

# A Late Modern State of Mind

## *The cityscape of Istanbul and Orhan Pamuk's authorship*

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And as my mostly uninspired teachers at the Technical University possessed the souls of engineers, had no sense to play and took no creative pleasure in architecture, their classes began to seem a waste of time, distractions from the things I really should be doing, the 'truer' life that I thought I should be living ... the Pera neighbourhoods so masterfully built by Armenians that were still standing – these were the places I now began to explore. Sometimes I would go straight from the Architectural Faculty to Taksim, board any bus, and go wherever my fancy or my feet happened to take me: the mean, narrow streets of Kasımpaşa; or Balat, which on my first visit looked fake, like a film set; the old Greek and Jewish neighbourhoods that new immigrants and poverty had changed beyond recognition; the very Muslim, very bright back streets of Üsküdar.<sup>1</sup>

## Modernism – Architecture – Memories – Novels

The modernist ideals of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are often associated with an instrumental form of rationalism that took a clear expression in architecture. The designs of modernist architecture and city planning often strived after perceived rational functions and sought to distance themselves from historical tradition. The ideal of the modernistic architect was to be an engineer, instead of a historian or an artist.<sup>2</sup> It is at least this understanding of modernism that Orhan Pamuk conveys in *İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir* (*Istanbul: Memories and the City*, 2005). The essayistic, semi-autobiographical novel can be understood as an eloquent condemnation of the modernistic principles and their consequences for Istanbul as a city. Late modern Istanbul has also often been a specific focus in his texts and the interrelationship between places, memories and the past are recurrent themes in Pamuk's stories. Perhaps the most noticeable trait of the late modern was also an increasing interest in the past: specifically in parts of history that had for many years been consciously neglected.

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<sup>1</sup> Orhan Pamuk, *Istanbul. Memories and the City*, 2006 (transl. Freely), 310–311.

<sup>2</sup> Gössel, Peter and Leuthäuser, Gabriele. *Architecture in the Twentieth Century*. (Köln: Benedikt Taschen Verlag. 1991); Svedberg, Olle. *Planerarnas århundrade. Europas arkitektur under 1900-talet*. (Stockholm: Arkitektur Förlag 1996).

Modernism is, however, in many aspects a complex concept. It is in fact questionable whether it is possible to describe the modern as an unequivocal notion when discussing architecture in a global context. Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan are for example critical towards narrow definitions of the modern in their study on 20<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> century architecture in Turkey. The concept of the modern can perhaps be better understood as a spectrum of various regionally conditioned manifestations. The architectural expressions reflect differences in what the modern came to mean and how it was understood in many countries.

More significantly, recent critical theories have articulated the need to abandon the very idea of a central, singular and canonic modernism, or a “European master narrative” claiming distinction from its allegedly lesser, derivative extensions in peripheral geographies...What is proposed instead is a “cosmopolitan modernism” one that is decentered, worldwide and heterogenous, a global history that admits the circulation and translation of architectural ideas and forms.<sup>3</sup>

In her studies of the early modernist architecture in the 1930’s Turkey, Bozdoğan has distinguished quite specific characteristics. The architecture of the Turkish Republic in the 1930’s distanced itself from the later phases of the Ottoman period, but it did not altogether shun inspiration from the past, as in many other countries. Turkish architecture of this period often showed a special connotation to far older historical eras, embracing shapes found for example in Seljuk edifices in Anatolia. These architectural features were often abstractly stylized in the form of high towers, common on public buildings of the time (see below, fig. 5).

As the physical bearers of collective memory, the erected monuments of the new Turkish state were charged with the symbolism of both modernization and nationalization.<sup>4</sup>

It can be worth noting that Istanbul was not at the core for the development of the Turkish modernist architecture of the 1930’s. The political centre was in this period of history transferred to the new capital Ankara. The by far largest number of public edifices designed in the new national architectural idiom are also to be found in Anatolia. This is of certain interest to mention, especially when looking at the impact that later modern architecture would have on Istanbul, in times when the city regained a more central political status. Turkish national and modern architecture was not totally absent in Istanbul during the 1930’s though.

The references to distant epochs in history such as the epochs of the Seljuks and the culture of the Hittites was a strategy of the early Turkish Republic to create a national narrative that legitimized the cultural, social and economic transformation and modernization of the country. The Republic also needed a new understanding of the past, to create a modern national self-identity. In this narrative, the late Ottoman period was regarded as a time of decline, a time best left forgotten.

What Pamuk describes is the rediscovery of a part of the past that had been neglected and derided for decades. Still, it was the architecture of this scorned period in Turkish history, the late Ottoman, that had given a specific accent to many places and environments in Istanbul. Pamuk explores these places and the muted memories of their past in many of his novels. That the late Ottoman period

<sup>3</sup> Bozdoğan, Sibel and Akcan, Esra. *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*. (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 9.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, 49.

could be the carrier of social memories was something that began to be recognised in late modern Istanbul. New types of heritagisation processes can be regarded as a characteristic trait of this.<sup>5</sup> The emergence of new social memories brought about transformations in the understanding of the republican society, as well as of social identities.

## The sociology of memories and strategies of preservation – theoretical concepts

I will in this text use two concepts cultural memory and communicative memory in discussing heritagisation processes in the late modern. These concepts of theory have been developed by Jan Assmann and Aleida Assmann within the frames of memory sociology reasoning.

Cultural memory can be described as an official collective memory, commemorating events, persons and ideas related to the past, which are important for the social bonding of larger communities. These groups can for example be nations, political parties or religious communities. Cultural memories can through various practices be kept alive for centuries and have since the 19<sup>th</sup> century been strongly linked to museums and heritage legislation. They are not dependent on unbroken chains of transmission: historical narratives related to the Hittites, which were highlighted during the early Turkish Republic – although the Hittites had been long gone – can be considered part in the construction of a new cultural memory of Anatolia.

Communicative memory, on the other hand, develops within more private spheres, for example within family, circles of friends, between neighbours or colleagues. This type of memory is crucial for social bonding within smaller social units. Communicative memories are often connected with personal eyewitness experiences and are also unfixed and more transformative compared to cultural memories. They normally only live for 80–90 years, since they are most often connected to oral communication as informal anecdotes.<sup>6</sup> The type of social memories that Pamuk is probing in large parts of his work, can be characterised as communicative.

Both cultural and communicative memories are closely intertwined with how humans perceive and apprehend public space – as individuals and as members of different social groups – especially where they get entangled in questions of heritage. Heritage practices in relation to built environments and public space can be regarded as exercises in architectural design in which the perception of time and construction of memories are physically manifested. Late modern Istanbul is characterized both by the transformations of places and structures for cultural memory, and by new ways of publicly discussing communicative memories relating to them.

<sup>5</sup> Gül, Murat. *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul. Transformation and Modernisation of a City*. (London and New York: Tauris Academic Press. 2009), 140–146.

<sup>6</sup> Assmann, J., *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in Frühen Hochkulturen* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck. 2007); Assmann, Aleida. *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2009).

## Communicative memories and the restructuration of cultural memories in Istanbul

Pamuk often describes the modern in terms of something threatening and soulless:

The difference lies in the fact that in Istanbul the remains of a glorious past civilization are everywhere visible. No matter how ill-kept, no matter how neglected or hemmed in they are by concrete monstrosities, the great mosques and other monuments of the city, as well as the lesser detritus of empire in every side street and corner – the little arches, fountains, and neighbourhood mosques – inflict heartache on all who live among them.<sup>7</sup>

This quote from Orhan Pamuk's novel *Istanbul* can be regarded as an expression of a late modern perspective on the city of Istanbul. The concrete monstrosities that Pamuk mentions in his text are without doubt modern edifices and constructions. Premodern architectural elements are defined in terms of fragility, but also of resistance, as something that defies the hegemony of the monstrous modern.

When did the old architecture – in contrast to the modern – start to inflict heartache among the people in Istanbul, as Pamuk claims? Like in many countries that looked upon the USA as a role model, the modern way of life in Turkey after the second World War became associated with the car. The car can be said to be one of the iconic artefacts of the triumphant “high modern”. The Prime minister between 1950 and 1960, Adnan Menderes, played a crucial role in the redevelopment of Istanbul, including the construction of the main thoroughfares Vatan Caddesi, Millet Caddesi, and Kennedy Caddesi. These infrastructural projects were of symbolic importance for the whole country, but they were also to have extensive consequences for the built heritage of Istanbul. This large-scale redevelopment of the city involved demolition of the built environment: large parts of the city dominated by traditional vernacular wooden architecture from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were destroyed. The thoroughfares created new communication patterns. Transportation between different parts of the city became more efficient, but some old neighbourhoods were also disconnected from each other.<sup>8</sup> This substantial transformation of Istanbul's urban fabric is comparable with processes taking place in a wide number of cities over the world at the same time. The works of demolition in Istanbul were specifically held against Menderes by the prosecution during his trial in 1961.<sup>9</sup> It seems likely to say that it was also during this period that the heartache for the old Istanbul, that Pamuk writes about, commenced. Interest in the vernacular Ottoman architecture in Istanbul began to increase in the 1960s and 1970s. It was not only among intellectuals that attitudes towards the late Ottoman architecture started to change. It was also during this period that the vernacular architecture from the time of the late Ottoman period started to be regarded as a part of the official heritage in Turkey.

It was through the efforts of the High Council for Historical Real Estate and Monuments (Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler Yüksek Kurulu), that a new Historic Artefacts act was decreed in 1973 in Turkey. The prominent architect Sedat Hakkı Eldem, member of the High council, was influential in this work. Eldem, em-

<sup>7</sup> Pamuk, *Istanbul. Memories and the city*, 91.

<sup>8</sup> Gül, *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul*, 140.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, 144–146.

bracing both modernistic ideas regarding functionalism, as well as historic influences in his oeuvre, had a considerable impact on the modern architecture of Turkey from the 1940's to the early 1970's. It is worth noting that the Historic Artefacts act in Turkey was passed two years before the International Amsterdam Declaration made in 1975, which was to be of considerable importance for the development of new heritage strategies in many countries in Europe (at least outside the socialist Eastern Bloc). Turkey was through the progressive heritage legislation of 1973 ahead of many countries in developing strategies for architectural preservation. The decree made it possible to designate whole areas for conservation, not only specific buildings. The concept of "conservation master plans", which was introduced together with the decree, also gave heritage authorities an important instrument to influence city planning.<sup>10</sup> The heritagisation processes related to the late Ottoman heritage in Istanbul clearly demonstrates a restructuring of cultural memory that began to take shape in Turkey during the late modern.



Fig. 1. Kayserili Ahmet Paşa Mansion 2017.  
Photo: Björn Magnusson Staaf

The planned demolitions of Ottoman wooden edifices from the 19<sup>th</sup> century was at least in some cases stopped in the 1970s. An example of this is the Kayserili Ahmet Paşa Mansion in Süleymaniye, Fatih (fig. 1). The mansion was expropriated by the Supreme council for the High Council for Historical Real Estate and Monuments in 1978 and restored in the 1980s. It then served the purpose as offices for the Istanbul Bureau of Preservation Offices (Taşınmaz Tabiat ve Kültür Varlıkları Kurulları) between 1988 and 2006. Actions like this set important examples for the future heritage practices in the city. Yet, the role that parts of civil society played in the processes for the reevaluation of the late Ottoman architectural heritage, is not to be downplayed. The re-structuring of the public cultural memory can be said to have been preceded by discussing communicative memories in a new public way.

İpek Türeli has convincingly pointed out the important role that civil society and individual enthusiasts played in the reappraisal of the late Ottoman period. Türeli shows in her study of the heritagisation of the Ottoman architecture in the 1970's, how, for example, Oya Kılıç's exhibition *Istanbul 1800* in 1975 played a role for raising the awareness related to the Ottoman vernacular wooden architecture. Türeli also demonstrates how the nongovernmental organizations Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı (TAÇ) and Türkiye Tarihi Evleri Koruma Derneği (TÜRKREV) were important actors for developing conservation projects related to the late Ottoman vernacular architecture. One of the founders

<sup>10</sup> Şahin Güçhan, Neriman & Kurul, Esra. "A History of the Development of Conservation Measures in Turkey: From the mid 19th Century until 2004" in *Middle East Technical University Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 26:2 2009/2. 2010.

of TÜRKREV, Perihan Balcı, was also influential in these processes through her research and authorship.<sup>11</sup>

An important feature of late modern in Istanbul was also that the vernacular Ottoman edifices were now not only considered to be old buildings that stood in the way of modern progress. The high-modernistic city planning ideals that had been hegemonic in many parts of the world since the 1930s began to be questioned in the 1960s and 1970s, not only in Turkey. At the same time a new generation came into power which had grown up with the Republic. The late Ottoman era was looked upon in a different way. Other aspects of the past than the ones emphasised by the early republic began to raise interest.

This does not mean that the demolition of houses and neighbourhoods came to an end. Real estate interests and possibilities for profits in an expanding city were important incentives for further large-scale redevelopments. However, there were now more voices being critic to these processes, for example from the TAÇ and the TÜRKREV, and also from heritage authorities. One could say that a sense of something important being lost was emerging during the era of the late modern in Istanbul. This sense of imminent loss is perhaps to be considered as another important trait of the late modern. There was a growing realization that modernity was problematic in itself, and not just a simple solution to the inconveniences of tradition. A new awareness of the past, and of history at large, was emerging.

## Late modern Istanbul and its environments in the novels of Orhan Pamuk

The authorship of Pamuk can be seen as an expression of new outlooks on the past and the modern in general, and on the urban architectural fabric of Istanbul in particular. Several of his novels, for example *Kara Kitap* (The Black Book, 1990), *Yeni Hayat* (The New Life, 1994), *Masumiyet Müzesi* (The Museum of Innocence, 2008) and *Kafamda bir Tuhaflık* (A Strangeness in my Mind, 2014) are set in late modern Istanbul. The story in *Kara Kitap* can almost be described as a film noir novel, where the main character Galip roams the streets of Istanbul looking for clues for his disappeared wife Rüya and her half-brother Celal. The city and its different neighbourhoods are described through the lens of a mystery, and of something that is lost, and also of sublime looming threats. An important part of the novel consists of the newspaper columns written by the journalist Celal, and which can be described as essays and reflections relating to the shady and criminal dimensions of the city. The mosaic of memories, stories, clues and fragments renders a slightly surreal picture of Istanbul, a city transforming into something almost monstrous. *Yeni Hayat* also centres around a mystery, and something illusive, a sort of new life described in a strange book read by the engineering student Osman. The novel similarly describes the main character's dwindling wanderings in Istanbul and its different environments where enigmatic and impending dangers are lurking. How the new life exactly is described in the book that Osman has read is never exactly expressed in the novel. It is referred to indirectly as interpretations, or what could be described as communicative memories. Both *Kara Kitap* and *Yeni Hayat* have been labelled as post-modern, and one can also interpret these novels

<sup>11</sup> Türeli, İpek. "Heritagisation of the 'Ottoman/Turkish House' in the 1970s: Istanbul based Actors, Associations and their Networks", in *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 19/2014, 18.

as a critique of alienation connected with modernity. It is tempting to regard the post-modern traits of Pamuk's authorship as linked to the fatigue of the late modern, the copings with an internal or external void, a search of something lost. One could understand melancholy as one the major undercurrents of the late modern, in Istanbul as well as elsewhere: a melancholy connected with the city, its architecture, its places, and the communicative memories that they all evoke.

*Masumiyet Müzesi* is written in a different and more straightforward literary style than *Kara Kitap* and *Yeni Hayat*. It describes the love story between the rich Kemal Basmacı and his poor distant relative Füsun Keskin. The central part of the novel is set in Istanbul between 1975 and 1984. Nişantaşı and Beyoğlu can be said to constitute the main scenes of the novel, and are also contrasted to each other. Nişantaşı is in the novel associated with a lifestyle of modernity, whereas Beyoğlu is connected with an older Istanbul that is more diversified, livelier, and authentic. However, the characters of the story also move around other parts of the city, and locations, environments and public spaces as integrated parts of late modern Istanbul are described in the novel. A traumatic event that brings about the great trouble and sorrow for Kemal is his engagement party at the Istanbul Hilton, one of the landmarks of modern architecture in the city. Kemal partly recuperates from his broken engagement, spending a period of depression in a hotel situated in the run-down and old districts of Fatih that are characterised by their wooden Ottoman houses. The modern Istanbul is thus associated with distress, whereas the old Istanbul is connected to mental healing. Several of the locations in the novel are in different ways related to film, such as the summer open-air cinemas, and the Yeşilçam street in Beyoğlu: a centre for the domestic Turkish film industry that developed in the decades after the Second World War. Kemal also transports himself through Istanbul with help of his chauffeur and an American Chevrolet Bel Air from the 1957, a car that in its design can be said to be iconic for the modernity of the 1950's. Finally, he moves into a house in a tumbledown part of Beyoğlu where Füsun has lived with her parents, and where he himself spent some of the happier moments in his life. The house, which is located at the Çukurcuma Caddesi, is also where Kemal sets up the Museum of Innocence, dedicated to the memory of his beloved Füsun. The story in the novel moves gradually and spatially from environments in Istanbul dominated by an international anonymous modernity, to older, historical localities and settings characterized by authentic late Ottoman architecture.

The story of Kemal and Füsun is told not only in the novel called *Masumiyet Müzesi*, but also in the museum of the same name which opened in 2012 in the house on Çukurcuma Caddesi where they are said to have lived. While functioning as a real-life extension of the novel, the museum can be regarded as a museum dedicated to the history of the late modern Istanbul, albeit of a quite unusual kind. Most of the artefacts in the vitrines of the museums are from the period of the 1950s–1970s (fig. 2), the time when most of the novel is set. Much of what were parts of everyday life in Istanbul in this period have more or less fully disappeared since. Places and environments described in the novel have been torn down, or otherwise strongly transformed. Film clips from Turkish home movies, as well as domestic feature films from the period form for example are part of the exhibition. There is a large number of photographs in the museum as well, with motives from the city in this period, not least families posing by their car (fig. 3). It is also a

museum that triggers communicative memories among its visitors, in contrast to many other museums of cultural history.<sup>12</sup>

In his novels, Pamuk is very critical towards the redevelopments that took place during the late modern period in Istanbul, which have continued into the present. Pamuk started to explore the older dilapidated parts of Istanbul during the 1970s. He describes in the essayistic and partly autobiographical novel *İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir* (*Istanbul: Memories and the City*, 2005) how he in the 1970's began to rediscover the city where he had grown up. Pamuk's description of how he started exploring the past of Istanbul goes hand in hand with memories related to his own family. One could, with the terminology of Assmann's, say that he uses the communicative memories of his family to create a general narrative of Istanbul, and its development in relation to the late modern.



Fig. 2. Museum of Innocence, Vitrine 73, "Füsün's Driving License". Photo by the author.

<sup>12</sup> Magnusson Staaf, Björn. "Oskuldens museum och konstruktionen av minnen", in *Dragomanen* 19/2017, 2017, 116–118.



The resentment towards modernity that Pamuk has expressed is not unique in an international context. Similar feelings can be found also in other parts of the world: the questioning of the modern hegemony can be described as an international phenomenon. One of the many reasons to why Pamuk has become such an internationally appreciated author, might be because his novels actually describes a general apprehension of a late modern state of mind. A state of mind involving feelings one can have experienced, without ever having been to Istanbul. People in many cities all over the world share similar experiences of losing history and memories due to large-scale urban transformations, processes creating a certain type of alienation that can be said to be typical for the late modern era.

Great as the desire to Westernise and modernise may have been, the more desperate wish, it seemed, was to be rid of all the bitter memories of the fallen empire: rather as a spurned lover throw away his lost beloved's clothes, possessions and photographs.<sup>13</sup>



*Fig. 3. Museum of Innocence, Vitrine 73, "Füsün's Driving License", detail. Photo by the author.*

Pamuk refers to a specific Turkish historic context and situation, and describes modernisation in terms of westernisation, when he discusses the late modern Istanbul. Yet, one can question how Western this modernisation really was. The Swedish author Jacques Werup has for example in his novels and texts given voice to a frustration and critique of the modern that in its content, albeit not in style, runs parallel to Pamuk's. Both Pamuk and Werup describe modern city planning as a strategy to erase memories of a past.<sup>14</sup> The target for Werup's texts was the City of Malmö in Sweden, a city much smaller than Istanbul. Malmö is of course quite different from Istanbul from an architectural point of view, but the late modern large-scale demolitions carried out in the name of progress, are in fact quite similar to those in Istanbul. The sense of bereavement that Pamuk expresses when talking of Istanbul's lost Ottoman heritage is recognisable for someone having experienced similar transformations in Malmö. To claim that the late modern is a phenomenon emanating from a generic West is thus as imprecise as claiming that the ideas of heritage are Western or European. Pamuk himself opens up for the idea that his sentiments towards the late modern condition, or the Westernisation, reflect a more universally held notion.

<sup>13</sup> Pamuk, *Istanbul. Memories and the City*, 2006. p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> Werup, Jacques. *Casanovas senare resor*. (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag 1979); Werup, Jacques. *Hemstaden*. (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1981).

What I am describing may not, in the end, be special to Istanbul, and perhaps, with the Westernisation of the entire world, it is inevitable.<sup>15</sup>

There are naturally differences between the national and regional contexts for the development of the late modern as I have claimed earlier. The demolition of old city centres that took place in Sweden during the 1960s and 1970s was influenced by a political ambition to get rid of old environments associated with poverty and an old unequal class society. The aim was also to create better housing conditions and increase the living standards for a wider part of the population.<sup>16</sup> These political social ambitions were probably similar to those in Istanbul during this era. Commercial interests might to a certain extent have created further incentives for the demolitions taking place in Istanbul in the late modern period.<sup>17</sup> Yet, the outcome of the various developments in different countries shared a number of similar traits. One of these similarities was a rising consciousness of the importance of heritage among intellectual groups on an international level. The establishing of new heritage policies in Turkey and in other countries at this time can be regarded as a consequence of these processes. In other words, the late modern created a new understanding of the past. The restructuring of the cultural memories that took place in both Turkey and many other places in the world during the late modern, is primarily connected with a liberal and social inclusive ambition, not conservative interests.

Between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, part of me longed, like a radical Westerniser, for the city to become entirely western. I held the same hope for myself; but another part of me yearned to belong to the Istanbul I had grown to love by instinct, by habit and by memory.<sup>18</sup>

Pamuk describes the split feelings he had as a teenager towards his home city. Do these feelings necessarily have to be contradictory? Can they instead even be seen as complimentary to each other? Maybe we can regard the late modern, not as a transition to a post-modern state, but rather to something that could be characterized as a second modern, which is different from the hegemonic modernity? The German sociologist Ulrich Beck has presented the concept of reflexive modernisation, a different type of modernity aiming to refrain from hegemony. Beck describes the modernity of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as being dominated by the idea of “either-or”, a thinking strongly influenced by instrumental rationality. The concept of a reflexive modernity is instead characterised by the thought of “both-and”.<sup>19</sup> It aims to embrace both the ambition to affirm the importance of history and memory, and at the same time aspire change and transformation. Such pragmatic political and ideological ideas can perhaps be linked to not least to liberal intellectual groups

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<sup>15</sup> Pamuk, *Istanbul*, 216.

<sup>16</sup> Svenning, Olle. *Lojaliteter: min far(s)*. (Stockholm: Fischer förlag, 1995); Tykesson, Tyke and Magnusson Staaf, Björn. *Malmö i Skimmer och Skugga. Stadsbyggnad och arkitektur 1945–2005*. (Malmö: Architectus Verborum, 2009).

<sup>17</sup> Bozdoğan and Akcan, *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*.

<sup>18</sup> Pamuk, *Istanbul*, 291.

<sup>19</sup> Beck, Ulrich. *Att uppfinna det politiska. Bidrag till en teori om reflexiv modernisering*. (Göteborg: Daidalos Förlag, 1996).

in Turkey in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.<sup>20</sup> Yet, what types of architectural design, and city planning could such a both-and modernity, or a reflexive second modernity inspire?

## The late modern as heritage – final comment and reflection

The late modern is generally regarded as a period of the past, an era different from our own. This raises the question of how one should relate to it in terms of heritage. One can of course study it from an academic historical perspective, but what role does it take on when it comes to cultural and communicative memories? Certain historic artefacts from the late modern period already attain a high popular estimation and values such as for example American cars from the 1950s (fig. 4).



*Fig. 4. Chevrolet Biscayne, Yıldız Park 2016. It is in a 1950s Chevrolet, and in Yıldız Park, that Kemal Basmacı teaches Füsun how to drive in Masumiyet Müzesi. Photo by the author.*

Heritagisation processes, by means of laws and regulations related to the built environment, involve a shaping of new cultural memories. Therefore, the heritagisation of the late modern needs further critical analysis and discussion. Important parts of both the early modern, as well as the late modern architecture of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Turkey, are at risk today in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (fig. 6). Many buildings of the vernacular Ottoman wooden architecture are also still derelict and under considerable threat in Istanbul, but there is a consensus of it being a part of a heritage. This is not necessarily the case with late modern architecture.

<sup>20</sup> Karlsson, Andrea. *Liberal Intellectuals and Human Rights in the Turkish Public Sphere. Contestation and Pragmatism from the 1990s to the AKP-era.* (Lund: Lund University, Faculties of Humanities and Theology, Department of History, Human Rights Studies, 2017).

The simple vernacular architecture of the *gecekondu* settlements in Istanbul dating to the 1960s and 1970s, are for example now quite rare in many neighbourhoods of Istanbul. What becomes a part of heritage should perhaps not primarily be a question of architectural aesthetic qualities but a question of historical representation. From this perspective the various forms of architectural expression related to the late modern deserves its place in public space, just as other parts of heritage dating to earlier times. The architecture of the late modern reflects a part of history that paved the way for what perhaps can be described as a ‘reflexive modern’, a type of modernity embracing both cultural and communicative memories.<sup>21</sup>



Fig. 5–6. Awareness of Ottoman architecture as a part of the Turkish cultural heritage is by now well-established. However, the architecture of the Early Republican and modern period is often treated with far less consideration when it comes to heritage policy. Above: Karaköy passenger terminal. Designed 1937–38 by Rebiî Gorbun and George Dêbes. To the left: picture from 2016. To the right: radically transformed in 2016–2017. Photos by the author.

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