

Ernst Egli and the Emergence of Modern Architecture in Kemalist Turkey

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THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE of the 1930s played a crucial role in the assertion of the power of the Kemalist revolution. In numerous propagandistic tomes and magazines such as *La Turquie Kémaliste* (1934–1948), in which the architectural image was assigned the role of a magnifier of the revolution: “La révolution et réforme religieuse et judiciaire,” “La révolution dans l’instruction publique” and “Hygiène et prévoyance sociale” were titles of a series of images in “L’Histoire de la République Turque,” intended to illustrate, independent of the text, the young republic’s social progress.¹ *La Turquie Kémaliste* worked with pairs of opposites representing the before and after, contrasting modern Turkey as a dynamic power under the title “Ankara construit” on the one side, and the folkloristic view of the old center, Istanbul, under the title “La Turquie: Pays de Soleil, de Beauté et d’Histoire” on the other side (Figs. 1, 2). Also playing a significant role in the Kemalist formative process were, and perhaps especially, industrialization and social reform. The new educational system and the emancipation of woman in the urban environment, and the instrumentalization of the young generation as the carrier of Kemalism was also, again and again, documented by *La Turquie Kémaliste* in the form of parades, marches, and athletic events that are disturbingly similar to similar spectacles in the Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, and National Socialist Germany.

The cultural politics of Kemalism entailed a comprehensive integration of architecture, aiming to demonstrate the positive and dynamic powers of the new republic to the local population and the world. This new Turkish Republic had a complex structure; its origins were not without contradictions, and its radical new implementations had wide-ranging consequences that are still effective today.

Not having been pre-colonized, Turkey represents an extreme case among the countries that strove for a new national political identity after World War I by means of a radical Westernization. At the time, the entire Middle East entered a period of political restructuring. New nation-states were formed from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire

or, like Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Palestine, were held as semi-colonial protectorates. A special form of modernist tendency inspired by the West can be observed not only in the Zionist settlements of Palestine, but also in Iran.

The modernization of Turkey after 1925 was carried out exclusively by the new Kemalist élite under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Paşa (he adopted the last name Atatürk, “father of Turks”, after 1934). It was a “revolution” (İnkılap) from above with an anti-imperialist and anti-colonial thrust, under the slogan “to be Western in spite of the West.”² It served to secure national sovereignty and the formation of a unified identity for the young Turkish republic, which went hand in hand with the propaganda against Ottoman and Arabic traditions, against Islam and national minorities such as the Kurds and the Greeks.

The result was a paradoxical situation in which Turkey, escaping colonization from the outside (as intended by the Allies) after its defeat in World War I, now enacted an inward colonization inevitably leading to strong social tensions, despite the emancipatory motivations of the Kemalist project. The expulsion of the Greek minority (after the Greek attack of 1922), the suppression of various Kurdish uprisings, a one-party system in effect until 1946, and three military coups were some of the consequences. The nationalist, secular, and étatist concept of Kemalism could hardly be maintained otherwise.

Seen today, the situation can be summarized in Hakan Yavuz’s statement that: “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 another 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.”³ The concept of the “white Turk” denotes the carrier of the secularist Kemalist revolution, and, consequently, that of “black Turk” must denote the carrier of the culture, rooted in Ottoman and Islamic tradition. This dichotomy represents, in one trope, the “internal colonization” of



1 "Ankara construit," thematic page from *La Turquie Kemaliste*. View of the security monument by Clemens Holzmeister and Anton Harnack (Photo: *La Turquie Kemaliste*, no. 8, August 1935)

LA TURQUIE: PAYS DE SOLEIL DE BEAUTE ET D'HISTOIRE.



2 "Turkey, pays de soleil, de beauté, et d'histoire," thematic page from *La Turquie Kemaliste*. View of the sky line of old Stamboule with the Süleymaniye (Photo: *La Turquie Kemaliste*, no. 10 December, 1935)

Turkey. Tensions ran especially high during the first decades of the reform from 1925 till 1950, leading to the "roll-back" of the Menderes era (1950–1960). The dissociation from the principles of Kemalism caused the first military *coup d'état* in 1960; Menderes was executed in 1961.

Altogether, Turkey, to a much higher degree than the former colonial states, presents a hybrid culture: the modernist paradigm was defined in this case from the inside, and it was subject to a national discourse. The question in this article, then—beyond that of the degree to which intellectuals, technicians, artists, and finally exiled scientists and artists were involved in the formation of this discourse—is: what role did art and architecture play in this process?

Modern architecture and the Fine Arts set out from a fundamentally different point in Turkey than in Europe, where modernism originated in discussions pertinent to the arts, and in conjunction with social modernization. Conversely, art and architecture in Turkey became less autonomous disciplines than instruments for the interests

of the nation-state. This "imported modernism," which was defined in the purely formal terms of *Neues Bauen* and *Neue Sachlichkeit*, represented national Turkish modernization from 1927/8, with different values assigned to different architectural genres: for instance, the formal expressions used in the designs of school and university buildings were altogether more "modernist" than the ones used in government buildings.⁴

I would like to delineate four stages of Turkish architecture from the 1920s to the 1950s:

After the late Ottoman historicist architecture, called "First National Style" in the 1920s, was suspended by Atatürk himself, a phase that may be titled "modernity as construct" emerged, characterized by formal borrowings from Central Europe. There were only the beginnings of a properly Turkish intellectual superstructure. Austrian specialists such as Ernst Egli (1893–1974) and Clemens Holzmeister (1886–1983), who simultaneously introduced an educational reform at the Academy of Fine Arts, held deci-

sive roles in this process, as did Sedad Hakkı Eldem (1908–88) and Seyfi Arkan (1903–66), Turkish architects who had been partially trained abroad. This style was called “cubic” (*küçük*) in Turkey.⁵

The second phase, from the mid-1930s on, was characterized by an open criticism of modern architecture. The traditional Turkish residential house was put forward as its architectural polar opposite. Sedad Hakkı Eldem was the main representative of this school. A critical discourse developed with the initiatives of Zeki Sayar as well, who was the editor of the influential magazine *Arkitekt* from 1931 to 1981. However, Eldem’s “new regionalism” must also be understood within the context of the modern movement in general, following the lead of Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright, who were an integral part of the modernist movement.⁶ In view of the loss of old architectonic substance entailed by the drive toward modernization, Ernst Egli, head of the architecture faculty from 1930, had Eldem, his assistant at the time, perform a systematic examination of the old Turkish residential house.⁷

The representatives of *Neues Bauen* who had been expelled from Germany and invited to Turkey after 1935, such as Martin Wagner (1885–1957) and Bruno Taut (1880–1938), fundamentally opposed a one-sided importation of modernism, and appealed to local architectural traditions, which they combined with functional spatial structures. This school of a synthesizing modernism came to an abrupt end with Taut’s death and Wagner’s emigration to the USA in 1938.⁸ At the same time, Ernst Reuter (1889–1953), who held a chair for urban planning at the new University of Ankara from 1938, laid the foundations for a modern urban planning program.

The “Second National Style” which came to rise during the years between 1939 and 1952 had two separate aspects: the adoption of traditional Turkish residential house forms (Eldem demonstrated this approach with the Turkish pavilion at the New York World Fair in 1939); and, after Atatürk’s death in 1938, representational patterns comparable to National Socialist architecture used especially in buildings for the state. Symptomatic of this second trend were the competition for the Atatürk Mausoleum (Anıtkabir) in 1942 and the work of Paul Bonatz (1877–1956), who moved seamlessly from Berlin, where he had worked on the plans for “Germania,” to Turkey in 1944. This turn in state architecture was also related to Turkey’s political strategy in the 40s, when the country announced armed neutrality but joined Germany in a pact of amity and nonaggression (until 1944).

Already in 1935 a discourse on the origins of the Turkish nation was being formulated (the ÖZ-Türk debate).

Bypassing the recent Ottoman tradition, and neglecting Byzantine and classical roots, this discourse constructed a fictional foundation that traced Turkish roots to the great empires of Eastern antiquity, such as those of the Hittites and the Sumerians.⁹ During the presidency of İsmet İnönü (1938–1950), Turkish architects attempted to take control of the important public projects, and yet eventually failed, since Holzmeister, the architect of the Parliament, and Bonatz, the leading teacher at Istanbul Technical University, continued to exert influence until the early fifties.¹⁰ Only after the war, in conjunction with the political liberalization, the introduction of a multi-party system in 1946 and of presidential elections in 1950, did the American-dominated “International Style” prevail, putting an end to the influence of the German-speaking architects. Eldem himself collaborated with the prominent American firm Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM) for the Istanbul Hilton Hotel (1952) that became the icon of this new turn.¹¹ At the same time, however, the rise of Islamic groups also started motivating the use of traditional Ottoman architectural patterns.

The new cultural and architectural model, in accordance with the political conditions after the War, was to be found in the United States. The different stages of this development between 1930 and 1950 demonstrate that one cannot speak of a homogenous development in understanding Turkish modernism.

In sum, the discourse of modern architecture in early Republican Turkey vacillated between the radicality of *Neues Bauen* as the insignia of the new, and the Turkish search for a new identity in its own architectural tradition. On the one hand, emigrants such as Martin Wagner and Bruno Taut, with their own beginnings of a regionalist modernism, fostered this discussion; on the other hand, young Turkish architects such as Sedad Eldem and Seyfi Arkan played a decisive role in the process. This was not an isolated debate over modern architecture, but the expression of a fundamental paradox within the Kemalist reform movement: the turn toward Western patterns, the exclusive emphasis on the “new,” led to the loss of a tradition. In this way the above-mentioned identity crisis within the Turkish society was conjured up. The “nationalization of modernism,” incipient already in the late 30s, went so far as to render authoritarian patterns absolute, as was the case in the appropriation of German National Socialist architecture within the Turkish Second National Style, especially with the influence of Paul Bonatz.

Aspects of modernization taking place in big cities such as Ankara and Istanbul were presented in Kemalist propaganda. The new capital, Ankara, erected as a garden city after the master plan of Hermann Jansen (1869–1945),

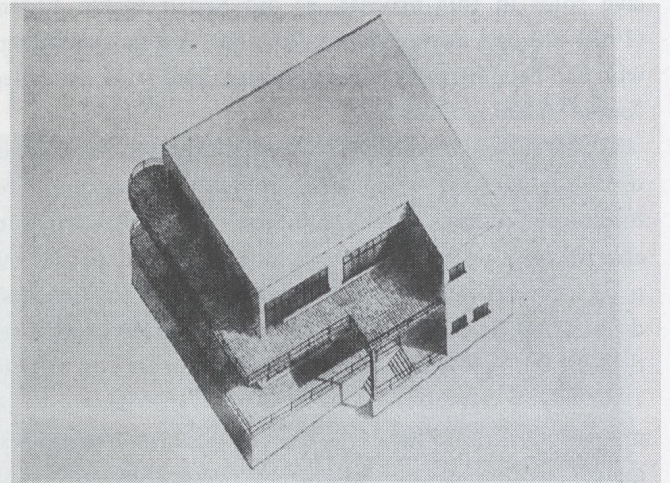
became the staging area of Kemalist experiments in urban planning and architecture. Immigrant Central European architects were building in the heart of the new nation in Ankara—a new city visually dominated by the sober monumentality of Holzmeister's government precinct and the modern, and in part regionalist, school and university buildings of Egli and Taut. Istanbul, the historically rich capital of the Ottoman Empire, was dismissed as a picturesque and “effete metropolis,” but still functioned as a home to educational institutions of national importance. Numerous German-speaking (exiled) scientists began teaching in the universities of Istanbul after the University Reform became effective in 1933.¹² Consequently, their influence on the training of Turkish architects, which should be noted, remained palpable until the mid-60s. The most important centers for this training were the Academy of Fine Arts (Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi), first under Egli and Taut, later under Sedad Eldem, as well as the Technical University (İTÜ), where Holzmeister and Bonatz were professors, followed by Emin Onat (1908–1961) during the 50s—together with Orhan Arda, architect of the Atatürk Mausoleum (1944–1953)—and Kemali Söylemezoğlu (1909–1995). The propagandistic force of photographic representation also decreased during this period.

II

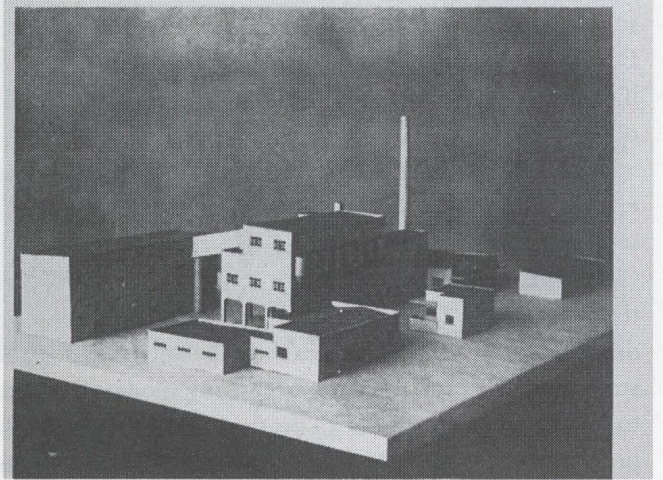
In the rest of this article, I would like to concentrate on the Austrian architect Ernst Egli (1893–1974), whose family was of Swiss origin. Egli's position is symptomatic of the difficult process of developing a modern architectural language in Turkey and of the complex task of translating patterns of central European modernism into the reforms of the early Turkish Republic.¹³

In the fall of 1927, Egli was called to Ankara as the architect for the new Ministry of Education.¹⁴ In a way, the development of Turkish modernism begins with this decision. His style was called “küçük,” which soon became a synonym for modernism of the early 1930s.¹⁵ As a professor in the Architecture Department of the Academy in Istanbul (Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi), he was also responsible for its pedagogical reform. Egli introduced a two-staged architectural program that was initiated after a qualifying examination. He also introduced a two-year basic technical curriculum, and another two-year constitutive studio training. He created a technical terminology for Turkish architects, and launched, together with his assistant Sedad Eldem, a research project dedicated to the documentation of the old “Turkish houses.”¹⁶

Although Egli focused on a sober functionalist archi-



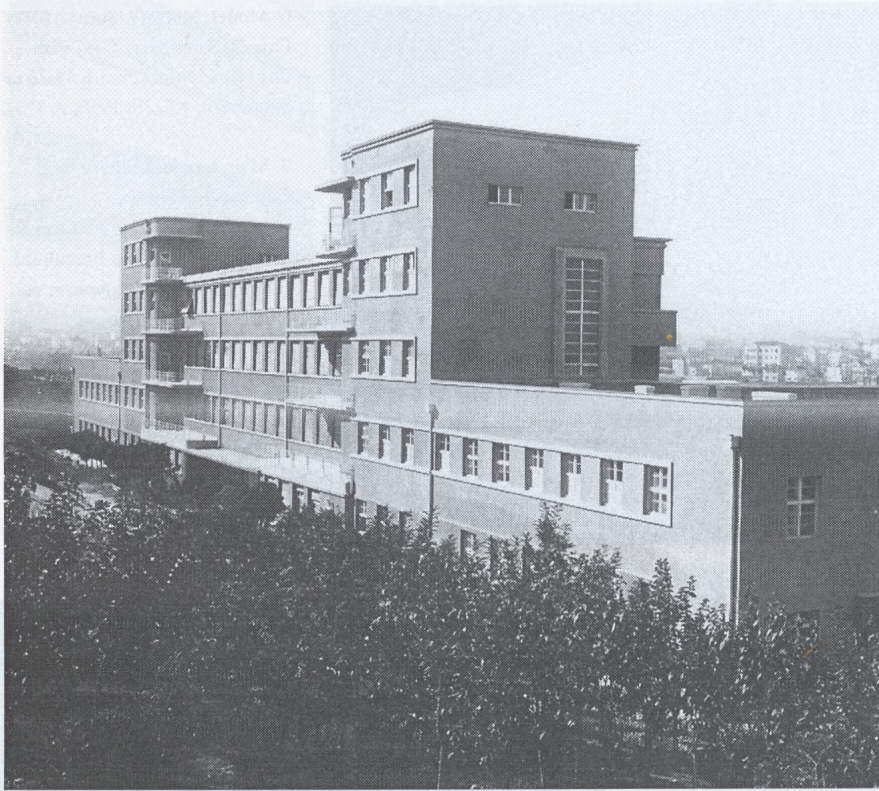
1. Jahrgang: Kaffeehaus



3 Class of Ernst Egli at the Academy of Fine Arts, Designs for a coffee-house and a plant, 1931 (Photo: *Bau- und Werkkunst*, VII, 1931, p. 323)

itecture associated with the works of Hans Poelzig, Erich Mendelsohn and Otto R. Salvisberg, in his teaching more than his practice he also emphasized tradition and identity. The first results of his training were displayed at the annual faculty exhibition in 1931, and included ‘cubic-style’ houses and factories (Fig. 3).

From the first days of his arrival, Egli was entrusted with a number of important tasks. When the Austrian government appointed him “state architect h.c.” in 1935, his list of works included no less than seventeen projects.¹⁷ Most of these were schools and university institutions, including such extensive buildings as the Agricultural College (Ziraat Fakültesi, 1930–33) and the School of Political Sciences (Mülkiye, 1933–35), but also several houses in the Atatürk Forest Farm (Gazi Orman Ciftliği), and a brewery, a fine example of Egli's ‘cubic style’. These



4 Rear facade. İsmet Paşa Institute for Girls. Ankara. 1930/31 and 1935. Ernst Egli. (Photo: archive of the author)

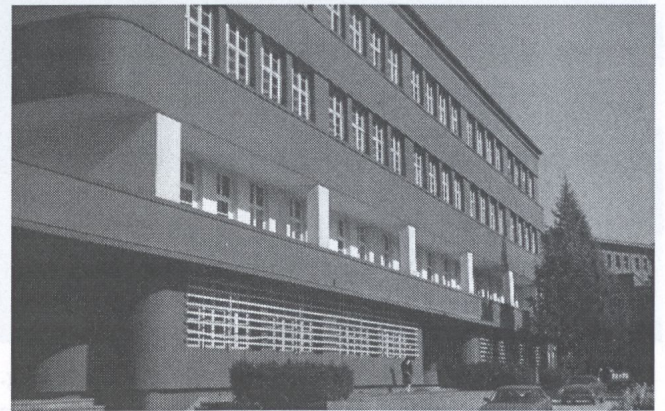
5 Main facade. İsmet Paşa Institute for Girls, Ankara 1930/31. Ernst Egli (Photo: author)

were followed after 1936 with buildings for the Air Force Association (Türk Hava Kurumu) and embassy buildings in Switzerland and Iraq.

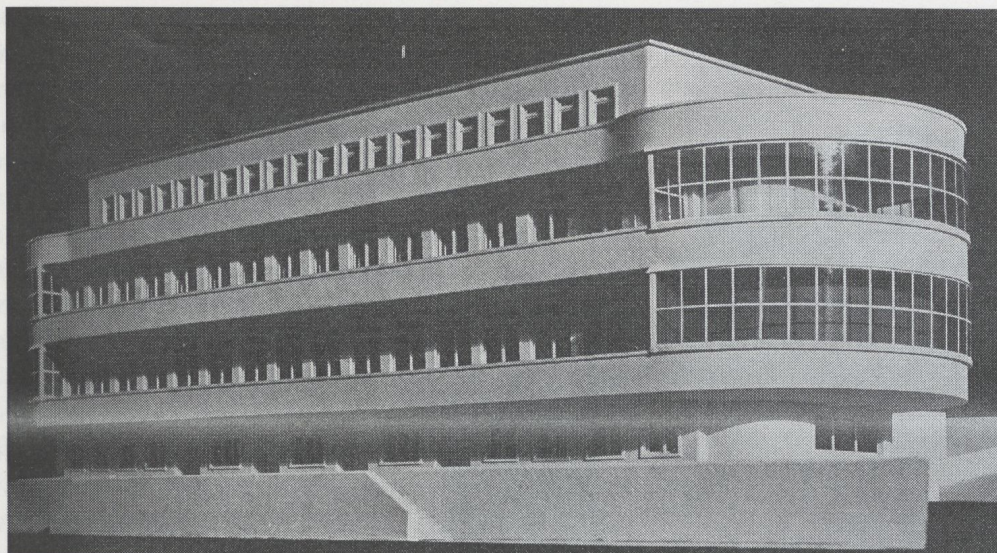
The new architecture commissioned to Egli consisted primarily of school and university buildings, expected to represent the modern citizen emancipated by education, the spread of literacy and the liberation of women. In short, the desired result was the dissemination of western standards. Consequently, the construction of schools became a synonym for modern Turkey.

Egli was not “modern” in the sense of the avant-garde of the 1920s. As an architect in the Settlers’ Movement in Vienna (1920–24), and later as an assistant of Clemens Holzmeister at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts (1924–27), he was devoted to a relatively conservative conception of modern architecture. Neither Egli nor Holzmeister applied to Turkey the same architectural concepts they had tested in Vienna. They both created a new style of their own, independent from each other.

The key event that prepared Egli’s turn towards modernism was the study trip he made with Turkish officials to Central Europe in 1929/30, in order to work out a preliminary project for a technical university. They visited Vienna, Prague, Berlin, Dresden, Karlsruhe, Munich, Paris and Zurich. The Technical University in Berlin-Charlottenburg served as a permanent consultant. The delegation estab-



lished close contacts with the staff from Erich Mendelsohn’s office in Berlin, whose dynamic architecture, although it was becoming increasingly devoted to surface development around 1930, must have made a great impression on Egli. The High School for Girls (İsmet Paşa Enstitüsü) in Ankara (1930/31), to which two pavilions were added in 1935, vividly displays the use of horizontal structures and typical corner balconies from Mendelsohn’s repertoire (Figs. 4, 5). Other school buildings such as the Boy’s High School (Gazi Lisesi) have a spare composition reminiscent of the office buildings of Hans Poelzig, especially of his widely known IG-Farben-Headquarters in Frankfurt.



6 Model. Nursery. Berne 1930. Otto R. Salvisberg, Otto with Otto Brechbühl (Photo: *Moderne Bauformen*, vol. 29, 1930, p. 373).

7 Main facade. Military high command of Silesia, Breslau/Wroclaw. 1929. Otto R. Salvisberg with Otto Brechbühl (Photo: *Moderne Bauformen*, vol. 29, 1930, p. 376).

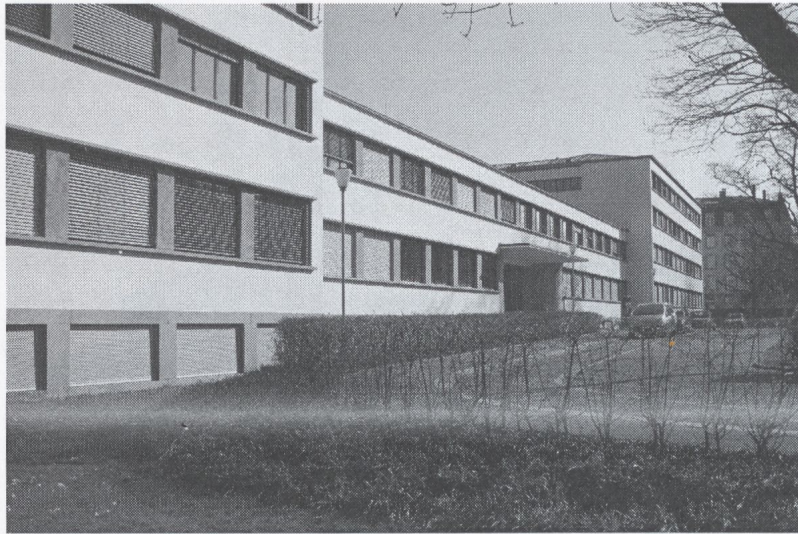


Further influences were brought in from Swiss modernism, transmitted by the influential Swiss journal *Das Werk*. The widely published buildings of Salvisberg may be appropriate to mention in this respect,¹⁸ such as the Nursery (Fig. 6) and the Lory Hospital, both in Berne, as well as the cubic shaped monumental military command-building in the Silesian capital Breslau (Wroclaw) (Fig. 7). In 1933, Egli visited modern buildings in Switzerland on a second trip to Europe as part of his research for the design of the National Library and the Academy of Sciences in Ankara, a project that was never executed. He travelled via Berlin, Vienna, Frankfurt, Cologne and Berne to Geneva in order to study the projects for the new buildings of the League of Nations.¹⁹ Egli showed special interest in the recently opened National Library at Berne,²⁰ a symmetrical horizontally-shaped building with a very advanced infrastructure for a library (Fig. 8).

Egli's main project in Turkey after this trip was the Agricultural College, whose Director was the German agronomist, Friedrich Falke (1871–1948). From 1930–33 Egli

expanded the existing four institutional buildings—erected by the German state-architect Naht—to form a campus. The President's main buildings and the Student Dormitory, perpendicular to each other, share the same large passages with narrow columns, but the rest of their design is completely heterogeneous (Figs. 9–10). Grid façades and horizontal structures alternate. This cannot be explained only on the basis of their functions, but is also due to the playful, free handling of European modernism. In this respect Salvisberg's buildings could have served as a model, not only because they contain monumental and horizontal forms, but also because they combine so-called traditional and modern elements. At the Institute for Political Sciences (completed in 1936), Egli joined these elements with large, flanged bay pavilions that differentiate this building from Holzmeister's governmental buildings in Ankara (Fig. 11).

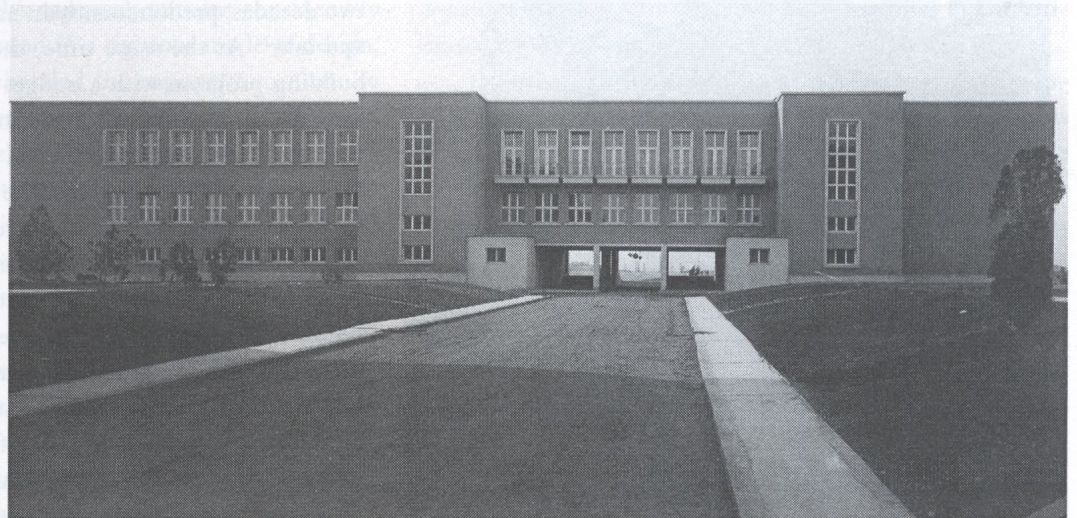
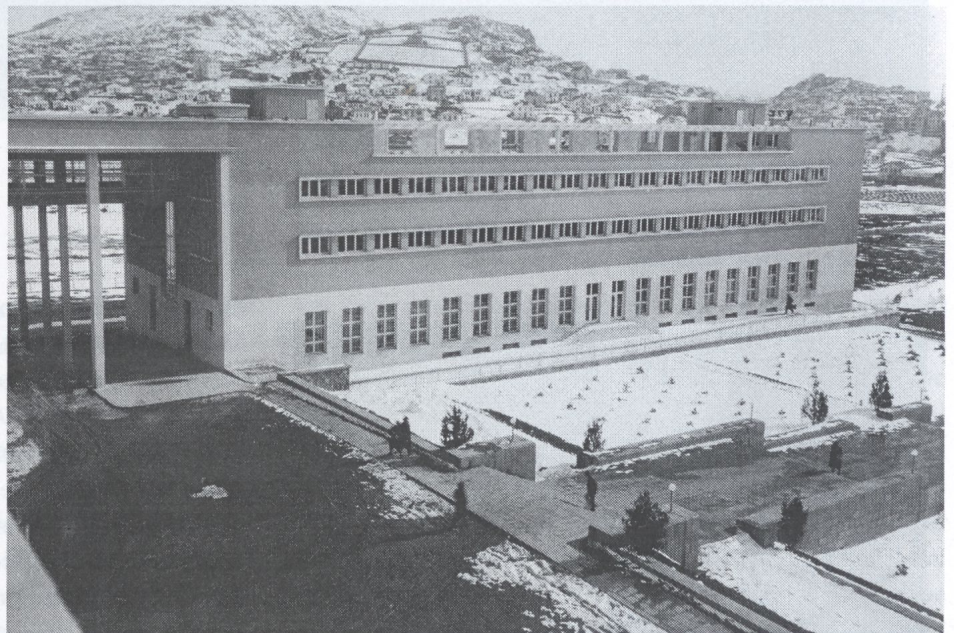
Egli's last enterprise as the architect of the Ministry of Education was to be constructed in Istanbul. He designed several university departments, especially the Botanic

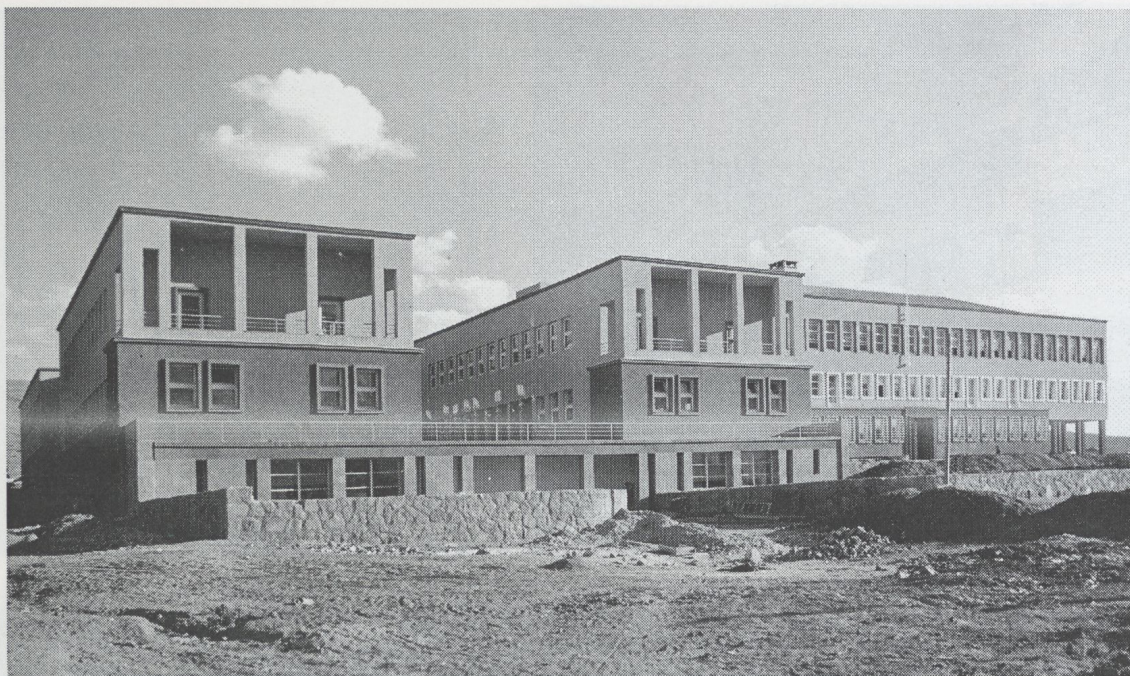


8 View of exterior. Swiss National Library. Berne. 1929–1932. Alfred Oechinger, Emil Hostettler, Josef Kaufmann (Photo: author).

9 Exterior view. Dormitory. Agricultural College (Ziraat Fakültesi). Ankara 1933–34. Ernst Egli. (Photo: archive of the author)

10 Facade. Main Building. Agricultural College (Ziraat Fakültesi). Ankara 1933–34. Ernst Egli. (Photo: archive of the author)



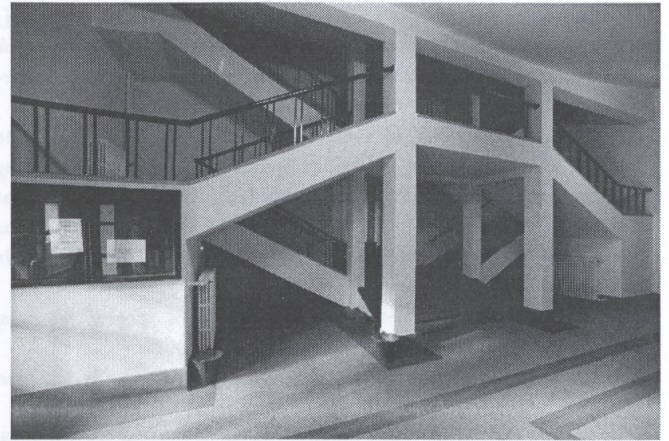


11 View. Main facade. Higher School of Political Sciences (Mülkiye). Ankara 1935. Ernst Egli (Photo: archive of the author)

12 Exterior view. Botanical Institute, University of Istanbul. 1934 Ernst Egli (Photo: archive of the author)



Institute, as well as buildings of the newly-founded university hospital at Cerrahpaşa. The tasks of these buildings were closely connected to the higher education reform that became effective in 1933. This reform movement had to be supported by the restructuring of the universities. It took place right during the rise of Nazi Germany, which caused the dismissal of numerous teachers from German Universities for political or racial reasons. A notable number of these professors immigrated to Turkey. Eventually, approximately 100 foreign professors and 80 assistant professors shaped the academic training in Turkey for the next two decades, predominantly in natural sciences, economics and law.²¹ At the same time, the government initiated a building program with a budget of more than 2.2 million Turkish Liras (around 1.1 million US dollars). As part of this program, Egli developed the Botanical Institute Building, collaborating with the German biologist Alfred Heilbronn (Fig. 12). It was a sober horizontally-shaped structure, accentuated by a jumping corner risalit, not only attached on piloti, but also shaped by permeating cubature. Later, in 1955, the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes forced the Istanbul Municipality to demolish the upper stories of this building, claiming that it visually dominated the nearby Süleymaniye Mosque (one of the main monuments of Istanbul's historical skyline). An even more rationalist vocabulary is pertinent to the hospital buildings at Cerrah-



13 View. Lateral facade with clock tower. Pathological Institute. University Hospital. Istanbul. Ernst Egli (Photo: Markus Hilbich, Berlin)

14 Staircase. Pathological Institute. University Hospital. Istanbul. Ernst Egli (Photo: Markus Hilbich, Berlin)

paşa, especially to the Institute of Pathology, characterized by a clear cubic shape, with a clock tower producing a vertical accent (Fig. 13). The staircase front is altered with sober functionalist beams that create an abstract composition (Fig. 14). In this building, we can find the closest affinity to the 1930s fascist architecture of the Italian avant-garde.²²

In some of its aspects Egli's architecture remains contradictory. Several dissimilar elements of the European architecture of the 1920s are unexpectedly juxtaposed to each other, creating rather drastic effects. The façades differ so sharply that one would scarcely expect to see them on the same building. Here, Egli's approach remains considerably eclectic. He is neither bound to a rigorous mode of design, nor has he fully comprehended the superstructure or the social dimension of the architectural discussions in Central Europe. In this respect he remains a pragmatist. The ground plans were functional, but the façades had to signify modern society in the way that his clients desired. He added representative elements, such as porticos and pavilions, without hesitation. On the one hand, Egli was rooted in the conservative modernism of the Austrian *Zwischenkriegszeit* (period between the wars), on the other hand—in addition to some Berlin influences—he was influenced by moderate modern buildings in Switzerland, especially those of Salvisberg.

Egli achieved a radically modern architectural idiom for contemporary Turkish conditions with an entirely differ-

ent formal vocabulary than the one in the government buildings of Holzmeister. Indeed, Egli's plain ground plans and buildings with clear structural attributes, such as the Gymnasium for Girls or the Agriculture College, laid a vital keystone for Turkish modernism. And yet, the future would focus on the mode of modern architecture, on the processes of transformation from Europe to Turkey that became an issue in the conceptions of Martin Wagner and Bruno Taut. Thus we have already touched upon a vital criterion for the future of Turkish architectural debate in the 1930s and 1940s. The rivalry between tradition and modernism would continue to dominate the entire period of the 1930s, culminating in the Second National Style after 1938–9.

In retrospect, it is important to note that Turkish modernization since 1923 has by no means been a homogeneous process. Even the period of Atatürk's presidency can be divided into a first phase of structural modernization (reforms in secularism, law, language and script, the emancipation of woman, dress code) that lasted until 1928/30, and a second phase that began after 1930/33, during which the visual presentation of reforms played a key role. Thus, it was only during the 30s that the representational forms of early Kemalism took shape, in media such as architecture, fine arts, and photography. The latter was clearly intended by the representatives of the Kemalist élite to serve as visual propaganda for the reform process.

Notes

1. See *Histoire de la République Turque, rédigé par la société pour l'étude de l'histoire turque*. Istanbul. 1935; *La Turquie Contemporaine, publié par la direction générale de la presse au Ministère de l'Intérieur*. Ankara. 1935.
2. For a good overview of these issues see: Sibel Bozdoğan: "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture," *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (eds. Sibel Bozdoğan, Reşat Kasaba). Seattle and London. 1997. pp. 136f; Bozdoğan: *Modernism and Nation Building. Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. Seattle and London. 2001.
3. M. Hakan Yavuz. "Cleansing Islam from the Public Sphere," *Journal of Foreign Affairs*. no. 54. 1. 2000. pp. 25f.
4. Bernd Nicolai. *Moderne und Exil. Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei 1925–1955*. Berlin. 1998. pp. 20–22 and pp. 50f.
5. Bozdoğan, 1997 article cited in note 2 above p. 139; see Nicolai 1998, work cited in note 6 above, pp. 32–34; for the notion of "modernity as construct" see p. 20. Regarding Holzmeister see Bernd Nicolai, "Zeichen geordneter Macht. Holzmeister und die Türkei," *Clemens Holzmeister* (ed. Georg Rigele). Innsbruck. 2000. pp. 116–135; Sibel Bozdoğan et al., *Sedad Eldem. Architect in Turkey*. Singapore. 1987.
6. See Bozdoğan 1997 article cited in note 2 above, pp. 139f.
7. See Nicolai 1998, work cited in note 4 above, p. 34.
8. See Nicolai 1998 work cited in note 4 above, pp. 139–149; Nicolai. "Bauen im Exil. Bruno Tauts Architektur und die kemalistische Türkei 1936–38," *Bruno Taut. 1880–1938* (eds. Winfried Nerdinger, Manfred Speidel et al.). Munich. 2001. pp. 192–207.
9. See Bozdoğan, 2001 work cited in note 2 above. pp. 243–255.
10. See Üstün Alsaç: "The Second Period of Turkish National Architecture," *Modern Turkish Architecture* (eds. Renata Holod, Ahmet Evin) Philadelphia. 1984. pp. 94–105; Nicolai 1998 work cited in note 4 above, pp. 172–178 and pp. 182–191.
11. See Mete Tapan: "International Style: Liberalism in Architecture", in Holod, Evin. 1984 work cited in note 12 above., pp. 105–118; Bozdoğan, 1997 article cited in note 2 above, pp. 138–147.
12. See Regine Erichsen. "Die Emigration deutschsprachiger Naturwissenschaftler von 1933–1945 in die Türkei," *Die Emigration der Wissenschaften nach 1933* (ed. Herbert Strauss). Munich. 1991. pp. 73–104. For Istanbul's significance see also Bernd Nicolai. "Unterm Roten Halbmond. Versuche der deutschsprachigen Moderne am Goldenen Horn," *Call me Istanbul. Kunst und urbane Visionen einer Metropolis* (exhibition catalog), Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie Karlsruhe (Roger Conover, Eda Čufer, and Peter Weibel (eds.). Tübingen. 2004. pp. 170–191.
13. Ernst Egli, "Im Dienst zwischen Heimat und Fremde, Einst und Dereinst Erinnerungen," Meilen, 1969 [Egli Memoirs] (unpublished manuscript, Wissenschaftshistorische Sammlungen ETH Zürich, Hs 787.1), p. 41. For a general overview of Egli see the most recent dissertations by Oya Atalay Franck, "Politik und Architektur. Ernst Egli und die Suche nach einer Moderne in der Türkei (1927–1940)," Doctoral dissertation, ETH Zurich, 2004; and Esra Akcan, "Modernity in Translation: Early Twentieth Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land-Settlement and Residential Culture," Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 2005.
14. Bruno Taut wrote in a letter to his Japanese fellow Isaburo Ueno in respect to his new project for the faculty building in Ankara in 1937: "That's not *kubik* (Cubic), which here is the word used for modernism. I even use different Turkish motifs." see Nicolai, 1998, cited in note 4 above, p. 140, quoting a letter from the Taut-Archive, (Akademie der Künste, Baukunstarchiv, Berlin); also quoted in Nicolai, 2000 work cited in note 8 above p. 195.
15. Egli Memoirs cited in note 13, p. 49, 73.
16. Staatsarchiv Österreich, Archiv der Republik, Vienna [Rep. Arch. Vienna], File Egli, 14.7.1935.
17. Ibid., p. 50 f.
18. See works of Salvisberg, special issue, *Das Werk*. XVI. no. 7. 1929. pp. 193–216, especially pp. 211, 216., and Max Osborn, "Öffentliche Bauten und Geschäftshäuser von O. R. Salvisberg," *Moderne Bauformen*. XXIX. 1930. pp. 365–377.
19. Egli Memoirs, cited in note 13, p. 62.
20. Published in *Das Werk*. XVIII. 1932.
21. See Regine Erichsen. "Türkei," *Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration 1933–1945*. Darmstadt. 1999. cols. 426–34, with further bibliographical notes.
22. Nicolai, 2004 work cited in note 12 above, pp. 185–89.