8 Architecture as advertising

The Istanbul Reklam Building

Ipek Türeli

The Istanbul Reklam Building is an iconic example of modern Turkish architecture of the late 1960s when, due largely to the protection of the domestic market, the private sector thrived, and a new generation of clients started commissioning innovative architectural works to promote and advertise their businesses. The building was the result of an open national competition that was publicized as the "first private sector-sponsored architectural competition" in Turkey[1] (Fig. 8.1). Designed by architects Günay Çilingiroğlu (1936–2010) and Muhlis Tunca (1925–2000), the winning scheme opened in a prominent location in the historic core of Istanbul in 1974. Architectural historians have praised the building, but have never examined it closely.[2] For Metin Sözen (1984), Istanbul Reklam is a "very successful" example of Brutalist formalism.[3] For Uğur Tanyeli (1998), the building is "another Brutalist work exemplary of the duo's short-lived, not-so-productive but interesting mannerism."[4] For Ayla Ödekan (2005), the building is among the most important examples of Brutalism in Turkey.[5] The building's importance, however, lies not only in its stylistic and formal characteristics but also in its deep involvement in the economic and cultural life of Istanbul.

Earlier studies of this time period identify that the shift from state to private sponsorship was paralleled in the 1960s with a new professional concern and sensitivity for context.[6] This chapter explores an instance where a private sector client commissioned an over-scale building with a complex and heavy program in a historic urban context, and where the architects skillfully managed to reduce the effect of that scale by introducing inspired architectural devices. The chapter also adds that private sector clients, such as Istanbul Reklam, sought to use architecture as advertising. Most importantly, I argue that the building is a unique example of crossover advertising where one of the products advertised is modern architecture. The Istanbul Reklam Building was a media building: media content (advertising) was produced in it, photographic images of it were later disseminated through media, and it was a medium through which the agency advertised itself. To start with, naming this advertising agency after the city of Istanbul was a conscious branding decision.[7] Yet in all the phases of the building's life, from competition through construction and use, the architecture promoted the advertising agency. In turn, the agency advertised the building.
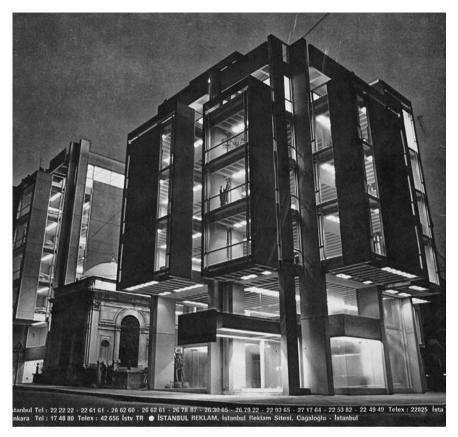
istanbul Tel : 22 22 22 - 22 61 61 - 26 62 60 - 26 62 61 - 26 78 87 - 26 30 65 - 26 79 22 - 22 93 65 - 27 17 64 - 22 53 82 - 22 49 49 Telex : 22825 İsta
nkara Tel : 17 48 80 Telex : 42 656 İstv TR ● İSTANBUL REKLAM, İstanbul Reklam Sitesi, Cağaloğlu - İstanbul

Figure 8.1 Night-time image, early 1970s. Reproduced from promotional brochure
of Istanbul Reklam. Author's archive

Istanbul Reklam produced a range of services in promotion and publicity,
from ads in newspapers, on radio and television to illuminated outdoor
signs and custom printing, but, among all, it thrived as part of the burgeon-
ing motion picture industry. Its building was commissioned by the agency's
founder and owner Süheyl Gürbaşkan (1931–1992). According to his
daughter Birce, Gürbaşkan was Turkey's first "Mad Man" (reference here
to the US period drama television series about advertising agencies in New
York, set in the 1960s).[8] Founded with the help of Gürbaşkan's caricaturist
friend Mustafa Uykusuz, the agency started in 1959 as a small bureau with
borrowed furniture in an office building in the Cağaloğlu district.[9] After
Turkey's 1960 coup, the government adopted an import substitution model
that set limits on imports in order to promote local products. This economic
policy provided a boost to Turkey's small businesses, and, in turn, to the
business of advertising, as firms looked to publicity as a means of increasing
their ability to compete. In this favorable climate, Istanbul Reklam soon

grew to have multiple offices and Gürbaşkan prospered. He married Turkey's 1960 beauty queen Güler Kıvrak, took many business risks, and flaunted fast luxury cars. At his house in the modern suburb of Levent, home to film stars and industrialists, he lavishly entertained his clients and employees. The garden featured a pool that offered impressive views over the prestigious district, while underneath was buried a small theater where he hosted screenings of his company's motion picture advertisements. By 1968, the agency had spread to eight rented offices in Cağaloğlu. They were close to each other, but the need for rapid internal communication made the separate offices difficult to operate and manage.[10] Gürbaşkan's solution was to consolidate the offices in a new building. The building that opened six years later boasted print and publishing facilities, a photography lab, a sound recording studio, film production and projection rooms, an atelier, a film theater, offices, and service functions spread on nine levels (Fig. 8.2).

Figure 8.2 Interior of the shooting studio, early 1970s. Reproduced from promotional brochure of Istanbul Reklam. Author's archive

There were several distinct phases of the building's life through which the advertising agency was advertised: the building site, the process of the competition, the process of building, and the promotion of the building after it was completed and occupied. Istanbul Reklam may or may not have been the first private sector-sponsored architectural competition in Turkey; what is curious is that it was advertised as such.[11] I will examine the competition process most closely, however the other stages are also revealing. What was the motivation behind the competition? What are the features that distinguish the winning scheme from other entries? How was the building used, experienced, and altered over time? What features of the building continue to capture the imagination of Turkish architects and architectural critics today? In this discussion, I will use competition documents and announcements, Gürbaşkan's biography, *Rubikon,* conducted in the form of a book-length interview, interviews with Gürbaşkan's daughter and Günay Çilingiroğlu (both conducted in October 2007), popular media and architectural magazine coverage of the competition and surveys of the building itself in order to examine architecture as an assemblage of networks and influences. I will pay particular attention to the role of the client and the business of advertising. I seek to expand on earlier overviews and surveys of the period that focus on the agency of select architects within a framework of political periodization, and, thus, to contribute to a new generation of architectural histories interested in broader networks of human and non-human actors that collectively shape the built environment.

Conception: Disciplinary paradigms and transnational influences

Historians of modern Turkish architecture have been interested in Turkish architects' transnational dialogues versus regionalist tendencies, but they have also been inclined to interpret architectural works in light of larger political shifts such as "nation building." Other types of influences—that may range from the iterative process of programmatic typologies, e.g. hospital, schools, libraries, to the availability of construction materials, which are semi-independent from national political conjectures—also have a bearing on individual works. Strongly criticizing architectural historians' political frames of reference, Uğur Tanyeli explains (2004) that

> in the familiar model of architectural history writing, there is a turning point that is the beginning of Republican architecture. According to this model, from that turning point until 1950, the country is characterized by efforts of nation building and a modernization period defined by single-party rule. [. . .] The period after 1950 is still written as a series of architectural transformations interpreted—good or bad—according to political positions. For example, the 1960s is a decade dominated by architectural discourses centered on political freedoms and social

concerns. And finally, a period of opening up, identified with the age of [Turgut] Özal, [economic liberalization from the 1980s onward] is the backbone of architectural changes.[12]

Thus, the 1950s under Democrat Party rule has been characterized as a period of "Americanization," as Turkey strengthened its ties and collaboration with the US in the realms of politics, economy and culture.[13] In architecture, European Modernism was exported to the rest of the world via the US. A built example that is commonly cited in architectural histories of the decade is the Istanbul Hilton Hotel (1952–1955), designed by the American architectural firm Skidmore, Owings, and Merril in collaboration with Turkish architect Sedad Eldem. Its key features, e.g., the Corbusian egg-crate façade and horizontal mass raised on pilotis, were emulated in a number of well-known buildings by Turkish architects such as the Istanbul Municipal Palace (1953) by Nevzat Erol and the Çınar Hotel (1959) by Rana Zıpçı, Ahmet Akın and Emin Ertan. International influences on Turkish architecture were not limited to American and European sources, however; Meltem Gürel's focused study of Izmir's Island Casino, for instance, has explored this design's dialogue with Latin American Modernism.[14] Architecture historians have also mentioned the influence of Japanese Metabolism.[15] Çilingiroğlu and Tunca's works—especially the *Tercüman* Building (1972–1974), realized for that newspaper's headquarters and printing press several years after the Istanbul Reklam Building, and which features heroic cantilevers—are in obvious conversation with Japanese experiments of the 1960s. Metabolism's general influence on Turkish architects during this decade is often acknowledged in passing reference but not necessarily traced thoroughly.

Gürbaşkan's biography reveals that the building's conception was, indeed, influenced early on by Japanese, as well as Latin American examples, but not necessarily only on stylistic grounds. Before the competition, Gürbaşkan visited the Japanese advertising giant Dentsu in Tokyo and spent several days there observing how they worked. During that trip he was most impressed by the notion of a purpose-built office building for an advertising agency.

> It was a tremendously interesting, seventeen-to-eighteen-story building. Everything was perfect. About fifteen hundred employees worked there. It affected me deeply. I visited every corner [of the building] [. . .]. Its modern structure influenced me. I asked for [the name of] the architect. They said it is one of Japan's most recognized architectural practices. They added, it was the first building in the world designed and built on purpose for the needs of an ad agency. There are very large ad agencies in the US, in the UK, in France. Especially bigger than ours [in Turkey]. Three to five times the size of our [Turkey's] biggest firm. I have seen most of these. Their buildings were not done according to the workflow

of an advertising agency from the foundation to the roof. They all inhabited converted buildings, be it a mansion or a palace. For this reason, the Dentsu building in Tokyo was the first building erected according to the needs of an advertising agency. [. . .] I went on a tour of South America in the fall the same year [. . .]. I departed from the group and visited Brasilia, the new capital of Brazil, for a few days. I visited and studied the best examples of modern architecture, which I could only dream about here [in Turkey]. At some point, I even met the famous architect Niemeyer and his friends who founded the city.[16]

Gürbaşkan wanted to have that "modern" look which he found in Brasilia and Tokyo rather than in Europe. Yet his memory needs to be taken as a reflection of his aspiration and retrospective rationalization.

The Dentsu building is a model for Istanbul Reklam in terms of its program as a purpose-built advertising agency building, and its symbolism as a building advertising an advertising agency. The famous Japanese architect of the Dentsu Building, whose name Gürbaşkan cannot recall, is Kenzo Tange. Following his 1960 Tokyo Plan, Tange developed an urban planning scheme for Tsukji, a dense commercial district in Tokyo.[17] The scheme consisted of high-rise buildings in a grid plan, connected by bridge-like structures. The interesting aspect of this design was that the project emerged from a commission for the main office building of the Dentsu advertising agency, which envisaged a main office building 100 meters tall with twenty-one floors, and giant pillars set at a span of thirty-two meters. In execution, however, only the Dentsu building was erected in 1967–1968; moreover, its height was reduced to twelve floors and its horizontal structural spans were also moderated. The resulting building is much less interesting than the Istanbul Reklam Building. The Dentsu headquarters has a monotonous front façade, and a blank side façade that dominates the street experience and is inevitably featured in most contemporary photographs; it does not contribute to the immediate public realm, and it is in no way a "stylistic" or formal model for the Istanbul Reklam Building.

The competition process

The design for the Istanbul Reklam Building was acquired through an open competition. What was Gürbaşkan's motivation in launching an open competition? It is rare, even today, for privately owned companies in Turkey to hold open competitions—limited, invited competitions are preferred over open ones. Such competitions are generally used in commissions for civic buildings. They are organized with the belief that they will broaden architects' access to important public projects; and also that the client will get the best and most innovative design. Having noted this, one of the most famous open competitions of the twentieth century internationally was the Chicago Tribune Tower.[18] It was for the privately owned company that

printed the newspaper *Chicago Tribune*. The building was intended to be not only a real estate investment but also an advertisement for the company. The competition was an effort on behalf of the company to present itself as a civic institution that would transform the image of the city. Some of these notions also apply in the case of the Istanbul Reklam Building, a company that also identified itself with its city, as its name demonstrates, and promoted its architectural design competition as advertising for its business, which happened also to be advertising.

At the beginning, architectural competitions in modern Turkey were dominated by limited ones, and were open only to foreign architects. Open competitions were eventually organized due to the demands of Turkish architects who were disgruntled by the state's commissioning the new Republic's nation-building projects to their European colleagues. According to Mimar Faruk Galip, writing in *Arkitekt* in 1930, the first competition open to Turkish architects was organized by a provincial municipality, Elazığ (Elaziz), for a cinema building in 1931 (the winner was Mimar Şevki Eşref Bey).[19] The first major commission in the capital city, Ankara, was organized by the Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti for that city's Exhibition Hall in April 1933; of the two top-placing entries, by Turkish architect Şevki Eşref (Balmumcu) and Italian architect Paolo Vietti, the commission was given to the Turkish architect, leading to much praise in local architectural circles.[20] Architectural competitions were opened not only for "public," civic, or cultural buildings, e.g. ministries, public offices, municipal buildings or state museums, but also for many different program types ranging from cinema buildings to hotels to factory buildings. However, these were also commissioned by government-affiliated, public agencies or government-owned companies, including banks, which would lead state-led industrialization, e.g. Sümerbank (focusing on textile production, 1933–1987). Market competition would be the necessary prerequisite for private sector firms to commission building designs through architectural competitions, and a new economic policy based on the import substitution model after 1960 provided the impetus for domestic competition. Yet, this broad shift in the economic realm cannot in itself explain why Istanbul Reklam launched a competition in 1968.

Istanbul Reklam promoted the competition in print announcements emphasizing that it was the first private sector competition held in Turkey. That this fact was turned into advertising copy manifests Gürbaşkan's effort to promote himself in the field of advertising through the field of architecture. The competition was advertised in newspapers for a month from 15 September 1968 on. Following the deadline of 16 December, it was adjudicated from 26 December 1968 to 5 January 1969 by a jury of well-known local experts including architect Nezih Eldem (1921–2005) and civil engineer Niyazi Duman (both of whom were professors at Istanbul Technical University); Maruf Önal (1918–2010, the cofounder, with Turgut Cansever (1921–2009), of Turkey's first large architectural practice İnşaat

ve Mimarlık Atölyesi (İMA), and then the president of the Chamber of Turkish Architects); Ertur Yener (b.1932, also collaborator of Turgut Cansever, on the Turkish Historical Society building of 1966, which received the Aga Khan Award in 1980); and Affan Kırımlı (1920–2000, known for his competition-winning projects starting in 1948 with the Sümerbank pavilion at the Izmir International Fair). This group was selected, on behalf of the Chamber of Turkish Architects, by Abdullah Kuran, Dean at the Faculty of Architecture at Middle East Technical University in Ankara, and Vedat Dalokay, one-time president of the Chamber of Turkish Architects. In other words, all the referees were heavyweights in the field. After the results were announced, Gürbaşkan organized a colloquium on 15 March 1969 that brought together the competition's jury members and participating architects with the agency's employees, and, after construction began, he produced a limited-circulation booklet, entitled *The Story of Istanbul Reklam Sitesi*, documenting the competition process and reproducing photographs of some of the entries.

The competition announcement discloses the motives and priorities of the agency as both patron and client. Istanbul Reklam flaunted the competition process as much as the client list during this promotion month—and after, when the results were announced, with print ads in major newspapers. Half-page print ads addressed architects directly using the language of formal petition: "We are establishing an adverting building without precedent, even in Europe, in order to better serve our thousands of clients. We request our valued architects and engineers to participate in the competition [*önemle rica ederiz*]." These words were written diagonally against a list of Istanbul Reklam's clients in small type. In another version of the ad, the section of the project brief on the logistics of the competition was reproduced in lieu of the client list. To the clients, these print ads showed off the competition brief as a sign of the agency's aspiration to be the very best; to the architectural community, they flaunted the capacity of the agency to undertake construction.

The jury report was published in *Mimarlık* (1969), along with selected drawings and model photographs of award-winning entries, because it was a Chamber-organized competition.[21] Among the thirty-three projects submitted, a total of six awards, three top placements and three honorable mentions, were granted. Even a quick look at awardees reveals that all respected the mausoleum on site, and that some were incredibly similar to each other in plan and massing. According to the jury report, Çilingiroğlu and Tunca's winning proposal was favored over others for the following aspects: it divided the program into management and technical sections, and organized them in two wings connected by a circulation volume (behind the mausoleum); the ground floor opened onto the mausoleum, and projection (theater) and meeting rooms were accessible from both inside and outside of the building; and the overall composition consisted of fragmented volumes, whose relationship to the open space in the middle, around the mausoleum, was pleasant.

The competition brief mandated both programmatic and site constraints. Cağaloğlu was ideal for its concentration of print presses, publishing houses and agents' offices and bookshops. Being in the historic peninsula and at an elevated location, however, the built form had to conform to height limitations. The entries were to envelop a small historic structure on the site.[22] Right in the middle of the two lots that make up the building site, at the cross section of Bâb-ı Âli and Nurosmaniye Avenues, stood the late nineteenth-century mausoleum under protection.[23] Thirdly, it was located in an urban fabric characterized by narrow plots and horizontal projections above the entry level. Such projections, called *cumba*, in typical wooden vernacular buildings had already been translated into load-bearing masonry apartment buildings that replaced them in the district. The proposals had to relate to the morphology of the urban context.

The jury made several recommendations in its report, one of which addressed the city's building regulation authority. In defense of the proposal's violation of existing height limits, the jury wrote that the eventual building would be appropriate for the city. The proposal's footprint was also closer to the mausoleum than what would have been normally allowed; it required eliminating the mausoleum's surrounding garden walls and replacing the original paving of its courtyard. A second recommendation by the jury addressed the High Council of Monuments in order to defend the proposal's interventions to the historic monument. Gürbaşkan used, and proudly admitted to using, the prestige of the jury members and the legitimacy of the competition's institution, the Chamber of Turkish Architects, to get these code violations approved.[24] In December 1969, the winning entry was successfully used to amend the zoning plan; in July 1970, the building permit was granted; and in May 1974, the building had received its certificate of occupancy. By this time, however, Istanbul Reklam's line of business—motion picture advertising—was in serious decline.

Design and construction

Gürbaşkan used architecture and the process of building as a vehicle to promote his business—and vice versa. After the site was purchased but before an architectural design was commissioned, the site was surrounded by a five meter-high fence (Fig. 8.3). Istanbul Reklam used this fence as a giant billboard. Reklam's clients pitched in the construction in exchange for space on the fence. The first contributor was Job brand, a local producer of men's razor blades. This, possibly the most significant legacy of the project, was nothing less than a new way to finance architecture. Still today façades are designed as scaffoldings for ads.[25] During construction, Gürbaşkan came up with a second funding scheme that emulated a method of building component acquisition used to fund philanthropic projects. He asked for donations from companies in exchange for future promotional work: windows arrived from Çuhadaroğlu Alüminyum; telephones from Türk

Figure 8.3 Advertisements on the site fence, mid-1960s. Reproduced from promotional booklet *The Story of Istanbul Reklam* (Istanbul Reklam Sitesinin Hikayesi). Author's archive

Telekom. Furniture, paint and all other components of the building were also acquired in this way. These contributors, about fifty in total, were listed alongside the architects, consultants, and contractors on the final page of the afore-mentioned promotional booklet *The Story of Istanbul Reklam*. Finally, once the building was completed and occupied, the agency used it as a prominent asset.

The plans, furnished interiors, and façade of the building were photographed and amply reproduced in the agency's publications. The building's cutting-edge design was meant to represent the agency's style and approach. Moreover, by hosting events that had nothing to do with its line of business, the agency augmented its income and publicity. The building's art gallery displayed works by independent artists (e.g. as reported in *Milliyet*, "Milliyet Fotoğraf Sergisi" on 7 May 1975, "Buram Buram Istanbul" on 13 March 1987); the entry hall hosted one-off events (e.g., a fundraising event for the Association for the Protection of Natural Life with association founders, satirist Aziz Nesin, singer Barış Manço, and painter Salih Acar in attendance on 24 July 1977); its conference hall/film theater was used for meetings and gatherings of public and political nature by external organizations (e.g. Association of Journalists to discuss press freedoms on 7 November 1985; for the selections of the national beauty contest on 1 August 1976). Through such event hosting, the agency situated its building as a recognizable civic entity. Last but not least, at night, light blazoned through its glazing, and the building shone like a Japanese paper lantern in an otherwise low-lit nightscape.

The building was part of a larger trend toward articulated smaller volumes that converse with the smaller scale fabric of Istanbul. As Atilla Yücel explains:

> The best examples [of the extreme articulation of parts as an expressive system] are the work of Günay Çilingiroğlu and Muhlis Tunca, first in their Istanbul Reklam Building and then in other ones. In the first case, their building surrounds a small historic building, without touching it. The small volumes connect with hollow intersection details, structural elements are apparent. The final expression is a sculpted, "dematerialized," tiny membrane which embraces the outer space more than its own inner space.[26]

Guides for the student of architecture and the general public similarly suggest that the building respects the scale of the local fabric. Short statements univocally rehearse that the building is special because it "is an excellent example of new architecture in keeping with the scale of its surroundings" or that "the design [uses] the corner plot effectively and [takes] the Ottoman mausoleum located inside into account, [and] leaves a Brutalist effect with its architectural form and elements."[27] However, the building was in fact over-scaled; it exceeded the height limitations on the site by two floors. The preservation of the historic structure on site was actually a requirement or constraint dictated by the competition brief and regulations. The success of the project lies in the use of projections and the unexpected effect on the massing, what Yücel identifies as dematerialization.

The question of how to build in sensitive historic inner city areas was both a challenge and an opportunity for Turkish architects. Istanbul Reklam reveals one of the three distinct approaches that Turkish architects developed. An early example of "contextual modernism" in Turkish architecture is Sedad Hakkı Eldem's Social Security Complex (Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu, SSK, 1962–1970) in the historic neighborhood of Zeyrek, lining the wide, sloping Ataturk Boulevard. Eldem is known for his typological studies of vernacular houses dubbed as the "Turkish House," as a source for a nationalized modern or contemporary architecture. In the Social Security Agency Complex (1962–1964), Eldem applied to an institutional building architectural details and aggregate massing derived from his extensive documentation of wooden houses.[28] This project, which later received the 1986 Aga Khan Award for Architecture, was "praised for the sensitive composition of articulated volumes, which harmonizes exceedingly well with the traditional background."[29] This complex is across the street from an earlier competition project, the Istanbul Textile Traders' Market (Istanbul Manifaturacılar Çarşısı, İMÇ, 1959), designed by Doğan Tekeli, Sami Sisa, and Metin Hepgüler.[30] It is another example of contextual modernism, comprised of low-rising buildings organized around courtyards stepping up along the sloped terrain and slightly turning toward the views of the nearby Süleymaniye Mosque Complex.[31] Again in the case of İMÇ, it was the competition brief that prescribed a fragmented, spread-out, low-rise massing. In fact, this approach had become quite popular by the mid-1960s. Its frequent use and successful results in competitions were openly criticized by

architectural critics, for whom the results of the increasing number of competitions were not necessarily innovative.[32] These two buildings, SSK and İMÇ, facing each other on the historic peninsula represented two distinct approaches to sensitivity to historic context. The winning scheme for the Istanbul Reklam Building introduced a third method. It reinterpreted the traditional building projection into articulated massing, avoiding the morphological simulacrum in Eldem's SSK, or the spread of Tekeli, Sisa and Hepgüler's İMÇ, but skillfully providing an infill solution fitting for the relatively tight inner city lot. The reference to the traditional house typology was so subtle that it has escaped most architectural critics, which can be considered a success of the design's interpretive abstraction. Most commentaries praise only the C-shaped plan; however, as mentioned, this was prescribed by the competition brief; and so it is present in all the entries.

In their winning scheme, Çilingiroğlu and Tunca broke down the Istanbul Reklam Building's façade through the use of three- and four-story projections. The plasticity of the projections in the building is a reversal of *cumba* where horizontal openings repeat on each floor: Windows are articulated as transparent openings that extend the full height of the projection. The projections read like glass boxes, which are framed by concrete screen walls only at the top and sides. There are variations among the projecting volumes in height and surface treatment. On the Bâb-ı Âli elevation, where the mausoleum is located, and to the left of this historic structure, is a narrow, tall, and (in-plan) deep section of the building with a façade-projection that is four stories tall, but the treatment of the screen walls that frame the big projection box visually reduces its scale. On the other side of the mausoleum, still on Bâb-ı Âli on its Nuruosmaniye Avenue corner, there are two projecting volumes of three stories each, one more recessed than the other. A concrete screen wall fronts one; the other is fully glazed. All these articulations skillfully break down the mass—this building has so many edges that it no longer has any. The treatment of walls facing the mausoleum is plainer; they act as a neutral backdrop to the small-scale, marble-clad historic structure. Finally, this built design has no visible entry doors. The projecting volumes cantilever above the five meter-high ground floor—acting as large canopies that draw passers-by inside from the plaza across the site to the mausoleum. This effort to vacate the ground floor can be observed in most of the other prize-winning entries.

The building in use

The Istanbul Reklam Building was a form of advertising in all the stages of its making enumerated above; yet it was also built by and for advertising. The agency made the lion's share of its earnings in motion picture advertising. This specific form of advertising, and its relatively low status deriving from that of Turkish cinema, was possibly a key motivation for Gürbaşkan to commission or use architecture to enhance the prestige of his

agency. Motion picture advertising is not a topic taken up in the few histories of Turkish advertising, nor do histories of Turkish cinema address this type of promotion.[33] The agency worked with a vast number of film theaters. It had on staff film technicians and directors who produced animated films and short live-action films shot on location. The building program reveals that film production and screening were central to its operation. Since Turkish cinema as a sector was not highly regarded among cultural elites because of the films' mass appeal and melodramatic, rags-to-riches stories, it may not be farfetched to suggest that some of the contempt for Turkish cinema would rub off onto Istanbul Reklam. In contrast, one of Turkey's most respected advertising agencies, Faal Reklam, was co-founded by Vitali Hakko, who was also the founder and owner of Vakko, Turkey's most prestigious and expensive fashion house. Patronage of architecture and the promotion of design could similarly provide Gürbaşkan the objectified cultural capital and symbolic power that his business line did not. It is thus important to briefly dwell on the Turkish advertising industry.

Not only in Turkey but also around the world, mass media infrastructures have been crucial in the development of advertising and so has the development of a consumption-oriented economy. By 1960, the Turkish printed press still had widespread influence. Radio, cinema, and later TV emerged as important venues. Radio and TV were state-controlled and required a bidding process by agencies for airtime. Moreover, these media were directly controlled by the political party in government. Cinema production, however, was fully market-driven but, on shoestring budgets, had its own budgetary, and political, constraints. The popularity of Turkish-language, locally made feature films had turned filmmaking into a lucrative business. As a result, Turkey became one of the biggest film producers worldwide; a *New York Times* article written in 1960 was headlined, "Anyone with a little money may make a film in Turkey."[34] In contrast to Hollywood productions, these domestic products had no promotional budgets. While films were little promoted, there was much product advertising within the movie theater.

This new mode of advertising in movie theaters helped boost the local advertising sector.[35] Half an hour of ads were typical as preludes to feature films. Despite the relatively high costs involved in preparing motion picture ads, which resembled short films, the huge demand for cinema in Istanbul made this method of promotion particularly appealing. Agencies were able to customize their ads according to the socio-economic status of the district the theater was located in. Amongst the fifty-eight advertising agencies producing movie ads, the main agencies were Grafika, Istanbul Reklam, Baysal Film, Ankara Reklam, Studyo Çizgi, and Manajans and Yeni Ajans. Istanbul Reklam reportedly took the lion's share of ad space in Istanbul, at sixty percent. According to competing advertiser Vedat Ar, Istanbul Reklam dominated the market with its high volume of cheap product. Istanbul Reklam screened its motion picture advertising in dozens of cinemas

Figure 8.4 Three-fold, double-sided promotional brochure; unfolded; undated, from the mid-1960s. The front introduces motion picture advertising: "What is motion picture advertising?" (Reklam filmi nedir?); 100 cinemas at which the ad agency's films can be viewed; the fee structure; the contact information for the agency's seven subdivisions; "Do you love cinema?" (Sinemayı sever misiniz?); explains the efficiency of the motion picture advertising. The back lists the names of the agency's 1,232 clients. Author's archive

simultaneously.[36] Ar's own company, Filmar, was commissioned to produce higher quality work that would be screened at Wednesday premiers at the high-status Melek Cinema in Beyoğlu (later re-named, Emek).[37]

As early as 1962, only three years after opening its doors, Istanbul Reklam advertised its aggressive approach: "Every week twenty film theatres, 700 sessions, one million viewers, the cheapest, the best, the most affecting ads: Istanbul Reklam."[38] An undated brochure, entitled "What is motion picture advertising?" explains that the agency produced thirty-five-second-long promotional films, and screened them in 100 theaters, purportedly reaching about two million viewers in a week at five sessions per day (Fig. 8.4). Istanbul Reklam calculates an average of 1,000 viewers per screening. This brochure also lists all 1,232 clients for whom Istanbul Reklam produced cinema ads. This list is remarkable because it includes a significant range, from one-man proprietors and small businesses, such as local cafés, shops, pharmacies, and small-scale producers, to large industrial and service-sector companies. Fees were graded according to the number of film theaters at which ads were to be screened. For instance, a five-theater screening per week cost 700 Turkish liras total, whereas a 100-theater screening cost 375 liras per theater. Under the title "Do you love cinema?" it provides comparative information on ticket prices and ad costs. Considering there are thirty-five screenings per week, the brochure calculates that the price per screening could be as low as ten liras while individual tickets cost between one and three lira, depending on the theater's neighborhood.

Unlike the state-controlled radio and later TV, motion picture advertising could be tailored to the neighborhood. In his biography, Gürbaşkan recounts his brief falling out with the owner of Arı Unları Mamaları, a domestic baby

food company, on the issue of customization. The client asked the agency to screen motion picture advertising in poorer neighborhoods. However, one day, the Arı Unları's owner went to a screening close to his home in the upper-middle class district of Harbiye, at the Konak Sineması (designed by architect Rükneddin Güney), and saw his company's promotional film there before the feature film. He admonished Gürbaşkan on the phone the next day:

> The buyer of my product is a middle class family. The market for Arı Unları baby food is Kasımpaşa, Aksaray, Eyüp. The citizen living in Harbiye or Nisantaşı buys baby formula from the American bazaar. What is he going to do with Arı Unları?[39]

The above fragment from Gürbaşkan's memory is explicit about his company's target audience: poorer families who lived in lower-income areas and flocked to see Turkish films. Yet, it is also revealing of Gürbaşkan's effort to promote himself to upper middle-class audiences because he placed the Arı Unları ad in the Konak film theater at his own expense, despite his client's wish. Gürbaşkan embarrassed his client, because of the social signification of the domestically produced baby food in comparison to the American competition, reflecting tensions in upper middle-class values and perceptions. Since Istanbul Reklam's main advertising revenue was from locally produced products sold to the lower middle classes that were not even tolerated by the producers of those products, how could the agency move into a more prestigious stratum of advertising? How could it increase its cultural capital? Associating with the field of design and patronizing architects were relatively efficient and sure ways of achieving this goal.

Gürbaşkan envisioned an international profile for his agency. However, the agency's fate followed that of Turkish cinema as the latter went into decline after 1970. Gürbaşkan wanted to enter the TV ad business but state-owned television was highly regulated, with a business model that supported big business. Television did not suit the agency's repertoire of clients, which included small businesses.[40] Istanbul Reklam ended up withdrawing from this effort following a lawsuit. In the 1980s, when Turkey abandoned the import substitution model and adopted liberal economic policies, re-opening the market to foreign goods, Gürbaşkan registered the building as the headquarters of "Irexpo" (Istanbul Reklam Exposition). He marketed it as an exhibition and promotion venue through the 1980s. Since the early 1990s, the building has been rented out, and to this day it is used as a bank branch. This has meant significant remodeling inside. With the exception of replaced window fenestration and painting, the outer appearance has not been altered.

Despite the lack of thorough critical assessments, Istanbul Reklam has remained one of the most significant examples of modern architecture in the collective imaginations of Turkish architects. It is not a surprise that it was one of the projects featured in the photographic work of Ali Taptık in the

official Turkish entry, "Place of Memory," to the Venice Biennale in 2014.[41] It was among the twenty-three projects chosen by the guest editor, architectural critic Aykut Köksal, for the special issue of local architecture magazine *Betonart* on the (40th special, 2014) issue of "exposed/rough" (*brut*) concrete.[42] The journal, the title of which translates as "the art of concrete," was launched a decade ago to showcase good examples of concrete against the popular perception of "concrete-ization" (*betonlaşma*) as both the metaphor and culprit of unregulated rapid urbanization.[43] In his short essay, architect Boğaçhan Dündaralp considers the building's contextualism "obligatory" since it is situated in the historic peninsula, within the historic fabric, on an important intersection, across a historic mosque and with a historic structure within its very site.[44] My above discussion of the building in comparison to the two other building complexes (SSK and İMÇ) suggests that while contextualism may have indeed been regarded as essential at the time, Turkish architects developed different methods to actualize that goal.

I must note that observers outside the field of architecture will have different views on the building, sometimes diametrically opposed to the professionals'. Searching for a contemporary online image, for example, I came across a blog featuring photographs of the mausoleum under the title: "Slave to Ferroconcrete: The Mahmut Nedim Paşa Mausoleum," indicating that the surrounding building is an oppressing menace to the historic monument.[45] Another blogger tightly framed the mausoleum so as to exclude the modernist building.[46] In fact, it was somewhat difficult to find a contemporary image of the Istanbul Reklam Building. Köksal, whose photograph of the building is featured here, explains in a 2014 interview that he had to photograph the building himself for the above-mentioned issue of *Betonart* for lack of decent present-day shots (Fig. 8.5).

The use of extensive exposed concrete surfaces, now painted gray, has associated the building with Brutalism at the time it was built. Originally, Brutalism, or New Brutalism, was used to describe the work of a small group of young architects in the UK in the 1950s and 1960s, such as Alison and Peter Smithson. As defined by architectural theorist Reyner Banham in the mid-1950s, Brutalism's characteristics included formal legibility of plan, exhibition of structure, exposure and valuation of materials "as found," and a sense of memorability.[47] As Banham noted, Brutalism was soon negatively associated with merely rough, cast concrete in the public's eye.[48] In addition, in Turkey, modern construction in concrete frame, as it rapidly replaced the city's older wooden and masonry fabric, came to be seen as the culprit of a rapid, unplanned urbanization gone awry. All these associations contribute to the common perception of the Istanbul Reklam Building today.

Istanbul Reklam, today

Istanbul Reklam is revered by architects as an important example of modern Turkish architecture but dismissed by the general public. It is timely to look

Figure 8.5 Contemporary photograph of the Istanbul Reklam Building, 2014. Aykut
Köksal's photograph

at this building because of what it reveals about architectural culture,
about advertising and motion pictures, about Istanbul's cultural geography,
and about Turkish economy and politics through the 1960s and the 1970s.
The common approach to these decades until recently was to frame them
through military coups, national development policies, and the architec-
tural profession's interest in a contextually sensitive, or socially engaged

architecture led by the Chamber of Turkish Architects, all in all, as if a stable field under the control of architects.[49] The close reading of the Istanbul Reklam Building, by focusing on the client, on users, and on the building as process, reveals how architecture "depends" on things outside itself.[50]

From a strictly professional standpoint, looking at this building is also relevant because of the renewed interest in the process of competitions among architects in Turkey today. This current interest can be understood as a protection mechanism similar to that voiced by early Republican Turkish architects disgruntled by the official preference of foreign colleagues in the commissioning of the Republic's public buildings: The flow of global capital into Turkey has also led to building projects originating from overseas architecture firms signed by local collaborators registered to the Chamber.[51] Professionals tend to discuss competitions as vehicles or opportunities for experimentation and autonomy, reducing architecture to the design idea; in fact, architects are socialized into giving full credit to the architect as the sole progenitor of the idea. Historians of architectural competitions present a much more complex situation; for them, competitions are "discursive events" that seek to influence public opinion and enact ritual demonstrations of the profession's alliances (with the state, with big business, and with institutions of authority).[52] Cited as one of the important examples of modern architecture in Turkey, and, since its design was acquired through an open competition, affirming the ideal of the competition as a vehicle for good design, but curiously never examined beyond cursory remarks about its massing that gently envelops a small historic structure on site, the case of the Istanbul Reklam Building allows us to complicate predominant views on the role of competitions. The Istanbul Reklam competition was not merely an effort at acquiring the best design in a democratic way. It was only one of the several phases of the building process that was effectively used to promote the agency. While the massing of the winning Istanbul Reklam Building design was determined by the competition brief, its innovative dematerializing form and materiality were among the factors that distinguished the project aesthetically from other entries in the competition. It presented a unique formal manner to deal with building in the historic fabric of the city, a topic of increasing concern for Turkish architects during the 1960s. However, examining competitions as an autonomous arena of competing talent provides only but a limited narrative in terms of how architecture works.

The case of Istanbul Reklam is revealing because the competition evolved into a legitimizing event to build on the two lots that made up the site, and to maximum volume. Association with the city through its name, and with the field of architecture through its building, were attempts to raise the profile of the company in its domain of operation, motion picture advertising. The analysis of Istanbul Reklam presented here shows that the building's importance lies not only in its formal design but also its involvement in the economic and social life of the city. This building was the first in Turkey

to use architecture for advertising. And by "building," as should be clear by now, I am referring to a moving object that starts at the level of an idea and continues to move after the physical building is in place. Moreover, it is possible to map a unique Istanbul enabled by the building. And conversely, the building can be considered as an accumulation of distinct networks —of users including professionals, clients, and audiences; of film theaters; of architecture; and of advertising.

Notes

Thanks are due to the family of Süheyl Gürbaşkan for sharing with me the material that formed the basis of this chapter. I am also grateful to Dr. David Theodore for his close reading and organizational suggestions.

1 The coverage of the competition announcement in the newspaper *Milliyet*, 15 September 1968, p. 6; 21 September 1968, p. 6; 27 September 1968, p. 3.
2 Istanbul Reklam is mentioned in many of the "first generation" surveys of Turkish architectural history, including but not limited to those by Ödekan, Sözen, Tanyeli, and Yücel. It is featured among the exemplary projects from the 1960s in the online exhibit "Museum of Architecture" created by The Building and Information Centre (Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi). Online. Available at www.archmuseum.org/Gallery/Photo_6_6_1960s.html?Page=5 (accessed 6 September 2014); A. Ödekan, "Mimarlık ve Sanat Tarihi: Cumhuriyet Dönemi (1908–1980): 1950 sonrası" [History of architecture and art: Republican period (1908–1980): After 1950], in S. Akşin (ed.) *Türkiye Tarihi V4 Çağdaş Türkiye, 1908–1980* [History of Turkey V4: Contemporary Turkey, 1908–1980], Istanbul: Cem, 2005, pp. 563–571; M. Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı, 1923–1983* [Republican Era Turkish Architecture, 1923–1983], Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1984, pp. 276–282; U. Tanyeli, "1950'lerden Bu Yana Mimari Paradigmaların Değişimi ve 'Reel' Mimarlık" [The transformation of architectural paradigms since the 1950s and "real" architecture], in Y. Sey (ed.) *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* [Transforming city and architecture in [the past] seventy-five years], Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, pp. 235–255; A. Yücel, "Pluralism takes command," in R. Holod, A. Evin, and S. Özkan (eds.) *Modern Turkish Architecture*, Ankara, Turkey: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005, pp. 125–156 (Originally published as R. Holod and A. Evin (eds.) *Modern Turkish Architecture*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).
3 Sözen, p. 279.
4 Tanyeli, p. 244.
5 Ödekan p. 570.
6 S. Bozdoğan, "Art and Architecture in Modern Turkey," in R. Kasaba (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Turkey V 4: Turkey in the Modern World*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 453.
7 S. Gürbaşkan, *Rubikon: Anılar İzlenimler ve Istanbul Reklâm Vural Sözer'in Ropörtajı* [Rubicon: memories, observations, and Istanbul Reklam, Interview by Vural Sözer], Istanbul: Istanbul Reklâm Yayınları, 1976, p. 9. Leading international agencies were usually named after their founders.
8 E. Alphan, "Bizim Mad Men'ler sabah viski içmezdi" [Our Mad Men did not drink whisky in the morning], *GQ* [Gentlemen's Quarterly] *Türkiye* (26 March 2012). Online. Available at www.gq.com.tr/366/bir-don-draper-degiliz (accessed 6 September 2014). Birce Gürbaşkan (Akyüz)'s claim on 10 July 2012 appears under "comments" to this article.
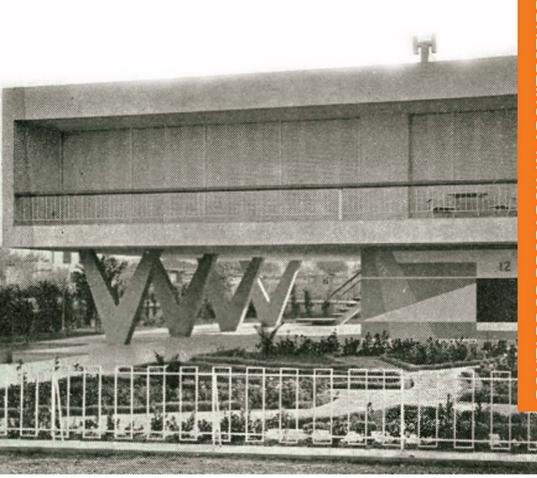
9 *Rubikon*, p. 10.

10 *Rubikon*, p. 12.

11 The Turkish Chamber of Architect's *Index of Competitions* lists a competition for "private residential building" in 1934. Online. Available at www.mimarlar-odasiankara.org/yarismalardizini/ (accessed 6 September 2014).

12 U. Tanyeli, *Istanbul 1900–2000: Konutu ve Modernleşmeyi Metropolden Okumak* [Istanbul 1900–2000: To read housing and modernization from the metropole], Istanbul: Akın Nalça, 2004, pp. 38–39. Translation mine.

13 S. Bozdoğan, "Democracy, Development, and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s," in S. Isenstadt and K. Rizvi (eds.) *Modernism and the Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the twentieth century*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008, pp. 116–138.

14 M. Ö. Gürel, "Architectural Mimicry, Spaces of Modernity: The Island Casino, Izmir, Turkey," *The Journal of Architecture* 16:2, 2011 (April), pp. 165–190.

15 Sözen, p. 279.

16 Translation mine. *Rubikon*, pp. 24–26.

17 U. Kultermann, *Kenzo Tange, 1946–1969: Architecture and Urban Design*, New York, Washington, and London: Prager Publishers, 1970, p. 232; C. Ward, "Main office of the Dentsu Advertising Co., Kenzo Tange and the Urbanists and Architects Team," *Japan Architect* 140, 1968 (April), pp. 23–31.

18 K. Solomonson, *The Chicago Tribune Tower Competition: Skyscraper Design and Cultural Change in the 1920s*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001; H. Lipstadt, "In the Shadow of the Tribune Tower," pp. 79–94.

19 F. Galip, "Proje Müsabakaları" [Project competitions], *Arkitekt* 6, 1931, pp. 206–208. Online. Available at dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/272/3816.pdf (accessed 6 September 2014). Contemporary sources list the Bursa Hal competition of 1930 as the first open competition. Online. Available at v2.arkiv.com.tr/competition.php?dates=1930-1939 (accessed 6 September 2014).

20 "Sergi Binası Müsabakası" [Exhibition Hall Competition], *Arkitekt* 5, 1933, pp. 131–153. Online. Available at dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/92/975.pdf (accessed 6 September 2014).

21 Announcement: "Yarışmalar: Istanbul Reklam Yarışması Sonuçlandı" [Competitions: Istanbul Reklam competition has been announced] *Mimarlık* 63, 1969. Online. Available at dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/382/8998.pdf (accessed 6 September 2014). Jury report: "Istanbul Reklâm Sitesi Proje Yarışması" [Istanbul Reklam Building project competition] *Mimarlık* 65, 1969, pp. 28–37. Online. Available at dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/384/5622.pdf (accessed 6 September 2014). However, no coverage appears in the other, older architectural journal, *Arkitekt*, edited by Zeki Sayar.

22 There were height limitations imposed on the historic peninsula to maintain its image, as per Henri Prost's master plan. According to the competition document, the Nuruosmaniye Street façade had a clearance height of 15.5 meters (allowing a maximum of five stories), while the rear façade of the volume on Bâb-ı Âli Street had an allowable height of only 3.5 meters.

23 The mausoleum is for Mahmud Nedim Pasa (1818–1883), an Ottoman grand vizier from September 1871 to July 1872, and from August 1875 to May 1876. A. Akyıldız, *Islam Ansiklopedisi* [Istanbul Encyclopedia] 27, 2003, pp. 374–376.

24 *Rubikon*, p. 31.

25 The municipal regulation regarding architecture and advertising prohibits the use of more than one ad on a façade, which has pushed giant full façade ads as the new norm. This has led to a preference for glass curtain walls to which film can be applied. Istanbul Reklam, İlan ve Tanıtım Yönetmeliği [Istanbul advertising, signage, and promotion regulations]. Online. Available at www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-TR/e-belediye/Documents/Gelirler/rit.pdf (accessed 6 September 2014).

26 A. Yücel, "Pluralism takes command," pp. 142–143.
27 C. Beck and C. Dorsting, *Istanbul: An Architectural Guide*, Ellipsis, 1997, pp. 102; "Istanbul Advertisers' Complex" [Istanbul Reklam Sitesi], in Afife Batur (ed.) *Architectural Guide to Istanbul: Modern and Contemporary*, Istanbul: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, p. 34. Online. Available at www.e-harita.com.tr/istarchguide/ (accessed 6 September 2014).
28 Sibel Bozdoğan has thoroughly examined Sedad Eldem's work in numerous publications including in S. Özkan and S. Bozdoğan (eds.) *Sedad Eldem: Architect in Turkey*, Singapore and New York: Concept Media/Aperture, 1987. Online. Available at http://archnet.org/publications/3797 (accessed 6 September 2014).
29 Doğan Kuban in "A Survey of Modern Turkish Architecture," in S. Cantacuzino (ed.) *Architecture in Continuity: Building in the Islamic World Today*, New York: Aperture: 1985, p. 69, quoted in Özkan and Bozdoğan (eds.), *Sedad Eldem*, p. 89. See also the award page online. Available at www.akdn.org/architecture/project.asp?id=6 (accessed 6 September 2014).
30 The trio's built scheme had received third place in the competition. "Istanbul Manifaturacılar Çarşısı Proje Müsabakası" [Istanbul Textile Traders' Market project competition], *Arkitekt*, 26:291, 1958, pp. 87–92. Online. Available at dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/232/3213.pdf (accessed 6 September 2014).
31 D. Tekeli, S. Sisa, and M. Hepgüler, "Istanbul Manifaturacılar Çarşısı" [Istanbul Textile Traders' Market], *Mimarlık* 15, 1965 (January), pp. 23–25. Online. Available at http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/313/4453.pdf (accessed 6 September 2014).
32 I refer here to Enis Kortan and Zeki Sayar; their criticism extends beyond the formalism of the massing, and also questions briefs, the role of juries, the incongruity between requirements and winning schemes. For a summary, see S. Bozdoğan and E. Akcan, *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*, London: Reaktion Books, 2012, pp. 181–182; Z. Sayar, "Proje Müsabakaları Hakkında" [On project competitions], *Arkitekt*, 31:308, 1962, pp. 99–100. Online. Available at dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/249/3444.pdf (accessed 6 September 2014); E. Kortan, "Yaratıcı Ruh" [Creative spirit], *Mimarlık* 3:8, 1965, pp. 7–8. Kortan quotes an anonymous expert, "Kitleler, pratik fonksiyonel bir netice gibi kırılıp parçalara ayrılmakta, bunlar bir resim anlayışında kompoze edilmektedir [Masses are broken down into parts as if due to a practical, functional result, and these are composed as if [the plan were] a painting]." Online. Available at dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/320/4553.pdf (accessed 6 September 2014); E. Kortan, "Yarışmalar ve Jüriler Sorunları Üzerine" [On the issues of competitions and their juries], *Mimarlık* 6:7, 1968, pp. 8–9. Online. Available at dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/376/5525.pdf (accessed 6 September 2014).
33 O. Koloğlu, *Reklamcılığımızın İlk yüzyılı 1840–1940* [The first century of our advertising 1840–1940], Istanbul: Reklamcılar Derneği, 1999; S. Nebioğlu, "Reklamcılık" [advertising], *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* [Republican-era encyclopedia of Turkey] 6, Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983–1985, pp. 1656–1669. Some of the recent books on Turkish cinema in English include the following: G. Dönmez-Colin, *Turkish Cinema: Identity, Distance and Belonging*, London: Reaktion Books, 2008; S. Arslan, *Cinema in Turkey: A New Critical History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
34 *New York Times*, 13 April 1960.
35 G. Güven, "An Investigation of Various Aspects of Movie Advertising in Turkey," MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1969, p. 17.
36 K. Sezer, *Reklamın Sokak Çocuğu: Ersin Salman'ın Yaşamöyküsü* [Street child of advertising: the life story of Ersin Salman], Istanbul: Reklamcılık Vakfı Yayınları, 2005, p. 70.

37 Vedat Ar quoted in G. Akçura, *İnsanlar Alemi Ivır Zıvır Tarihi* [Human's universe, history of trivia] 8, Istanbul: İthaki Yayınları, 2005, p. 146.

38 Print ad for Istanbul Reklam, in *Türkiye Yıllığı*, 1962, p. 389.

39 *Rubikon*, pp. 160–161.

40 *Rubikon*, p. 55. According to Faruk Atasoy, Istanbul Reklam tried to buy TV advertising time in bulk and sell it to other agencies. This resulted in resentment in the sector. As a result, TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) sought to regulate advertisements by requiring individual agencies to buy time with notarized commitments from their clients. F. Atasoy (interviewed), "Reklamları Önce Eş-Dost Görüyordu" [Kith and kin first saw the ads], *Capital* (1 October 2002). Online. Available at www.capital.com.tr/diger/reklamlari-once-esdost-goruyordu-haberdetay-2067 (accessed 6 September 2014).

41 The building is listed as #42 in Taptık's contribution entitled "Reform-Reset-Revisit." Online. Available at placesofmemory.iksv.org/taptik-captions.pdf (accessed 10 December 2014).

42 A. Köksal (interviewed by) A. Eroyan, "Beton Yapılaşmış Çevredeki Olumsuzluğu Yüklenmiş Durumda" [Concrete bears the negativity in the built environment], *Mimarizm*, 27 May 2014. Online. Available at www.mimarizm.com/Haberler/haberdetay.aspx?id=53888&BultenID=48 (accessed 6 September 2014). Other projects included from Turkey in Köksal's list for their use of exposed concrete include Nevzat Sayın's Yahşibey Buildings in Izmir, Turgut Cansever's Karatepe Open Air Museum in Adana, Ayşe Orbay's Ayşe and Ercüment Kalmık Foundation Museum, Sedat Hakkı Eldem's Fine Arts Academy Additions, Mehmet Konuralp's Sabah Newspaper in Istanbul, Cengiz Bektaş' Turkish Language Association and Altuğ Çinici and Behruz Çinici's METU Architecture Faculty in Ankara. The projects chosen for the special issue can be found on the journal's website. Online. Available at www.betonart.com.tr/arsiv/2014/40/ (accessed 6 September 2014).

43 Ibid.

44 B. Dündaralp, "Zorunlu Bağlamsallık mı, Yoksa Bağlamsal Bir Çaba mı? Günay Çilingiroğlu, Muhlis Tunca Istanbul Reklam Sitesi, Istanbul, Türkiye 1968–1972" [An obligatory contextualism or a contextual effort? Günay Çilingiroğlu, Muhlis Tunca's Istanbul Reklam Building, Istanbul, Turkey 1968–1972], *Betonart* 40, 2014, pp. 62–65.

45 Online. Available at http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=116631 (accessed 6 September 2014).

46 Online. Available at www.oguztopoglu.com/2014/02/mahmut-nedim-pasa-turbesi.html (accessed 6 September 2014).

47 N. Whiteley, *Reyner Banham: Historian of the Immediate Future*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002, pp. 134–135.

48 R. Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* New York: Reinhold, 1966.

49 See e.g. Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History.*

50 J. Till, *Architecture Depends*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2013.

51 The economic growth and building boom of the past decade in Turkey under the neoliberal policies of the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, or AKP) have resulted in public commissions whose aesthetic symbolism is closely tied to party politics (e.g. the Presidential Palace in the middle of Atatürk Forest in Ankara), as well as prestigious private sector commissions which adopt an international aesthetic and recruit foreign experts (e.g. Zaha Hadid for Kartal, Frank Gehry for Tepebaşı, Herzog de Meuron for Galataport, and Jerde Partnership for Kanyon), all of which speak to Turkey's contending role among global powers. A number of publications, symposia and even a campaign, "Build with Competitions" organized by the Istanbul-based Arkitera Architecture Center, seek to promote competitions, especially in private

commissions, first as a way of promoting Turkish architects, and second for raising the quality of Turkish architectural discourse and production. The Presidential Residence in the Atatürk Forest Farm and Zoo (Atatürk Orman Çiftliği) is designed by Şefik Birkiye, known for his historicist designs. It is a 1,000-room "palace" controversially built in a protected nature preserve. See a review of this building in A. Artun, "Başkanlık Sarayı ve Mimarlık Tarihi" [Presidential palace and architectural history], *skopbülten*, 29 August 2014. Online. Available at www.e-skop.com/skopbulten/baskanlik-sarayi-ve-mimarlik-tarihi/2094 (accessed 6 September 2014). Zaha Hadid Architects' Master Plan for Kartal was commissioned in 2006 by the Greater Istanbul Municipality. Online. Available at www.zaha-hadid.com/masterplans/kartal-pendik-masterplan/ (accessed 6 September 2014). Frank Gehry designed Suna Kıraç Kültür Merkezi in Tepebaşı, Istanbul. The project was commissioned by one of Turkey's wealthiest industrialist families, on what used to be a public park with spectacular views of the Golden Horn and the historic peninsula; the site was converted in the 1990s into a building for state-owned Turkish Radio Television, and then rented out as an exhibition hall with paid parking in the lower levels and a public plaza on the upper level. Online. Available at v3.arkitera.com/news.php?action= displayNewsItem&ID=23937 (accessed 6 September 2014). Kanyon is designed by Jerde Partnership and executed locally by Tabanlıoğlu Architect. Online. Available at www.jerde.com/regions/place10.html (accessed 6 September 2014).

52 H. Lipstadt and B. Bergdoll (eds.), *The Experimental Tradition: Essays on Competitions in Architecture*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989; H. Lipstadt, "Theorizing the competition," *Thresholds* 21, 2000, pp. 32–36; M. S. Larson, "Architectural Competitions as Discursive Events," *Theory and Society* 23, 1994, pp. 469–504; G. Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998.

MID-CENTURY MODERNISM INTURKEY

Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s

EDITED BY MELTEM Ö. GÖREL