To My Mom,

Mualla Tezgören Barlas (1942-2007)

Sen
En güzel sözlerde
Sen tertemiz düşlerde
Ve sen
Sonsuz sevgilerde
Yaşıyorsun….

Acknowledgments

I am deeply grateful to my advisor Assoc. Dr. Duygu Köksal for his valuable guidance and assistance during the entire course of this study. I also thank my committee members, Prof Dr. Zafer Toprak and Prof Dr. Aydın Babuna for their valuable critiques.

Special thank is due to Kathryn Kranzler for her patience and her motivation for me to ask her numerous detailed questions about my thesis. I would also like to thank all the staffs of Boğaziçi University, who were always helpful and kind. In addition, I am thankful to Necla Turunç, Kadriye Tamtekin, and especially Leyla Kılıç who make life enjoyable and easier at the Institute.

I offer many thanks to my friends at Boğaziçi University, Süheyla Nil Coşkun Moustafa, Hakkı Başgüney, Ceren İlikan, Dilek Sare Lak, Özker Kocadal, Müjdat Gökşen, Yasemin Oktay Özdemir, Betül Selimoğlu Açıkgöz.

Finally, I owe a lot to my sister Sema Barlas for her endless support and love. I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Mualla Tezgören Barlas, who cannot see the final copy of the thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I

Introduction…… 1

Chapter II

A. Cultural Nationalism……7

Theoretical Background in Turkey ……..10
Cultural Nationalism in Europe During the Mid-War Period……...14

B. Modernization of Turkish Visual Arts in the Early Republican Period…..20

Modern Trends in Turkish Painting……..25
Developmentof Turkish Sculpture……33

C. İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu.....37

D. Yeni Adam (1934-1950)……..42

Chapter III

A. The Role of Art in the National Identity Construction……48

Public House's Art Department…….50
State Sponsored Art Exhibitions……52
Painting Tours of Anatolia (1938-1944)…….53
State and Patronage of the Arts……57
Should Be Art Nationalized? Artist and Salary Problem……...58
Art Education in University Level……..61

B. Debates on National Art……67

Should Art Go to The People: Individual or Social Art ……75
New Art For the New State: Cubism……..78

C. Changing Presentation and Themes in Turkish Painting……84

Landscape Painting ……..84
Ankara: Capital City of the Republic……..85
Anatolia: The Heart of Renovation……87
Portraits of M. Kemal and War Themes……87

ChangingRepresentation of Women: As an Idealized Other……..89
The Image of Villagers and Farmers in Turkish Painting: Developmentalism
..……92

Chapter IV

A. Fine Arts in Yeni Adam…….95

New Art For the New Man: Art Theory in *Yeni Ada*……..100
Cubism: Art for Democracy……..102
Art Criticism: Art Exhibitions and the D Group……104
Art Education……110

B. Social Realism in Turkish Art……113

Graphic Art, Cartoons, and Designs.....117

C.National Art Representing the Nation in Traditionalist Perspective....122

Towards to National Painting and Sculpture 127
Turkish Humanism.....130

Chapter V
Conclusion.....134

Bibliography……136
Appendix……..150

CHAPTER I
Introduction

Nationalist discourse in the early 20th century, has show us how the development of national art and culture were directly linked with procces of social and political modernization. Nation state formation process in Turkey was centered on the realm of culture as the ultimate target of Republican modernization. The single party RPP used visual arts to exert and to display its power over the Turkish society. By this way, art become instrument to convey information, values, attitudes of the Kemalist intelligentsia through painting, sculpture, and architecture.

Under the light of this perspective, this book aims to contribute a broad perspective in the cultural history of early Republican era.The new Republican state was the most prominent actor in the cultural arena, the works of group of intellectuals, artists, and writers was also a good way of perceiving cultural modernization in the 1930s. Through the Kemalist futurist project was based on a utopian republic of fine arts in which the artists had an agenda to serve the needs of the republic. This study mainly centered on the visual art (painting and sculpture) in Turkey by analysing an important weekly journal *Yeni Adam* (New Man).

Yeni Adam (1934-1978) first appered on january 1934 contiuned for forthy years reaching 935 issues. In 1934, the Republican regime was only eleven year old; the journal gave a priority to the democracy. Its owner and director İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu determined its subtitle as “our ideal is Democracy and the Republic”. Due to his removal from the İstanbul University, he became marginalized figure among Turkish intellectuals, formulating his opposition to publish Yeni Adam. The journal was an alternative medium for readers preoccupied with art, culture and politics of the early Republic. Articles published in Yeni Adam critiqued single party in such different perspectives as modernization of Turkish society, new art, People Houses and Village Institute project…so on.

This book shed lights on political position of the Yeni Adam in two periods: interwar and World War II. From the beginning of the 1934, the journal’s issues

and articles engaged with political environment of the country as well as social cultural progress under the rule of the RPP. This political climate encouraged the growth of some radical movement that in various ways co-opted nationalist policy of the single party. In Yeni Adam, this situation of the government in mid 1930s was severely critiqued by the authors who opened several pages for discussion.

The cultural milieu in which the party was more or less operated changes in artistic and cultural life, become an integral part of government planning and its organization. Cultural life of the new nation organized under political power that existed in academic institutions and established structures of cultural life. When the pressure of the interwar period increased in the mid 1930s, the corners of political and cultural criticism in Yeni Adam determined the boundaries of articles and issues which showed anti-fascist characteristics.

In fact, in the early 1930s, Yeni Adam paid exceptional attention to art exhibition, all contemparary artistic tendencies from futurism to surrealism and European art philosopy. More significantly, social realism and nationalism emphasized by a differrent group of intellectuals to draw a new sythesis for their art policy[1]. In several writings, Baltacıoğlu drew attention to the fact that his main ideal traditionalism (eclectic style of Turco-Ottoman past) would be a better solution for modernization of Turkish cultural life. His sythesis Turkish culture being combination of old new traditions could be an alternative viewpoint for the Westernist medium.

Especially, social realism and collectivism in the 1930s partly draw new line for Turkish art. According to social realist group in Yeni Adam, art had to be realist and social.This means that new art had reflected social conflicts, inequalities, class struggles in Turkish society.Their main concern was to define new art and culture which would represent realities of the nation as well as the

[1] Duygu Köksal, "The Role of Culture and Art in Early Republican Modernization in Turkey" La Multiplication des Images en Pays d'Islam; de l'estampe a la Television (17-21 siecle), Bernard Heyberger and Sylvia Naef (eds.), Istanbuler Texte und Studien, Orient Institut der DMG, Würzburg, 2003, p.215.

society. In this sense, the social realist tendency in art had different perspective from cultural nationalist one. The emphasis on utility and realism was also served the needs for national attitudes in art that was observable in Baltacıoğlu's writings[2].Baltacıoğlu also centered on collectivist attitudes in fine arts that were carriers of social realist and humanist approaches during the mid war period. Particularly, cartoons, drawings, and cover pages of the journal showed images of war, fascist movements in Europe as well as socio-economic conditions of Turkish people. For this reason, it was shut down by Celal Bayar's government for one year in 1938.

From this point of view, Yeni Adam was getting closer to conservative nationalism instead of being opposite side. Although the journal was born of (re)action of antifascism and alternative social realist newspaper, it had to be shift to cultural nationalist tendency in the late 1930s. The increased awareness of cultural nationalism in the articles to interpretation of the following concepts: nation, tradition, public, and Turkish culture.

Starting from the 1940s, Yeni Adam was preoccipied with national art, local culture, and a kind of sythesis in Turkish art. For Yeni Adam, new art would be national art.İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu was prominent follower of cultural nationalist dicourse in early era attempt to deal with problematic of national art in more liberal way.Art from this perspective should reflect inner, spiritual, moral collectivity of the nation.The national values, emotions and pains would be shaped in the works of art. His perception of national art formulated in unchanged traditions (local art) in the society in which it found its ideal forms, techniques, styles and aethetics.

For Baltacıoğlu,Turkish art should have collective approach to take nature and nation as ideal forms the people. Although he was more close to cultural nationalism, his articles published in Yeni Adam also were preoccupied with a social realist approach. It become clear that artists was social man and the

[2] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Yeni Adam'ın Yolu", *Yeni Adam*, no.613, (1949):2.

artists should work for all social groups (the low socio-economic sectors of the population) In this framework, the journal would portray the cultural and intellectual scene of the 1930s and 1940s as a platform where social realism and national art coexisted in the same vision. Both Yeni Adam and Baltacıoğlu's writings were pluralist representation the "nation" and art with the political sphere.

Looking at the post- WW II decade, a critical period in the formation of the multi party goverment, Yeni Adam become more political oriented journal like pre-war perod. For the journal, the RPP as a revolution institution having responseable for achieving true modernity in Turkey that was borning out of the respect of the nation.

The marginalization of Baltacıoğlu in art and culture were observed in his articles preocciped with nationalist and traditionalist (conservative) terminology. His claim was turning to the public and essence of the Turkish nation by questioning concepts of nation, culture, and tradition under cultural nationalist perspective.Appearently, Baltacıoğlu's view on many issues determined the way of Yeni Adam, representing the new life of nation. Due to being member of parliment (1942-1950), he prefered to critique of such concepts as culture, as culture, nation, tradition rather than government policies.

After 1945s, issues of the journal preoccupied with opposition to Democrat party, the RPP sheds light on the success of the single party regime. It is an important point that in this time, Baltacıoğlu was a member of the RPP and parliament putting more emphasizes on single party policies during the 1940s. Meanwhile, the perspective of the journal slowly shifts to more conservative way. After the 1950 election, Yeni Adam's position shifted towards to the Democrat Party seems to be positive then earlier times. Both the journal Yeni Adam and the particular writings of Baltacıoğlu partly lost its social realist and cultural nationalist tendencies.

In Yeni Adam, art and literature closely connected to the local sources (folk culture) that differed from modern tendencies in Turkish art. Particularly,

three different approaches coexisted in the journal namely; social realism, unofficial nationalism, and Westernist stance. In this regard, I attempt to clairfy these alternative approaches provided by a group of intellectuals during the early Republican era.The study mainly contribute a comparative perspective to official Republican art policy and also provided theoretical background for cultural nationalist tendency of the single party.

By studying art in Yeni Adam, I demostrate political opposition of the journal and pluralist approaches in the perception of art.The single party policies directed art and monopolized artistic production. In this sense,I try to answer these following questions: How does art become an instrument of the single party era?, What kind of state policies do determine the field of artistic production? How do the state provide facilities for artist to serve official nationalist art?, finally in which ways the single party policies in art contributed cultural transformation in Turkey?

I study on articles, news, and art critiques of a number of intellectuals to show changes in their perception of art and culture clarify how they were oppossed to dominant discourse of the 1930s. By this way, I hope to get a comperative perspective of the Turkish art emphasizing different apporaches; social realism and national art in Yeni Adam during the 1930s and 1940s.

CHAPTER II

A.Cultural Nationalism

Studying the meaning and importance of "culture" in nationalist theory needs to be analyzed in relation to the ideas and history of the twentieth century. Nationalism developed in Europe during the nineteenth century and continued as a part of the nation-building process throughout twentieth century. From a broad perspective, nationalism as an ideology is explained in terms of political modernization and the social-economic situation of the nation rather than cultural and intellectual agendas.[3] On the hand, in other scholarly works, the definition of culture more or less clarifies its ties with nationnalist discourse.

John Hutchinson's fundamental study, The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism,[4] introduced a new perspective for the field of nationalism studies. Hutchinson's theory on nationalism mainly is based on two different type of nationalism one political and the other cultural.[5] Political nationalism tends to create ethnic-historical identities in through the bureaucratic state. In contrast, for the cultural nationalist perspective, the state is an accidental product. For Hutchinson, nation is the product of a historical, culture and geographical traits. Unlike political nationalism, cultural nationalism seeks a moral regeneration of the community through a "cultivation of culture[6]";that is, focusing on developing a national language, literature, and material culture.

According to Hutchinson, Hobsbawn's theory, *"the invention of tradition,"* refers to a fixed reflex of the state while cultural nationalism seeks

[3] Ernest Gellner*, Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p.1
[4] John Hutchinson, *The Dynamic of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of Irish Nation*
State, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1987)
[5] John Hutchinson, Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regenerations, in *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press,1994), p.122.
[6] Joep Leessen, "Nationalism and The Cultivation of Culture", *Nation and Nationalism* (12), no.4, (2006):559.

to “rediscover” a historically-rooted way of life. Hutchinson’s theory opposes to the modernist explanation of cultural nationalism that developed in the concept of “invention of tradition”.[7]According to Hobsbawn, national traditions are types of invented traditions establishing continuity with the past. Traditions, whether old and new, refer to fixed patterns of the past, while customs are more flexible since they can be changed over time.

For Hutchinson, cultural nationalists as moral innovators should protect the traditional community as well as the national heritage.[8] The role of cultural nationalism in recent studies reveals the multi-dimensional characteristics of the nation-building process. In light of this perspective, Hutchinson’s analysis of the dynamics of cultural nationalism is centered on three components. The first is the importance of historical memory in the formation of nations. The second is the competing definition of nations, and the third is the centrality of cultural symbols.[9] Finally, his emphasis on historical memory and religion suggest an interest in the process of “reaching back to ethnic past and revival of old tradition.

The primary aim of Hutchinson’s cultural nationalism is to revive the collective personality of the nation as history, culture, language, and homeland. Language as a medium of communication cannot totally provide a background for the establishment of social order, the allocation of power or other cultural resources; among these characteristics, language is only one side of national formation.

According to Hutchinson, there were three different types of cultural nationalism in the twentieth century.[10] First, cultural nationalism as *a communitarian movement* had a political mission; it aimed to defend the cultural heritage of the nation. For this type of cultural nationalism, harmony and tension worked to form a unique national identity of the community. As a

[7] Ibid., p.118
[8] John Hutchinson, “Re- Interpreting Cultural Nationalism”, *Australian Journal of Politics and History,* no.45, (1999):393.
[9] Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p.178,180.
[10] Hutchinson, *Re-Interpreting Cultural Nationalism*, p.398.

communitarian movement, the main aim of the state was to highlight national heritage and locate cultural formation of the new nation. At this point, Hutchinson notes that in this type of cultural modernization, the state as an active agent had a significant social impact on the masses, and concentrated on cultural policy to achieve a homogenous nation.[11] Second, cultural nationalists as *moral innovators,* unlike communitarians, came up with the concept of "folk" seeking the roots of the nation in folk culture.[12] Declining imperial culture and national communities attempted to create a mythical golden past by using their folkloric heritage. Cultural nationalist as moral innovators established ideological movements, transformed the belief-system of communities and provided models of social-political development that guide their modernizing strategies.[13]

The third type of cultural nationalism as *a modernizing movement* played a part in the modernization of backward societies.[14] During the transition of communities, culture played an important past in the nation-building process. Cultural nationalists aimed to create a vision based an ancient historical memories, unique cultural values, and rational Western ideals in order to have on organic bond between land and community. In fact, cultural nationalists, unlike cultural conservatives, worked for a cooperative reconstruction of the national community and transformed the generally accepted meanings of tradition and modernity. For the traditional cultural nationalist, tradition was not the repetition of customs; it was a kind of dynamic modernizing tool for the community. To achieve their path to modernization, the moral and material worlds of the nation were utilized by traditionalist to legitimate social innovation. In this regard, the urban intelligentsia sought desire to return to past culture, mining moral, spiritual, and aesthetic qualities from the national heritage.

[11] Ibid., p.401
[12] Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, pp.178,179.
[13] Hutchinson, *Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regeneration*, p.127.
[14] Hutchinson, *Re-Interpreting Cultural Nationalism*, p.405.

The first type “communitarian” emphasis is the realm of cultural conservatives, but it also interacts with the 2nd type. In the case of Turkey, the third category fits RPP best. The single party RPP had a leading role seeking to mobilize the masses to prepare the way for the cultural regeneration of the community. The party established history and language societies, published cultural journals, and establishing cultural centers such as the People’s Houses.

Theoretical Background of Cultural Nationalism in Turkey

The intellectual roots of cultural nationalism in Turkey should be sought in the ideas of the intellectuals gathered under the name of the Young Ottomans. The Young Ottomans, Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi, Ahmed Vefik Pasha, and Şemşeddin Sami mainly centered on the modernization of the Empire from a linguistic perspective. Their theories derived from the ethnic characteristic of the language, in which nationalism and traditionalism opened a new way for the integration of Turks in the empire.

In the late nineteenth century, the emergence of the Turkish nation brought Turkish culture to a central place for many thinkers. Due to the political dissolution of the empire, Ottomanism lost its significant role, while Turkish nationalism began to be the center of modernization. In the early 1910s, among the young intellectuals the prominent ideologue Ziya Gökalp became the father of the Turkish nationalist tendency. His ideology was also helpful in preparing ground for the cultural nationalism that developed in the Republic. According to Gökalp’s, culture is national, whereas civilization is international. Culture is a hormonious whole of the nation, while civilization is the sum total of social phenomena that have accurred by individual progress.[15] Gökalp’s reconstruction of Turkish culture mainly was based on a linguistic perspective. For Gökalp, nation was not an homogenous unity. It

[15] Ziya Gökalp, “Principles of Turkism”, R. Devereux (translation), (Leiden :Brill), p.22.

was a social community of people who shared the same language, traditions, and religion. He rejected any kind of ethnic definitions and discriminication in the definition of nation and culture, paying special attention the people in the creation of national culture and ideals.

According to Kemal Karpat, nationalism appears essentially as a search for national consciousness through the adoption of the language, the identification of the elite with the culture of the masses and achievement of progress within a national state.[16] In the late 1910s, nationalism was synonymous with patriotism; that is, a special attachment to the land. According to Gökalp's cultural nationalist, In the last years of the Empire,Gökalp supported the Turkification of language, art, and religion to carry the ideals of Turkish culture and the traditional life of the Turks from the early Turkish civilization. Foreign traditions which damaged Ottoman Turkish cultural formation were to avoided by Turkish intellectuals. Instead of adopting Western values, the intellectuals were to be learn to the folk culture and avold the contradiction between East and West in cultural matters.

Ziya Gökalp's Ottoman Turkish cultural nationalism became the main discourse of the Kemalist modernization and nationalization process in early Republican Turkey. Cultural nationalism in the early 1930s followed three different ways in determining the cultural policy of the state. The first group of intellectuals was close to the Kemalist ideology and sought the roots of Turkish culture in the pre-Islamic Turkish past. Their aim was the reconstruction of Turkish around the early Turkish and Anatolian civilizations. The redefinition of the ancestral past combined with the attempts of the Kemalist intellectuals drew a new path for the Republican modernization.

Kemalist regime attempted to create glorified national past, giving the priority to the ideals of the new nation. The Kemalist cultural discourse indicated a Western ethno-centeric model for language, culture, and tradition.

[16] Kemal Karpat, Ömer Seyfeddin and Transformation of Turkish Thought, rev. *Etudes Sudest Europe*, X, no.4, (1972):684.

The Turkish History Thesis and the Sun Language Theory were important projects serving the needs of the cultural formation of the nation. On the other hand, an opposition groups called *Anadoluculuk* (Anatolianism), drew a different line from the state policy. Among the members of the Anatolianism, the concept of Turkish culture was mainly perceived as three peculiar ideological formations namely: folk (Anatolian) culture, Turkish Humanism, and conservatism. Although all these intellectuals gave priority to the modernization of Turkish culture in ways different from those of Kemalists perception, their aim was to define the term "culture" and its institutions under these ideals.

The cultural discourse of the first group, embodied in Hilmi Ziya Ülken and Pertev Naili Boratav tended to glorify folkloric values and a Turkish humanism. According to Ülken, Turkish nationalism did not seek the ethnic identity of the common people who had lived in the same country. It was a kind of cultural renaissance that combined the historic elements of cultural roots in the imagined community of the 1930s.[17] His concepts *"national renaissance"* and *"total humanism"* showed a different national and traditional sense of the nation. His student Boratav directed folkloric studies asking important questions such as the Turks were and what could be taken take as the base for Turkish modernization. Boratav's cultural nationalist discourse took its theoretical background from social change and the anti-imperialist movement.[18] Due to fast social transformation, revealing folkloric heritage was seen as a national duty for the intellectuals. Anatolia as a homeland of Turkish civilization should not be guide only for Turkish folkloric research. Boratav, different from Sabahattin Eyüpoğlu and Azra Erhat, extended his cultural discourse to folkloric studies of Turkish groups who lived outside Anatolia.

[17] Sadettin Elibol, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, in *Milliyetçilik,* (4) ed. Tanıl Bora (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p.257.

[18] Mete Çetik, "Pertev Naili Boratav in *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, (3) ed. Uygur Kocabaşoğlu (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004):180.

As a second line of cultural nationalist tendency, Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu and Azra Erhat opposed the radical modernization attempts of the Kemalists, and sought to extend the cultural boundaries of the nation. Their ideology, called Blue Anatolianism (*Mavi Anadoluculuk*) questioned what Turkish Humanism should be. In the1940s, the humanist approach determined itself in the definition of human and nature. Their search for a cultural Renaissance became a framework of the Turkish Humanism in which literature, art, and folk culture were originated as forms of a European-Turkish civilization.

Blue Anatolianism defined humanism as a return to the classics of Anatolia civilizations without any restriction in terms of religion, ethnic, and geography. Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu, Azra Erhat, and Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı sought a re-connection to the ancient Anatolian, Greek, and Roman heritage to draw the contours of a native Anatolian culture.[19] In this sense, their emphasis on humanism was not restricted to the national and conservative attitudes of the 1940s. Without establishing ethno-centric lines, Blue Anatolionism covered all Anatolian civilizations.

A third group consists of such intellectuals like Ahmet Hamdi, Peyami Safa, Nurettin Topçu, and İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu who stressed the theoretical base of cultural conservatism in the early Republican era. The cultural discourse of cultural conservatives drew more on religion and tradition in search of a cultural synthesis. The conservative thinkers could be regarded as a group parallels the Kemalist model of modernization. According to Köksal, “cultural synthesis” provides an important analytical point of entry into the debates of republican conservative thought that led to theoretical divisions among the groups of intellectuals.[20] Cultural synthesis means rediscovering past institutions, morals, values and adjusting traditions

[19] Kaya Akyıldız and Barış Karacasu, “Mavi Anadolu: Edebi Kanon ve Mili Kültürün Yapılandırılmasıda Kemalizm ile Bir Ortaklık Denemesi”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.81 (Summer 1999):27.

[20] Duygu Köksal, “The Dilemmas of A Search For Cultural Synthesis: A Portrait of Cemil Meriç As A Conservative Intellectual”, *New Perspective on Turkey*, no.21 (Fall 1999):80.

in terms of modernity, not Westernization, and asking how Turkish modernization could create a new cultural formation and be protected from the effects of degeneration.

Waking from this perspective, the cultural nationalists attempted to keep the cultural values of the nation and expand the borders of Turkish culture. The present thesis will analyze early Republican art (mainly painting and sculpture) from the conservative-traditionalist perspective and also contribute a critical discussion about the state's art policy during the mid-war period. By studying the art in the periodical Yeni Adam, it will demonstrate the cultural opposition of the journal to official nationalism.

Cultural Nationalism in Europe during the Mid-War Period

The cultural history of the early Republican era displays two major frameworks in artistic affairs, aesthetic Modernism and nationalism. These ideologies provided the theoretical base for the official mobilization of art in the realm of the modernization of the people and the legitimization of the single party policy. These dual projects of the Kemalist intelligentsia constituted the perception of cultural modernization in the 1930s. Through the Kemalist futurist project based on "a utopian republic of the arts" the main ideologies nationalism, modernization, and Westernization would be needed to transform Turkish art and culture into the European model.

To borrow Benedict Anderson's formulation, the modern nation state is an "imagined community" that creates a spirit of "fraternity made possible to gather people around the common entity the principle goal of the nation is to create a feeling of 'attachment' to the state in the form of love of the nation.[21] Its instrumentalist approach to art concentrated on the needs of the reforms and modernization policies of the single party. This defined the concept of art as a functional, entity within the national sphere.

[21] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London, New York:Verso, 1991), p.7.

European countries in the early twentieth century were under the influence of the ideologies of nationalism and modernism which idealized the nation in artistic form. The popular minds and policy makers of this period defined visual arts as a potential vehicle of the national idea; most cultural policy makers perceived a works of art as national symbols reflect the life of the community. Artists by engaging with the "spirit" of their cultural community would contribute to the modernization of this community into national identities and solidarities.[22] The new art tendency seeking national interests and re-define cultural heritage of the community displayed itself in the inter-war period within the context of popular movements of fascism and Nazism. Nationalist attitudes linked landscape, nationalist symbols and imaginary representation in the form of painting and sculpture

Under authoritarian regimes, art reinforced the moral power of the state that made it "a weapon" in the hands of the parties. [23] Through nationalism, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany utilized this weapon for their doctrines. These countries kept the power of art to overcome the weaknesses in political and economic realms. Art and culture is rooted in the concept of *"Volk"* (folk), the spiritual and biologic organism of the German nation that called for a process of domestic cultural purification. This tendency concentrated on the politics of art as an integral part of the creation of the "people's community"[24] *(Volksgemeinschaft)*. Starting from the 1930s, Hitler attempted to transform the visual arts into a propaganda apparatus and created a propaganda agency, called the Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda[25] which was responsible for all tasks related to the spiritual development of the nation. The political environment dominated by Nazi leaders gave artists no chance to control their artistic unions and

[22] Athena S. Leoussi, "The Ethno-Cultural Roots of National Art", *Nations and Nationalism* (10), (2004):144.
[23] David Elliot, The Battle for Art, in *Art and Power: Europe under Dictatorship 1930-1945*, ed. Dawe Ades (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), p.32.
[24] Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, Economics in Nazi Germany* (New York: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), p.21.
[25] Ibid., p.33.

associations. Under these conditions, the Nazi party aimed to consolidate its power over cultural union (*kulturkammer)* which was as an attempt to reconcile the totalitarian impulse of the racist movement and managed to persuade the majority of German artists to accommodate themselves to the new conditions..

In 1933, Joseph Goebbels established the Reich Culture Chamber[26], which embodied an anti-modernist cultural coalition, structured as Nazi Führerprinzip *(Nazi Guide Principle)* to restrict the power of artists for professional expertise. Goebbels claimed that "modern German artists are serious, working, modern people, with heart and soul open to all questions of our national and political existence".[27] This meant that learning professional consciousness and discipline as well as honor were the main responsibilities of the German artist to serve the needs of the state. The Visual Arts Chamber organized several art exhibitions and critique the works of art, but their criteria depended on highly subjective criteria (discussing the technical abilities of the artists rather than their "creative power"). Therefore, between 1933 and 1939 Hitler, Goebbles, Rosenberg and other members of the Nazi elite introduced a totalitarian model of control that included censorship of the arts by stating the ideological boundaries of acceptable art in visual arts and the theater.

Starting from 1939, the German state brought the concept of ultra-nationalist art into harmony with the Volk to create a new national ideal. The Nazi regime applied the racist policies of the chamber to purify art and artists in the biological sphere. The Chamber of Culture performed purification policies in two ways: first, using the weapon of the professional ban against Jews and non-German art; and second, evolving a system of cultural and ideological censorship.[28] The internal dynamics of the Nazi Movement totally apposed such artistic tendencies modernism, cosmopolitism, and the avant-

[26] Ibid., p.49.
[27] Ibid., p.103.
[28] George L. Mosse, *Masses and Man: Nationalist and Fascist Perceptions of Reality* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), p.7.

garde in art and culture. The “purificiation” of art works promoted German Volk and art instead of adapting degenerate modern art.

Musollini’s Italy regarded art as a third way with respect to capitalist and communist development. According to Jeffery Schnapp, for fascist regimes, modernization led to the loss of individuality, nationality and higher values such as heroism, tradition, as well as the spiritual development of the nation.[29] On the other hand, many Italian intellectuals argue that fascism was a new model for modernity that would resolve both the contemporary European crisis and long-standing problems of the national past.[30]

Given this contradiction, different models of modernity would create the institutional framework for the propagation of fascist culture and the space for modernity such as mass public meetings, party associations, and cinemas. Musollini, in a speech defined fascist culture as traditionalist and at the same time modern, looking to the past and to the future at the same time.[31] Similar to Kemalist modernization, Italian fascism, attempted to create a national past. Fascism’s focus on change and action went hand in hand with to a return to traditions that meant establishing a new civilization and bringing together all people and classes.

The terms used to denote the fascist model as “conservative revolution” or “reactionary modernism” suggests a link between traditional and modern culture.In the mid-1920s, the fascist party’s official policy “Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals” prepared by Gentile symbolized the rising power of the fascist movement to control the artistic field.[32] The reform focused on the past achievements of the Italian people and glorified the Italian tradition.

---

[29] Jeffrey T. Schnapp, Fascinating Fascism, *Journal of Contemporary History*, (31), no.2 (April 1996):240.

[30] Ruth Ben Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities Italy, 1922-1945*, (USA:University of California Press, 2001), p.2.

[31] Jeffrey T. Schnapp, Epic Demonstration *in Fascism, Aesthetics, and Culture*, ed. Richard J. Golson, (London: University of New England Press, 1992), p.2.

[32] Valerio C. Ferme, “Redefining The Aesthetics of Fascism: The Battle Between The Ancient and The Moderns Revisited”, *Symposium*, no.52 (Summer 98):70.

The regime demanded a “fascist” art and aesthetics culture to the promote ideology of the state. For the fascists, Italian art had to correspond to the essence of the Italian spirit and heroic individualism in the form of fascist signs, images, slogans, books, and buildings. Unlike in Germany, the nationalist sense of the works did not take place the racist level, so Italian intellectuals had more freedom to express themselves to use their creative abilities.

As the fascist party sought to renovate its cultural roots in nationalistic and imperialistic rhetoric, the new art needed to be harnessed to a mass movement to achieve Cultural Revolution. The regime needed to define and spread its fascist ideology publicly and mobilize the Italian masses in the realm of the political culture. In the year 1932, the Fascist Party (PNF) organized the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution to narrate the history of Italian fascism from 1914 through 1922.[33]

Clearly, the futurist project of Musollini employed new symbols and motifs connected with the monumentalist aims of the regime. According to Scnapp, the exhibition displayed the standpoint of the intentions of the regime shaped by the cultural-historical memories and aesthetic properties of the Italians.[34] The exhibition was a socio-cultural event that attracted a great number of visitors. It was held in three saloons, each representing a different side of fascism, such as the activities of Fascist organizations abroad, a library containing thousands of works concerned with fascism, and representing the regime’s achievements in the fields of industry, commerce, transportation.

Both in the case of German and Italian fascism, art exhibitions were the core of the artistic production. The Paris International Exhibition, opened in May 1937, presented the contradictions between nationalism and internationalism, tradition and modernity, and the problem of state control and

[33] Schnapp, *Epic Demonstrations*, p.4.
[34] Ibid., p.24.

the role of propaganda. The Pavilions and rooms usually contained art works that were samples of the official art and propaganda of fascist versus modernist regimes. Dawen Ades argues that "the German, Soviet, and Italian Pavilions constituted important cultural statements to present visual propaganda and construct a mythical narrative of national identity.[35] The Exhibition represented the political struggles of the late 1930s. The political polarization in Europe was represented in the form of art displaying the tension in interesting ways.

In the Paris International Exhibition, the Soviet Pavilion occupied a different placed compared to those of Germany and Italy. In the 1930s, the USSR dominated the control of art and culture and also gathered artists under a unique association, the Soviet Union of Artists. Andre Zhdanov formed the theoretical base of socialist realism, which constituted the core of socialist aesthetics. His dominant ideas were "party-mindedness, national popular spirit, and ideological commitment" applied the political instrumentalization of art.[36] Zhdanov's model of art was close to that of the party line highlighting the values of the socialist regime and rejecting such contemporary Modernist trends as futurism, cubism, and dadaism. The influence of Zhdanov's policies, unlike German and Italian fascism, concentrated on mobilizing masses through "Soviet Folk Art" to clarify social realist tendency.

The intellectual basis of the single-party regime especially in terms of planning and organization was more or less dominated by the European socio-cultural context. Although art and culture in Turkey and European countries showed nationalist characteristics, early republican art and culture did not display fascist characteristics. The intellectuals and artists worked for the development of a national program conducting modernity to represent

[35] Dawns Ades, "Paris 1937", *Art and Power of Nations in Art and Power Europe under Dictators 1930-1945*, ed.Dawn Ades, (London: Hayward Gallery, 1996), p.60.
[36] Antonie Baudin, "Why is Soviet Painting Hidden From Us? Zhdanov Art and Its International Relations and Fallout", in *Socialist Realism Without Shores*, ed. by Thomas Lahusen and Evgeny Dobrenko, (Durham: Landon: Duke University Press, 1997), p.228.

Turkish art and culture as a part of Western civilization. The Kemalist perception of art mainly depended on the needs of the state and people, so the Turkish regime did not afraid of modernity and its consequences over the Turkish society.

In general, Kemalist vision of aesthetic and art, unlike Germany, did not show racist attitudes. To unify the country and the shaping the identity of the Turkish nation, Turkish art should not be destructive; it should seek to alliance among different groups of the people. For this reason, the Kemalist cultural scene never displayed ultra-propagandist art and outright rejection of Modernism in aesthetics and culture. The Kemalist ideology, like European dictatorships, conducted a critique of modernity, but while in the case of Germany, they wanted to create the

Volkish communal art and purified it from all eclectic values.In Turkey, the demands of reinterpreting the Turkish national culture needed to revive folk culture and combine it revolutionary and modernizations perspective. Therefore, Modernism in arts, was not reflected, but gradually accepted in artistic circles in Turkey.

B.Modernization of Turkish Visual Arts in the Early Republican Period

The modernization of the Turkish society had already started in the late Ottoman period but changed its dynamics to reunite Turkish people in the early 1920s. After a long war period, to create a nation under the same flag was the most fundamental aim of the early Republican leaders who attached particular importance to the arts, science, and education. From 1923 to the 1930s, Kemalist ideology was presented as a dominant discourse of Republican Turkey as well as the leading philosophy behind its cultural policy. Kemalist modernization encouraged a new perspective in the Turkish visual arts. To raise the nation above the existing European civilization was the fundamental aim of early Republican politics. The modernization of the

people, shaping the new national identity, and raising the cultural level of the society were the major aims and the arts, along with economic and social development would serve these purposes.

In Europe, the beginning of the twentieth century saw the decline of European pre-modern art and the arrival of Modernist attitude in the real sense. In Turkey, the early 1920s was a time for breaking the values, traditions, and culture which were the carriers of the Ottoman past. The dual transformation in Turkey opened up a new path for the modernization of Turkish art. In the 1920s, Republican leaders believed that the Turkish revolution could achieve a great transformation only by denying the Ottoman heritage and adapting Western forms and techniques in the fine arts. Contemporary Turkish art aimed at educating a new generation for civilization purposes.

As a Kemalist attitude, Turkish modernization aimed to create a state-centered society on the nation-state formation. The protection and empowerment of the Turkish state in the national boundaries brought the need for a well-educated, unsegregated, and harmonized society. In this sense, the cultural policies of the new nation state were determined by the Kemalist intelligentsia for the future of the modern Turkish nation. It should be noted that three main theoretical frameworks played influential roles in the transformation of modern art. The most fundamental ideologies of the theoretical debate on art this were nationalism, populism, and etatism.

In the first decade of the Republic, nationalism was a crucial ideology in every aspect of life and modern state structure. Kemalist nationalism took its roots from Gökalp's ideology of the nation. In this approach, the sense of Turkishness did not depend on any kind of race formation. Nationalism was taken into consideration as an unity of cultural formation of the nation. In regard to Gökalp's analysis, nationalism as a fundamental ideology of Kemalist modernization attempted to reduce the sense of cultural inferiority against the Western power. Both Gökalp and the Kemalist revolutionaries

shared more or less the same ideological background through the application of the policy in the visual art. However, these two groups had completely different perspectives.

According to İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Gökalp's ideology of nationalism aimed at the protection of the national values and traditions which carried the heritage of Ottoman Empire. Gökalp systematically emphazised Turkish culture within the forms of Western civilization rather than importing foreign institutions as they had developed in the West.[37] Along this line, the new cultural policy of the state denied all forms of Ottoman cultural heritage. In addition, the Kemalist state ideology was aganist the idea of cosmopoliticism. According to Öndin, for the Kemalist revolutionaries, cosmopolitizm was a barrier for the growing national art as well as the formation of the nation-state.[38] Under these conditions, Ottoman classical music, orientalist paintings,and national architectural components were seen as remnants of the cosmopolitan Ottoman Empire and were abondened by the state.

Populism as the second dominant ideology of Kemalist modernization was only a social approach geared to eliminate cultural dualism, but also denying class differentiation in Turkish society. In Kemalist populism, the idea that Turks constituted a nation closely was related to the idea that constitued people. The program of the RPP attributed particular importance to populism in the art and culture M. Kemal believed that to achieve a general cultural reform, the state had to educate the people by exposing not only the elite but also the man on the street, to all forms of art.[39] In terms of being a harmonious nation, national art was to serve the needs for Turkish society. Art was responsible for achiving modernization in the Western sense and presenting the new ideology to the public. In demonstrating the new national identity to the public, the visual arts were to

[37] İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Ziya Gökalp* (İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1966), p.86.
[38] Nilüfer Öndin "Cumhuriyetin Kültür Politikası ve Sanat", *Sanat Dünyamız*, no.89, (Fall 2003):145.
[39]Devrim Erbil, "Modern Trends in Turkish Painting" *in Transformation of Turkish Culture: The Atatürk Legacy* ed. Günsel Renda and C. Max Kortepeter (Princeton: The Kingston Press,1986), p.232.

be attributed a special place the service of the state. In the early years of the Republic, photographs, paintings and statues represented the Republican reforms, ideal of the state, the character of the new nation and aimed for a sense of change in the mind of public.[40]

Etatism was the other main component of the early republican cultural policy. During the reform period, the state was actively involved in founding art institutions and the creation of political art. In this process, the state played a particular role in supporting the artists, organizing exhibitions and founding an art academy. In almost all exhibitions the works of Turkish painters and sculptors were directly bought by the state institutions.

As a Kemalist principle, etatism was also instrumental in the creation of national art. Kemalism laid the groundwork for a strong role for the state in art and culture. State support in many aspects of the cultural life of the nation not only developed Kemalist culture politics, but also provided necessary guidance for socio-politic transformation. A few artists were sent to Europe for university education by the state. In addition, State Paintings and Sculpture Exhibitions (*Devlet Resim ve Heykel Sergileri)*, The Revolution Painting Exhibition *(Inkilap Resim Sergileri)*, Public Houses Art Exihibitions (*Halkevleri Resim ve Heykel Sergileri)* were organized directly by the state. During the 1930s, Western forms of painting, sculpture, and architecture were encouraged through exhibitions and contests. Students sent to European art centers state scholarships. One of the most important party institutions, the People's Houses, were opened in many cities after 1932. They offered programs in literature and arts, intiated cultural activities and helped to develop fine arts through courses, films, concerts and exhibitions. The art department organized exhibitions and worked to rise the level of art in the public sphere.

[40] Kaya Özsezgin, *Cumhuriyetin 75. Yılında Türk Resmi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 1998), p.25.

In the period following 1923, the RPP searched for a well defined idealogy that would help the centralization and transformation of state and society. The early republican intelligentsia put more emphasis on the inauguation of Turkish modern art through analyzing modernization in western art. At this point, certain questions could be asked: Does state ideology always need the arts? If it needs the art, in which ways do the modern arts serve the unity of society and the state? After the War of Independence, the newly founded Turkish state sought to display the image of victory and the success of the nation in works of art. Nationalism became the major medium for political symbolism in Turkish art.There was a growing interest in representational painting, sculpture, and architecture, which were the artistic carriers of this symbolism.

As mentioned above, in the first period, 1923-1933, the party generally focused on basic methodological and ideological questions rather than starting institutionalization.The single party occupied a central position in the following period. From the 1930s onwords, the Kemalist state established several institutions for higher education, as well as art exhibitions. A number of scholors in the visual arts produced extraordinary number of paintings and sculptures. M. Kemal in his speeches mentioned the role of art in the foundation or the nation state. He asserted the significance of fine arts as an expression of beauty and maintained that a nation that did not produce paintings or sculptures could not be considered a nation in progess.[41] Particularly, due to the needs of the single party, the visual arts provided an important connection between the public and the state.The public sphere of the early republic was thus equipped with political symbols that were the carriers of the nationalist modernist ideology of the Kemalist revolution.

Shortly, within the first three decades, the arts of painting, sculpture, architecture and graphic design developed under the protection of the party.

[41] Erbil, p.229.

In the following section, the transformation of Turkish painting in the early years will be analyzed.

Modern Trends in Turkish Painting

European style Turkish painting had already begun in the early nineteenth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century, as result of modernization in Ottoman art the Ottoman sultans sent students to Europe and invited European painters to İstanbul. Those students who received higher educations in France and Germany returned to their country after their graduation. The first generation of Turkish painters, Şeker Ahmet Pasha, Süleyman Seyyid and Hoca Ali Rıza were trained in Europe and became attracted to the Western academic painting.Their paintings were mainly series featuring the landscapes, gardens and parks of İstanbul, which were significant in the history of Turkish painting in the 1860s.[42]Although they repeated the European styles of painting in their works, they also developed the Western techniques for Turkish painting.

After 1875, the foundation of *Sanay-i Nefise Mektebi* (the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts) started formal academic training in the fine arts. Osman Hamdi Bey was the first director of the school and a significant figure in the history of Turkish painting as the initiator of painting and figurative compositions. Although Osman Hamdi Bey is considered an Orientalist artist, he was different from European Orientalist painters, and portrayed the people and historical monumentalism of his country rather than simply re-creating the exotic mode.[43]

At the beginning of twentieth century, the graduates of the Imperial Academy of Art were sent to Paris. The prominent artists of the 1910s, such as İbrahim Çallı, Nazmi Ziya, Hikmet Onat, Namık İsmail, Feyaman Duraman

[42] Yüz Senelik Resim Sergisi Katoloğu (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1956), p.3,4.
[43] Sezer Tansuğ, *Çağdaş Türk Sanatı* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitapevi, 2005), p.106.

and Avni Lifij, called later *"14'ler Kuşağı"* (the generation of 1914), were influenced by Impressionism. They introduced a larger variety of composition and themes into paintings, such as still life, scenes from everyday life, and portraits of Ottoman men and women.[44]

In the context of the modernization of art in the late Ottoman period, 1914 was an important year for the institutionalization of Turkish painters. During the liberal atmosphere of the coming Second Constitution, *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti* (the Society of Ottoman Painters) was formed by the 1914's generation, started exhibiting in 1914 at Galatasaray Lycee. This institution also published a monthly art journal, Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Mecmuası *(Ottoman Painters Associations Journal)*[45] The aim of the art society was to introduce and develop Western art to the Ottoman state and to support young artists. Impressionist painters in the late 1910s more or less dominated Ottoman painting as well as the academy of Fine Arts. According to Renda, their works of art compared to the nineteenth century Ottoman painting, seem formal, natural, and original. They reflected love of nature, and harmony in the combination of light and shade.[46] Among the 1914s generation, Nazmi Ziya, İbrahim Çallı and Feyaman Duraman as followers of Impressionism brought the latest developments and modernization to Turkish painting.

In the Republican era, painting entered a new phase. The first generation of painters was also witnesses to the Kemalist revolution and put strong emphasis on artistic symbolism. The First exhibition of Republican artists took place on September, 1923 at Galatasaray. Most of the paintings in this exhibition belonged to the 1914s generation, who had changed the name of their society to The Society of Turkish Artists *(Türk Ressamlar Cemiyeti)* after the declaration of independence. This indicates that

[44] Nurullah Berk, *Modern Turkish Sculpture and Painting* (İstanbul: Turkish Press Broadcasting and Tourist Department, 1954), pp.7,8
[45] Tansuğ, p.114.
[46] Erbil, p.231.

Turkishness, in the fine arts had become predominantly important for the state. In the earliest government program, the RPP stressed the need for collecting, preserving, and displaying objects of art and also introduced higher education programs for art. The charter of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts was reorganized through the necessities of the new Republic and art activities were carried out in line with the national aims of the state. The RPP supported and promoted artists to the elite position in society, and become the patron for their work.

In 1924, a number of students who had taken their higher education at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts were sent to Europe. First, the Ministry of Education sent twenty students, five of whom were women painters. At the end of the decade, the number of students increased to thirteen artists and five sculptors, totaling eighteen in the next decade.[47] The artistic careers of the young generation were different from those of their masters. They ignored the Impressionist technique, volumes of composition, the basic structure of picture and local values. Although İbrahim Çallı and his group were still followers of European Impressionist art, the new group saw their work as simple copies of the European masters.

The Turkish artists educated in France and Germany in the 1920s brought back a variety of Modernist styles from Cubism to Fauvism or German Expressionism.[48] In the late 1920s, the first constructivist paintings appeared in Turkish art. Particularly, two painters, Zeki Kocamemi and Ali Çelebi, had studied for a long time in Germany in the studio of the German painter Hoffman whose art was based on constructive and cubic forms.[49] Their paintings featured simplified outline and the geometric masses in portraits, landscapes, and drawings.

The young artists of the 1920s were more receptive to Modernism and more revolutionary than their masters, the 1914's generation, though the

[47] Ibid, p.233
[48] Berk, p.10.
[49] Tansuğ, p.114.

latter are usually were considered to be the first Modernist attempts by a number of artists like Zeki Kocamemi, Ali Avni, Refik Ekipman, Elif Naci, Mahmut Cuda, Cevat Dereli, Nurullah Berk, and Hale Asaf.. These artists formed the first republican art society called the Society of Independent Painters and Sculptors *(Müstakiller)* in 1928[50]. Some members of the society, Turgut Zaim, Cevat Dereli, and Malik Aksel, preferred to paint folkloric scenes and traditional miniatures from the forms of Anatolian culture. They held their first exhibition Young Painters Exhibition *(Genç Ressamlar Sergisi)* in Ethnography Museum, Ankara. Mustafa Kemal, who attended this exhibition, impressed the painters with his penetrating comments. Although the artists of the Society did not expect support from the party, some of their works were bought by the state institutions.

In the early 1930s, Malik Aksel was the first teacher of the Gazi Education Institute in Ankara to focus on the Anatolian public's paintings, religious figures, geometrical and patterns of the Turkish culture in his paintings. Aksel organized the first Student Exhibition (Öğrenci Sergileri) in Ankara. It was supported by İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu.[51] The important figure in the same society, Turgut Zaim was also a follower of the folkloric trend. Like Aksel and Develi, he used Western technical skills together with Turkish colors and decorative elements. Portraits of Anatolian women and children dressed in local costumes engaged in the daily routines of village life were one of the main themes of his paintings. According to Nurullah Berk, Turgut Zaim was a painter of Turkish folklore. He treated these subjects with a technique peculiar to himself in which one would hardly to recognizing any influence of European masters.[52]

As mentioned before, the period between 1923 and 1933 was one of Revolutionary transformation. The 1914's generation and *Müstakiller* (the Society of Independent Painters and Sculptors) dominated the artistic scene.

[50] Erbil, p.231.
[51] Tansuğ, p.175.
[52] Berk, p.12.

Until 1933, painters paid a lot of attention to topic, tecnique, and style rather than to the concept of art. However, in the second period, 1933-1950, Turkish painters opened up new and modern trends in their work.

In 1932, some members of the Society of Independent Painters and Sculptors established the D Group, to expose Turkish art to more international Modernist trends. Zeki Faik İzer, Abidin Dino, Cemal Tollu, Elif Naci, Nurullah Berk and sculptor Zühtü Müridoğlu, all founding members of the D Group, declared themselves an avant-garde group, free from any particular trend.[53] In a short time, Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu, Sabri Berkel, Turgut Zaim, Eren Eyüpoğlu, Arif Kaptan, Fahr-el-Nissa Zeid joined this group. The D Group exhibited their first work of art in July 1933 in Beyoğlu. The basic framework of the D Group in artistic expression was to refuse all Impressionist tendencies and to introduce cubist and constructivist patterns Turkish painting. Particularly, Turgut Zaim and Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu attempted to link cubist forms of paintings to Anatolian geometrical designs.

The painters that made up the D Group, which began to hold exhibitions in Turkey, aimed at keeping contemporary Turkish painting within the great traditions of Turkish art form rather than simply taking abstract or Cubist approaches. They also sought inspiration from the colors, patterns and designs to be found in the folk art of Anatolia. Bedri Rahmi, Nurullah Berk, and Eren Eyüpoğlu painted canvases which captured village scenes and formalized the various peasant types to be found on the Turkish mainland. In addition, Cemal Tollu developed his own technique with using massive figures. At the same time, a former member of the Society of Independent Painters, Turgut Zaim, was bringing a new vitality to Turkish painting, inspired very much by the old Turkish miniatures and calligraphy.

Exhibitions in Turkey during the 1930s were dominated mostly by the D Group who also took part in international exhibitions in the Balkans, Russia, and Eastern Europe. They not only exhibited their works but also wrote

[53] Derek Patmore, *Modern Turkish Painting* (London: Turkish Embassy Press Office, 1960), p.3.

essays in such art journals as *Ar* (Art) and *Yeni Adam* (New Man).[54] In addition, some members of the D Group started teaching at the Academy of Fine Arts.

The introduction of new trends into contemporary Turkish art created grounds for much discussion in the 1930s and 1940s. European Modernist trends started to take root in Turkish painting when the D Group introduced moderism along with local (folkloric) trends. The new perspective was sometimes critized by the Kemalist elite. Ali Sami Boyar wrote several article in *Ülkü*, the journal of the Ankara People's House emphasising the role of art in the shift from empire to nation state. He critized Modernist currents in contemporary Turkish painting and attached a crucial role to the painters. Boyar stated that,

"We need national public painters more than every time. We are not faced with any difficulties in our time, but our painters have not yet started their national duty. Instead of making magnolia paintings, we need national and revolutionary paintings which give us national sense."[55]

The political atmosphere of the 1930s had determined the representational and nationalist of the nature of in Turkish painting. The D Group, unlike the Society of Independent Painters, followed a radical and different way. Constructive realism, cubism and abstract non-figurative art as, the principle sources of influence for the D group did not completely overlap with the aim of the national art. At the end of the 1930s, the statist policies of the RPP dominated Turkish art policy in different ways. In 1937, an important exhibition, Fifty Years of Turkish Art, held in the Fine Arts Academy

[54] The journal was concerned with main problems of the Turkish artist who worked for the modernization of Turkish art. For Ar, introducing new artists and representation of national values were crucial aim of the Turkish academy. They believed that Turkey had well-educated, successful, and modern sculptors, but the RPP was not aware of this group of people.

[55]Ali Sami Boyar, "Sanat Varlığımızda Resmin Yeri", *Ülkü*, no.5, (June 1935), p.396.*"Milli bir halk ressamlığına her vakitten ziyade muhtaç ve müftakiriz. Bunu bugünkü mevcudumuzla yapmağa manimiz de yoktur. Fakat her nedense ressam arkadaşlarımız milli vazifelerine başlayamamışlardır. Bize manolya resimlerinden, evvel, milli destanlarımızı okuyacak ve milli mehahirimize tespit edecek inkilabı nakledecek resimler ve tablolar lazımdır".*

encouraged art critism in Turkey.[56] After this exhibition, M. Kemal decided to establish a museum of painting and sculpture in İstanbul. Its collection was made up of Turkish and European paintings and sculptures which belonged to impressionist, cubist and constructivist style of contemparary works of art.

In 1938, an important decision was taken by the Ministery of Education. In order to create national art, each summer, at least ten artists would be sent to various parts of Turkey. In the direction of the populist and etatist policies of the party, artists would study national themes as well as determine the beauty of the homeland. The main purpose of the Homeland Tour's of the Painters *(Ressamların Yurt Gezileri)* was to familiarize the artists whose activities had been restricted only to the landscapes and environments of the cities with the Anatolian landscape and life.[57] In 1942, a special exhibition "*Memleket Resimleri"* (Paintings of the Homeland) was organized in Ankara, restricted to the works of artists who had participated in this tours. During the tours, all the expenses of the artists were covered by the state. In addition, some of the works of the artists were bought by state institutions in order to finically support the artists.

This organization would not only encourage artists to explore cultural traditions in Anatolia but also allowed the painters to be exposed to Turkish identity and the folkloric elements in Anatolia. Although Renda states that the program had no ideological purpose as the artists were free to paint, most of the works that were bought by the state carried national elements and themes.[58]

In the 1940s, another important of exhibit was the series of *Devlet Resim ve Heykel Sergileri* (The State Exhibition on Painting and Sculpture) in Ankara organized to support artists. The state exhibitions continued until the

[56]Kaya Özsezgin, *Cumhuriyetin 75. Yılında Türk Resmi* (İstanbul:Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Sanat Yayınları,1998), p.45.
[57] Ibid., p.43.
[58] Tansuğ, p.194.

end of the 1940s, awarding annually prize and the prize-winning works which were often purchased for the state collection.

To introduce a new vision for Turkish painting, the French painter Leopold Levy was invited to Turkey for the painting section at the Academy of art in İstanbul, where he taught until 1949, Levy had a long lasting influence on his students. His ideas influenced many younger groups of generation artists such as Yeniler *(The New Group)* and Onlar *(The Ten).*[59]

From the early 1940s, the Turkish painters discovered new modes of expression. The *Yeniler* (New Group) was founded by Nuri İyem, Avni Arbaş, Selim Turan, Abidin Dino, and Nejad Devrim in 1940. The group proclaimed a revolution in painting in the choice of subject and the techniques employed by the older generation. Nuri İyem, who was one of the best representatives of the new group, made portraits of Anatolian women and children and the simple lives of villagers using sharp features. In terms of artistic perspective, these artists dealt with social problems such as poverty and unemployment, rather than folk culture. The themes from everyday life were the new bases for their paintings.

After a short time, Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu formed the Group of Ten *(Onlar Grubu)* together with a group of young artists from the Academy of Fine Arts, whose artistic styles were based on the traditional arts. The members of this group, Turan Erol, Nedim Günsür, and Orhan Peker, pursued an individual style to search for a native idiom, realism, working people and everyday life in painting.[60]

After 1950, Turkey entered a new phase. The Democratic Party came into power and developed a more liberal ideological outlook. With the political changes artists in the 1950s did not feel the need to form supportive groups such as the D Group, the New Group or the Ten. They developed their individual styles in more liberal sense.

[59] Nurullah Berk, *Ellinci Yılında Türk Resim ve Heykel Sanatı* (İstanbul: YKY, 1973), p.68.
[60] Ibid., pp.69,70.

Development of Turkish Sculpture

Sculpture, which had been almost completely absent during the earlier Ottoman period, appeared in Turkey in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1883, the opening of *the Sanay-i Nefise Mektebi* (Imperial Academy of Fine Arts) in İstanbul was an important turning point for Turkish art and sculpture. İhsan Özsoy, Mahir Tomruk, Nejat Sirel trained in this Academy produced their most important works of art during the early Republican period. They also contributed to the training of what came to be known as the "Republican Generation" in the era of sculpture.[61]

Kemalist ideology paid a great deal of of attention to sculpture as an art form, due to ideological an monumental function of art. It is a fact that for the Kemalists, sculpture was a crucial tool for the "visualization of Turkish history" in the 1920s and 1930s.[62]

The first sculptors sought to anchor national identity, national unity and solidarity while acknowledging modern standards[63]. Thus, the representation of the Turkish past appeared to be deeply engaged in the symbolic forms of monuments. In this sense, the aim of the Kemalists was to create monuments and statues which symbolized Turkish nationalism and the War of Independence. The first sculptures were seen as memorialization of feelings and emotions of the Turkish people and challenged the Ottoman past. The Italian Pietro Connonica, the German Krippel and the Austrians Hannack and Thorak were the first sculptors invited to work on a series of monuments in Ankara, İstanbul,and İzmir after 1925. Although the state would support Turkish artists in every field of art, the older sculptors' İhsan and Mahir Tomruk have produced only a limited number of works. Their

[61] Erbil, p.136.
[62]Faik Gür, "Atatürk Heykelleri ve Türkiye'de Resmi Tarihin Görselleşmesi",*Toplum Bilim*, no.90, (Güz 2001):158.
[63] Erbil, p.136.

figures and portraits were criticized by the early republican intelligentsia as weak and poor in terms of symbolism and concepts.

In the late 1920s, the works of Cannonica and Krippel were not only fundamental for the visualization of Turkish history, but also as the starting point of modern Turkish sculpture. Krippel constructed the first Atatürk statue at Sarayburnu (1926) which represented M. Kemal as a civilian. In the monument, he looks at the Anatolian side of the city and is very determined. Gür states that the first Atatürk statue symbolizes the begining of the anti-colonial war and the combination of ideology and nationalism.[64] Five years later, Krippel constructed another statue of M. Kemal in Samsun called "Atatürk Mounted on Horseback" (1932). This statue represented Atatürk as a soldier on horseback, symbolized the day of national sovereignty.

Finally,the last ring of the Atatürk statues were constructed in Afyon to symbolize end of the Independence War. M. Kemal, symbolizing modern Turkey, was represented in mythological war with Hercules as a symbol of Greek nation. These three Atatürk statues, organized under the three themes, represented a high degree of nationalism, glorification of Turkish history, and the heroism of the Turkish nation. In addition to these works, Krippel *constructed an Atatürk mounted on horseback in the National Square* in Ankara; *Atatürk statue in front of Sümerbank* was another important work of the German artist.[65]

The Italian sculptor Pietro Cannonica was invited to İstanbul to participate in competition for a Taksim monument in İstanbul. The commission accepted his plan in its original form. The Taksim Monument, which symbolized the Turkish people who had support supported the Turkish army and M. Kemal during the Independence War, was the master work of Cannonica. Cannonica described the construction of the monument as follows:

[64] Gür, p.158.
[65] Erbil, p.137.

I received inspiration from the Turkish National Independence War and Mustafa Kemal Pasha. I studied almost every photo of M. Kemal and his friends that were taken during the war time. I drew the forms of sculpture according to inspiration which I took from these works.[66]

The Atatürk mounted on horseback in front of the Ethnography Museum (1938) in Ankara and the Atatürk figure in Sıhhiye Zafer Square in Ankara (1927) were other works by Cannonica. Apparently, between 1926 and 1938, foreign artists dominated the scene of monumental arts in Turkey. In the journal of *Ar* (Art), Zühtü Müridoğlu mentions the master works of the "pioneer" foreign sculptors in several essays.

Sculptors Canonica represent his shrewdness by making all statues and busts on the Asian and European side of Turkey. If we look at the photos that represent the sculptures as more beautiful than, they are Canonica's statues are a calamity. Undoubtly, this is not mistake of Turkish sculpture.[67]

It seems that the Kemalist regime gave priority to foreign sculptors. This might show that Kemalist system took art as the means to reach their ideological ends rather than to develop the Turkish art of sculpture or paintings by all means. The regime preferred foreign artists for the monuments of the early Republican period because Italian and German artists were the pioneers of the monumental art of the monumental art of 1930s. In the 1930s, Turkish sculptors remained second class artists. In response, when Turkish sculptors who had been sent to Europe to study returned to Turkey, they put particular emphasis on the national and realistic

---

[66]Gültekin Elibol, *Atatürk Dönemi Resim ve Heykel*,(İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları,1973),p.206 and Semavi Eyice, *Atatürk ve Pietro Cannonica*, (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık,1986), p.11.

"Abidenin tertibinde Türk Milletinin Gazi Mustafa Paşa ile birlikte yapmış olduğu savaşlardan ilham aldım. Bu savaşa ve Gazi ile diğer arkadaşlarına ait hemen hemen bütün fotografları inceladim. Ve onlardan aldığım ilhama göre çizdim."

[67]Zühtü Müridoğlu, "Abidecilik", *Ar*, no.5 (May 1937):6. *"Heykeltraş Cannonica, Türkiye'nin Avrupa ve Asya topraklarında dikilecek bütün abide ve büstlerin inhisarını almak açgözlülüğünü göstermiştir.Heykelleri daima olduklarından daha güzel gösteren fotoğraflara bakılırsa, Cannonica'nın abideleri birer "facia"dır. Hiç şüphesiz ki bu işte Türklerin(heykeltraşların kabahati yoktur."*

forms of Atatürk and the War of Independence, in more realist and nationalist forms than Italian and German sculptors. Kenan Yontuç, Ali Hadi Bora, Zühtü Müridoğlu,and Nusret Suman were among those who constructed a variety of different works in the 1940s.[68] Particularly, Hadi Bora and Zühtü Müridoğlu were two interesting figures in Turkish sculpture in the early Republican period.

In the early 1920s, Hadi Bora studied at the Academie Julian and took private lessons from well known artists in Paris. He sculpted human figures, busts, and monumental groups. Unlike other sculptors, he reflected his abstract forms in the rich content of Turkish symbols. The *Adana Monument*, The "*Atatürk in a Marshal Unifom in Front of the Military Residence Building"* in İstanbul (1937), and Atatürk and İnönü on Horseback in Zonguldak were famous works' Bara constructed together with Zühtü Müridoğlu.[69]

Müridoğlu was a member of the D Group. He had studied at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, and worked at the private Calarossi Academy in Paris until 1932. In his works, nature was a good medium in which to do abstract and concrete works. Some of the important pieces which he completed were the reliefs on the large steps of the "Anıt Kabir" the Atatürk monuments on Büyükada and Zonguldak. He discussed the art policy of the single party in the journal *Ar* in April 1938. He emphasized the need for Turkish sculptors and painters in the 1930s. According to Müridoğlu, if the state modernized Turkish arts in national forms, it should support Turkish artists rather than inviting foreign sculptors from Germany and Italy. He criticized art works planned by the Italian and German artists. A quatation from the writings of Müridoğlu expresses his ideas on this issue:

"Statue before everything else is a art work. It should be appropiated proper design and aesthetic, because until the this time, we have made the mistake

[68] Berk,, p. 12.
[69] Erbil, p:137.

of employing fifth class mud masters, grave crooks, and the dullest academy members who are unemployable in their own countries....” [70]

All in all, in the 1930s, Revolutionary sculptor was a problematic concept for both Turkish artists and the Kemalist regime. The state generally prefered to invite foreigners to the country and sent students abroad to learn and then introduce new forms, styles, and values to Turkish sculpture. However, both the sculptors who came from Italy, German, and France and also those who had worked in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul took western concepts as models for themselves. On the other hand, the attitude of the Turkish artists and academy also focused on creating a sense of a nation in the work of art instead of copying the concepts of the Western artists. These attitudes in the 1930s led to a sharp polarization in the fine arts. Turkish artists wrote several critiques in *Ar* demanding state support for Turkish sculptors. They stated that “Turkish sculpture and the development of statue art is related to giving appropriate facilities to sculptors. Our artists want to gain our trust. Trust is the secret of success.”[71] Turkish artists, unlike their European counterparts, were trying to reflect on the historical and regional cultural heritage of Turkish art within the limits of individual freedom.

C. The Life of İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu

İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, a prominent intellectual of the early Republican era, was born in Cihangir, İstanbul in 1886. His father, İbrahim

[70] Zühtü Müridoğlu, “Zühtü Müridoğlu’nun Fikirleri”, *Ar* (April 1938), p.1. *“Abide her şeyden önce sanat eseridir. Muayyen bir takım şekil ve ahenk kanunlarına uygun olması elzem bir antitedir.....Çünkü itiraf edelim ki şimdiye kadar, beşinci derecede çamur ustalarına, mezartaşı yontucularına, akademizmanın en donuk mümesillerine, kendi memleketlerinde bulamadıkları sahayı burada bulup topraklarımızı tecrübe tahtası haline sokmuş olanlara, burada cebini doldurup safdil avlamak sevdasına düşmüş dökümcülere iş vermekten ve onları zengin etmekten başka bir şey yapmadık.”*

[71] Zühtü Müridoğlu, “Abidelerimiz”, *Ar* (May 1937):9.*“Türk heykeltıraşlığının, abide sanatının inkişafı, bizim sanatkarlarımıza böyle mühim işlerin tevhidine, onlara çalışma imkanlarının verilmesine bağlıdır. Sanatkarlarımız, herşeyden evvel itimad istemektediler. İtimad, bütün muvaffakiyetlerin sırrı budur”.*

Ethem, was employed as a civil servant for the Ottoman Empire. His mother, Hamide Seyit, was an important figure in Baltacıoğlu's childhood. The Baltacıoğlu family's origins are not clear, but their members came from Mucur near Kırşehir in the mid-1850s. In his childhood, İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu struggled against several difficulties. His mother was sick and his father as a civil servant could not meet all of the expenses of the family. He lost his two older sisters at an early age. Before he started primary school in Cihangir, his father directed his son to learn carpentry and gardening. His mother encouraged him to become involved in painting, theatre, and aesthetics.

At the age four, İsmayıl Hakkı began his studies at the *Mahalle Mektebi* (neighborhood school). After a short time, he left this school and registered as a modern primary school, Şemsülmekatip. He was a very hard working student. After primary school, he attended Fevziye Idadisi (high school), where he first took art and aesthetic courses. During the high school education, he was particularly successful in Arabic, Turkish, and art courses.

At an early age, he began to devote himself to intellectual issues. His father acquainted him with such ideas as nation, culture, tradition, and homeland. The nationalist ideology of the Ottoman intellectual Ziya Gökalp influenced Baltacıoğlu, who frequently visited the Turkish Hearths in the mid-1910s. All these influences opened the way for nationalist ideals and for Baltacıoğlu sought the meaning of Turkishness.

After he finished his education, he worked for the state in different positions and as an art teacher at a high school. He was sent to Europe to investigate pedagogic and art education at the university level. In 1913, he returned to İstanbul Darülfünun as pedagogy teacher in the education department and also gave lectures in Ottoman calligraphy. Until 1933, he had worked there in different positions; he was appointed two times as dean of Faculty of Literature, and later elevated to the position of Rector of the İstanbul University (1923-1927). At the same time, he offered courses on

scholastics, sociology, ethics, and the pscyhology of religion, Islamic literature, aesthetics as well as drawing and calligraphy.

In 1914, Baltacıoğlu also supported the foundation of *İnas Darülfünun* (The Women's University) and gave lectures at the *Sanay-i Nefise Mektebi* (Imperial Academy for Art). İsmayıl Hakkı was appointed director of the Gazi Education Institute where he gave lectures on pedagogy, art, and aesthetics in 1931.

Baltacıoğlu lost his position at İstanbul University during the University Reform that aimed to reform the Turkish University system under the guidance of a group of foreign professors in 1933. With the encouragement of his friends, he started the weekly newspaper *Yeni Adam* (New Man) in 1933. From 1942, he was appointed as a member of the teaching staff of the Faculty of Languages and History of Geograpy at Ankara University. In addition to these activities, he participated in political life and was elected a member of the parliment for two conservative (1942-1950) terms from the provience of Afyon and later Kırşehir. As an academic person, Baltacıoğlu wrote more than one hundrand books and nearly a thousand articles related to pedagogy, art, aesthetics, religion, and philosophy.[72] He was also director of Yeni Adam (New Man) until his death, in 1978.

The intellectuals of the new Republic Baltacıoğlu had a unique place. He was generally regarded as a consevative figure of nationalist and Turkish nationalism in the early Republican period.[73] His views on nation, culture, and tradition brought a new interpretation to Turkish nationalism. According to Baltacıoğlu, Turkish modernization starting from the Meşrutiyet (Second Constitution Period 1908-09) and continued to the Republic period was partly the cause of a moral crisis leading the dissolution of society.[74] As known, modernization (Westernization) was a contradictory concept for the Turkish

[72] Vural Görel, "İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu" in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Tarihi Muhafazakarlık,*v.5, ed. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), p.608

[73] Ibid. p.608 and Nazım İrem, "Kemalist Modernizm ve Türk Gelenekçi Muhafazakarlığın Kökenleri", *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.74, (Fall 1997):52-99.

[74] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Türk'e Doğru* (İstanbul: Kültür Basımevi, 1945), p.20.

revolutionary intellectuals. If the Kemalist regime established Turkish nation on traditions and values of European civilization, due to cultural differentiation between civilization and westernization Turkey would faced a socio-cultural crises. Baltacıoğlu, like many other intellectuals, worried about the illnesses of modernity and was pre-occuppied with the concept of "synthesis".

In *Batıya Doğru* (Toward the West), the concept of Westernization was defined as taking scientific and technical manners from the West. For him, the Turkish nation was going towards the West. Being westernized in terms of technique was good, but the demand of having Western culture was different from the being westernized.[75] Following Gökalp, Baltacıoğlu claimed that culture and tradition were peculiar to a single nation. Culture could change from nation to nation and the essence of nation tradition remained some, but civilization included common values of all nations that means science, technique, knowledge, and method. Like Gökalp, Baltacıoğlu defined a nation as a spiritual unity that was formed by people who had a common a traditional unity.[76] Tradition was a part of national culture and had an essence that never changed throughout centuries. Unlike traditions, customs were the changeable values of society. For him, language, motives, music, and public philosophy were parts of tradition. In his articles, he attempted to define a new life in the new culture and find a synthesis in which new and old, and dead and alive were combined in national culture.[77]

As mentioned before, his definition of civilization mainly depended on science, technique and method, which were the common knowledge of nations, while the core of modernization took its roots from tradition. According to Nazım İrem, the Kemalist nation-state ideal regarded Baltacıoğlu's perspective as romantic-cultural in a traditionalist/conservative tendency, so the new regime saw traditionalism an Ottomanist attitude that

[75] Baltacıoğlu, *Batı'ya Doğru* (İstanbul:Sebat Basımevi, 1945), p.7
[76] Baltacıoğlu, "Millet Nedir?, Ne Değildir.", *Yeni Adam*, no.416 (1942), p.2
[77] Baltacıoğlu, "Eski ve Yeni and Ölü ve Diri", *Yeni Adam*, no.340 (1941):2 and "Gelenek" *Yeni Adam*, no.417 (1942):2. and "Zavallı Gelenek" *Yeni Adam*, no.484 (1944):3.

would revive the desires of the old regime.[78] For this reason, Baltacıoğlu used different terminalogy to express his view on this issue. The word *"anane"* (tradition) means all of the vital and strong traditions in the nation. For him, *"ananecilik"* (traditionalism) was completely different from conservatism. Baltacıoğlu viewed himself at the same time as being a Kemalist and traditionalist. For this question, Baltacıoğlu found a solution in embracing the future without breaking off from the past, because every innovation was a reconstruction of the past according to the new conditions and the necessity of society.

From this point of view, modernization was a multi-dimensional process, so modernization in more than one was possible. He believed that the reinvention of tradition was one of the important dynamics for the creation of a modern nation. In this way, Turkish modernization as a kind of process would be a reinvention of values in history and culture.

In this regard, as opposed to a "constructivist-rational" political thinking, Baltacıoğlu's perspective was closer to that of a kind of "traditionalist\conservative". Aylin Özmen argues that Baltacıoğlu as a social scientist was drawing a synthesis between Bergson's intuitionist's philosophy and Durkheim's sociology.[79]His was an attempt at the reconciliation of the mind-intuition dilemma and collectivist-individualist dichotomy in Turco-Ottoman intellectual history. He argued that the Kemalist modernization process was not a destruction of the old values; instead it was a reconciliation of Turkish tradition in the modern structure. The essence of national culture came from tradition, custom, and social memory. Baltacıoğlu clarified that "establishing a state is easy, forming a nation is difficult, but creating tradition is impossible.[80]

[78] İrem, p:63.
[79] Aylin Özmen, "İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu" in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, ed. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), p.77.
[80] İrem, p.73.

All in all, Baltacıoğlu was a member of the Meşrutiyet (Constitution) generation that was wedged between the old and new. He witnessed both the Second Constitutional and the early Republican period's construction of a new nation state and the modernization of Turkish society. Due to his removal from İstanbul university and marginalization among Turkish intellectuals, Baltacıoğlu formulated his (political and cultural) opposition by publishing the weekly journal called *Yeni Adam* between 1934-1978. He introduced solutions for the shortcomings of Western modernity and became a figure of the traditionalist\conservative side in the early Republican era.

D. Yeni Adam: New Life for New Man

After Baltacıoğlu lost his position at İstanbul University, with the encouragement of such prominent intellectual figures as Nurullah Ataç, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and Zeki Faik İzer, he decided to publish the weekly journal *Yeni Adam*. *Yeni Adam* (1934-1978) first appeared in January 1934 and continued for thirty-four years reaching total of 935 issues. Its owner and director, Baltacıoğlu determined its subtitle as "our ideal is to work for Democracy and the Republic (idealimiz demokrasi ve cumhuriyet için çalışmaktır)". In 1934, the Republican regime was only eleven years old. The concept of democracy was given priority by *Yeni Adam*. Although it was one of the longest surviving journals of early Republican Turkey, it was shut down twice by the government for political reasons.

Especially between 1934 and 1950, the journal was an alternative medium for readers interested in art, culture, and politics of the early Republic. Articles published in *Yeni Adam*, critiqued certain aspects of single-party policies such as the construction of the nation-state model, the Halkevleri and the Village Institute project, search for new art, and the radical modernization of Turkish society. Outstanding authors, thinkers, and artists

assembled around Baltacıoğlu. For example; intellectuals, from both more liberal and conservative circles like Hüsamettin Bozok, Suphi Nuri İleri, Kerim Sadi and figures Peyami Safa and Vahdet Gültekin came together and wrote in *Yeni Adam*.

In the 1930, *Yeni Adam* showed anti-fascist characteristics, opening political debates on facist movements in Europe and Turkish politics. Although some of the writers were nationalist\ conservative intellectuals, its staff was an eclectic group of independent intellectuals from different tendencies.. The political attitude of the journal were completely different from other periodicals such as *Ülkü* (Ideal), *Kadro* (Staff), and *Güzel Sanatlar* (Fine Arts) According to Baltacıoğlu, the policies of *Yeni Adam* was not street politics. Its politics were only country's politics.[81] He directed the journal towards the fundamental problems of the early Republican era: traditionalist claims, the essence of theater, the creative education project, the village institutes and the peasantry. The position of Baltacıoğlu on state policies diverged in certain issues from that of the single-party regime. From the beginning, *Yeni Adam* put up opposition to fascist European regimes. The journal's cover page published cartoons of Hitler and fascist Italy. For this reason, it was shut down by the government of Celal Bayar for one year in 1938.[82]

From the begining, Baltacıoğlu created an eclectic style in the critique of Turkish modernity. In several articles, he drew attention to the fact that his main ideal traditionalism, would be a better solution in the modernization of Turkish cultural life. His sythesis of Turkish culture was offered as a combination of old and new traditions could be an alternative viewpoint for the Westernist outlook in the project of modernization.

In fact, in the early 1930s, *Yeni Adam*, was one of the journals which paid exceptional attention to art exhibitions, all contemparary artistic currents

[81] Baltacıoğlu, "Yeni Adam Beş Yaşında", *Yeni Adam,* no.209 (1939):11.
[82] Baltacıoğlu, "Yeni Adam'ı Yaşatacağım", *Yeni Adam*, no.612 (1947):2.

from futurism to surrealism and translated articles from European art. Duygu Köksal argues that Yeni Adam emphasized social realism and nationalismin art[83]. According to Yeni Adam, new art would be national art. The emphasis on utility and realism would also serve the needs for national attitudes in art.[84] In articles titled *"Sanat İhtilali"* (A Revolution in Art), "*Resimde, Mimaride, Heykelde Türke Doğru"* (Toward the Turk in Painting, Architecture and Sculpture), *"Sanatta Garba Doğru"* (Toward the West in Art), Baltacıoğlu stressed the needs for social art. In addition, Hasan Cemil Çambel's article *"Türk Kültür Davası"* (Turkish Cultural Claim) and Vahdet Güntekin's *"Yeni Adama Yeni Sanat"* (New Art for the New Man) shed light on the utility of art in the social life of the nation and represented a collectivists nationalist stance.

In *Yeni Adam*, during wartime(1938-1945) Baltacıoğlu's attitude emphasized collectivist attitudes in the fine arts that exhibited social realist and humanist approaches. Particularly, cartoons, drawings and cover pages showed images of war, the fascist movement as well as social-economic situation of the people in Turkey. The cover pages of the journal were illustrated with photographs and drawings of important artists such as Fikret Mualla, Zeki Faik, Mahmud Cuda, and İsmayıl Hakkı who used impressionist and realist tecniques in their drawings.[85] The themes of the drawings generally were taken from the lives of workers, Anatolian people, and the daily lives of ordinary people. Furthermore, the journal gave full pages for the art work of ancient Greece and the Renaissance that were important sources of Turkish art.

Apart from theoretical discussions on art, the journal was pedagogical, thought- provoking and functioned like a center of learning. Baltacıoğlu, in a

[83] Duygu Köksal, "The Role of Culture and Art in Early Republican Modernization in Turkey" La Multiplication des Images en Pays d'Islam; de l'estampe a la Television (17-21 siecle), Bernard Heyberger and Sylvia Naef (eds.), Istanbuler Texte und Studien, Orient Institut der DMG, Würzburg, 2003, p. 215.
[84] Baltacıoğlu, "Yeni Adam'ın Yolu", *Yeni Adam*, no.613 (1 September 1949), p.2.
[85] Tuna Baltacıoğlu, *Yeni Adam Günleri* (İstanbul:YKY, 1998), p.122, 123.

series of articles, declared that the socialization of literature, music, painting and theater could only be possible through art education in Turkish society. For this reason, *Yeni Adam* opened its pages for the educational function of art. A series of articles titled *"Halk Üniversitesi Dersleri"* (Public University Lectures) were written by Baltacıoğlu stressing literature, painting, philosophy, and theater, introducing the concepts and technique of the modern art.

Starting from the 1940s, *Yeni Adam* became preoccupied with national art, local culture, and a kind of sythesis in Turkish art. Art from his perspective had to reflect an inner, spiritual, moral collectivity of the nation.The national values, emotions and pains would be shaped in the works of art. His perception of national art was the formulated in the unchanged traditions (local art) of the society in which it found its ideal forms, techniques, styles and aethetics.

In the following chapter, the single-party policy in art and culture is analyzed through a series of journal published in the 1930s. The main issue of the first part is to discuss the state and patronage relationship, art education, and state-sponsored art exhibition. Revealing the position of the Kemalist regime in the cultural formation of the nation is the main aim of the chapter. Then, in the next part, the debates on national art are investigated. The relationship between the mainstream state ideology and contemporary art contributed to a critical discussion on the art policy. Lastly, the representation and images of modern Turkish society depicted by early Republican painters are analyzed through the national art paradigm.

Fourth chapter focuses on the alternative vision of *Yeni Adam* concerning art and culture in the 1930s and 1940s. In the first part, the thesis gives particular emphasis to three different approaches that coexisted in the journal, namely social realism, cultural nationalism, and the debates around Westernization. The discussion on tradition, culture, and ideology more or less determined the unique position of the journal as well as İsmayıl Hakkı

Baltacıoğlu among mainstream Turkish intellectuals. The debate around social realist versus national art as a part of the main contradiction of the 1930s will be articulated. In this part, representation of the nation from the traditionalist synthesis perspective is analyzed in the series of articles which were writen by Baltacıoğlu. This is supported by a number of cartoons, designs, and drawings. Finally, by studying *Yeni Adam*, the political opposition of the journal towards the single party policies, which directed art and monopolized artistic production analyzed within the scope of cultural nationalism.

In the conclusion, after having exanined both Kemalist and *Yeni Adam's* cultural conservatist perpective of art and culture in the previous chapters, a critical comparison of these ideologies is attempted. In this framework, studying articles, news, and art critiques of early Republican intellectuals show changes in their perception of art and culture to clarify how they were oppossed to dominant discourse of the 1930s. The group of elites were trying to overcome the weakness of traditional culture and were concerned with reshaping the Western cultural formation in the Turkish case. In this way, the book contribute mainly a comparative perspective to official Republican art policy and emphasize different approaches, social realism and national art in *Yeni Adam* during the 1930s and 1940s.

CHAPTER III

A. The Role of Art and State in the Construction of National Identity

The RPP was the main agent in introducing the westernization and modernization project of fine arts between the years 1923-1945. The party used visual arts to exert and to display its power over Turkish society. Art become an instrument that conveyed information, values, attitudes of the Kemalist intelligentsia through painting, sculpture, and architecture. The cultural policy-makers of the regime of Republican regime aimed to get rid of all kind of weaknesses and degeneration they found in of Ottoman art. The cultural transformation of the Republican regime would be like a Renaissance opening up a new age for society and artists. The elites agreed that the newly emerging Turkish state opened up a new path for national culture and gave special importance to aesthetics under the direction of the party[86].

To achieve this goal, the party contributed both to the cultural mobilization of the people and the artist who served the needs of the state. One prominent intellectual and statesman of the early Republican Turkey, Hasan Ali Yücel, explained the state-artist relationship in the following sentences: “In the last fifteen years, the community has just completed its flowering period without any harmful effects of strong wind or hail. The state like a careful gardener has paid attention to them and cultivated the fruits of the garden.”[87]

It was expected that the nation’s art would express the spirit and excitement of the new civilization, and also prove the Turks their superiority over other countries. Suut Kemal Yetkin defined the role of artists as introducing contemporary art to mobilize Turkish society and emphasized the role of artists in the larger national program. For him, all of the expectations, ideals and the spirit of the nation were rooted in national art with its roots in

[86] Kenan Ali Yontuç, *Heykel Sergisi Kataloğu* (Ankara: CHP Neşriyatı, 1941):1.
[87] *Hasan Ali Yücel, “Sanatımız”, Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi, no.1 (1939):1.*

Central Asia.[88] Artists were responsible for protecting this cultural heritage as well as shaping the future art society. İsmet İnönü, in a speech during the opening ceremony of the 3rd State Painting and Sculpture Exhibition, emphasized the function of art in mobilizing society: "Fine art and its influence are not simple things. In elevating the educational level, of the nation fine arts should be more important than material culture."[89]

Unlike fascist Germany and Italy, the Kemalist ideology promoted national art for the development and progress of Turkish society rather than getting rid of the illnesses of modernity and industrialization. One of the earliest efforts of the state was the opening of art divisions in the People's Houses throughout the country. Art, photography courses and several exhibitions were organized, aiming to create amateur artists and wide audiences for art in general.[90] The Art Departments of People's Houses contributed to activities in the fine arts such as music, painting, sculpture to support young artists and developed local interest in arts in every region of Anatolia. The RPP in its party program accepted conferences, exhibition, museums, art, theatre, cinema, and radio as tools for the propaganda of Kemalist regime.[91]

Indeed, the party was aware of the political power of propaganda in the fine arts, so they adopted a strategic position both in order to mobilize the masses and to overcome undevelopment. Munir Hayri Egeli emphasized the role of propaganda in the twentieth century in the following sentences: "People have given different names to the twentieth century. Some people have defined it as an iron age. For us, our age will be named the age of

---

[88] *Suut Kemal Yetkin, "Sanatkar", Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi, no.2 (1940):3*

[89] *Hasan Ali Yücel,* "3. Devlet Resim ve Heykel Sergisinin Açılış Konuşması", *Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi, no.3 (1941):5.*"Güzel sanat, güzel sevgisi deyip geçmeyiniz. Bir milletin terbiyesimde, seviyesinde, yükselmesinde en maddi alanlarda çok kudret göstermek için güzel sanat seviyesi yüksek olmalıdır."

[90] Duygu Köksal, "Art and Power in Turkey: Culture, Asethetics and Nationalism During the Single Party Era", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, (Fall 2004):101.

[91] Sefa Şimşek, Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi: Halkevleri (1932-1951) (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Universitesi Yayınları, 2002), p.81.

propaganda. In every part of the world, nations have founded ministries of propaganda." [92] In this sense, the new regime recognized the art of propaganda as a chance to mobilize people. An article published in the weekly journal of the Ankara People's Houses, *Ülkü*, clearly reflected this perspective of the single-party regime: *"We can gladly say that the Republican regime finding several solutions to eliminate our backwardness paid the attention it deserved to the propaganda. But, among our citizens, there are who misunderstand its meaning. Propaganda means spreading all of the realities of the nation in the realm of the Republican's purpose and revolution."*[93]

Ali Sami Boyar was a prominent follower of the Kemalist ideology who mentioned the role of propagandist art in the early Republican era in the journal *Ülkü*. According to Sami, the propagandist artist could be both realist and idealist, because he carried the burden of the national-revolutionary program. He could influence people by creating paintings, drawings and sculpture which carried the symbols and values of the state. All artists had the responsibility to promote Turkish art on the level of European civilization. To develop Turkish art, art departments of People's Houses contributed the main role in the early era.In the next part, the art departments in the People's Houses will be analyzed in the context of propagandist art.

People's Houses and the Journal of Ülkü: Nationalist View of Art

The cultural politicies of the 1930s and 1940s organized art departments of the People's Houses which became the cultural centers of towns and cities. Between 1932 and 1940, 970 art exhibitions were held in

[92]Ibid., p.118.*"20.asra türlü türlü adlar verdiler. Kimi demir asrı der. Bizce yaşadığımız devrin adını gelecek nesiller şöyle anacak:Propaganda asrı. Dünyanın dört bir yanında uluslar propaganda bakanlıkları kurdular."*

[93]Ibid., p.118.*"Sevinçle söyleyebiliriz ki, her geriliğimizi ortadan kaldıracak çareler bulan Cumhuriyet, propagandaya da layık olduğu değeri vermekte gecikmedi. Yalnız halkımız arasında propagandayı yanlış anlayanlar var.Bir ülkünün, bir devrimin emrinde olduğu zaman memleket içinde yapılacak propaganda sadece olanları bütün gerçekliğiyle yaymak demektir".*

the People's Houses throughout Turkey.[94] The program of People's Houses attributed special importance to painting. The themes of the paintings had to be be taken from the national epic, Turkish heros, and national tradition.[95] Every year, art departmants through Turkey organized exhibitions to support amateur groups, aiming to raise the public's level of art education.

Ülkü as an official journal of the Ankara People's Houses was very much in line with the RPP ideology. Both the journal and art department aimed to utilize the fine arts in order to transform and discipline the ordinary people with the revolutionary principles. According to *Ülkü*, art in Ottoman society had completly lost its original Turkish roots. The influence of Persian and Arab civilization on Ottoman culture had hindered modernization in Ottoman art. The Kemalists tended to look inward to the glorification of national values and art and closed themselves throughly to the Ottoman culture.[96]

Apparently, Ülkü and the People's Houses acted as a model for Turkish society. Many leading intellectuals, academics, and artists mentioned activities of the art department in these articles in the nespapers and journals. Refik Epikman, Ali Sami Boyar, Ahmet Muhip Dranas, and Suut Kemal Yetkin wrote art criticism for the fine art exhibitions of the People's Houses as well as other fine art activities. The major concern of intellectuals in *Ülkü* was to introduce the concept of national art and Western artistic sources in harmonizing "the old" and "the new."

In this respect, with the Turkish revolution, Turkish artists were expected to turn back to Anatolian folk culture in paintings, drawings as well as sculptures. Amateur painting and photograph exhibitions were a chance for young artists to achieve great success in visual arts. Every year, local painting, drawings and handworks were selected from several Houses in

[94] Köksal, p.101.
[95] Neşe G. Yeşilkaya. *Halevleri ve Ideoloji ve Mimarlık*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), p.93.
[96] Köksal, p.104.

different regions of the country, and exhibited in the Ankara People's Houses.[97]

According to the party program (1933), the state would financially support painting and sculpture organizations. The regime opened a new gallery in Dolmabahçe Palace in İstanbul, buying works from different artists; organized State Painting and Sculpture exhibitions and Painting Tours of Anatolia (1938-1944); published Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi (the Journal of Fine Arts); and finally established Fine Art Institute the Ministry of Education.[98]

Stated Sponsored Art Exhibitions in the Early Republican Era

Starting from the early 1930s, a series of art exhibitions sponsored by the RPP took place. "The Exhibition of the Revolution" which opened in Ankara in October 1933 was turning point for fine arts in Turkey. The exhibition was built around a narrative that showed the War of Independence, several images of Atatürk, and the changes brought to the people through the reforms. Basic aims of this exhibition as to display theaesthetic properties, and the cultural-historical memories of Turkish society. Three exhibition halls were organized. One room in exhibition was dedicated to the regime's achievements in the fields of revolution, labor, agriculture, and transportation. The second room represented nature and the daily life experiences of the people. Finally, the third was designed with several different Atatürk's portraits which created reality effect on the visitors[99]. Nurullah Berk's painting entitled "Pilots" *(Pilotlar)*, Ali Çelebi's "Wounded Soldier" *(Yaralı Asker)*, Şerif Akdik's "Village School" *(Köy Okulu)* depicting village women learning how to read and write were significant contributions of the exhibition. The most

[97] *Halkevleri Amatör Resim ve Fotoğraf Sergileri* (Ankara: CHP Neşriyatı,1941), p:10
[98] Ahmet Mühip Dranas, *Beyoğlu Halkevi Birinci Sanat Ayı Broşürü* (İstanbul: Kenan Basımevi, 1942):9,10.
[99] Şimşek, p.124.

monumental painting in the exhibition was “The People People of Eastern and Western Anatolia Expressing Their Gratitude to Atatürk” *(Doğu ve Batı Halkı’nın Atatürk’e Arz-ı Şükranı)* by Turgut Zaim reflected the celebration of heroic individualism and national symbolism.[100]All these works were the representation of ideology deeply engaged with forms of art.

Different from “The Exhibition of Revolution” “The United Painting and Scupture Exhibitions” (1936-1937), and “The Fifty Years of Turkish Art Exhibition” gathered the different groups such as the Müstakiller, the D Group, and independent artists and sculptors in the same exhibitions. After these exhibitions, the RPP prepared an art program[101] which coordinated sales, prizes and determined value of prizes. Turkish artists and intellectuals mentioned lack of the infrastructure such as art galleries, conferences and exhibitions halls, and finally national art museums. After the Fifty Years of Turkish Art exhibition, the regime decided to open a National Museum of Art in İstanbul. In a short time, the apartments of the crown princes in Dolmabahçe Palace were converted into the Museum of Painting and Sculpture. Nuruallah Berk praised the museum and argued that it would play a crucial role in art education as well as protecting national culture.[102]

Painting the Country: The Painting Tours of Anatolia (1938-1944)

Painting tours of Anatolia were organized by the RPP in 1938 and continued until 1944. These state-sponsored tours deeply influenced fine arts in Turkey. On July 1938, the RPP central committee, of which Atatürk was the chairman, made a statement that had an impact on the country’s political, ideological and cultural life.[103] The party had organized an art study and travel program for the purposes of the identifying the beauties of the country and of

[100] *Ar*, Birleşik Resim ve Heykel Sergisi, no.18 (1938):16.
[101] *Ar*, “Cumhuriyet Halk Partisinin Sanat Alanında Aldığı Mühim Kararlar”, n.20 (1938):2,3.
[102] Nurullah Berk, “Güzel Sanatlar Müzesi”, *Ar,* no.7 (1937):1,2.
[103] *Ar*, “Cumhuriyet Halk Partisinin Sanat Alanında Aldığı Mühim Kararlar”, no.20 (1938):5.

making it easier for the artists to work on themes related to the country. The art program immediately drew a response from the intellectuals and artists.

According to Refik Epikman, artists never missed a single opportunity to take measures that would lead to beneficial and revolutionary results.[104] This program was also referred to as “an invitation to artists to explore new opportunities”. The RPP stated that during their tours, artists would be studying the country and its people and have close and direct contact with Anatolian people as well as Anatolian folk culture, and produce fine, and national works. Compared with the Exhibition of Revolution in which artists came up with more restricted themes and overwhelmingly concentrated on Ankara and Independence War, these tours gave an opportunity to artists to witness the physical and cultural envoirment of Anatolia. Most of the Republican intellectuals argued that the artist and his art should go to the people and take his dynamics from national energies. For this reason, the painting tours for artists was a starting point of discussion held on controversial themes, such as national art, cubism, humanism and realism in Turkish painting.

In the period between 1923 and 1935, the representation of independence as a life-or-death struggle was a common theme of painting and sculpture. The Turkish artists also represented the ideologles of the “new way of life” and “ new culture” and in their art work, while revolving around concepts such as national independence, heros of the war, and epic demonstration of Atatürk. The ideological tendency of Turkish intellectuals and the RPP led to a compulsory selection of “nationalistic” and “revolutionary” themes in art. On the other hand, young artists in the D Group and Independents sought to gain both artistic and individual creativity. Nurullah Berk voiced an opinion commonly held by young artists:

“Of course there is an intimate association between art on the one hand and the society and country in which it appears, on the other. Of course, art is

[104] Refik Epikman, “Yurdu Gezen Türk Ressamları”, *Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi*, no.1 (1939):8.

national and local. But this does not mean that the subject depicted by a work of art must manifest itself in the form of the official ideology"[105].

Through the painting tours, the artist would face the reality of Anatolia linking the "new" art and with the "old" public. At this time, the art departments of the People's Houses was influencing society and shaping the worlds of culture and art creating realist tendencies, replacing impressionist, romantic, and primitive works of art.

With these considerations, the first tour of the program started on September 1938 and lasted until the end of the mounth. Ten artists chosen from among the academy's instructors and from Academy graduates were to be sent to different provinces. The payment was to cover their travel expences and an additional three hundred liras was provided for "essentials."[106] Under the sponsorship of the RPP, five other tours were organized between 1939 and 1943. In these six tours, the duration was gradually extended from four weeks to two months. The mininum number of paintings was increased from six to ten pieces.[107] But the amount of money paid to the artist was not. After the each tour, the RPP organized annual exhibitions entitled "The State Painting and Sculpture Exhibition" starting from 1939 in Ankara. The paintings that had been produced during the program were exhibited annually.

Within only four years, forty artists were sent to forty different proviences and produced 675 works. These were exhibited in a show in 1944.[108] The art comittee chosen by the RPP selected pioneer works from a huge number of paintings. The selected works were bought by the state. The collection (393 pieces) was taken into a room near the conference hall in the Atatürk Lyceé in Ankara. They were taken there, because the room was too

[105] Turan Erol, "Ressamların Yurt Gezileri ve Sonuçları", *Yurt Gezileri ve Yurt Resimleri* ed. Ameli Edgü. (İstanbul: Milli Reasurans Yayınları, 1998), p.9.
[106] Murat Ural, Cumhuriyetin Romansı: Ressamların Yurt Gezisinde (1938-1943), *Yurt Gezileri ve Yurt Resimleri* ed. Ameli Edgü. (İstanbul: Milli Reasurans Yayınları, 1998), p.29.
[107] Fethiye Erbay and Mutlu Erbay, p.87.
[108] Zeynep Yasa Yaman, "Ressamların Yurt Gezileri ve Sergileri", *Toplum Bilim*, no.4 (June 1996):46.

small. These paintings were carried from place to place. Nobody took responsibility for the paintings. Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu asked what happend these paintings:

In the last twenty-five years, the artists in this country have never been given an opportunity as great as these tours. And what happened to these paintings? Well, the story of that makes for a rather sorrowful take. About four or five years ago, we came across them in the basement of a lyceé in Ankara. They were covered with dirt and dust; you shouldn't think I'm exaggerating when I tell you that it was only with the greatest difficulty that I was able to recognize even my own paintings. Wasn't there any place they could have hung these up? What was the sense in stuffing them down there in a basement? We never understand this.[109]

One important question here is why the state protected these paintings whose could have been displayed in European galleries. Although the party policy contributed artists to serve the needs of the state, their works were abandoned as apart of forgotten history in a high school basement. Now, most of the paintings were exhibited State Painting and Sculpture Museum.

The painting tours of Anatolia were part of a much broader and comprehensive cultural program conducted by the RPP. These "tours" provided the artist the opportunity to travel throughout Anatolia and practiced their art without official constraints. Unlike the pressure in Soviet art activities, the artists were able to use feeling in their own techniques. According to Suut Kemal Yetkin, every picture was a window opening up on the country. He expressed his feelings as follows:

"In the exhibition, there was no imagined landscape painting. All painting was directly done by the artists who were observing nature. "Do you want to see the country from the East to the West, from North to South in every vivid aspect? You should go to the exhibition opened in the Ankara art gallery."[110]

[109] Ural, p:20.
[110] Yaman, p.48.

As a result of this program, modern Turkish painting was enriched by the addition of subjects that were realistic and genuine. The enrichment and selection of themes led to the emergence of new and original styles in Turkish painting. Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu, Turgut Zaim, Eşref Üren, Cemal Tollu, Halil Dikmen, Malik Aksel and Eren Eyüpoğlu gained extraordinary experience on the everyday lives of the Anatolian people and folk culture as well as the national values of the rural masses. For their own part, all of the artists strongly supported this program and their paintings were exhibited in that year's show. Traveling to Anatolia, visiting different interiors of houses, and meeting a great number of people gave them a chance to explore "new art" in one sense.

State and Patronage of the Arts

The fourth annual Exhibition of Revolutions were to be held in Ankara between 1933 and the 1936. In terms of artistic quality, these exhibitions were not of a great importance, but the patronage relationship between the state and the artist led to several discussions in the Turkish arts. The RPP produced a program to control the themes and techniques of paintings and a number of sculptures. The party put the artist in a strategic position to be a propagandist in art. This situation initiated an important debate for art. The basic question was the extent to which the artists should serve the needs of the state. D Group and Independendents produced a great number of paintings for the exhibition. Although these works were the finest examples of the time, they were critized by Turkish intellectuals for being too ideologically engaged.

In *Ulus*, Yaşar Nabi Nayır mentioned the artistic weaknesses of the artists in the fourth and the last exhibition. He said that in order to give birth to a national art that would attract the society, the Turkish artist would have to

rid of him the influence of Western painting and develop his own technique. “National and realist” art would be the agenda for the artist.[111]

In addition to the critique of Yaşar Nabi, Burhan Belge declared the end of the revalution exhibition. He argued that the common people desired the national and the social from the artist. A number of artists complained that the revolutionary paintings were created for taking *“diş kirası”* a small amount of money from the state.[112] This situation was seen as a danger both for the revolution and for art. Intellectuals and artists agreed that instead of producing “directed art”, independent art and artists should search for ways to overcome the controlled atmosphere. Ultimately, the state finalized the exhibition of Revolution in 1936.

Artists and Salary Problems: Debate on the Nationalization of Art

After 1936, the Fine Art Association, Müstakiller, the D Group, and the Independents came together and organized a serious artistic activity that took place in Ankara. In the United Painting and Sculpture Exhibitions, more independent works of art were exhibited. The press, however, did not pay as much attention as it had to the Exhibitions of Revolution, so the problem was how to sell enough works to cover the cost of exhibition arose. This prompted a new relationship between artists and the government. Like Germany, Italy, and Soviet Russia, they were paid salaries by the state. In 1937, the state declared that a proposal had been prepared by the Ministry of Culture according to which twenty-fifty to thirty artists were to be paid 180 liras once every there months for three years during which they would do nothing but practice their art. At the end of the three years, the paintings would be exhibited and the best one would be purchased for the museum collection. Other artists who were unable to win the prizes would continue to work

[111] *Ar*, “Dördüncü İnkilap Resim Sergisi”, no.1 (January 1937):5.
[112] Ibid., p.6.

because they had the chance to win 180 liras.[113] By this way, the RPP hoped to solve the problem between artists and the state. External control on artists rather than direct pressure provided better relations with the state. But this program was never carried out by the Ministry of Culture.

This project was critized in *Ar* in a discussion of the relationship between the state and artists. *Ar* asked a crucial question "Should art be nationalized?" Reşad Nuri Drago answered this question as follows: "The most upsetting issue for the artists was how to earn their livelihoods. For artists, actualized an ideal rather than the material conditions or the money. Artists! Love the art. You would only worry about creating high works of art. The state and the public is with you.*[114]* Similar to Drago, Hasan Ali Yücel believed that art should be nationalized.[115] The nationalization of art meant to take measures to protect art and the artist from difficult financial circumstances.

Burhan Belge emphasized the role of the state as a contributor to artistic activities. According to Belge, the nationalization of art necessitated that the state developed facilities in artistic fields: a) reorganizing the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts, b) founding art schools in other cities, c) opening art galleries and buying paintings and sculptunes, d) decorating exhibition halls with paintings.[116] For him, state support in art had to be in the area of the construction of suitable enviroments rather than in the direct patronage of artists. The famous painter Turgut Zaim argued that "Snag and romantic people's claim that the artists can create high art under the difficult circumstances, is no longer valuable in the twentieth century. In order to work

[113] Salih N. Urallı, "Ressamlar ve Aylık Meselesi", *Ar*, (May 1937):7.
[114] Reşad Nuri Drago, " Plastik Sanatlar veTürkiye", *Ar*, no.1 (January 1937), p.5. *"Sanatçının en üzüldüğü dava "geçinme davasıdır." Devlet maddeden ve paradan ziyade sanatkar için bir ülküyü cisimlendirir. Sanatkar, sanatını sev, yalnızlığın feyizli asaleti içinde yüksek sanat eserleri yaratmaktan başka kaygıya kapılma: devlet de seninledir halk da."*
[115] Hasan Ali Yücel, "Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye", *Ar*, no.2 (February 1937):3.
[116] Burhan Belge, "Plastik Sanatlar veTürkiye", *Ar*, no.6 (June 1937):2.

the stomach should be full. For this reason, the state should give monthly salary to artists." [117]

This situation indicates that artists expected monthly salaries from the state in order to survive. Due to the limited market in art, artists did not sell their works at exhibitions. Only state institutions could buy a number of works at low prices. For example, at the first Exhibition of the Revolution in 1933, M. Kemal visited the gallery and ordered ten paintings for the Ministry of Education. Halil İbrahim Çelebi's famous painting "Villagers Carrying Arsenal*" (Cephane Taşıyan Köylüler)* as the most expensive work was sold for sold 800 Turkish liras.[118] Compared to the salary, artist expected to take from the state, the price of the painting as extremely high. However, the Ministry of Education and Culture in the early 1940s decreased the amount of the prizes. The first artist would win 400 liras, the second and the ones would take 350 lira and 300 liras at the Fourth State Painting and Sculpture exhibition.[119] As a result of the expectation of the artists, the RPP spared a limited budget to contribute to new exhibitions and buying paintings and sculptures for the state and party collections.

In the 1930s, the relationship between artist and state fluctuated, but this situation never led to a polarization of the art in Turkey. The support of the party did not always succeed in creating an artistic environment in society. Malik Aksel in The Third State Painting and Sculpture Exhibition mentioned an imagined dialogue between two well known artists: "In our country, being a painter needs not only having art knowledge, but also

---

[117] Turgut Zaim, "Ar'ın Sanat Anketi", *Ar,* no.13 (January 1938):1. *"Sanatların açlık ve sefalet içinde şaheserler yaratacağını ileri süren Snag ve romantik kafaların artık 20. asırda boruları ötmez. Kafanın çalışması için midenin dolu olması lazımdır. Bunun içinde asgari 150 lira maaş bağlanması şarttır."*

[118] Other paintings brought by the ministry of education were: Arif Bedi "Kuvayı Milliye" 200 lira, Eşref Üren "Gazi'nin Anadolusu" 150 lira, Fahrettin Karagünler 200 lira, Turgut Zaim "10. Yılı Kutlama" 600 lira,Ziya Ülken "Atilla" 250 lira, Refik Epikman "Ankara" 200 lira, Mahmut ?" Mezalim" 275 lira, İbrahim Çallı "Yasak" 250 lira, Hamit Necdet "Büyük Taaruz" 250 lira. Mehmet Üstünipek, "Cumhuriyetin İlk 50 Yılında Sanat Piyasası", Bilanço 98 *Cumhuriyetin Renkleri ve Biçimleri*, ed. Ayla Ödekan. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayıları, 1998), p.188.

[119] Ibid., p.189.

knowing how to sell works of art that makes them professional artists. The does not only know that selling works of art makes them professional artists. The state does not buy art works. They support the artists, help them, and give money for their paintings. In our times, the painters have sold their works without prouding their art. They could only sell their works showing humility in front of the head of state department director." [120]

This indicates that to survive, artists not only did their art but also they had to win the favor of the state. The painting tours of Anatolia opened up a new chapter for an effective and satisfactory relationship between the artist and the state. The RPP left the selection of artists to the Fine Arts Academy. Furthermore, in the program, the party avoided the use of expressions such as "assignment" and "compliance with regulations" that was appropriate when dealing with civil servants.[121] In the beginning of the 1940s, the RPP maintained a relatively low profile during the organizations of the first tour. The press referred to the tour as an RPP- sponsored event. During the tours, the RPP did not emerge as a patron of the activity. In other words, the state played "an impartial analysis unifying role vis-a-vis artists and groups of artists.[122] The Minister of Education, Hasan Ali Yücel, emphasized the autonomy of the art groups in the painting tours as well as the state exhibitions. However, compared to European artists, the Turkish artists were never independent from the state.

Fine Arts Education in the Early Republican Period

In the Republican era, fine arts education entered a new phase. The Turkish intelligentsia believed that to achieve general cultural reforms, the

[120]Ibid. ,p.191. *"Bizde yalnız ressamlık yetmez, satış sanatını da bilmeli ki o sanatlar muvaffak olmuş addedilsin.....Ressamlardan eser satın alıyoruz demiyorlar, ressamlara yardım ediyoruz, teşvik ve takdim kasdıyla eserlerıne para veriyoruz diyorlar. Bizde ressam hiçbir zaman başı dik, gönlü ferah olarak resimini satamıyor. Bir daire müdürü karşısında bounu bükerek, ellerini uğuşturacak ki resmini satabilsin"*

[121] Ural, p.30.

[122] Ibid., p.32.

state was responsible for educating people as well as making them aware of the fine arts. Elif Naci, in the opening speech of Eminönü People's House, indicated that Turkish society as a result of illiteracy and ignorance was unaware of the relationship between art and nature. In the modern world, Turkish society was one and last nations belated in the appreciation of art The Republican regime would educate society at a basic level by opening "Nation schools" where people would take art courses.[123]

The party organized a department in the People's houses in every region of the country as well as transmitting basic knowledge about the fine arts to primary school teachers in the Village Institutes. Apart from these developments, The Imperial School of Fine Arts changed its name and curriculum. The Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul became an institution of higher education.In 1927 Namık İsmail was appointed director of the Academy. First, the former building in Fındıklı was restored and reopened as the Fine Arts Academy. In addition to architecture, painting, and sculpture departments, graphic, ceramic, and ornement arts departments were organized by Philipp Ginther, who was invited from Austria. The painting and sculpture department's curriculum also was changed according to the Paris Fine Arts Academy's program.[124] It is an important point that the İstanbul Fine Arts Academy inctroduced a new perspective to both Turkish art and artists. The director of the Academy Namık İsmail, emphasized the role of the school in the following sentences: "It is difficult to educate children, the public, and peasants. It is generally impossible. Fine Arts is the most important tool to educate and inspire Republican ideals which have been imposed by the state."[125]

In the first ten years, this academy was the only school which promoted developments in the fine arts. Graduates of the academy became

[123] Elif Naci, "Halk ve Resim" *Ar Dergisi* no.5 (May 1937):6
[124] Fethiye Erbay and Mutlu Erbay, Cumhuriyet Dönemi (1923-1938): Atatürk'ün Sanat Politikası. İstanbul Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006, p.126.
[125] Nilüfer Öndin, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kültür Politikası ve Sanat (1923-1950)* (İstanbul: İnsancıl Yayınları, 2003), p.153.

middle and high school teachers who educated Republican children in the state's ideology. The RPP put emphasis on art and art education in order to contribute to the mobilization of Turkish society. In this sense, the Minister of Education Hasan Ali Yücel declared the aim of Republican arts as creating Turkish society, school, city as well as art.[126] He visited a village school in Central Anatolia and analyzed results of the art education at the public level. New Graduates of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts were sent to France and Germany to continue their education. The new generation after they returned from Europe, were appointed as assistant teachers in the painting, sculpture, and ornament departments.

Under the directorship of Namık İsmail (1927-1935), a number of classes, workshop, and conference hall were organized. Although art education in a few years showed great progress in every department, some of the Kemalist intellectuals criticized the art works which were produced by the Academy students. A group of intellectuals like Ali Sami Boyar, Ahmet Muhip Dranas expected more national and realist and realist works from the Academy, rather than pieces inspired by French mythological pieces. According to this group, the duty of the Fine Arts Academy was to raise national art feeling in the heart of the public. Nude drawings, classic European landscape paintings and French and Greek mythological sculptures were not products of Turkish national art, and could not reflect the level of the Turkey's Fine Arts Academy. On the other hand, Namık İsmail defended the curriculum and the student projects. İsmail argued that "Historical themes could never make art national. Although Turkish history would be the essence of beauty and aesthetic, representing Turkish history in the art works is not a duty for academy students. We know that the academy does not create artists. Only students who have extraordinary talent can be artists."[127]

[126] Hasan Ali Yücel, "Yeni Doğan Sanat Muhiti",Ar, no.20 (August 1938), p.29.
[127] Öndin, p.155.

The Institutionalization of the Fine Arts Academy was completed during the directorship of Burhan Toprak (1936-1948). The Academy was turned into professional high school and university level education in 1937. First of all, Leopold Levy was appointed chairman of the painting department while Rudolph Belling headed up the department of sculpture. Second, Toprak aimed to open an art gallery in Beyoğlu in order to support artists. At the same time, he wanted to create an art center which would serve the needs of elite groups.[128]

In the department of sculpture, they opened a new atelier. The academy members planned a special statue that would be a symbol of the Turkish art academy. This statue was constructed in a manner completely different from other works. Due to the limited budget of the department (600 liras), they brought an old column from the garden of the mosque Yenicami. This column was set up and a Hittite or Seljuk lion was set on top of it. Mr. Belling from the sculpture department, made a relief of an Atatürk into a locket to decorate this column. This statue symbolized an eclectic style born out of "old" and "new" together.[129] In this regard, the planned statue would carry several different elements from Ottoman and Anatolia art as well as a symbol of the Turkish revolution. The Academy of Fine Arts introduced a new dynamism to art education and the concepts of "new art" and "national art".

The Fine Arts Academy in İstanbul was the sole institution for the education of arts until 1932. However, Ankara was planned to be the cultural and artistic capital of Anatolia. An art department was formed at Gazi Teachers College in Ankara to train art teachers as well as to produce more national and realist art works. Malik Aksel[130] was appointed the chairman of

[128] Ibid., p.156.
[129] Burhan Toprak, "Güzel Sanatlar Akademisinde Islahat", *Ar*, no.16 (April 1938):8.
[130] Malik Aksel was born in Salonika in 1901.In 1928, he was sent to Europe to study art pedagogy in Berlin. Under the Yurt Gezileri Program, he went to Sivas in 1939 and Denizli 1942. In 1951, he was transferred to İstanbul and began teaching art at the teacher instructions school here. He retired in 1968,; but continued to paint and hold occasional exhibitions. He died in 1987 in İstanbul. "Ressamlar, Resimler, Belgeler, ed. Ameli Edgü, *Yurt Geziler ve, Yurt Resimleri (1938-1943)* (İstanbul: Milli Reasurans Yayınları, 1998), p.84.

the painting department. After having completed his university education in Berlin, Aksel studied Anatolian art and folk culture. He was the author of a number of books on various aspects of Turkish folk art. According to İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Malik Aksel was one of most prominent researchers in the field of Turkish folk painting. He also was interested in Sufi philosophy, which was reflected in his paintings and calligraphic works.[131]

From the beginning, the Gazi Education Institute was different from the Fine Arts Academy in İstanbul in terms of techniques, style, and education purposes. The main aim of the art department at Gazi Institute was to educate young teachers and send them to every part of the country. After they finished three years of education, the teachers were able to educate students and train them in national values and arts.

The state organized these art schools for different purposes. Not only the purpose of each school was different, but their ideological perspectives on art determined the way of education.[132]

The role of the Gazi Institute in achieving modernization of the country was acknowledged in the media.[133] İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu in an article titled *"Malik Bey ve Talebesinin Resim Sergisi"* (Mr. Malik and His Students Painting Exhibition) was concerned with art education in Gazi Education Institute. Baltacıoğlu said that modern painters had to be men of feelings as well as of intellect.[134] In the exhibition, most of Aksel's paintings shed light on national art such as *"Fakir Çocuklar"* (Poor Children), *"Köy Yolunda"* (On the Village Way),*"Eski Mektep"* (Old School). Students' work were concerned with subjects such as Anatolian landscape, the representation of working peasants, and village schools.

[131] Sezer, *Çağdaş Türk Resim Sanatı*, p:177.
[132] Refik Epikman, "Türkiye'de Plastik Sanatların Cumhuriyet Döneminde İnkişafı", *Ar* , no.22 (December 1938), p.9.
[133] *Ulus*, 11. June.1938, p.3.
[134] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Malik Bey ve Taslebesinin Resim Sergisi",*Ülkü* , no.16 (June 1934), p.298.

Baltacıoğlu in his critque says that as a crucial tool for revolutionary education, painting was only spread by the new generation of artists whose works were exhibited in the art galleries. Baltacıoğlu was appointed chairman of the Gazi Institute between1929 and 1930 where he prepared a program in 1931 and introduced hand work lectures to the curriculumHis views on art education determined the course syllabus of the departments. After his arrival Ankara, Aksel remained loyal to this program. Student exhibitions of the Fine Arts Academy and the Gazi Institute clearly showed the differences between these two schools. In the Fine Art Academy exhibitions, “artist students” belonged to modern trends, and produced a wide range of works of art in European concepts.[135] The exhibition of the Gazi Art department reflected a more national amateur attitude in their paintings on topics such as revolution, landscape drawings from Anatolia, and portraits of peasants and farmers. The difference was depended basically on the teachers who had trained their students in different understandings of art.

After the appointment of French Leopold Levy to the painting department of the Academy, the technique and style of works mainly centered on nature, beauty, and aesthetics, rather than on the folk, reality of the country, or revolution. According to Levy, painting was an expression of beauty, vision, and the perception of the artists by using colors and picture. To achieve beauty, artists could never mislead themselves. The position of the artists towards the nature was the most important point for art. In Contrast to Malik Aksel, Levy criticized folkloric and national trends in Turkish painting. He was criticized by a group of artists and intellectuals due to his independent and more European-oriented style[136].

[135] *Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi*, “Talebe Resim Sergisi Sergisi”, no.2 (1940):15.
[136] *Ar* , “Leopold Levy’nin Bir Konferansı”, no.2 (February 1937):13.

B. Debate on National Art

From the early 1930s to the mid-1940s, Republican intellectuals and artists carried on a debate on Modernist versus national art. They asked several questions such as whether art should be nationalized or to what extent national culture would be a source of Turkish Modern art. Many leading intellectuals, academics, and artists drew attention to the role of national art as the main agenda for transformation. All artists desired to create “a national art” and be inspired by the national as a source of social life, society, and self esteem.

The debate on national art in general touched on the question of what was meant by “national culture” in a modern era. The term “national art” included two main ideologies: nationalism and modernism. The Kemalist revolution reflected nationalist and modernist attitudes at the same time. These dual concepts created a tension in itself. The combination of the modern with the national in art was perceived by the Turkish intelligentsia in different ways. Art critiques in the 1930s sheds lights onto the discussions on national art and the state directed toward political art.

In the first ten years of the Republican era, the Kemalist elite and the RPP as a single party strengthened and redefined the characteristics of national culture as well as the national art.The painter / educator Ali Sami Boyar wrote articles in *Ülkü* about revolution, art, and propoganda. He drew the cultural boundries of the national state and emphasized the role of Central Asian culture in the formation of national art. By using Turkish sources in art, he stressed the achievement of cultural revolution for the solidarity and independence of the Turkish state.[137] Like Boyar, Ahmet Muhip Dranas argued that the Turkish revolution created a new reality in art.

[137] Ali Sami Boyar, “Sanat Varlığımızda Resmin Yeri”, *Ülkü*, no.5 (June 1933) , “Propoganda ve Resim”, *Ülkü*,no.19 (September 1934), and “Yeni Terbiye’de Resmin Yararlılığı”,*Ülkü* no.16 (June 1934).

As discussed earlier, the D Group and the Independents directed national art in line with realist expressionist and cubist tendencies. In *Ülkü*, Elif Naci criticized the works of the Independent's in 1931 exhibition: "A painter is not old, new, classic or modern. Art is always unique at all times. It should be local and close to the public. Art works should carry the ideals of the nation. The paintings exhibited by the Independent painters speak French, German, and Italian. Citizen, let us speak Turkish!".[138] In this critique, he mainly stressed that before and above any kind of classification on art such as old, new, classic or modern, Turkish art should be national and share common values with Turkish society. Due to cubist and constructivist tendencies, Turkish art faced a danger of losing its original form.

Another voice is that of Baltacıoğlu, in *Yeni Adam* (New Man) introduced a new concept for national art: turning back to the essence of the people. Baltacıoğlu opted to give priority to Ottoman folk art and local sources and also sought traditional tendencies in Turkish art. He was aganist the official break discourse and developed his criticsm around tradition, the aesthetic sensitivities of the Turkish nation, and local art. He asked an important question in the early Republican era: We accepted the new, but don't we have traditional values?

In *Yeni Adam*, Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu, Mahmut Cuda, Zeki Faik İzer, and Zühtü Müridoğlu were close to new art, wrote articles and critiques of art exhibitions in the mid-1930s. Unlike *Ülkü*, *Yeni Adam* avoided the official determinist ideology in art. According to Baltacıoğlu, propaganda or directed art destroyed the characteristics of national art. Cultural Revolution should be totally conctructed on top of the native traditions.[139] For this reason, Turkish

[138]İpek Aksüğür Düben, "Cumhuriyette Tenkit", *Cumhuriyetin Renkleri, Biçimleri* ed.Ayla Ödekan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), p.158."*Ressamın eskisi, yenisi, klasiği, moderni olmaz. Sanat daima ve her devirde birdir. Elverir ki mahalli olsun;elverir ki samimi olsun. Sanat eseri mensup olduğu milletin damgasını taşısın. Bizim müstakil rakadaşların bu sergide teşhir ettikleri resimler Fransızca, Almanca, İtalyanca konuşuyorlar, vatandaş Türkçe konuşalım."*

[139]İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Demokrasi ve Sanat* (İstanbul: Sanay-i Nefise Matbaası ,Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931):145.

artist had to revive old values and customs and created new modernity with traditional motifs, symbols, and techniques.

Another the point of view was presented by the *Kadro* group was established by a group of revolutionary intellectuals close to the official Republican ideology with a third-worldist revolutionary attitude. Their nationalist-collectivist outlook challenged the individualist, mystical, and abstract trends in art and literature.[140] Among them, mostly Burhan Asaf and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu touched culture, art, aesthetics in their writings. In *Kadro*, Burhan Asaf (Belge) argued that "national revolution" only would be achieved by the patronage of the state over art and artists. For being understandable and revolutionary, art should have a national tendency.[141] On the other hand, Yakup Kadri regarded national culture as the long accumulation of the experiences of a society. Thus, culture was not limited to local and folk sources. Unlike *Ülkü* and *Yeni Adam*, *Kadro* insisted that the arts were a struggle and revolution in the soul and in spirit. The socio-economic process of modernization was directly linked to revolutionary art. The underdeveloped state of art in early Republican Turkey was due to social-economic circumstances.

In the 1930s, Turkish art was undergoing a "pre-cultural phase", followed by a revolutionary phase. According to Yakup Kadri, Turkish art had not yet been born in the first era, so Turkish society shaped art and literature in terms of the principles of the Turkish revolution. With this revolution, the dismissed past would be replaced by a new stage based on the refinement of folk culture. The *Kadro* movement inspired by the Soviet model of "art for the people", was against "the art for art" argument.[142] Therefore, in Kadro, the debate on national art drew a different perspective from *Ülkü* and *Yeni Adam*. Their views were related more closely to socio-economic development of the country and a long term deep transformation of culture.

[140]Köksal, p. 108.
[141] İskender, p.1751.
[142] Köksal, p. 109.

The journal *Varlık*(Existence), as a representative of the Western and elitist view of art, concerned with issues related with art, culture, and language. The writers of *Varlık*, Yaşar Nabi Nayır, Nurullah Berk, and Sadri Ertem reflected a nationalist tone in their writings. In the early years, they paid attention to nationalist and Modernist art in discussing European trends of painting such as cubism, futurism, and constructivism. According to the well-known artists Elif Naci and Nurullah Berk, modern art reflected the changing notions of morality, human emotions, social transformation, war, machine, concepts of time and speed which gave new shapes to painting and sculpture.[143] Berk, who was a prominent member of the D Group, stressed European style in Eastern painting. However, other writers such as Cemil Sena Ongun, the architect Abdullah Ziya, and Malik Vicdani had more radical attitudes about Turkish art and stood closer to Italian fascist art.[144]

During the second world war, questions in national and modernist art were turned to a new direction. *Ar*, established by a group of intellectual and artists, appeared between January 1937 and December 1938. The journal announced their aim as to introduce the fine arts to the people and refine the characteristics of fine arts in Turkey. From the beginning, members of the D Group (Nurullah Berk, Bedri Rahmi, Zühtü Muridoğlu), Suut Kemal Yetkin, Hasan Ali Yücel, Reşad Nuri Drago and many leading academy members wrote articles, news, and debates for the journal.

Different from *Ülkü*, *Kadro*, and *Varlık*, *Ar* paid attention to a wide range of art related issues such as visual arts, art philosophy and criticism, archaealogy, and phonetic arts (music, theater, cinema).[145] For Ar, art was not play or a sense of joy. It was a necessity. Even, African tribes had art culture. People could not imagine a society without art, because art was the spirit of a nation. For Suut Kemal Yetkin art had to be considered as a formation independent from political struggles should be sought in national

[143] Ibid., p.113.
[144] Ibid., p.112.
[145] *Ar*, "Ar Okuyucularına", no.12 (December 1937):16.

classicism.[146] The new approach took its roots from the Turkish spirit, folklore, and painting the color of which came from the nature of the country side, sculpture and architecture the modernism of which would carry symbols and style of the nation. In the framework of national classicism, *Ar*'s emphasis on the fine arts was positioned aganist any kind of doctrine and propaganda directed art.

In the late 1930s, *Ar* sought alternative models of cultural modernization. Without breaking the lines with the past, the group of intellectuals desired to redefine concepts such as beauty, aestheticsm, and classicism. The journal took a poll of the leading intellectuals of the early Republican era, asking three questions about the art crisis in Turkey, the concept of national art, and the nationalization of art. The answers to the questions brought a new outlook on fine arts. Hasan Ali Yücel and Burhan Belge stressed that modernization in arts was a process that would take a long time, so the early era of the fine arts was experiencing a constructive and transitional phase rather than going reflecting an art crisis.[147] In this period, to integrate art in the national culture and existence, artists would to be creative, productive, and original.

Vedat Nedim Tör argued that there was a crisis in artists rather than in art. The artists struggled with the illnesses of modernity and European trends of art, so they were unable to create works that would be expected to be national and real.[148] In the nationalist sense, *Ar* had never seen art as a weapon or a tool for propaganda but, they knew the importance of nationalism in the construction of new art. Suut Kemal Yetkin called this phase "Return from the West to the Country" *(Garptan Yurda Dönüş)*. Unless Turkish society could be shaped according to the principles of Kemalist

[146] Suut Kemal Yetkin, "Ar İkinci Yılına Girerken", *Ar*, no.1 (January 1938):4.
[147] Hasan Ali Yücel, "Ar'ın Büyük Anketi: Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye ",*Ar*, no.2 (Şubat 1937), p.2, and Burhan Belge, "Ar'ın Büyük Anketi: Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye", *Ar* , no.6 (June 1937), p.2.
[148] Vedat Nedim Tör, "Ar'ın Büyük Anketi: Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye", *Ar,* no.4 (April 1937), p.9.

revolution, national art could not finish its revolutionary phase.[149] Similar to Yetkin, Falih Rıfkı Atay also accepted the nationalist view. He insisted that love, and excitement of the revolution could push the progress in art and culture

In *Ar*, Suut Kemal Yetkin, Sabahattin Eyüpoğlu, and Hasan Ali Yücel stressed national oriented and state directed art in their articles. On the other hand, Nurullah Berk and Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu reflected more westernized and elitist tendencies in national art. Sabahattin Rahmi directed national art towards Anatolian folk arts. He paid more attention to shape, symbols, and the essence of Anatolian culture rather than the content of the works.[150] For Yetkin and Eyüpoğlu a new source or a model for national art was the Turkish ornamental arts, in terms of style, technique, and color. Thus, the essence of Turkish painting should be sought in Turkish miniatures, carpets, and ornaments. Obviously, *Ar*, unlike *Ülkü*, *Kadro* and *Varlık*, draw a more independent and eclectic line in Turkish art. To compare with other journals, *Ar* tried to find a mid-way between hard core nationalist and the Modernist elitist view.

Another important journal in this debate was *Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi* (Fine Arts Journal) appeared between 1939 and 1944 as a biannual journal of fine arts published by the Ministry of Culture and Education under Hasan Ali Yücel. The journal can be said to have identified with the offical single-party ideology of the late 1930s and 1940s. Suut Kemal Yetkin, Ahmet Muhip Dranas, Malik Aksel, Refik Epikman, and Hasan Ali Yücel himself wrote articles, news, and organized art exhibitions. Like *Ülkü*, *Güzel Sanatlar* was preoccupied with the concept of national art. For the journal, directed art would guarantee the progress of Turkish art in being original. Dranas argued that the aim of the young artist was to rediscover nature, human, and object

[149] Suut Kemal Yetkin, "Yurda Dönen Sanat", *Ar*, no.15 (March 1938), p.2.
[150] Sabahattin Rahmi Eyüpoğlu, "Öz Resme Doğru", *Ar*, no.5 (May 1938):3 and Kemal İskender *"Cumhuriyet Türkiyesinde ve Sanat ve Estetik"*, p.1752.

in terms of visual arts, and shared the conservative cultural criticism of modernity like *Ülkü*'s perception[151].

The position of *Güzel Sanatlar* was nationalist and aganist wholesale westernism. During the Second State Painting and Art Exhibition, a new tendency, "hümanism", become one of the crucial questions in Turkish art. Hasan Ali Yücel in the opening speech of education meeting 1939, defined the concept of humanism as "seeking morality in society that will be a third way between hard core nationalism and communism".[152] Under the direction of Hasan Ali Yücel, the party paid attention to reconnecting Turkish culture to its Ottoman-Islamic past. Due to the fact that Western democracy entered a decline period, the best things done by the state were to understand Anatolian civilization, make it a part of society, and the creation of a Turkish Enlightenment. Indeed, Turkish humanism became a major focus of the Turkish intelligentsia. The Minister of Education, Hasan Ali Yüceli, explained humanism as follows: "Turkish humanism is a kind of understanding and perception (or impression) that pays attention to all art works regarding any discrimination and never draw the boundries of time and space".*[153]* In this sense, the main aim of Western Renaissance humanism was a sythesis that would be a harmony of Western and Eastern values. The Turkish synthesis was directed to the East to the Turkish Republic that had gone through the West.

Under the war conditions, nationalism gained importance, on other hand, humanism became the collective, universal, and peaceful attittue of the Republican regime. In this way, the nationalist Republican intellectuals partly rejected the positivist version of modernity and preferred to return to their national roots. Dranas expressed it in a more nationalist way as follows: *"During World War II, the fall of Western civilization led to a big shock in our-*

[151] Ahmet Muhip Dranas, "Resim'de Ümanizma", *Güzel Sanatlar*, no:2 (1940):40.
[152] Ural, p.91.
[153]Öndin, p.90.*"Türk hümanizması, beşer eserine istinasız kıymet veren, ona zaman ve mekanda hudut tanımayan hür anlayış ve duyuştur.Hangi milletten olursa olsun insanlığa yeni bir düşünüş, yeni bir duyuş getiren her eser bizim yüreklerimizin besleyeceği his ancak saygı ve hayranlıktır."*

minds. Now, we seek a new Turkish civilization in the old civilization. The new art will be raised on the roots of the old. This is a moral value of the art.[154]

This indicated that a new phase would open in the discussions on national art. In *Varlık*, editor of the journal Yaşar Nabi questioned what Turkish humanism should be. These essays asked for a Turkish Renaissance and a European Turkish civilization, which would based on a Dionysian spirit of the worldly joy and struggle that had originated in Anatolia and extended to Europe via Greece. The humanist spirit in the early 1940s directed Turkish art to seek Turkish culture in the classical Seljuk and Ottoman heritage.

Dranas in *Güzel Sanatlar* declared the purpose of Turkish art in the way of civilization by introducing Turkish Humanism in painting. In *"Resimde Ümanizma"*(Humanism in Painting) he frequently asked what Turkish humanism should be. Instead of a destructive (cubist) understanding, artists should prefer an art close to nature and a kind of classicism that had aesthetic order and form. For Dranas, understanding nature and the human form, going to the big picture and humanist themes that were of the Greek, Roman, Renaissance spirit would be the spirit of Turkish art. The new movement directed Turkish intellectuals and artist to think and feel the new humanist art.[155] Although Dranas criticized the work of the D Group artists for their modern attitude, he encouraged their cubist attempts to fundamentals in Turkish art. For him, cubist art declared what a painting is and what it should be. He criticized the first State Painting and Sculpture exhibition for being an example of groundless modernization. Dranas saw the works of the D group as an example of belated modernity[156].

In the 1940s, discussion on the issue of national art gained a new meaning. In terms of being original, national art would depend on the aesthetic values of Anatolian civilization, both Ottoman-Islamic and Greco-

[154] Ahmet Mühip Dranas, "Milli Sanat", *Ülkü*, New Series (2), no.16 (November 1941):21.
[155] Ahmet Muhip Dranas, "Resimde Ümanizma- Birinci Devlet Resim ve Heykel Sergisi Münasebetiyle", *Güzel Sanatlar*, no.2, (1940):137.
[156] Ibid., p.153.According to Dranas, only Zeki Kocamemi's painting entitled "Atatürk'ün Cenaze Töreni" (Furneal of Atatürk) was a humanist work in Turkish painting.

Roman past. This brought the debate on the national struggle in art and culture, to a temporary resolution.

Should Art Go to The People: Individual or Social Art

Art as a tool for political struggle carried various symbol and meanings that were directed by the state. The mobilization of European socities between the two World Wars were connected directly or indirectly to developments of national culture and art. In the 1930s, Soviet Russia first introduced “art for the people” to achieve political struggle.In a short time, fascist Italy and Germany followed the way in national art. Art for art was replaced by art for the people that would push a group of artists to serve the needs of the regime. In Soviet Russia, theatre, cinema, art institution were turned directly to state property, whereas German nationalist party prefered direct state control of art. Instead of creating a social-collectivist art, Mussolini exerted less control over the cultural sphere to perceive social art as a technique and a new trend.

Apperantly, Kemalist cultural policy would be classified in line with social-collectivist ideology. The debate in Turkey revolved around whether art should reflect individual creativity as collective task. The Kadro member Burhan Asaf criticized the art of the Independents and the D Group as close to individualist art and not being original and national. For Asaf, the artist was to work for the whole society and revolution rather than for an elite groups’ interests.[157]

State Berk’s difference from Belge’s here. Hilmi Ziya Ülgen in *“Resim ve Cemiyeti*” (Painting and Society) centered on social art by critizing cubist and

[157] Öndin, p.183.

constructivits tendencies in Europe.[158] According to Ülken, turning to themselves and creating original art meant choosing the collective model in society.

In contrast to Asaf, Ülken, and Berk argues that to fight the boring atmosphere of art, society needed more of independent art. He actually stressed partly independent art and social-oriented art, rather than state-directed art. The issue of individual and social art also was discussed in *Yeni Adam* by D Group's members. Cemal Tollu and Zeki Faik İzer were close to Nurullah Berk's view (independent and elitist view of art); whereas Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu and Mahmut Cuda paid more attention to partly state oriented-individual art. Social art did not necessarily serve the needs of the state or be directed by the state.[159]

The Kemalist regime expected "realism" and "synthesis" from social and collectivist art. However, artists experienced difficulty in openly representing the terrible and harsh realities of the Anatolian people during the Second World War. Avni Arbaş and Cemal Bingöl who were sent to Siirt and Bingöl were very impressed by the poor conditions of the villages. Avni Arbaş visited Siirt in the summer of 1942 expressed clearly his ideas on east Anatolia as follows:

Due to the inadequate transportation facilities, I toured villages on horseback with the gendarme forces. The villagers did not like gendarmes. When we approached the village, people become visible; but they saw us and disappeared. I said to the head of village: "I'm painter, I come to paint." They did not know who a painter was? They supposed me to be an engineer. First, they wanted school. The villagers were worried. What do you want to do in

[158] Zeynep Yasa Yaman, "Türk Resminde Etkilenme ve Taklit Olgusu", *Türkiye'de Sanat*, no.14 (May\August 1994):31.
[159] *Yeni Adam*, "Resim Anketimiz", noç232 (1 June 1939), p.13 and *Yeni Adam* "Resim Anketimiz", no.233 (8 June 1939):10,11.

this situation? It is difficult. It is difficult to reflect the realities in the paintings.[160]

Similar to Arbaş, Cemal Bingöl during the Painting Tours of Anatolia went to Bingöl in 1943. He expresses his perception as follows:

"Bingöl was located in a river valley which was extremely hot in the summer and as cold in the winter. Its population did not exceed more than two or three hundred people who were ill and dirty. They were washing and cleaning themselves in the dirty water. Their houses were like caves…The public was extremely primitive and had not adopted the revolution. In a meeting, the representatives of the province talked about the French Mandate in Syria. The chief of the tribe said that compared to the French, you govern us very well. I believed that if the revolution does not depend on culture, nobody understands it and likes it."[161]

Ironically, these artists were confessing that some paintings produced for the realm of social art could not reflect the realities of society. The artists had been painting "their imagined country" rather than painting what they saw in Anatolia.

At the beginning of the 1940s, with the establishment of the *Yeniler*, social collectivist attitudes Turkish painting sought to revolutionize the Republican art in the direction of true realism. The themes of the paintings

---

[160] "Ressamlar, Resimler, Belgeler" in *Yurt Geziler ve, Yurt Resimleri (1938-1943)* ed. Ameli Edgü (İstanbul: Milli Reasurans Yayınları, 1998), p.91. *"Vasıta olmadığı için jandarmalarla birlikte at sırtında köy gezisine çıktım. Halk jandarmadan çekiniyordu. Uzaktan köye yaklaşıyoruz. İnsanlar görünüyor. Ama biz onları görünce bakıyoruz ortada kimse kalmamış. Muhtara anlatıyorum. "Ben ressamım resim yapmaya geldim" diye. Ressam diye birşey bilmiyorlar tabi. Mühendis sanıyorlar beni. İlk istedikleri okul oluyor. Köylü tedirgindi. O durumda nasıl resim yaparsınız? Zor oldu. Bu gerçekleri yansıtabilmek çok zordu."*

[161] Ibid. p:100. "*Bingöl vilayeti hakiki bir dere içerisinde yazları fazlasıyla bunaltıcı, kışları ise o nispetle soğuk, birkaç türlü sıtmasından başka hiçbir şeyi bulunmayan bir yerdi. Birkaç yüzü aşmayan nüfusu acınacak şekilde pis, hastalıklıdır. Kapıların önünden pis arklarda yıkanır, temizlik yaparlar…..Evler tam manasıyla birer in gibidir….Çok iptidai olan halk inkilaba katiyen ısınamamıştır. Bir toplantıda yerlilerin münevver sayılanları da vardı. Fransızların Suriye'deki idarelerinden bahsediliyordu. Münevver yerlilerden birisi şunları söyledi: Siz bizi daha iyi idare ediyorsunuz azizim. Burada kaldığım müddetçe şuna inandım ki inkilap bir kültüre dayanmadıktan sonra ne anlayabilir ne de sevilebilir*."

were taken from the lives of ordinary people, the landscapes of Anatolia, and the working people. “New realism” could not in the late 1940s introduce a new perspective of social act.

New Art For New State Cubism

From the beginning of the 20th century modernity had been reshaped itself according to social-cultural changes in Europe. The social transformation went hand in hand with the concept of modernity. The crucial results of nation-state formation, the industrial revolution, and capital economic formation would destroy the traditional concepts of art and culture. In this connection, cubism was revolutionary trend could completely form a new style by destroying representational naturalist and traditionalist art. In a modern state, cubism is not aesthetic property; it is an art of construction.[162] Creation, understanding the essence of the mind, and the needs for reconstruction are the main components of cubism. During the early phase of cubism, the prominent representatives of the trend, Picasso and Cezanne, focused on the problem of structure, aiming to mechanize nature and the world. In this way, they reached at the peak of creation. Creation was now necessary for the artist to approach the object through mathematical relations. Thus, cubism destroyed the image in order to reconstruct nature.

In the early Republican era, cubism as an art of construction entered Turkish art as a belated-recruited movement.[163] However, the positivist and civilizing mission of the Kemalist regime matched the revolutionary perspective of the new art. In Turkey, national art was not Western and cosmopolitan or Ottoman & imperial. Many artists thought that the characteristics of cubism would shape the essence of national art as well as reflect the spirit of the Turkish nation. In the early 1930s, the young

[162] Sezer Tansuğ, *Modern Çağda Resim Sanatının Tarihi* (İstanbul: Remzi Yayınevi,1999), p.245.
[163] Zeynep Yasa Yaman, “Türkiye’de Kübizm ve Yeni Sanat”, *Sanat Dünyamız*, no.54 (Kış 1993):59

generation artists returning from France and Germany formed the first avant-garde group in Turkish painting. Modern trends such as cubism, expressionism, and constructivism which were close to the were introduced by prominent members of the D Group. Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu, Nurullah Berk, Cemal Tollu and Abidin Dino used cubist abstraction techniques to paint folkloric designs, portraits of peasant women and girls, Anatolian landscapes and pre-Islamic motifs. The D Group introduced a new understanding of cubism that called *"köylü cubizmi"* (village cubism).[164] In this way, cubism gained a social meaning in Turkish Republican painting and sculpture.

Indeed, the early Republican project of radical cultural modernization would be achieved partly by the cubist outlook. İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu in his book *"Demokrasi and Sanat"* (Democracy and Art) emphasized that cubist art was an art for democracy. Turkish artists should not fear losing their culture since their culture would progress in the hands of cubist artists.[165] Thus, demand for new national art could be further pursued with cubism and constructivism.

Although cubism could not fit the form of art for the people (social art), for Turkish intellectuals avant-garde currents like cubism basically meant further modernization in art. Ercüment Ekrem Talu in the D Group exhibition mentioned the sucess of the new art: "Like without ever thinking of doing otherwise, instead of the classic art with which I'm familiar. Progressive should be extended. When I work on it; I clearly understand and enjoy it. I know that seven Turkish painters and a sculptor who formed the D group, aimed to present a taste for give modern and intellectual art to their country".[166]

---

[164] Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizim ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mimari Kültür* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları,2002), p.273.
[165] Baltacıoğlu, *Demokrasi ve Sanat*, p.140.
[166] Nurullah Berk, and H. Gezer, *50. Yılın Türk Resim ve Heykeli* (Ankara: İş Bankası ve Kültür Yayınları, 1973), p.53.*"Benim kör değneğini bellemiş gibi, alışık olduğum klasik sanatın yerine, burada yepyeni, hatta ileri bir sanat kaim olmuş. Benim kafam biraz işleyince bunu kavramaya,*

Actually, the contemporary futurist tendencies of the new art were reflected only in the painting of the D Group. Although the inner logic of cubism (destruction of order) would never have been a part of the revolutionary perspective of the Kemalist regime, the revolutionary and futurist outlook of the new art suited the revolutionary and progressive emphasis.

In the early 1930s, the D Group represented the constructive-revolutionary phase of Turkish art. Between 1933 and 1936, this group participated in six exhibitions and cubist art was recognized as a technical innovation serving the Turkish Renaissance by the D Group. According to Abidin Dino, the D Group was an unconscious rebellion movement.[167] He stressed the difference of the D Group from other groups and independent artists in the following sentences: "We desired getting rid of the moonlight, pastures, and lambs either using cubist methods or more indigenous ways."*[168]*

Initially, Turkish painting in the early 1930s had struggled with the problem of impressionism and academism. The themes, colors, and techniques of paintings were copied directly by the late-Ottoman artist generation. From 1932 onwards, members of the D Group attempted to from a new outlook that depended on cubist expression, so they did not put as strong an emphasis on themes. According to Zeynep Yasa Yaman, The D Group recognized art as shape, technique, and a way of thinking.[169]

Nurullah Berk, chairman of the D Group, in his articles, analyzed modern art within the concept of cubism. To create a national sense in Turkish art, Berk called new art the *"yaşayan sanat"* (living art) instead of pure

---

şuurum zevk almaya başladı. Anladım ki "D" Grubunu kurmuş olan yedi ressam ve bir heykeltraş Türk genci yurtlarına modern ve entellektüel bir sanat zevki aşılamak istiyorlardı".

[167] Abidin Dino, *Kültür, Sanat, Politika Üzerine Yazılar* (İstanbul: Adam Yayınları, 2000), p.397.
"İster kubist yöntemle, ister daha kendine özgü yollardan geçerek mehtaplardan, çayırlı kuzulardan, "ayol, tıpkı"lardan kurtulmayı özlüyorduk".

[168] Ibid., p.400.

[169] Zeynep Yasa Yaman, "Sanat Tarihimizde Eski Bir konu: Müstakil Ressamlar ve Heykeltraşlar Birliği mi, D Grubu mu?", *Türkiye'de Sanat*, no.20 (September\ October 1995):59.

academism.[170] There was an only one way to reach true the national characteristic in art and that was to overcome the desires of the national and local senses. The avant-garde philosophical and aesthetic currents were introduced by the D Group in the 1930s and early 1940s, led to critical discussion among Turkish intellectuals and academics. A group of intellectuals including Vedat Nedim Tör, Refik Halit Koray, Ali Sami Boyar who were close to the single party ideology, displayed a harsh rejection of Modernism. Avant-garde movements such as cubism, surrealism, and Dadaism were strongly criticized by writers of *Ülkü* and *Güzel Sanatlar* who were skeptical about the destructive effects of this concept of new art. For Vedat Nedim Tör the new art was a kind of monstrosity. He could not find any beauty or aesthetic sense in these works of art. Considering the D Group's paintings, he said that "I'm happy to dislike the peculiar, unnatural creatures in this world which, created by barren spirit and ill minded people whose paintings are like three-headed, a breast hanging down, other being like a thimble; one eye put on above the pouch of the cheek; the other is opening like a bird's beak."*[171]*

Similar to Vedat Nedim Tör, Refik Halit Karay called the new art as a kind of illness. These paintings are madness and unfourtunately it is not fully madness; because I saw important works of mad painters. I think Picasso is *deli deli, kulakları küpeli."*[172]

Malik Aksel was the chairman of the painting department at the Gazi Education Institute the described the art of the D Group as meaningless, hard core revolutionary, and strange.[173] For him, art was a kind of reality that depended on proportion and artistic rule. Cubist art destroyed the identity of

[170] Ibid.,p. 163.
[171] Ibid., p.65. "*Böyle üç başlı, bir memesi torba sarkmış öteki yüksük gibi büzülmüş, bir gözü avurdun üstüne dikine konmuş, öteki gözünün yanında kuş gagası gibi açılmış alelacaip ve tabiat dışı mahluklardan başka bu canım dünyada sanata mevzu bulamayacak kadar kısır ruhlu, hasta kafalı insanlardan hoşlamadığı için doğrusu kendimi bedbaht sayıyorum."*
[172] Ibid., p.65. "*Bu resimler deliliktir ve maalesef tam bir delilik değildir. Çünkü tam delilerin müessir eserlerini gördüm Bence Picasso şudur: deli deli tepeli, kulakları küpeli...."*
[173] Malik Aksel, "Ar'ın Büyük Plastik Sanatlar Anketi II", *Ar*, no.14 (February 1938):10.

new art as well its humanism. Indeed, the destructive character of modern art (new art) in cubism was seen as a threat by money nationalist intellectuals. Ahmet Oktay argued that in the early Republican era Turkish art had sought life as opposed to death, and positivity rather than negativity.[174] For this reason, the destructive capacities of the new art could be a problem in this transformation phase of Turkish art.This is why, writers like Suud Kemal Yetkin mentioned the need for classic figures in Turkish painting.[175]

The D Group believed in the transformative character of cubism that would serve the needs of the revolution. Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu, a member of the D group, argued that new art could be understood by society, because it used a new pure language in paintings which brought simplicity and genuineness to the new art,[176] which created its artistic discipline in itself rather than taking it from the outside. At this point, questions such as how the new art would adjust to the social conditions in society and how the people would be able to understand cubism remained. As a response, Abidin Dino expressed his thoughts about the individual and social art as follows: We made community art, but this community never liked our art. In time, just as one gets used to pain, the society got used to us and our works.That's all."[177]

During the 1930s; cubic art could be seen even in cubist decorative elements on the wall of bakery and cubist furniture store in Beyoğlu. As a result cubism in Turkish art became a kind of "public cubism[178]" that had to benefit from the fruits of national art. In Turkey, the reflection of cubism on Turkish art did not emerge as a result of social, political and cultural changes like in Europe. In the West, cubism carried "the idea of a thing in itself".[179] In the early Republican era, however, cubism recruited from Europe was

[174] Köksal, p.100.
[175] Öndin, p.176
[176] Ibid., p.173.
[177] Dino, p.280. *Kültür, Sanat, Politika Üzerine Yazılar "Biz zümre sanatı yaptık, fakat o zümreye sanatımızı sevdiremedik. Zaman geçtikçe tahammül edilen sancılardan farksız olarak bızlere de, yaptıklarımıza da alışıldı, İşte o kadar.."*
[178] Ibid., p.398.
[179] İsmail Tunalı, *Felsefenin Işında Modern Resim* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitapevi, 1981), p.183.

redetermined by the aim of creating new art for the new Republic. İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu and Sabahattin Rahmi in the Turkish case emphasized the role of cubism introducing a new order and proportions for representing the spirit of the nation.

In the early 1930s, members of the D group were more revolutionary in their artistic stances, but the movement gradually turned to the human figure and a new classic style. This shift was necessary for Turkish painting because individual art was unable to lead a revolution in painting under the single-party regime. Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu expressed his view on new art follows: "New paintings are not the sketches of the degenaretes…New original painting never rejected function, common sense and never refused the past. Original paintings have never denied the old and churched the utility and reality of the art."[180]

In this sense, the D Group partly rejected in time the destructive tendencies of modern art. Gradually, the D Group turned their face towards supported the figurative, academic, late-phase cubism.

During the first five years, the member of the D Group defended their position. They had to struggle with realism in representing the people and the achievements of the revolution. After 1940, together with a new group of painters, they went through the line of classicism to find a mid-way between national and Modern art that the Republican regime expected from them. Unlike European artists' use of art as a tool for creating an avant-garde, the D Group paid more attention to understanding society and describing it. In the mid-1940s, the group reached its peak in terms of style, tecnique, and value. From the 1950s, members of the group become prominent figures in the Turkish academy and intellectual life. Although the single party did not take sides in the Modernist movement of art and culture, they supported new

[180] Murat Ural, "Cumhuriyetin Romansı:Ressamlar Yurt Gezisinde", p.36. *Yurt Geziler ve, Yurt Resimleri (1938-1943) "Yeni resim denildiği zaman akla hemen bu türedilerin ve azmanların karalamaları gelmemelidir…..Asıl yeni olan resim hiçbir yararı, aklı selimi çiğnememiş ve eskiyi inkar etmemişti."*

tendencies due to their revolutionary appeal. From the early 1930s to the late 1940s, was very influential in Republican art through its involvements in the creation of national art.

C.Changing Representatition and Themes in Painting and Sculpture

Art as an ideologic tool of the regime directed the artist to achieve realism in his works of art. Starting from the mid-1920s, both the late Ottoman painters and the early Republican realistrs as well as cubists worked on subjects issue as Atatürk, the War of Independence, revolution in society, progress, modernization, women, family, village life, the peasantry as well as the landscapes of Ankara and Anatolia. Representations of the old capital, İstanbul, lost their importance compared to those Ankara and Anatolian landscape paintings. New themes in modern Turkish painting become a counterpart of the Kemalist ideology.

Landscape Painting

Landscape paintings gained a wholly new importance in this new context under the Republic displayed different characteristics from the paintings in the Ottoman era. Classic Ottoman painters mainly focused on İstanbul, the natural beauty of the Bosphorus, and landscapes from the Princess Islands as favorite themes for their classic paintings. In technical approach, the essence of beauty and aesthetic rather than “creation” was the main problematic of the late Ottoman painters. At the begining of the twentieth century, their position shifted from Orientalism. European expressionism. Halil Paşa, Feyhaman Duraman, İbrahim Çallı, and Hikmet Onat depicted hills of the city, original architecture, fisherman and the sea, and the sea side quarters in their paintings. In addition, other cities such as Selanik, Bursa, Edirne, and İzmir were a part of landscape representation.

The defeat of the Ottomans in World War I and the War of Indepence that began after the occupation by foreign powers led to a fall in the status of İstanbul. There is no doubt that landscapes of Anatolia and the representation of Ankara corresponded to the concept of independence as the cornerstone of political change in Turkish paintings.

Ankara: Capital City of the Republic

Ankara became one of the prominent symbols of the Young Republic. In *Ankara Mektupları* (Letters Of Ankara), a series of articles written by Sehap Nafiz, he indicated that the representation of the new capital city brought a new spirit to the Turkish nation.[181] In addition, Abdülhak Şinasi described the beauty of the city and its nature in his book *Ankara'nın Güzellikleri*[182](Beauty of Ankara). Although most of the Republican intellectuals had lived in İstanbul, they put more emphasis on the history of the city. According to the group of intellectuals, Ankara established Republican ideology in the political sense. It was not only the capital city of the country, but also it had a historical past in old Anatolian civilization.

In the 1920s, the first paintings of Ankara were the works of late-Ottoman painters who stressed the landscape of the city rather than revolutionary themes. Muhittin Sebati's painting "From Ankara" reflected the beauty of the city and its landscape before the construction of the new city. In addition, Sami Yetik's painting "Hay Market in Ankara", Nurettin Ergüven's "Market Place in Old Ankara", and Namık İsmail's work were representations of the old town with a group of peasents. These works were more or less on the same issue. For this reason, they were critized by artists and intellectuals in the 1930s. Burhan Asaf in an article *"In the Direction of Art Brine-Ankara Painting Exhibition"* (Sanatın Salamurası Karşısında – Ankara Resim Sergisi

[181] Zeynep Yasa Yaman, "Değişen Manzaralar Kültür ve Modernite" in "Ulus Sanatla Kurulur Mu?", *Sanat Dünyamız*, no.89 (Fall 2003):219.
[182] Ibid., p.219.

Münasebetiyle) mentioned these paintings as follows: “What a painter see and finds there; he spend his time with colors. In the exhibition, there is a series of Kurbağlıdere paintings in which painters used colors to refresh every corner of nature.”[183]

The 1914’s generation had different perspectives on Ankara paintings in terms of themes, forms, and colors. Due to having a classic and romantic style in art, they attempted to create “a new form of beauty in water” by drawing brooks, rivers, and lakes. To compare the beauty of the capital with İstanbul was their main problematic. In this sense, their representation of Ankara imitated İstanbul’s landscape paintings.

In contrast to the1914’s generation, the later generations with the Independents and the D Group painter futurist tendencies aimed to create a new image of the city with the reconstruction of the past. Ankara Castle, old streets, public bazaars, and landscape were represented together with Atatürk’s statues, Kızılay square and modern state buildings. Unlike the 1914’s generation, the D Group and the Independent painters preferred to follow new trends in their paintings rather than use classic landscape techniques. Particularly in the exhibition of Revolution (1933), Ankara was represented as the starting point of the Kemalist revolution and a common place for both peasants and urban dwellers. Zeki Faik İzer’s “On the Way to Renovations”, Turgut Zaim’s “People from The East and West Offering Atatürk Their Gratitude”, Abidin Elderoğlu’s “Farewell” are important examples of this futurist tendency.

In conclusion, from the 1930s, on the landscape Ankara began to play a more influential role in the country’s fine arts. The Republic’s new capital was designed as a modern place where images of “old” and “new” could be completed with the future image of the capital. Early Republican intellectuals positioned Ankara’s image as the holy city of the Turkish

[183] Ibid., p.224. *“Bir ressam burada ne görür ne bulabilir ki, başında tulumbadaki boyalar gibi ömrünü tüketir. Sergide bir alay Kurbağlıdere tablosu var. Tabiatın bu kadit köşesi tazeleştirebilmek için ressam, bütün kerinesini boyaların içine gönmüş”.*

revolution. Under these circumstances, the painters followed a revolutionary and futurist way to describe the landscape of the capital city.

Anatolia: As a Heart of the Renovation

Anatolian scenes and landscape was another favorite theme. The reason is that the Painting Tours of Anatolia had incredible effects on the themes and representations of Anatolian people in Turkish paintings. The effects of the Homeland Tours on Turkish painting lasted for a long time. Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu's "Han Kahvesi" (Khan's Cafe); Turgut Zaim's "Yörükler Köyü" (Nomad's Village), Nurullah Berk's "Amasya Yemişleri" (Dried Fruit of Amasya) were some of the prominent examples of the Tours' paintings. These painters did introduce new colors and flavors into modern Turkish painting that will always remain. Anatolian landscape paintings represented the social and cultural life of the local people. In these paintings, Kemalist populist attitudes undoubtly affected the vision of the artists, who still most of the time retained their individuality in their paintings. The themes of the paintings displayed official populist attitudes towards art. In the works of artists like Eren Eyüpoğlu, Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu, Malik Aksel, Cemal Tollu and Nurullah Berk, the woman and villagers were portrayed together with the Anatolian landscape.

Portraits of Atatürk and War Themes

M. Kemal, as the founder of modern Turkish Republic, was a prominent portrait figure in early Republican art. In most of the works, he was portaied in Ankara among Anatalion peasants, children, and urbanities. The first paintings of Atatürk were produced by foreign artists and the 1914's generation. Namık İsmail, Ali Avni Çelebi, and Hikmet Onat İbrahim Çallı in

their work represented Atatürk in the Independence war on horseback on the battle field or a simple portrait of M. Kemal in soldier's uniform.[184] The National Independence War particularly influenced painting themes. In the late 1930s, Sami Yetik's painting "Gunners", Ali Avni Çelebi's "Brothers in Arms", were prominent examples of the Turkish liberation themes.

According to Kaya Özsezgin, there was a strong relationship between Atatürk's portraits and M. Kemal –War of liberation compositions. In these art works, painters attempted to use symbolic and allegorical representation. M. Kemal's figure was utilized for reflecting national solidarity and independence.[185] He was represented with peasants, workers, city dwellers, and figures with in front of the new capital. The most common features were enthusiasm, happiness, and the consent of Turkish nation. In Mehmet Ruhi Arel's "Reception of Atatürk" (1927), Atatürk's enthusiastic reception by the women of İstanbul has been transformed into a celebration. Abidin Elderoğlu's *"Farewell"* is an allegorical representation of the transformation of the sick old man of the Ottomans into a healthy young Republican youth as well as a statement about the strength and support of the Turkish woman in wartime.

Zeki Faik İzer's painting "On the Road to Revolution" is an attempt to tell the story of the revolution. Atatürk is wearing civilian clothing, while it is a woman who leads the way. She carryies a Turkish flag in her right hand; which is turned towards the right as she gazes at Atatürk. Atatürk paintings forward with his left hand, indicating the future. Near Atatürk, a young boy and a girl are standing together and gazing toward the bright future that he indicates. In front of them, a child holds a book symbolizing the new history of the Republic; he crushes a piece of paper written in Ottoman Turkish. In the center of the composition stands a crowd of Anatolians bearing hoes and flags in their hand and moving in the direction indicated by Atatürk. The

[184] Fethiye Erbay and Mutlu Erbay, p.125.
[185] Kaya Özsezgin, "Türk Resminde Atatürk", *Milliyet Sanat*, no.6 (November 1981):17.

Turkish soldiers to the woman's left are the victors in the Turkish War of Independency, forcing the enemy to retreat. The cornerstone on which the woman stands is inscribed "1923", the year of the foundation of the Republic. In this way, Zeki Faik summarized almost the entire span of revolution in the painting.

Turgut Zaim participated in the Revolution Exhibition with a painting entitled "Gratitude of the Eastern and Western People to Atatürk" (1933). It portrays Atatürk standing before the Turkish flag, receiving citizens who have travelled from eastern and western Anatolia presenting the fruit, vegetables, grain, animals, honey and other produels to present to him as an expression of their gratitude. Atatürk is shown among the young, the old men, women and children, farmers and villagers who were united under his administration in Ankara. In this painting, Zaim represents a journey which is a combination of different people.

Evidently, in the early Republican era, most of the paintings display Atatürk and Turkish nation in the same composition. Apart from this point of view, in Şeref Akdik's painting "Atatürk By A Telegraph-Key" (1934), Arif Bedri Kaptan's "Entrusting the Republic To the Young" (1934), Atatürk is wearing civilian clothing and Turkish youth and children are standing together to direct them towards the future of the nation.

Changing Representation of Women: As an Idealized Other

Another common theme was the changing image of women and their social identity. According to Zeynep Yasa Yaman, this image was an irreplaceable component in the compositions. The new Turkish art had created an image of the modern "woman in the revolutionary changes designed by both the constitution and by the Republic."[186] The Turkish

[186] Zeynep Yasa Yaman, *Kadınlar, Resimler, Öyküler* (İstanbul: Pera Müzesi Yayınları, 2006), p.16.

revolution placed great importance on Anatolian women due their help during the wartime and their transformative character. Women had participated in the war as guerrillas and organized army personnel (nurses or doctors) as well as working behind the front carrying weapons and arms for the Turkish army. Thus, their contributions and heroism had become the themes of paintings. Halil Dikmen and Sami Yetik's paintings' depictions of women were instrumental in solidifying the legendary reputation of these women. Women's changing lives and education were also central themes. Cemal Tollu's painting Villagers Studying the Alphabet (Köylüler Alfabeyi Çalışıyor) (1933), Şeref Akdik's Course of Reading and Writing (Okuma Yazma Kursu) (1933) and Registering for School (1935) depicted village woman studying and registering their children to the school.

For artists the use of the image of women as a slogan in an ideological and political context almost became a necessity to gain the support of the state.[187] In the state-sponsored art exhibitions, young artists of both the late Ottoman and early Republican period aimed to depict modern woman figures in the works were portraying them dancing, drinking, singing in bars, and walking alone on the street. Zeki Faik İzer, Turgut Zaim and Ali Avni Çelebi's Balerins (Balerinler) work are pictorial representations of young women dancing ballet. Hamit Görele's painting Concert (Konser), İbrahim Çallı's Ball, Ali Avni Çelebi's Mosquerade Ball (Maskeli Balo) (1928), and Refik Epikman's Bar (Bar) offer a different representation of modern Turkish women in life.

In addition to these themes, the new Turkish family and urban life under the early Republican period were also represented in European type public squares and parks, which were considered important gathering and meeting places. A painting by Nazmi Ziya Güran entitled "Taksim Square"

In addition to these paintings, most important works of Turgut Zaim: *"Nomad Village"*, and *"Village Women and her Daughter"* represent Ottoman tradition and culture. Zaim utilizes the Anatolian villages, women, children and their clothing and portrays idealized beauty of Turkish village women.

[187] Ibid., p.64.

(1935) was one of the most important paintings exhibiting the social and political ideology of the Republican regime. The painting itself displays monumentalism within the political message. At the front of the composition, a couple of women dressed in modern clothes and hats are talking together. The composition also depicts the Canonica Monument in Taksim Square. Another classic was Melek Celal Sofu's painting known as "Woman in the Turkish Grand National Assembly" (1936) depicts modern Turkish women during a speech in the Assembly. In this way, women were represented as actors in the public sphere.

Modernization not only affected women's lives in the public environment, but also shaped the way they performed their traditional roles. An increasing number of women participated in courses and worked in both offices and at home. They learned how to cook, clean, sew with machines and take care children. Paintings showed them at their new tasks, in works such as Hikmet Onat "Woman Sewing" (1929) and Melek Celal Sofu "Woman Sewing" (1923), portroyed women and their skills in sewing, embroidery and kitting which would be considered as a contribution to the new home economics.

In conclusion, early Republican artists under the Kemalist modernization project used the image of women as a slogan in an ideological and political context. The single-party regime endowed the woman in art with "an idealized otherness" that never existed in the Western perspective.[188]A modern woman could be a good wife, mother, and citizen at the same time. The idealization of women in art works was partly an outcome of Kemalist role playing in the early era.

[188] Ibid., p.85.

The Image of Villagers and Farmers in Turkish Painting: Developmentalism

Educating, modernizing, and familiarazing the Anatolian people in the Rebublican revolutionary spirit was a crucial purpose of the RPP regime peasant life and peasantry became favorite themes. Some themes of the early paintings focused on village life and family. For example, Namık İsmail's paintings "Peasent Family" and Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu's "Farmers" represented a modern nuclear village family. In addition, Namık İsmail's painting "Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk among the Farmers" (1929) depicted a modern Anatolian family with one child probably at the Atatürk Forest Farm on the Ankara plain. In the composition, a man drove a tractor, others were talking to Atatürk, who encouraged them to take on their challenging responsibilities. Themes of the painting also represented modernization in Turkish village life.

Tractor and railways as modern methods of agriculture were depicted in several paintings of the artists. The tractor was not only a valuable agricultural tool, but also it increased its owner's social statue, power, and respect.[189] In addition to technological modernization, the role of peasant women in their families was improved than it had been during the Ottoman Empire. Refik Epikman's painting "Vintage in Malatya" (Malatya'da Bağbozumu), Eren Eyüpoğlu's "The Bulgur Mill" (Bulgur Değirmeni), and Eşref Üren's "Women in Front of the Vintages" how working women in the fields or groves and their efferts to overcome the difficulities in village life. İbrahim Çallı's "Railway and Peasants" (Demiryolu ve Köylüler) and Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu "Peasants Watching a Passing Train"(Geçen Treni İzleyen Köylüler) (1935) represent technological changes in the lives of the Anatolian people.

[189] Zeynep Yasa Yaman, "Modernism Siyasal/ İdeolojik Söylemi Olarak Resimde Köylü &Çiftçi İzleneği", *Türkiye'de Sanat*, no.22 (January/February 1996), p.33.

Apart from the depictions of peasant and farmers in the paintings, the artists also shed light on the lives of ordinary people in the cities. Mehmet Nuri Arel's painting "Quarrymen" (1924) and Namık İsmail's Mine Workers (Maden İşçileri), respresented labored groups of works who la under worse conditions in the mines and stone quarries. In addition, Ali Avni Çelebi's "The Barber" (Berber), (1931) and Cemal Tollu's "Portrait of A Nurse" (Hemşire Portresi) (1946) depicted working people in everyday life in cities. Zeki Faik İzer's painting "Production" (Üretim) and Eren Eyüpoğlu's work "Development" (Kalkınma) were prominent examples of the populist discourse in Turkish painting. In these works, the artists depicted groups of peasents, workers and farmers who came from different religions working for the glorious future of the state.

All in all, the art policy in the early Republican era was shaped by the political dynamics of the regime. Populism as an ideology of the single-party embraced all artists to pay attention to the themes of peasants, villages, and farmers in Anatolia.

CHAPTER IV

A. Fine Arts in Yeni Adam

This part of the study examines the journal of *Yeni Adam* in two periods: the interwar years and World War II. From the beginning of 1934, the journal's issues and articles engaged with the political developments of the country as well as social cultural progress under the rule of the RPP. When the pressure of the interwar period increased in the mid-1930s, the columns of political and cultural criticism in *Yeni Adam* showed anti-fascist characteristics. 1937 saw the peak of the nationalist movements both in Turkey and Europe. At this point, İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu in an article titled, Why I'm antifacist[190] explained the opposition of the journal to the recent policies of the world. According to him, fascism on extinct traditions had no roots in the moral, cultural, and social life of the twentieth century. Fascism was the critical movement the increasing consciousness awareness of the masses; in turn, it provided a self help for the imperialist state structure. The fascist state needed to be aggressive in international politics as well as culture. In this regard, the authors criticized the fascist-hardcore nationalist policies of the European states. The cover pages of the journal featured antifascist designs and cartoons.

As a result of the opposition of *Yeni Adam*, it was shut down for one year due to the antifacist tendency in the articles and cartoons of the facist figure Hitler.[191] Later; in 1946, it was closed for fifteen months for some other reason. On March 9, 1939, *Yeni Adam* returned to weekly publishing with the support of Turkish intellectuals. Being its chief editorial writer, Baltacıoğlu emphasized the role of *Yeni Adam* in promoting the

[190] Tuna Baltacıoğlu, *Yeni Adam Günleri* (İstanbul: YKY, 1998), pp.102, 103.
[191] Ibid., p.117.

democratization of social-cultural life. He argued that from this time, the journal would not be preoccupied with politics, it would be a journal for culture, science, and technology and they would pay more attention to moral, educational, and artistic issues. The new position of the journal could be related to the increasing political power of the RPP on the eve of WW II. In this way, Baltacıoğlu decided to keep the journal beyond everyday politics.

From this point of view, *Yeni Adam* was getting closer to conservative nationalism instead of opposing it. Although the journal was reacting against fascism and carried social realist tendencies in time the cultural nationalist tendency increased in the late 1930s. The increased awareness of cultural nationalism is evident in the articles in the interpretation of the following concepts: national tradition, public life and Turkish culture.

Starting from the early 1940s, the political position of Baltacıoğlu in art and culture can be observed in his articles which became preoccupied with nationalist and traditionalist terminology. His claim was a return to the public and essence of the Turkish nation by questioning concepts of nation, culture, and tradition from the cultural nationalist perspective.

To clarify Turkish culture, he asked several questions related to the nation such as who was the Turk? and how does the Turk turn to himself? For him, the word "Turk" was an unchanging essence, a tradition.[192]The national characteristic of the Turkish nation was "realism" that was applied in every part of life. Turkish art, architecture, and tradition took their roots from their own reality. This sense of reality separated Turkish culture from the European one.

According to Gökalp, without regarding any kind of racist discrimination, a society that shared a common culture, could be a nation.[193] The *Yeni Adam* series of Baltacıoğlu's articles, revealed national culture in a comprehensive study of Gökalp. In the articles, nation as a cultural reality

[192] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu,"Türk Nedir?",*Yeni Adam*, no.364 (18 January 1941) , p.2.
[193] Baltacıoğlu, *Ziya Gökalp*, p.119.

was the fundamental structure of these intellectuals.Gökalp and Baltacıoğlu differented on a few points in cultural nationalist ideology. For Gökalp, a nation took its roots from its customs, while Baltacıoğlu put more emphasis on tradition.

In this sense, İsmayıl Hakkı, compared to Gökalp, drew attention to the nationalist, anti-cosmopolitan, and humanist character of early Republican Turkish culture. For him, protecting the Turkish ancestry tradition and turning to themselves should be one of the crucial purposes of the Turkish nation.[194] *Yeni Adam's* role was to draw a synthesis between the old and the new. National culture referred to a common tradition made by people inspired by their own ethno-cultural heritage of values, symbols, memories, and myths. This culture was built on not only visual art, but also on language that would transfer it to the next generations. The early Republican Turkish culture would be based partly on Turco-Ottoman traditions and on modern European culture mainly on the technical side. This indicates that *Yeni Adam* and Baltacıoğlu's position in cultural nationalism was different from Kemalist cultural ideology. *Yeni Adam* was against the break discourse of the Kemalist modernist project, claiming that the role of Turkish revolution would not destroy the Ottoman cultural heritage and made a synthesis of the old and the new[195].

In the 1930s, representing the nation's culture was a problematic concept for Turkish intellectuals because of Kemalist theoretical opposition to Ottoman tradition. The nationalist ideology of *Yeni Adam* sought the roots of tradition in cultural folk heritage classic roots of the Islamic past rather than putting their emphasis on European modernity. Unlike other Kemalist academics and intellectuals, Baltacıoğlu never restricted Turkish culture and tradition to Central Asian civilization. From this perspective, Turks had existed for more than one thousand year in Anatolia, so Turkish tradition could never

[194] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Türk'e Doğru Hakkında",*Yeni Adam*, no.431 (1 April 1943), p.4.
[195] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, " Ölü ile Diri", *Yeni Adam*, no.340 (3 July 1941), p.9.

be abstracted from its Ottoman-Islamic roots. From a theoretical standpoint, his demand for national culture was represented in both Ottoman Turkish tradition and Western modernity. If the belated modernity project pursued wholesale westernization, Turkish nation would be faced with a values crises and even lose its self-esteem.[196]

The discussion on tradition and modernity in the journal constituted the main standpoint of Turkish art in the early Republic. Almost all of the writings of Baltacıoğlu started discussion from this dilemma: how could we modernize our culture in the European sense, why should we turn Turco-Islamic folk tradition in shaping our culture.

Appearently, Baltacıoğlu's view on many issues determined the way of *Yeni Adam*, representing the new life of the nation. Due to being a member of parliment (1944-1950), he preferred to criticize such concepts as culture, nation, and tradition rather than government policies. Looking at the decade following WW II, a critical period in the formation of the multi-party goverment, *Yeni Adam* become a more politically oriented journal like in the pre-war period. For the journal, the RPP as a revolution institution had responsibility to achieve true modernity in Turkey. The establishment of the Democrat Party as an oppositional group for the RPP, was regarded as a danger for the future of Turkish democracy.Baltacıoğlu insisted that the Democrat Party was an antirepublican and resistance group in the parliament.[197]

Baltacıoğlu argued that single-party mentality in Turkish politics had achieved a series of reforms and had transformed Turkish society into modern state. However, the Democrat party was seen as a faction and they lacked a well prepared government and party program. In his article, Why I am Republican?[198] Baltacıoğlu said that he was proud to be a member of the RPP because the party was revolutionist, populist and cultural nationalist,

[196] Bedi Ziya Egemen, "Türk'e Doğru", *Yeni Adam*, no.430 (1943):8,9.
[197] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "CHP", *Yeni Adam*, no.595 (1946):2.
[198] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Niçin Halkçıyım?", *Yeni Adam*, no.654 (1954):3.

introducing a new way for the Turkish nation for the level of European civilization.

After 1945, the journal became preoccupied with the Democrat party. However, the perspective of the journal slowly shifted to a more conservative direction after mid 1940s. *Yeni Adam's* position towards to the Democrat Party seems to have become more positive than in earlier times. Both *Yeni Adam* and the writings of Baltacıoğlu in partly lost some of their social realist and cultural nationalist tendencies. Hüsamettin Bozok clarified the intellectual changes in *Yeni Adam* and his director as follows:

When Yeni Adam was just being published, it had a special place in Turkish intellectual life because Baltacıoğlu was an open-minded and progressive intellectual. He was a real democrat. I can say that he was humanist. He said new art for the new man. He is neither Marxist nor socialist. He believed in only Durkheim's sociology. I haven't seen him in thirty years. Have we changed? or Has he changed? The reality is that *Yeni Adam* circle slowly disappeared. *Halk'a Doğru* (Towards to the People) has turned into *Türk'e Doğru* (Towards Turk) Baltacıoğlu still publishes the journal, but it is not same as 1934 and *1936's Yeni Adam*.[199]

After the 1950s, the position of *Yeni Adam* slowly shifted to a more conservative (the Islamic) side instead of being a follower of social realist and cultural nationalist tendencies.

[199]Tuna Baltacıoğlu, *Yeni Adam Günleri*, p.268. "*Yeni Adam çıkar çıkmaz, Türk düşün yaşamında etkili bir yer alıverdi. Çünkü Baltacıoğlu, açık görüşlü, zamanına gore ileri düşünen bir aydın örneğiydi. Gerçek bir demokrattı. Buna hümanistti de diyebiliriz. Yeni Adam'a yeni sanat diyor, başka bir şey demiyoru. Baltacıoğlu ne marksistti, na de sosyalist. Sadece Durkheim sosyojine inanan bir aydındı…Baltacıoğlu ile son otuz yıl içinde bir daha hiç karşılaşmadık. Bizler mi değiştik yoksa o mu? Ama bilinen gerçek şu ki: Yeni Adam çevresi yavaş yavaş yok oldu. Yıllarca onunla birlikte savunduğumuz "Halka Doğru" sloganı "Türk'e Doğru" oluvermişti. Baltacıoğlu Yeni Adam'ı son günlerine kadar çıkarmayı sürdürdü. Ama 1934'lerin, 1936'ların Yeni Adam'ı değildi artık."*

New Art For the New Man: Art Theory in *Yeni Adam*

In this section, the basic concepts of art theory such as technique, aesthetics, and their relationship with political power will be presented by analyzing articles from *Yeni Adam*. The case of *Yeni Adam* shows that in the 1930s and 1940s, art conceptual debates on developed was not as clearly defined as in Europe. Turkish intellectuals demanded to turn the direction of Turkish art towards to the West, but nobody defined the basic structure, purpose, or utility of art in Turkey. Under these circumstances, *Yeni Adam* functioned as an educational center for the public as well as the intellectuals.

In a series of articles called *"Halk Üniversitesi Estetik Dersleri"*[200] (Aesthetic Lectures of the Public University), Baltacıoğlu introduced an agenda for training his audience in the new art. He defined art as "aesthetic excitement" (estetik heyecan)[201] that would be shaped by a social group in a society. In this view, art had a number of characteristics. First, art was a conceiving and a kind of construction. Its function was to gather society under a nation-state. All values and emotions of the society created the essence of the art. Second, art work was neither a science nor a technique. Art could only give aesthetic values. Third, art was done for a group of people, not an individual. If people felt close to the art, artists were succeed in influencing society.

The purpose of art was turn to society, discovering aesthetic values and creating it in return. Baltacıoğlu separated architecture, music, and ornamental arts from painting and sculpture in terms of technique and nature. The first group was neither analysing nature nor copying it, but the second group took the essence of aesthetic from nature. For this reason, in both cases, art dealt with the inner worlds of people, spirit. The spirit was not the

[200] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Sanat Eseri Nedir?, *Yeni Adam*, no.172 (1937):14.
[201] Ibid., p.14.

spirit of a race or an ethnic group, but of a cultural collectivity . An artist who led the spirit and feeling of the people was a technician creating collective values by creating art.[202] In that case, the artist was both creative and created. He was created, because only society could give values and techniques to him. He was creative due to shaping the collective feelings by using modern techniques.Art brought style, order, and impressions to society which determined the technique and value of art works. In the 1930s, the position of art reflected in *Yeni Adam* was first nationalist second socialist. Art works carried the social characteristic of society, so they reflected the spirit of the nation.

Starting from this point of view, Baltacıoğlu's articles in *Yeni Adam* paid more attention to the utility of art and its social function for society.[203] His demand on collective art determined the role of fine arts in the nation building process. The artist as a social man should work for the future of the state, shaping the dynamic features of communities. His collective work was represented in the body of the nation's common meaning, intelligence, and character. In other words, for the artists art understood society and social realism.

Under the direction of Baltacıoğlu, a number of discussions and articles in *Yeni Adam* focused on the main problematics of Turkish art and artists in the 1930s and 1940s. First of all, in several articles, a group of intellectuals questioned the role of the state in directing art and culture towards the governmental politics. Although Baltacıoğlu demanded state support in order to establish art institutuions (museum, galleries) and an art academy, *Yeni Adam* was opposed to the idea of propagandist art or directed art. They argued that art should only reflect the spirit of the nation, not the policy of the RPP. If the art is compeletly directed for the purposes of the

[202]İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Kültürce Kalkınmanın Sosyal Şartları* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi,1967), p:33, and "Artist Nedir?", *Yeni Adam*, no.173 (1937):13.
[203] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Sanat ve Sosyete", *Yeni Adam*, no.202 (1937):8, and "Sanatın Cemiyet Hayatına Hizmeti", *Yeni Adam*, no.226 (1939):13.

state, it could lose its original form, aesthetic, and intimacy which would lead to degenerated art.[204] By adressing this topic, in the several news and articles journal higlighted the relantionship between ideology and art.

In this sense, Baltacıoğlu claimed that the only way of giving national consciousness to art was to promote state support of artist and institutions.[205] State enterprises in early Republican art not only introduced a new agenda for artists, but also contributed the ideal of collective (social) art, revealing "innocent" art rather than propagandist. Baltacıoğlu supported the concept of "art for society" in his article *"Sanatta Garba Doğru*[206]*"* (Art toward the West) that meant "towards European technique".

The Turkish perspective on art was asserted to point to the role of art as a symbol of Turkish Renaissance during the nation-building process. Baltacıoğlu was opposed to the Turkish Renaissance ideal, because it rendered art scientific. For him, art should stay out of science, remaining in emotions.[207] Being an indolent nation, Turks and Turkish art were under the pressure of Renaissance and slaves of Romanticism. For this reason, Turks needed "an art revolution" which would release the creative and constructive energies among the people.

In that case, Turkish art would seek a new way be itself among the different artistic tendencies in the twentieth century. Impressionism, surrealism, cubism and other trends were thus analyzed in Yeni Adam with their possible interactions with Turkish painting and sculpture.

Cubism: Art for Democracy

Looking at the pre-WWII decade, a critical period in the formation of national art and culture, cubism was one of the mainstream artistic

[204] Yeni Adam "Soysuzlaşan Sanat", *Yeni Adam*, no.339 (1941):4.
[205] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Suçlu Olan Sanat", *Yeni Adam*, no.135 (1939):11.
[206] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Sanatta Garba Doğru", *Yeni Adam*, no.534 (1945):2.
[207] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Bir Sanat İhtilali", *Yeni Adam*, no.516 (1943):2.

tendencies in Europe challenging the fascist state's hegemonic practices over national culture. In Turkey, the members of the D Group, who were autonomous actors played major role in the art of the 1930s and introduced the new movement: Cubism.

Cubist art for Turkish artist was a new concept in the 1930s. While in Europe starting from the 1920s, cubist art had been a dominant current. The new art, "cubism", questioned the basic framework of Turkish art, the aiming to destruct traditionalist attitudes in art. Like Cezanne and Picasso, Turkish artists stressed the creative and structuralize notion of the cubist movement in the early 1930s. In this regard, Baltacıoğlu asked the following questions to reveal the role of the new art: to what extent was cubism a new art for new state and how could it be situated in national art building process.

Cubism as an art term was defined as the unification of machine and mind, by Baltacıoğlu.[208] In his book, *Demokrasi ve Sanat*[209] (Democracy and Art) published in 1931, he considered the relationship of democracy to art and new Republican art under the broad perspective of European art. The dynamic features of cubist art were very close to the Republican ideals. Baltacıoğlu argued that the cubist movement unified the nation under the same technique in architecture, painting and ornamental art.[210]

Starting from the 1920s, discussions on modern art versus national art were centered on the cubist, constructivist, and futurist movement in European art. Actually, cubism had become the mainstream art movement in Europe in the twentieth century. Cubist art by destroying traditional attitudes was sought mathematical visual images. According to Yasa Yaman,[211] this characteristic of cubism would be recognized as twentieth century's artistic renaissance. Baltacıoğlu stresses that cubic art was an art of democratic countries. In his book, for him, academism and impressionism were remnants

[208] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Resimde Kübizm ve Türk Ananesi", *Darülfünun İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, (March 1931):36.
[209] Baltacıoğlu, *Demokrasi ve Sanat*.
[210] Ibid., p.11
[211] Zeynep Yasa Yaman, "Demokrasi ve Sanat", *Anadolu Sanat*, no.4 (September 1993):87.

of nineteenth century art, but the new art had similar characteristics to the national state formation. First, the new art should be social, carrying values and emotions similar to those of Turkish society. In contrast, pure academism was concerned with individual expressions and the old traditions formulated in art. Second, cubism emerged as a kind of formlessness and antifascist movement during the inter-war period.[212]

In the time, European art attempted to find a solution to hard-core nationalist ideology in art and culture. For all European countries, cubist art was a necessity to modernize society and technique in the same direction. For this reason, cubism was an expression of modernization that was against pure academism and romanticism. Although Baltacıoğlu the stressed anti-traditionalist and anti-nationalist characteristics of cubism, he highlighted the way for new art by creating tradition in cubist forms. He wrote that: as our women have not lost their national character by wearing European clothes; our cities constructed with cubist structure, do not lose their Turkishness. [213]

For him, the aim of Turkish artists was to create a new national art using cubist techniques rather than simply repeating artistic models of the past. By using abstract techniques, artists would reach original forms and style in presenting the Turkish tradition.

Art Critics: Art Exhibitions and the D Group

"Critics" could portray the cultural and artistic scene of the early Republican era. There were three different groups of intellectuals, namely Republicans who supported to the regime; anti-Republicans, who constituted opposition groups (nationalist and social realist); and followers of the mid-way (modernist), who were sought new values and attitudes.

[212] Sadi Ertem, "Anarşik Sanat", *Yeni Adam*, no.166, (4 March 1937):9 and Zühtü Müridoğlu "Heykeltraş Sanatı İçin Ne Diyor?, *Yeni Adam*, no.166 (1935):9.

[213] Baltacıoğlu, *Demokrasi ve Sanat*, p:140. "*Nasıl kadınlarımız Avrupa kıyafetini kabul etmekle giyinmek hususundaki milli hususiyetleri kaybetmiyorlarsa, şehirlerimiz de Kubizm nev'ine girmekle Türklüklerini kaybetmeyecekler."*

Similar to other cultural figures, art critics in early Republican Turkey co-existed in both artistic and political realms. The three tendencies sketched above determined the ways art critics discussed such controversial issues as national art, individual versus socio, and modern tendencies in Turkish art. In the 1930s, Turkish intellectuals were unable understand fully the importance of the art critic in the modernization of Turkish art under the direction of the single party. Socio-economic conditions in Europe gave rise to more speculative approaches in art and culture. However, these conditions did not exist in the Turkish case where art critics mainly focused on questions of identity and cultural synthesis.

In the early years of the Republic, most prominent intellectuals complained about unsatisfactory state of art criticism. *Yeni Adam's* authors paid much more attention to criticism in art. Vedat Güntekin in his article *"Münekkit Çekişmesi"*(Critic's Struggle) displayed the failure of Turkish critism as follows:"In our culture, criticism has been turned into as a tool for personal threat and fight.[214]" In addition to these intellectuals, Peyami Safa stressed the controversial criteria of critics. "Bruneterie, who says that criticism is the science of jealousy, is only right in his country. For us, it is only jealousy."[215]

It is understood that art criticism in the 1930s was determined by the critic's personal relationship individual perceptions, values, and thoughts Ali Sami Boyar, Ahmet Muhip Dranas, Malik Aksel *(Ülkü)*, Burhan Asaf *(Kadro)*, Peyami Safa *(Son Posta)*, Ercüment Ekrem Talu, Hamit Necdet *(Cumhuriyet)* who were followers of the Republican ideology in art and culture, generally critiqued artists rather than their art works. Their critiques were concerned mainly the artist's positions in their community as well as their membership in different art groups rather than directly with artistic criteria.

---

[214] Vahdet Güntekin, "Münekkit Çekişmesi", *Yeni Adam*, no.80 (1935):12. "*Tenkidin bir şeyi bizde tenkit kötülemek, bir adamı batırmak işi olduğu seni bizim halk arasında yerleşmişti.Bizde tenkit "kişisel tehdit ve söğüşme tenkidine dönüşür."*

[215]Ibid., p.12.*"Tenkit için "kıskançlık ilmi" diyen Brunetıere yalnız kendi memleketinde haklı olabilirdi..... Bizde sadece kıskançlıktır."*

In this context, the art criticism in *Yeni Adam* addressed works of art in a more objective way. In the mid-1930s, Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu, Mahmut Cuda, Fuat İzer, and Zühtü Müridoğlu wrote several critiques of the Modernist tendencies in Turkish painting and about the art exhibitions of the People Houses and State Sponsored Painting Exhibitions. Bedri Rahmi and Mahmut Cuda employed such new concepts as contrast, dimension, dynamic and static movements in drawings.

Furthermore, İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu centered on art criticism from an angle of traditional arts. His vision was developed in such basic problematics as the essence of the nation, tradition, Turkish sensitivity in art criticism. He argued that "our scholastic education is an important hinderance in understanding new art. In cubist painting, most of our enlightened friends seeks science, form and documentation rather than poetry and harmony."[216]

Yeni Adam aimed at refining art criticism.Especially, Baltacıoğlu's suggestions in his article *"Bir İnkilap Ressamı*[217]*"* (A Revolutionary Artist) dectated that art criticism should serve the needs of Turkish art instead of being criticial of the artists themselves. Baltacıoğlu himself had visited a series of exhibitions in different provinces of Anatolia. For example, İzmit, Aydın, and the Konya People's Houses exhibitions were critiqued in the journal in detail covering each artist, and each work of art one by one.[218] In addition to these exhibitions, the journal introduced young artists to the readers. A series of articles written by Bedri Rahmi and Arif Dino expressed their views on works of such important artists as Sedat Nuri, Ali Avni Çelebi,

[216]İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Demokrasi ve Sanat*, p.126."*Ananevi" terbiyemiz yeni sanatın mahiyetini anlamamız için kuvvetli bir manidir. Birçok münevver arkadaşımız kubik tabloda vezin ve ahenk değil, ilim suret ve vesika aradıklarını görüyorum"* .

[217] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Bir İnkilap Ressamı, *Yeni Adam*, no. (1937):10.

[218] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, İzmit Resim Sergisi, *Yeni Adam*, no.226 (1939) ; "Konya Halkevinde Resim Sergisi, *Yeni Adam*, no.232 (1939); Aydın Halkevinde Resim Sergisi, *Yeni Adam*, no. 233 (1939).

Halit Doral, and Zeki Kocamemi. These critiques were well prepared in terms of works, techniques, and information about European painting.[219]

For Baltacıoğlu art could be considered never obscene, because art was a combination of nature and aesthetic ideal. Its theme could be a nude painting or moral values. According to Bedri Rahmi, Turkish art and artist were suffering from the absence of art criticism. Critics and writers played important roles in founding a strong relationship between artists and society. To enlighten the masses, critics had to direct artists towards original and national art. The absence of art criticism in the early Republican Turkey led to the alienation removal of Turkish society from art. Bedri Rahmi argued that "in order to critique an egg, people need not lay eggs, but at least, people should have witnessed birth pains and observed what happened to an egg."[220]

Similar to Bedri Rahmi, Mahmut Cuda complained about absence of art critics. Although Turkish art did not have a clear cut art critique artists, journalists, and even agents were writing criticism in order to advertise works of art instead of analyzing them in terms of technique and style. However, art advertisement was never equal to art criticism.

Starting from 1934, *Yeni Adam* in almost every issue paid covered art exhibitions for the work of the D Group, Galatasaray, Fine Art Academy, and the Independents. Particularly, the exhibitions of the D Group were special artistic events. Baltacıoğlu argued that the D Group was successful in using European techniques and style in their works, although the themes of their paintings were not national.

The D Group was praised as representative of cubist art in Turkey. Eşref Fehim, art critics, claimed that Turkish art was faced with an art crisis. Fortunately, the exhibition of the Groups and Independents show that Turkish

[219] Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu, "Genç Ressam Halit Doral", *Yeni Adam*, no.57 (1935); Arif Dino, "Sedat Nuri Sanatını Anlatıyor", *Yeni Adam*, no.58 (1935); İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Ressam Ali Avni", *Yeni Adam*, no.54, (1935).

[220] *"Yumurtayı tenkit edebilmesi için yumurtalaması şart değil. Fakat hiç olmazsa yumurtanın başına gelenleri çok yakından görmüş doğum sancılarında hazır bulunmuş olsun."* Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu, "Tenkit", *Yeni Adam*, n. (1944):7.

art turned towards modern and original forms.[221] Unlike Baltacıoğlu and Eşref Fehim, İlhan Berk criticized the D Group for ignoring the crisis and problems of their communities by painting still lives, portraits of beautiful women, and landscape.[222]

From this perspective, the works of the D Group painters displayed the negative aspects of cubist art. For Recai Eriş, the D Group's art was destructive and outside reality and aesthetic of society. The color and shape in their paintings reflected "the bleated modernity" in Turkish art.[223] In this sense, *Yeni Adam*'s criticism in the 1930s was constructive for young artists and modernist tendencies. Starting from the 1940s, Baltacıoğlu himself did not critique the works of the D Group, yet other writers in the journal were more critical of modern trends.

Among the members of the D Group, Abidin Dino and his works were seen as most controversial. Dino, bringing the European technique and national values, focused on social realism in Turkish painting. However, conservative and traditionalist intellectuals severely criticized his painting calling it exaggerated art. In *Yeni Adam*, Baltacıoğlu and Hüsamettin Bozok argued that Dino was one of the prominent young artists of the early Republican era. He was extraordinarily creative in using modern techniques, working for social realist art.[224]

Dino participated in the First State Painting and Sculpture Exhibition with his original painting *"İbrik"* (long-spouted ewer). In a series of articles published in *Yeni Adam*, readers had the chance to see a critical discussion on Dino's art works as well as the main problematic of Turkish art. According to Baltacıoğlu, his *"abdesthane ibrikleri"* (toilet ewer) was extraordinary for Turkish people. Only intellectuals who know Turkish aesthetics understood

[221] Eşref Fehim, "D Grubu'nun 3. Resim Sergisi Türk Ressamının Gücünü Gösteriyor, *Yeni Adam*, (25 June 1934), p.7; "D Grubu'nun 5. Resim Sergisi", *Yeni Adam*, no.83 (1935); "Dört Başlı Dragon", *Yeni Adam*, no.35 (1934):8.
[222] İlhan Berk "Sanatın Sosyal Fonksiyonu", *Yeni Adam*, no.393, (1941):4.
[223] Resai Eriş, "D Grubu'nun 11. Resim Sergisi", *Yeni Adam*, no.492 (1942):6
[224] Yeni Adam, "Abidin Dino", *Yeni Adam*, no.46 (1934):2; Hüsamettin Bozok, "Abidin Dino", *Yeni Adam*, no.194, (1937):3.

Dino's art. He asked Dino how he could exhibit this works in the State Exhibition in Ankara in a very sharp tone.

A few days later, after Baltacıoğlu's criticism published in *Yeni Adam*, Nurullah Ataç wrote another criticism of the same painting. Ataç argued that Dino's art was a new art, so the public could not compeletly understand this perspective in Turkish painting.[225] Baltacıoğlu's desire was to direct towards to the people, not achieving to draw a long-spouted ewer on the canvas. Meanwhile, a few article published in *Yeni Adam* were preoccupied with Dino's ibrik. Most importantly, Zahir Güvemli in his article made fun of his works. He said that "To say Abidin is to say ewer. Abidin Dino was sent Anatolia for painting. Abidin prepared the D Group's exhibition with ewers which were made in Anatolia."[226]

Abidin Dino defended his art, writing articles in the *Haber* newspaper. Dino expressesed the reason for doing the ibrik paintings, as followings: "Ewers are the basic objects ofa villager's life. If it is not, they would not shape, polish, and decorate them. I show my ibrik to the villagers. No one likened it to a turkey. They said that their forms are good. I think that they like them."[227]

In fact, at the First State Painting and Sculpture exhibition, although Abidin Dino exhibited other works depicting a village girl, farmers, and workers, the critics and writers mainly focused on his "ibrik" paintings. Although Dino's painting was close to the original form and color of Turkish art, some of the painters and critics regarded them as original works for society. In this sense, Dino argued that there was "a hunger for art" in Anatolia. For this reason, the Anatolian people opened up to all kinds of art without any restrictions in form or color. Baltacıoğlu supported Dino's art from the perspective of national art. He argued that Dino's ibrik was a part of the

[225] Ibid., p.12.
[226] Zahir Güvemli, "Abidin Dino", *Yeni Adam*, no.300 (1940):11. *"Abidin demek ibrik demektir. Abidin Dino Anadolu'ya resim yapmaya gönderilmişti. Abidin orada yaptığı ibrikleriyle D Grubunun bilmem kaçıncı sergisini hazırladı."*
[227] Baltacıoğlu, "Abidin Dino'nun İbrikleri", *Yeni Adam*, no.264 (1940):12.

Anatolian people and lives, ibrik reflected Turkish culture as well as the feelings and values of Turkish society.Thus, the work of Abidin Dino was regarded as being Turkish art that lived within the public.[228]

Art Education

Yeni Adam functioned as a school or a learning center in which Baltacıoğlu wrote a series of articles that focused on art education at the high school and university levels. In *Yeni Adam*, he attempted to find answers to the following questions: how could art classes become more efficient for students? In what ways did students utilize art lectures in their lives? According to Baltacıoğlu, painting, architecture, calligraphy, ornemental arts were parts of the socialization process in society. Art education should depend on the objective and live neccessities of the nation to educate social man.[229] For this reason, he insisted on art education with an emphasis an emphasis on practical training and handcrafts. Using abstract values and symbols in education could not suceed in the modernization of art education.

His books, *Pedogojide İhtilal*[230] (Revolution in Pedagogics), *İçtimal Mektep*[231] (Social School), *Resim ve Terbiye*[232](Painting and Education) are important first hand sources for understanding his perspective on early Republican art education. In his view, the aim of art education was to create artistic character in their minds rather than directly training them in fine arts.

In addition to the fine arts, carpentry, gardening and handworks were important crafts that would be a part of the national art education system. To develop creative side of their education, children stylized crafts to understand technique and aesthetics even at the primary school level. For Baltacıoğlu,

[228] Ibid., p.10.
[229] Baltacıoğlu, *Resim ve Terbiye* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931):7.
[230] Baltacıoğlu, *Pedagojide İhtilal* (İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi,1964).
[231] Baltacıoğlu, *İçtimai Mektep Nazariyeleri ve Prensipleri* (İstanbul: Semih Lütfü Basımevi,1932).
[232] Baltacıoğlu, *Resim ve Terbiye*.

the role of crafts in promoting educational skills should be organized under the department of the Fine Arts Academy.[233] Education with goods (things) which was a part of Rousseau's thought became a primary source for Baltacıoğlu's perspective in the art education system.[234] Handworks and crafts provided an assistantship for the fine arts. People by learning crafts, used both their minds and physical abilities, so they would utilized both the physical and mental manner.

Similar to craft and handwork lessons, music, painting, sculpture, architecture and dance helped students to understand nature, aesthetics, the environment and trained them in modern socio-cultural circumstances. Especially, art education would create a social aesthetic sythesis in the minds of children. Painting education was crucial in terms of mental and physical development for Republican children. Morality, personality, free will in the form of aesthetic characteristic would be revealed by it. It is clear that school could not educate artists, but it would give fundamental knowledge, and habits in the realm of the art.

In the Turkish education system, art education had secondary importance to science and literature. Baltacıoğlu criticized art education at the high school and university level. First, art education had a limited number of art teacher at the Fine Art Academy. Most of them were unaware of European art and pedagogy. Second, Fine Arts Academy and high schools lacked workshops, models, and libraries. With these inadequate physical conditions, teachers were ineffective in teaching technique and aesthetics. For this reason, the state had to support the Fine Arts Academy and Gazi Institute Painting Department financially to improve in the workshops.

Baltacıoğlu, concerned with art instruction at the university level, introduced a new system for the Gazi Painting Department in Ankara. He was appointed to the Gazi Institute as director developed a new curriculum for the

[233] Baltacıoğlu, *Terbiye* (İstanbul: Semih Lütfü Kütüphanesi, 1932), p.245.
[234] Baltacıoğlu, *Felsefe* (İstanbul: Sebat Basımevi), p.287.

art courses in the Painting Department. The curriculum included art history, pedagogies, *zanaat* (handiwork), and art philosophy. It is clear that Baltacıoğlu's art education was closely in touch with the social and economic conditions in society. In Baltacıoğlu's model, artists would go to school in Anatolia to educate children in the new methods of art. By this way, national art and handiwork could be spread to the Republican youth.[235]

İsmayıl Hakkı and Bedri Rahmi paid exceptional attention to children's painting exhibitions. Several pages were reserved for the paintings and drawings of primary school children.[236] *Yeni Adam* as a learning center, Baltacıoğlu stressed social education himself giving lectures on such topics as painting, language, sociology, and philosophy. In this way, Turkish art would become attractive for society and become visible in the public sphere. *Yeni Adam* suggested the old Çırağan Palace (timber factory) as a good palace for the costruction of an exhibition hall in İstanbul.[237] It is an interesting point that first national museum of the Republic was opened in Dolmabahçe Palace because historical buildings as the carriers of Turk-Ottoman culture became special places for people to see the old and new cultures together.

Yeni Adam's painting poll was a good way to understand the vision of the prominent Republican painters in art education at the high school and university levels. Eren and Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu wrote that, art education in high schools should encourage young people to work on art and handiwork; it would influence them to give basic knowledge and aesthetics to Turkish art. In the Fine Arts Academy, by the supporting of the state, the physical conditions of the school should be improved by providing education materials and workshops, as well as opening art galleries to exhibit the paintings of young artists.[238] Mahmut Cuda suggested that art history and philosophy be

[235] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Resim Devrimini Nasıl Yaptım?", *Yeni Adam*, no.119 (1936):4.
[236] Yeni Adam "Mekteplerimizde Resim", no.131, (1936):13.; Yeni Adam, "Çoçuk Resimleri Sergisi Açıldı", no:27, (1934), p:7 and no.38, (1934):7.
[237] Yeni Adam "Yarım Asırlık Türk Resmi Sergisi", *Yeni Adam*, no.144, (1936):10 and "Resim ve Heykel Galerisi", *Yeni Adam*, no.221 (1939):10,11.
[238] Yeni Adam, "Resim Anketi I ",*Yeni Adam*, no.231 (1 June 1939):10,11.

added to the high school curriculum. The Fine Art's academy should focus on the education of young artists rather than an art teacher.[239]

B. Social Realism in Turkish Art

The journal functioned as a platform where nationalist and social realist tendencies coexisted in Turkish art. On the one hand, as an advocate of a new art it attempted to combine Modernism with national motifs derived from Turkish-Islamic tradition. On the other hand, it criticized the single party's art policy from a social realist perspective by on the utility and collectivity of Turkish art.

In the early 1930s, Soviet Russian art, to a certain extent, influenced Turkish socialist intellectuals. They were exposed to understand social realist and collectivist art through the observing of Soviet art. In both Italy and Germany, art and culture were dominated by authoritarian regimes incorprating nationalist and revolutionary elements. Besides these countries, the USSR was another major actor to control and dominate art and cultural according to the cult of Stalin. By 1932, all artistic associations were abolished by a decree and artists were forced to become members of the Moscow Union of Artists. The official party regarded social realism as the main cultural ideology of the party, rejecting such modernist trends as formalism, naturalism, and impressionism. The goverment also organized painting tours for artists and trained workers in the arts.[240] In this way, it transformed artists into a functionary of the Party state's domination the artistic sphere led to the radical rejection of old values and also Modernism(Formalism)

In the case of Turkey, Kemalist revolutionary enthusiasm demanded various things from artists: to popularize art for the public, to employ basic

[239] Ibid., p:14.
[240] Duygu Köksal, "Art and Power in Turkey", p.99.

national forms in their works of art, and of course, to utilize art in order to narrate heroic and romantic scenes of Republican history. In this sense, Ahmet Oktay argues that the party as the director of the state, art and culture has to undertake the enlightenment and directing of the society, must be guide[241]. The social realist/collectivist intellectuals: such as Suat Derviş, Nazım Hikmet, Suphi Nuri İleri, Hüsamettin Bozok, Kerim Sadi and Rasih Nuri İleri, had a common perspective on the early Republican art and culture. For the social realists, art had to be realist and collective; it was preoccupied with the working and living conditions of the lower social groups and such social problems as homelessness, unemployment,and class struggle.

In their vision, the new art did not necessarily mean a nationalist and revolutionary one. It would represent the collectivity of society and the nation in its reality. The working class and rural mass culture should be taken into consederation for the new definition of art and culture. The new art would be centered on the socio-economic conditions of the lower classes instead of a being part of the academy or a party institution. Their claim was to create living art for the mass culture. Although they were very much influenced by Soviet art, literature, and criticsm, they did not completly favour the Soviet political model.[242] The general tendency in socialist realism was evaluate Avant-gardist art as the agents of modernism. However, Avant-garde sought to organize a new social practice in which art was totally dissolved, so that it put to on end an its own autonomous, but ineffectual existence. Thus, the Avant-garde trends put a strong emphasis on the total rejection of the artistic forms of past tradition.[243]

In this regard, the social realist intellectuals did not totally accept the destructive tendency of Avant-garde art. To form a new Republican art, the

[241] Ahmet Oktay, *Türkiye'de Toplumcu Gerçekliğin Kaynakları* (Ankara:BFS, 1987), p.145

[242] Duygu Köksal, "The Role of Culture and Art in Early Republican Modernization in Turkey" La Multiplication des Images en Pays d'Islam; de l'estampe a la Television (17-21 siecle), edited by Bernard Heyberger and Sylvia Naef , (Istanbuler Texte und Studien, Orient Institut der DMG, Würzburg, 2003), p.213.

[243] Ali Artun, "Kuramda Avangardlar ve Bürger'in Avangard Kuramı, in *Avant-garde Kuramı,* edited by Peter Bürger. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), p.105

nation needed both a social and an artistic revolutionary nation in representing the nation's reality. As a result, the social group declared their opposied to the radical/ destructive sense of the Avant-garde art as well as its rejection of the traditionist perspective. Indeed, the new art, in their point of view, could be constructive. Instead of being destructive, they demanded a constructive Turkish revolutionary art concerning forms, techniques and methodology.

Social realist writers in the journal such Hüsamettin Bozok, Vahdet Gültekin, and Sedat Nuri İleri focused on the socio-economic inequalities within the nation, the daily lives of the workers, and the negative effects of WWII years in Turkey. In a series of articles written by different authors, social realism was defined as the new modernity (vision) for the new art. According to Vahdet Gültekin, modern art was different from the new art in terms of technique and aesthetic. Modern art already existed in those day, yet the new art had not been yet realized, being a movement for the 1930s. For Güntekin, the new art should be the art for transforming the social world.[244] It is clear that modern art was idealized by the artists, but the new art would be shaped by society, being a break or a revolutionary art. This form of art was normally expected as a part of the belated modernization in the early Republican era. Actually, the emphasis on the life of the people was a new topic for the new art. For instance, struggling with low socio-economic conditions, the pressure of war, the inequalities in society would be needed to express the inner sense of the community in a more objective ways. In this way, the social realist tendency put more emphasis on the art work than on the artist. When the social art lived inside society, artists as individuals would dissolve as a part of their work.[245]

[244] Vahdet Güntekin, "Modern Ar, Yeni Ar", *Yeni Adam*, no.39 (1935):12.
[245] Vahdet Güntekin, "Yeni Adam'a, Yeni Sanat", *Yeni Adam*, no.72 (1935):12.

For Gültekin, the new art was a kind of apparance, sensitivity, and movement that was born out of the national values.[246] Most significantly, social art reflected the feelings of the community on art works, so its framework was taken from the social realist tendency. Hüsamettin Bozok defined art as being populist. It would be shaped by the collective consciousness of society.[247] Similar to Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Balzac, artists lived within the nation and tradition. Romantic, fantastic, and individualist art was a danger for the newly born Turkish art. Like the social realists, Baltacıoğlu said that art should respond to realities of the society and also that artist was a social man serving the needs and collectivity of his community.[248]

Yet, Baltacıoğlu's view on social art was partly different from that ofVahdet Güntekin in terms of social function. Although İsmayıl Hakkı emphasized populist art, Güntekin sought social realism (not populist and abstract) in the new formation. For populist tendency, social art epitomized general social duty reflecting a humanist sense and the national excitement of society. Populist art, like science, was positive and different from high social values and abstract technique.[249] On the other hand, social realism took into consideration the low socio-economic groups of the population and paid more attention to workers and villagers rather than urbanities. Of course, Baltacıoğlu admitted that community work made national art more valuable for the representation of the new values, spirit, and moral worlds of people.

In conclusion, the social realists group desired artists to reach the masses and also to be of the masses. Without any class division, art would be collective and utilized for the needs of the nation-building process.

[246] Vahdet Güntekin, "Ar Gerçeği Nasıl Anlatacak",*Yeni Adam*, no.85 (1935):12.
[247] Hüsamettin Bozok, "Diri Sanat", *Yeni Adam*, no.238 (1939):8.
[248] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Sanatın Cemiyet Hayatına Hizmeti", *Yeni Adam*, no.226 (1939):13.
[249] Vahdet Güntekin, "İlim ve Sanat", *Yeni Adam*, no.83 (1935):12.

Collective art sought to destory the high wall between artists and community, making the artists “a worker among the workers.”[250]

Graphic Art,Cartoons, and Design

Graphic art was a major form of communication for visual and literary messages extensively used in twentieth centuryt to convey political and social ideology of the parties. In the early 1920s, posters and visual material were clearly of the greatest importance in the process of the political visual communication of socialist and fascist and regimes in Europe. The new form of art provided a broad perspective and an extensive store of images that were provided by the ideologies socialism and communism.

In Europe, graphic art was an influential language, the result of a strong relationship between the individual and society. In the case of Turkish art, graphics and posters were taken from Europe in terms of technique, style, and color. Instead of developing traditional forms in contemporary perspective, Turkish graphic art carried the protypcial identity of European art.[251] The early Republican culture could not prepare a good ground for the development of poster and garphic art. Due to the language reform and insiffucient experience of the artists, Turkish graphic art established its original form after the 1930s. İhap Hulusi Görey and Kenan Temizkan, educated in Germany, had returned Turkey in the late 1920s. Especially, Görey introduced illustration language and form in the work that was produced in his workshop. In the early years, he designed graphics and posters for such state institutions as the Turkish State Liquar and Tobacco Monopoly, the National Lottery Management, Sümerbank, and Turkish

[250] Willi Guttsman, “Art as a Weapon: social critique and political orientation in painting and print in Weimar Germany, in *The Arts, Literature, and Society*, edited by A. Marwickled. (Londan: Routledge, 1990): 201.

[251] Sait Maden, “Grafik Sanatın Dünü Bügünü”, in *Cumhuriyetin Renkleri, Biçimleri*; ed. Ayla Ödekan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), p.74

Airways. His posters functioned as communication devices and propaganda tools, directing Turkish society towards the revolution.[252]

Graphic art in Turkey was regarded as commericial art in industry and trade. To increase the consumption of food and tabacco; the state enterprises extensively used graphic art for advertisement campaings in the 1930s.[253] In addition to their commericial function, posters were representative of the new life style of the Turkish nation displaying visual expression in such forms as the modern citizen, the Turkish farmer, and national industry.Visually unlike in Germany and Italy, Turkish graphic art did not provide a broad social or political critism of the single-party regime. In German elections, for mass demonstrations and meetings, posters as visual display were produced up to 100,000 copies during the Weimar Republic.[254]
In Turkey, Ali Sami Boyar defined Turkish poster/ graphic art as a tool for "indirect propaganda".[255] Due to the lack of political oriented visual art, posters would make up extensive store for both commericial and politically images which included national themes and symbols. The cover pages of *Yeni Adam* and *Ülkü* provide examples of graphic art.

In the cover pages, graphic art had an important place in the socio-political of the journal. The following examples *"Sulhu Kim Öldürecek[256]"* (Who Kills the Peace), *"Geldim, Gördüm, Yendim[257]"* (Come, See, Overcome), *"Yeni Adam, Yeni Kadın[258]"* (New Man, New Women)", and *"1936'da Hava Harbi[259]"*(Air War in the 1936) are important examples of political posters in the early Republican era.

[252] Dilek Bektaş, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Döneminde Grafik Tasarım(1923-1943), *Sanat Dünyamız*, no.89 (Fall 2003):197.
[253] *Arkitek*t, "Melek Celal İhap Hulusi Sergisi", no.9, (1935):270.
[254] Guttsman, p: 201.
[255] Ali Sami Boyar, "Propaganda ve Resim", *Ülkü*, no.19 (September 1934):49.
[256] Yeni Adam, no.54 (1935),cover page.
[257] Yeni Adam, no.56 (1935), cover page.
[258] Yeni Adam, no.60, (1935), cover page.
[259] Yeni Adam, no.331, (1941) cover page.

The cover pages of *Yeni Adam* depended on the images of the facist movements in Italy and Germany, human conditions, and the political crises of the inter-war period. The series of cover pages displayed irony and criticism of racist tendencies in European politics. Furthermore, social realist art as a way of describing the material condition of the society was represented in the depiction of men struggling with nature. They were all concerned with the pictorial representation of elementary social situations and conflicts in Turkish society as well as the European one.

During WWII, the transformation of the political vision of *Yeni Adam* determined the issues, symbols, and political messages through the poster/graphic art. The cultural nationalist framework became a ground for early Republican art and culture. Baltacıoğlu demanded national themes and aesthetics depicting images for the modern nation. *Karagöz* (Turkish Shadow Theater), *Orta Oyunu*(Turkish Public Theatre), and representations of the Turkish nationalist attitudes would dominates the cover pages which shifted from social realist to nationalist ones.[260] Traditional symbols of Turkish theater, architecture, and painting would be emphasized in the visual messages. At the same time, the Ankara People's House journal *Ülkü* was preoccupied with drawings of Anatolian landscapes, figures of villagers, peasent girls and women. The cover page of the journal was representative of traditional symbols and themes in the following examples: *"Yörük Kızı"* (Nomad Girl), *İhtiyarlar* (Old People), *Gümüşhane- Kuşakkaya* by Şeref Akdik, *"Ankara Kalesi"* (Ankara Castle), *Pazaryeri* (Market place) by Turgut Zaim.[261] A series of drawings published in the early 1940s was taken from *"Yurt Resimleri"* (Homeland Tours) depicting Anatolian folk culture in the form of Turkish aesthetic and design within humanist synthe

[260] Yeni Adam, "Karagöz Nasıl Dirilir?", no.225 (1939);Yeni Adam, "Öz Tiyatro", no.268 (1940); Yeni Adam , "Mimar Koca Sinan'ın Eserleri", no.646 (1950) were important examples of traditionalist perspective of journal in graphic arts.
[261] Şeref Akdik, "Yörük Kızı", *Ülkü*, New Series, no.43, (1943), cover page.

According to Baltacıoğlu, cartoons, drawings and illustrations would be national and a part of collective life of the nation.[262] Not only the cover pages, but also the political cartoons of *Yeni Adam* reflected the major debates on art in the 1930s. Cartoons as an expression of modern Turkish life promoted the realm of collective art, epitomizing the newly constructed culture and art. Cartoons in *Yeni Adam* were parallel the social realist approach of the 1930s. Especially, Zahir Güvemli and Suphi Nuri İleri sought the meaning of realist art drawing simple but interesting figures in their cartoons. Güvemli demanded that social-collective art have the national characteristic of the state-building process. In this way, he created a series of portraits under the title of *"Siyah Beyaz*[263]*"* (Black White) representing a new nation of reality by depicting abstract images of people. His synthesis of social realism and national art to certain extent is reflected in his cartoons. On the other hand, Suphi Nuri"s modernized *"Karagöz*[264]*"* figure was a major actor of fantastic adventure in political cartoons. He drew representations of marginal figures in the form of Karagöz. Both Güvemli and İleri's work responded to the socio-politic environment of the mid-1930s. Discussions on democracy rising, the antifascist movement, and the material conditions of the working class highlighted the social realist approach in the cartoons. Zahir Güvemli's cartoons *"Dana'nın Kuyruğu Ne Zaman Kopacak?"* and *"Hitlerin Nutku'ndan – Ya Hep Ya Hiç"* (From Hitler's Speech) are a good examples of criticism of fascist German politics using allegoric figuration from Roman history to realize political truth in drawings. [265]

Young artists like Zeki Faik İzer, Abidin Dino, and Bedri Rahmi were also prominent figures in *Yeni Adam*'s drawing center. Although they were working for a short time, a great number of drawings, designs and illustrations were published on the art pages of *Yeni Adam*. In 1934, the year Yeni Adam

[262] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Kopya ve İntihal", *Yeni Adam*, no.197 (1937):15.
[263] Zahir Güvemli, "Siyah Beyaz", *Yeni Adam*, no.101 (1935):12 and no.99, (1935):12.
[264] Suphi Nuri İleri, "Cartoons", *Yeni Adam*, no.56 (1935):22.
[265] Zahir Güvemli, "Dana'nın Kuyruğu Ne Zaman Kopacak?", *Yeni Adam*, no.76 (1935),cover page; "Hitler'in Nutkundan", Yeni Adam, no.73 (1935), cover page.

started publication, these painters were not well known in Turkish art circles. Baltacıoğlu had selected inexperienced, young and talented artists to give them chance to represent their art in the pages of the journal. Among the artists, Fikret Mualla Saygı was unique both as individual and also painter. His father had sent him Berlin to study engineering. He preferred painting instead. After spending six years in the German capital and visiting a few cities in Western Europe, he returned to İstanbul.[266] In the 1930s, his drawings and paintings were not attractive to the Turkish art community. Nevertheless, Baltacıoğlu protected him and opened the pages for his drawings. Saygı drew whatever and whenever he wanted of city culture such as balos, bars, beautiful women. His drawing represented a different reality of city life, including fishermen, insane people, drunks, and poor people. These figures mostly employed irony, criticism, and pessimism about the human condition in the inter-war period. The social realist apporach is best observed in a his series of drawings, representing figures of everyday life.

In addition, he visited different locations around the city and drew images of working class people in such works as *"Karabük İnsanı"* (A Worker from Karabük), *"Çalışmadan Dönenler"* (Those Who Return from Work), and *"Mektepler Açıldı"* (The Schools Have Opened).[267] He was also interested in the political vision of the 1930s drawing anti-fascist images. However, only a few people were interested in Saygı's sensational disfigurations. His drawing portrayed loneliness and loss and pure individualism.

In 1938, after publishing more than one hundred drawings in *Yeni Adam*, Saygı felt that his place was Paris, where he had then many difficulties with gallery owners, purchasers, and policies. Due to his alcoholism, he frequently visited clinics. Baltacıoğlu received a letter from Saygı six years

[266] Türkkaya Ataöv, *Fikret Mualla Yeni Adam'dan Desenler", 1936-1937* (Ankara:Külür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993), p.17.
[267] Fikret Mualla, "Karabük İnsanı", *Yeni Adam*, no.179 (1937):3; "Mektepler Açıldı", *Yeni Adam*, no.150, (1936):9; "Çalışmadan Dönenler", *Yeni Adam*, no.196 (1937):11.

after he had left İstanbul and published it in *Yeni Adam*. He advised him as follows:

Fikret Mualla! I'm older and more experienced than you ore. While you still have a chance, why don't you learn the profession of a shoe-maker! A pair of shoes here is exactly ninety liras. Picasso has no use for you! Be sensible, at least from now on![268]

It becomes clear that Saygı's art would be understood only after his death. Baltacıoğlu and a few people had met him and understood him during his life. In addition to Saygı's drawing, Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu and Zeki Faik İzer's works achieved different sytnhese of realist art. In his works, Eyüboğlu preferred to draw abstract light forms in order to emphasize a sense of happiness and hope for the future. Nude, animals, and abstract natural designs reflected his way of art. Instead of using political representation, Bedri Rahmi used his imaginative power to realize whatever he had written in his stories. According to Baltacıoğlu, Bedri Rahmi's drawings would open a new way for Turkish art. A quatation from his writings expressed clearly his ideas on the drawings:"How can you not know Bedri Rahmi? He is an artists of the unconscious who disregards perpective, forgets the outside world and says the secret of the inner world with his pure paintings"[269].

On the other hand, İzer's work during this period as more politically oriented. İzer's work featured themes such as Hitler, the Devil.....etc. Unknown people were a reflection of black-white contrasts composing universality in terms of form, composition, and technique. For *Yeni Adam*, cartoon and designs produced by young, talented artists, were a part of their new vision for the new Republic.

---

[268] Tuna Baltacıoğlu, *Yeni Adam Günleri* (İstanbul:YKY, 1998), p.83.

[269] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Ressam ve Demirci", *Yeni Adam*, no.70, (1935):8.*"Bedri Rahmi'yi nasıl tanımazsınız? O anatomiyi, perspektifi hiçe sayan, dış alemini unutup içinin alemine kapanan ve o çarpık çurpuk, saf resimleriyle bize bu iç ve gizlilik aleminin sırlarını söyleyen ınconscıence sanatların kendısıdır* ."

C. National Art Representing The Nation in Traditionalist Perspective

In the early Republican era, the official Kemalist nationalism sought the roots of Turkish culture in the pre-Islamic discourse, attempting to rid Turkish culture of the effects of Turco-Ottoman and Islamic traditions. To achieve this, the Republican regime supported the spread of the ideology of the nation state by rewriting Turkish history, reinterpreting the roots of the Turkish language as well as redefining the boundaries of the Turkish culture.

In the 1930s and 1940s, defining national culture and art was a problematic concept for different groups of Turkish intellectuals. The traditionalist perspective of *Yeni Adam*, being part of the bigger cultural nationalist framework, was observed directly in the writings of Baltacıoğlu and other conservative writers. *Yeni Adam*'s writers were composed of nationalists who showed different degrees of sensitivity towards Islamic traditions and culture and they represented a critical perspective in the early 1940s. İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Mahmut Yurter, and Hasan Cemil Çambel had an attitude towards modernization by which their cultural discourse differed in many ways from the Kemalist model. These intellectuals opted to give priority to the Turco-Islamic tradition in the establishment of the national culture. For this reason, the position of national art in *Yeni Adam* was an alternative modernization compared to the radical transformation attempts of the Kemalists.

According to Baltacıoğlu, Turkish artists should search for the roots of national art in the countryside, as a means of realizing the ideals of the nation in order to create pure national forms.[270] Apparently, in the 1940s, the rising national consciousness transformed the journal's vision from social realism to nationalism. *Yeni Adam*'s position in arts "towards the public" was changed as "towards the Turk". A series of articles written by conservative intellectuals included political opposition to the Kemalist Westernization process as well as

[270] Ismayil Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Kendine Dön", *Yeni Adam*, no. 300 (1936):2.

directing art towards the national roots. Creating national works, artists should maintain the following rules: live in public, never imitate Western arts, seek new ways for modern art, be close to Turkish tradition, and never denigrate Turkish culture compared to European culture.[271] In this sense, the cultural nationalist tendency directed art and the artists serve to the needs of the national-building process.

In this way, the Turkish artist would live in their community representing the Turkish nation's understanding of beauty, aesthetic, and form.[272] Hasan Cemil Çambel argued that: "the Republican period is a real Turkish renaissance. This shows the lost cultural tradition of the Turkish nation. Our aim is to Turkishness, not cosmopolitanism"[273]

The so-called Turkish cultural renaissance still promoted the Republican ideal, seeking the superior and collective unity of the nation's identity. Instead of the glorification of Western values, then Turkish artists gave their priority to the national culture inherited from Anatolian culture.[274] The people believed that national art would be a contributor to the Republican modernization in many ways. From this perspective, the concept of national art was regarded as both traditional and folkloric. These were two different concepts. One had roots in classic Islamic culture, while the other is based in Anatolian art. I think they are both there in Baltacıoğlu, but he had more closeness to "tradition" rather than "folk culture". Painting, architecture, sculpture, theater, and music would be objective representations of the social life and realities of Anatolian culture. He formulated "national tradition" that remains unchanged while technique and form are changing in terms of social institutions.[275]

---

[271] Yeni Adam, "Memlekette Sanat Nasıl Yola Getirilebilir?, no.139 (1939):9.
[272] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Sanattan Anlamak", *Yeni Adam*, no.474 (1944):2.
[273]Hasan Cemil Çambel, "Türk Kültür Davası", *Yeni Adam*, no.440, (1943):11.
"Cumhuriyet devri, Türk'ün hakiki rönesansıdır. Türk milliyetine, o kaybettiği kültür yurdunun yolunu gösteriyor. Parolamız şudur. Türklük…… Kozmopolitlik değil."
[274] Hasan Cemil Çambel, "Türk Kültür Rönesansı", *Yeni Adam*, no.490 (1944):8.
[275] Baltacıoğlu, "Mimaride Türk'e Doğru", *Yeni Adam*, no.397 (1942):2 .

In the case of modern architecture, the Turkish architect had only one way that should be to never leave from his tradition. Due to the dissolution of cultural tradition during the Tanzimat period, Turkish architecture had lost its self-esteem and had become degenerated compared to the classical period. The romantic and cosmopolitan sense in Tanzimat architecture could not represent the nation its Turkishness. For him, Turkish architecture would take its roots in the Turkish tradition, only its technique would be international. In this regard, Baltacıoğlu argued that the First National Architecture Period (1907-1928) was a turning point for modern national architecture, since it sought buildings certain elements in their national forms. The new architectural style would be cubism, because cubic art was produced according to the rules of nature and took roots from nation's aesthetic tradition, so cubist forms could be regarded as partb of the Turkish tradition in the Republican architecture.[276]

Similar to modern Turkish architecture, Turkish theater would be national in terms of themes, aesthetic, and language. Baltacıoğlu claimed that Turkish theater was unable to reach the level of public theater as *Karağöz and Hacivat* (Turkish Shodow Theater), and *Orta Oyunu* (Turkish Public Theater), because the perception of national theater did not yet exist in the 1940s.[277] For this reason, the first aim of the Republican artists was to write national plays, serving the needs of the revolution. In this way, Turkish theater should go towards the public, demonstrating the essence of tradition. Baltacıoğlu wrote a series of "national plays" and introduced new characters to traditional Turkish Shadow Theater. Such additional characters as Nurullah Ataç, Mickey Mouse, and Charlie Chaplin were drawn by Mahmud Cuda.[278] For him, traditional Turkish theater would be a ground for national themes, language, and aesthetic on the modern stage.

[276] Baltacıoğlu, "Mimari Nedir? Halk Üniversitesi", *Yeni Adam*, no.206 (1937):8.
[277] Baltacıoğlu, "Tiyatro'da Türk'e Doğru", *Yeni Adam*, no.331 (1941):2.
[278] Baltacıoğlu, *Karagöz Ankara'da* (İstanbul: Sebat Basımevi, 1940), p.33,49,17.

In this respect, Baltacıoğlu's alternative modernization was not realized only in art, but was applied to national education, ornamental arts, and handicrafts. The People's Houses as learning centers would introduce promote the public to national culture and art. He stressed that the People's Houses should be "culture houses" and had leading roles in the transformation of Turkish society. However, People's Houses were unable to completely achieve their purpose in the realm of cultural nationalization.[279]

In this direction, to serve the needs of the nation, these centers were to work to raise the level of national art consciousness, introducing new plays to be performed on the People's Houses's stages, creating original compositions for national painting and sculptors, writing novels in the vernacular language. As a result, the People's Houses would combine the nation a comprehensive and the unique cultural formation, and express the rules of Kemalist revolution that traditionalism and modernism could co-existed on the same platform.[280]

Similar to the People's Houses, the Village Institues were the learning center for the Anatolian people, educating young people according to the social realities of the nation's life. Baltacıoğlu argued that Institutes would raise the cultural level of the villagers, revealing the Anatolian cultural heritage as a means to guide the transformation of Turkish society.[281] As a part of the self-government project, the Village Institute project required both theoretical and practical education, which called for the development of the villages. Its programs was designed for the needs of Anatolian people; so handicrafts such as ornamental arts, carpentery would be added to the programs of the Institutes.

[279] Baltacıoğlu, "Halk Sanatkarları", *Yeni Adam*, no.402 (1942):2.
[280] Baltacıoğlu, "Halkevleri Ne Olmalıdır?", *Yeni Adam*, no.64, (1935):2.
[281] Baltacıoğlu, "Köy Enstitüleri", *Yeni Adam*, no.279 (1940):2.

Towards National Painting and Sculpture

The debates about art in *Yeni Adam* consist of three tendencies, namely social realism, nationalism, and modernism. Modernism as a part of the Kemalist revolutionary project was a common background for social realist and nationalist attitudes in the formation of painting and sculpture in the 1930s and 1940s. Baltacıoğlu wrote articles about social-collective art as well as national art. Different from social realism, national art would reveal the moral, spiritual, inner worlds of the people. The duty of the artists was to use "public language" to spread and maintain the nationalist perspective in their works. For him, the new painting would be more nationalized, it would be also popularized while unfortunately losing its earlier perspective, grace, and sensitivity.[282] Baltacıoğlu analyzed his art theory under the "national tradition" asking an important question: how is the Turkish painting going to be nationalized?

First, national values were found in form, color, composition, and technique.[283] Form that carried collective values, morals, and aesthetic was a good way to represent the realities of the nation. Although technique carried the universal characteristics of art, it would be combined with national tradition. In this way, technique, which depended on national form, color, and composition, became an ideal for the nation. In addition to these elements, color and composition in the painting represented national aesthetic and a sense of collectivity in Turkish society.

These four elements should be the basic frameworks of the new painting in search of the national art project. Second, Baltacıoğlu traced the Turkish painting tradition in to the Turco-Ottoman past. The sense of Turkishness lived on in Anatolian folk culture and remained unchanged in traditions. He argued that the basic principle of Turkish art philosophy had

[282] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Türk Ressamı Uyan", *Yeni Adam*, no.4 (1934):6.
[283] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, "Resim'de Türk'e Doğru, *Yeni Adam*, no.368 (1941):2.

taken root from calligraphy and ornamental arts that were created according to the rules of nature. The designs of the old Turkish-Islamic tradition had a special beauty and aesthetic sense, which were illustrated in modern Turkish painting.[284]

Artists as social scientists would attempt to create a new self for national consciousness. In every issue, *Yeni Adam* spared almost two pages to represent the works of young artists. Such important figures in Turkish painting as Bedri Rahmi, Abidin Dino, Fikret Mualla had the chance to promote their art.

For *Yeni Adam*, the Turkish artist had to be a social man, with social memory, familiar with Turkish art philosophy in order to analyze Turco-Ottoman works of art.[285] While the official Kemalist discourse defined national art in Western and pre-Islamic terms, Baltacıoğlu strongly emphasized the Islamic characteristic of Turkish art and culture in the early Republican period. To revival national art, the artist had to go everywhere in Anatolia portray villages, peasant women and girls rather than representing urban life. In this perspective, the paintings of Turgut Zaim, Şeref Akdik, and Abidin Dino were regarded as part of national art. The term*"resim Türkçüsü"* (painting nationalist) would be a new title for the early Republican painters. Baltacıoğlu gave a full page to Dino's *"*A Village Girl*"* describing his painting as the best example of national painting. The Turkish peasant woman had a Turkish face, spirit, and represented the essence of history.[286] He put more emphasis on the theme and value of the painting instead of criticizing its technique.

Similar to Turkish painting, Turkish sculpture, according to Baltacıoğlu, should represent Turkishness. Only a Turkish sculptor could make the statue of Fatih, because the artist would feel the spirit of the nation. Making a statue was forming a new reality of the original object. There were three components, namely: anatomy, pose of the body, and way of

[284] Baltacıoğlu, *Türk Plastik Sanatları* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971),p.8.
[285] Baltacıoğlu, "Üstad Ressam", *Yeni Adam*, no.383 (1941):6.
[286] Baltacıoğlu, "Türk Resmi",*Yeni Adam*, no.641 (16 March 1950), p.1

expression which determined national characteristics. Turkish sculpture in the early Republican era was mainly dominated by such foreign sculptors as the Italian Pietro Canonnica, the Germans Krippel and Torak. Baltacıoğlu claimed that foreign sculptors could not fulfill the three components completely in their works, so the statues and sculptors made by Italian and German artists could not carry the national sense and traditions.[287] Pietro Canonica's models were not like their original forms. His Atatürk Statue in Gülhane Park had an unfamiliar pose unlike body posture of Turkish people.

National statues that represented the achievements of the Turkish nation in the Independence War had to be intimate and realistic. Without using any national symbols, foreign artists tended to make modern sculptures in European form and technique.*Yeni Adam* declared that art works were made for the public. As in the works of foreign architect, sculpture could not tell a story about the Turkish history. For this reason, Republican artists were supported by the state in order to make national statues that would give them the sense of Turkishness. Zühtü Muridoğlu and Ali Hadi Bora's work would only be representative of Turkish statues, depicting Turkish people in traditional customs and symbols. In this regard, Baltacıoğlu, as in the case of painting, demanded Turkish sculptors' works being original, real as well as international. The Barbaros Statue in İstanbul would be a prototype for national works.[288]

Starting from the art departments of the People's Houses, the state had to play a major role in art education and national art. As a cultural center, the Houses determined the way of national art, directing amateur artists to learn past culture and tradition. Gathering public paintings, supporting young artists, promoting national painting and sculpture, organizing competitions were the most important tasks of the art departments.[289] Creativity in national art would only be gained living in the community, breathing the national

[287] Baltacıoğlu, "Heykel'de Türk'e Doğru", *Yeni Adam*, no.391(1942):2.
[288] Baltacıoğlu, "Barbaros Anıtı", *Yeni Adam*, no.498 (1944):6.
[289] Baltacıoğlu, *Halkın Evi* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1950):150.

atmosphere, and understanding nature. Turkish form, Turkish color, Turkish composition, and finally Turkish technique, demonstrated the modernist, collectivist and nationalist perception of the early Republican intellectuals. Actually, both Conservative / nationalist and official modernist/ Kemalist art sought synthesis to represent the realities of the new nation. From the conservative/ nationalist point of view, the Turco-Islamic culture of Anatolia offered autonomy for artists to produce in the realm of national art. In the early 1940s, Kemalists intellectuals came up with the concept of Turkish humanism to reach a more national perspective in cultural modernization. With the concept of Turkish humanism, classic İslamic tradition could come together with folk culture.

Turkish Humanism

Starting from the 1940s, discussions on humanism gave a new direction to the debate on national art. The official state discourse in art and culture ultimately gave rise to conception of Turkish culture that was rooted in both pre-Islamic and Turkish&Anatolian civilizations. In the early years, the Kemalist modernization process recognized Europe as the core of modernization, but with the beginning of WWII, Western democracy entered into a decline period and lost its validity. The regime was searching a new concept of humanism that would be a third way between hard core nationalism and communism. The way was to harmonize the culture of Anatolian civilizations with modern Turkish culture, creating a Turkish Enlightenment.

In *Yeni Adam*, Baltacıoğlu questioned what Turkish humanism should be. His essay asked for Turkish Renaissance which would be based on a synthesis of Greek humanism and Turco-Islamic cultural formation. One can say that in the 1940s, Turkish art entered a new phase called “evolution” in

which Turkish culture would reconnect with the Ottoman-Islamic past.[290] For Baltacıoğlu, his definition of national art way born out of the collective, real national material life of society. The bigger civilization of picture would bring together His demand for national art was an outcome of the "humanist form" regarding "the Turk as a human being". It seems that the official humanist discourse, have come close to Baltacıoğlu's interpretation of national art in time to Islamic culture in terms of technique, form, and aesthetic. Baltacıoğlu's focus on Ottoman calligraphy, Turkish ornamental arts as sources for naturalist anatomy and the naturalist perspective in modern Turkish painting found some parallels in the official discourse s "Turkish Humanism". [291]

A general evolution of Turkish humanism in *Yeni Adam* aimed to construct the identity of the Anatolian Turkish culture. The goal of Turkish artists in this perspective was to work as archeologists to reveal the unknown art history of Anatolian civilizations. A quotation from the writing of Baltacıoğlu expresses his ideas on the issue:

Anatolian aesthetic culture is partly unknown history, so we should rediscover Anatolia. In this process, first, we determine the aesthetic components of Anatolia.Understanding our national history, tendency, intelligence, art, pleasure are only possible to analyze mental and philosophical. Both the Turkish aesthetic scholar and art vision are important sources to discover Turkish aesthetic.[292]

As a part of the Turkish humanism project, the national ethnography museum in Ankara would rise to the level of national conciousness, having a

---

[290] Baltacıoğlu, *Türk Plastik Sanatları* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971), p.7.
[291] Baltacıoğlu, *Türklerde Yazı Sanatı*, (Ankara: Mars T. And S.A.S Matbaası, 1958), p.238.
[292] İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Sanat* (İstanbul:Semih Lütfü Suhulet Kütüphanesi, 1934), p.238.
"Bedii Anadolu" meçhul, malum olan kısımlsrının da ilmi natamam! Şu halde bu Anadolu'yu yeni baştan keşfedercesine aramak, bulmak lazım. Bunun içinde evvela Anadolu'nun bedii unsurlarını tespit etmeliyiz.Milletimizin seciyesi, temayülleri, dehası; sanatımızın, zevkimizin deruni hamlesi ancak böyle afaki tetkit mahsülü olan unsurlar üzerinde yapılacak olan zihni, felsefi terkiplerle anlaşılır. Bedii Anadolu'nun keşfinde hem Türk bedayinin ilmi, hem de Türk sanatının tekamülü itibariyle önemi büyüktür."

wide art collection from pre-historic times, Greek, and Turkish-Islamic civilizations to promote “humanist spirit” in modern Turkish art.

CHAPTER V
Conclusion

This study presents an analysis of the issue aesthetics and culture in the early Republican journal Yeni Adam between 1934-1950 in the framework of cultural nationalism examinning how the life of the new nation was represented and national identity was constructed are examined. First of all, the cultural nationalist discourse as an alternative ideology of the early Republican era in which Yeni Adam was constructed, is studied. In the second chapter, the relationship among culture, history, and art are examined from a modernization perspective. The analysis indicated that visual arts especially painting and sculpture, in the Kemalist cultural revolution functioned as part of futurist nation formation project. The power of the single-party state encouraged the development of fine arts to raise the cultural level of the society in the modern sense. As a Kemalist attitude, visual arts should be integrated into the national cultuıral boundries. But national culture of its was also purified its norms and forms inhereted from the Turkish-Islamic past.

In the third chapter, the Republican experience in the fine arts through a contextualization of the art and culture within a Kemalist revolutionary approach is widely analyzed. By studying different journals which offered variety of points of view, the debate on national art is capable of raising new questions for cultural studies. Although discussions on art and aesthetics in *Ülkü*, *Güzel Sanatlar*, and *Varlık* mainly focused on the cultural modernization of the new nation, Yeni Adam put more emphasis on creating an eclectic style in its efforts to define a Turkish modernity. The construction of the national identity and reordering of cultural heritage of newly emerging Turkish state the single party regime contributed in different ways. At this point, the main agent was the main agent in shaping art policy and monopolized the art activities. The new regime also recognized art as a tool for propaganda to mobilize people in the realm of modernization and Westernization. For this reason, the insertion of aesthetic and culture with the layers of political agenda in the form of fine arts was turned into a mainstream tool of revolutionary elites in the 1930s and 1940s.

Presenting the Turkish nation thruogh anational epic and tradition led to strong emphasis on the glorification of Turkishness rather than the Ottoman past. Selected works of the prominent artists represented aesthetic properties and the cultural historical memories of Turkish society were which made visual arts inherently political.

In this study, the journal "Yeni Adam"*(New Ma*n) is analzed in the context of the early Republican intellectual envorinment. In the mid 1930s, İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, former professior of İstanbul University decided to publish a weekly journal which brought a new perspective for the platform in the early Republican cultural scene. Through the analysis of a series of articles written by a different group of intellectuals, nationalist, modernist, and social realist views are examined in the course of the discussing.

The analysis of art and culture in *Yeni Adam* (compared to the single party cultural policy) presents an eclectic view which pointed to the changing characteristics of art and aesthetic in the early era. From the begining, *Yeni Adam* as an opposition to the hegemonic single-party regime emphsized not only utility but also the aesthetic function of Turkish art. First, art in *Yeni Adam* was partly social realist and collectivist. According to Baltacıoğlu, the new Republic was the Republic of fine arts, because art and culture are insperable parts of the new nations life.[293] Similar to Kemalist vision of art, in *Yeni Adam*, new art would serve the needs of the people as well as the state.Second, the social realities of the society could only live through the works of art, so art should carry national values, forms, and morals. Starting from the early 1940s, the tendency of national art is observable in *Yeni Adam*. Compared to Republic state art policy, the journal introduced a more eclectic and traditionalist conception of the national art. Furthermore, Baltacıoğlu's philosopy of the Turkish plastic art was inspired by the Turkish-Islamic synthesis which was refused by the Kemalist regime. Third, the definition of

[293] Baltacıoğlu, "Türk Ressamı Uyan", no.4 (1934):6.

form, nature, and technique in art in the journal, emerged as one the most significant aspects of both the cultural nationalist and modernist tendency.

In sum, this study aimed to show that the debate on national art and aesthetics in*Yeni Adam* was shaped around three different ideologies: nationalism, social realism and modernism. The journals art vision did not depend on the same ground as the state and diverged from official cultural policies. The early Republican debates on art and culturedisplay the plurality of ideological positions negotiating with each other in this particular period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ades, Dawns .“Paris 1937”, in *Art and Power of Nations in Art and Power Europe under Dictators 1930-1945*, edited by Dawn Ades.London: Hayward Gallery, 1996.

Akdik, Şeref. “Yörük Kızı”, *Ülkü*, New Series, no 43, (1943):cover page

Aksel, Malik. “Ar’ın Büyük Plastik Sanatlar Anketi II”, *Ar*, no 14 (February 1938):10

Akyıldız, Kaya and Barış Karacasu, “Mavi Anadolu: Edebi Kanon ve Mili Kültürün Yapılandırılmasıda Kemalizm ile Bir Ortaklık Denemesi”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, no 81 (Summer 1999)

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London, New York:Verso, 1991.

Ar, Birleşik Resim ve Heykel Sergisi, no 18 (June 1938):16.

Ar, “Cumhuriyet Halk Partisinin Sanat Alanında Aldığı Mühim Kararlar”, n 20 (August 1938): 2,3.

Ar, “Dördüncü İnkilap Resim Sergisi”, no 1 (January 1937):5.

Ar , “Leopold Levy’nin Bir Konferansı”, no 2 (February 1937):13.

Ar, “Ar Okuyucularına”, no.12, (December 1937):16.

Artun, Ali. “Kuramda Avangardlar ve Bürger’in Avangard Kuramı, in *Avant-garde Kuramı,* edited by Peter Bürger. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Mimaride Türk’e Doğru”, *Yeni Adam*, no 397 (1942):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Mimari Nedir? Halk Üniversitesi”, *Yeni Adam*, no 206 (9 January 1937):8.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Tiyatro’da Türk’e Doğru”, *Yeni Adam*, no 331 (1 May 1941):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Karagöz Ankara’da* .İstanbul: Sebat Basımevi, 1940.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Halk Sanatkarları”, *Yeni Adam*, no 402 (17 September 1942):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Halkevleri Ne Olmalıdır?”, *Yeni Adam*, no 64, (1935):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Köy Enstitüleri”, *Yeni Adam*, no 279 (2 May1940):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Bir İnkilap Ressamı”,*Yeni Adam*, no 161 (21 January 1937):10.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Türk Ressamı Uyan”, *Yeni Adam*, no.4 (22 January 1934), p.6.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Resim’de Türk’e Doğru, *Yeni Adam*, no 368 (1941):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Türk Plastik Santları* .Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Üstad Ressam”, *Yeni Adam*, no 383 (1941):6.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Türk Resmi”,*Yeni Adam*, no 641 (16 March 1950):1.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Heykel’de Türk’e Doğru”, *Yeni Adam*, no 391(1942):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Barbaros Anıtı”, *Yeni Adam*, no.498 (1944):6.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Halkın Evi* .Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1950.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Ümanizm Davası”, *Yeni Adam*, no 241, (1939):5.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Türklerde Yazı Sanatı* .Ankara: Mars T. And S.A.S Matbaası, 1958.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Sanattan Anlamak”, *Yeni Adam*, no. 474 (24 December 1944), p.2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı “Ressam ve Demirci”, *Yeni Adam*, no 70, (1935):8

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Kendine Dön”, *Yeni Adam*, no 300 (26 September 1936): 2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Kopya ve İntihal”, *Yeni Adam*, no 197 (7 February 1937):15.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Sanatın Cemiyet Hayatına Hizmeti”, *Yeni Adam*, no 226 (1939):13.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Abidin Dino’nun İbrikleri”, *Yeni Adam*, no 264 (18 November 1940):12.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Resim ve Terbiye* .İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Pedagojide İhtilal* .İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi,1964.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *İçtimai Mektep Nazariyeleri ve Prensipleri* .İstanbul: Semih Lütfü Basımevi,1932.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Terbiye* .İstanbul: Semih Lütfü Kütüphanesi, 1932.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Felsefe*.İstanbul: Sebat Basımevi, 1938.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Resim Devrimini Nasıl Yaptım?”, *Yeni Adam*, no.119 (5 Nisan 1936):4.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Ressam Ali Avni”, *Yeni Adam*, no 54, (1935).

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. Bir İnkilap Ressamı, *Yeni Adam*, no. (21 January 1937):10.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. İzmit Resim Sergisi, *Yeni Adam*, no.226 (27 April 1939)

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Konya Halkevinde Resim Sergisi, *Yeni Adam*, no 232 (27 June 1939)

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. Aydın Halkevinde Resim Sergisi, *Yeni Adam*, no 233 (15 June 1939).

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Suçlu Olan Sanat”, *Yeni Adam*, no 135 (30 Temmuz 1939):11.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı “Sanatta Garba Doğru”, *Yeni Adam*, no 534 (22 Mart 1945):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı “Bir Sanat İhtilali”, *Yeni Adam*, no 516 (22 September 1943):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı “Resimde Kübizm ve Türk Ananesi”, *Darülfünun İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, (March 1931):36.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “CHP”, *Yeni Adam*, no 595 (23 May 1946):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Niçin Halkçıyım?”, *Yeni Adam*, no 654 (15 June 1954):3

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Sanat Eseri Nedir?, *Yeni Adam*, no 172 (15 April 1937):14.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Kültürce Kalkınmanın Sosyal Şartları* .İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi,1967.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Artist Nedir?”, *Yeni Adam*, no 173 (22 April 1937):13.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Sanat ve Sosyete”, *Yeni Adam*, no 202 (11 February 1937) :8.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Sanatın Cemiyet Hayatına Hizmeti”, *Yeni Adam*, no 226 (27 April 1939):13.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Demokrasi ve Sanat* .İstanbul: Sanay-i Nefise Matbaası ,Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı.”Türk Nedir?”,*Yeni Adam*, no 364 (18 January 1941):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Türk’e Doğru Hakkında”,*Yeni Adam*, no 431 (1 April 1943):4.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “ Ölü ile Diri”, *Yeni Adam*, no.340 (3 July 1941):9.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı “Malik Bey ve Talebesi’nin Resim Sergisi”, *Ülkü* , no 16 (June 1934):298

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Yeni Adam’ın Yolu”, *Yeni Adam*, no 613 (1 September 1949)

Baltacıoğlu, Tuna. *Yeni Adam Günleri* .İstanbul:YKY, 1998.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Yeni Adam Beş Yaşında”, *Yeni Adam,* no 209 (30 January 1939):11.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Yeni Adam’ı Yaşatacağım”, *Yeni Adam*, no 612 (11 December 1947):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Millet Nedir?, Ne Değildir.”, *Yeni Adam*, no 416 (7 December 1942):2

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. “Eski ve Yeni and Ölü ve Diri”, *Yeni Adam*, no 340 (3 June 1941):2

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı.“Gelenek” *Yeni Adam*, no 417 (7 December 1942):2.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı.“Zavallı Gelenek” *Yeni Adam*, no 484 (6 April 1944):3.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Türk’e Doğru* .İstanbul: Kültür Basımevi, 1945.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmayıl Hakkı. *Batı’ya Doğru* .İstanbul:Sebat Basımevi, 1945.

Baltacıoğlu,İ. Hakkı. *Ziya Gökalp* .İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1966.

Baltacıoğlu, Tuna. *Yeni Adam Günleri* .İstanbul: YKY, 1998.

Baudin, Antonie. “Why is Soviet Painting Hidden From Us? Zhdanov Art and Its International Relations and Fallout”, in *Socialist Realism Without Shores*, ed. by Thomas Lahusen and Evgeny Dobrenko. Durham: Landon: Duke University Press, 1997.

Bektaş, Dilek. “Cumhuriyetin İlk Döneminde Grafik Tasarım(1923-1943), *Sanat Dünyamız*, no.89 (Fall 2003), pp.195-199.

Belge, Burhan. “Plastik Sanatlar veTürkiye”, *Ar*, no 6 (June 1937):2.

Belge,Burhan. “Ar’ın Büyük Anketi: Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye”, *Ar*, no 6 (June 1937):2.

Berk, İlhan. “Sanatın Sosyal Fonksiyonu”, *Yeni Adam*, no 393 (1941):4.

Berk, Nurullah and H. Gezer, *50. Yılın Türk Resim ve Heykeli* .Ankara: İş Bankası ve Kültür Yayınları, 1973.

Berk, Nurullah. *Ellinci Yılında Türk Resim ve Heykel Sanatı*

Berk, Nurullah. “Güzel Sanatlar Müzesi”, *Ar,* no 7 (June 1937):1,2.

Berk, Nurullah. *Modern Turkish Sculpture and Painting* .İstanbul: Turkish Press Broadcasting and Tourist Department, 1954.

Boyar,Ali Sami. “Sanat Varlığımızda Resmin Yeri”, *Ülkü*, no 5 (June 1933)

Boyar, Ali Sami. “Propoganda ve Resim”, *Ülkü*,no 19 (September 1934)

Boyar, Ali Sami. “Yeni Terbiye’de Resmin Yararlılığı”,*Ülkü* no 16 (June 1934).

Boyar, Ali Sami. “Sanat Varlığımızda Resmin Yeri”, *Ülkü*, no 5 (June 1935)

Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernizim ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mimari Kültür* .İstanbul: Metis Yayınları,2002.

Bozok, Hüsamettin. “Diri Sanat”, *Yeni Adam*, no 238 (20 July 1939):8.

Bozok, Hüsamettin. “Abidin Dino”, *Yeni Adam*, no.194 (16 September 1937):3

Çambel, Hasan Cemil. “Türk Kültür Davası”, *Yeni Adam*, no 440 (3 June 1943):11.

Çambel, Hasan Cemil . “Türk Kültür Rönesansı”, *Yeni Adam*, no 490 (18 May 1944):8.

Çetik, Mete. “Pertev Naili Boratav in *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, (3) ed. Uygur Kocabaşoğlu.İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Devrim Erbil, “Modern Trends in Turkish Painting” *in Transformation of Turkish Culture: The Atatürk Legacy* ed. Günsel Renda and C. Max Kortepeter .Princeton: The Kingston Press,1986.

Dino, Abidin. *Kültür, Sanat, Politika Üzerine Yazılar* .İstanbul: Adam Yayınları, 2000.

Dino, Arif. “Sedat Nuri Sanatını Anlatıyor”, *Yeni Adam*, no 58 (1935).

Dranas, Ahmet Muhip. “Resim’de Ümanizma”, *Güzel Sanatlar*, no 2(1940):40.

Dranas, Ahmet Mühip. “Milli Sanat”, *Ülkü*, New Series (2), no 16 (November 1941):21.

Dranas, Ahmet Muhip “Resimde Ümanizma- Birinci Devlet Resim ve Heykel Sergisi Münasebetiyle”, *Güzel Sanatlar*, no 2 (1940):137.

Dranas, Ahmet Mühip. *Beyoğlu Halkevi Birinci Sanat Ayı Broşürü* İstanbul: Kenan Basımevi, 1942.

Düben, İpek Aksüğür. “Cumhuriyette Tenkit”, *Cumhuriyetin Renkleri, Biçimleri* ed.Ayla Ödekan .İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998,pp.158-167.

Egemen, Bedi Ziya. “Türk’e Doğru”, *Yeni Adam*, no 430 (25 March 1943):8-9.

Elibol, Gültekin. *Atatürk Dönemi Resim ve Heykel*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları,1973.

Elliot, David. The Battle for Art, in *Art and Power: Europe under Dictatorship 1930-1945*, ed. Dawe Ades. London: Thames and Hudson, 1996.

Elibol, Sadettin. Hilmi Ziya Ülken, in *Milliyetçilik,* (4) ed. Tanıl Bora İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002.

Epikman, Refik. “Yurdu Gezen Türk Ressamları”, *Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi*, no. 1 (1939):8.

Epikman, Refik “Türkiye’de Plastik Sanatların Cumhuriyet Döneminde İnkişafı”, *Ar* , no 22 (December 1938):9.

Erbay, Fethiye and Mutlu Erbay, Nuri Özer Erbay.Cumhuriyet Dönemi Sanatsal Değişimin Yayınlara Yansıması. İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004.

Erbay, Fethiye and Mutlu Erbay. Cumhuriyet Dönemi (1923-1938) Atatürk’ün Sanat Politikası. İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006.

Eriş, Resai. “D Grubu’nun 11. Resim Sergisi”, *Yeni Adam*, no 492 (1 June 1942):6

Ertem, Sadi “Anarşik Sanat”, *Yeni Adam*, no 166, (4 March 1937):9

Eyice, Semavi. *Atatürk ve Pietro Cannonica*.İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık,1986.

Eyüpoğlu, Sabahattin Rahmi. “Öz Resme Doğru”, *Ar*, no 5 (May 1938):3

Eyüpoğlu, Bedri Rahmi. “Genç Ressam Halit Doral”, *Yeni Adam*, no 57 (1935)

Eyüpoğlu, Bedri Rahmi. “Tenkit”, *Yeni Adam*, no. (8 June 1944):7.

Fehim, Eşref. “D Grubu’nun 3. Resim Sergisi Türk Ressamının Gücünü Gösteriyor, *Yeni Adam*, (25 June 1934):7

Fehim, Eşref. “D Grubu’nun 5. Resim Sergisi”, *Yeni Adam*, no 83 (1 August 1935)

Fehim, Eşref. “Dört Başlı Dragon”, *Yeni Adam*, no 35 (30 July 1934):8.

Ferme, Valerio C. “Redefining The Aesthetics of Fascism: The Battle Between The Ancient and The Moderns Revisited”, *Symposium*, no.52 (Summer 98)

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism* .Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Ghiat, Ruth Ben. *Fascist Modernities Italy, 1922-1945*.USA:University of California Press, 2001.

Gökalp, Ziya. “Principles of Turkism”, R. Devereux (translation), (Leiden :Brill)

Görel,Vural. “İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce Tarihi Muhafazakarlık,*v.5, ed. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil.İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002.

Guttsman, Willi. “Art as a Weapon: social critique and political orientation in painting and print in Weimar Germany, in *The Arts, Literature, and Society*, edited by A. Marwickled. London: Routledge, 1990.

Güntekin, Vahdet. “Modern Ar, Yeni Ar”, *Yeni Adam*, no 39 (1935):12.

Güntekin, Vahdet. “Yeni Adam’a, Yeni Sanat”, *Yeni Adam*, no 72 (1935):12.

Güntekin, Vahdet. “Ar Gerçeği Nasıl Anlatacak”,*Yeni Adam*, no 85 (15 August 1935):12.

Güntekin, Vahdet. “İlim ve Sanat”, *Yeni Adam*, no 83 (1 August 1935):12.

Güntekin, Vahdet “Münekkit Çekişmesi”, *Yeni Adam*, no 80 (11 July 1935):12.

Gür, Faik. “Atatürk Heykelleri ve Türkiye’de Resmi Tarihin Görselleşmesi”,*Toplum Bilim*, no 90 Güz 2001, pp.147-166.

Güvemli, Zahir “Dana’nın Kuyruğu Ne Zaman Kopacak?”, *Yeni Adam*, no.76 (1935),cover page;

Güvemli, Zahir. “Hitler’in Nutkundan”, Yeni Adam, no 73 (1935): cover page.

Güvemli, Zahir. “Siyah Beyaz”, *Yeni Adam*, no 101 (1935):12.

Güvemli,Zahir.“SiyahBeyaz”,*YeniAdam*,
no.99, (1935):12.

Güvemli, Zahir “Abidin Dino”, *Yeni Adam*, no 300 (26 September1940):11.

Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi, “Talebe Resim Sergisi Sergisi”, no 2 (1940):15

Halkevleri Amatör Resim ve Fotoğraf Sergileri .Ankara: CHP Neşriyatı,1941.

Hutchinson, John. *The Dynamic of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of Irish Nation State.* London: Allen & Unwin, 1987.

Hutchinson, John. Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regenerations, in *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith. Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press,1994.

Hutchinson, John “Re- Interpreting Cultural Nationalism”, *Australian Journal of Politics and History,* no 45 (1999).

İleri, Suphi Nuri “Cartoons”, *Yeni Adam*, no 56 (28 January 1935):22.

İrem, Nazım. “Kemalist Modernizm ve Türk Gelenekçi Muhafazakarlığın Kökenleri”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, no 74 (Fall 1997), pp.102-154.

İskender, Kemal. “Cumhuriyet Türkiyesinde ve Sanat ve Estetik”, Cumhuriyetten Günümüze Türkiye Ansiklopedisi v.5 p.1752.

Karpat, Kemal. Ömer Seyfeddin and Transformation of Turkish Thought, rev. *Etudes Sudest Europe*, X, no 4 (1972).

Köksal, Duygu. "The Role of Culture and Art in Early Republican Modernization in Turkey" La Multiplication des Images en Pays d'Islam; de

l'estampe a la Television (17-21 siecle), Bernard Heyberger and Sylvia Naef (eds.), Istanbuler Texte und Studien, Orient Institut der DMG, Würzburg, 2003,

Köksal, Duygu. “Art and Power in Turkey: Culture, Asethetics and Nationalism During the Single Party Era”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, (Fall 2004):101.

Köksal, Duygu. “The Dilemmas of A Search For Cultural Synthesis: A Portrait of Cemil Meriç As A Conservative Intellectual”, *New Perspective on Turkey*, no 21 (Fall 1999).

Leessen, Joep. “Nationalism and The Cultivation of Culture”, *Nation and Nationalism* (12), n 4 (2006).

Leoussi, Athena S. “The Ethno-Cultural Roots of National Art”, *Nations and Nationalism* (10), (2004).

Maden, Sait. “Grafik Sanatın Dünü Bügünü”, in *Cumhuriyetin Renkleri, Biçimleri*; ed. Ayla Ödekan .İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, pp.74-81.

Mosse, George L. *Masses and Man: Nationalist and Fascist Perceptions of Reality*.Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987.

Müridoğlu, Zühtü. “Heykeltraş Sanatı İçin Ne Diyor?, *Yeni Adam*, no 166 (1935):9.

Oktay, Ahmet. Türkiye’de Toplumcu Gerçekliğin Kaynakları .Ankara: BFS, 1987.

Naci, Elif. “Halk ve Resim” *Ar Dergisi,* no 5 (May 1937):6

Öndin, Nilüfer. “Cumhuriyetin Kültür Politikası ve Sanat”, *Sanat Dünyamız*, no 89, (Fall 2003), pp.

Özmen, Aylin. “İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, ed. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Özsezgin, Kaya. *Cumhuriyetin 75. Yılında Türk Resmi* .İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 1998.

Özsezgin, Kaya. *Cumhuriyetin 75. Yılında Türk Resmi* .İstanbul:Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Sanat Yayınları,1998.

Özsezgin, Kaya. “Türk Resminde Atatürk”, *Milliyet Sanat*, no 6 (November 1981):17.

Patmore,Derek. *Modern Turkish Painting* .London: Turkish Embassy Press Office, 1960.

Schnapp, Jeffrey T. Epic Demonstration *in Fascism, Aesthetics, and Culture*, ed. Richard J. Golson, .London: University of New England Press, 1992.

Schnapp, Jeffrey T. Fascinating Fascism, *Journal of Contemporary History*, (31), no 2 (April 1996)

Şimşek, Sefa. Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi: Halkevleri (1932-1951) İstanbul: Boğaziçi Universitesi Yayınları, 2002.

Tansuğ, Sezer. *Çağdaş Türk Sanatı* .İstanbul: Remzi Kitapevi, 2005.

Tansuğ, Sezer. *Modern Çağda Resim Sanatının Tarihi.*İstanbul: Remzi Yayınevi,1999.

Toprak, Burhan. “Güzel Sanatlar Akademisinde Islahat”, *Ar*, no 16 (April 1938).

Tör,Vedat Nedim. “Ar’ın Büyük Anketi: Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye”, *Ar,* no 4 (April 1937):9.

Tunalı, İsmail. *Felsefenin Işında Modern Resim* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitapevi, 1981):183.

Ulus, 11. June 1938.

Ural, Murat. Cumhuriyetin Romansı: Ressamların Yurt Gezisinde (1938-1943), *Yurt Gezileri ve Yurt Resimleri* ed. Ameli Edgü. İstanbul: Milli Reasurans Yayınları, 1998.

Urallı, Salih N. “Ressamlar ve Aylık Meselesi”, *Ar*, (May 1937), p.7.
Reşad Nuri Drago, “ Plastik Sanatlar veTürkiye”, *Ar*, no.1 (January 1937), p.5.

Üstünipek, Mehmet. “Cumhuriyetin İlk 50 Yılında Sanat Piyasası”, Bilanço 98 *Cumhuriyetin Renkleri ve Biçimleri*, ed. Ayla Ödekan. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayıları, 1998.

Yaman, Zeynep Yasa. “Değişen Manzaralar Kültür ve Modernite” in “Ulus Sanatla Kurulur Mu?”, *Sanat Dünyamız*, no 89 (Fall 2003):219.

Yaman, Zeynep Yasa. “Modernism Siyasal/ İdeolojik Söylemi Olarak Resimde Köylü &Çiftçi İzleneği”, *Türkiye’de Sanat*, no 22 (January/February 1996):33.

Yaman, Zeynep Yasa “Demokrasi ve Sanat”, *Anadolu Sanat*, no 4 (September 1993):87.

Yaman, Zeynep Yasa. *Kadınlar, Resimler, Öyküler* .İstanbul: Pera Müzesi Yayınları, 2006):16.

Yaman, Zeynep Yasa “Sanat Tarihimizde Eski Bir konu: Müstakil Ressamlar ve Heykeltraşlar Birliği mi, D Grubu mu?”, *Türkiye’de Sanat*, no 20 (September\ October 1995)

Yaman, Zeynep Yasa. “Türkiye’de Kübizm ve Yeni Sanat”, *Sanat Dünyamız*, no.54 (Kış 1993).

Yaman, Zeynep Yasa. “Türk Resminde Etkilenme ve Taklit Olgusu”, *Türkiye’de Sanat*, (May\August 1994), no.14, p.31.

Yaman, Zeynep Yasa. “Ressamların Yurt Gezileri ve Sergileri”, *Toplum Bilim*, no.4 (June 1996):46.

Yeni Adam, “Memlekette Sanat Nasıl Yola Getirilebilir?, no139 (27 August 1939):9.

Yeni Adam “Soysuzlaşan Sanat”, *Yeni Adam*, no.339 (26 Haziran 1941):4.

Yeni Adam “Mekteplerimizde Resim”, no 131 (2 July 1936):13.

Yeni Adam, “Çoçuk Resimleri Sergisi Açıldı”, no 27 (2 July 1934):7.

Yeni Adam, “Çoçuk Resimleri Sergisi Açıldı”, no 38, (9 July 1934):7.

Yeni Adam “Yarım Asırlık Türk Resmi Sergisi”, *Yeni Adam*, no 144 (1936):10

Yeni Adam “Resim ve Heykel Galerisi”, *Yeni Adam*, no 221 (23 March 1939):10,11.

Yeni Adam, “Resim Anketi I”,*Yeni Adam*, no 231 (1 June 1939):10,11.

Yeni Adam, “Karagöz Nasıl Dirilir?”, no 225 (1939).

Yeni Adam, “Öz Tiyatro”, no 268 (1940).

Yeni Adam , “Mimar Koca Sinan’ın Eserleri”, no 646 (1950).

Yeni Adam, “Abidin Dino”, *Yeni Adam*, no 46 (15 November 1934):2

Yeni Adam, “Resim Anketimiz”, no 232 (1 June 1939):13

Yeni Adam, “Resim Anketimiz”, no 233 (8 June 1939):10,11.

Yeşilkaya, Neşe G. *Halevleri ve Ideoloji ve Mimarlık*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003.

Yetkin, Suut Kemal. *“Sanatkar”, Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi”, no 2 (1940):3*

Yetkin, Suut Kemal. “Ar İkinci Yılına Girerken”, *Ar*, no 1 (January 1938):4.

Yontuç, Kenan Ali. *Heykel Sergisi Kataloğu* (Ankara: CHP Neşriyatı, 1941):1.

Hasan Ali Yücel, “Sanatımız”, Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi, (1939), no.1, p.1.

Yücel, Hasan Ali. “Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye”, *Ar*, no 2 (February 1937):3.

Yetkin, Suut Kemal. “Yurda Dönen Sanat”, *Ar*, no 15 (March 1938):2.

Yücel, Hasan Ali. “3. Devlet Resim ve Heykel Sergisinin Açılış Konuşması”, *Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi, no 3 (1941):5*

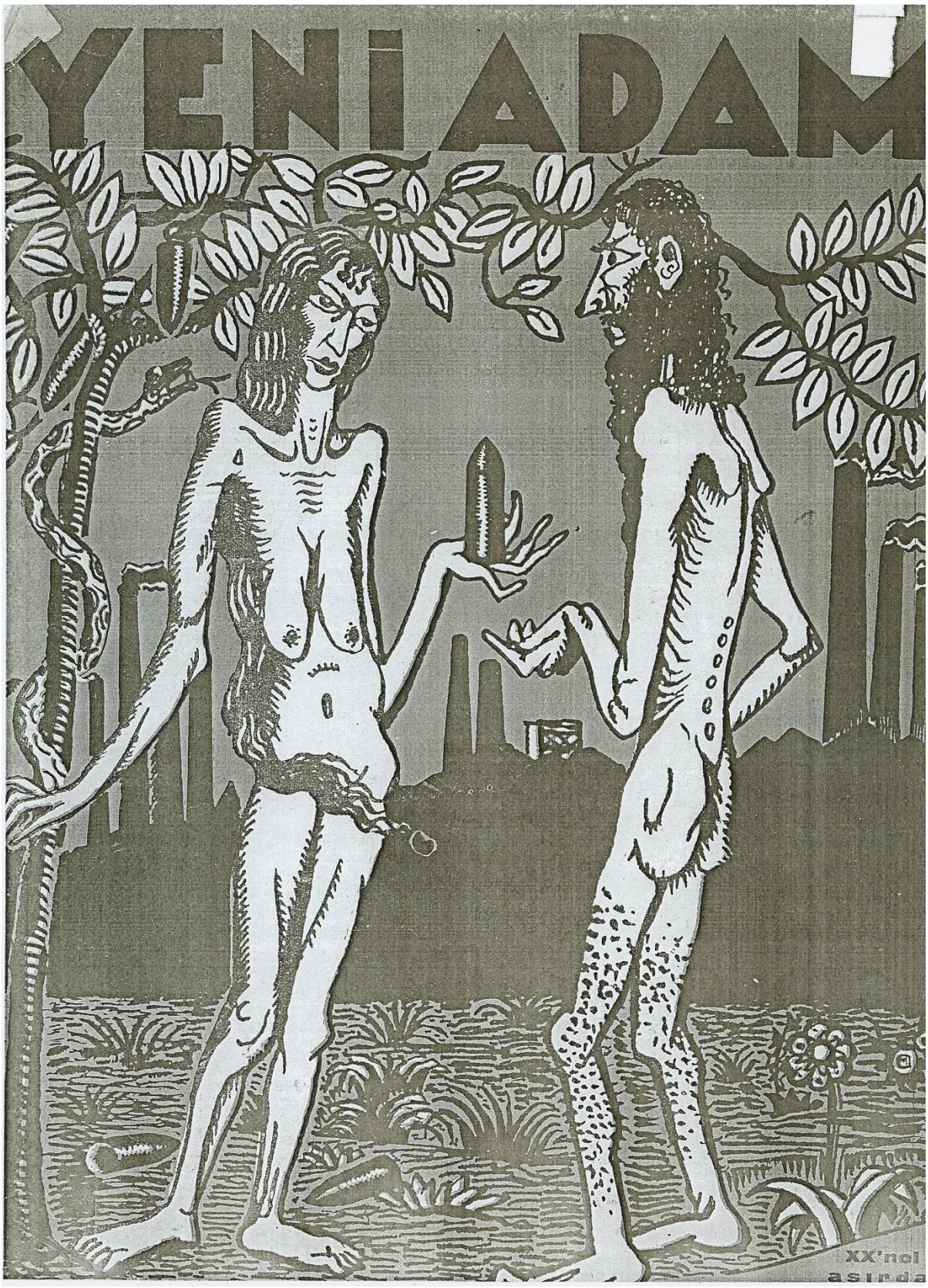
Yücel,Hasan Ali. “Ar’ın Büyük Anketi: Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye ”, *Ar*, no 2 (Şubat 1937):2.

Yücel, Hasan Ali. “Yeni Doğan Sanat Muhiti”, Ar, no 20 (August 1938):29

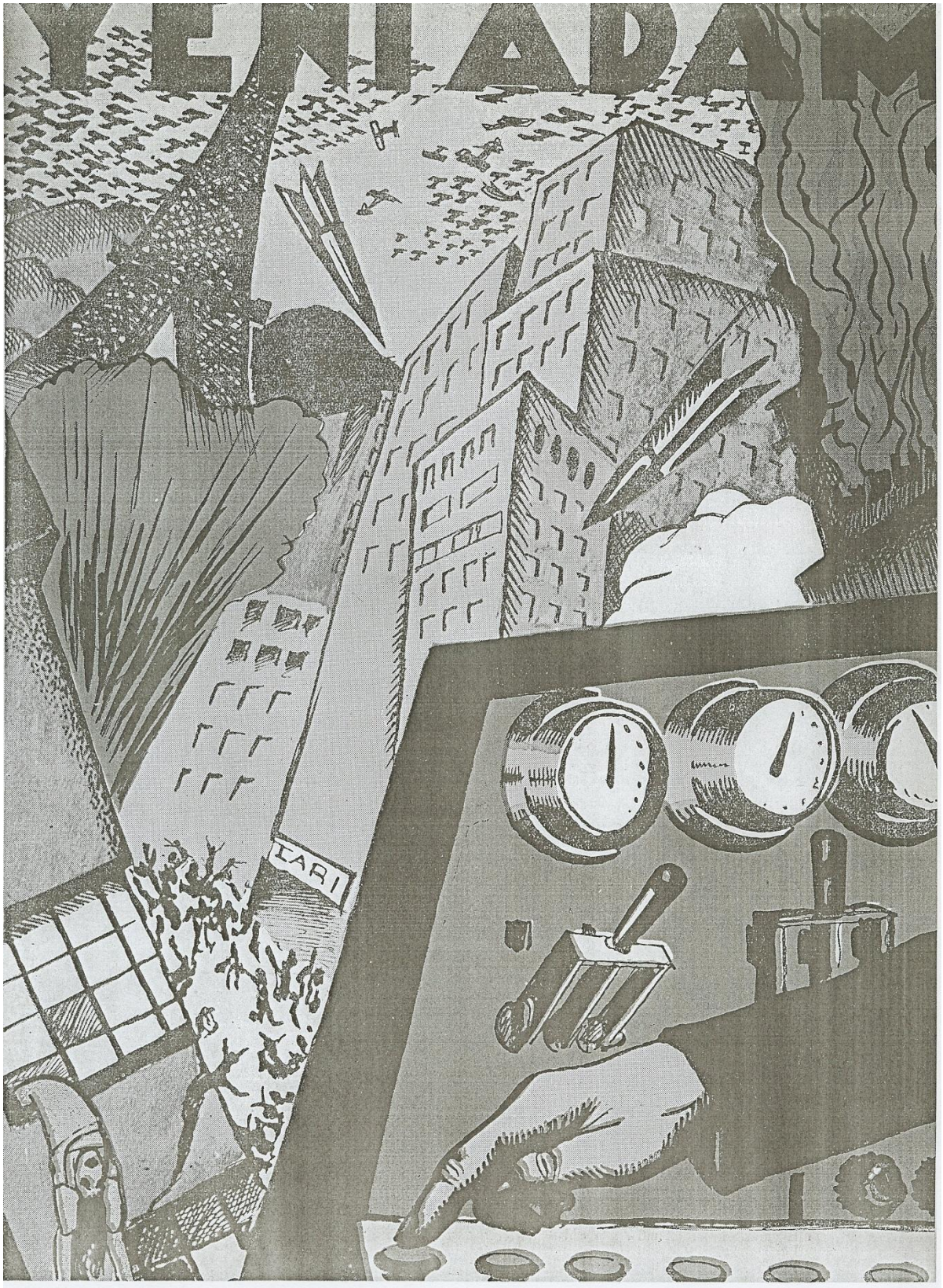
Yüz Senelik Resim Sergisi Katoloğu .İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1956.

Zaim, Turgut. “Ar’ın Sanat Anketi”, *Ar,* no 13 (January 1938):1.

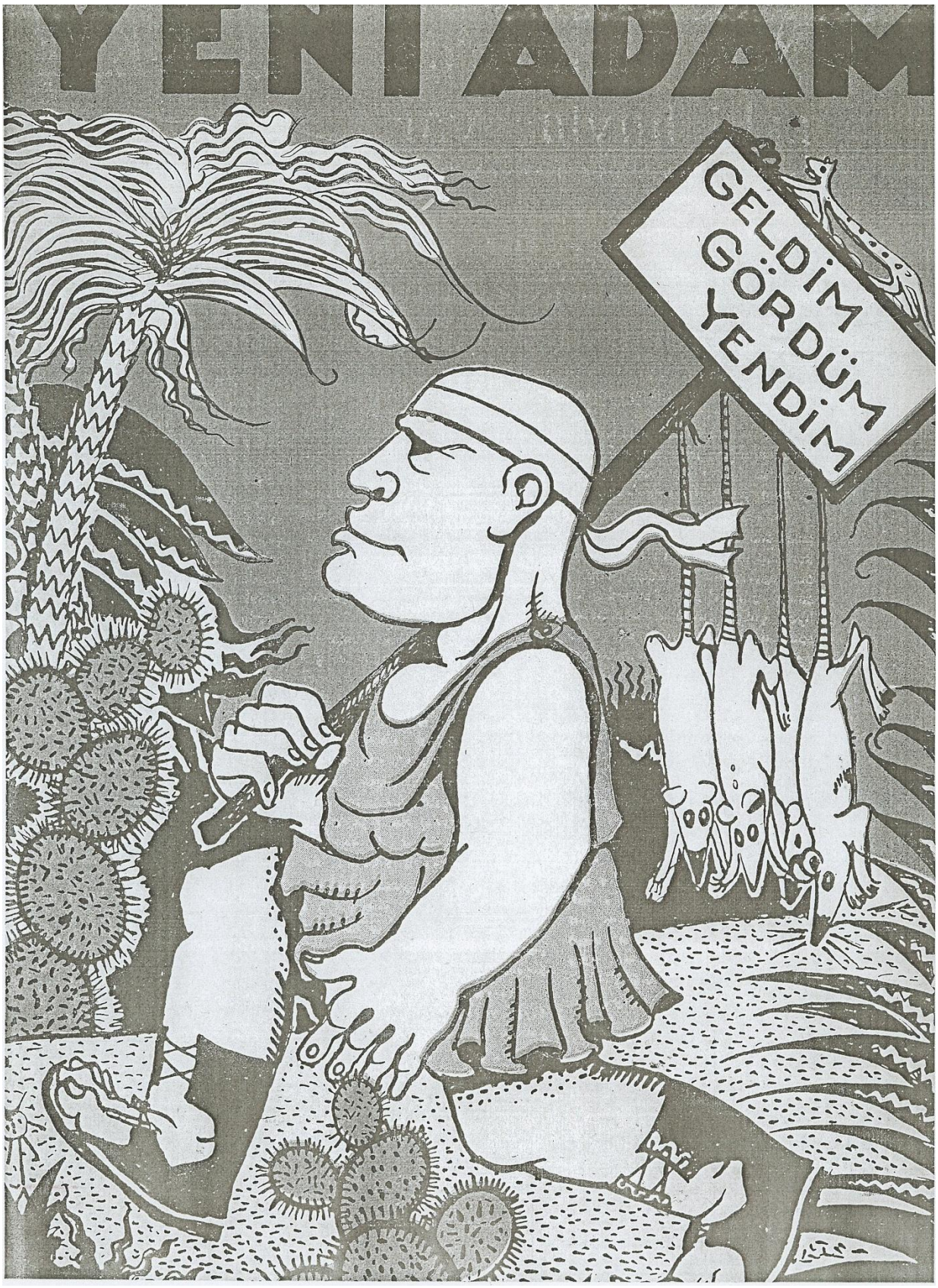
APPENDIX



YENİ ADAM, n.57, 1935



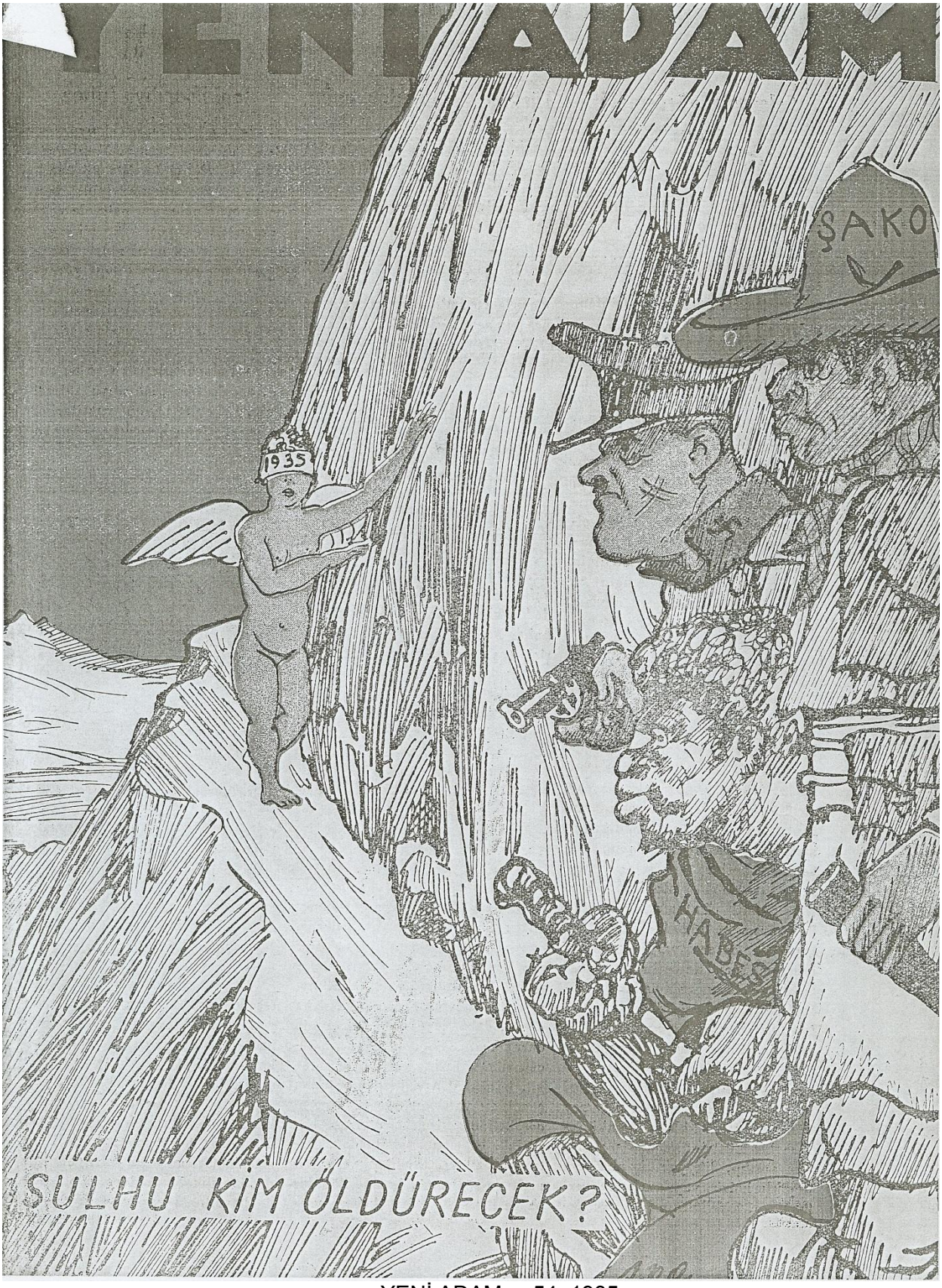
YENİ ADAM, n.37,1935



YENİ ADAM, n. 56, 1935



YENİ ADAM, n.76, 1935



YENİ ADAM, n.54, 1935

No. 16— 16 Nisan 1934
PAZARTESİ ÇIKAR
İstanbul, Ankara Cad. No. 71, Telefon: 20832.
Telgraf Adresi: YENİ ADAM

Yeni Adam

Sahip ve Başmuharriri: İSMAİL HAKKI
ÜLKÜMÜZ DEMOKRASİ VE CUMHURİYET İÇİN ÇALIŞMAKTIR

Yeni Adam gelecek sayıdan itibaren siyasî neşriyata başlıyacaktır.



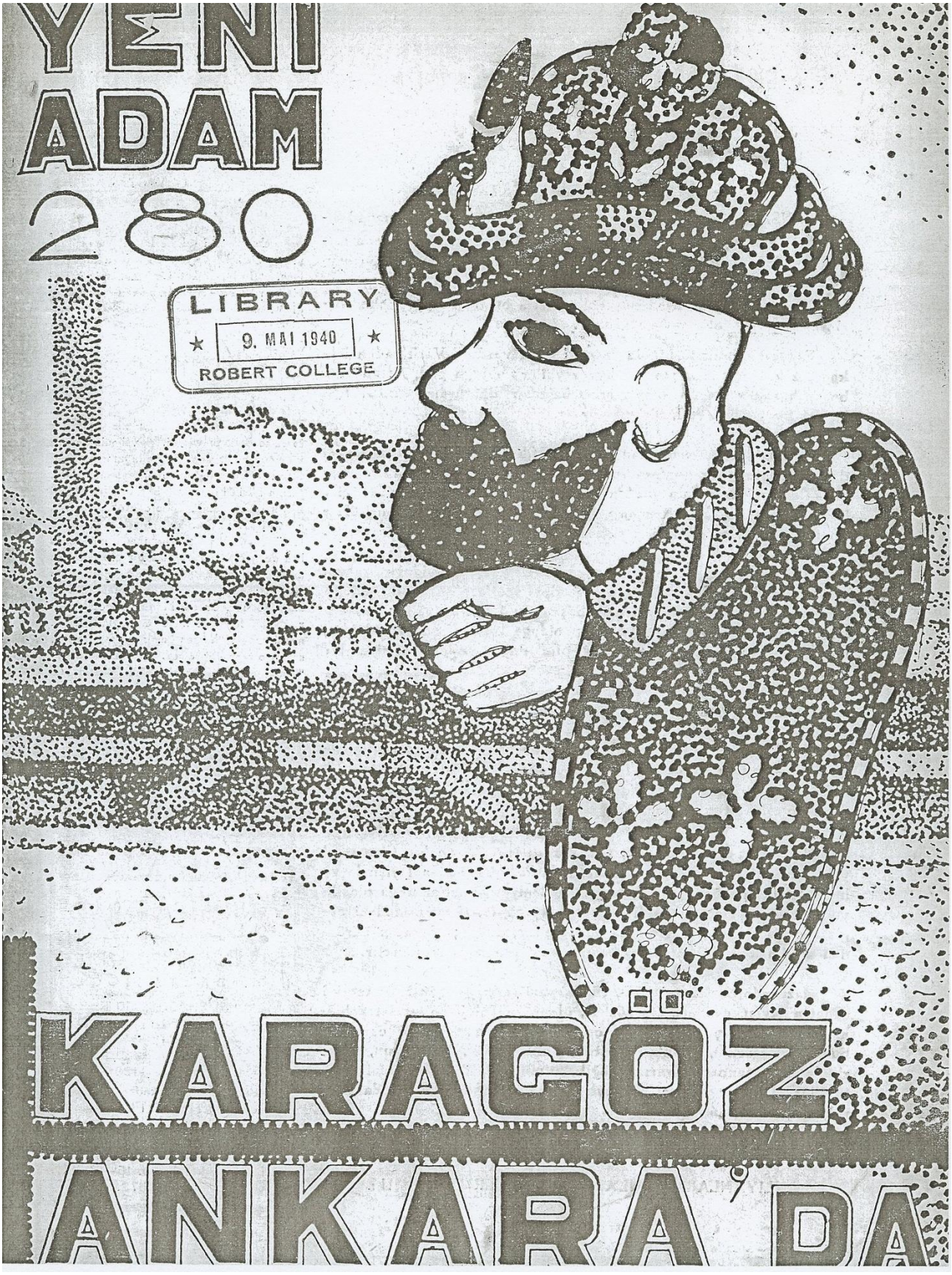
Heykeltıraş Hitler'in cermen kilinden yuğurduğu yeni heykel

Bu sayıda: Dr. Mazhar Osman Beye açık mektup, Yeni Rusya'da sanat, Kısırlaştırma doğru mudur?

Sayısı: 10 kuruş



YENİ ADAM, n.166,1937


YENİ
ADAM
280
LIBRARY
9. MAI 1940
ROBERT COLLEGE
KARAGÖZ
ANKARA'DA



Yeni Adam, 182 (24.6.1937), 6.

65

FİKRET MUALLA's DRAWINGS FROM YENİ ADAM

SON FRANSIZ HAVADİSİ



Maliye Vekili Boni-Kasalarda inler cinler top oynuyor, kaldık biz bize !

Marianne-Geliyorum, gösteririm ben size ...

The Latest News from France :
G. Bonnet, the Minister of Finance : "The safes are absolutely drained. We're left to ourselves !"
Marianne (symbolizing France) : "Then, it's my turn now; just guard yourselves."

Yeni Adam, 187 (29.7.1937), 17. 83

FİKRET MUALLA's DRAWINGS FROM YENİ ADAM



86 *Yeni Adam*, 189 (12.8.1937), 10.

FİKRET MUALLA's DRAWINGS FROM YENİ ADAM

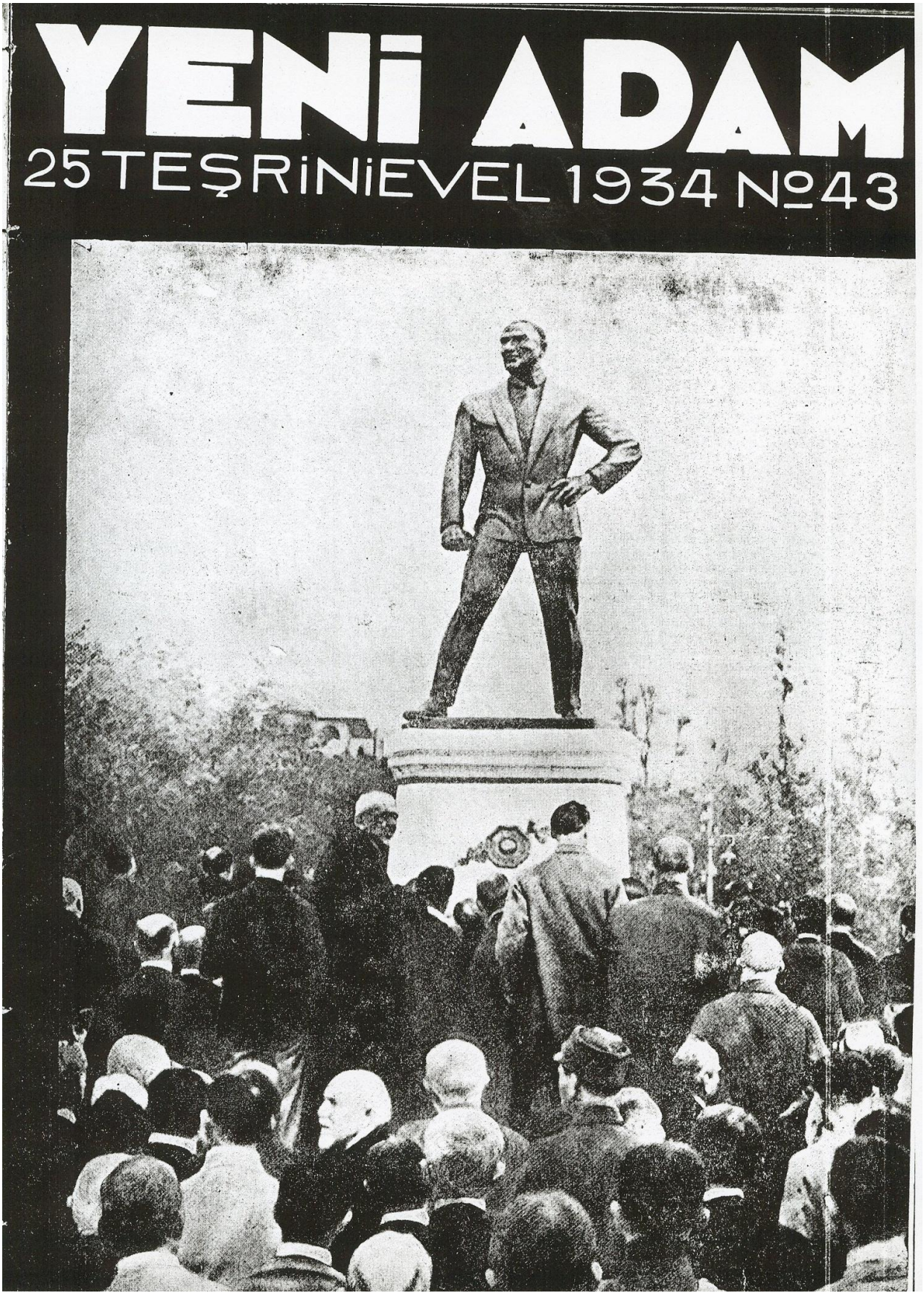


- Gözlerinde Derain'in portreleri gibi bir baygınlık var.
Kollarının formu Picasso gibi.

"You have the same kind faintness in your eyes like Derain's portraits.
And your arms are like Picasso's [drawings]."

Yeni Adam, 180 (10.6.1937), 14.

57


YENİ ADAM
25 TEŞRİNİEVEL 1934 No43

YENİ ADAM

ÜLKÜMÜZ DEMOKRASİ VE CUMHURİYET İÇİN ÇALIŞMAKTIR

Sahibi ve Başmuharriri İsmayıl Hakkı BALTACIOĞLU

HAFTALIK FİKİR GAZETESİ
Sayı : 642

PERŞEMBE 23 Mart 1950
Kuruluşu 1 OCAK 1934

Ulusların Ölümü

Arıklaşan, sayrıklaşan, ölen uluslar vardır; dirilen gelişen gürleşen uluslar vardır. Birincilerin oluşu nüfuslarının azalmasından, ikincilerinki nüfuslarının çoğalmasından belli olur. İnsan için kırmızı yuvarlaklar ne ise, insan toplulukları için de nüfus odur. Kansız can olmadığı gibi, nüfussuz topluluk da olamaz.

Şimdiye dek sosyal bilimlerin tanıyabildiği iki büyük nüfus etkeni vardır. Biri kültür, biri medeniyet.

Kültür, insanları birbirine benzetir, birbirine yaklaştırır, birbirine bağlar. Böylelikle insan kendini yalnız duymaktan kurtulur, insanın yaşama inancı, yaşama isteği artar. Bu durumda olan uluslarda babaların çocuk isteği çoğalır. Bu durumda olan uluslarda analar doğurgan olurlar.

Bütün doğan çocuklar yaşayamazlar, ölürler. Çocuklar açlıktan, arıklıktan, bakımsızlıktan ölürler. Onları yaşatmak için bilgi, teknik ilgi, özen ister. Seyler ve hayvanlar gibi insanları da yönetici olan bilgilere, usullere, tekniklere medeniyet diyoruz. Bir ulusun medeniyeti ne derece ileri ise doğan çocukları yaşatma güçü de o derece ileridir.

Kültürü kuvvetli olduğu için erkekleri çocuk isteyen, kadınları çok çocuk doğuran uluslar vardır. Türk ulusu gibi. Kültürü arıklaştığı, yozlaştığı için erkekleri çocuk istemiyen, kadınları çocuk doğurmayan uluslar vardır. Fransa gibi.

Kültürü kuvvetli, yaşama isteği kuvvetli, kadınları doğurgan, ancak medeniyeti arık olduğu için doğan çocukları yaşatamayan uluslar vardır. Türk ulusu gibi. Kültürü o denlu kuvvetli olmaksızın medeniyeti çok kuvvetli olduğundan doğanları az öldüren uluslar vardır. Amerika Birleşikleri gibi. Kültürü arıklaşmış, yozlaşmış, kadınları çok doğurmayan, medeniyetçe de pek parlak olmayan uluslar vardır. Fransa gibi. Birinciler artabileceğinden çok az artmaktadır. İkinciler çok artmaktadır. Üçüncüler artmamakta, durmakta ve gerilemektedir.

Yeni Adam

Fiatı 25 Kr.

DİNO'NUN İBRİĞİ

Bu İbrik Resmi Ressam Abidin Dino Eliyle Çizilmiştir. Öyle şeyler



Vardır ki Yalnız Kendini Anlatır. Öyle Şeyler de Vardır ki Kendisiyle Birlikte Bir Çok Şey Birden Anlatır. Dino'nun İbriği İşte Böyle, Bir Çok Şey Anlatan Şeylerden Biridir. Toprak İbrik Türk Halkının Belli Başlı Sembollerinden, Uyuklarından Biri Değil midir? Türk Halkı Ölüsünü de Birisini de Bu İbrikle Yıkamaz mı?

ABİDİN DİNO'S EWER



Abidin Dino'nun tablosu.



Abidin Dino'nun tablosu.

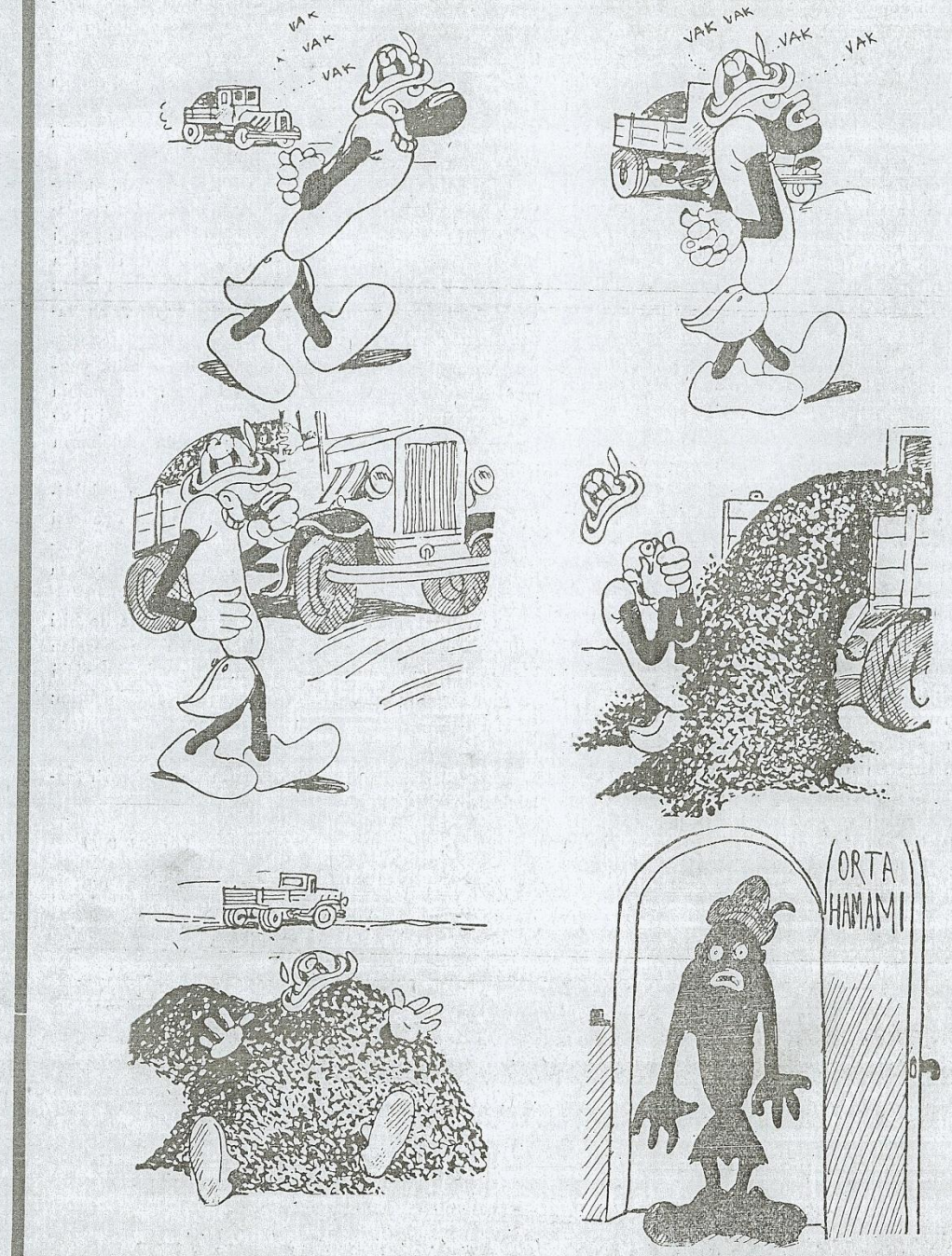
ABİDİN DİNO'S PICTURES

No. 50
21 Şubat
1935

Yeni Adam

Başyazıcısı ve ıssı: İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu
Ülkümüz demokrasi ve cumhuriyet için çalışmaktır

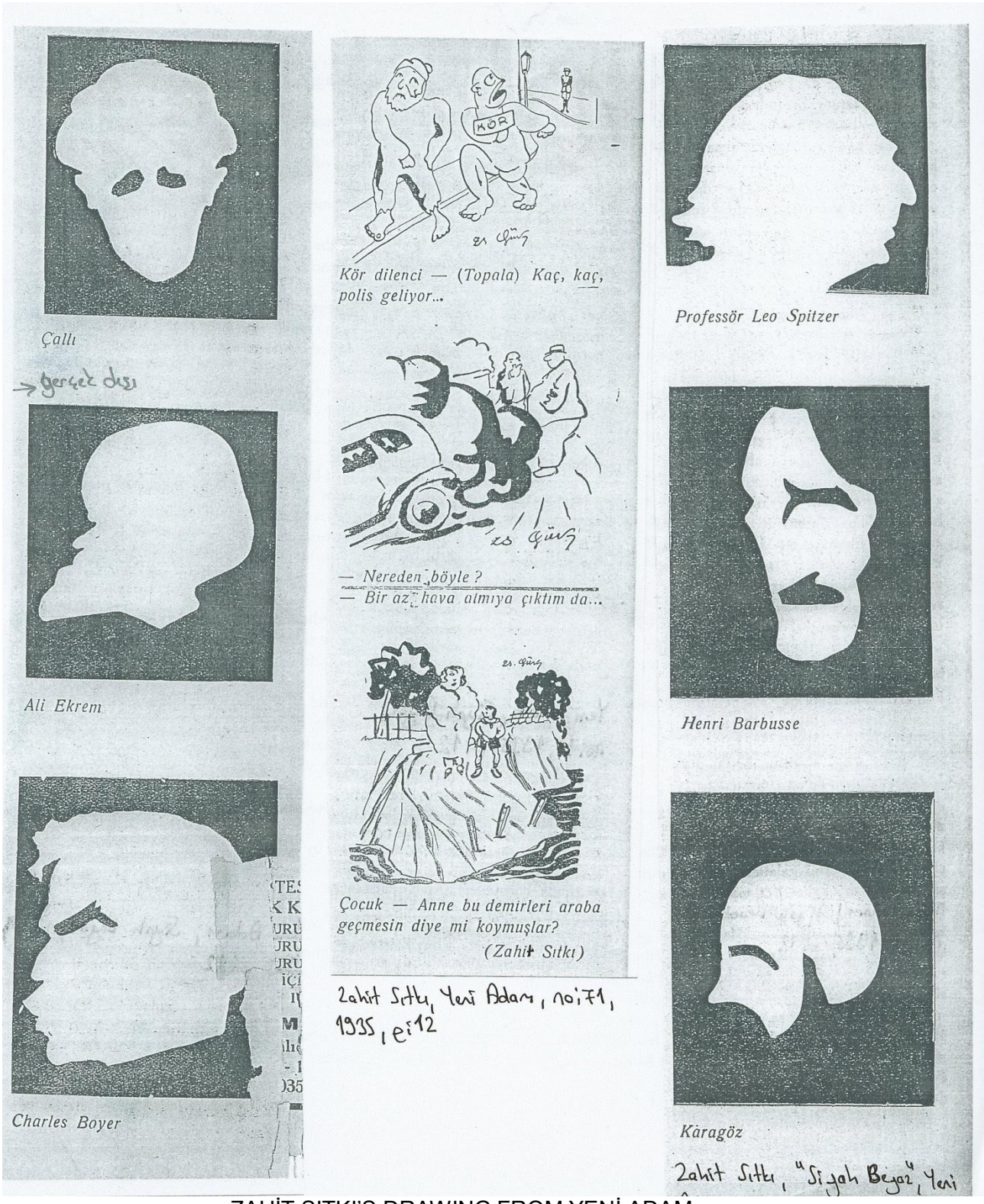
Yar bana bir eğlence!...



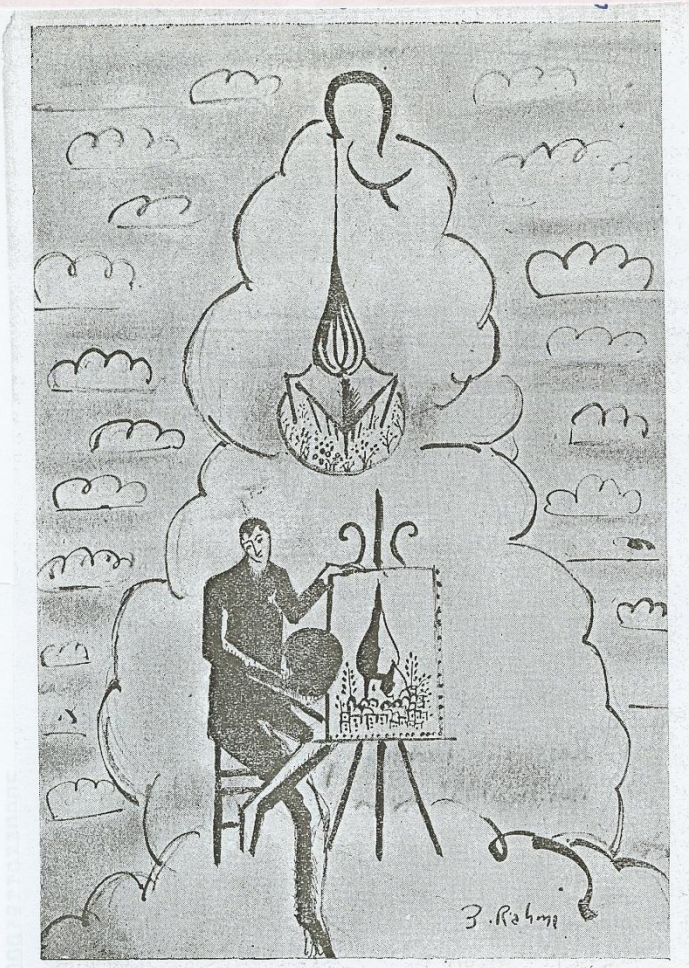
AL SANA BİR EĞLENCE!...
(Sedat Nuri)

YENİ ADAM MEKTEP KUPONU

YENİ ADAM MÜSABAKA KUPONU



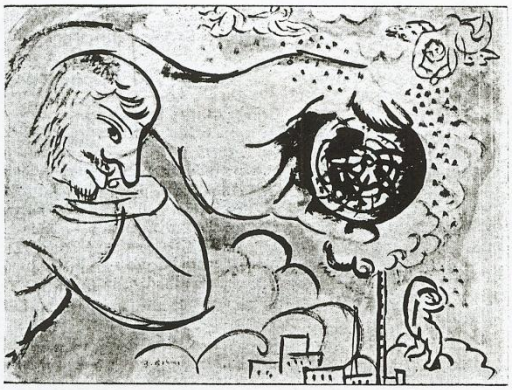
ZAHİT SITKI'S DRAWING FROM YENİ ADAM



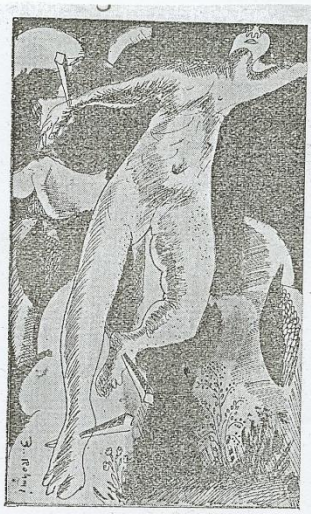
(Bedri Rahmi)



(Bedri Rahmi)



Bedri Rahmi



(Bedri Rahmi)

BEDRİ RAHMİ EYÜBOĞLU's DRAWİNGS FROM YENİ ADAM