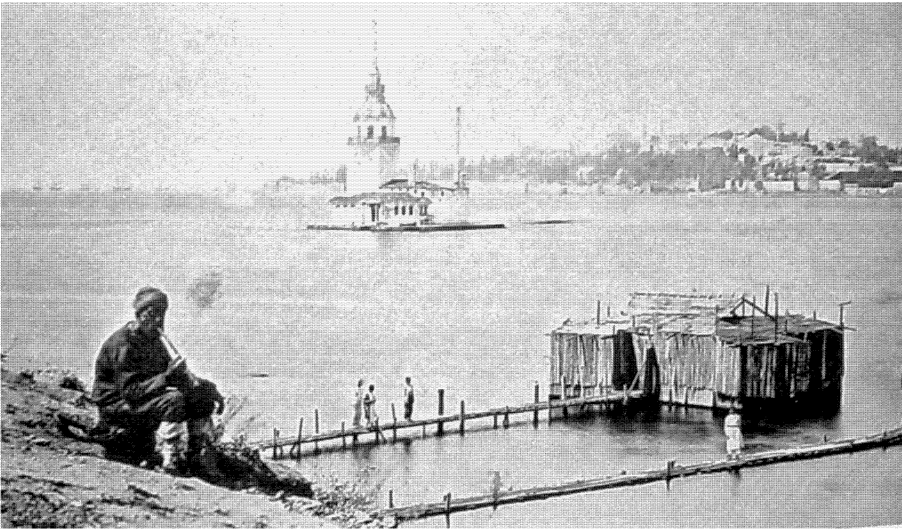




1.40. İstanbul waterbaths of the Ottoman period. Anonymous photograph, circa 1885.

necessarily copies of their European counterparts. The architects transformed the European-inspired styles of expression by combining them with local features, whether this was an architectural element such as the courtyard in the Presidential Residence; or the wide, extending eaves in the Foreign Minister's Residence; a more implicit space-making principle that maintained the traditional values concerning women's place as in Atadan's House; or the legacy of a local architectural type, such as the Ottoman waterbath in the house at Florya. Apart from this last building, which was nevertheless a symbol of Ankara's rising power in İstanbul, these houses exemplified what Turkish garden cities could offer to their residents. Freely standing in gardens, extroverted, transparent, and clearly associated with Europe, albeit not without a pronounced Turkish identity, they were meant to build the ego ideals of a new nation.

NEW HOUSING: THE IDEAL LIFE

Ankara,
1934–1936

The new houses of middle-income Turkish families were also determined in relation to garden city principles, just as Jansen suggested in his master plan. The promotion of this lifestyle is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's (1889–1974) novel *Ankara*, written in 1934. The novel tells the story of Selma, the “new Turkish woman,” whose three husbands and three different houses throughout the plot mir-

ror the three residential types in the new Turkish capital. In the first part, Selma arrives in Ankara from İstanbul with great expectations, having heard all about the revolutionary spirit reflected in the new city. She is immediately disappointed however by the poor, “backward,” and destitute living conditions in the traditional houses of the old Citadel (see fig. 1.12):

She was frozen to death [*dehşetten donakaldı*]. She had to clean all the little filthy holes [in these walls] one by one in order to make this room and the house habitable. . . . The courtyard she shared with the landlord was the place where all the dirty labor was handled for both of the houses. The young woman remembered how disgusted she felt walking across this courtyard when she first arrived. It was still the same. A gutter greased with dishwater reached the street underneath the main door. Just across the door, the toilet that looked like a wooden security cottage was spreading out its filthy smell. Rows of diapers were hanging on the ropes. And there, just underneath those ropes, a man was beating a woman [*bir adam, bir kadını dövüyordu*].¹⁴¹

Selma’s first husband soon becomes fed up with these living conditions in Ankara and returns to İstanbul. She stays, nonetheless. Even though her house represents everything that needs to be left behind after the revolution, she still prefers the “down-to-earth, pure, and sincere” life in Ankara to the “snobbish İstanbul.” In the second part, Selma marries a former military commander who works with German engineers and professors, and who makes spectacular appearances with his modern and fashionably dressed wife at republican balls, where he flirts and dances with foreign women — and most important, who lives in the first “cubic house” of Ankara. In strong contrast to Selma’s “old Turkish house,” this second, European-style residence has corner windows, hidden electrical wires, and rooms that her husband proudly furnished by carefully examining “the pictures in the latest catalogs of modern furniture exhibitions in Berlin and Paris.” With its “armchairs like dentist seats, sofas like surgery beds,” “naked walls and naked floors,” the house “glimmers like a cold clinic.”¹⁴²

While the first part of the novel represents in the author’s mind the Ottoman period that the promoters of the Turkish republic, like himself, were determined to leave behind, the second part criticizes the corruption and blind Westernization of the new elite, which had become apparent to him by 1934. Karaosmanoğlu sarcastically depicts the ostentatious life in Ankara’s “cubic houses,” which, he writes, are pure and unornamented on the outside, but tastelessly decorated in the inside. He makes fun of both the sterile and modern bathrooms that alienate the residents, and

the “Oriental Salons” (*Şark Salonu*) in the otherwise Westernized houses, which are furnished as isolated rooms separated with lattice curtains. Through the words of one of his favorite characters, the author describes these modern and Westernized houses as “phony and fake, makeshift and insincere [*sahte, yapmacıklı, iğreti ve uydurma*] things that one sees on the stage of an ugly theater.”¹⁴³ Selma fits in well in her “cubic house,” but she is unsatisfied with this lifestyle, her creator writes, where she has “lost touch with reality.” “I don’t want to live with this courtesan freedom that you have given to me, [*courtisane’ hürriyeti istemiyorum*],”¹⁴⁴ she says to her second husband and leaves her “cubic house.”

Third part, third husband, third house: Selma now lives in cooperative housing. She is the representation of Karaosmanoğlu’s ideal revolutionary woman. The writer referred to the third part as the unrealized utopia, the ideal future he depicted in 1934 for Ankara. This third house is located in an aesthetically and socially unified neighborhood with buildings that do not block each other’s sun and view. Selma and her husband sit on their big, sunlit terrace, go to the sports fields rather than flamboyant parties, visit neighboring villages, and support cultural activities for the masses in the People’s Houses.

Ankara was not just an idiosyncratic piece of fiction. An intense promotion of cooperative housing took place in Turkey during the mid-1930s. By 1935, Ankara’s population had reached 122,721, as opposed to 74,553 in 1927, the year Jansen had entered the competition project for its master plan. Documents indicated that the number of people per house had increased to 7.06, signaling a housing crisis that raised doubts about whether Ankara was living up to Kemalist promises. The main concerns about the city were the lack of sufficient housing, expensive rents, forced nomadic lifestyle, and scattered individual houses that failed to contribute to the image of a well-planned modern city.¹⁴⁵ At this point, a group of state officials started promoting cooperatives based on European models to supply collective housing.¹⁴⁶

It was in this context that Bahçelievler (houses with gardens) Housing Cooperative took shape: it was founded on January 26, 1935, the first cooperative housing in Turkey built to serve as a model settlement for the future,¹⁴⁷ initially designed by Jansen himself and subsequently appropriated by local professionals. The members of the Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative were well-positioned government officials who had the support of major state ministers, including İsmet İnönü, Celal Bayar, Şükrü Saraçoğlu and Şükrü Kaya—not members of the working class or the civil-service middle class—and who often quoted Atatürk’s occasional

comments on the importance of housing to seek popular and official recognition for their efforts. Gerhard Kessler, a German professor of political science whose ideas about the financing and organization of cooperatives were published in daily newspapers in Turkey, was a consultant for the project.¹⁴⁸ These newspapers had already been popularizing German developments in housing.¹⁴⁹

Nusret Uzgören, the founder of the cooperative, was already well informed about European developments and regarded the garden city ideal as closest to his aspirations. "Rather than apartments, we must choose the garden city system," he stated explicitly in the pages of daily newspapers and professional magazines.¹⁵⁰ He denounced both the traditional wooden houses in Ankara's Citadel and the densely packed apartment blocks that had been built in the early years of modernization on the Citadel's slopes. He spoke about his unhappy childhood in these traditional houses, "the unplanned neighborhoods stacked with countless wooden houses that had windows with wooden lattices looking out on narrow and dirty streets, and dim rooms with cracked walls letting insects and bugs, scorpions, and even snakes straight into the bed."¹⁵¹ He also recalled his disappointment on first arriving in Ankara after the establishment of the republic, when he discovered the high rents for the new, but gloomy apartments.¹⁵² A third form of existence, unlike either the Ottoman traditions or the chaotic lifestyle of the modern metropolis, would need to be developed. This third way for Uzgören was nothing other than a new housing settlement planned as a garden city.

It was at this point in 1936 that the influential newspaper *Ulus* published an editorial including an extensive questionnaire about the ideal home.¹⁵³ The editorial emphasized the need for housing in the capital city:

- A Should houses for government officials be constructed as apartments or houses with a garden?
- B If garden houses are selected, would you prefer row houses in a garden or free-standing houses in a garden?¹⁵⁴

The questionnaire, however, had already limited the readers to two options: Apartments or houses in a garden? At a moment when the apartments of the late Ottoman period were under continuous attack, the result was predictable. The questionnaire almost served as a staged support for the prewar garden city ideals of Europe, but it nevertheless illustrates the role of the new Turkish elite and governmental officials in choosing their residential spaces. What united those who cared to answer among the literate population (or whose answers were not rejected by the edi-

torial board) was their feeling that a free-standing house in a private garden was superior. The answers to this questionnaire offer evidence that Turkish officials and intellectuals were well informed about urban developments in Europe, wary of repeating Europe's mistakes, and supportive of the import of reformatory models to Ankara. Almost every respondent supported cooperative housing because of its potential affordability, shared infrastructure, and unified image. Influential bureaucrats of the time explicitly and confidently pointed to the garden city as the appropriate model.¹⁵⁵

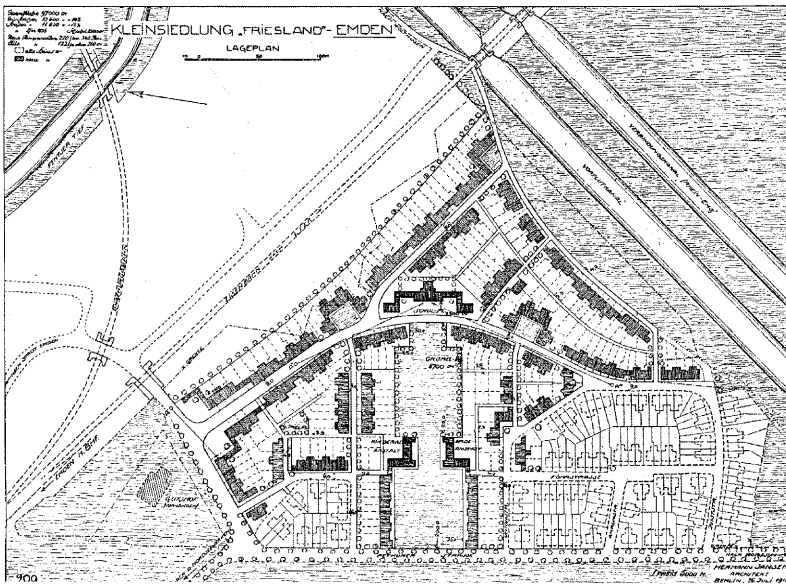
The rental barracks of Europe and their equivalents in İstanbul and Ankara received the toughest attacks. Many people commented on the increased level of sunlight and air, and therefore the possibility of sustaining better health in a single house with a garden;¹⁵⁶ some supported garden city housing because the vegetation would help temper the hot and arid climate of Ankara;¹⁵⁷ others brought up the common desire to make the recently founded city look bigger and more spread out, like a developed city, and therefore promoted dispersion with low-rise, low-density houses;¹⁵⁸ a few brought in the women's perspective, stating that it was essential for the children to play freely in a garden;¹⁵⁹ and the list goes on.¹⁶⁰ A few alternative voices that promoted denser neighborhoods and multifamily or row houses became inconsequential¹⁶¹ because the strong advocates of the Kemalist regime presumed a direct connection between nationalism and the single-family house. According to Vedat Nedim Tör, for instance, an "apartment is a symbol of rootlessness [*köksüzlük*], temporariness [*geçicilik*], and almost a sort of modern nomadism [*modern göçebelik*]; a house in a garden on the other hand implies one's attachment to a life and a country [*hayata ve yurda bağlılık*], to cultivating roots [*kökleşme*] and continuity [*devamlılık*]."¹⁶² And indeed, such a stimulation of nationalistic feelings was also Jansen's justification in his answer to *Ulus's* questionnaire. The German architect advocated free-standing and row houses with private gardens as a better form of existence in modern times, because, he argued, the single-family house would establish "foundations of a happy family life" and, by extension, a national identity: "Those who live in houses with direct access to gardens are transformed into a whole different person and get attached to their fatherlands in a more intense way than the nomadlike people who spend their lives in a rental barrack."¹⁶³ The keystone in the formula for translating the garden city ideal to Kemalist Turkey had thus been invented: someone living in a single house with a garden was assumed to be a better patriot than someone living in an apartment.

Despite alternative voices, the media and official support campaigned for low-density settlements. Falih Rıfkı Atay, one of Atatürk's main men, a Minister in the Parliament, the editor in chief of *Ulus*, and long a supporter of Jansen,¹⁶⁴ praised the German architect in declaring the final results of the questionnaire. The majority, Atay said, "are against the apartment system that Professor Jansen refers to as rental barracks [*kira kışlaları*]. They are right. Because Hitler's Germany too has eventually given up these barracks and started building workers' housing in gardens, even in dense city of Berlin."¹⁶⁵

Although the construction of single-family houses for low- and middle-income groups had started much earlier than Hitler's reign, Atay's reference to National Socialist Germany was not completely out of place. By 1936, the discourse on *Siedlung* in Germany had taken numerous turns. During the Weimar era, many residential types apart from single-family houses in private gardens had been developed, including multifamily housing that shared large parks and courtyards, row houses with higher density, and *Zeilenbau* blocks (parallel blocks oriented in the same direction). These were still seen as better alternatives that corrected the nineteenth-century urban tissue composed of *Mietskasernen*, but they were also promoted as residential types that met metropolitan requirements without necessarily promoting the single-family house as the only plausible form of healthy life. After 1933, some of the most important designers of Weimar housing—including Bruno Taut, Martin Wagner, and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky—who were forced to leave Germany came to live in Turkey. Besides their political position, their design principles faced significant challenges in Germany, precisely because Hitler's regime promoted traditionalist single-family houses and took pride in increasing the number of families who had their own private gardens. Even though the garden city had initially attracted reformers from both sides of the political divide, after the mid-1930s, the Nazis increasingly adopted the model to reorganize a controlled territorial order and to promote the German village values fed by racial segregation.¹⁶⁶

Berlin,
1914–1935

Designing collective housing was not a novel practice for Jansen. One of his earliest collective housing projects, the Streiffeld Worker's Colony on the outskirts of his hometown of Aachen, contained mostly two-story row houses for workers organized around front streets and backyard gardens, a smaller number of double and free-standing houses, and a square for communal buildings. Jansen held that a meaningful, hygienic, and healthy community life for the modern worker could and should be attained in the planned settlements outside the big city.¹⁶⁷ His prizewinning



1.41. Hermann Jansen. *Kleinsiedlung* Friesland, Emden, site plan and perspective from common green areas, 1916.

competition submissions for *Kleinsiedlung* Friesland in Emden (1916), *Kriegerheim-Mustersiedlung* Bissingheim (1917), and *Kleinsiedlung* Johannisthal (1919) earned him further recognition as the designer of “nonartificial and plain” housing settlements that can provide the “ordinary man with the largest possible amount of sun and pleasure,” to use the words that introduced him in *Wasmuths* in 1919.¹⁶⁸ Generously spaced row and double houses with vegetable gardens in the backyards, and large green lawns envisioned as gathering places of the inhabitants, can be seen in these projects. This environment was composed of houses with coordinated roof slopes and window and door frames; generous private gardens; carefully articulated gates at the neighborhood entrance (fig. 1.41).¹⁶⁹

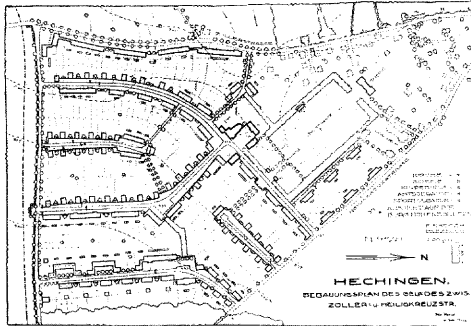
Siedlung Treptow (1914), a denser neighborhood, was designed as the

Mustersiedlung (model settlement) of Jansen's master plan for Berlin.¹⁷⁰ Here Jansen projected a variety of housing types, including single-family detached and row houses, as well as multifamily building blocks sharing common courtyards at the back. The important criterion was to avoid the *Hinterhaus*, the rear block of rental barracks, which could be accessed only from a narrow inner courtyard and which was criticized by twentieth-century architects for lacking adequate light, space, and view.¹⁷¹ In line with his dedication to green spaces, Jansen provided large lawns in between clusters of housing, which, he thought, functioned as the breathing zones and piazzas for the modern citizen. As for aesthetics, he insisted that a designed urban environment as a whole would guarantee the much sought for harmony and unity.¹⁷²

These principles informed Jansen's teaching at Berlin-Charlottenburg Technical University, where he worked as a professor of city design (*Städtebau*) from 1920 onward. He taught some classes with Heinrich Tessenow (an architect of the Hellerau garden city), and the two men criticized dense metropolitan living conditions, emphasizing instead small, plain houses with gardens. They shared design objectives such as modesty, restraint, and collective unity.¹⁷³ Jansen's students' projects at the university combined prewar garden city and Sitte-esque principles in *Siedlung* planning. "Jansen and his school" were introduced as the "pioneer of modern European city-design" (*Vorkämpfer des neuzeitlichen Städtebaues Europas*) in the pages of *Der Städtebau*.¹⁷⁴ His students (including Karl Schmidt, Otto Hodler, and Hans Haase) proposed housing settlements with free-standing and row houses in a garden, rather than with multifamily apartment blocks (fig. 1.42). Additionally, unlike the advocates of parallel blocks (*Zeilenbau*) that became increasingly common in Germany during the Weimar period, Jansen's students created unpredictable views and variable perspectives in the streets and public squares.

Soon after its foundation, the Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative purchased a site in the western part of Ankara, outside the boundaries of the original master plan. Located on the road connecting the train station to Atatürk's Forest Farm, this site was considered desirable for its reasonable price and proximity to recreational areas. The cooperative asked Jansen, who had already visited and approved the site before it was purchased, to prepare a master plan.¹⁷⁵ Just as *Siedlung Treptow* was envisioned as the exemplary housing of Berlin's master plan, Bahçelievler was charged with the significance of being the *Mustersiedlung* (model settlement) of Ankara (fig. 1.43).¹⁷⁶

Ankara,
1935–1938



ARBEITEN
AUS DER
SCHULE
HERMANN
JANSEN

Abb. 4 / Bebauungsplan für ein Gelände bei Heddingen. Der neue Plan schließt sich an die vorhandene Bebauung (punktiert) an und gliedert ein bewegtes Gelände architektonisch mit einer von öffentlichen Gebäuden umgebenen Gruppe in der Mitte.
Verfasser: Otto Höller

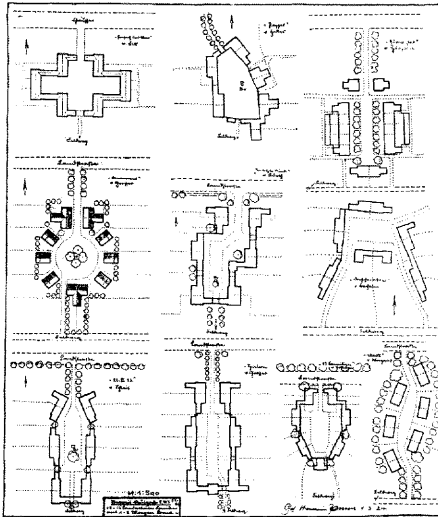
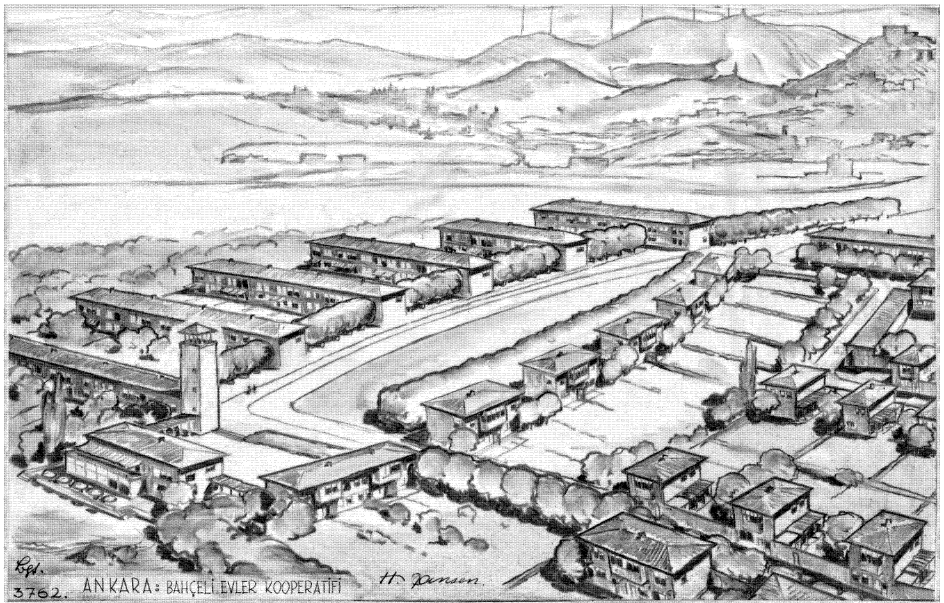


Abb. 5 / Zehn einfache Lösungen: Bau- blockaufstellungen unter verschiedenartigen Verhältnissen. Verfasser: Fick, Höller, Hünzler, Grosse, Korth, Bachelieu, Schell, Grosse, Korth und Vögel. Zu fünf dieser Lösungen finden sich perspektivische Skizzen in Abb. 3

1.4.2. Student projects in Hermann Jansen's studio.

Bahçelievler went through so many transformations during its design and construction process, as well as the aftermath, that its story alone is sufficient to convince us of the extent to which world cities are shaped by translations.¹⁷⁷ The cooperative's requirements are significant because they demonstrate the agency of Turkish clients in shaping the garden city ideal's translation and in making their own history.¹⁷⁸ The families of the cooperative wanted separate rooms for different functions, rather than



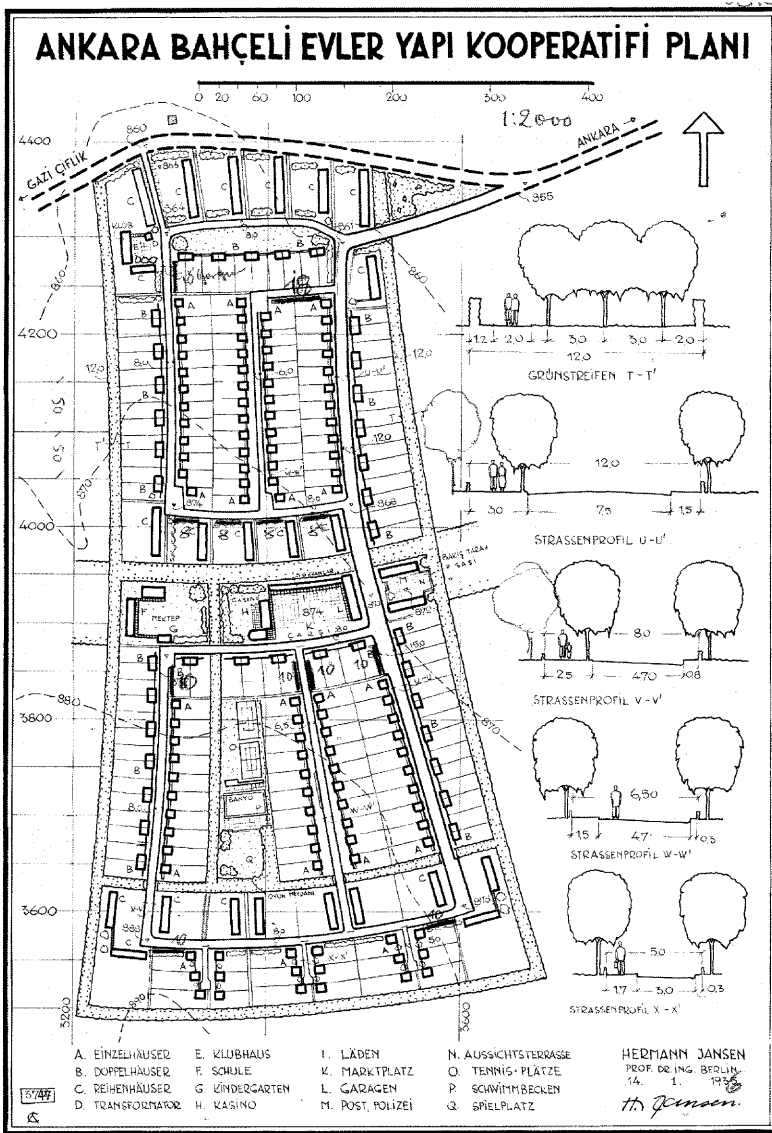
1.43. Hermann Jansen. Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative, aerial perspective, Ankara, 1935–36.

multipurpose ones as in traditional wooden houses, where living and sleeping activities were accommodated in the same space through the flexible organization of *cochins* [*minder*].¹⁷⁹ Most of them preferred to have a separate salon (usually used for guests), a living room for family gatherings, and a dining room. These rooms were furnished in Jansen's plans with European-style couches, armchairs, and fixed dining tables, not with traditional *divans*—multipurpose platforms—although this was not specified as a requirement in the letters. The families required open and big “balconies, terraces, and loggias” instead of closed courtyards, and toilets and kitchens placed inside the house, rather than in a courtyard. They wanted their houses to have “all the modern comforts such as electrical, gas, and telephone installation . . . and central heating.” There was no romanticism about a stove burning in the central hall, as in traditional houses. Nevertheless, they still wanted a Turkish toilet on the ground floor and a European toilet with a big bathtub on the upper floor. They also requested a maid's room and a place for a washing machine in each house (not a common laundry, as in European examples), as well as a garage for some houses. These last three requirements were rather unusual for Jansen, since cooperative housing in Germany was often meant for

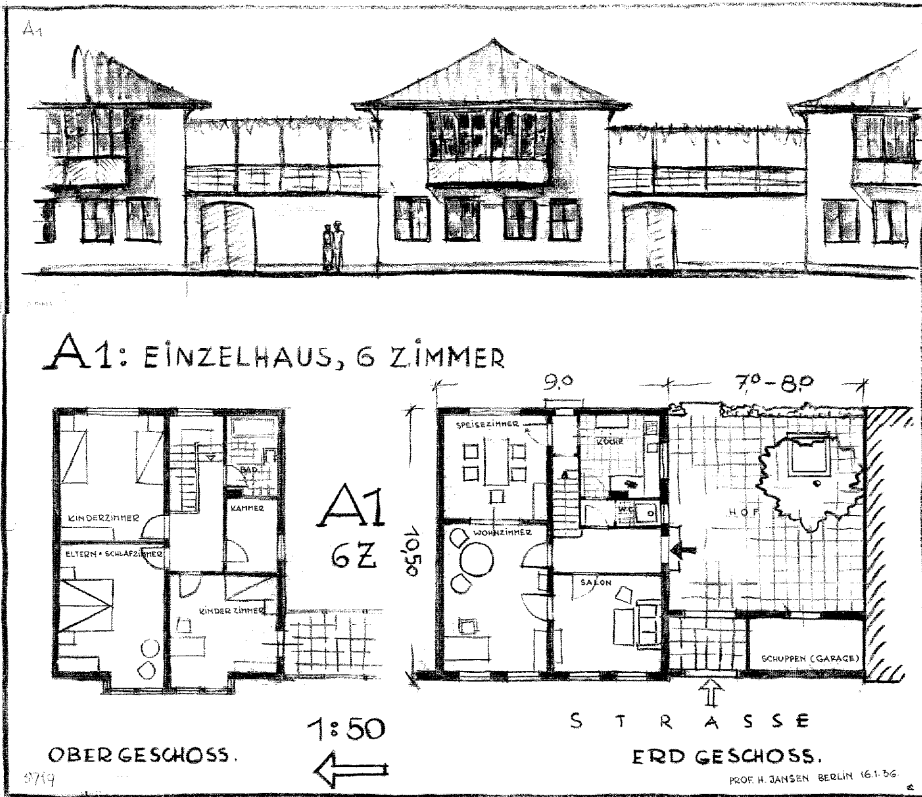
low- and middle-income families. The Bahçelievler Cooperative also required a school, a children's square, a marketplace (*Marktplatz*), a casino, and sports fields with two tennis courts and a swimming pool. These local requirements also implied a more luxurious and more Westernized vision than what Jansen had originally regarded suitable for Turkish families. Unlike in Europe, the first building cooperatives in Turkey were carried out by and for upper-income government officials who desired a luxurious, European lifestyle. It does not appear to be the case that Jansen, a German architect, "taught" a European lifestyle to a non-Western population, but rather that a certain segment of this population required this lifestyle, one that was official, upper middle class, and Western oriented.¹⁸⁰

On January 16, 1936, Jansen submitted his architectural project, which would go through several revisions by himself and local architects, and, after its construction, by the property owners (fig. 1.44).¹⁸¹ Jansen's first project was prepared according to the conventional norms of prewar garden city values. He defined three basic residential types to be repeated throughout the site: the free-standing (detached) house, double house, and row house, with variations ranging from three to six rooms. He emphasized the unity of the resulting environment, which he contrasted to cities without an overall plan. He defended the quiet, calm, and simple character of his design, as opposed to buildings adopting the latest "fashions."¹⁸² Criticizing the contemporary buildings in Ankara that looked modern on the exterior, but failed to implement what he perceived to be truly modern values in the interior, he emphasized the functional aspects of his own design, such as each house's direct access to the garden, the correct orientation, efficient inner circulation patterns, and affordability and efficiency (*Verbilligung und Wirtschaftlichkeit*) resulting from serial production of windows and doors (fig. 1.45).¹⁸³

Nevertheless, Jansen's intention to integrate some local architectural elements differentiated his project from its German counterparts. To attain a continuous street façade, he connected the neighboring free-standing houses with a garden wall one story high (fig. 1.46). This also provided a private courtyard (*Gartenhof*) for each house, reminiscent of the private courtyards in the wooden houses of Ankara's Citadel. Jansen's second step in the name of a domesticating translation was his use of extension bays (*çıkma*) on the upper floors overlooking the street. He also integrated a loggia into the double houses as a space reminiscent of an exterior *sofa* in the "old Turkish houses." He used extension bays in the row houses as well. In a second submission, he added a new residential



1.44. Hermann Jansen. Site plan for Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative, Ankara, 1935-36.



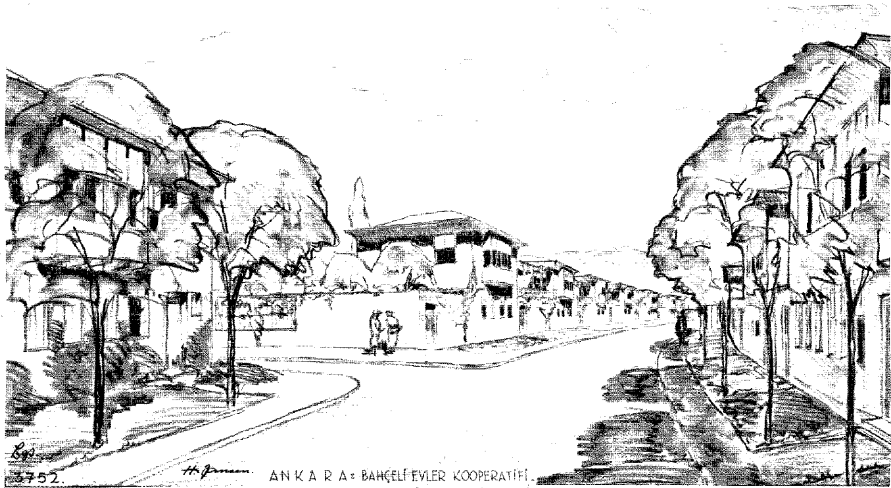
1.45. Hermann Jansen. Type A1 of Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative, Ankara, 1935–36.

type that integrated courtyards in between row houses (fig. 1.47). These were minor additional appropriations from the European experience to the residential types in Turkey.

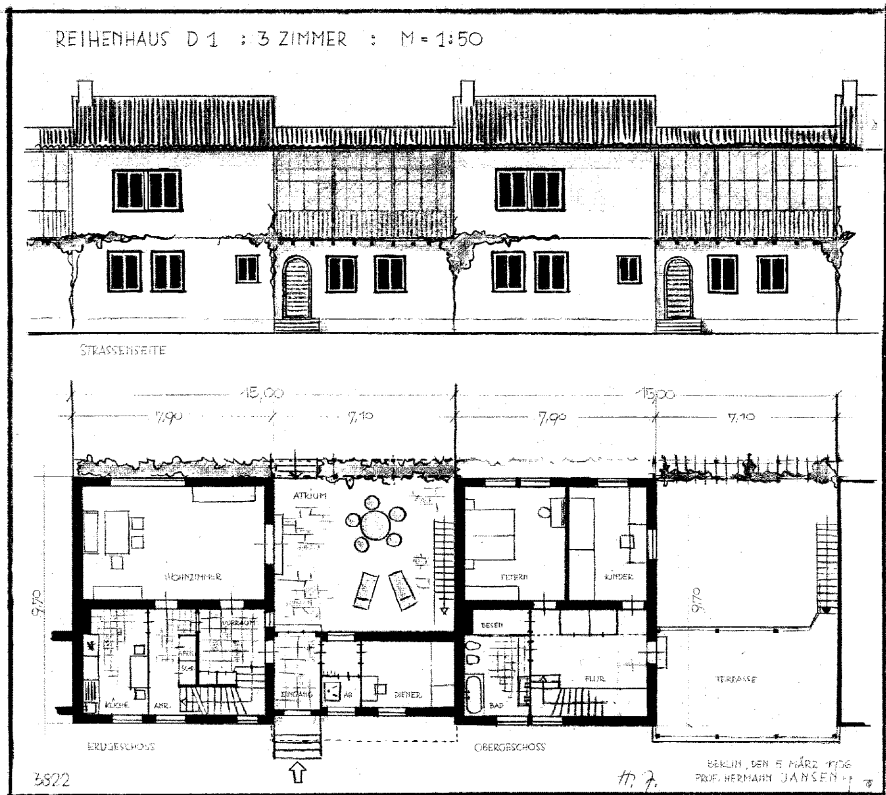
Yet Jansen's occasional ideas for appropriating translation did not meet with much enthusiasm from his Turkish clients. On the contrary, the founders of the cooperative were critical of any overtly regionalist qualities:

Dear Prof. Jansen, . . .

- A We do not want to build houses in traditional Turkish style, but only in modern style [*modernem Stil*]. When the outer façades of the houses are not of a modernized Oriental style, we prefer that they have a contemporary [*neuzeitlichen*] style corresponding to the building materials of our period.



1.46. Hermann Jansen. Perspective of a street with A-Type Houses, Ankara, 1935–36.



1.47. Hermann Jansen. Type D1 of Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative, Ankara, 1935–36.

- B We kindly ask you to give less of a countryside [*ländlichen*] look, but instead more of a metropolitan [*grossstädtischen*] character to the houses of the *Siedlung*.
- C For this reason, instead of oriental extension bays [*orientalischen Erker*] or small windows, we would like to have big and wide openings, and lots of terraces and balconies.¹⁸⁴

Charged with being a traditionalist, Jansen immediately responded to the criticism, commenting on a subject that was new to him:

Your interpretation that [the houses] are planned in traditional Turkish style is not true at all. . . . Modern building style [*Baustil*] is not at all indifferent to the location of the house, whether it is placed, say, in Germany, Italy, or Turkey. The more different the climatic factors and lifestyles [*Lebensgewohnheiten*] of the population are, the more different the organization will be. The commonplace/all-world style [*Allerweltstil*] that became common in Germany and other countries ten years ago, and in the manner of which many of the Turkish buildings are now designed, will disappear quickly within ten years, as is already happening now in Germany.¹⁸⁵

This correspondence reveals multiple tensions operating in the contact zone of translation. First, the initial letter demonstrates openly that the cooperative was seeking a futurist image in Ankara, and a residential neighborhood with a “metropolitan character,” not a suburban or a rural look. Although all of the members wanted private houses and private gardens dispersed throughout the site at a low density, and although most of them publicly advocated the garden city ideal, they still aspired to represent themselves with a metropolitan image. In other words, they must have seen little connection between congestion and the metropolis.

Second, the foreign architect and the local inhabitants adopted opposing roles in negotiating the degree of translation. It is usually assumed that local inhabitants tend to domesticate transported objects. Bahçelievler offers a counterexample. Here, it was Jansen who strove to assimilate some local elements into his European-inspired plans. However, he nevertheless rejected being called a traditionalist and argued that the response to different climates and lifestyles was part of the modernist agenda. For the local members of the cooperative, in contrast, Bahçelievler, just like Ankara, had to put an end to the “traditional Turkish style,” making any historicist use of it unacceptable. For them, living in a Europeanized house was a matter of social status, a proof of their perceived superiority over the common people living in the “old Turkish houses.”

Third, it is remarkable that Jansen claimed to represent the population more truly than the population itself could. Even though it was a segment of this population that asked him to erase regionalist references from the project, the architect continued to argue in favor of reflecting different lifestyles in architecture. In this, he followed a common type of Orientalism, in Edward Said's sense, that did not deem the non-West inferior, but that nevertheless sought to find an exotic difference in it. In Jansen's mind, the local habitants of the cooperative must have been unable to represent themselves, since their image of a modern house did not reflect the different lifestyles they were supposed to have. It would seem that Jansen thought he could speak in the name of a non-Western individual better than a non-Westerner himself. Nevertheless, in the case of Bahçelievler, the non-Western inhabitant did eventually have an impact on the end results. This is not at all to claim that this voice represented the majority of the population, however. On the contrary, the voice of those who were not directly related to the Kemalist circles remained unrepresented during the construction of Ankara.

And fourth, Jansen used recent developments in Germany under National Socialism as a justification for his architectural approach. He claimed that the *Allerweltstil* was disappearing in Germany under Nazi rule and predicted that it would do the same in Turkey, which was about ten years "behind" Europe. Not only does this view reaffirm Jansen's position in the 1930s on the side of the dominant German cultural politics, it also reveals his premise of linear history. Jansen's argument was predicated on the assumption that whatever happened in Europe would sooner or later resurface in other places of the world.

Eventually, a series of further negotiations prepared the resulting project. In March 1936, Jansen submitted his new plans, responding to some of the clients' requests.¹⁸⁶ Once the construction and administrative process started, the translation process continued, which resulted in considerably transformed site plan and housing units.¹⁸⁷ As more and more members made their selections of houses, some residential types were totally eliminated. The ones that remained underwent visible translations. Take Jansen's type for the free-standing single house, for instance. In the built version, many dimensions were changed: the winter garden was eliminated and its space was added to the living room; the wide pergola next to the winter garden was transformed into a narrower walkway beneath the slab of the upper terrace; a big covered balcony overlooking the backyard was added to the upper floor; and, most important, the one-story garden wall in Jansen's project, which gave a continuous façade to



1.48a. Bahçelievler as constructed, Ankara (c. 1940).



1.48b. Ernst Reuter's cooperative house in Bahçelievler.

the street and defined the private courtyard behind it, was lowered. This significantly changed the appearance of the neighborhood as a whole. Instead of giving a street a continuous boundary, the repeating individual houses now stood as autonomous units in space (figs. 1.48a and b). Similar transformations took place for all units.

Imagine the professionals in the cooperative's office redrawing Jansen's plans: putting their own tracing paper over his originals or starting from empty sheets; modifying his plans by moving one wall to the left, another to the right; canceling out some spaces and adding new ones; discreetly enlarging his window sizes; discussing, denouncing, or admiring his abili-

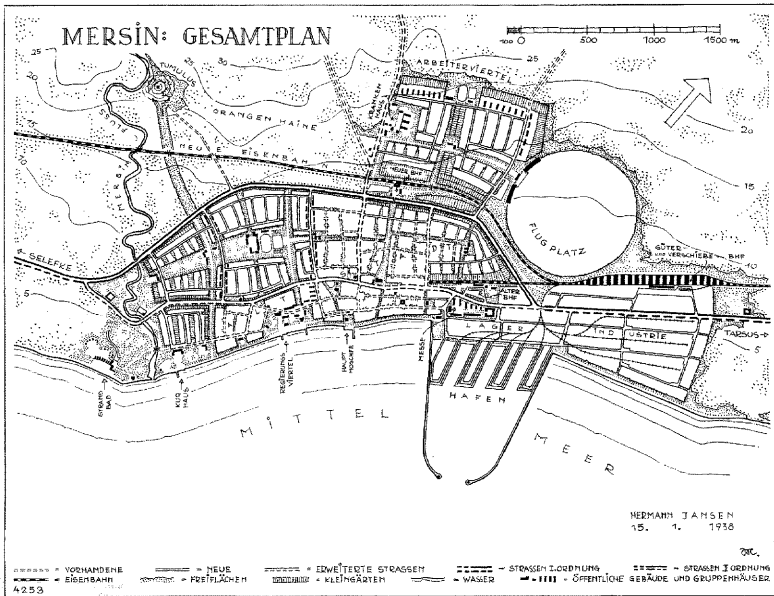
ties; re-annotating his residential types; and transforming his projects in relation to the clients' requirements and their own decisions. The process for these professionals (whose existence was revealed through my archival study, but whose names could not be located) was a cross-cultural translation *par excellence*.

In this particular case, these translations were never in favor of traditional lifestyles. Many decisions resulted in the elimination of the local architectural elements that Jansen wanted to integrate into his design. The extension bays (*çıkma*) and loggias reminiscent of "old Turkish houses" were removed; so were the courtyards, because of the transformed dimensions. The local architects were not trying to appropriate an imported model into what they perceived to be authentic values, but to modify the design in relation to the requirements of a group of clients who were more European oriented than Jansen wanted to see. In Bahçelievler, the desires of the local clients were at times more foreign than what the foreign architect deemed suitable.

FROM ANKARA TO THE WHOLE NATION: TRANSLATABILITY FROM ABOVE AND BELOW

Despite the premise of smooth translatability, the translation processes described above during the early years of the Turkish Republic were hardly smooth themselves. The Kemalist revolution had created a major dilemma in the lives of Turkey's citizens: it was a project of modernization and westernization, yet building the Turkish nation-state simultaneously demanded the revival of what were perceived to be cultural roots. Translation was the contact zone where conflicts between westernization and nationalization were constantly negotiated. The ideas of the thinkers and professionals who desired to untie the knot between the two can thus be rephrased as theories of translation. Therefore, the early republican modernization presented an enigma about the continuities and disjunctions between westernization and nationalism, while attempts to achieve a synthesis between what were deemed the West and the Turkish never ceased. I would like to conclude this chapter by making a distinction between translatability from above and below, one of the conceptual subtleties of translation.

From the very outset, the Kemalist program intended to extend Ankara, as a cultural symbol, to the whole country. Between 1934 and 1938, Jansen prepared the master plans for six cities all over Turkey: İzmit, Adana, Ceyhan, Tarsus, Mersin, and Gaziantep.¹⁸⁸ Many of the principles



1.49. Hermann Jansen. Master plan of Mersin, 1938.

he had determined for Ankara were made into repeatable formulas for these subsequent developments (fig. 1.49).¹⁸⁹ Jansen differentiated among these cities according to their size (small to middle-size towns), climate, proximity to the sea, existing vernacular typology, and prominent economic function. However, these differences were reflected on the master plans as minor variations. He always proposed to maintain the distinction between old city and new city — namely, a sterile separation between what would connote the traditional and the modern, the Ottoman and the Turkish, the Eastern and the westernized zones of the cities. No new buildings would be built in the old sections, for which separate rehabilitation plans would be prepared only in the future, leaving them to a process of decay for the moment. Jansen designated two- or three-story single-family, free-standing, double, or row housing suitable for all these cities, just as he did for Ankara.¹⁹⁰ He thus envisioned an extremely low density and a sprawling urban development for Turkey as a whole. In regulating these residential types, Jansen assisted the Kemalist program, which was determined to collect the different ethnic and religious groups and various living patterns throughout the country under the unifying umbrella of the nation-state. Even cities out of the orbit of Jansen's contractual agreements were affected by his decisions, including new residential zones

in the Asian side of İstanbul, which were developed according to a garden city conception.¹⁹¹ By the time Jansen's contracts in Turkey came to a close in 1939, a translated garden city ideal had become the preferred model for modernizing and westernizing cities all across Turkey.¹⁹²

The cubic architecture introduced in Ankara received widespread accolades as well. In *Modernism and Nation Building*, Sibel Bozdoğan illustrates how the cubic houses gained popularity in accommodating upper-income families in the early republican Turkey. These free-standing, one- to two-story houses, with unornamented white façades; flat roofs; and big, horizontal windows were promoted as the ideal homes for modern living in both professional and popular magazines of the 1930s and 1940s.¹⁹³ The influential intellectuals and art critics Celal Esad Arseven and İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu advocated the new architecture as the appropriate container of the new life initiated by the republican revolution.¹⁹⁴ The popular magazine *Yedigün* published an example of an ideal cubic house in every issue, promoting its difference from both traditional houses and crowded İstanbul apartments.¹⁹⁵ "This home will be built in the middle of a small garden; and since it is reasonably cubic, it is beautiful," said one of the descriptions of cubic houses in this series.¹⁹⁶ Typically, these pages reproduced designs from foreign magazines and included photographs of recent buildings either outside of Turkey or in Ankara and İstanbul. However, these magazines often promoted houses beyond the financial reach of many Turkish families. The potential clients that the editors envisioned were couples escaping from the messy metropolis, upper-class families building a weekend house in the country, a poet living alone, and so on. The advertised "house for a middle-class family" with a garage, a large living room, a comfortably placed piano, and a separate study room was far removed from the reality of most middle-income families in Turkey.¹⁹⁷ Throughout the 1930s, cubic architecture became the mainstream representation of the modern and westernized elite home.

Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative, too, became a *Mustersiedlung* (model settlement) for upper-middle-class families, just as Jansen and the government officials had intended. By 1945, 50 building cooperatives had been founded in Turkey (22 in Ankara, 8 in İstanbul, and 20 altogether in Aydın, Adana, Antalya, Balıkesir, Burdur, Denizli, Diyerbakır, İzmir, and Tarsus); by 1952, this number had increased to 204.¹⁹⁸ These followed the same prewar garden city planning principles, although alternatives were explored in the organization of individual units. They were all composed of two-story free-standing houses in private gardens, organized around a network of hierarchically organized tree-lined streets and avenues. Abi-

din Mortaş, the coeditor of *Arkitekt* in the initial years, was especially committed to low- and middle-income cooperative housing.¹⁹⁹ Many of the milestones of collective housing in Turkey, including the 14 Mayıs Housing (1951–52), Subay Houses (1951–53), and Emek Cooperative Housing (1951–54) in Ankara, as well as the First Levent Housing (1947–52) in İstanbul, followed this typology.²⁰⁰

The aftermath of these projects puts into question the decisions taken during the process of translation itself. Jansen's master plan for Ankara was prepared for a maximum population of 300,000 people, which had already been surpassed by 1950.²⁰¹ Just as in Howard's ideal, Jansen envisioned Ankara as a controlled and contained city, whose maximum population should never be exceeded. He demanded radical measures, if necessary, to keep the city below its maximum size in order to maintain its "habitability."²⁰² In Howard's vision, the moment a garden city exceeded its population, another garden city, separated by agricultural land, should be planned next to it—quite a luxurious solution for a country like Turkey that had to struggle to maintain economic growth throughout the twentieth century. This rule was hardly followed in Ankara, and the city's population grew in an accelerated fashion, just as was the case in many other big cities in modernizing countries. The "free" green belts separating the built zones in Jansen's plan were gradually filled in with buildings. The failure of Ankara's planning cannot be explained solely as the inability of a non-Western country to sustain a Western model, since the question of overpopulation was one of the major problems in Howard's theory in the first place. Rather, we can ask: how appropriate was the garden city as a model for developing countries—which had to cope with rapid urbanization and vast population increases—during their early years of modernization?

The original houses built in Bahçelievler are hardly in existence any longer. İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin followed the transformation and eventually the disappearance of the settlement after it was completed. As each member applied to the municipality to add a room or two to their individual houses and, more important, as the zoning laws were extended and the building height limit was raised to four and five floors with the master plan of 1957, the density of the area increased almost sixteenfold. Many families were seduced by the idea of financial profits into tearing down their houses and gardens and replacing them with taller and bigger multifamily apartment blocks (fig. 1.50).²⁰³ Karaosmanoğlu, who had supported cooperative housing in *Ankara*, later criticized the opportunistic drives of real estate speculators in his novel *Panorama* to express his dis-



1.50. Bahçelievler c. 2000. Photo: G. Çizgen.

appointment with the experience. Less than three decades after construction, the houses of Bahçelievler had evaporated into cash. The traditional historiography of Turkey has condemned the later republican periods for lacking the administrative and political rigor to preserve Bahçelievler and similar cooperative housing settlements in Ankara. Although this is definitely valid, it is also necessary to question the potential of the original model to live up to the requirements of a developing and rapidly urbanizing country in the second half of the twentieth century. Bahçelievler's disappearance reveals the limits of low-density garden city housing in metropolitan conditions in such countries. Even though contemporary professionals such as Burhan Arif, Martin Wagner, and Zeki Sayar warned against the dangers of low density; and even though the shortcomings of the prewar garden city standards had by then been internationally recognized (see chapter 3), Jansen and the Turkish bureaucrats continued to promote it. There is no good excuse for Bahçelievler's obliteration, but the question remains: what would have happened if the low-density garden city that was initiated as a model for future development could have been sustained? Today Ankara is a city of more than 4.5 million inhabitants. Under these circumstances, the choice was between endless sprawl or destruction of the garden city. In Ankara, history decided in favor of the second option.

The "failure" of the garden city both as a city and as a housing settlement raises questions about the theory itself in hindsight. In many coun-

tries, the garden city increasingly served antimetropolitan ideas, turning out to be a model that was meant to protect modern individuals from the big city itself, even though the shift from the country to the city was admittedly unavoidable — a model that presented itself as a solution to large waves of immigration to the city, but one that offered to decrease the density. In Turkey, the garden city was attached to a modernist agenda and aesthetics; but regardless of representative style, the unresolved problems of overpopulation and low density signal a similar antimetropolitan tendency. In that regard, the garden city theory may be inherently unsustainable for economically disadvantaged countries that had to industrialize quickly and cope with vast numbers of migrants from the country to the city.

The translations of the garden city also raise questions about the link between planning and social control. Is a garden city at the hands of a powerful state a perfect example of a panopticon in Michel Foucault's sense,²⁰⁴ a necessary tool of modernization that creates livable cities with proper infrastructure, transportation services, and social networks, but one that simultaneously controls where and how people live, plans future growth, sets limits to a city's expansion and thereby disciplines the future? Historically, at least in Turkey, the garden city was implemented through the interventions of a strong state that was determined to modernize the population, with force if necessary. I have emphasized the role of both European and Turkish agents in making this history. Who speaks and who cannot speak during the process of translation? In this particular case, all of the European architects who were invited by the Kemalist state were influential speakers. But so were their Turkish clients. The Kemalist elites decisively shaped the modern residential culture in Turkey, not only by inviting German and Austrian architects and city planners to build Turkish cities from scratch, but also by making consequential selections in representing themselves, as was the case in the choice of Holzmeister, Egli, and Arkan. Bahçelievler's upper-middle-income government officials were also influential agents, effectively transforming the German architect's original designs during the process of translation. However, there were large groups of the population in Turkey whose lives were significantly changed by these translation processes but who were given almost no chance to speak in shaping this history. An account that credits full agency only to European professionals would be ungrounded, but so would be the assumption that this was the local people's voice as a whole.

Rather than taking a stance against translation due to its contested history, as those promoting antic cosmopolitan nationalist ideologies would

have done, is it possible to differentiate among alternative modes of translation? It is after all translation that makes it possible for a population to be enriched by what was its outside, rather than being consumed in its own claims of national superiority. In order to discuss translation modes that offer alternatives to the top-down modernization programs, is it possible to envision a project of translatability from below? The modernization and westernization program during this period was appreciated by a considerable segment of the population who did not necessarily have direct ties to the official ideology, but who nevertheless did try to add their own voice and transform some of the decisions—a process that can be named as an aspiration for translation from below. This was evidently not without contradictions and painful doubts either. The following chapter looks at one such translation, albeit still carried out by a privileged section of the population, and interprets the melancholic responses to Ankara's residential program as an example of a tension rising during the moment of translation.