



1. Bruno Taut: Ankara, Literature Faculty, front elevation, perspective view, 1937

Bruno Taut and the Changed Conception of Modernism on the Eve of World War II

The legacy of modern architecture, notably the *International Style* as architectonic paradigm lasted until the 1960s, predominantly under the influence of émigré architects such as Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. They substantially formed post-war American architecture and beyond, not only by their projects, but even more so with their academic impact at the architecture schools of Harvard and the Chicago Armour Institute of Technology (later IIT).¹ With support of architectural critics and historians like Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, linked to the newly founded Museum of Modern Art (MOMA), together with the contribution of émigré architects and art historians like Walter Curt Behrendt, Sigfried Giedion and Nikolaus Pevsner, they canonized the functional, non-ornamental, ›abstract‹ architecture as a paradigm for the post-war American era.² However this refers to only one side of the coin. The rise and development of modern architecture reveals a complex history with multiple layers, harking back to the reform movement before 1914, even if one looks at urban modernism as a contrast to the modern solitary villa.³

This limitation and formalization of modern architecture in the 1930s towards an International Style was not a new process. It had been part of a principle debates on the character of modern architecture around 1930, deeply rooted in the German-speaking and Dutch *Neues Bauen*, the New Building Movement.⁴ 1933 marks the turning point of the modern architectural movement, where many of the prominent central-European architects had to leave their homelands due to the seizure of power by the National-Socialists in Germany and Stalinist cultural policy which prevented all avant-garde projects. This prompted many architects to become émigrés – to destinations apart from England and the US – further afield to Turkey, Mandate Palestine, Italy, Spain, France and Egypt.

None of these architects had international platforms like MOMA or CIAM to assist with the publicity of their work and to make their plans public.⁵

Many of the architects had in common the feeling that Modernism had become part of a materialist culture, and the *Neues Bauen*, the new building movement, failed because of its leaning towards a formalism which created a and lack of atmosphere and originality: as the Viennese architect Josef Frank had claimed in his challenging book *Architecture as Symbol*. These architects developed pioneering concepts, based on a new regionalism and on an *architecture parlante* as an alternative modernism, reconciling present architecture and past tradition.⁶

Bruno Taut, who came to Turkey after his Japanese exile in 1936, turned against that specific type of formalism, as early as 1929 in his book *Neue Baukunst in Europa und Amerika*. He would continue to underwrite his philosophy in his *Book of Architecture (Mimar Bilgisi)* which was published in Istanbul in 1938. There he wrote the following manifesto: »Those

* This article is a revised and extended version of the essay published on the occasion of the 80 anniversary of the Ankara University Faculty of Languages History and Geography: Nicolai, Bernd: The Languages, History and Geography Faculty Building in Ankara. A Symbol of the Changed Modernism in the 1930s, in: Meltin Giray, Güniz/Karasubaşı, İhlan et al. (Eds.): Faculty of Languages, History and Geography and Bruno Taut creating New Turkish Architecture. Ankara 2018, 43–52. I'm grateful to Andreas Schwarting and Klaus Tragbar for publishing it for a wider audience.

¹ Cf. Grave 2002.

² Pevsner 1936; Behrendt, 1937; Giedion 1941. A critical framing cf. Georgiadis 1993 and Nicolai 2003.

³ Cohen 2012, 190–99, 212–23.

⁴ Ibid., 216.

⁵ Nicolai 2006a, 289–305.

⁶ Frank 1930, 146; cf. Long 2002, see also Pommer 1989.

sober theories [of functionalism] were like a hangover after the intoxication [of eclecticism]. But these theories were only concerned with the superficial façade of architecture. They fought against the past, but were forced to fight on an equal standing as the opponent. So these theories also, in turn, became an intoxication that was followed by a hangover. One feels that we cannot continue further along this path. On the other hand we shouldn't continually fall back into an intoxicated state like the Soviet Union and become nostalgic about historic styles.⁷

Taut's, as well as Mendelsohn's contemporary statements make clear that the modernists themselves were concerned with the development of the movement. While Mendelsohn dealt merely with aesthetics, Taut brought in the question of fashion, and finally how architecture could react on the main task of representation. In this article I want to demonstrate how alternative discourses and projects were launched in countries like Turkey and in particular the role of Bruno Taut, that albeit was limited due to his early death at Christmas 1938.

The debate about modern architecture and representation arose around 1930 after preliminaries in the competition of the League of Nations in 1927 and was forced through the political debate in Nazi-Germany around 1933. Representation was one of the major challenges of modern architecture, but the debate in German-speaking countries was stopped absolutely in 1934, and other European countries, except Italy, were just about willing to use modernist designs for their state architecture. So Taut was one of the very few modernists, who was confronted with the task of creating a new ›architecture parlante‹ to represent a new Turkish society. Taut depreciated ornaments as decoration but favored the so-called ›Pathosformel‹ in architecture as it was created in the German Reform under the auspices of the German-Werkbund around 1910 when considering Theodor Fischer and others.

The situation in Turkey around 1930 was a specific one. Turkey represented an extreme case among those non-colonized countries that strove after World War I to achieve a new national political identity by means of a radical Westernization. At the time, the entire Middle East – like today – entered a period of political motion. New nation-states were formed from the bankrupt estate of the Ottoman Empire or – like Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Palestine – were held as semi-colo-

nial protectorates. A special form of modernist orientation toward the West can be observed in the Zionist settlements of Palestine, but also in Iran, a country not characterized by the Arabic tradition.

The modernization of Turkey after 1925 was carried out exclusively by the new Kemalist élite under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Paşa (since 1934: Atatürk, i.e., »Father of Turks«). It was a ›revolution‹ (İnkılap) from the top down with an anti-imperialist and anti-colonial thrust, inspired by the slogan »to be Western in spite of the West.«⁸ It served to secure national sovereignty and formation of a unified identity of the young Turkish republic, which went hand in hand with propaganda against any and all Ottoman and Arabic traditions, against Islam and against the national minorities such as the Kurds and Greeks.

This resulted in a paradox situation: Turkey had escaped colonization from the outside (as intended by the Allies) after its defeat in World War I. But as part of the Kemalist modernization, which was motivated as liberating, it enacted an inward colonization that inevitably led to strong social tensions. Expulsion of the Greek minority (after the Greek War of 1922), suppression of various Kurdish uprisings, the one-party system carried of the Republican Health Party in effect until 1946, and three military coups happened until 1980. The nationalist, secular, and étatist concept of Kemalism could not be maintained otherwise.

Seen from today, the situation looks – according to Yavuz – as follows: »Modern Turkey, like a transgendered body with the soul of one gender in the body of another, is in constant tension. *White Turks* regard themselves as Western souls in the body of a foreign socio-political landscape. Its body is native to the land, but its soul is alien. The soul of *white Turkey* and its Kemalist Identity is in constant pain and conflict with the national body politic of Turkey.«⁹ The concept of the »white Turk« denotes the carrier of the secularist Kemalist revolution that of »black Turk«, the carrier of the culture, rooted in Ottoman and Islamic tradition. That, in one image, is the »interior-colonial« situation of Turkey.

⁷ Taut 1977, 34; (original Turkish edition: *Mimari Bilgisi*, Istanbul 1938; recent German edition, special issue, Arch+ 194, 2009, 10–120).

⁸ For a good overview of these issues, see Bozdoğan 2003, quote 136 f.

⁹ Yavuz 2000, quote 25 f.

Ataturk's presidency (1923–1938) can be divided into a first phase of structural modernization (laicism, the judiciary, language and writing, the emancipation of women, dress code etc.) until 1930, and a second phase, when the representation of the new through architecture and the cityscape itself plays a crucial role in politics. Thus, it is only during the 1930s that representational forms of early Kemalism developed, involving photography – besides architecture and the fine arts. The latter was clearly instrumentalized by the representatives of the Kemalist elite as visual propaganda for the reform process. The different stages of development between 1930 and 1950 demonstrate that one cannot speak of a homogenous development of modernism. The architectural discourse vacillated between the radical influence of *Neues Bauen*, as the insignium of the new, and the Turkish search for an identity in its own architectural tradition that led to the »Second National Style« at the end of the 1930s.¹⁰

Ankara and Istanbul presented the various aspects of urban modernization appeared in very different ways in Kemalist propaganda. The new national capital, Ankara, erected as a segregated modern »garden city« according to the plan of the Berlin city planner Hermann Jansen became the staging area of Kemalist experiments in urban planning and architecture. The heart of the new nation was built here, visually dominated by the sober monumentality of Clemens Holzmeister's government precinct and the modern and in part vernacular school and university buildings by the Austrian-Swiss architect Ernst Egli and finally by Taut. Different stylistic layers of Modernism were used to represent different realms of Turkish modernization, such as nationalism and national authority through the army on one hand, education and emancipation on the other.

Bruno Taut's Literature, History and Geography Faculty building at Ankara University, built between 1937 and 1940, can be regarded as one of the most significant pieces of 1930s architecture in Kemal Ataturk's Turkey. Despite the fact that it is hardly represented or even mentioned in comprehensive works of 20th century architecture,¹¹ Taut's architectural output in his Turkish period has to be included in the development of Modern Movement in the final decade prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. This is not only connected politically and socially to émigré architects from Germany and Austria who were escaping the

perilous conditions under the Nazi-dictatorship after 1933, but even more so architectonically due to modernist debates on monumentalism in public buildings and the meaning of a new regionalism. This debate was not only held in German-speaking countries, but also in France where the journal *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* proclaimed a »third way« between international modernism and neo-historicist traditionalism.¹² Thus the discourse on modern architecture changed even before the totalitarian regimes of Italy, Germany and the USSR up their nationalist and racist agendas. There were varying consequences for the respective countries and their architectural cultures due to the political upheaval.

From 1936 onwards Bruno Taut had the chance to execute his ideal for a new architecture in Turkey, a country highly nationalised under the regime of Kemal Ataturk that was heading for enforced modernisation. In a letter written to his Japanese friend and architect, Isaburo Ueno in 1937 Taut described his newly planned faculty building in Ankara: »Now we have started the huge building for the university in Ankara. Since, as the center of language and history and so forth it will be, so to speak, the center of new Turkish culture, the authorities have approved very beautiful stone material for the project and, which makes me especially happy, they have also given me complete artistic freedom. I'm elaborating the details of this case together with my staff in the same manner one inscribes sheet music for a symphony with various instruments and so forth. This will not be »cubic style«, since here that is the expression for Modernism. For that reason I am even using certain Turkish motifs.«¹³

It was a search for a synthesis between »old tradition and modern civilization«,¹⁴ as Taut had claimed in his ground-breaking *Book of Architecture*, a first step toward to an East-West synthesis, oscillating between

¹⁰ Bozdogan 2001, 153; Nicolai 2006b, 81–87.

¹¹ As an exception recently Cohen 2012, 277 f.

¹² Cohen 2012, 199.

¹³ Archiv für Baukunst, Academy of Arts, Berlin, Taut Archive, 06.11.1937; also quoted by Nicolai 2001, 195. The building was completed merely two years after Taut's death on 04.11.1940, supervised by his co-workers Wilhelm Ernst (Ernest) Grimm und Franz Hillinger.

¹⁴ Akademie der Künste, Sammlung Baukunst, Bruno Taut Archive. Original speech with editing published without editing, Volkmann 1980, 260.

new solutions for representative public buildings and a »critical regionalism«, a term that was introduced by Kenneth Frampton as late as 1973.¹⁵

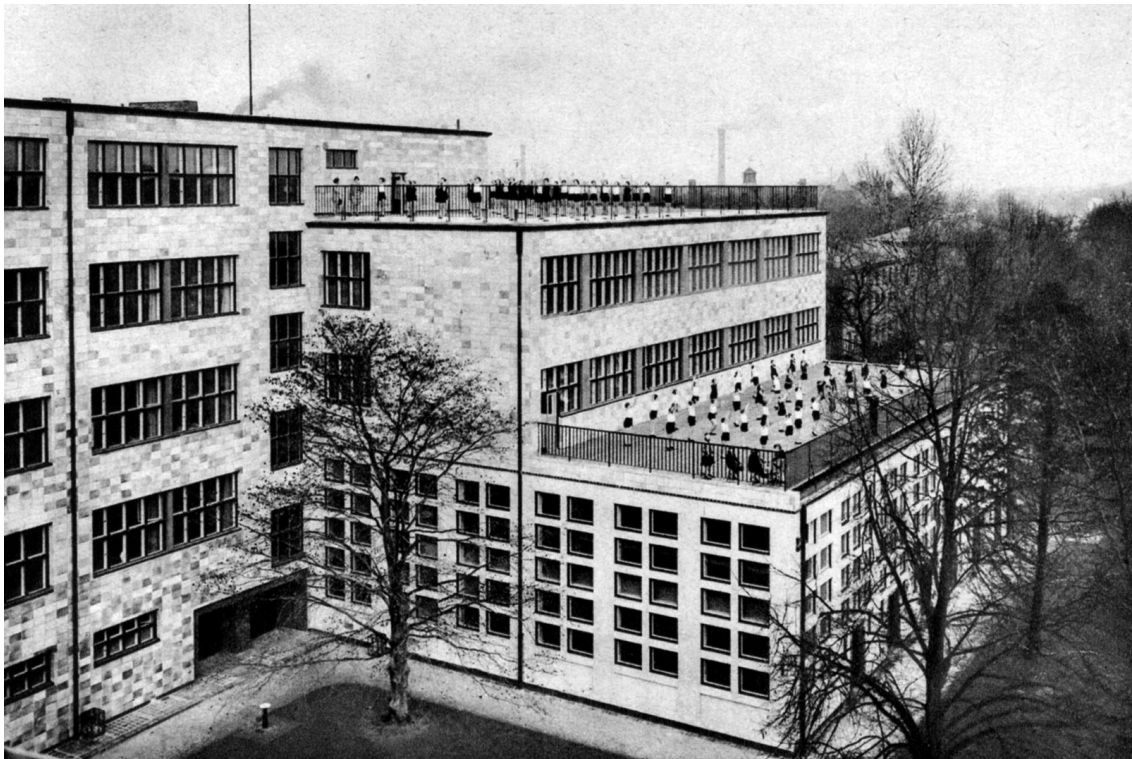
After the sudden death of Bruno Taut on Christmas Eve 1938, Erica Wittich, Taut's long-time companion from 1916, characterised this approach as the concept of an »entirely new Bruno«. What were the elements of his new architecture, claimed as »synthesis« in the »country of Sinan«?¹⁶ The wide range of elements that typify Taut's new approach are represented in the Ankara Faculty Building. The representative front elevation is designed as a false masonry façade (fig. 1) in keeping with the appearance of other 1930s public buildings, in particular Clemens Holzmeister's government buildings. Taut's use of different stone materials and the varied articulation of his design create a differentiated shape and also express the building's inner organisation. The protruding façade, which has a bay as new »architecture parlante« with

its portico-like shaped entrance, was combined with a highly functional plan. Taut's own school buildings (for example in Senftenberg near Berlin), and those of his brother, Max Taut – the Dorothy Lyceum in Berlin-Köpenick from 1928 with its solitary pavilion (fig. 2) –, or the concrete frame-work construction of the Berlin trade-union buildings by both Taut brothers (mirrored in the lecture halls and the assembly hall) served as prototypes for the clearly modern elements in the faculty building.

As a design principle any kind of symmetry is avoided. The central section of the façade is flanked asymmetrically by two differently shaped wings: the right-hand wing accommodating the double-volume

¹⁵ Frampton 1983.

¹⁶ Address delivered on the occasion of Taut's retrospective exhibition, November 1938 in the Academy of Fine Arts, Istanbul quoted in: Speidel 2007, 253.



2. Max Taut: *Dorotheum Lyceum, Berlin-Köpenick, side pavilion, 1930–1932*



3. Bruno Taut: Ankara, Literature Faculty, front elevation (detail), 2012



4. Bruno Taut: Ankara, Literature Faculty, rear elevation, 1995

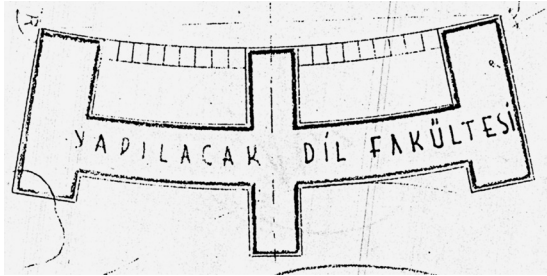
lecture halls has a more vertical articulation, whilst the left-hand wing accommodating the departmental offices has square fenestration. In contrast, the rear elevation has a fairly simple plaster façade that also harks back to Senftenberg. The vertical articulation as expressed by the elongated staircase windows (fig. 3–4) are also found in the façade of the Atatürk-Lisesi high school in Ankara. The beautiful interior design of the entrance hall, in particular the banisters, has sober Japanese arts-and-crafts elements that Taut became familiar with during his exile in Japan. Finally, and significantly, Taut made a clear reference to Ottoman architecture, not only in the choice Turkish tiles for the detail finishes of the walkways, but also with the reinterpretation of the inner elevation of the mosques of Sinan with the generous, square windows on the ground level, for example in Rüstem Paşa Camii.¹⁷

Taut created a hybrid building based on sober, functional plans, combined with a monumental masonry façade, which nevertheless lacked any specific historic reference.

In designing this extraordinary building, he overcame an existing project for the faculty by Erich Zimmermann who was a co-worker of Hans Poelzig (fig. 5, 6). Poelzig, designated chief-architect of the Ministry of Education and head of the architectural school of the Academy of Fine Arts, had died suddenly in spring 1936. Poelzig was supposed to have succeeded Ernst Egli who had resigned at the end of 1935. Poelzig had visited Turkey twice and had made several designs

¹⁷ Nicolai 1998, 137 (Turkish edition: *Modern ve Sürgün*. Ankara 2012); also Nicolai 2001, 196.

¹⁸ Nicolai 1998, 136.



5. Erich Zimmermann: First Project for the Literature Faculty, 1936

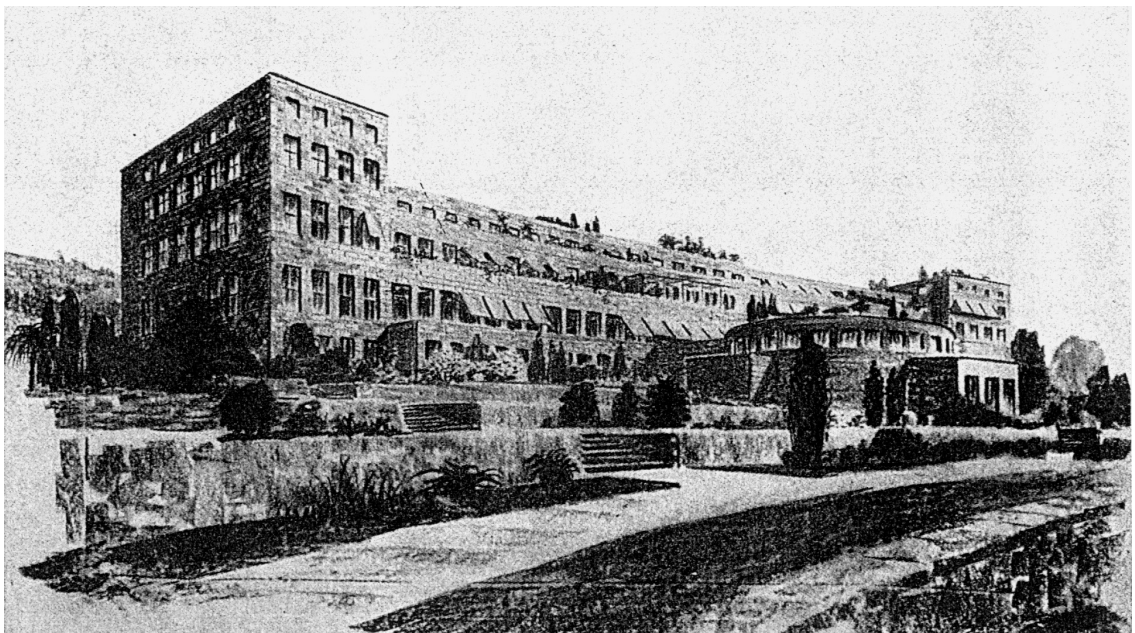
for the opera house and a guesthouse for government officials.¹⁸ Zimmermann undertook the preparatory work in advance of Poelzig's arrival. During the vacancy after Poelzig's death Zimmermann projected the first faculty building during the summer of 1936. The building was designed as a curved structure on a crescent plan. This typical Poelzig scheme was criticized strongly by Taut after his arrival in Istanbul as not being appropriate for the site and as »horizontal formalism« (»Horizontalmode«).¹⁹

The specific qualities of Taut's new design were highlighted by Franz Hillinger, a co-worker of Taut. He claimed in a letter from the 1960s: »The large volumes of the building were structured and divided into smaller entities that related to the surrounding environment. Furthermore, he strove to bring his buildings in harmony with the local traditional buildings with his use of colors and tectonics [...] Even though the building might appear to be modern, the structural elements are reminiscent of [Ankara's] historic buildings. [...] Taut was always very careful to fulfill the functional requirements of the building without making any architectural compromises.«²⁰

At the same time this approach, which oscillated between monumentalism and regionalism, had its parallel in the British Mandate of Palestine with the architecture of Erich Mendelsohn. Being of Jewish extraction, Mendelsohn, who was a star architect from the Weimar Republic, fled Germany to London as

¹⁹ Nicolai 1998, 135.

²⁰ Letter of Franz Hillinger to Kurt Junghanns who wrote the first Bruno Taut monograph, 17.06.1965, quoted in: Nicolai 1998, 142 f.



6. Hans Poelzig: Diplomat Guesthouse, Ankara, first project, perspective view, 1935

early as 1933 where he established a successful design studio. He travelled to Palestine with the support of Zionist Leaders, such as Chaim Weizmann, as well as the help of the British Mandate authority. In his 1937 manifesto *New Architecture in Palestine* he raised – as Taut had also done – the topic of how Modernism had been received there: »Building improvement meant: Concrete instead of wood. Perfect building meant: complicated instead of simple. While in Europe new architectural experiments merged in the works of the best as paradigms of sober clarity, functional simplicity, and adequate architectonic expression, Palestine gushed with mistaken copies of those, in historical terms needful prototypes of a new architecture. One takes concrete and glass, because there is neither time nor comprehension to study oriental climatic conditions. Like all imitators one is full of excitement about new signs in the skies, eager for alignment, ambitious to overtrump, and to perpetuate experiments.«²¹ Thus, Mendelsohn's renowned buildings from the 1920s – especially those with his representative »dynamic corners« – were widely copied. Realizing this, Mendelsohn claimed to forego the opportunity to design similar buildings during the following decade. Thus buildings by him such as the Hadassah Hospital and the Anglo Palestine Bank (fig. 7) – both in Jerusalem – marked a transformation of modernism; a modernism that distances itself from aesthetic dogmas and moves towards a more regionalist or even more comprehensible modern architecture. With this shift, site specificity became an important issue. Mendelsohn's bank building in Jerusalem was similar to Bruno Taut's faculty building as it was also a highly modern structure clad with a masonry façade.

A few years previously Johann Jacobus Pieter Oud, another important representative of the modern architecture movement, changed the direction of his output. With his two projects: the completion design for Amsterdam's town hall (1936/37) and the head office of the Royal Dutch Shell company in The Hague (1937–1942), he made an important contribution to the conception of the modern public building in the late 1930s (fig. 8–9). In the eyes of the main protagonists of the International Style this was regarded as a »fall of sins«, i.e. as a betrayal of the purist, functional principles of Modernism. Swiss modernist architect, Alfred Roth, was disdainful of Oud's use of additional ornamentation; he criticized the work »as strong symmetrical



7. Erich Mendelsohn: Anglo Palestine Bank, Jerusalem 1937/38

layout, form experiment à l'art décoratif.«²² Even after 1945 critique was voiced when some representatives of the Modern Movement, such as Sigfried Giedion and Walter Gropius launched a debate – due partly to the political situation – on the American International Style, which they believed ought to dominate the discourse and the architectonical practice of the post-war era. Both projects were nevertheless sober, modern public buildings that had been well received by the Dutch public. Oud countered all criticism in pointing

²¹ Heinze-Mühleib 1986, 326 (German Manuscript, translation by the author).

²² Taverne/Wagenaar/Vletter 2001, Shell Building, 406–421, project of the Amsterdam Town Hall 408 f.



8. J.J.P. Oud: Town hall, Amsterdam, project, 1936/37

on the unconditional functional condition of the Shell Building, to add »why should it be forbidden to give functional doing as spiritual form.«²³

The International Style, spearheaded by Cornelis van Esteren, Jan Duiker and Mart Stam, represented only one facet of Modernism in the Netherlands.²⁴ More moderate projects however had been built by the renowned architect Marinus Dudok, an urban planner based in Hilversum.²⁵ With his 1931 Hilversum town hall Dudok created a modern public building according to its functional needs by using different volumes and an asymmetrical overall plan that was full of expression and was also adorned with ornamentation. These Dutch examples demonstrate a trend towards variety, with the expression of different materials they address representative public buildings as a consequent development of 1920s modernism. Dudok's buildings were published in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* and contrasted with projects from Fascist Italy. Italian rational architecture can be regarded as another offshoot of 1930s Modernism with its own unique permutation of authoritarian political power and modern architectural form, known as

»rationalism«.²⁶ For European avant-garde architects the combination of powerful clients and challenging large-scale projects was highly attractive. Not only Le Corbusier, but also Gropius and Martin Elsaesser tried to acquire commissions in Italy, and even went as far as addressing Mussolini in person.

Elsaesser, who in 1932 had been dismissed as director of construction of the modernist city of Frankfurt, known widely as the »New Frankfurt«, and who was later commissioned to design the Sumer Bank in Ankara, turned to Rome to seek his fortune. In a lecture given to architectural students at Rome University, he celebrated Fascism as a principal for a renewed *Gesamtkunstwerk* and claimed: »International socialism was too poor, too colourless, too materialistically orientated to ascend from functionalism to

²³ Laurence 2016, 109.

²⁴ Molema 1996.

²⁵ Bergeijk 1995.

²⁶ *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui* 7, 1936, No. 5, Écoles: École à Hilversum Marinus Dudok; cf. Garofalo/ Veresani 2002.



9. J.J.P. Oud: Head Office of the Royal Dutch Shell company, The Hague, 1937–1942

intellectual dimensions (zum Geistigen).²⁷ Elsaesser addressed the problem of meaningful architecture; an issue architects were attracted to in light of the new dictatorships in Italy, Germany and Spain.

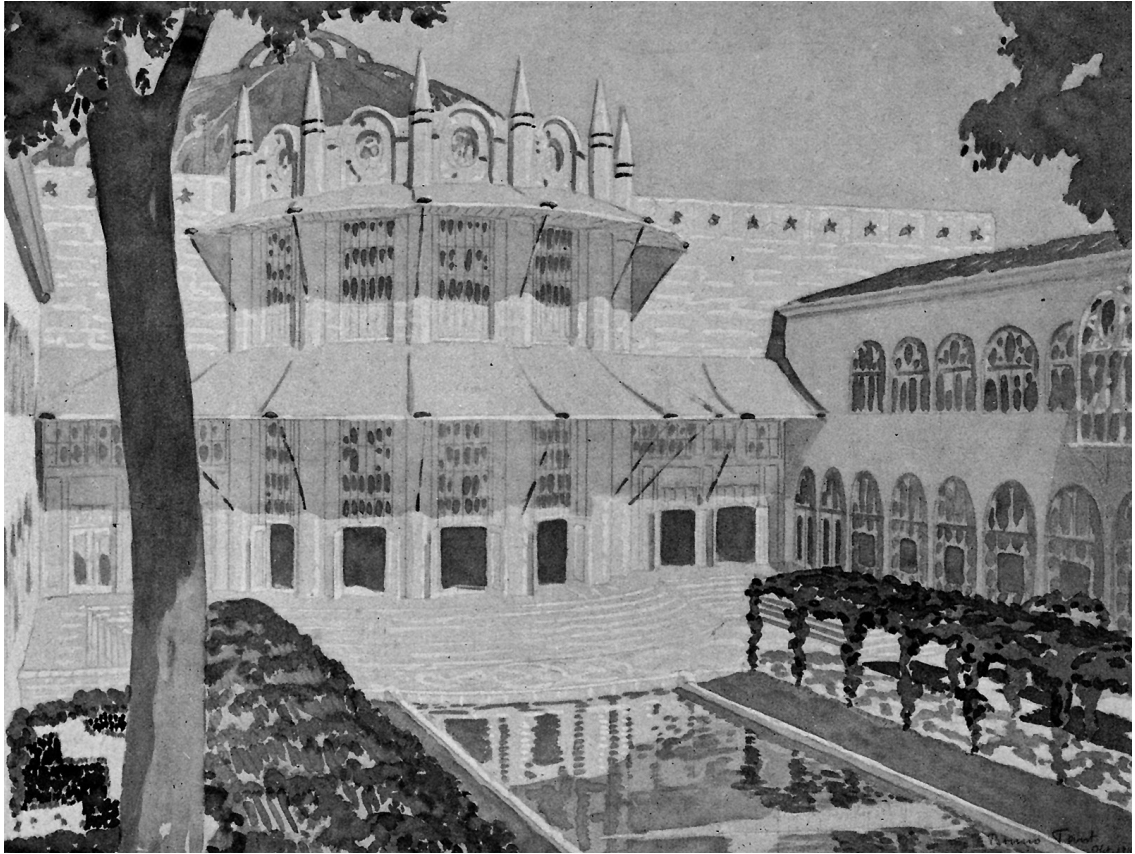
In contrast to French and Italian rationalist approaches to 1930s modernism Taut and Elsaesser looked to German reform concepts represented by the German *Werkbund* prior to 1918. Both architects were involved in the ambitious House of Friendship competition in 1916. Commissioned by the German-Turkish Foundation, the scheme was supposed to represent the bond of friendship between the two War allies. Taut and Elsaesser were impressed by Istanbul and transformed certain elements into a new public architecture. Taut's orientalism was inspired by Ottoman mosques, whilst Elsaesser looked to the covered bazars for inspiration (fig. 10–11). The

projects oscillated between the *Werkbund* idea, where architecture, interior design and product design combined to form a functional and aesthetic unity, whilst also referencing and »translating« the specific context of the site.²⁸ For both architects, this fusion resulted in a new conception of public and large-scale, monumental projects that was finally overshadowed by the modernist requirements of the 1920s.

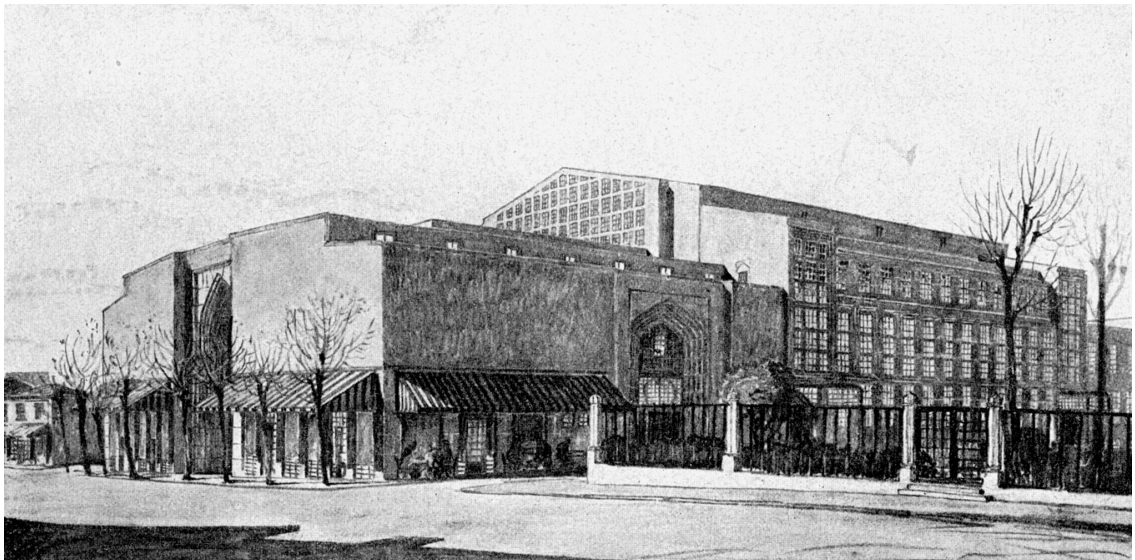
Interestingly enough the reform movement from the 1910s regained importance once again in the mid-1930s. This was conveyed by Fritz Schumacher – representative of a moderate modernism and well-known urban planner of Hamburg – in his book on

²⁷ Nicolai 1998, 86.

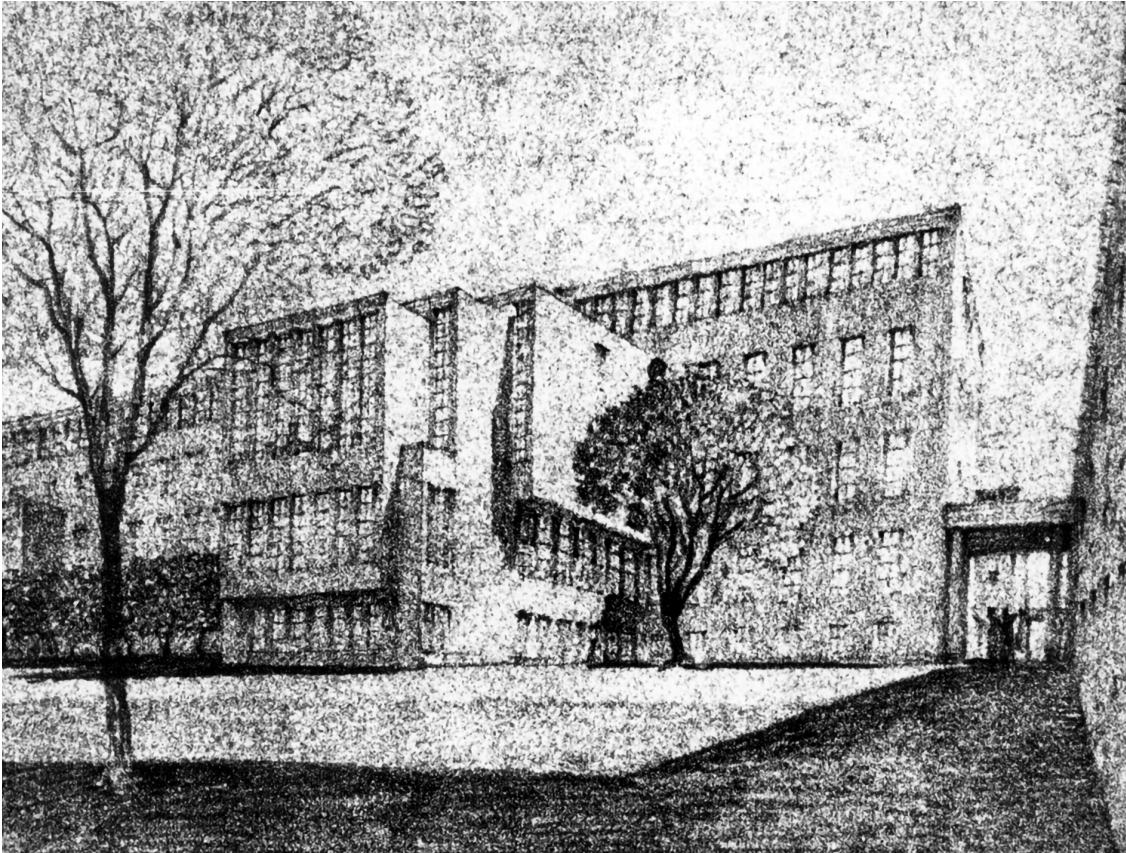
²⁸ Nicolai 2007, 76 f.



10. Bruno Taut: House of Friendship (Dostluk Yurdu), competition entry, court-yard, 1916



11. Martin Elsaesser: House of Friendship (Dostluk Yurdu), perspective view, competition 1916



12. Martin Elsaesser: *University Hospital in Ankara, perspective view, 1938*

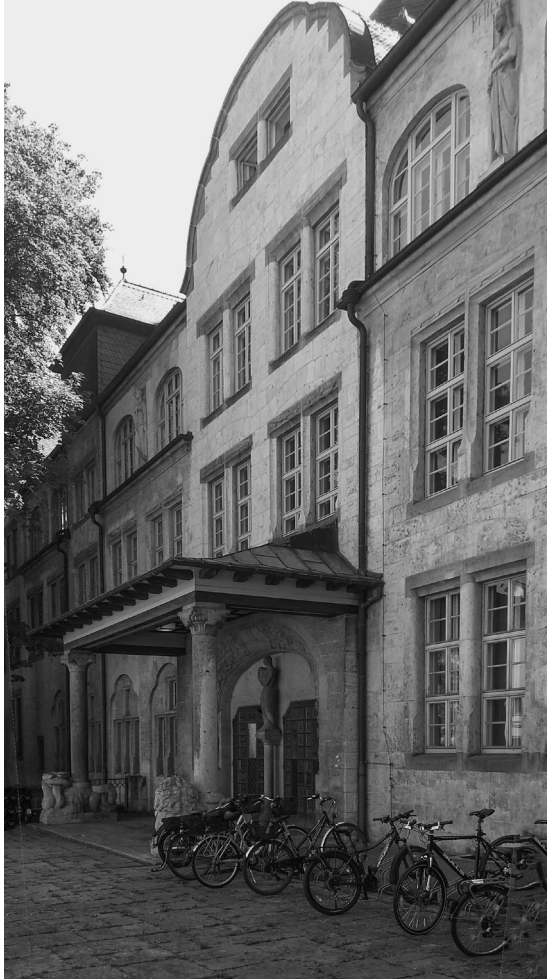
German architecture from 1800²⁹ onwards, where he analyzed the relationship between 1930s architecture and pre-War architecture. Thus Taut's faculty building, as well as Elsaesser's 1938 project for a monumental University Hospital in Ankara (fig. 12) could be seen as a ›Neo-Werkbund‹ approach.

Taut represented his own pre-World War I designs in a rather unconventional manner. The university building in Jena by Theodor Fischer, for which Taut served as project manager in 1908, and for which he solved many details, has a similar portico roof to that of the entrance of the faculty building (fig. 13). The Jena project also has a similarly striking design for the narrow elevation with its irregularly cut-stone wall junction and adjacent plaster facade. In this sense, the literature faculty can be viewed as a dialogue with

the Jena project. Taut went one step further with his projects for a Technical University and with his 1937 ziggurat design for the parliament building (fig. 14), which was supposed to create a new landmark for the city. The latter was a solution to the neo-classical project of Holzmeister's Grand Assembly building for the Turkish parliament.

In so many respects, 1938 can be viewed as the turning point of modern architects in Turkey. That year, during which Atatürk and Taut both passed away, criticism of the foreign architects reached its initial climax. The editor of the journal *Arkitekt*, Zeki Sayar, published his verdict: he regarded ›for-

²⁹ Schumacher 1982 [1935], 245.



13. Theodor Fischer: Main Entrance University of Jena, 1904–1908

eignness» as just being an exotic fashion. Sayar criticized Taut's history and literature faculty building for its use of stone and brick in conjunction with

concrete construction and condemned the use of elevated timber roofs. Turkish motifs should not be used, he maintained, without thoroughly analyzing them first. Here he showed himself to be an adherent of Egli, who had previously commissioned Sedad Hakki Eldem to undertake systematic vernacular studies. In part, emigrants like Martin Wagner and Bruno Taut fostered this discussion with their own attempts to encourage vernacular modernism. On the other hand, young Turkish architects who had been educated in Germany and France, such as Sedad Eldem and Seyfi Arkan, played a decisive role in this process. The debate was not isolated to modern architecture but expressed as a fundamental paradox within the Kemalist reform movement. The embrace of Western patterns and an emphasis on the »new« led to a loss of tradition that was simultaneously a catalyst of the above-mentioned identity crisis within Turkish society.

The »nationalization of modernism«,³⁰ emergent already in the late 1930s, went so far as to render authoritarian patterns absolute. The Turkish approximation to National Socialist architecture within Turkey's Second National Style was mediated by Paul Bonatz. Bonatz was counsellor for the key monument emerging out of this debate, as the peak of the first phase of Ankara development; namely the Ataturk Mausoleum (*Anit Kabir*) which was built between 1944 and 1953. Emin Onat and Orhan Arda combined the concept of national representation with a highly monumental style. It was no longer useful for the further development of modern Ankara that had followed the path directed by America's International Style during the 1950s.³¹

³⁰ Bozdoğan 2003, 240; Alsaç 1984 [2005], most recently: Bozdoğan/Akcan, 2012, 70–79.

³¹ Bozdoğan 2003; Nicolai 1998, 166–177; for American paradigmatic influence in the 1950s see Bozdoğan 2008.



14. Bruno Taut: Parliament Building Ankara, perspective view, 1938

Abstract

Bruno Taut's History, Language and Geography Faculty Building at Ankara University has received little attention in architectural history. As the work of an émigré architect, expelled from Germany in 1933, it is not only a product of Taut's broader horizons through his experiences as an exile in Japan and Turkey, but also as a result of his confrontation with the modernization process under Atatürk's new republic. Beyond this, Taut's Faculty building issues a statement on the

state of modern architecture in the late 1930s, where this type of public building was newly discussed in relation to different aspects of national representation, oscillating between dictatorship and democracy. This article explores the various facets that create this outstanding, unconventional and inventive building, as Taut's major and enduring project during his later years, at the edge of classical modernism.

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Fig. 1: Archive Manfred Speidel — **Fig. 2:** *Bauwelt* 1930/Heft 4/S. 8 — **Fig. 3, 4, 13:** Photo Bernd Nicolai — **Fig. 5:** Nicolai 1998, 132; archive of the author — **Fig. 6:** Plansammlung der TU Berlin, Poelzig Archive — **Fig. 8, 9:** Taverne/Wagenaar/Vletter 2001, 408; 418 — **Fig. 10, 11:** Heuss 1919, 85; 40 — **Fig. 12:** TU Munich, Architecture Museum — **Fig. 14:** Junghanns 1998, fig. 367