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BANGAS Sey-Built Houses in Mayotte

banga is a small, one-room dwelling built of earth and decorated and lived in by young boys on the Indian Ocean island of Mayotte. The population of the island is a mixture of races, with a predominant number coming from Southern Africa. Ninety percent of the citizens are Muslim, Women are powerful and influential in the organisation of Mahorais. society.

Starting from the age of 11 or 12 years old, boys are allowed, even encouraged, to construct their own banga outside the family compound, often on the edge of the village, in order to avoid promiscuity between the children of different sexes living at home. Although mothers and sisters continue to care for the young man's needs, cooking, sewing, washing for him, the banga becomes his own private space, where he studies, entertains and sleeps, A garden with both plants and flowers is cultivated next to the hut.

In this quite permissive society there is ample opportunity for the young, adolescent boys to indulge in forms of self-expression that are normal and compatible with this period in their development. Bangas are highly individual, astonishing repositories of young men's tastes, desires, fantasies, ideals, associations revealed through the images created by hand or collected and affixed to walls. Photographs, posters, pages from catalogues, drawings of all sorts decorate the interiors, while signs and emblems painted on the exterior walls of the bangas assert differing claims to identity, both personal or collective.

> Photographs by Christian Lignon. Text by GBWI Association. Nathalie Barthes and Christian Lignon.



Ocean



Exuberance and raw force characterise the various forms of expression depicted on the *bangas*, be it slogans, affirmations of faith (e.g. "Allah/Maximum"), love, hygiene, etc. or purely abstract "action-painting" ... Yet, just as the age-span of adolescence when the *banga* is created is transitory — from youth into manhood — so, too, are the *bangas* ephemeral shelters, lasting approximately 2 or 3 years because of their precarious nature.

Traditional as they have been in Mayotte for many years, the construction and ingenious decoration of *bangas* is a cultural phenomenon which has been dying out recently. In order to try to reinvigorate the custom, a competition was held in Spring 1987 to determine the most beautiful *bangas* on the whole island. Three Grand Prizes were awarded for the three best *bangas* among the 17 communities on the island.

Christian Lignon is a photographer who lives in Marrakesh, Morocco. Nathalie Barthes is a writer in Paris, France.



Top: Typically bangas are located on the outskirts of the village or at some distance into the countryside, as here at Mtsamoudou Bay. Above: Figurative representations, human or animal, are often depicted on the facades, as well as names or slogans. Here the abode is called "chateau-trap". Right: Some wall-paintings have an almost hallucinatory character to them. This is a seductive "trap" of Papa Djama at Mtsamboro.



GALLERY





Left: Occasionally, entire walls are covered with rigorously geometric shapes and patterns. Above: Detail of a painted facade and door. Below: An adolescent proprietor sits in front of the banga he has built and decorated. It is called "Omar's lucky chateau". Right: The same "lucky chateau" banga, with painted ornamentation carried out onto the enclosing fence.





GALLERY



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Left, above: On the front of his banga Ziadi Abdou has written: "Palace of the year 2000", "Home of the Director of Impossible Affairs", and "Allah TSISCABAR (instead of 'Allah al Akbar, God is Great')" or "Allah Maximum?" Left: Detail of a wall-painting whose abstract nature reminds one of action painting in Western art in the 1950s. Above: One of the most remarkable interiors was literally hand-decorated by the owner with the imprint of his hand in paint. Below: Styrofoam chips used for packing have been 'recycled' as beads on strings for this window. Right: Adolescent inhabitants of the bangas amass collections of objects of all sorts, including telephones or electric fans that have no power supply.









"In Quest of Modern Forms of

Domesticity''

Architect-designed private houses in the developing world may seem, to some at least, to be a kind of perverse luxury — if not downright anti-social — when it is shelter for the masses at a price they can afford that is one of the most urgent problems. Yet, if a professional designer is to fulfil his or her responsibilities to an emerging society, there needs to be a 'testing ground' for adaptable, appropriate models that could eventually be replicated on a large scale. A century ago Frank Lloyd Wright in America set himself the task of finding a model dwelling for the North American "way of life", and Alvar Aalto did the same when his non-industrialised Finland gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1917. For the architect, it should be first and foremost a socio-cultural act of reflection towards crystallising a form of habitation, but it can also be a political act.

In countries striving to coalesce multiple traditions (Malaysian, Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Sri Lankan, Kenyan, or Iranian) into a national identity, often after years of dependence or isolation, the urge to evolve unifying forms of expression are irrepressible. The difference is between vernacular forms (see Gallery piece in this issue) of habitation built by community members themselves and forms (monumental or not) that seek to express the essential values and aspirations of society in a concentrated manner, in a simple, paradigmatic statement. Architects Lim in Malaysia and Manosa in the Philippines, through the research and experimentation revealed in their house designs ---- starting from the nipa hut or Malaysian house-types --- make this abundantly clear. But so also do the other examples illustrated here, reflect the climate, geography, material resources, and cultural traditions present in their country. They are not alone in this endeavour either, simply representative. Efforts of this sort in individual house design, when seen in their most positive, progressive light, may be analysed and judged not as monuments for the rich who paid for them, but as the fruit of investigation into ideal forms and spaces for domestic living in their respective cultures.

Brian Brace Taylor

Preceding pages: The pool and reception areas of a recent house in Sri Lanka. Photograph: Milroy Perera.





Project Data

Architect: Francisco T. Manosa and Partners Location: New Alabang Village Completion: 1982

Text by Brian Brace Taylor. Documents and photographs courtesy of the architect unless otherwise indicated.



Manosa Residence, Metro Manila

traditional styles, materials and culture with modern living and technology. It upgraded the many uses of indigenous materials in different forms such as shellcraft, stonecraft, bamboocraft, cococraft, rattancraft and woodcraft; that consequently fused the relationship of architecture with indigenous craftsmanship, thus paving a way for a stronger relationship between architecture, the arts, and the crafts.

Nestled amid the lush greenery of Ayala Alabang Village is the residence of architect Francisco "Bobby" T. Manosa and his family. Very contemporary in plan and design, the house is a take-off of the Philippine *nipa* hut and the ancestral house.

Its wide overhanging eaves and overpowering roofs protect the interior from the natural elements. With the use of these double roofs a dominant highpitched roof is visually created; at the same time a *nipa* hut texture is imaginatively emphasised by the use of wood

Right: The two-storey Manosa house as seen from a distance resembles the traditional Filipino nipa hut.

Below: View of the house at night from the garden side.

shingles, 50 centimetres to 70 centimetres in length, made from 30% coconut and 70% *apitong* laid in a staggered manner. Although much indigenous materials were employed, technology also had its part in installing them, as in the use of the structural concept of a tripod system that eliminates a column and its footing; the eggcrate pattern floor joists saved as much as 20% on board footage.

A tour of this residence would reveal that its design developed, enhanced and refined the traditional character of a Philippine house in the context of modern living that is an answer to the needs and lifestyle of the Manosa family. The house was planned in two separate wings, to the north-east is the sleeping/ quiet area, and to the south-west is the living/activity area.

The living room is where one immediately feels the atmosphere of the







Model of the Manosa residence with the roof removed. The central livingroom, large kitchen, and verandah of the main wing are visible (right), and the children's bedrooms of the sleeping wing (left).

19th-century elegance of ancestral houses, while at the same time it is quite contemporary in character. Its ceiling, like that of the *nipa* hut, exposes the apex of the roof, where the four main structural members meet, and surrounded by a *capiz* clerestory on a banana and *anahaw* leaf design.

The centre of activity and lifestyle of the family revolves around the balconaje facing the golf course, where several conversation areas can be found arranged in a L-shaped manner. The roof extension and the inclined supports of this balconaje interprets the tukod (supports) of the window covers of the nipa hut. This provides a very airy and provincial atmosphere, hence a source of natural ventilation. This roof extension furthermore, is aligned with the horizon, for the sky is not seen, thus perfectly eliminating glare in the interiors. Openness and continuity of indoor-outdoor relation is enhanced by the landscaped garden and the plants surrounding the balconaje, at the same time providing a cooling effect. Another feature of the house is the absence of a dining room, reminiscent of the one-room-affair of the nipa hut. This is a function of the balconaje, other than being a social space. The absence of the dining room also reflects the family's lifestyle: one can take his meal anywhere in the living areas.

Other features of this *balconaje* are its *molave* floor and coco wood strips, the wood and brass pull-type ceiling fans that are used in the absence of breeze, the wooden ledge that displays a collection of Philippine hats and baskets, coco shell mouldings, an open ceiling that exposes the roofing nailers and supports and the use of benches all around that serve as railings of the *balconaje*.

The principle of cross-ventilation provided by the interrelationship of every area gives natural thermal comfort, and is thus energy-saving.

The *Tacaloq* room, or the master bedroom, is introduced by the boudoirconsole with a glass etching portraying a bird-grass-river nature scene, and serves as a divider and headboard. Then, the surprising sight of actual water at this level (a pond of edible fishes, *pla-pla*, and golden snails plus numerous

Right, above: Main entrance door and canopy. Right: Entrance foyer to the house with a mural by Raymond Fuentes called "Harvest Moon" executed in Philippine jade, blackpen and mother-ofpearl.





Top: Living and dining area on the periphery of the house is protected by the deep overhang of roof

the house is protected by the deep overhang of roof eaves, but allows wonderful views onto the garden and surrounding countryside.

Right: View of the verandah along two sides of the livingroom. Many family activities take place here because it is frequently the coolest, most agreeable spot in the house.

Photographs: Brian Brace Taylor.

Above: From the foyer, stairs lead down to the zaguan, an urban reincarnation of the nipa hut's lower floor used for storage in the ancestral house. Here it is an entertainment area decorated with Muslim motifs and bamboo furniture.

fruit bearing trees) is underscored by the twisted axial placement of the bed.

The guestroom is done in all bamboo: flooring, walls, ceiling and furniture. Overlooking this room is the second fishpond where *tilapia* and *hito* edible fishes are raised. These fishes, together with other fishes in the first pond are harvested every six months.

Overlooking the *zaguan* is the edible landscaped garden where a rotation of tomatoes, peanuts, pineapples, garlic, *patola*, and others have taken place. These are planted side by side with ornamentals like *yucca*, san francisco, *pitogo*, and others. There is a trellis where climbing vines can creep on.

Ultimately, there is straightforward expressiveness in the use and exposure of the house's columns, rafters, inclined members, and stilts. Through the extensive use of glass doors and panes, and the plan of the open *balconaje* and *zaguan*, man's constant need of relating himself to the outside world is readily answered.







Top: A double-height, formal livingroom is located at the centre of the central-plan main house. Numerous local Filipino woods have been used, some carved and others as panelling simply high-lighted with borders of mother-of-pearl. Left: Wooden handrail with inlay of the staircase leading to a small library. Below: Detail of wooden panelling in the living-room with blackpen and mother-of-pearl inlay.





Bobby Manosa, trained at the University of San Tomas in the Philippines, was in architectural practice with his two brothers until 1976 when he began his own office. He was voted Outstanding Architect of the Year in his country in 1982.



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Walian House, Kuala Lumpur





Project Data

Architect: Jimmy Lim, CSL Associates Site: 148.6 square metres Built area: 552 square metres Completion: 1985 he Malaysian warm humid climate is characterised by its intense a tropical sunshine, heavy g seasonal rainfall and strong winds. The client tr wanted a house which was cool, com-

fortable and in close contact with nature. Moreover, the application of *feng-shui*

was vital. According to Chinese geomancy, *feng-shui* (wind-water) plays a crucial role in the siting and orientation of a building to ensure beneficial effects and good fortune for its occupants. Hence, the *feng-shui* of this site was such that the main door had to face to the south-east.

The house is divided into two main buildings; one for guests and the other for the family. The space in between these two areas serves as a common central lounge, the scale of which is created by a huge voluminous layered roof. Hence, this central space functions as the central village square of the traditional Malay Kampung (see diagram).



The sides of this voluminous space are left open, with a waterfall located on a north-western side and a landscaped garden on the south-eastern side.

The layering of the roofs for this central space with open sides is effective in preventing rain water coming in and the living space is also continuously cooled by the cross breezes.

The architectural expression of the house evolved through the consideration of contemporary requirements and traditional elements, right down to the spatial organisation within and beyond the house.

The brickwork used for the house were transported by road 402 kilometres to the site from a brick kiln in Butterworth, Penang. There is extensive use of secondhand recycled timber (approximately one hundred years old) which was salvaged from a demolition site a few years back. The huge timber members are chengal hardwood which was available locally. The roof structure is built up of timber trusses braced, bracketed and bolted to *chengal* beams to create a suspended layered roof as seen in the cross section. The height of the ridge of this roof is 15.24 metres above ground level. The roof-tiles are asbestos flat sheet slates and finishes for bathroom and kitchen are mainly imported European tiles.

The outstanding feature of the building is the interpretation of the traditional vernacular in a modern context and the

Below: Exterior of the Walian house from the northwest with the pool in the foreground.



Text, photographs and drawings courtesy of the architect.

adaptation of Frank Lloyd Wright geometries to a Malaysian built form. It also responds to the site and achieves natural ventilation by using the traditional layered roof.

Another feature is the planning of the central courtyard which is covered over and used as the main living and entertainment space, the roof being 15.24 metres high. The guest house and the main house are clustered on the opposite sides of the central space. The timber structure over the main living space is layered and in order to achieve this cantilevered awning effect, a complicated and intricate system of detailing to counter over-turning moments was evolved. Experimentation with timber detailing has resulted in some unique resolutions, connections and quality of timber which has probably extended the use of timber technology. Below: Floor plans of the different levels. The guest room on the main level is separated from the dining and social areas by the covered garden, or atrium; the swimming pool becomes a series of reflecting pools stepped-down towards the interior of the house.



Level 2



Roof plan



Level 1



Level 3

Right: Cross section drawing of the Walian house. The relationship of the stepped-back, sloping roof to the atrium hall is visible here. Below: Silhouette of the house from the northeast. Below, right: View upward towards the master bedroom (left) and stairs from the atrium hall of the house. Sunlight is filtered and excellent ventilation obtained through the high sloping roofs.











Above: Entrance foyer of the Walian house. Above, right: Entrance steps and stained glass win-dow next to the door. Right: A passageway in the main part of the house. Far right: Stairway to the guestroom. Right, below: View of the exposed carpentry-work of the roof structure. Below: Detail of the sloping layered roofs.











Left: Sitting area near the pool of the atrium space at lower level. Below: View of the landscaped garden.

Jimmy Lim, a Malaysian, studied architecture in Australia. He has his own architectural practice in Kuala Lumpur.





Project Data

Site: 35 minutes south of Colombo, Sri Lanka.
Architect/Interior Designer: Anura Ratnavibhushana.
Land area: 2023 square metres.
Built area: 300 square metres.
Construction: 1981-82.

Ratnavibhushana House, Colombo

he site is a promontory of land surrounded by a lagoon with views of the ocean beyond. The existence of large boulder outcrops and indigenous

mangrove vegetation with water bird and reptile life makes it precious in the suburban context.

Designed by architect Anura Ratnavibhushana it is an extremely personal statement resulting from a love for the visual enjoyment of architecture and the inevitable respect for the needs of climate, site geography and surroundings.

Enjoyable and pleasurable living in the tropical Sri Lankan island context demands fulfilment of certain needs such as openness to ocean breezes whilst excluding monsoon rain, reduction and regulation of the strength of sunlight in resting areas, keeping out proliferating vegetation and undesirable reptiles from overrunning the interior, among others. The loggia-like living and dining spaces with the enclosing courtyard walls, and the sandy garden perimeter with wildly luxuriant mangroves just beyond, result from such considerations. The use of large pools of water are both functional and aesthetic, adding magic to the fun of living and entertaining.

The construction is mainly of reinforced concrete and brick masonry. The walls are rough cement grey plaster. The floors a white epoxy paint and on level with the over-flowing reflecting pool which dominates the design, and reflects everything double at night. Against the grey and white background surfaces are strong contrasts of abstract paintings in brilliant colour by local artists and an occasional wooden pillar salvaged from demolition sites.

In some ways this house is experimental and dares to explore the limits to which openness of living spaces to the outdoors could be exploited in the monsoonal tropics without losing the mood of seclusion and warmth essential for a family dwelling.

Below: Site plan showing the location of the house on a promontory of land overlooking a lagoon and the ocean.

Below, right: Main entrance to the house on the east side.

Below, far right: West facade of the house. Opening with the blue wooden column gives onto the courtyard, beneath the stairs to the upper floor.



Text and plans courtesy of the architect. Photographs by Milroy Perera unless otherwise indicated.

















Above: Sitting room and main entry (to left). Left: Entrance to the house with view through the sitting room. Below: View of the courtyard and pool with sitting area.







Left: Detail of the sitting room with stairs to the upper floor. Left, below: Dining area and garden beyond. Above: Doorway leading from the courtyard out into the garden on the west side. Photograph: Dominic Sansoni.



Master bedroom on the upper floor.





Above: Stairs in the courtyard lead to the upper floor guestroom. Left and left, below: Upper floor guestroom with 7-foot ceiling. The hibiscus pink wall decoration was improvised in-situ with fabric dyes and an inset of 'tantric' patterned batik.

Anura and Sundarika Ratnavibhushana are Sri Lankan architects with the firm Mihindu Keerthiratne Associates Ltd in Colombo.







Project Data

Site: Manali Valley, Himachal Pradesh, Northern India Client: Kranti Singh, Cristina Singh Architect: Romi Khosla Engineers: Raina Project construction: Local craftsmen Project commencement: 1985 Completion: 1987 uilding in the Himalayas is a very delicate act and I suppose that this would be true to all mountain country. Apart from the powerful presence of nature, the building itself can be extremely exposed, visible from afar and hence aesthetically vulnerable within the environment. The choice of materials and the building form therefore become extremely critical and for this reason only stone and timber were used here to create a form that is in

Pradesh

Himalayan House, Himachal

continuity with the prevalent tradition. Domestic environments, because of their smaller size and intense relationship with the occupiers, are often more successful if they are constructed within the broad stream of the craft tradition with the use of local materials. The sensations that need to be evoked in a remotely located house such as this are somewhat special and spiritual. The site, a narrow strip, barely wide enough to contain the 8.5 metres width of the base, is located in the midst of the rice fields of a village near Manali in the Kulu Valley. The spectacular view on all sides immediately suggested a symmetrical building. The local building tradition in the village is specific to this valley and has a clear architectural identity. The two dominant elements of the local house are the cove of stone rising up and the overhanging timber balcony under a sloping roof and it was the use of these two elements that emerged as significant in the house. The effort, throughout the design and building process, was to transform the traditional architectural elements and

form them into a contemporary reality. By contemporary reality one means not only the changed housing needs of a contemporary user but also the changed status of the building skills.

The plan consists of a square of 8.5 metre sides where the rooms are stacked vertically. Traditional houses have their cattle stables on the ground floor while all the living takes place at the level of the balcony. In this case, three levels have been provided using thinner timber joist sections and brackets for support. Originally, the design proposal had indicated gables. However, the craftsmen would not accept this major intrusion into their tradition and rejected it outright. They also insisted that such a gabled form would blow off in the snow storms that hit this area in winter. No amount of persuasion would change their minds. Eventually they insisted on designing the roof themselves. They also designed the infill panels in the balconies. Working with the craftsmen here, one needs only to define the parameters of the building structure in the drawings. Much of the delicacy and intricate detailing need only be discussed and finalised, and hence never committed to a drawing.

Left: The local house in the Kulu Valley where cattle are stabled in the ground floor, domestic storage in the intermediate floor and living at the balcony level.

Below: The house is surrounded by spectacular mountains on all sides.

Right: South side view of the house showing its remote location set in the midst of rice fields.



Text by Romi Khosla. Photographs by Ram Rahman. Drawings by David Sumison & Murlidhar.







First floor plan.



Ground floor plan.



Above: The original design proposed three gables (see plans) but the craftsmen refused to accept this intrusion in their tradition.

Right: Balcony details. Far right: Pinewood door and dressed stone exca-vated from boulders of a nearby stream — the two materials that compose the architecture of the valley.



Third floor plan.



- 1. Room 2. Kitchen 3. Store
- Children's bedroom Children's bedroo
 Guest bedroom
 Toilet
 Living
 Study
 Master bedroom

Second floor plan.





Left: The projecting balcony is perhaps the most critical architectural element that goes deep back in the architectural tradition of the area. It is this living space that inevitably achieves a spiritual quality amidst these mountains. Left, below: Balcony details finely conceived and detailed by craftsmen intuitively bring forward their own heritage despite the modifications in form. The balcony brackets were made necessary because of the use of thinner floor joists.





Ghafouri House, Yazd





Project Data

Architect: Sath-o-Sanat, Mahmoud Dadmanesh, principal Client: Mr. Ghafouri Location: Yazd, Iran Site area: 1530 square metres Built area: 1150 square metres Completed: 1986

Text by F. Essalat, R.I.B.A. Documents courtesy of the architect.



he Ghafouri House in Yazd — a city built on the edge of the Great Desert in central Iran and rich in traditional Iranian architecture — is an

essay in trying to regain the values of an architecture well suited to this environment, in not only addressing the hot and arid climate, but more importantly, in developing a language of design appropriate to the way of life in a very traditional city.

The plan of the house, like its older models is geometrical and symmetrical, with all the major rooms facing south, the optimum orientation for this kind of climate. The entry to the house is through a small, double vestibule which affords privacy from street traffic and provides a halting --- space before entering the central space of the house --- the two-and-a-half-storey hashti, or Octagon. This space, recurringly used in court houses of Iran over the past centuries, serves as a fulcrum device at entries and along corridors to affect a change of direction within a rectilinear geometry. Here too the purpose remains the same,



0 2 4 8m

but in this instance the space is turned inside out, the circulation happening on the outside rather than within the *hashti*, leaving this space to soar upwards towards the light filtering in from above. The central drama of the house lies in the *hashti*, which dominates the interior from every vantage point. All movement

Above: Plan of the house on its site. Below: View of the house from the service yard.



back and forth, or up and down, takes place in the light of this volume, marking the passage of the day.

The inclusion of a cool basement for summer retreats is another design element reused with effect in this house. An elaborate structure of free-standing walls and terraces creates a shaded, lower courtyard and houses the exterior stairs down to the children's playroom and the *hosekhaneh*, where a bubbling fountain makes this den a refuge from the heat outside.

The frontal *iwans* facing the main courtyard shade the windows and provide formal reference to typical architectural elements of Iranian origin. The interplay of open spaces defined by arches and pierced walls of brick, the layering of space and wall masses, and the pervasiveness of the geometry, are all reminiscenses of the rich formal language which pervades traditional Persian architecture, and which here, is shown to be as relevant as it has always been.

Right: Looking upwards from basement level at the facade of the stairs inside the house. Below: South clevation of the house.








Left, above: Arcade on the first floor level overlooking garden and pool. Left: View through brick arcades above the sunken garden.

0<u>1</u>_3m





Above and left: Hashti dome and skylight over the central hall (octagonal). Left, below: Corridor on first floor overlooking the void of the hashti, or central octagonal hall. Bottom, far left: View of the stairs from the first to second floor, following the walls of the octagonal hashti. Bottom, left: View of the houz-khaneh in the basement of the house.

Mr. Dadmanesh obtained a Master of Architecture degree from Teheran University in 1970. After a year with the firm D.A.Z. and a much longer period at Aratta Collaborative, he opened his own practice in Teheran in 1986.







Project Data

Location: The shore of Lake Baringo, Kenya Owners: Murray & Elizabeth Roberts Architect: Bill Meyerhoff Completion: January 1986

Roberts House, Lake Baringo

few kilometres off the Equator, 240 some kilometres north of Nairobi, in a semi-arid region of Kenya lies Lake Baringo. On the shores of the lake are a few scattered villages, farmsteads and a campsite hotel, and on the lake there is an island (which also has a small hotel) and a bird sanctuary. It is an area where one can "get away from it all" under a vast sky and a sprawling flat landscape with a stark beauty. Sitting by the edge of the lake, with the Cherangani Hills as a backdrop, one is enveloped by the calm and peace of a place where man and nature come together in a natural relationship. The Roberts family runs a farm there

and has been involved in a number of developmental projects over the years. Their idea was to design a home using indigenous materials that would be in harmony with the natural environment



as well as with the local earth and thatch buildings. The house, to be accessible by a dirt road and isolated from its neighbours, could take advantage of the dramatic lake views and provides ample cool, shaded areas through which the breezes could flow. There was a wish to create casual free-flowing spaces, relating the inside to the outdoors for simple, informal, yet comfortable year-round living for the family of four. Due to its remoteness the house had to be built and maintaned using local labour and resources and to be self-sufficient in terms of energy needs.

For this task a young American architect, Bill Meyerhoff, who was staying with his sister, Elizabeth Roberts, was asked to come up with a scheme. As it is often with young architects, the opportunity for a first independent commission came from a family member; and he took the opportunity to explore a model of the indigenous native hut and expressed it as a structure for contemporary living. As a first work the building reveals a fine sensitivity to form, mate-

Far left: View from Lake Baringo with the Cherangani Hills in the background. Photograph: W. Meyerhoff.

Left: The house sits on a bed of rock rising well above the water line. Photograph: W. Meyerhoff. Below: Lake aspect (east) of the house. The wide double doors are usually left open connecting the outside to the interior spaces.

Right: From a window — glimpses of internal surfaces and planes.



Text and photographs by Hasan-Uddin Khan unless otherwise indicated.





rials, and light and shade. As architectural production it makes an elegant statement — one which not only fulfills the brief, but goes beyond it to produce a synthesis of form and concept unusual in today's architect designed selfconscious works.

The house is sited on a flat area of land overlooking the lake, next to a large shady tree which sets the building into its environment. The foundations (about half a metre deep) consist of concrete poured over a rock base. The floor finish is cement-concrete. The structure is of sun-dried earth blocks reinforced by concrete posts and a continuous ring beam for seismic stability. The blocks were formed in a hand press using only a 5% ratio of cement. The roof is thatched with grass and timber "Cecil" poles in an exposed-beam structure which adds to the beauty of the space. This element was perhaps the trickiest part of the construction.

The owner of the house acted as a contractor and participated in the construction. The woodwork, joinery and furniture, by local labour trained and guided by the architect's father, a fine furniture designer and maker in California who was also visiting Kenya. All in all, it was truly a family participatory effort, using unskilled labour. The house took just over a year to complete.

The plan uses curved walls interconnecting the flowing spaces. There are two bedrooms, bathrooms and a living area at ground-floor level and a "loft" bedroom (accessible by a vertical ladder) above the double-height space. The built up area covers some 160 square metres.

There are a number of outbuildings including the kitchen and service area, which are in a conventional rectangular plan structure attached to the house by a short covered walkway. This structure and other buildings (for vehicle parking, equipment), classrooms and offices, etc. all have corrugated metal roofs for safety reasons. One weak point of the agglomeration of buildings is their relationship, which does not appear to follow any comprehensive land use plan.

Although idyllic and peaceful as it is here, life is not easy without many of the amenities of modern day living. On the other hand, the architect's vision has enhanced the natural advantages of site and environment, creating an inspiring and pleasing home.



Top: The front lawn is shaded by an old tree and the building at different times of the day. The rest of the land is semi-arid brush.

Above: South-east view with the upstairs loft bedroom window.

Right, top: The curved forms, the protective overhanging roof and the wood frames give this earth house a quiet elegance.



0 5 15m

- Living room
 Sitting room
 Master bedroom
 Bedroom

Floor plan and roof plan. Courtesy of the architect.

5. Bathroom 6. Storage 7. Service and kitchen

Overleaf: From the upstairs bedroom looking into the double-height living area. Photograph: W. Meyerhoff.













Left, above: The main area is one space differenti-ated by perforated walls and levels into three areas — living, sitting and dining. Left: The informal living-entrance space provides a link to the outside whilst the steps lead to the sitting

room.

Top: The exposed beams and thatch roof add both interest and colour to the spaces below. Above: The juxtaposition of surfaces — studied relationships like sculpture.



Left: The upstairs bedroom with a mosquito net above the bed.

bed. Left, below: Planes curve away bathed in a varying gradation of light punctuated by openings.

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The Fate of Man and Architecture in the East

By Kenneth Frampton



Charles Correa

By Hasan-Uddin Khan

Concept Media, Singapore and Aperture, New York, 1987 176 pages, illustrated, hardcover Price: US\$30 ISBN: 9971-84-529-6 (Singapore) 0-89381-239-0 (USA) A critical review

When Charles Correa was awarded the RIBA Gold Medal in 1984 there was considerable astonishment on the part of the architects in the Anglo-American establishment. For while many of them had heard of Correa and a considerable number had even heard him speak, his production as an architect remained largely unknown. In part this surely stems from the solipsistic arrogance with which the West still insulates itself from the emerging power and vitality of the East. In part, however, it also derives from Correa's personality for until recently he has displayed a marked disinterest in any kind of publicity other than the charismatic intelligence that emanates spontaneously from his presence. He has been a latterday paradox of a public architect who refrains from talking directly about his own work; a figure, one might say, more concerned with the concepts than with the realisations. In today's media

world, Correa, despite his early predeliction for film, remains an Arendtian man of action and speech, rather than a McLuhanesque figure preoccupied with the image.

Some of the ignorance about Correa's work can no doubt be attributed partly to the nature of his architecture, which, with the singular exception of his recent preoccupation with trompe l'oeil effects, could hardly be considered fashionable. For Correa's architecture is primarily organisational, rather than formal or technological in character and while it inevitably entails both form and technique, it is hardly concerned with either art or technology as ends in themselves. Indeed, the strength and consistency of Correa's architecture surely stems from its anthropological base and its ecological predisposition. There are the cognitive modes, so to speak, that have served to liberate his thinking from the unduly abstract and even mystical paradigms occasionally advanced by Buckminster Fuller and Christopher Alexander, both of whom have exercised a formative influence on Correa. Like Fuller, Correa is a lateral thinker but he does not share his obsession with technology; like Alexander, he is a pattern-maker, but he does not regard the pattern as the necessarily embodiment of some kind of transcendent meaning. On the contrary, Correa seems to ground his work in the obduracy of the eco system and in the life forms that derive from its cultivation. And while Correa, like all contemporary architects, remains conditioned in his practice by the reality of the universal Megapolis, his fundamental inspiration lies elsewhere, above all, perhaps, in the still rooted rural life of Southern India. This is clear from the very first building of his career, the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad, realised in 1963 and it would be hard to find another commemorative work where the monumentality is so inseparable from the village analogue that underlies its clustering form. Indeed, the appearance of cattle

in its formal courtyards would hardly engender surprise.

Four Indian paradigms may be said to be the key to Correa's architectural imagination; Fatehpur Sikri, Jaisalmer, Jaipur and last, but not least, the ubiquitous maidan or green sward of the traditional Indian village. All four of course are not equally evident in every work. In the case of the Gandhi memorial, the inspiration seems to have been drawn as much from the enlightened Mughal city, founded by Akbar, as from the typical Indian village that played such a salient role in Gandhi's thought. Nevertheless in this instance, the image of the village seems dominant in as much as the surrounding earth is constantly emphasised.

"Nothing perhaps captures the essence of Correa's position so well as this succinct passage, in which he declares that one can no more be avant-gardist today than one can indulge in antiquitarianism."

Unique to Correa's thinking and integral one might say to his work is his concept of the so-called "tube-house". First formulated in 1961 for an Ahmedabad low-income housing competition in which Correa received first prize, this climatically and culturally conditioned concept was to be initially realised in his

A Western influence of primary importance in Correa's work is the cluster, matt-building, paradigm developed by ATBAT Afrique and Team X in the 50s; above all the low-rise Moroccan settlements projected and partially realised by Bodiansky, André Studer and Shadrach Woods. This influence is evident, for example, in Correa's projected Punjab Housing Complex of 1966 or in his Previ Experimental Housing, partially realised in Lima, Peru in 1973.

luxurious Ramkrishna House built in Ahmedabad, in 1964. This sectional type is so central in Correa's architecture that it merits characterising in generic terms. Basically it comprises a narrow-fronted cross-wall unit, lit from the two ends and from a broken, double-pitched roof above. The ground floor (shielded from the heat and glare by the roof) is conceived as a subtly manipulated podiumcum-patio. Discrete changes in level accommodate sitting positions in close proximity to the cold mass of the floor while cool low-level, ventilation rises off the shaded patio. This last is induced by the venturi-effect of the sloping roof, cutopen at carefully selected points in order to light the patio and ventilate the upper part of the house. This so-called "open to the sky" space is occupied by a bedroom floor which, in turn, leads to balconies, terraces and eventually to the traditional roof-top, barsati, screened by a pergola.

This hot/monsoon house-type is so central to Correa's domestic work that variations on it crop up throughout his career, irrespective of whether the commission is low-cost, low-rise cluster housing, as in the Cablenagar Township proposal of 1967, or whether it is a oneoff middle class dwelling, as in the superbly detailed Parekh House of 1966 or in the unrealised house designed for his own occupation in 1968. The Parekh and Correa Houses represent the most subtle development of the "tube-house" form, the type being rendered two narrow fronted sections situated side by side, Parekh House, or end to end as in the case of the Correa House. These adjacent sections feature a "winter" section where the upper bedrooms close over the lower volume and a "summer" section where the upper part steps back as a series of sleeping terraces covered by a barsati. A version of this winter/summer alternating principle was applied to the low-cost housing that Correa designed for the Cablenagar Township in Kota and Correa has since applied versions of the same section to densely packed public structures, such as his magnificent Kovalam Hotel, built in Kerala, near the old Kovalam Palace in 1974. The most recent incarnation of this idea may be said to be the Belapur Housing, completed in 1986, where regrettably the concept seems to have degenerated into ingenious clusters of somewhat "westernised" housing units. Little is left here of the introspective Indian form save for the elevated, external sleeping terraces. Aside from these the rhythm of the tiled, pitched roofs, the pierced fenestration and pop-out balconies recalls nothing so much as Anglo-Saxon, middle class housing estates. While the interlocking matt-layout remains (combined with a Radburn plan for the accommodation of cars) much of the earlier autochthonous rigour seems to have been sacrificed for the sake of achieving a popular image. Like Correa's Cidade de Goa Hotel (1978-82) the result is seductive to the point of being sentimental. This seems all the more unfortunate once one realises that the Belapur Housing is intended to serve as a demonstration neighbourhood type for New Bombay.

The evolution of an appropriate plan for New Bombay has been a central preoccupation in Correa's thought for almost a quarter of a century and the entire corpus of his work, as an architect, has to be set against the larger perspective of this total proposition, for Correa has been instrumental in initiating a strategy for *diverting* rather than *stemming* the global urbanisation of the Third World. One can hardly improve on Correa's succinct formulation of the scope of the problem and its potential strategic solution.

"By the year 2000, there will be almost 50 cities in the world each with over 15 million inhabitants: 40 will be in the Third World, most of these in Asia: and one of them will be Bombay. Between 1900 and 1940 Bombay's population increased marginally to about 2.8 million. By 1960 it had shot up to 4 million and today it has crossed 9 million. ... By the year 2000, these demographic changes will have begun to stabilise; what we need during the next two decades is a holding action which involves increasing employment and incomes at the village and small town level and stimulating the economic growth of middle-sized towns and cities to act as counter magnets to the big metropolis. Because both of these strategies would have a take-off period of at least 10 to 15 years, action must simultaneously be taken to restructure the existing metropolis so that they can function during this interim period while their growth rate tapers off. If the two strategies fail, it is possible that a city like Bombay will grow into a vast conurbation containing 30 to 40 million by the turn of the century. Even if they are successful there still remains the problem of making Bombay function with as many as 15 million inhabitants."

"Correa understands that the great task which confronts us all today, East and West alike, is to accept that progress has its limits, while still attempting to maintain and improve the general quality of life."

Correa's plan for New Bombay, worked out with Pravina Mehta and Shirish Patel and officially adopted in 1970 by the government of Maharashtra, involves developing the coastline lying on the mainland to the east of the Bombay peninsula and simultaneously linking this hinterland, by transit, ferries and bridges, back into the existing conurbation. In all this the salient factor is Correa's proposal for re-distributing the evergrowing migrant population over an adjacent, virgin region by creating continuous looping necklaces of low-cost settlements. The scheme proposes linking these by bus to catchment points, which, located on the rapid transit system, would provide easy access to jobs in Bombay while simultaneously opening up the entire coastal region. In this way, as Correa put it, rapid transit can be used to increase the supply of urban land commensurate with the demand.

"It is to Correa's great credit that he has situated himself on the world stage without relinquishing any of his intellectual and moral commitment to the plight of the Third World."

If one who has not lived in Bombay nor seen Correa's 1976 film documenting the urban conditions of the city, one may not be able to appreciate the magnitude of the holding operation proposed in the New Bombay plan. In this regard priority must be given to his ideas for ameliorating the desperate living conditions of the present urban population. I am alluding to Correa's proposal to modify the wider streets of the city so as to provide, on a diurnal basis, for two different classes of marginal pavement users. The first of these are the hawkers who obstruct the sidewalks during the day; the second are the low-paid office workers of the city, who sleep on the pavements at night. Correa's description of his proposal is self explanatory:

"What was proposed was a line of platforms 2 metres side and 0.6 metres high with water taps placed approximately at intervals of 30 metres.

During the day these platforms would be used by the hawkers, thus clearing the pavements and the arcades for pedestrians ... In the evening, at about sunset, the taps would be turned on and the platforms washed clean by municipal sweepers. They would then provide convenient *otlas* (platforms) for people to sleep."

That this Fuller-like "re-arrangement of the scenery" (a slogan that Correa invariably cites in support of his ideas) necessarily involves considerable reduction in the average road width and this may well explain its failure, so far, to elicit adequate support.

Correa's practice has expanded of late as we may judge by comparing the production of the last ten years to the output of the previous decade. And while the number of works realised may have remained fairly constant, the scale and importance of the commissions has grown in both size and stature. I have in mind in the first instance, the relatively large residential complexes completed in Delhi (1978) and Kerala (1982) and the residential hotel built on the Andaman Islands, in the same year; his lyrical and diminutive Bay Island Hotel, built at Port Blair for the Indian Tourist Corporation. As to this last it would be hard to find any modern, all timber building which would be capable of equalling its elegance.

In the second, one has to set in contrast to these achievements, the important public buildings that he has completed since 1975, beginning with the Crafts Museum in Delhi. Of these the most important have been the Salvacao Church built in Dadar, Bombay (1985), the Bharat Bhavan arts centre completed in Bhopal (1981), and the Kala Akademi performing arts centre realised in Panaji, Goa, in 1983. In most of these works Correa has tried to create precincts rather than buildings in an accepted sense, so that the conical concrete shells of the Salvacao Church find themselves anchored to the site by a series of outriding, flanking courtyards, while the Bharat Bhavan depends for the poetic quality of its organisation on a series of counter-changing courts and podia. Like Kevin Roche's Oakland Museum in Berkeley, California, the Bharat Bhavan has all the appearance of being a colossal earth work, reminiscent in certain aspects of the belvedere-gardens, caping the Red Fort in Agra. Here too, one surveys the panorama of a vast river from the confines of a

complex, terraced labyrinth; ascending and descending from the internal auditorium to the open-air amphitheatre situated at the water's edge.

As Correa tries to make clear in his seminal postcript "Transfers and Transformations", the Mughal civilisation is never very far away as a source of inspiration for his work. He cites the Red Forts at Agra and Delhi as typifying the perennial tendency to disaggregate architectural form in the Indian climate. Thus, we find him writing of the Mughal forts; "... the lower levels were used for defence, stores, etc., but at the top, on a terrace was constructed an elegant pattern of free-standing pavilions, placed in immaculate gardens, inlaid with fountains, canals and running water. These pavilions were differentiated as to use ... But how could such a disaggregated pattern be made visible in the cold of the northern Indian winters and the annihilating heat of the summers? The answer lies in the sunken courtyards, which give access to a lower level of rooms. In the early morning of the summer months, a velvet shamiana (canopy) was stretched over the rim of the courtyards trapping the cold overnight air in the level of the rooms. This is where the Mughal emperor spent his day. In the evening the shamiana was removed, and the emperor and his court came out on the gardens and pavilions of the terrace level. In the cold but sunny winters, this pattern was reversed: the terrace gardens being used during the day, and the lower level rooms at night".

"Disaggregation" and "alternation" are key concepts in Correa's architecture although he doesn't make specific use of the latter term. For Correa, disaggregation not only means the exfoliation of a given building programme and its accommodation in a series of dispersed pavilions and courts under the sky but it also implies a distribution (or redistribution) of such flexible physical benefits for the society at large. Thus, in his theoretical essay *The New Landscape*, published in 1985, we find him writing:

"In using open-to-sky spaces, the territorial privacy of the families is of decisive importance. For as the surrounding buildings get taller, these spaces get more and more restricted in function. A ground floor courtyard can be used by a family for many purposes, including sleeping at night. Two storeys, and you can still cook in it. Five storeys, and it is only for the children to play in. Ten storeys and it's a parking lot. The old indicators of so many metres of open space per 1000 persons are too simplistic and crude, we have to go on to disaggregate these numbers both qualitatively and quantitatively in order to anticipate their real usefulness".

"This much surely he has profoundly understood, although he has never advanced it as a general thesis, namely, that it is in the East rather than the West that the fate of man will eventually be decided."

In this instance, Correa obviously had his extensive low-rise housing experience in mind, much of it regrettably unrealised. Clearly, the principal "alternation" is a necessary corollary to the disaggregation in as much as the "open-to-skyspace" has to be used for different purposes, at different times, in different seasons. The occupation and adaptation of the physical fabric through changes in the mode of use has implications that transcend the potential aestheticism of the object, for the alternating principle tends to emphasise the tactile appropriation of space. The seasonal and even diurnal covering-in of sunken courtyards as a device for encapsulating cold air is patently an operation that involves certain bodily intimacy between the being and the built form, as is also the case in the seasonal migration of sleeping quarters during the transition between the Monsoon and the hot-dry periods. All of this, is, of course, deeply embedded in the tradition of Indian culture and it testifies to Correa's profound respect for history that these traditions should find themselves transformed and re-integrated into his work.

It is exactly this principle of "transfer" and "transformation" that accounts for the title of the theoretical postcript to which I have already referred. This is the coda, so to speak, in which Correa resumes the fundamental principles that have guided his work. It is important to note, in this regard, that except for the witty indulgence in trompe l'oeil effects and the occasional nostalgic reference, as in the bar mural in the Bombay Gymkhana, depicting the first Indian test match, Correa never resorts to historicising. By and large he abjures stylistic quotes, concentrating on the principles sedimented in the past rather than on the specific forms. Thus, he writes of his predilection for the square or nine-square system of organisation (e.g. the plan of Jaipur):

"The reference to the mandalas is not done merely in an archaeological sense - grave digging - for it also reflects contemporary sensibilities. The mandala is a timeless and universal form, in fact found in many other cultures around the globe and across history. Perhaps it is the direct outcome of something physiological in the deep structure of the human brain. Certainly, looking back at my own work, I find a reappearance again and again of the square plan (commencing with the Handloom Pavilion and the Bhavnagar Houses) and yet I hope these are also very much buildings of their time; for I believe that an architect can use the past only to the extent that he can re-interpret it; re-invent it.'

Nothing perhaps captures the essence of Correa's position so well as this succinct passage, in which he declares after Aldo Van Eyck, that one can no more be avant-gardist today than one can indulge in antiquitarianism. For Correa, as for

Van Eyck, one has to start with the timeless unchanging condition of man: that is to say, one needs to recognise that the occidental project of the Enlightenment has reached its historical dead-end. Correa understands that the great task which confronts us all today, East and West alike, is to accept that progress has its limits, while still attempting to maintain and improve the general quality of life. The problem is, of course, in what specific ways may society still be managed and developed without indulging in demagogic and reactionary political policies. It is to Correa's great credit that he has situated himself on the world stage without relinquishing any of his earlier intellectual and moral commitment to the plight of the Third World. With this publication we have to recognise not only an architect of consumate ingenuity, but also an emerging figure of the establishment; a culture-diplomat of whom one can say that despite his privileges he has never forgotten the harsh reality that faces the man in the street, particularly if that man happens to be of working-class origin and living in Bombay. But the message Correa has to convey goes well beyond this "City on the Water" for it runs out to touch the limits of the continent of the future. This much surely he has profoundly understood, although he has never advanced it as a general thesis, namely, that it is in the East rather than the West that the fate of man will eventually be decided.

Kenneth Frampton is a trained architect from the U.K. where he was once editor of Architectural Design magazine as well. Chairman of the School of Architecture at Columbia University in New York, he is one of the foremost historians and critics of modern architecture in the world today. This critical review was written specially for MIMAR.

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Article by Udo Kultermann.

Architecture in South-East Asia 4: Malaysia

This is the fourth article in a series which explores the contemporary architecture of South-East Asian nations. Malaysia is a rapidly growing country with a population of around 15 million composed of Malays, Chinese, Indians and indigenous populations in East Malaysia. This article illustrates only the works of indigenous designers and, for reasons of space, does not cover works by foreign architects although we recognise that some significant works have been omitted.



he western part of Malaysia is located to the south of the Malay Peninsula with the major cities Kuala Lumpur, the capital of the country

(around 1.4 million), Penang (500,000) and Ipoh (ca. 400,000). The eastern part of Malaysia consists of large territories on the northern coast of the island of Borneo: Sarawak and Sabah. Between the two East Malaysian territories is the oilrich Sultanate of Brunei.

The religion of the country is predominantly Islam, the official state religion. The government is based on a federation of 13 states, with the elected King serving five-year terms as head of state. Sultan Mahmood Iskandar ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Ismail is head of state, and Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Prime Minister. The history of Malaysia reaches back into pre-historic times when migrants from the north crossed through the area toward New Guinea. The neolithic peoples of the peninsula were Negritos whose descendants partly still live in upland jungles. In the Iron and Bronze Ages waves of other mongoloid peoples entered the archipelago. In the first millennium several kingdoms, such as Lankasuka near Kedah, were established on the peninsula. Located on the west coast half-way between Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, Malacca became one of the most important harbours in the 15th century for European East-Asian trade, and was used by Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch, English and Arab traders. In 1414 Malacca became one of the centres of Islam in the region. The Portuguese occupied it in 1511, and by the end of the century in 1592, the English established their base in Penang.

Regional variations of the Malay house and the long house in northern Borneo are rich treasures from early history as are the Chinese and Indian temples which add to the complexity of the Malaysian heritage.



The following centuries of colonial rule saw a wide spectrum of opposing forces until 1824 when the British separated the Malayan Peninsula from the Dutch colonial empire in Sumatra, thereby separating the cultural developments of the two areas. In 1867 the British established the Straits Settlements, which included Penang, Malacca and Singapore as a crown colony, and in 1888 Sabah and Sarawak became British Protectorates.

Colonial architecture by the Portuguese and Dutch, such as the 'Stadthuys' in Malacca from the 17th century is still in existence. British architecture continues to dominate the otherwise unimaginative cityscape of Kuala Lumpur. One such example is the impressive Sultan Abdul Samad Building, also known as the Secretariat Building, completed in 1897, and the Selangor Club which was the centre of social life around 1900. After a fire, the Selangor Club was recently rebuilt in the "original" Neo-Tudor Style. The two buildings are located on opposite sides of Jalan Raja, and the open space between them, the Padang, is the site for national celebrations. Another spectacular colonial building is the Moorish Style Kuala Lumpur Railway Station.

The British Colonial Empire was invaded by the Japanese in 1941, and in 1946 after World War II, again under British influence, a Union of Malaya, encompassing Penang and Malacca, was created, and Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak became British crown colonies. In 1963, after long and successful wars against Communist guerillas, the new Federation of Malaysia was created, including in its first phase the Sultanate of Brunei and Singapore. Singapore left the Federation in 1965, and the state of Malaysia in its present form was thus constituted. Since



ill



Above: The "Golden Triangle" the new downtown area of Kuala Lumpur, adjacent to the Race Course, was originally occupied by large colonial villas. Major redevelopment commenced in the economic boom years of the 1970s. Photograph: U. Kultermann.

Left: The central area with its main north-south axis, Jalan Sultan Ismail. Source: K.L.'s Golden Triangle, Kasi, Gurstein & Dale, eds. PAM, 1985. Left, below: The Selangor Club of 1890. Photographs: U. Kultermann.

Left, bottom: Colonial architecture; Kuala Lumpur Railway Station built by the British engineer A.B. Hubbock in 1900. It was recently assigned the status of a National Monument.

1983 a new Federal Twin Capital has been in the planning phase between Kuala Lumpur and Kuantan after the design of the Japanese architect Kenzo Tange. A projected east-west urban axis will be part of the development and is intended to encourage the further inland exploration of the total country which otherwise was predominantly centred along the western coast line.

To a large extent today's practising architects in Malaysia had their professional education abroad. The most frequented architectural schools were in England, to a lesser degree in Australia, USA and Hongkong. There are close ties with the architectural profession in Singapore, demonstrated especially in the works of Chinese architects such as William Lim and Alfred Wong, the former with hotels and shopping centres (his recently completed Central Market in Kuala Lumpur of 1986 with Chen Voon Fee is one of the most significant buildings in the country), the latter with large hotel and office complexes in Kuala Lumpur (such as the Ming Court Hotel of 1984). Today Malaysia has centres of architectural education in the Institut Teknologi MARA, Shah Alam, and the Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, in Johore Bahru, and in the University in Penang.

The profession of architects in Malaysia is represented by the LAM (Lembaga Akitek Malaysia), the Board of





Left: Merlin Hotel in Johore Bahru, 1982. Architects: DP Architects and William Lim. Photograph courtesy of the architects. Above: Central Market, Kuala Lumpur, is a case study in the adaptive reuse of

Above: Certral Market, Khald Lumpur, is a case study in the adaptive reuse of an older building. Work was completed in 1986. Architects: Chen Voon Fee, William Lim and Carl Larson. Photograph: John Brunton.

Below: Ming Court Hotel, Kuala Lumpur. Architects: Alfred Wong Partnership. Photograph courtesy of the architects.





Left: Negri Sembilan State Mosque in Seremban, 1967. Architects: Jurubina Bertiga International Sdn. in succession to Malayan Architects Co-Partnership. Photograph courtesy of the architects. Above: Sabah State Mosque in Kota Kinabalu, East Malaysia, 1976. Architects: Jurubina Bertiga International Sdn. Photograph courtesy of the architects.

Architects, founded in 1920 and reorganised in 1948 and the PAM (Pertubuhan Akitek Malaysia), the Malaysian Institute of Architects, founded in 1967. Both institutions see it as their goal not only to organise the professional architects of the country, but also to promote education, conduct competitions, advise government agencies and arrange affiliations with professional organisations in other countries. PAM had a membership of 855 in 1984.

The situation of contemporary architecture in Malaysia exists between the extremes of an adaptation of advanced international architecture on one side and the conscious revitalisation of traditional Malay architecture on the other. Most significant are those attempts which try to create a contemporary synthesis of the two. It is a basic misconception to think that there is a contradiction between the two equally necessary elements: adherence to tradition and adjustment to changed requirements.

n comparing the various and multifaceted groups of architects practising today in Malaysia ---- and this analysis will concentrate only on the Malaysian architects, leaving the often significant contributions of foreigners aside - a clear distinction can be made in regard to the varying approaches toward this synthesis of regional vernacular and modern international concepts. The older generation is demonstratively more engaged in an architectural language which can also be seen in other parts of the world, only adjusted by means of formal or decorative details.

The firm Jurubina Bertiga Interna-

tional Sdn., fundamental in the formation of the new architecture in Singapore under the original name of Architects Team 3 and subsequently Team 3 International, is active in Malaysia. The firm was established by Dato' Baharuddin Abu Kassim, Lim Chin See and Datuk Lim Chong Keat in 1967 with main offices in Petaling Jaya and Singapore and additional branch offices in Penang, Kota Kinabalu and Johore Bahru. Dominated by the philosophy of Datuk Lim Chong Keat (born 1930), the firm is engaged in urban renewal, religious architecture and public and educational buildings.

Among the most spectacular works of the firm are the Negeri Sembilan State Mosque in Seremban in West Malaysia, built between 1963 and 1967, the mosque in Petaling Jaya of ca. 1975 and the Sabah State Mosque in Kota Kinabalu of 1971-1976. While the two mosques in West Malaysia are in the architectural language of modern architecture with shell domes and concrete conoids, the State Mosque in Kota Kinabalu in Sabah on the northern coast of Borneo openly demonstrates Islamic tradition. Specifically, the dominating onion-shaped dome of concrete and stainless steel panels ornamented with white and gold mosaics indicates the development of the firm by its attempt to accommodate religious and traditional elements in the context of a modern architectural technology. The question remains open in which way this programmatic traditionalism is in line with the regional character of the country and how it can be applied to residential requirements of the Malay heritage.

In the most prestigious work of the firm, the Tun Abdul Razak Complex (Komtar) in Penang, the problematics of a harmonious relationship between the traditional urban fabric of the old city and the new commercial requirements are even more exposed. The project consists of a 47-storey tower and adjacent subsidiary facilities integrating administration, shopping and residential functions. Built in phases, Phase One A was opened for business in 1976. The project fundamentally transformed the centre of Penang into a modern commercial and administrative complex which has little to do with the beautiful surroundings of the traditional town.

The dichotomies of old and new, regional and international, are obvious and. as in all other countries, basically unsolved. While Datuk Lim is programmatically involved in the documentation and preservation of the traditional architecture of the region, as exemplarily manifested in his research programme with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and his fascinating collection of peasant paintings from Penestanan and Bali, this is not necessarily visible in his buildings. The fact remains that the old heritage continues to disappear at an alarming rate, often caused by the well-intended introduction of modern technology. It is an irony that the pioneers of new architectural tendencies reinforce the destruction of their cultural basis. What is desperately needed is the amalgamation of old and new, which is as difficult to achieve as it is necessary.

Other leading Malaysian architects face a problem similar to Datuk Lim Chong Keat's, although it is manifested in various ways. Hijjas bin Kasturi (born 1936) built large bank complexes and high-rise skyscrapers such as the Tabung Haj Tower in Kuala Lumpur in 1980, the



Above: Hilton Hotel, Kuala Lumpur. Built in the international style with a "Malay entrance" to create an ambience. Architect: Kington Loo. Right, above: Lai Lok Kun's Hexagon House, Kuala Lumpur, 1969: A geometric experiment. Right: Condominiums in Kuala Lumpur, 1980;

two storeyed buildings surrounding a landscaped court. Architect: Lai Lok Kun. Photographs: U. Kultermann.

centre of the architectural debate in recent years. In accordance with official aspirations the urbanistically dominating tower uses the skeletal construction system of modern high-rise structures and an ornamental decoration which, assumedly, give the building its regional or Islamic meaning. Financed by the institution managing the Mekkah pilgrimage of Malay Muslims, the Tabung Haj Tower, for example, with its five strongly emphasised ventilation shafts, was associated with the Five Pillars of Islam. This intended symbolism is unconvincing.

In his most recent and prominent project for the Shariah Court in Kuching of 1982 Kasturi continues to associate formal analogies of an assumed Islamic tradition to a contemporary structure. The cantilevered 7-storey building is designed in the image of a monumental courtyard house. But, as in his high-rise tower in Kuala Lumpur, Kasturi interprets tradition on the level of formal details.

The work of the architect Kington Loo (born 1930) has a similar character. His Hilton Hotel in Kuala Lumpur is a demonstration of an official international concept with details which are intended to harmonise with the local tradition. The result is, that while entrance gates and decorative screens are in the Malayan craft tradition, the building itself remains



in the international idiom, which, with the application of regionally different decorative motifs, could easily be built in any other city of the world. The Malaysian Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad clearly articulated this basic misunderstanding: "There is no reason why a skyscraper should not have a roof which reflects our national identity. Many elements of Malaysian art can be incorporated into any modern building". The fact that this attitude is reflected in many of the buildings of the older and now official generation of Malaysian architects shows that they did not come to grips with the inherent problem that forms are only the result of solving generic problems; they can never express the "cultural identity" of a people.

Still belonging to the same generation of these founders of contemporary Malaysian architecture but going in a different direction is the architect Lai Lok Kun (born 1934). His buildings can be seen as a bridge between the official architects and the new generation, which tries a different approach to solve the inherent problem. In his Hexagon House of 1969 in Kuala Lumpur, Lai experimented with geometrical shapes which are reminiscent of works by Buckminster Fuller and Western architects of the younger generation. A student of the German architect and architectural historian Julius Posener, who taught for several years in Kuala Lumpur, Lai became familiar with the necessity of housing. In his Hexagon House he applied technological means which in their geometrical limitations and their industrial calculations move him away from the regional heritage.

Other steps taken by Lai to resolve the problem of contemporary housing in his country can be seen in his traditionallyoriented prototype for a timber house of 1978, in which a serious attempt was made to translate the old Malay house into a contemporary typology. Raised on stilts and built with timber, this house was designed as a prototype for an exhibition in 1978 and could have been the starting point of a contemporary vernacular. Unfortunately, it was never developed further, nor was it accepted by the public.

More recent developments of Lai Lok Kun were devoted to the design of condominiums, for example those in Kuala Lumpur of 1980 and 1983, consisting of 27 apartments of varying sizes and re-



creational facilities. While the turn toward a version of modern international architecture is visible in both of these works, the difficult problem of a contemporary Malay architecture remains unsolved.

The architect Ruslan Khalid (born 1933) is programmatically and theoretically involved in the bridging of old and new in the establishment of a contemporary Malaysian architecture. Active both in the study of the traditional Malay house and in the solving of contemporary tasks, he wrote in Habitat Pakistan (V.1 N.1, 1986): "I am acutely aware that I am operating in a Malaysian scene with all its traditions and values. I am particularly conscious of the behaviour of people of various races and backgrounds. My buildings are designed to 'accommodate' this. When I design any office, I look not in terms of how Malaysian the office would be but how effective the building could be in terms of a working environment. My buildings are also designed to respond to the climatic dictates. I hope my honesty of approach will give the Malaysian identity that we are all looking for.

Ruslan Khalid spent twelve years in England before he returned to Malaysia,

where he has since been involved in the design of a shopping centre in Kota Kinabalu, in the International Primary School in Labuan (1984-1985) and in various housing projects in which increasingly the spirit of the tradition generates the design. In spite of the fact that contemporary building materials and construction methods are employed, the attempt is made to continue the local tradition and give it a new and unique articulation.

The earlier mentioned distinctions between the two major generations of contemporary Malaysian architecture, those born around 1930 and those born around 1950, are focused on this problem: to face or not to face the necessity of dealing with both, tradition and contemporary needs in the same work. The older generation of architects, such as Lim Chong Keat, Kington Loo, Hijjas Kasturi and even Lai Lok Kun and Ruslan Khalid, the latter two attempted to bridge the gap, have been unable to do so in spite of their important contributions toward the formation of a contemporary Malaysian architecture. It is significant that among the members of PAM are two prominent female architects in Malaysia: Fawizah bte Haji Kamal and Ong Suan Huak. FawiAbove, left: The architect's own house, Kuala Lumpur, 1984, by Ken Yeang. Section and interior court view: articulating typological and climatic requirements, dealing with heat and sun radiation as well as with ventilation and cooling devices. Above: Plaza Atrium, Kuala Lumpur, 1983. Architects: Ken Yeang and Tengku Robert Hamzah. Photographs courtesy of the architect.

zah Kamal's project for an Islamic Centre in Penang is one of the most promising examples of a contemporary Malaysian architecture.

The younger generation, on the other hand, can be seen under new perspectives. They deal with a problem which no longer can be avoided and to which they bring many alternative solutions. The leading architects of this younger generation are Ken Yeang, David Teh, Haji Hajeedar bin Haji Abdul Majid, Jim Ting, Laurence Loh, Lim Yuen Khiang and Jimmy Lim Cheok Siang. Their approach is multi-directional, and even though their solutions differ, they all share the recognition of the necessity to basically re-think the relationship between the regional traditions and the contemporary architectural requirements. In addition most of these architects are intimately aware of the heritage of old buildings in Malaysia; but they not only study them theoretically, they integrate the new knowledge in the complex creative process of their work.

One of the most articulate and prominent architects in Malaysia today is Ken Yeang (born 1948), who is actively involved in the professional activities of PAM as well as in the research of a regional architectural typology which he explored in his recent book *The Tropical Verandah City. Some Urban Design Ideas for Kuala Lumpur* (Kuala Lumpur, 1986). Not only does Yeang focus on urban issues, which is the necessary basis for all architectural endeavours, he also uses his theoretical results in contemporary applications. In his house in Kuala Lumpur of 1984, Yeang demonstrated one possi-

Below: Downtown Condominiums, Kuala Lumpur, 1984. Architects: Pakatan Reka (David Teh). Photograph courtesy of the architect.

Bottom: Abu Bakar Mosque, Bangsar, Kuala Lumpur, 1982: Borrowing Ottoman imagery and using it with contemporary structural possibilities. Architects: Hajeedar dan Rakan Rakan. Photograph courtesy of the architects.

Right, below: Subang View Hotel, 1980. Architects: Hajeedar dan Rakan Rakan. Photograph courtesy of the architects. bility of how the traditional climatic and typological requirements could be articulated in a contemporary house, combining lessons from the Malay house as well as solutions from colonial English architecture. Yeang does not merely apply decorative elements from the past, he translates traditional typology into a contemporary architectural solution. What Yeang's house and the old Malay house have in common is the concept of an umbrella covering the living space.

In two new works, the Plaza Atrium in Kuala Lumpur (1983) and the IBM Plaza, Ken Yeang and his partner Tengku Robert Hamzah applied the same umbrella principle to high-rise buildings. The Plaza Atrium is part of the redevelopment area of the so-called Golden Triangle in the central commercial area of Kuala Lumpur. It also tries to make the climatic conditions the architectural focal point by interrelating the external conditions to the interior functions of the building. The dominant feature of the complex is an open atrium which allows the hot air to enter the central court of the building.

As indicated in his book, Yeang proposes to apply the findings from his historical studies as an urban organising principle: "This organising principle can be applied by the establishing of an overall pattern of verandahways over the precincts of Kuala Lumpur city. These can be part of the existing fabric or adapted to specific site conditions. They can be laid to premarked patterns without inconveniencing the existing building configurations. Alternatively, renovation and rehabilitation work can employ a new facade of variant verandahways to achieve optimum effect".

Comparable with the most significant attempts of Ken Yeang are those by the firm Pakatan Reka and its designing architect David Teh (born 1949). Teh also concentrates on those building types which represent the economical situation in Kuala Lumpur of today, predominantly high-rise office buildings and condominiums, and, as Yeang, he also attempts to adjust these newly created types to the regional tradition. If some of Teh's large-scale office projects, such as the DG Building and the Nagaria Commercial Centre Complex both in Kuala Lumpur, remain within the limits of commercial architecture of other countries, Teh's Downtown Condominiums





Right: Timber House, 1977. Originally designed as a prototype house in Kuala Lumpur, it was dismantled and reconstructed in Kuantan, 288 km east of the capital. Architect: Haji Hajeedar. Drawings courtesy of the architect.

Right, below: Khor Residence, Petaling Jaya, 1984. Architects: Dimensa. Photograph: Jim Ting.

in Kuala Lumpur of 1984 offer a genuine transformation in harmony with climate and clients' wishes. The modern appearance of the structure was consciously delineated. The two top floors have semienclosed double-volumed landscaped terraces as well as two projecting 'glass houses'. Landscaping is introduced both inside and outside of the building, and the entrance area has in-between spaces which, as the recreational floor, are a contemporary reminder of Malay architectural principles. In this building Teh provides a contemporary architecture with imagination, fantasy, originality and basic respect for the traditional limitations in regard to climate control and regional living patterns.

A completely different approach than that of Ken Yeang and David Teh is taken by the architect Haji Hajeedar bin Haji Abdul Majid (born 1945). His work includes hotel buildings, residential architecture and mosques to which he gives a coherent articulation in harmony with the cultural Malaysian tradition. While Yeang's and Teh's work derive from the contemporary architectural vocabulary, Hajeedar's work re-emphasises the images of traditional building types. In collaboration with Syed Hassan bin Syed Zahiruddin (born 1950) and Kamarudzaman bin Mat Rejab (born 1956) Hajeedar's firm's major contributions are in line with the present shift from an internationally oriented Malaysian architectural concept to a more regionally oriented Islamic dominated architecture. especially demonstrated in several new mosques. Among these mosques the Abu Bakar Mosque in Kuala Lumpur (1980-1982) is an outstanding example of a programmatically traditional image, more in harmony with the domed Ottoman mosques than with the local Malay manifestations of the type. While the hotel buildings of the firm, especially the Subang View Hotel in Petaling Java of 1982, adhere to a more modern language, a large number of works are also dedicated to residential buildings and to restoration and rehabilitation. Among Hajeedar's houses are his own residence in Kuala Lumpur of 1982 as well as a house



in Kuala Lumpur of 1977 in which he uses timber in harmony with Malay traditions, but without imitating the forms of the Malay house. He explains the design concept in this house "features ... traditional and modern elements to portray the flexibility of use of timber as a building material". After its original construction in Kuala Lumpur the house was dismantled and reconstructed in Kuantan, 288 km east of the capital.



he youngest generation of Malaysian architects continues its efforts to bridge the gap between tradition and modern life. Those architects dw made pioneering con

who have already made pioneering contributions toward this goal are Jim Ting and Shahoun bin Dato Haround of the firm Dimensa; Jimmy Lim; Laurence Loh; and Lim Yuen Khiang all demonstrate, with professional skill, their individual options for a contemporary Malaysian architecture.

The firm Dimensa excelled with exciting individual houses like the Khor Residence in Petaling Jaya of 1984, which with its sequence of curved elements relates the living space to the landscape. In a project for condominiums of 1984 in Port Dickson, a highly imaginative complex is envisioned with terraces and environmental qualities reminiscent of the concept of old architectural spaces, but here re-articulated in a completely contemporary language.

Lim Yuen Khiang (born 1958) proposed in his Innercity Housing of 1982-1983 a realistic concept for the continuation of the urban tradition of Malaysian architecture. The design is derived (in the architect's interpretation) from "analysis of the urban morphology in terms of movement, built forms, urban spaces, and geographical terrain". Following the tradition of Chinatown and the old Chinese shophouses in Kuala Lumpur the project advocates in a theoretical attempt a continuation of types established in the past that succeeded in the shaping of the urban reality. Khiang's proposal, which was his student thesis, can be seen as a model for the urban morphology of Kuala Lumpur.

The projects of Laurence Loh (born 1950), for example his shopping centre and swimming club, are also directed toward the urban reality of the city of Penang. They can be read as an alternative to the commercial city centre by Datuk Lim and the Jurubena Bertiga with its dominating central tower. Both his swimming club and his shopping centre are devoted to an amalgamation of local, foreign and colonial elements, which only in their synthesis can create





acceptable results. The two are projects only, but serve as alternative models for a rethinking process of how a contemporary Malaysian city can be achieved.

A possible synthesis of traditions from different directions can also be seen in a house by Jimmy Lim Cheok Siang (born 1944) in Kuala Lumpur. It was given the PAM House Award in 1984 and demonstrates the present situation and goals of young Malaysian architects. The house is in traditional timber and uses natural ventilation similar to that in the old Chinese and Malay houses. As a result of his education in Australia, as well as his background, the young Chinese architect combined traditions of the Malay house, the Chinese house (with its inherent cosmological connotations) and the American tradition of Frank Lloyd Wright, thereby achieving a new unity. As the architect stated in 1984: "The architectural expression for this house has many traditional elements and also traditional control and use of space. Western ideas are infused in the traditional life-style, and the result is a pleasant resolution for tropical living". And in an interview in The Malay Mail (August 16, 1984) the architect responded to a question: "For me, the structure must blend with the environment to take full advantage of what nature has to offer. That's why I designed the roof in such a way that it acts as a wind-trap to ventilate the interior".

It is significant that the energies of young Malaysian architects are devoted to residential and urban tasks. In addition they have overcome the false alternative between tradition and modernity in a realistic way. There is in fact no onesided solution; there are always several sides: whether it be past and present, private and public or other combinations thereof — it is the result which counts and how these necessary opposites are transcended into a new unity, a new organic whole. It is in this regard that the development of contemporary architecture in Malaysia, often described as chaotic, offers hope for the future. The young Malaysian architects are fully capable to solve their own problems and to contribute to a regional civilisation in which each area and each individual architect creates on the basis of their own capacity.

Left: Project by Lim Yuen Khiang.

Left, below: House in Kuala Lumpur by Jimmy Lim Cheok Siang, was given the PAM House Award in 1984. It combines various traditions — Malay, Chinese, American — to form a harmonious whole. Photograph courtesy of the architect.



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ISTANBUL

IN THE SERIES OF SUPPLEMENTS TO THE BULLE-TIN DEDICATED TO GREAT CITIES OF THE WORLD, THE GUIDE IS THE FRUIT OF A COLLABORATION BETWEEN FOUR AUTHORS WHO HAVE PARTICI-PATED IN VARIOUS WAYS FOR FOUR YEARS IN THE TURKISH WORKSHOP OF THE CEAA "ORIENTAL CITIES PROGRAM": ALAIN BORIE AND PIERRE PINON, TWO ARCHITECTS, ARE TEACHERS AT THE PARIS-LA DÉFENSE ARCHITECTURAL SCHOOL AND RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TURKEY WORKSHOP; STEPHANE YERASIMOS, BORN IN ISTANBUL, IS AN ARCHITECT, GRADUATED IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY (THESIS ON "THE TRAVELLERS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 14TH-16TH CENTURY") AND TEACHES AT THE PARIS SAINT-DENIS UNI-VERSITY; ATTILA YÜCEL IS AN ARCHITECT AND TEACHES AT THE TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY IN ISTANBUL. --- GW. Q.

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Panoramic view from Galata around 1580.

Istanbul, city of surprises: perhaps the only description upon which all, past and present, can agree. It was the capital of two successive empires spanning sixteen centuries; yet a mere half-century after its dispossession in Ankara's favour, it has the characteristic feel of thirdworld cities with its soaring population (from one to six millions in the space of thirty years), its sprawling suburbs, and its poverty-belt. The symbol of a mythical Orient, it bewilders the traveller in search of dazzling whiteness and sub-tropical vegetation; he finds instead oppressive autumn mists and icy winter breezes. His first brush with Istanbul necessarily leaves all preconceived ideas in tatters; what follows is, however, a personal affair between him and the city. Istanbul was initially a peninsular settlement upon the arid, windswept promontory separating the Golden Horn from the Sea of Marmara. From this point it controlled navigation on the Bosphorus --- a sound that formed when an old riverbed collapsed, linking the Black Sea to the north and the warm waters to the south, and bringing amber from the Great North, furs from Russia and silks from China. From here it also surveyed the movements of trade between Europe and Asia, from the mythical passing of cattle ("Bosphorus" means "oxen-ford" in Greek) and the all-too-real invading hordes, to the juggernauts that now trundle across the new bridge.

Istanbul has always been a watershed for overland and maritime traffic, and was an obvious centre for empires that overran the Balkans, Anatolia, the shores of the Black Sea and those of the eastern Mediterranean.

The city did not in fact outgrow its original site until little more than a century ago. Paradoxically, it has not spread inland since then; rather, it has annexed first the Golden Horn, then the Bosphorus itself. The agglomeration as we know it today stretches out along the seacoast for tens of kilometres. Initially built around a promontory and a seashore, it has become a linear city split into disparate elements with its interminable coastal façades, some of which face each other, structured by interminable avenues.

The city of Narcissus, Istanbul peers at its own reflection, and forever fixes its gaze on the sea. Since the 16th century countless panoramic engravings have celebrated its fabulous skyline, now a picture-postcard commonplace.

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The drawn-out agglomeration, together with its large-scale internal divisions, contributes to a lengthening of its inland itineraries, and favours maritime traffic, which is still dense. But the city is fragmented even on a small scale, at the level of its urban tissue. Although never attaining any great height the undulating relief, with its steep slopes and abrupt breaks in the terrain, isolates the districts from each other. For like its mother-city, Rome, Istanbul was to cover seven hills (in fact six prominences fanning out from a central ridge punctuated with thalwegs facing the Bosphorus, together with one true hill facing the Sea of Marmara).

Here the city has defied the passage of time, but also a succession of great rulers who found it easier to rule the world than to pacify their capital. Away from the major thoroughfares and centres of prestige, the maze of streets and residential quarters has maintained its autonomy and protected its inhabitants against the incursions of authority.

The heirs of the Byzantine avenues and churches were the Ottoman $k\ddot{u}lliye^1$, blocks constructed after fires, but these occasional modifications were mere accidents when compared to the avenues that were carved out at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, a period that marks the beginnings of Haussmannian transformations which the city is still undergoing; there is even the threat of renewed radical change after a period of calm during which the city failed to modify its conceptions of urban planning.

Nonetheless, the outline made up of ancient columns, Byzantine cupolas and minarets has partly survived owing to regulations that for once protect rather than destroy.

Of this continuous and chaotic story of a city now overflowing its boundaries, now shrunk within voluminous walled fortifications, not all can be told. Certain moments and themes stand out, and mark the setting up, and the undoing, of certain structures; processes revealing the city's originality can be discovered; architectural feats hitherto despised or ignored — having been judged impure or decadent — can be refound. Many guides neglect the city's neoclassical monuments and *art nouveau* masterpieces — and even pass some smaller mosques built by great architects in silence.

The history of the city, though still largely incomplete, will serve to guide us through the districts and the architectures of Istanbul.

(1) Cf. glossary (Turkish words that are not translated in the text or mentioned more than once appear in the glossary).

Chronology In Brief

7th century BC: Byzantium founded

11th May, 330 AD: Constantinople founded by

Constantine the Great

- 395: splitting of the Roman Empire 413: city-walls built
- 548: Saint Sophia completed
- 1204: the crusaders capture Constantinople

1453: Constantinople taken by the Turks

1556: the Süleymaniye built

1616: construction of the Blue Mosque

1839: beginnings of the westernisation of the Ottoman Empire

1855: the palace at Dolmabahce built

1918-22: end of the Ottoman Empire and foundation of

the Republic

1923: the capital moved to Ankara



BYZANTIUM **FROM ANTIQUITY** TO THE MIDDLE AGES

(4th-15th Centuries AD)

THE NEW ROME

There are several Byzantiums. First, there is the city of the Byzantines themselves (in fact they called themselves Romans, whence the Turkish Rumi), inhabiting a city whose origins and monuments they only dimly understood. Then there is the Byzantium of foreign travellers, who saw as the greatest Christian city, and who wondered at its riches. There is the Byzantium of the Ottoman conquerors who appropriated its prestige, and who transformed the city without destroying it. And there is the city of archaeologists and tourists: a fabric of churches reclothed as mosques, mosaics, rare vestiges of all that makes a city (houses, civic buildings, streets ...). This diversity, in which the objective elements of knowledge do not always prevail, precludes a simplistic view of the city, whose complexity and ruin seduce us. Ostensibly a mere concatenation of old churches, its appeal is more than that of schoolboys' history classes. The variety of images to which it gives form means that we cannot restrict ourselves to its evocation through a sort of inventory of the archaeological vestiges and traces ---- whether material or no (traces of avenues, activity-sectors) --- that survive in its present-day topography.

Owing to the speed with which it was built (its limits and internal structure were fixed by the 5th century), and the equal rapidity with which the significance of its monuments (usages, inscriptions) was forgotten, Constantinople quickly acquired a strong imaginative dimension: it was a mental construct forged by the Byzantines themselves. There existed a whole literature of patria (guides that interpreted the monuments rather than describing them) designed to decipher the columns, basreliefs and pagan statues then scattered over the city's immensity. These guides, together with the accounts of bedazzled travellers, furnish us with the only coherent, if somewhat







▼ Interior of the Saint Sophia Church (photo A.B.). Walled fortifications by the Golden Horn (photo P.P.).A



unreal, view of Constantinople.

At the beginning of the 13th century for example, the crusader Robert de Clari understood the historiated columns of Arcadius (on the Xeropholos) and Theodosius to presage "through prophesy all the adventures and conquests that Constantinople has known and will ever know". The "description of the building of the Temple of the Great Church of God, called Saint Sophia" (11th century) first shows Constantine (in fact his son Constantine II) building the initial Saint Sophia, then Justinian (who built the existing edifice) receiving the plans of the church "in a dream" from an angel of the Lord, and taking "in his own hands the mixture of lime and slate which he then 'threw' into foundations before the sight of all". A source of all these legends, the birth of Constantinople is the most ambiguous of events. The way Byzantine historians treat it is significant: they visualised a blank before Constantine's foundation of Byzantium on 11th May AD 330, whereas we know from historical sources that the city was in fact founded by colonialists from Megara in Greece during the 7th century BC, that it had been a prosperous city, that Septimus Severus had, at the end of the 2nd century AD, constructed a hippodrome whose general shape and vestiges are still perfectly visible, and the baths of Zeuxippe, which were still in use five centuries later.

Having decided to make Byzantium his capital, Constantine undertook great works there from 325 AD:

-- city-walls (there is neither certain nor datable evidence of earlier fortifications);

— a centre: the forum built near the main exit of the Roman city, the porphyry column (now called Çemberlitaş, and restored by Constantine Porphyrogenitos, from whom it took its name), two porticoed avenues crossing at right angles beneath a tetrapyle (the east-west axis is the Mèsé located beneath what is now the Divanyolu, and the north-south thoroughfare is assumed to lie beneath Uzunçarşi Caddesı); — an imperial palace (beneath the Blue Mosque).

For the execution of these projects Constantine mobilised large numbers of labourers under the direction of the chief architect Euphratas. Thus the new Rome was formed; yet it did not become a capital as such until the death of Theodosius I and the break-up of the empire. The project appears nonetheless to have been formidably successful. In AD 393, Theodosius inaugurated his forum (the Forum Tauri), and in 403 Arcadius built another to the west, on what is now the Mèsé. Theodosius II pushed back the city-walls (his are the walls that we can see today between Fener and Yedikule; they were completed during the 5th century and restored under the Ottomans), but the space between the two boundaries (Constantine's walls are well preserved) was never really urbanised. It is, moreover, remarkable that the extensions imposed by Theodosius I, Arcadius and Theodosius II, which are so readily perceived in the successive city-walls and the three forums, never led to any real displacement of the centre toward the west. When the city underwent a new phase of expansion in the 19th and 20th centuries, it was significantly toward the north and east, beyond the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus.

The Byzantine religious foundations prior to Justinian were beautiful but few in number, for example, The Church of the Holy Apostles (on the site of the Fatih mosque) and Saint Irene, a remarkable example of the palaeo-Christian basilica type already in use in Rome. The out-



Interior of the Saint Serge and Bacchus Church (Küçük Aya Sofya) (photo A.B.).



Plan of Saint Sophia (by W. Müller Wiener). A Plan of Constantinople called "Effigies", late 15th century.



lines — both literal and figurative — of the religious capital emerged later, above all when Anthémios de Tralles and Isidore de Millet reconstructed Saint Sophia for Justinian (although completed by 548, the great dome collapsed during an earthquake in 559, and was rebuilt by Isidore the younger).

The structure of the Byzantine city was thus in place by the 5th century with the completion of the grand works of Theodosius I and his early successors. The great avenues had been opened up along the ridges and lined with monuments. The churches followed, and were in their turn replaced by the great imperial mosques of the Ottomans, which still mark the lines of force of the original site. H. Prost's "Master Plan", carried out in the years following the 2nd World War, merely expressed these lines of force in terms of urban expressways.

During the last centuries of the Byzantine empire, the city continued to reflect this overall scheme. But although there was no political rupture (for the Byzantine empire is simply the extension of its Roman counterpart), and despite a continuity not granted to the West, a profound cultural break occurred in the 6th and 7th centuries — a break which found particular expression in the public buildings of the period. As in the case of the mediaeval city, there was an impoverishment of architectural typologies. Baths and theatres fell to ruin and lost all significance. The churches, however, remained.

The problem of the survival of Byzantium of its buildings and of its ideas — is doubly posed in the case of Saint Sophia. It was the first of a number of churches that were transformed into mosques. Mehmet II prayed there on the evening following the fall of Constantinople on 29th May, 1453. As with Saint Serge and Bacchus (Küçük Aya Sofya) or Saint Andrew's (Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii), the addition of a minaret and a frontal portico makes immediate identification problematic; once inside, the main problem stems from the disparity between architecture and furnishings (minbar, mihrab), and above all the carpets oriented toward Mecca.

Paradoxically moreover, the only Byzantine churches to have survived are those that were immediately transformed into mosques whose upkeep was thus assured, whereas those that remained in the hands of the Greeks were demolished and rebuilt by them in the nineteenth century, when they finally obtained permission to renovate buildings that had deteriorated over the centuries.

The veil that covers Byzantium also lifts to reveal occasional palaces, of which there remain imposing walled defences in picturesque districts the Palace of the Blachernes, of Constantine Porphyrogenitos, of Bucoleon), or subterranean reservoirs (Binbirdirek) and those above ground, such as the Aspar Reservoir, which has unfortunately been cleared of the gardens and wooden houses that in poetic fashion occupied its bed.

But the Byzantine legacy also includes the Ottoman architectural model of the mosque. Although they did not imitate, the Ottomans found in the churches of Constantinople a direct challenge to their ingenuity. In particular, Saint Sophia was explicitly chosen by Suleyman the Magnificent and his architect Sinan as the model against which the Suleymaniye mosque was to be measured. The Ottomans' discovery of Saint Sophia marks the beginnings of a sort of architectural Renaissance that is not dissimilar to the Italian Renaissance architects' discovery of the monuments of ancient Rome.

THE CLASSIC OTTOMAN CITY

(15th-18th Centuries)

STONE MONUMENTS/ WOODEN HOUSES

THE CONQUEST AND RESETTLEMENT OF THE CITY

A city of several hundred thousand inhabitants (and, during the 12th century, perhaps even one million), Constantinople housed a mere forty to fifty thousand by the outset of the 15th century. Fearful of Turkish naval incursions, the population regrouped along the Golden Horn, access to which was barred by a chain; at the same time, fields and orchards stretched out inland on either side of the stream of Lycus.

Its transformation, after the conquest (1453), into the capital of a new empire — that of the Turks — lasted approximately a century. Although the city's past and the heroic nature of the conquest finally ensured its role of capital, the decision does not appear to have been taken immediately, nor without clashes. The chronicles of the period are filled with allusions that have always proved resistant to precise interpretation: was there conflict between the different power-components, or fear of the Apocalypse, which both Christians and Muslims thought to be the inevitable outcome of the city's fall? Indecision reigned for more than a century; yet since almost all the inhabitants had fled or been reduced to slavery, the city had to be reconstituted.

An initial call for resettlement had no effect, and the conquering Sultan, Mehmet II, resorted to force. This was much resented by his contemporaries, above all since the sovereign retained ownership of the land and considered deportees to be tenants. To counter the ill-will of the settlers, who fled at every opportunity, the authorities began to grant ownershiprights, only to rescind them some years later on the pretext that the settlement of the city gave rise to disorderly conduct. Finally, Mehmet II appears to have granted definitive rights to a few important figures --- the founders of districts and pioneers of resettlement --- and bequeathed the rest to the great vakif (pious foundation) founded in his name for the benefit of Saint Sophia and his own mosque (Fatih).

Until the following century, the city was thus essentially resettled through deportation. Each new military campaign brought its share of forced settlers, both Christian and Muslim, from Belgrade, Morea, Trabzon, Caffa or Karaman, who moved into districts that bore the names of their countries of origin. Giovan Maria Angiolello, a young Venetian who had been taken prisoner at the siege of Negroponte in 1470 and brought to the palace of Istanbul as a page, recounts that each district had its own language, and that no one district could communicate with another. Only at the outset of the 16th century did the deportations become more selective. Selim I had the finest craftsmen of Tabriz deported in 1514, and in 1517 a choice sample of artists and men of letters were brought to the city from Cairo.

Apart from hints found in the chronicles and toponymic references found in the different districts of Istanbul, one other element enables us to grasp the logic behind the social topography of the resettlement of the city. The existence of one hundred and sixty mosques, both large and small, on the Golden Horn ---whether inside the city-wall or between it and the sea - can be pinpointed or at least discerned at the end of Mehmet II's reign in the early 1480s. These mosques, built on lands ceded by the sovereign to the settlers, are for the most part the centres of districts as much as the nuclei of the vakif. Their density, and the social standing of the founders, furnish precious information as to the nature and modalities of the resettlement. On the main thoroughfare --- inherited from the Byzantines --- leading from Saint Sophia to the Andrinopolis Gate, we find the first imperial mosques built by Mehmet II and Bayezit II, but also the mint (Darphane), the janissalies' barracks (Eski Odalar) and the armament and saddlery bazaar (Saraçhane) nearby. The founders of mosques and districts on and around this axis were dignitaries of the court.

The traders, guildsmen and a few representatives of the religious orders founded no less than twenty-five mosques in the zone between the Grand Bazaar and the Golden Horn, which has remained the heart of commercial activities to this day. The most important religious figures settled on either side of the Valens aqueduct, on the flanks of the valleys descending to the Golden Horn or at Marmara, whilst lesser lights chose the environs of the Fatih mosque, where the first seminaries were built. It is here that we find the traditionalist — even fundamentalist — quarters.

The military represented about a third of the founders, as against the religious authorities (a quarter), and as many tradesmen and guilds-

men: they guarded strategic points in the city, or settled the least densely populated parts. We find them along the land fortifications, in places that today are even less dense, along the whole length of the shores of Marmara ---sometimes scattered among the Jewish quarters, or circumscribing the Jewish and Greek districts of the Golden Horn. This pattern appears to have persisted despite gradual densification (the city's population was 100,000 at the outset of the 16th century and 700,000 at the start of the next) right up to the beginning of the 20th century, and it is still perceptible today in certain sectors.

BUILDING TYPES AND FIRE

The persistence of social structures and functions goes hand in hand with the astonishing fragility of the urban fabric. The Turks had inherited from the Byzantines their durable constructions --- probably of brick. Ill-adapted to the Islamic way of life, and poorly maintained during the vicissitudes of resettlement, this heritage received its coup de grâce during the great earthquake of 1509, which the chroniclers term "the little apocalypse". This event appears to have convinced both inhabitants and authorities of the utility of wooden structures - an unfortunate choice, since the city has suffered little from earthquakes, and enormous damage has been inflicted by fire. The frequent fires at Istanbul, and the damage they caused, are a commonplace; yet today it is difficult to imagine the extent of the phenomenon. The first to be mentioned in the chronicles is dated 1633, and there were at least fifteen more by the end of the century; there were 94 fires from the beginning of the 18th century to the first years of the nineteenth, with a record 27 fires during the decade 1718-28. Some, like those of 1633, 1718 or 1783, extended "from sea to sea", i.e., from the Golden Horn to the Sea of Marmara: on each occasion, between one third and one half of the city was destroyed. Statistics drawn up for the years 1853-1922 record 308 fires that destroyed 45,000 buildings in all. The first consequence of this scourge was the utter precariousness of the urban fabric. As ownership of the buildings was more often than not distinct from that of the land, and as the idea of public property was (as far as the streets were concerned) relatively inexplicit, each fire led to a complete reorganisation of the streetplan, with the exception of the great thoroughfares and the land adjacent to the great monuments. In this way, neither the plan of the different plots, nor the network of streets, are constants in this eternal city - rather, it is the human, religious, ethnic and social structures that have proved durable.

The second consequence concerns the evolution of Ottoman domestic architecture. 16thcentury European descriptions and iconography show half-timbered buildings with wooden frames filled in with raw or baked brick, rubble, or else some other material. Having few windows, they doubtless burned with difficulty, which may explain why the chroniclers are silent on the subject of fires prior to 1633. It is noticeable, on the other hand, that by the end of the 17th century a flood of royal edicts was issued in an attempt to impose masonry constructions, and to forbid the use of awnings and oriels. This spate of regulations gave rise, a contrario, to the architectural type known today as the "Turkish House", which appears to have been the fruit of changes occurring in the



Wooden house, late 19th century, near Küçük Aya Sofya (photo P.P.).



Wooden houses in Unkapani (photo GW.Q.).



View of Büyük Yeni Han built in 1764 (photo A.B.).

Süleymaniye's madrasas (photo A.B.).



course of the 17th century, the outcome of interactions between the phenomenon of fire inciting rapid rebuilding in the form of light wooden structures (all the more inflammable). and the enormous densification of the city implying houses built one against the next and shrunken streets. The vast majority of wooden houses still surviving date from the late nineteenth century; the oldest examples have naturally disappeared.

OTTOMAN URBAN ORGANISATION

Shortly after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, Mehmet II (Fatih) wished to mark the existence of the new capital by building two monuments that would give it the characteristics of the Turkish city: the mosque that bears his name, and the bedesten (a sort of covered market) which today is called *eski* (old). The former, with its environing külliye (a set of buildings for cultural and social use), constitutes the centre of religious and intellectual life; the latter was the cynosure of trading activity. This complementarity of function is logically expressed in the choice of the respective sites. Both are situated in proximity to the traditional axis of the city, which follows a line running along the main ridge. The mosque, however, occupies a dominant site at the extremity of the promontory, whereas the bedesten nestles discreetly at the head of a thalweg that moves inland from the Golden Horn.

Here we have the seeds of a totally novel urban organisation, which progressively transformed Constantinople into an Ottoman city. On the one hand, a new and monumental infrastructure — the imperial külliye — gradually occupied the key points of the city; this took a century and a half. The continuous, essentially linear structure of Theodosius' city was progressively replaced by a point-by-point, discontinuous --- yet powerful --- configuration, which left an indelible mark on the organisation and image of the city. This large-scale, monumental system of punctuation fixed and held a somewhat diffuse urban fabric; even today, it allows for great readability of the urban site.

On the other hand, a business and trading quarter took shape around the bedesten, between the port (on the Golden Horn) and the city's main thoroughfare (the old Mèsé) ---- this time with a relatively continuous plan.

THE MONUMENTAL **INFRASTRUCTURE**

Fatih's külliye represent an important step in the evolution of Ottoman architecture, for it marks the introduction of this architectural type into the grand monumental composition. Symbolically implanted on the site of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the mosque is solemnly set back from the urban continuum, revealing itself to be a grand object at the centre of an esplanade which itself is ringed with a wall. The mosque's splendid isolation within its enclosure is the logical corollary of its highly extrovert typology, requiring lighting on all sides. Unlike the majority of its counterparts in other Islamic countries, the Ottoman mosque creates a vacuum around it.

At Fatih the külliye is intended as a foil to the mosque: a whole train of eight medrese (Koranic schools) accompanies it at a respectable distance, forming a continuous barrier to the housing fabric. Other amenities distributed











Eski Valide's külliye (by W. Müller Wiener)





Sultan Ahmet Mosque — the Blue Mosque (photo A.B.). around the enclosure complete the foundation: a library, a primary school, a hospital (now demolished), an *imaret* (a sort of soup-kitchen) and a *tabhane* (lodgings for passing dervishes). At the very outset of the 16th century, Bayezit II undertook the construction of the second great imperial külliye. This was also positioned on the city's main axis, at the junction with the thoroughfare that branches out toward the districts of Aksaray and Yedikule. Situated between the Grand Bazaar and the university, this zone is still the liveliest of the city.

Selim II's solitary külliye overlooks the Golden Horn from the summit of one of the highest promontories. Its pure, austere architecture is characteristic of what might be thought of as Ottoman "classicism" before Sinan. The *tabhane* adjacent to the mosque are to be noted for their plan, which may prefigure that of the houses with cruciform *sofa* (central chamber) of the 19th century.

Dominating another promontory on the site of the Old Palace, Süleyman's külliye (begun in 1550) is one of the masterpieces of the prolific Sinan, who was official architect to the court for fifty years. Too many commentators have got bogged down in comparisons and contrasts with its illustrious model, Saint Sophia, and have failed to notice the extraordinary nature of its positioning and the subtle relationships that all the elements entertain with their environment. In contrast to his predecessors, Sinan is not content to place a given composition on a given site; rather, he plays tricks with context. He manages to completely disengage the silhouette of the mosque viewed from the Golden Horn by eschewing all construction on this side, and by positioning two unwanted medrese on the slope by means of an ingenious system of terraces. The asymmetric composition of the rest of the külliye forms a right angle. On the side opposed to the slope Selim I Mosque (photo L.V.).

facing the Golden Horn, contingent with the quarter from which it takes its name, Sinan is at pains to heighten the two *medrese* by positioning them over shops. In this way he conceals the mosque and heightens the effect of the gate between the two buildings, which frames one of the minarets and the principal (though side) entrance to the sanctuary.

Sinan is doubtless the first Ottoman architect to have consciously practised urban composition; yet his method is more freely and appropriately expressed in works of more modest dimensions: for instance, the külliye founded by high officials of state, scattered over the capital, which represent as many centres of the different quarters. One might, for instance, visit the külliye in the district of Haseki Hurrem, which was founded by the empress Roxelana (and was partly Sinan's work) and complemented a century later by the külliye of the great vizir Bayram Paşa, with its picturesque corner-fountain. The astonishing accumulation of architecture mingles monumentality and everyday life.

At the entrance to Eyüp, along the Golden Horn, Sinan organised the külliye of prince Zal Mahmut Paşa around a transversal itinerary leading from a lower to an upper street — an original composition in that it abandons all idea of utility, and again introduces framing, thus creating surprises with differences in level between the two *medrese*, whose ground plans are, however, fairly canonical. It should also be noted that many of the külliye are organised in this way around an axis traversing a city-block, such as the voluptuously baroque example situated on the Nuruosmaniye, at the entrance to the Grand Bazaar.

But Sinan's most detailed composition, at once intimate and monumental, is without doubt the *külliye* of the Grand Vizir Sokollu Mehmet Paşa, which is, however, situated on a



West entrance of the Süleymaniye (photo A.B.).

cramped and extremely steep hill-site. Cleverly exploiting complex sectional interplay, the axial entrance is placed beneath the reading room of the *medrese*, and from there the visitor emerges, *via* a rectilinear staircase, practically into the middle of a courtyard that subtly links the mosque to the *medrese*. The architect here exploits contrasts in scale, and enlarges the frontal portico of the mosque so as to maximise its presence despite its modest dimensions.

Sinan uses this direct articulation between *medrese* and mosque in a similar manner in several *külliye* of the capital. Instead of effecting classic juxtaposition he makes the two elements interlock, which saves considerable space and lends the Ottoman mosque its true status and function.

In one of his last works, the tiny külliye designed for the vizir Şemsi Paşa of Üsküdar, poetically situated at the edge of the Bosphorus, Sinan employed a similar configuration but shifted the axis of the *medrese* at the edge of the site which, in conformity with the requirements of the immediate context (i.e., the mosque), follows the orientation of the *kibla* (a wall indicating the direction of Mecca).

After Sinan, the series of grand imperial külliye punctuating the urban continuum culminated in that of Sultan Ahmet (completed in 1616) which, at the head of its site, competes with Saint Sophia. The flood of visitors is clear evidence that the Blue Mosque is perhaps the most extraordinary interior space of the Ottoman tradition, resolving, with its mighty cylindrical pillars, the impossible equation between the multiple vaulting of the cascading cupolas and the perfect unity of space.

THE TRADING QUARTER

The trading district of Istanbul extends from Grand Vizir Sokollu nowever, situated on a *Courtyard of Sokullu Mehmet Paşa Mosque (photo A.B.).*





Sokullu Mosque, view onto the courtyard (photo L.V.). thoroughfare. Fascinating in their vitality, all the commercial amenities of the city are preserved here: *arasta* (a linear pattern of shops), *bedesten, han* (urban caravanserais) and *bazar* --- even if their respective functions are somewhat different today.

The Eski Bedesten was, as we have seen, founded by the conqueror. This characteristically Ottoman amenity was originally a textile market; but it soon expanded, and quickly played the role in every Ottoman town of a commercial exchange in which the quality and price of the merchandise was supervised. Istanbul's Eski Bedesten, a large hypostyle hall with vaulted cupolas, circumscribed by an outer ring of shops and an inner ring of cells (now also shops), forms a monolithic enclosure with axially positioned entrances. A place of safety where funds could be deposited and where all sorts of financial transaction took place, it played the role of a semi-official banking house. With the perfect regularity of its architecture it constitutes a landmark in the trading quarter, in contrast with the relatively indecisive geometries of the shops that have accumulated around it along the four main streets or parallel to them, thus creating what we now call the Grand Bazaar. One might say that the bedesten is the focus of the commercial fabric, just as the külliye is the focal point of the residential quarters.

Initially the bazaar was merely a collection of relatively heterogeneous wooden booths or stalls. But following a fire in 1701, the decision was taken to rebuild it in masonry and to cover it over, without changing the plan of the streets or the number of shops. This is the form that the bazaar still assumes today: a system of multiple galleries in parallel, yet curiously doglegged in its longitudinal profile. The Istanbul Bazaar is a unique curiosity, a flexible monument moulded onto the site. It is at once *Topkapt Palace, view of the Bagdad Pavilion (photo P.P.)*



Northern corner of Enderun Meydani (courtyard) in Topkapi Palace (photo P.P.).

Yeni Han, Kürkcü Han ... All reflect a classic typology: the living spaces are superimposed on two or three floors of warehouse space with surrounding galleries. One unique feature of the Istanbul Hanı is their beautiful Byzantine construction, with alternating courses of stone and brick. This method is found everywhere in utility buildings; the exclusive use of stone was reserved for the mosques and the noblest secular buildings. A second unique feature is the fact that, in certain han, the geometry of the floor-plan is deformed to allow for irregularities in the street and the specific problems of the site. Here it should be noted that such imperfections would never have been tolerated in the building of the medrese, despite the fact that comparable typological principles were involved: the medrese always retained a perfect orthogonal shape, even if it was occasionally necessary to foreshorten one or more wings, as in the külliye of Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa. One might conclude that in Ottoman architecture the degree of adaptability of each type implicitly reflected its place in the hierarchy of functions.

At the very bottom, in direct contact with the port, the Misir Carșisi, or Egyptian Market, is a perfect example of the Ottoman arasta, bounded on either side by two beautiful gates. The shops lined either side of the street which here, as so often elsewhere, was completely vaulted. Its L-shaped configuration would be difficult to comprehend were it not for the fact that it was an integral part of the Yeni Cami külliye, and that it originally performed the role of boundary - a sort of ramparts that ensured serenity within the enclosure. As an indissociable part of the vakif, the arasta was one of its sources of income. Generally speaking, a number of other shops, han and residential properties financed the purely charitable or cultural amenities of the foundation. Given the location of the Yeni

Plan of Topkapı Palace (by W. Müller Wiener).

solemn with its soaring vaults, and vernacular with its shifting ground. Everywhere one feels the changing levels underfoot. The Sandal Bedesteni (named after certain striped cloths) was founded by Mehmet II at a later date, and is of a simpler type than Eski Bedesten: a simple but magnificent hypostyle hall; the shops that encircle it seem in their geometrical disharmony to form a subsequent outer coating.

On the lower slopes we find the quarter of the *han* (caravanserai), each of which is organised around one or several courtyards: the Valide Han, dark and deafening with the looms that we find there today, Büyük Han, Küçük

Topkapı Palace, view of the Golden Horn (photo L.V.).





Cami in one of the liveliest quarters of the city, it has always proved difficult to resist the incursions of traders into the enclosure, such that today a street actually traverses the *külliye*, isolating the mosque from the buildings that originally surrounded it.

On the other hand, we are all the more appreciative of the wisdom (and shrewdness) of Sinan when, at the heart of the commercial quarter, he does not hesitate to place the mosque of the Grand Vizir Rüstem Paşa over a plinth of shops, so as to free it from the agitations of its mercantile context. Even today, the shady double portico of the mosque is a haven of tranquility and meditation. The commercial district of Istanbul is thus, as in Ottoman cities elsewhere, characterised by the presence of identificable, formalised amenities.

Bedesten, han, arasta, which in most cases were of geometrical design and extremely solid in their construction, were themselves surrounded with more malleable connective tissue — the ordinary shops (and today, shopping blocks). This hybrid structure corresponds, for the most part, to a mixture of (and opposition between) the religious foundations (bedesten, arasta and even certain han) and private business.

TOPKAPI, A PALACE ON A DOMESTIC SCALE

Towards 1465, Mehmet II began the construction of Topkapı at the tip of the peninsula. A belvedere overlooking the Sea of Marmara, the entrance to the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, the new palace occupied a site that, paradoxically, had not been exploited by the Byzantines.

As at Edirne, the royal residence is the antithesis of the Western royal palace. A series of three courts here form a domestic group: the various buildings are built close to the walls of each enclosure, or else stand in isolation. The zig-zag sweep of the three gates punctuates an axial progression along the promontory ridge. It leads the visitor from the most extravagant of public spaces to the most secretive of inner sanctums.

This plan, which is still perceptible today, dates from the very outset of the project: Angiolello described it thus in 1478, when the first phase of the Topkapı Palace (*seraglio*) had just been completed.

The first gate is off-axis, and clearly disengages the palace-entrance from the dominant influence of Saint Sophia hard by. Its pure Ottoman style contrasts with the western influ-

The Eğrikemer aqueduct (photo P.P.)



Büyük Bend, after an illustration by Melling, early 19th century.

ences that mark the second gate. The buildings beyond this second gate were destined for various uses, and diverse additions were made to them, but their formal arrangements are clearly those described by Angiolello, for example the kitchens, destroyed by fire in the 16th century and rebuilt by Sinan, the stables, today hidden from view by a low wall, or the treasury tower, of which only the base was constructed at the time, and in front of which was the first version of the Council building, also rebuilt in the 16th century. The third gate gave access to the throne-room - in its initial version - flanked by a dovecote which soon disappeared. In this same court there were two royal residences: a hamam, an adjoining summer pavilion with its corner terrace and, intact, the sultan's apartments consisting of four domed chambers. The sultan slept in the corner-chamber, access to which was barred by the other three; these were for daytime use, and for conversations with the pages. The garden surrounding these buildings contained three pavilions of which only the Çinili Köşk (tiled pavilion) still survives; hare, deer and ibex roamed freely there.

In the 16th century the harem, which had hitherto been installed in the Old Palace at Bayezit, was transferred to Topkapı; it became the pole of a new distribution of the private part of the palace, which destroyed its initial axial equilibrium. As it stands today, the palace's lack of monumentality is disconcerting.

With its accumulation of contrasting elements and select architectural gems, nothing here is ostentatious, and everything testifies to a subtle and delicate *art de vivre*. Even the luxurious decorations seem less intended to dazzle, and is seen more as evidence of the sybaritic delight in space enhanced by the beauty of the materials. It is the architecture of interiority, often on a modest scale, in no way designed for effect, and wanting all concerted or thematic progression - a far cry from the sophisticated transparency of the courts of the Alhambra. Nonetheless, it cannot be said that the Ottomans were incapable of creating monumental architecture or unified composition. The same Fatih demonstrated this in the küllive which bears his name. The dimensions and formal disposition of Topkapı reflect on the other hand a desire not to go beyond the domestic scale in an architecture that is entirely addictive, whereby small units play the role of pavilion or harem depending on whether they stand in isolation or whether are adjoining or interlocking.

THE DELIGHTS OF THE BOSPHORUS

The love of nature — trees, meadows, running water — is a constant feature of the Turkish character, and is apparently linked to the Turks' nomadic origins. They found Istanbul and its climate most congenial.

Fresh-water springs from Europe, fresh water from Asia — enough to amaze the traveller, even if the modern reality is one of uncontrolled urbanisation. The "charming valleys of the Kağıthane Suyu and the Ali Bey Suyu converge at the tip of the Golden Horn" (*Blue Guide*, 1965 edition); today they are the repositories of industrial effluvia. In the time of the sultans this love of nature was freely expressed in the open spaces of the city.

The konak (town houses for the wealthy) --and even more modest dwellings - were essentially garden-houses. Until the 18th century they were turned in on themselves: there were few if any openings onto the street (unless protected by barred wooden shutters or kafes), yet there was a gallery (hayat or outer sofa) that served as a transitional space between the apartments and the walled garden, and played more or less the same role as the inner courtyards to be found in most houses of the Arab world. In order to restitute this vanished garden-city, one must consult the descriptions of the most curious and attentive travellers. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (wife of the British ambassador), who visited several of these houses in 1717, speaks of "trees planted everywhere, affording agreeable shade and preventing the importunities of the sun"; of "apartments for the ladies at court situated at the heart of a dense grove cooled by fountains". For the architect A.M. Chenavard, who passed through Istanbul in 1844, the city was still







largely overrun with vegetation: "The verdant quality of the numerous gardens combines and contrasts with the brightly-painted, slightlybuilt habitations". The broad horizontal fenestrations of the yalı (summer residences along the Bosphorus which, in contrast to the konak, were usually accessible to the outside), so striking to westerners, served exclusively to view the panorama. From the heights of Istanbul or the shores of the Bosphorus, "the windows of the summer apartments" afforded "views of the sea, the islands and the mountains", as Lady Mary again recounts. Nature was also present in the form of the open spaces of the küllive, in the large numbers of cemeteries, and in the public gardens described by the 16thcentury Armenian writer Eremya Celebi: "There exist within the walls great numbers of beautiful gardens, orchards and meadows where one can walk". The fountains (sebil) were not treated merely as useful amenities, attesting the importance which the Ottomans attributed to water in general. Fountains can be found in every large mosque, and are often built into the outer walls of külliye; the most monumental example is that built by Ahmet II at the entrance of the seraglio.

A capital city's water-supply requires public works on a particular scale. The so-called Valens aqueduct (dating in all probability from Hadrian's time - the mid-2nd century A.D. and designed to supply the seraglio) crosses the Vefa valley in a line parallel to the peninsula, and is a witness to the early solutions found to this problem. Like Rome, Constantinople was to have its aqueducts. Waters from the freshwater springs of Europe were channelled via aqueducts of which the Byzantine "bent aqueduct" (12th century) is still extant. The Ottomans built others: the Uzunkemer, the Güzelce and the Mağlova Kemeri (1563-4, all by Sinan) cross the two streams of the Golden Horn; the aqueduct of Mahmut I at Büyükdere, from the Taksim reservoir (1732) to Beyoğlu, supplied water for the large number of fountains made necessary by the frequency of fires. Later the system of reservoir-dams (retaining water from several springs for the dry season) was adopted: the Great Dam of Andronicus (Büyük Bend) was restored, and others were built. These are the superb bends of the forests of Belgrade, Mahmut Bendi (1732) and Valide Bendi (1796), which from the 19th century were considered agreeable spots to walk and even stay in: Abdülhamid I had a pavilion built on the embankment overlooking Büyük Bend.

The fact that water and trees were the ideal leisure spots for the Ottomans did not escape the attention of the diligent observer. The paintings of J.B. van Moor (1671-1737) and



Bebek summer-house, after an illustration by Melling, early 19th century.

various writers of travelogues depicted the country outings that were the precursors of the English picnic: "The banks of the river are planted with fruit-trees, beneath which the Turkish notables entertain themselves every evening --- not with conversation, which is not one of their pleasures, but with good company. They choose a verdant place, lay out a carpet there, and sit drinking coffee which is often served by a slave ..." (Lady Mary Montagu). The Turks were passionately fond of trees, and especially the plane, "whose tortuous branches extend their shade far out, inviting one to take one's place on the lawns which they keep cool ... This object of their predilection overshadows, for preference, the fountains. In the city they sometimes build shrines around them, such that the branches emerge from the very top of the edifice" (Pertusier, a French officer on assignment in Istanbul).

For their country pleasures, the sultans and their dignitaries built the carpet and tree of the rich, consisting of a raised floor and roofing supported by pillars or light walling: the kiosk or pavilion. The köşk, whether alone or with adjoining apartments, is one of the most original of the Ottoman architectural types which, from the eighteenth century on, throws off its heavy Persian model. Apart from the examples in the seraglio, most are to be found on the shores of the Bosphorus, and are known as yalı. The wealthy reached them from the city by caïque (the Bosphorus was a sort of Grand Canal), and every yalı was equipped with its own boathouse (kayikhane). During the 17th and 18th centuries these pavilions were enriched with enclosed balconies (ctkma seki) which "geminated" the plan so as to render it cruciform. With their feet in the water, and sometimes cantilevered, the yalı represented the height of comfort. Seated on the cushions of the sedir (a seat running the length of the façade), smoking their water-pipes, Ottoman dignitaries forgot their cares and their intrigues. By the 19th century the shores of the Bosphorus were already covered with residences of this type, built according to the fashion in Ottoman, baroque or neo-classical style. Yet few of these fragile wood-constructions have resisted want of upkeep or the recent urbanisation process. The amateur can, if he wishes, still visit the perfectly restored yalı of Köprülü (1699), or that of Sadüllah Paşa (circa 1745).

At the start of our century, the Prince Islands (named after the Byzantine princes who already took pleasure in visiting them) came into fashion; many of the summer residences preserved there are built in the "chalet" style, recalling (in more florid manner) that of the villas of Arcachon. Despite increasing urbanisation the Bosphorus remains, by virtue of its forceful location, a place where one can still wander profitably, and where the numerous restaurants --- sorts of wooden guingettes leaning out over the water - serve fish from the Marmara or the Black Sea.

Glossary

Arasta: linear system of shops built entirely of masonry Bedesten: a sort of covered market, originally a stock exchange

Gecekondu: etymologically, "put in place at night". Illicit, self-built housing making up the spontaneous quarters of the slum category

Han: urban caravanserai, warehouse for goods and lodgings for travellers

Imaret: building in which meals are distributed free to the poor -- a sort of "soup kitchen"

Konak: house for dignitaries or notables

Köşk: kiosk, princely pleasure pavilion

Külliye: set of buildings for social or cultural ends (medrese, imaret, hospital ...) surrounding certain mosques Medrese: Koranic school

Sofa: central room in "traditionally built" houses of the

18th and 19th centuries *Tabhane:* buildings adjacent to certain mosques, for the use of dervishes

Türbe: monumental tomb

Vakif: religious foundation (waqf in Arabic) financing the construction of a mosque or külliye and its upkeep through the administration of shops or rented accommodation

Yalı: summer residences, generally on the shores of the Bosphorus

House in Arnavutköy (photo S.Y.)





ISTANBUL

- 1. Topkapı
- 2. Soğukçesme
- 3. Saint Sophia (Aya Sofya)
- 4. Saint Irene
- 5. Hippodrome
- 6. Sultan Ahmet Mosque (Blue Mosque)
- 7. Germania Hanı
- 8. Sirkeci Station
- 9. Archaeological Museum
- 10. Çemberlitaş
- 11. Nuruosmaniye
- 12. Mésé (Divanyolu)
- 13. Eski Bedesten (Bazaar)
- 14. Neighbourhood of the hans
- 15. Eminönü
- 16. Yeni Cami
- 17. Mısır Çarsısı
- 18. Süleymaniye
- 19. Old Palace (Eski Saray)
- 20. Bayezit Mosque
- 21. Forum Tauri
- 22. Saint Serge and Bacchus (Küçük Aya Sofya)
- 23. Sokullu Mehmet Paşa Mosque
- 24. Meryemana Church
- 25. Harikzedegân (Building for Victims of Fire)
- 26. "Valens" Aqueduct
- 27. Vefa
- 28. Zeyrek
- 29. Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa's külliye
- 30. Haseki Hürrem and Bayram's külliye
- 31. Fatih's Mosque
- 32. Selim I's Mosque and Aspar's reservoir
- 33. Fener
- 34. Blacherne Palace
- 35. Constantine's Palace
- 36. Kariye Camii
- 37. Lucus
- 38. Mihrimah's Mosque
- 39. Andrinople Gate (Edirne Kapi)
- 40. Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii
- 41. Yedikule42. Galata Tower
- 43. Persembe Pazari
- 44. Voyvoda Caddesi
- 45. Camondo Stairs
- 46. Tophane
- 47. Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque
- 48. Kasım Paşa
- 49. Botter House
- 50. French Embassy
- 51. Galatasaray
- 52. Istiklâl Caddesi

12

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Not on plan

Zal Mahmut Paşa Mosque (around 1575, arch. Sinan) in Eyüp. Sâdabad Palace (18th century, Kâğithane Valley).

BELGRADE FOREST

Dams:
Mahmut Bendi (1732)
Valide Bendi (1796)
Büyük Bendi
Aqueducts:
Maglova Kemeri (1563, arch. Sinan)
Uzunkemer
Güzelce Kemeri
Eğrikemer
Büyükdere

BEŞIKTAŞ Akaretler Housing (around 1865, arch. S. Balyan). Asdavadzadzin Church (architects K. and G.A. Balyan).

YILDIZ Imperial Palace (late 19th century). Türbe and Şeyh Zafir's library (1903-1904, arch. R. D'Aronco).

BOSPHORUS Memduh Paşa House in Arnavutköy (1903, arch. R. D'Aronco). Italian Embassy in Tarabya (1905-1906, arch. R. D'Aronco).

NISANTAS Vedat Bey's House Vali Konağı Street (around 1910).

USKUDAR Şemsi Paşa Mosque (1580-1581, arch. Sinan). Haydar Paşa Station (late 19th century, arch. Jachmund).

COSMOPOLITAN ISTANBUL

(19th-Early 20th Centuries)

GALATA FROM GENOA TO THE LEVANT

Galata presents two main features: it is a city within a city, and, from its founding to the 20th century, it was a western city within an oriental one.

When in 1261 the Paleologos family recovered their capital, occupied by crusaders since 1204, they had to form an alliance with Genoa so as to resist the all-powerful Most Serene Republic of Venice. The first concession was to allow the Genoese to build a settlement on the other shore of the Golden Horn. From one concession to the next, the initial settlement, surrounded by palissades at the edge of the sea, grew inland toward the hill. The Tower of Christ (now the tower of Galata) was built at the foot of the slope, and gradually the Genoese colony was formed: a truly western city with its fortifications, its tall stone houses, its rectilinear, parallel street-plan, and the group consisting of the churches of St. Dominic and St. Michael on either side of St. Michael's cathedral at the edge of the central square where the market is held. The main thoroughfare begins at the tower, passes the patrician houses built into the slope, and the loggia of the podestà where the merchants met, crosses the cathedral square, and runs down to the sea, the narrowest point on the Golden Horn, from where one can make the crossing to Byzantium. This street is the present-day Perşembe Pazari, along which one can still see the last examples of "Frankish houses" - in fact stone houses from the 17th and 18th centuries.

The street is perpendicular to the sea, and intersects, at the level of the square with the second most important thoroughfare in Galata, running parallel to the port from the Arsenal Gate to that of the Tophane (cannon foundry).

The Genoese watched the Turkish siege of Constantinople from a distance, and subsequently signed a treaty of surrender which guaranteed not only their lives and their belongings, but also the right to keep their churches and a semblance of autonomy.

Shortly afterwards the Turks transformed St. Dominic's into a mosque — the present-day Arap Camii — and set up a quarter for the labourers and soldiers of the Arsenal nearby. Yet this was the sole incursion for many years, and the great mosques built on this side of the Golden Horn (Sokollu Mehmet Paşa, 1576, Kılıç Ali Paşa, 1580) were located outside the walls of Galata. And visitors were astonished to hear the noisy festivities of the Carnival, or to see the procession of flagellants in the "Frankish" city.

In the eyes of the Ottoman administration, Galata was doubtless a Christian ghetto. As they arrived the Christian embassies were set up there, with the exception of that of the Holy Roman Empire --- the only nation that could pretend to equality with the sultan --- which was located in the Constantinople side. Wine was drunk freely in the Greek taverns, which were also frequented by the Turks that crossed the Golden Horn, and Galata was also a centre for commerce with the Christian West. The Levantines from Galata were brokers, the privileged intermediaries with Europe, such that when Galata's power grew it ceased to be a ghetto, and became the commercial heart of the city. The bankers, and the Greek, Jewish or Armenian moneylenders that came to the assistance of the Ottoman government in times of difficulty naturally settled in Galata, and when, with the Crimean War of 1853, the Ottoman empire was placed under European economic protection, Galata had its banking street as well as the first city of the empire.

Under pressure from the foreign embassies to establish municipal services within the capital, the Ottoman administration divided the city into fourteen concentric circles, and installed a "model borough" within the sixth circle ----Galata and Beyoğlu. At the first meeting of the borough council, consisting mostly of Christians and Jews, the decision was taken to pave the streets, demolish the city-walls and open up a coachway up the hill leading from the shore to Great Pera street, now Beyoğlu. The Imperial Ottoman Bank, a Franco-British establishment, acquired premises on this street (then known as "Bank Street" and today called Voyvoda Caddesi) and organised the first horse-drawn trams. Other banking houses soon followed suit, for instance that of Abraham Camondo, whose elegant "baroque" staircase extended along a side-passage. A funicular ---the celebrated "tunnel" - linked Galata with Beyoğlu in 1874.

Another western characteristic was the "flight" from the centre of Galata. The first European-style shops and residential blocks moved from Galata to Beyoğlu, and thence beyond Taksim Square, leaving behind them quarters in disrepair; these were gradually occupied by craftsmen and rural migrants. This process, which began in the very first years of the Republic, was completed in Galata by the 1950s. The old Genoese city nonetheless retains its exceptional position and its obligatory passage to the old town of Istanbul; and it is still the home of the banks.

BEYOĞLU: GRANDEUR AND DECLINE

Beyoğlu was originally a suburb of Galata. Situated on either side of a way that led from the Tower along the line of the ridge between the Bosphorus and the valley of Kasimpasa that runs down to the Arsenal, "persons of quality" treated this place - known as the "vines" of Pera - as a holiday resort: in particular a certain Iskender Pasa, who at the end of the 15th century bequeathed his estate to the Convent of the Dancing Dervishes, which is still to be found there today; or the vizir Ayas Paşa, whose mid-16th century gardens occupied the site of the famous Park Otel, recently demolished, below Taksim Square; but above all Alvisi Gritti, the illegitimate son of Andrea Gritti, doge of Venice, who received visits from Süleyman the Magnificent. This is the "lord's son" from whom the district takes its name. The first crossroads, formed by the conjunction of this street with the Bombard Raise (Kumbaraci Yokuşu), was the site of the first mosque, the Mosque of the Vine (Asmalimescit), which has since disappeared but which has left its name to the guarter. At a second crossroads, formed by valleys running from Tophane and Kasımpaşa, Bayezit II installed a palace that was in fact barracks for trainee janissaries; in 1867 it became the Lycée Francais de Galatasaray, housing future bureaucrats of the Empire and Republic. Nearby, one of Bayezit's ministers built a hamam. Further off, an agha, governor of the barracks, built a mosque towards the end of the 16th century. These buildings, still standing, indicate a second pole of concentration around this axis. Further still, the place of the "sharing of the waters", Taksim square, was the site of a water conveyance system ordered in 1732 by Mahmud I, and the barracks that were built shortly afterwards. The spaces situated between these poles marked by the Ottoman administration were progressively occupied by the European embassies and their Christian clients. In 1545 the French ambassador Polin de la Garde withdrew to the "Vines" of Pera in order to escape a plague epidemic. This is no doubt the site of the present French Embassy, built by the French architect Paul Laurécisque between 1838 and 1847 to replace a series of buildings, including that built in the 18th century by Vigné de Vigny from the plans of Robert de Cotte, which were destroyed by fire.

Around 1560 the Venetians acquired the site of what is now the Italian embassy. The British ambassador who arrived in Constantinople in 1583 rented a house on the edge of the Bosphorus, but was evicted in 1595 because of his rowdy drinking parties; he then acquired the current site of the British embassy, in Galatasaray. At the outset of the 17th century the Dutch moved into the house of a rich Armenian merchant, and later the Swedes followed suit. Toward the end of the 18th century the embassies had found their definitive locations, even if the buildings themselves are of a later date owing to repeated fires (the Russian embassy was built by G. Fossati between 1838 and 1843).

The district pursued its cosmopolitan evolution in the wake of Galata following the last great fire of 1870, in which three thousand houses and shops were burned to the ground. A plan from 1905 shows a regular street-plan and buildings made almost entirely of masonry, amongst which we find a hundred or so "apartments", i.e., western-style residential buildings of five to six storeys.

A network of passages in the Parisian manner, opening out onto the main street (Istiklâl), contained shops and department stores, *brasseries*, theatres and later cinemas. Prestigious buildings such as that of the Cercle d'Orient were built on the principal avenue, along which a tramway line ran.

Until the nineteen-fifties, people went up to Beyoğlu as if they were going to a fashionable cocktail-party: they put on their best clothes and took one last look in the mirror. Since then, however, the centre has continued its drift towards the north until, faced with the barrier of the shanty-towns, it crossed the bridge over the Bosphorus and reached the Asian side. The Christian and Jewish communities have atomized, and the population of the town has increased sixfold in the space of forty years. Beyoğlu has now plunged into decline, haunted by shades that walk around at night in search of some souvenir of its libertine past, and has become the refuge of those whose memory is elsewhere, in their Anatolian villages.

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3) Beyazit Area, according to Pervititch's plan (1930-1950).

1) Fethiye Camii neighbourhood, mid-20th century, top left, sections rebuilt after conflagration.

2) Group of houses in Kasım Paşa.





View of Tophane from Galata Tower (photo A.B.).



Tarlabaşı Street in Beyoğlu (photo M.E.).

Genoese houses in Galata (photo M.E.).



Today urban planning, the logic of speculation and engineering techniques are combining to reverse the trend. A six-lane expressway (made possible by the widening of Tarlabaşı Street) which Prost had already envisaged on the eve of the last war, is to link Taksim and Atatürk Bridge, and Istiklâl is to be transformed into a pedestrian zone. The restored façades of the Cercle d'Orient will be reflected in the glass and steel skyscraper to be constructed opposite, and the inhabitants of Istanbul will again visit Beyoğlu to see the tourists.

THE DRIFT OF THE IMPERIAL PALACES

Apart from the idea of imperial presence, the palaces of the sultans have a more specifically urban significance. Their morphology and architecture reveal a cultural and urban history which unfolds in their transformations and their movements. And whilst these movements took place, two main developmental poles emerged in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries: an aristocratic, residential pole — that of the *yalı* on the Bosphorus — and an urban axis along the ridge from Galata toward Pera.

Built on ancient remains, Topkapi Palace was the visible sign of the Ottoman presence in the old Roman and Byzantine city. It was the home of the Grand Turks who asserted their Roman heritage — they called themselves "the Sultans of the territory of Rome" — and its architecture expresses the organisation and the urban forms of the capital at the time of the Ottoman conquests: a pre-industrial city, spontaneous, organic, irregular.

The first evidence of changed conceptions dates from the 18th century, during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III, with the creation of an imperial complex at Sâadabad on the banks of the Kağıthane, which flows into the Golden Horn. The palace of Sâadabad and the pleasuregardens poetically termed "Cedvel-i Sim" (the Silver Canal) took their inspiration from French classical palaces (Versailles, Trianon, and above all Marly) described to the sultan by ambassadors fascinated by their remarkable size and order. And yet this complex, which is the crowning architectural achievement of the refined aesthetic movement known as the "Age of Tulips" (1718-30, the first attempt to assimilate western cultural forms) is far from reproducing western forms and spaces. Linear and axial, yet not necessarily symmetrical, and far from being strictly geometrical, the treatment of the site remains more oriental than French: despite a number of neo-classical motifs, the palace is profoundly Ottoman in scale and articulation.

But the imperial exodus had begun: Mahmut II left the old palace that evoked so many sad memories and whose security was insufficient in case of revolt, preferring to inhabit the palace at Beşiktaş built on his orders by the chief architect Krikor Balyan. This was again situated by the sea, but closer to the barracks of the sultan's reorganised army.

Subsequent sovereigns left the palace for good, and settled in the new imperial residences built on the shores of the Bosphorus or its hills: Dolmabahçe, Çırağan, Yıldız and Beylerbeyi. The building of the palaces overlooking the Bosphorus — the sahil saray (waterpalace) was a long tradition in the Ottoman royal family, and one that was shared by other dignitaries in the capital. These palaces were often summer residences, country houses or pleasure-houses, and were repeatedly rebuilt, more or less on the same privileged sites. Although their formal and stylistic features doubtless reflect the desire of the Ottoman leaders to appropriate western artistic models. yet they also reveal a new, "modernised" way of life: furnishings, heating, musical instruments, concert-rooms or theatre-rooms, greenhouses and aviaries, objets d'art, etc. But these cultural mutations did not constitute any real metamorphosis. The forms imported from the west were always assimilated to indigenous typologies, formal elements and spatial models. Monumental works such as the palace of Dolmabahce, begun by the architect Garabet Amira Balyan for the sovereign Abdülmecid on the shores of the Bosphorus on the site of a palace built a century earlier by Melling, and completed by his son Nikogos, represents a decisive step. It eludes the image of a French palace despite its impressive dimensions and its neo-classical or neo-baroque outlines, for its architects gave it a scale and a spatial feeling that are purely Ottoman.

It can even be considered as a series of large houses with a central *sofa*, such is the domesticity of the scale and image that the spaces evoke.

As for the last of the imperial palaces at Yıldız, built on a vast, undulating site, probably for reasons of security, its organisation into pavilions or kiosks evokes a return to the original model at Topkapı. Of course, the topography of the terrain, the existence of a number of pavilions prior to construction, the proximity of Dolmabahce and Cırağan and the difficulties of the imperial budget, which came close to bankruptcy at the time of building (late 18th - early 19th centuries), justify the modest scale of the buildings. But beyond the architects' attempts to create a picturesque, romantic landscape and a natural atmosphere, the palace unequivocally reminds one of the old palace.

The urban history of Istanbul is all the more marked by that of the palaces in that their drift toward the Bosphorus coincided with the movement to the north of other Ottoman state institutions: barracks, industries, schools, and even the Ottoman parliament. In this way the palaces are the privileged symbols of the social and urban transformations of the capital; they are the protagonists of a new urban phenomenon.

On the eve of the final eclipse of the empire, the Ottoman leaders' will to reform gave rise to one last assignment, the creation of the modern city, and at the same time, the final Ottoman artistic synthesis.

FROM ECLECTICISM TO ART NOUVEAU: A BRIEF SURVEY OF EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE

The Ottoman world became progressively receptive to western architectural ideas (as first witnessed in the *konak* and *yah* on the Bosphorus or in the Balkans), and assimilated decorative and architectonic themes from Austrian baroque or European neo-classicism. The first important buildings in the latter style were the $k \ddot{o} g k$ of Sultan Hatiçe at Defterdar and those of Selim III at Beşiktaş, the works of A.I. Melling, a German architect who settled in Constantinople in 1784, and the Military Engineering College built in 1801.

Despite the reorganisation of Ottoman society consecutive to westernising ambitions inaugurated by the Tanzimat decree (1832), neoclassicism was only gradually assimilated, and found expression above all in public amenities (barracks, hans, towers) and in the Armenian churches: the Meryemana at Kumkapı (neopalaeo-Christian) and the Asdvadzadzin at Besiktas (neo-Palladian) were the works of K.A. and G.A. Balyan, the first of a line of Armenian architects. They nonetheless opted for the type of mosque with monumental typanums exemplified in the Mihrimah Mosque (by Sinan) and the Nuruosmaniye (18th century) when they were commissioned to build mosqques such as the Nusretiye at Tophane (1823) or the Bezmiâlem Valide Sultan at Dolmabahçe. On the shores of the Bosphorus, Garabed-Amira Balvan built his masterpiece, the Palace of Dolmabahçe (1853-55) mentioned above. The first two Balyans also built barracks (including the superb Kuleli at Cengelköy) and türbe, and restored dams. Nigogos and Agop Balyan gave free rein to their eclecticism in works in neo-renaissance, gothic, Moorish and Sejukid styles; but Sarkis Balyan returned to neo-classicism and to a certain austerity that can be appreciated in the repetitive organisation of the facades of the Akaretler estate at Beşiktaş (ca. 1875).

Ottoman architecture, which was long restricted to a relatively small number of traditional types (mosques, medrese, hamam ...) underwent a forced renewal with the appearance of new briefs for public buildings: ministries, administrative services, museums, banks, stations ... Some traditional types also evolved, and the han, for example, changed from a central courtyard with surrounding galleries to industrial buildings punctuated with covered passage-ways. These new architectural types, together with the growing influence of Europe (which owing to the Ottoman foreign debt administered part of the empire's economy), gave rise to the problem of style. It no longer sufficed to decorate fundamentally Ottoman buildings with Italianate or baroque details, and in the last years of the 19th century the Empire called increasingly on foreign architects to create this new architecture: Italians G. Mongeri, G. Semprini, R. D'Aronco following G. Fossati in the mid-19th century), French and Germans. The latter were immediately employed as teachers in the newly-founded School of Fine Arts and the Civil Engineering, which reflected French and German influences respectively. Between 1890 and 1930 the whole gamut of styles coexisted in an astonishingly rapid shift from Ottoman neo-classicism to the Modern Movement. In this brutal clash of styles the teachers themselves were eclectic. Professor Jachmund designed the imposing Germania Hanı (Bahçekapı) and the "Ottomanesque" Sirkeci Station (1890). A. Vallaury designed a neo-Greek archaeological museum, a neo-renaissance Ottoman Bank and the somewhat Moorish headquarters of the Ottoman Public Debt ---- a veritable digest of colonial and "Arabized" architecture. The subsequent style of Vedat [Tek] Bey and Kemalettin Bey constitutes a more original synthesis of classical monumentality and Ottoman detail. Vedat (who studied in Paris at the Ecole Centrale and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts), the architect of the Central Post-Office in Sirkeci, invented with the Defter-i Hakani (near the Sultan Ahmet Mosque, ca. 1910) a new type of public building with canopied roofs that was





immensely popular both in Istanbul and in Ankara until the early thirties in works by either Vedat himself or G. Mongeri. In this sense he can be considered the founder of the "First National Style". His own house at Nişantaşı (ca. 1910) is even more original, ingeniously marrying the volumetric proportions of the traditional Ottoman residence (cikma) with updated, pre-cubist detail. Kemalettin was more conventional, and more of an engineer (he studied at the Berlin Technische Hochschule); in Istanbul he built the Fourth Han of the Vakif, and the astonishing building for the Victims of the Fire (Harikzedagân, 1919-22). But the most original work is doubtless that of the Italian architect Raimondo d'Aronco from Udine (1857-1932). He was called to Istanbul by the Italian ambassador in 1893, and stayed in the city, with the exception of occasional travels to Italy, until 1909. An architect on Sultan Abdülhamid II's civil list, d'Aronco was prolific, building first in a neo-Ottoman style (Ministry of Agriculture, 1896-1900, the precursor of that designed by Vedat Bey) and, after meeting Olbrich in Paris in 1900, in a happy synthesis of the Viennese "Sesession" style and Ottoman typology. For the sultan he restored numerous large mosques in Istanbul (1896), and designed small monuments for the Palace of Yıldız, the Army Medical School in Haydar Paşa, and a small mosque in Karaköy (1903, now demolished). For private clients he built residential buildings (the most famous being the Botter House on the Istiklâl, 1900-1), a number of yalı on the Bosphorus (including a gallery cum library for Memduh Paşa at Arnavutköy, 1903, and a house for Cemil Bey at Kireçburnu, 1903-5). His two masterworks are the türbe and library for Şeyh Zafir at Yıldız (1903-4) and the summer residence for the Italian ambassador at Tarabya (1905-6), a grandiose seaside chalet on the Bosphorus.

The geography of these eclectic works is also symptomatic of the city's drift toward the east. Public buildings dating from 1890 to 1910 were almost all situated close to the tip of the peninsula (between Sultanahmet and Bayezit), behind Galata (Beyoğlu, Nişantaşı and Beşiktaş) and even on the other shore of the Bosphorus (for example, Haydar Paşa station by Jachmund).

The Modern Movement, active in Ankara from the thirties — since it was there, in the new capital, that the great public buildings were constructed — was practically unrepresented in Istanbul, with the exception of a late flowering subsequent to the Second World War.

TERRACED HOUSES AND HOUSING ESTATES

Following the slow transformations that marked the evolution of the urban habitat in Istanbul (from stone houses to wooden houses, and from houses with an outside sofa to houses with an inside sofa), new forms of housing appeared towards the middle of the 19th century, and were rapidly generalised: firstly, small terrace-houses, and secondly, tall housing blocks of a more imposing type.

Already in the 18th century, the traditional Ottoman house had undergone transformations that made it different, if not in its typology then at least in its appearance and size, from its original configurations. This period saw the appearance of housing types with a central *sofa*

(hitherto restricted to the konak and yalı), classic western decoration, and a plan and distribution that were more symmetrical. But during the 19th century a more varied typology evolved: new residences on the Bosphorus, suburban houses and large town houses, different from earlier examples even if the same terminology was used (yalı, köşk, konak). The westernisation of taste and mores and an increasingly cosmopolitan urban context contributed to the expansion of these new, more extroverted and more formalist houses that reflected a predilection for an imported, eclectic aesthetic in conformity with the great mutations and reforming spirit that then marked the Ottoman Empire.

Urban planning and development, the growth of systems of transport and infrastructure, the evolution of property laws and compulsory housing insurance accelerated this process and, with the demographic growth of the capital, gave rise to an increasingly dense urban habitat. Whereas the Muslim quarters (Süleymaniye, Zeyrek, Fatih or Üsküdar) continued to be built in the traditional way, in the new quarters of Beyoğlu, along the Asian coast or in the districts transformed into regular plans following fires such as those that ravaged Kumkapı, Fener, Tatavla or Kadıköy, the system of terraced houses and housing blocks characterised by narrow alignments, layouts and plots, and tall buildings represented typological solutions to the problem of everincreasing demographic pressure and conformed to the Ottoman leaders' modernising aspirations. This evolution did not merely concern housing in its urban dimension; its also reflected a changed conception of domestic space, which became increasingly extroverted and specialised in function. The sofa, a central distributive space, was replaced by a hallway and corridors. The oda, traditionally polyvalent rooms, became bedrooms or living-rooms. Originally turned in upon itself, the layout became outward-facing, and the principal rooms were positioned along the façade.

This novel layout and the introduction of new stylistic models did not, however, involve the abandonment of all local colour, of a certain Mediterranean picturesqueness. The use of corbels persisted --- even if they now figured at the centre of symmetrical compositions, and overhanging roofs were still usual. The influences can thus be considered mutual --- the last of the wooden houses adopted neo-baroque or neo-classical detail, and the first masonry constructions incorporated corbels and canopied roofing. In this way a continually renewed typological and stylistic mosaic was constituted, beautifully mirroring the socio-cultural patchwork existing in the Constantinople of the turn of the century.



Şeyh Zafir's tomb in Yildiz 1903-1904, arch. R. D'Aronco (photo P.P.). View of Akaretler Housing, late 19th century, arch. S. Balyan (photo L.V.).







Apartment building for Victims of Fire (Harikzedegân), 1919-1922, arch. Kemalettin Bey (photo P.P.).

Group of houses: Yildirim Street, Fener (photo A.Y.).



ISTANBUL — CAPITAL IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING

(After 1922)

FROM PIECEMEAL TO THE GRAND LAYOUT: BLOCKS AFTER FIRES AND THE ''PROST PLAN''

The frequency of fires has given Istanbul's urban fabric an instability that other Oriental cities owe to earthquakes or to the friable nature of the terrain. This instability has perhaps had the advantage of permitting continual renewal - and thus updating - of the layout of the streets and housing plots. For want of urban planning, the traditional Islamic configurations of the 18th and 19th centuries (a complex, largely undifferentiated street-plan and a multiplicity of culs-de-sacs) gave way in piecemeal fashion to a tissue of juxtaposed plots between which Byzantine or Ottoman streets persisted, or in places, quarters untouched by the latest fires and which were not therefore reconstructed on a regular plan, with masonry constructions. Zeyrek (around the Church of Christ Pantocrator), Küçük Aya Sofya and Süleymaniye are cases in point that, today, are (theoretically) protected, with their wooden houses built between 1880 and 1920.

A plan dating from 1882 already reveals the existence of several new districts (the oldest of these dating from the fires of 1759 and 1782) characterised by an orthogonal streetconfiguration and blocks in the form of strips for the building of wall-to-wall terraced houses. Apart from these occasional reworkings, together with some alignments and the opening of one or two streets - Aziziye (today Ankara Caddesi), Mahmudiye (Babâli), Orhaniye and Osmaniye (Nuruosmaniye) - around 1867-8, the peninsula did not undergo any major transformations before the second half of the 20th century. On the other shore of the Golden Horn at Galata, the only opening, unique yet prestigious ---- Bank Street (Voyvoda Caddesi) remodelled the fabric to an absolute minimum, like Haussman's Paris interventions. Only the plots adjacent to the street itself were regrouped, then divided up in accordance with a new plan among the European banks.

This is the city that Henri Prost discovered in 1902. A winner of the Prix de Rome, the young architect was at the time making the traditional tour of the Orient (some years before Le Corbusier). Here he undertook the preparatory sketches for his 4th year "envoi de Rome": the restoration of Saint Sophia, and was even consulted by a commission in charge of the actual restoration of the monument. His second visit to Turkey dates from 1926 when, subsequent to professional experience in Morocco and France, he was invited to redesign the town plan of Izmir following the great fire of 1922.

He returned to Istanbul at the request of the Turkish government in 1934, but provisionally declined the offer to settle there; he was to accept in 1934 at the personal request of Atatürk. In the meantime, A. Agache and J.H. Lambert made preliminary studies of the city. Their work went beyond the initial brief, which was simply to propose embellishments for the zones destroyed by fire. Lambert's report was damning: a weakened property market, anarchic reconstruction, recent buildings of excessive height precluding a panoramic view of the urban landscape, scarcity of throughfares for motor-traffic, absence of modern cultural amenities. The proposed solutions involved three distinct axes: industry (a port, an industrial zone and worker-housing at Bakırköy overlooking the Marmara), culture (a university, an arts and crafts centre, and the highlighting of the city's monuments) and sports and tourism (hotels, sports grounds, seaside-resorts).

Prost's 1937 "Master Plan" took its inspiration from its predecessor, but placed its main emphasis on distribution and aesthetics. His "Plan" is thus first and foremost a street-plan. Avenues were to be opened up through the urban fabric along the shores of the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara, through the Old Town from East to West between the tip of the Seraglio and the two gates of Topkapı and Edirnekapı and from North to South between Atatürk Bridge (as yet unbuilt) and Yenikapı, and linking the two bridges over the Golden Horn with Taksim Square. This programme was progressively realised after the Second World War, with the exception of the route between Atatürk Bridge and Taksim (by enlarging Tarlabaşı street), which is currently the subject of hot debate. Another major aspect of Prost's programme, "Park no. 2" including a large sports stadium, is also to be built (the idea of the "Park no. 1" in the valley of the Lycus was rapidly abandoned) - but its initial vocation has been compromised with the building of large hotels in the form of towerblocks. The social and economic aspects of the initial programme were obviously beyond Prost's scope, and the port, for example, was maintained on the Golden Horn.

The "Prost Plan", a mixture of Beaux-Arts know-how and ideas of the "Social Museum" shared witth companions at the Villa Médicis (T. Garnier, L. Jaussely and E. Hébrard), occupies a key position in the history of townplanning owing to the personality of its author, who planned the layout of Lyautey in Morocco, and because his were the first modern interventions of the West in the Near East, together with those of H. Jansen in Ankara and M. Ecochard in Damascus.

In contrast with his Moroccan project, with European quarters parallel to the medinas (1913-23), and with his plan for the Paris region (1932-4), Prost here undertook a third type of project: the remodelling of a historical city. The problem was not to "create a new city, but to orient an ancient city undergoing great changes towards a future in which mechanical techniques and perhaps the levelling of fortunes would transform the conditions of existence". References to the reconstruction of Saloniki by his friend E. Hébrard (1919), which he may have had in mind, can only be partially credited to the extent that the northern Greek metropole's plan had to be completely redrawn following the fire which destroyed its centre. On the other hand, as at Saloniki or Rome (viz. the plans for unearthing the imperial forums dating from the outset of the 20th century, when Prost was in the city) Prost proposed to



Master Plan of Istanbul by H. Prost around 1937.



Present day extension of Istanbul.

Bridge on the Bosphorus and Ortaköy Mosque, arch. N. Baylan (photo L.V.).



heighten the effect of the Byzantine monuments; this was the "Archaeological Park" including the Topkap Palace, the remains of the Byzantine imperial palaces and the Hippodrome, applying the embryonic notion of zoning. Yet Prost's programme did not consist merely of a plan. He understood the steps required to inhibit property speculation or abusive expropriations, the specifications for reconstruction along the new arteries, and the need to restrict building within old Istanbul to three storeys so as to preserve a skyline out of which the cupolas and minarets of the old mosques were to emerge.

In conformity with the idea of offsetting the monuments by clearing their immediate surrounding, an idea which is still operative today, and also in order to widen the arteries for automobile traffic, Prost created Eminönü Square, thus isolating the Yeni Cami and the Egyptian Bazaar (Misir Çarşısı), and even circumventing Rüstem Paşa Mosque, which would thus have become totally incongruous, especially given its position over shops. Prost also proposed the creation of an underground, thus integrating an old French project of 1876 by E.H. Gavand.

He must have thought that an in-depth renovation of the urban fabric would result from the opening up of wide arteries, and that accompanying regulations would suffice. But then perhaps the alignment of the buildings that were to have lined the new arteries would also have contented him, had they been built. The openings and clearings envisaged by Prost in 1937 and which remained unexecuted throughout the fifties and sixties, such as the transformation of Tarlabaşı street into an urban expressway, are unfortunately still burning issues. However much respect is due to the historic work of this great planner, it is distressing to witness the re-emergence of projects (openings and clearing that are still in question) conceived of over fifty years ago, which no longer correspond to contemporary ideals of rehabilitation, but which instead envisage brutal renovation.

EXTENSION: THE ASSAULT ON ASIA

The geography of Istanbul, marked as it is by its fragmented topography, has always played an important role in the development of the city.

The port activities of this maritime city focus around the intersection between the different sea-arms; in this city of hills that still make land-transport problematic, the trading centres have never moved away from this intersection, situated at the entrance to the Golden Horn. Throughout the pre-industrial period, therefore, the commercial districts remained fixed at the foot of Galata and the Grand Bazaar, where the *han* was located.

When the growth of trade with the West made itself felt (after the Tanzimat decree above all), the new poles of activity stemmed invariably from the shores of the Golden Horn. And it was the "Frankish" town of Galata which housed the new, modern institutions and infrastructures. Beyoğlu suffered the consequences, and from a peripheral residential district it became the quarter which best symbolised the Ottoman Empire's dependence on European models. This shift prefigured the integration of the tiny Greek villages into the town a composite urban population settling around the old *yalt*, the palaces or grand residences of the notables.

At the end of the 19th century, with the construction of the railways, other poles of urbanisation appeared around Sirkeci Station (at the foot of Topkapı) and its counterpart at Haydarpasa (on the Asian shore) and the lines that ran there. On the one hand the public amenities and institutions centered round the stations (e.g., the barracks of the new, reformed army and the medical school at Haydarpasa); on the other hand industry and the suburbs (in the shape of uniform plots) extended out along the shores of the Marmara, both on the European (Bakırköy, Yeşilköy) and on the Asian sides (Göztepe, Erenköy, Bostancı) following the railway-line.

Nonetheless, this urban extension was on a modest scale when compared with what has followed in the last few decades. Whereas the population grew from 850,000 in 1885 to 1,000,000 in 1950, today it is more than 6,000,000.

Just as the building of bridges over the Golden Horn marked the northern development of the city during the last century, that of bridges over the Bosphorus (the first was opened in 1973, a second is under construction, and there is talk of a third, together with a tunnel) symbolises the fusion of two continents. Nothing appears to be able to stop this linear expansion along the motorway linking Istanbul with Gebze and Izmit (the latter being more than 100 kms. away): not, in any case, the difficulties of terrain, and even less so the urban planners. No infrastructure other than the motorway and railway in fact propulses this sprawling growth, whose exact frontiers are themselves difficult to define. This extraordinary extension has been coupled with a significant renewal of the population, which has become less cosmopolitan. The minorities (Greeks, Armenians, Jews), now totalling less than a few thousand, have been replaced by essentially rural Turks, mostly from Anatolia. But although Istanbul is no longer the capital of an empire, nor even that of the new Republic, its intense economic activity make it a veritable metropole today. Despite the lack of services and infrastructure it continues, virtue of its past, its vitality and its dimensions, to be a great world city.

ARCHITECTURAL DIVERSITY, FROM TOWER-BLOCKS TO GECEKONDU

Because of its geographical location — caught between East and West — and its historical role as the capital of empires, Istanbul has always known a diversity of nationalities and a plurality of cultures; both are characteristic. The confrontations between Christianity and Islam or between the Mediterrranean and the Asian steppes have been replaced, with the pressure of demographic growth, socioeconomic inequalities and the very dimensions of the city itself, to other gulfs.

Of course, both elite and popular cultures have always coexisted, from Byzantium through the Ottoman Empire. The refined lifestyle of the Ottoman köşk was succeeded by that of the urbane Levantine salons, just as the art nouveau façades of Great Pera street (now Istiqlâl) took over from the yalı overlooking the Bosphorus — regardless of the persistence of traditional housing types. But within the new society that came into being with the arrival of



Buildings in Kocamustafa Paşa (photo L.V.).



Halaskâr Gazi Avenue in Osmanbey (photo L.V.).

Buildings and gecekondu on the Bosphorus (photo A.B.).







Gecekondu on the Golden Horn (photo P.P.).



Social Security Complex in Zeyrek, arch. S.H. Eldem, 1963-1970 (photo AKAA). Istanbul Reklam, archs. G.Çilingiroğlu and M.Tunca(A.Y.).





1944 (photo L.V.). Apartments in Bebek, arch. N. Eldem (photo A.Y.).



national independence, even more diverse cultural forms emerged: that of the intellectual *avant-garde*, that of the traditionalist movements, the stereotyped models of the *petite bourgeoisie*, or those of the semi-rural fringe.

Today there is the "elitist" architecture of the masters (S. Arlam, I. Tekeli, B. Çinici, S. Eldem), whether historicist or modernist; the architecture of deluxe hotels and tower-blocks for the great corporations — the symbols of social and economic prestige, such as the luxury blocks on the hills overlooking the Bosphorus; the stereotyped architecture of the public buildings and blocks of flats for rent; and finally, there are the gecekondu.

Rapid urbanisation appears to have entrenched popular spatial traditions, which have not been replaced by efficient urban planning. The slum districts (Zeytinburnu, Rami, Gültepe, Çağlayan, Ümraniye, Gülsuyu) covering the hills behind the Golden Horn or above the Izmit motorway - built spontaneously by uprooted provincials - have rapidly acquired a palpable urban dimension. Moreover, when one takes a closer look, the houses with central distribution (sofa or eyvan), the division of the plots, the streets, and the plants, trees and shrubs of which the Turks have always been so fond all reproduced fairly well the traditional housing models. There are even mosques built in concrete, which are springing up everywhere. Thus numerous characteristics of the Ottoman city can be found, even though the makeshift taps on the water supply points have replaced the marble fountains of the past.

The marginal architecture of the gecekondu is, with its diversity and its functionalism, in direct contrast to that of the small companies or of the bureaucracy, in which all the elements appear to be reduced to elementary, conformist schemas. Collective housing is no exception, and only in the last few years has an effort been made in this domain, which is nonetheless of vital importance for the city.

RENOVATIONS AND REHABILITATIONS

Legislation concerning the preservation of the Turkish cultural heritage dates from the end of the last century, when the first museum was created in Istanbul and Turkish archaeologists initiated the first systematic excavations. Yet it was not until the last years of the sixties that a movement for the preservation and rehabilitation of the architectural heritage, whether monumental or vernacular, found a certain following in the country. Istanbul was one of the first sites where projects on a relatively large scale were undertaken --- in this case, an international campaign, launched by UNESCO, for the conservation of the Byzantine fortifications and the last surviving wooden houses in the Süleymaniye district. Although it is easy to attribute this movement to international influence, which was particularly felt during the European Architectural Heritage Year (1980), it must be said that, in their practical consequences, the conservation projects were not dissimilar to those of other town-planning projects carried out in Turkey, both in the capital and elsewhere. For renovation or rehabilitation projects, as for the building of housing or offices, a limited number of solutions, whether set out in urban planning projects and regulations, or dictated by technological constraints, are tirelessly reiterated. Just as the housing block has become the sign of the modern lifes-



Building in Altimermer, Kızılelma Caddesi (photo L.V.).



Buildings in Üsküdar (photo L.V.).



Soğukçeşme Sokak, between Topkapı Palace and Saint Sophia, after restoration (photo L.V.). Restoration work along the Golden Horn (photo M.E.).



tyle, and just as the cupola (be it of traditional, masonry construction or of concrete) is still indissociable from religious architecture (even in the slum districts), so the public spaces recently created along the Golden Horn the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara, or around the Byzantine ramparts, express the image of the "public garden", which is reproduced without the slightest reference to their necessarily different urban contexts.

This "hygenistic" aesthetic, applied on a large scale in the rehabilitation of the shores of the Golden Horn (which brought about the destruction of most of the last 18th century stone dwellings in the district of Fener), takes on an even clearer anti-historical dimension in urban operations such as the one that resulted in the demolition of the supposedly insalubrious housing blocks on Tarlabaşı street in Beyoğlu.

The latter operation is all the more regrettable in that those who defended the old Pera saw this street as one of the elements of a possible revitalisation of the district.

For want of rehabilitations and renovations on a truly urban scale, the public and private sectors restrict their operations to isolated historic buildings scattered about the city. Here again, stereotyped solutions triumph. Apart from the historic monuments (above all religious buildings), which are more or less correctly treated, the current trend - encouraged by current legislation, the technocrats and the reigning administrative mentalities --- consists in giving the buildings a sort of facelift rather than in undertaking any accurate restoration. Thus the whitewashed facades of the houses on the Bosphorus more often than not hide a concrete frame and a layout unconnected with the original plan. Moreover, the traces of successive transformations, inherent in any historic building, are erased by the renovation process, owing to the fact that it assimilates and reduces the building to the stilted finery of its façade, which is sometimes modified by the requirements of usage or by the use of new materials. Even in relatively large-scale operations, as in the rehabilitation of the zone around Kariye Cami (formerly the Church of Chora), or of the district bordering on Saint Sophia (the reconstruction of Sogukçesme street) by the Automobile and Touring Club, a one-dimensional view of things prevails. The historic object is reduced to a sort of decor, the fictitious and fragile visage of good intentions which are nonetheless foreign, and even unconsciously hostile, to its historical aims.

This phenomenon is doubtless due to a certain confusion between the value of the heritage and that of tourism (the minister responsible for historic monuments is, significantly, the minister for culture and tourism), for the restorations in question are above all intended to transform historic buildings into disinherited objects of tourist consumption.

The tourists are thus served the image which, it is thought, they expect to encounter. The idea of the reappropriation and animation of historical monuments, which has revolutionised conceptions of restoration, for example in France, has thus lost sight of its original aims, for tourism ought to be at the service of the cultural heritage and not vice versa.

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