "Modern Architecture in the Middle East," edited by Elvan Altan Ergut and Belgin Turan Özkaya, 35 (2006): 54-61.
- Zevi, Bruno. "From Towards an Organic Architecture." In *Architectural Theory*, volume II of *An Anthology from 1871–2005*, edited by Harry Francis Mallgrave and Christina Contandriopoulos. London: Blackwell Publishing, 2008.